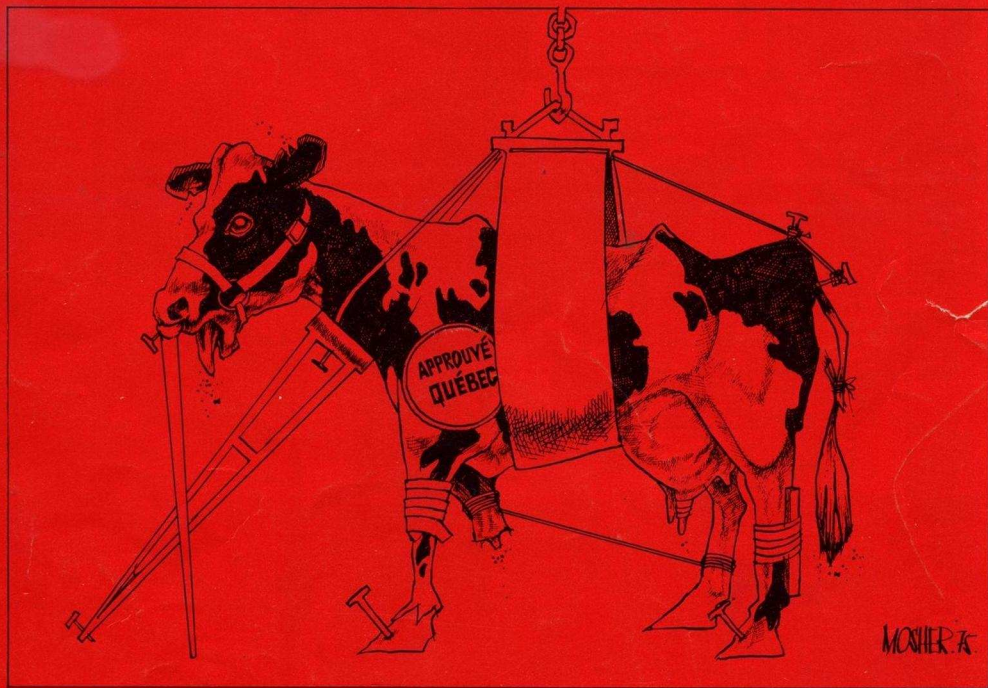


THE LAST POST

AUGUST 1975/75 CENTS

Women's
Work

THE MEAT PARADE

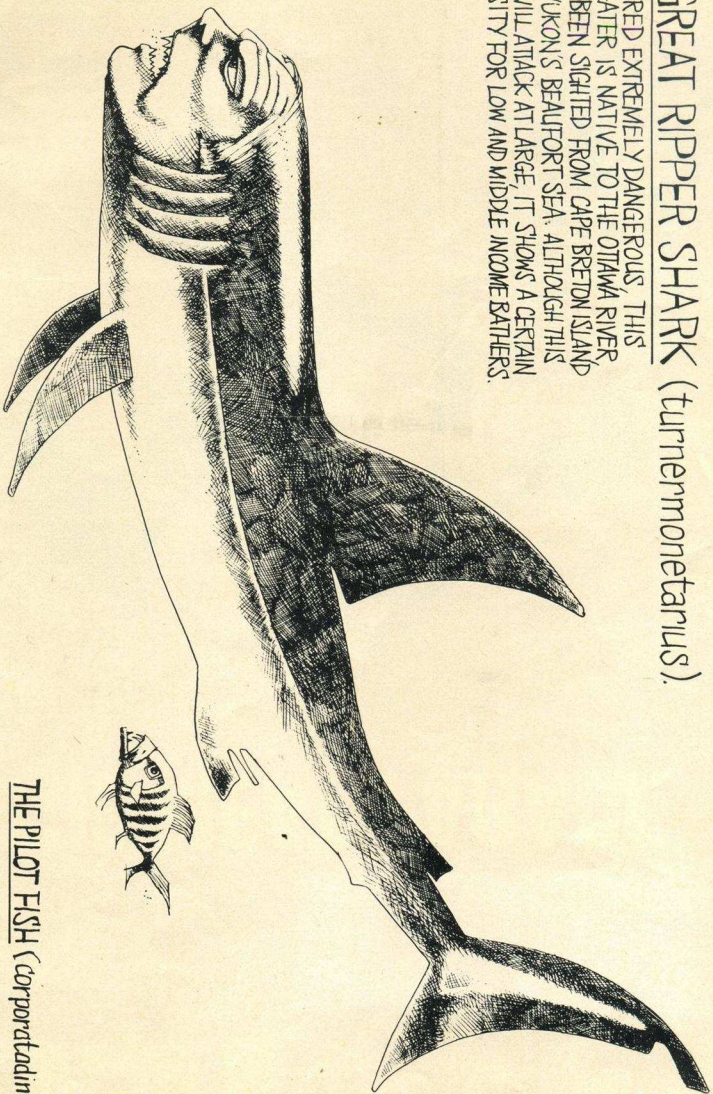


**CANADA'S BANKS:
THE GNOMES OF NASSAU**

'JAWS'

THE GREAT RIPPER SHARK (*turnermonetarius*).

CONSIDERED EXTREMELY DANGEROUS, THIS FLESH EATER IS NATIVE TO THE OTTAWA RIVER BUT HAS BEEN SIGHTED FROM CAPE BRETON ISLAND TO THE YUKON'S BEAUFORT SEA. ALTHOUGH THIS SHARK WILL ATTACK AT LARGE, IT SHOWS A CERTAIN PROPENSITY FOR LOW AND MIDDLE INCOME BATHERS.



THE PILOT FISH (*Carpentaria finitum*).

A CONSTANT COMPANION TO THE GREAT RIPPER, AT TIMES DOZENS OF THESE PARASITES WILL FLOW IN THE SUPSTREAM OF NATURAL GASES AND OIL AROUND THE SHARK'S ANAL FIN, PREPARED TO SHARE IN THE PREY.

THE LAST POST

August 1975, Vol. 4, No. 8

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THE MONTH

QUEBEC'S MEAT SCANDAL: 'IT WAS ALL STICKY AND GREEN'

by DON MURRAY

"We won't be going fishing."

— Réjean Paul, chief lawyer for the organized crime inquiry on the eve of its hearings into the Quebec meat business.

* * *

MONTREAL — Meat jokes have become the order of the day in Quebec. "Mange de la viande" has replaced the cry made famous by the Prime Minister. Judge Jean Dutil, the head of the crime probe, has led the way with his own sardonic comment on the Quebec government's meat seal of approval.

"Vive le Québec Approuvé!" he shouted at the hearings one day.

The reason for the jokes was "la charogne": carrion, diseased meat from dead or dying cows. In the weeks since May 16 the Quebec crime probe has established that, in the last 10 years, Quebecers have been sold millions of pounds of carrion, often with the Québec Approuvé seal and sometimes with the Canada Approved seal. Visitors to Expo 67 discovered rather belatedly that one of the unannounced attractions was 400,000 pounds of charogne they ate.

One enterprising newspaper, *Montreal-Matin*, dug through its files when the news came out and published a page of pictures of Canadian political

notables eating their "charogneburgers" at the fair.

The putrid parade started on the first day of the hearings. The commission was told that Reggio Foods, which supplied most of the pepperoni sausage to pizzerias in Montreal, had bought and used 700,000 pounds of carrion since 1967. Reggio is owned by Vic Cotroni, the man Quebec police have named as the head of Montreal's Mafia.

Federal Packing of Magog was the next major link in the carrion network. A couple of its employees revealed it made a total profit of over \$3 million in the last few years using carrion at reduced prices rather than healthy meat. Quebec's Liberal government thought so highly of Federal that it gave it \$800,000 in loans at reduced interest rates recently. And Premier Robert Bourassa made an appearance at its 25th anniversary dinner a couple of years ago.

The smelly trail then led to the Northwest region of Quebec around Rouyn-Noranda. Meat inspectors testified that in 1973 they seized about 1200 lbs. of horsemeat which had come from "some of the dirtiest abattoirs we ever saw." The meat was about to be served to athletes at the Quebec summer games. The company with the meat contract for the games was Salaison S & M, owned by Jean-Pierre Bonneville. Bonneville also

owns *La Frontière*, an important newspaper in the area. He is described by crime investigators as "the king of the northwest of the province" and a man "with a lot of political clout." He is, in fact, a close political ally of Réal Caouette.

The carrion trade is not just good business, it's good business for the mafia. The commission spent a couple of days to drive the point home that Vic Cotroni has good friends in the meat trade. One group of friends is the Saputo family, owners of Saputo & Figli, which has financial links with Reggio Foods. Saputo & Figli already has its own unique reputation. A couple of years ago Montreal health inspectors took it to court for mixing in human shit with the mozzarella it sells to Montreal pizzerias. At the time police identified the Saputos as important figures in the Montreal underworld.

Another name whose mention evokes special recognition in Quebec is that of William Obront, owner of Obie's Meat. The commission established that Obront bought most of the pepperoni that Reggio Foods sells. It also heard testimony that Obront bought carrion from the same "charognard", a fellow named Gilbert Massey, who supplied Reggio. Obront is the man who testified to the crime commission two years ago that he donated \$5,000 to Robert Bourassa's election fund in 1970.

How did the network operate so long and so successfully without even being disturbed by the government inspection services?

It wasn't that difficult. Only 82 of the 350 abattoirs in Quebec are even inspected by federal or provincial meat inspectors. The Quebec government, for its part, has only 75 full-time inspectors. And just to avoid unnecessary complications, the carrion network bought off a sufficient number of municipal and provincial inspectors.

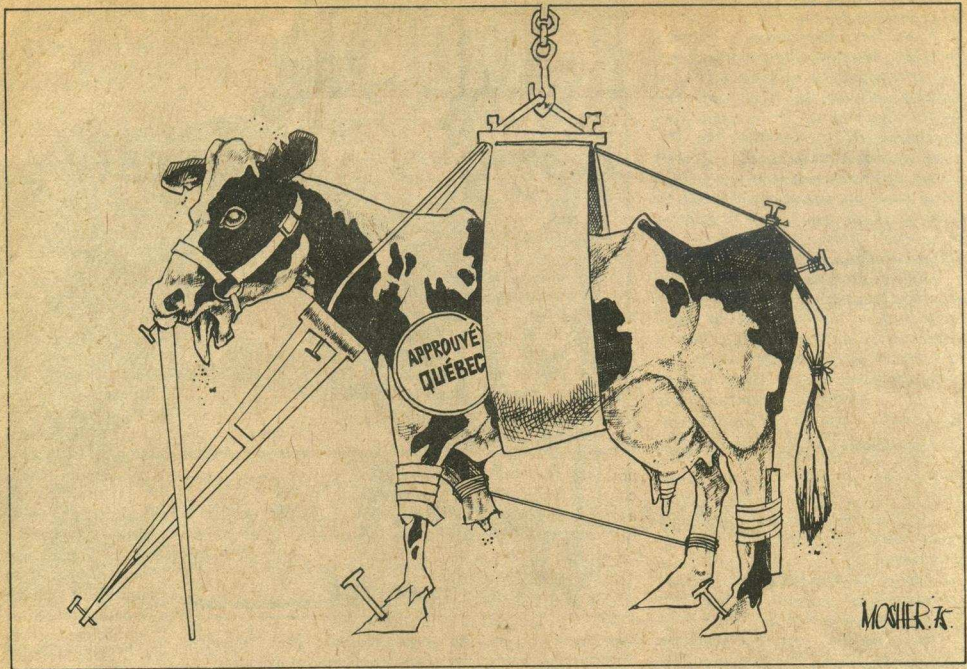
Police produced a bugged conversation between Armand Courville, the vice-president of Reggio Foods, and one of his suppliers in which Courville happily announces "we haven't got all the

EAT YOUR HEART OUT, HENRY MORGENTHAU

* * *

*Stillbirths
may be tied
to bad meat*

—Ottawa Journal, June 4, 1975



municipal inspectors but we've got une hostie de paquet."

Magnanimous Willie Obront arranged, and then countersigned, two bank loans, worth about \$6,000 for a Montreal meat inspector, who admitted to the commission that maybe he'd made a mistake.

Another bugged conversation produced by the police, this time between two charognards, was highlighted by a reference to "our asshole", the friendly epithet the two fellows had bestowed on their own bought-off Quebec meat inspector.

The "asshole" was Raoul Courtemanche. He came before the commission to reveal that he used to supplement his \$16,000 annual salary by selling carrion to butchers. He got the stuff by rummaging through the slaughterhouse garbage containers he was assigned to inspect.

He said his customers "liked it . . . the price was good."

They didn't always like it, of course. One wiretapped conversation between Courtemanche and someone named Ralph of Marché Abattoir in Montreal turned up a couple of complaints.

Ralph told Courtemanche his last shipment wasn't "nice . . . it was all sticky and green . . . I had to wash the hot

dog sausages twice. They were all sticky."

Ralph then placed another carrion order with Courtemanche.

Lest people get the wrong idea about the quality of carrion they were eating for so long, one charognard named Réjean Gelinas testified that he adhered to certain standards when buying bad meat. Explaining why he didn't buy a diseased cow for \$34 he said: "I only buy them when they're standing up. This one wasn't dead but it was on the ground."

All this carrion buying produced what economists sometimes call "distortions in the market." Jules Pépin, a Quebec pet food manufacturer came before the commission one day to bleat bitterly that so much charogne was being sold illegally for human consumption that he couldn't get enough to use it legally for pet food. He said things improved, but only temporarily, every time he complained to the Quebec government. He said he'd been complaining regularly for the past 15 years.

The Dutil commission revelations have produced some peculiar phenomena in Quebec society.

Montreal restaurants began to notice a sharp drop in the consumption of meat.

The Rainbow Bar and Grill, for example, struck steaks, hamburgers and roast beef sandwiches from its menu because of slow sales.

McDonald's, the large hamburger chain, took out large newspaper ads to try to reassure the population that all the burgers it sold them came from officially inspected, pure meat. The effect was less than overwhelming.

When a representative of Corvin's Meat on St. Lawrence Blvd. in Montreal admitted the store had knowingly bought carrion, Montreal got a court order to close the store. A couple of days later irate customers smashed the store's windows. Corvin's was noted for its sausages, which one loyal customer used to boast "were just the spiciest you can buy."

All of this was a very unhappy experience for Quebec Agriculture Minister Normand Toupin. As the revelations poured out of endemic corruption and benevolent tolerance of illegality within his department's inspection service, Toupin embarked on a sorry odyssey of denials, half-truths, spurious reassurances about the value of Quebec's meat seal of quality "Québec Approuvé", followed by retractions and

finally full retreat, littered with promises of a complete clean-up.

Toupin first told Quebec's National Assembly that there was no evidence that his department's meat inspectors were collaborating with the charognards. But he had forgotten to tell his own press attaché that this was the party line. The same day the press attaché, Gabriel Biron, was telling reporters that several meat inspectors had accepted bribes to turn a blind eye when "Québec Approuvé" boxes were stolen from under their noses.

As things got hotter Toupin put out the story that he hadn't acted to clean up the inspection service because he only learned of the scandal from Judge Dutil a few months earlier. Unfortunately, the truth intervened again. The Canadian Consumers Association branch in Trois Rivières said it had warned Toupin about the meat scandal in 1973. The CAC said he replied that he couldn't do anything because any cleanup measures would meet resistance in the Quebec cabinet. Toupin was reduced to saying he vaguely remembered the meeting but not his comments.

Then the Ontario agriculture minister announced his department had told Quebec authorities as early as 1969 about the bad meat ring. Toupin strained the limits of credibility by saying his own department hadn't informed him. Nor apparently had Justice Minister Jerome Choquette's police informed him, when Ontario officials let them in on the secret.

The defence offered by Toupin and Choquette is rapidly becoming standard procedure with Bourassa cabinet ministers. Labor Minister Jean Cournoyer pleaded before the Cliche commission that he was only a minister and couldn't be expected to know whether the laws governing the industry he was responsible for were being systematically broken.

Robert Bourassa himself set the tone in March when he was confronted with the testimony of Jerome Choquette before the Cliche commission. Choquette said the premier had been informed of high level corruption in his government in 1970 but had done nothing. "I've searched my memory and I just can't remember," Bourassa declared.

His credibility in tatters, Agriculture Minister Toupin decided to cut off criticism by going on the offensive. He announced stringent new regulations to close down unsuspected abattoirs and to beef up the provincial inspection service. Some people remembered that Toupin had made the same announcement a year



ago, even going so far as to have the National Assembly pass a law to tighten up the inspection service. The law lay on the shelf, unimplemented, for 10 months. Perhaps there was resistance in the cabinet.

All of this has been highly diverting, as Judge Jean Dutil bet it would be. The judge ordered that the hearings be televised on Radio-Quebec, a network of community-oriented cable stations funded by the Quebec government. Within a month one survey showed the meat parade had grabbed more than half the daytime viewing audience in Quebec. It sent meat sales plummeting in restaurants and stores throughout the province.

It also had the effect of giving the organized crime commission, for the first time, a positive image and an aura of authority.

The history of the organized crime inquiry has been checkered, to say the least. It was conceived by Jerome Choquette, presumably in one of those moments when he sees himself as Quebec's chief crusading vigilante. But it's indicative of Choquette's unique perspective on crime that the amendment to the Police Act he presented in early 1972 empowered the commission to investi-

gate "organized crime, terrorism and subversion."

The commission started hearings in the fall of 1972. But it became bogged down in the testimony of minor figures testifying about peripheral areas of interest. Reports began to leak out that the special investigative unit of the crime probe was unhappy. A court order to seize the financial records of William Obront was not acted on. There were allegations of political interference.

Then the bombshell of Pierre Laporte's links with the underworld exploded—but not at the crime probe. The information was leaked to Parti Québécois MNA Robert Burns. Jerome Choquette confirmed the links in the National Assembly and then broke down and cried in public. In private Robert Bourassa told Jerome to take a long vacation that summer and took over as justice minister. Soon after, the crime probe was drastically reorganized and the special investigative unit dismantled.

After some dancing about, the crime probe was finally given the task of investigating Laporte's underworld links. In its 1974 report the commission whitewashed Laporte but criticized his executive assistant René Gagnon and his cousin Guy Leduc, a Liberal MNA, for

their ties. This was accompanied by regular statements by Bourassa that his was the first government that had the courage to allow itself to be investigated.

In the meantime, however, the Cliche commission on union violence had started. Its well-thought-out mixture of spectacular revelations of corruption in the QFL construction unions, and an open-door policy with regard to the press made the commission a household word and an independent political force in Quebec within a few months.

Its untouchable status served it well when the commission began delving into high level corruption in the Bourassa government in areas linked to construction and James Bay. Despite howls from Liberal workers and backbenchers and frantic backstage manoeuvring by the

powerbrokers, the Bourassa regime didn't dare try a powerplay as it had with the crime probe in 1973. It had to sit tight and hope to ride out the storm.

Jean Dutil can well appreciate these lessons. He was the chief lawyer for the Cliche inquiry until he was named judge a few months ago and given the task of resuscitating the moribund crime probe.

The six weeks of tainted meat testimony more than fulfilled his hopes. The scandal riveted public attention in Quebec. It got enormous coverage in newspapers, on television and on radio. The crime probe enters the summer recess with its credibility restored.

But the meat stories were only a curtain raiser, an eye-grabber. The real story of organized crime in Quebec lies in other areas, like loan sharking, drugs,

AND THESE THREE PLAYED A LOT OF POOL . . .

The [Rio Algom] brief referred to a study done in Colorado in August, 1974, that showed that of about 300 uranium miners who died of lung cancer, only three were non-smokers.

— *Toronto Globe and Mail*, June 1, 1975

clubs and, possibly, political links. Dutil and the crime probe staff have created for themselves the political leeway to look into these areas. The question is: how far will they go?

ARCTIC INSTITUTE: A COUP IN THE BOARD ROOM

by WALTER J. TRAPROCK

MONTREAL — The Arctic Institute of North America, which has made more than one appearance in these pages (Vol. 4, No. 2 & Vol. 4, No. 3) this month takes its last bow. The Institute, which has never confidently been able to tell the North Pole from a hole in the ground, nor even which way is North, has now gone West, in both senses of the expression.

Last November, it was reported that the Institute was facing bankruptcy, and that a variety of new financing plans were being considered. That crisis was resolved to the satisfaction of all right-thinking persons. Sufficient money and new premises at McGill University were found. The plot to move lock, stock and glaciologist to Calgary had apparently been averted, along with the much more serious threat of an auction of the Institute's library.

Even better things were promised — the much-unloved executive director of the Institute, Brigadier W. H. Love, was due to retire on June 1st. A search com-

mittee was to find a new executive director, who was to be a young scientist with some administrative ability. This was a radical departure in personnel selection. Brigadier Love, for example, was hired in the first place as director of the Montreal office because he outranked the incumbent executive, a mere Colonel from the United States.

It seemed as though the guys in the "white hats" had won. But there was more dirty work afoot. At the same November meeting when everything seemed satisfactorily resolved, the person who was elected chairman of the Institute's Board of Governors was the leader of the "black hats", Panarctic Oil vice-president, Bob Currie.

In his capacity as chairman, Mr. Currie had the authority, with only three weeks' notice, to summon a meeting of the board and, with the advice and assistance of Brigadier Love, arrange the agenda. He did just that, including on the agenda the motion that the Institute should move West, although there was no longer any good reason to do so.

The meeting was held in Calgary while opponents of the move were abroad or in the field. Mr. Currie intimated that he might find it necessary to call further meetings with the same agenda every three weeks or so in such centres of international scholarship as Grise Fjord — or White River Junction, Vermont.

The "white hats" had been cut off at the pass. A press release informed the

world that the Arctic Institute had taken a great stride forward. It would now be more closely associated with Canada's development of the North, and splendid new premises would be readied at the University of Calgary with the help of five million Alberta government dollars.

In short, an oil baron has taken from Montreal one of the three best polar libraries in the world, to give it as a present to the University of Calgary, located in a city in which it is difficult to discuss anything but oil. In Calgary, the Institute will be reduced to the status of a university department serving the oil-sticky fingers that feed it.

Since its foundation in 1945, the Institute has been bedevilled by its dual citizenship. It is incorporated both in Canada and the U.S. At the time it was thought that international cooperation had some future before it, but it soon became clear that because of its own paternity, neither government would invest any serious money in the Arctic Institute. But at the same time, its very existence in Canada prevented the creation of any other polar research institution.

With the final destruction of the Institute as a serious research facility, there should at last be a chance for the organization of a truly Canadian northern research body, one that will not, as the Arctic Institute has done for the past 15 years, jump on bandwagons, many of them unsavoury, just as they come to a stop.

NOT TO MENTION THE FROST-BITE OF AMBITION

* * *

Part of what makes him attractive to people is the Aurora Borealis of power that hangs about him still.

— *Christina Newman on former Ont. Premier John Roberts, Globe and Mail, January 25, 1975*

JOHN TURNER'S BUDGET:

THE DEPRESSION: GUESS WHO'LL PAY?

by STEVEN D. COHEN

Mr. Turner and the Liberals have brought down (from on high?) a pro-business, pro-oil budget. But, in a way, one wonders why they even bothered. In recent years, budgets have been the occasion for the announcement of major new programs or changes in old programs. There is almost nothing in this budget that could not have been accomplished in less dramatic fashion.

Perhaps the most important news about this budget is about what it did not contain — wage and price controls. For months Turner had been sending up trial balloons about controls, but they all sank quickly into Trudeau's new swimming pool. In the last election, the Liberals had campaigned against wage and price controls as proposed by the Conservatives. But the Liberals have a long record of borrowing other parties' policies when the time is opportune. (Are the Conservatives also just "Liberals-in-a-hurry"?)

It is rumoured that Turner wanted controls but was overruled by a majority of the cabinet. In his speech he said that voluntary controls had not worked so therefore we would not have mandatory controls. Does this imply that if voluntary controls had actually worked, then we would have been saddled with mandatory controls?

During expansionary periods, profits rise, but rates of profit tend to fall, and labour's share in national income rises. During recessions this is usually reversed as high unemployment weakens labour's ability to maintain its position. Indeed, the purpose of a recession is to reduce labour's share, to increase profit rates and to set the stage for another expansion.

FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH DEPT.

* * *

Business tips

You can fool some of the people some of the time and that's generally enough to allow for a profit.

—Better Business Bureau supplement in the *Edmonton Journal*, April 24, 1975

This is exactly what is happening in the United States now, where the average real weekly wage has fallen below 1965 levels. However, much to Turner's surprise, Canadian unions have been better able to protect their previous gains. First-year new contract wage settlements have averaged over 19 per cent (not quite as good as the M.P.s' 33 per cent, however.)

As Turner aptly put it, "What is surprising and disturbing is the size of recent increases in Canadian wages and salaries and their continuing acceleration in a period of slow growth and high unemployment." Later on he said "The competition for shares in the total national income has become intense," which means that labour has been successfully defending itself.

Turner blamed the world recession for the decline in Canada's exports and the resulting recession here. But he threatened to blame the unions if Canada failed to increase its exports during the officially expected recovery. According to Turner, wage increases will push up costs, which will make Canadian goods non-competitive in world markets.

This is pure propaganda and is contradicted by both economic theory and economic reality. Canada has a floating exchange rate. If Canadian prices rise, exports will fall, imports will rise, the dollar will fall in value relative to foreign currencies, and Canadian products will once again be competitive. In fact, Canadian exports have fallen, due to world recession and not to high Canadian prices, and imports have risen and so the dollar has fallen in value.

Rather than blaming the workers, the finance minister should instruct the Bank of Canada to stop maintaining the Canadian dollar at near parity with the United States dollar. Instead, he has changed the regulations governing the withholding tax on foreigners' loans to Canadian companies. These changes will make it easier to raise money in foreign money markets which will increase foreign investment in Canada and prop up the value of our dollar.

Furthermore, the government should encourage relatively labour-intensive manufacturing and should discourage relatively capital-intensive mining. Our heavy reliance on raw material exports keeps the value of the Canadian dollar

high without providing many jobs. Projects such as Syncrude, oil pipelines and the James Bay hydro dams provide few jobs but do provide exports. This keeps the value of the dollar up, which hurts the competitiveness of manufacturing industries, which are then restricted in their ability to expand employment. Instead of blaming high wages for any supposed non-competitiveness of Canadian manufactures, blame the government's consistent encouragement of unprocessed mineral and energy exports.

As part of its meager efforts to stimulate the economy the government has introduced the investment tax credit. Companies can deduct five per cent of their expenditures on plant and equipment from their taxes.

According to the revealed Keynesian word, stimulating investment will increase employment. This works in the textbooks, but not in the factory. When deciding which new machines to buy, businessmen usually have a choice of different technologies, whether to invest in a more capital-intensive process or a more labour-intensive process. Many factors are considered and two of the most important are the relative prices of labour and capital. The cheaper labour is relative to the cost of machines, the more workers will be hired. And contrariwise, the cheaper capital is, the more it will be used and the fewer workers will be hired.

The investment tax credit lowers the cost of machines and so encourages business to use more machines and fewer workers. This is partially offset by any additional investment that would not have occurred in the absence of the investment tax credit but this effect is likely to be very small.

Furthermore, capital equipment for service industries is not eligible for the tax credit. Considering the official explanation for the tax-credit — job creation — this is curious. Service industries usually provide more jobs per dollar of machine than manufacturing or mining. The effect of this exclusion is to decrease the cost of capital equipment for manufacturing and mining relative to the cost of equipment for service industries. This will reduce investment in labour-intensive service industries and increase it in relatively more capital-intensive manufacturing and mining, and the effect will be to reduce jobs.



Turner's budget gift to the average worker — six-and-a-half cents off a bottle of wine: Hic!

Thus the net effect of the investment tax credit is to increase profits and to reduce job opportunities. This does not help the unemployed but it does help the Liberals' friends.

Turner called for restraint and said that the government would set an example by reducing its expenditures in some areas. Its choices of where to save money are indicative of the class nature of this government.

The finance minister announced that

the government would reduce its contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Commission, would cut Petro-Canada's budget, and would not increase housing expenditures significantly. Turner placed severe limits on future federal contributions under the Medical Care Act, and he also gave the mandatory five year notice that the government would reduce its contributions under the Hospital Insurance Act.

In the good old days of the late 1960s

full employment was defined as equal to 3.5 per cent unemployment (Hello, George Orwell). The Unemployment Insurance Program was designed to be self-financing at 4 per cent unemployment, with the federal government supporting it when unemployment rose above this level.

However, the optimism about capitalism's ability to maintain "full" employment has been eroded. Now the self-financing level will be determined not in the head of some optimistic academic, but by taking a moving average of the actual unemployment rates over the last eight years. The current figure then is 5.3 per cent. This figure can be expected to rise as years of low unemployment in the late 1960s give way in the calculations to recent years of high unemployment.

Most economists agree that payroll taxes such as unemployment insurance contributions are regressive. That is, they hit lower incomes proportionately more than higher incomes. In contrast, personal and corporate income taxes are progressive in that they take proportionately more from higher incomes than from lower incomes. By raising unemployment insurance premiums the government is shifting some of the financing for the scheme from its general tax revenues — mostly personal and corporate income taxes — to payroll taxes. In other words part of the burden is being shifted from high income earners to low income earners.

Further, the government announced that henceforth no one over 65 would pay unemployment insurance premiums, but neither would they be eligible for benefits!

Since unemployment insurance gives workers some measure of freedom in avoiding low-paying and unpleasant jobs, capitalists have complained. For reasons too complicated to go into here, the UIC cannot be eliminated. However, from now on, those who quit their jobs or refuse so-called suitable jobs will be ineligible for benefits for eight weeks instead of the previous five, thus reducing the freedom to quit and look for better work.

The finance minister announced that the price of Canadian oil would be increased from \$6.50 to \$8.00 a barrel. This is in line with the government's announced policy of gradually bringing the price of Canadian oil up to international levels, currently about \$11 a barrel (so we can expect further increases). According to government

AH, SO!

Ralph Costello, publisher of the Telegraph-Journal and the Times-Globe of Saint John, N.B., who was also on the China trip, described the Chinese as among the most honest people on earth.

"They live very, very moral lives," he said. "You know, these crazy Chinese heathens are living Christian lives and they don't know it."

—Halifax Chronicle-Herald,
April 21, 1975

officials, the oil industry receives about 36 per cent of the well-head price; the federal government receives 18 per cent; and the provinces receive 46 per cent. Turner juggled the tax-royalty system but basically he left the actual division of spoils unchanged.

This will increase the price of gasoline by five cents a gallon, effective in August. As well, effective immediately, the Liberal government increased the excise tax on gasoline by ten cents a gallon. This will raise about \$350 million annually.

However, only private consumers of gasoline will pay the tax. All commercial users will be exempt from the ten cent tax and will have it rebated. This means that people who drive big gas-guzzlers and who charge everything to the company expense account won't pay the increase and neither will the company. If you take a taxi to work, neither you nor the driver will pay the tax; but if you organize a car pool, you will. Prime Minister Trudeau who drives a six-mile-to-the-gallon tank-limousine doesn't pay the tax either.

Canadians have enjoyed low-priced gasoline for years, but it is not surprising that the domestic price has continued to follow world trends. But everyone should pay the full price. By not charging commercial users, the government is, in effect, subsidizing them at the expense of private consumers of gasoline.

According to the oil companies, higher prices for oil and gasoline are justified. The increased revenues are needed, they say, to finance new exploration.

Two questions come to mind. First, is this the best way to organize and finance oil exploration?

High prices are charged for oil and gasoline by the oil companies in order,

they say, to generate the billions needed to explore for oil and to extract it. Thus the money to pay for this effort comes directly from the pockets of the consumers of oil. Oil companies make a profit on all the oil that they sell. The profits are justified, they say, as a return to capital and as a premium for taking risks. Given the many uses of oil, the risks are very small. When was the last time Shell Oil or Imperial Oil lost money?

The money is ours; the risks are small; and the profits are all theirs. In effect, we are paying profits to the oil companies for risks they do not take, and for investing money that they received from us in the first place. Now there's a racket many of us would like to get in on!

While all this is going on, as part of Turner's austerity measures, the budget for the government-owned oil exploration company, Petro-Canada, has been slashed. It remains as just a fancy name for the government's participation in the Syncrude boondoggle. Petro-Canada was to have competed with the private oil companies in looking for oil and would have used its profits to benefit Canadians. Now the field is left to the foreign-owned oil companies.

The second question is, is exploration for oil the best way of spending the billions involved?

Oil is a depletable resource. Once it is used up, it is gone. Unlike other non-renewable resources, it cannot even be recycled. The oil companies plan to spend billions of our money to look for new oil. Would it not be a better idea to spend this money developing other methods of energy, such as capturing solar energy which is a permanent source?

Mr. Turner's budget threw crumbs to the housing industry. According to the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CHMC), 230,000 new households will be formed in 1975. According to Mr. Turner himself, 210,000 new homes is the minimum acceptable target. Ac-

SO THERE, RUDYARD KIPLING

East is east, and west is west,
and never the twain shall meet."

Shakespeare may not have been a sports writer, but he sure knew what he was talking about with that remark. Timely it is.

—Albany Times Union

WHERE WILL IT ALL END, WE ASK OURSELVES

[Canadian Business] Editor and managing director Robin Schiele, 39, in an interview for *Content*, said that while the philosophy remains substantially the same, the most important editorial change the magazine has undergone since its independence, is toward a more vigorous attack on the problems of the day and the acceptance by the editor of opinion in an article.

—Content Magazine, July
1975

cording to latest statistics, in the first five months of this year, new starts were at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 176,000 new units.

The government has added \$200 million to the CMHC's budget of \$1.4 billion. This extra money will produce at most 6,000 additional new units.

If my new math is correct, 210,000 new households, minus 176,000 lucky ones, minus 6,000 new lucky ones, equals 28,000 unlucky households without homes. Where will they live? Perhaps in a tent city on John Turner's lawn?

Turner did raise taxes on the upper three per cent of income earners. Single people earning over \$25,000 and married people earning slightly more, will pay between \$46 and \$250 more in federal income taxes. Members of Parliament earn \$24,000 in taxable income and so just miss having their taxes raised. Very clever, Mr. Turner.

Reaction to the budget from certain sectors has been favourable. Harold Corigan, president of the Canadian Manufacturer's Association, praised the finance minister who "has once again got his priorities right." C. W. Daniel, chairman of Shell Canada Ltd., called the oil price hike "a step in the right direction," and Premier Lougheed of Alberta called it "a victory" for Alberta. J. H. Dewar, president of Union Carbide, Canada Ltd., referring to the investment tax credit, said, "it fits perfectly. I could not think of anything better."

And the rest of us, whether unemployed, poorly housed, or merely stuck with rising gasoline prices and unemployment insurance premiums, can find solace in the fact that taxes on wine are going down, by about six-and-a-half cents a bottle. Hic?

GARRISON DIVERSION: U.S. IGNORES CANADA'S PROTESTS

by BRIAN CLANCEY

WINNIPEG — The United States is entering the International Joint Commission (IJC) hearings on North Dakota's Garrison diversion project with deceit and secrecy under the cloak of open conferences. Prior promises by both Governor Link of North Dakota and the State Department have been negated by recent information leaked to the Prairie Environmental Defense League (PEDL) by a U.S. Department of the Interior official.

Statements contained in a memo from Gilbert Stamms, Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation, to the Deputy Under Secretary of the Department of the Interior prove that the department has never had any intention of following what was supposed to be U.S. policy on the Garrison irrigation project. The project will divert water from behind the Garrison Dam on the Missouri River to irrigate land in northern North Dakota, and will produce saline runoff water that will pollute five rivers, including the Souris and Red Rivers that flow into Manitoba.

The memo states that economic and environmental analysis of the various alternatives should be "informal" and not made available to "local interests nor to the Canadians." To do otherwise would be very damaging to the United States' position in the negotiations.

The memo went on to state that: "Further study of the alternatives at a level below feasibility grade, but sufficient to provide a closer look at the

viability of the alternatives in sufficient time to properly consider the request for funding on the construction of the Velva Canal, can be completed by June 1976."

George Heshka, chairman of the PEDL, in a letter to Premier Schreyer of Manitoba has stated that "the Bureau of Reclamation, obviously, not only promulgates, but condones secrecy in environmental studies which are vital to Canadian interests and which have been promised by the U.S. State Department since the Canadian diplomatic note of October, 1973 [asking for a moratorium on the project]."

"The Bureau of Reclamation is looking forward to funding approval for construction of the Velva Canal as early as June, 1976. This means the Velva Canal, the last connecting link between the Missouri River Basin and the Souris River, will probably be completed by 1977 and 1978 at the latest; not 1981, as has been previously forecasted, promised and a fact upon which both the provincial and federal governments of Canada have based their position.

"The Hon. Sidney Green, Q.C., Provincial Minister of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management, has stated publicly that he has received assurances from Governor Arthur Link of North Dakota in which "construction is not projected in the Souris Loop until after 1980." From this, it is quite evident that Canada has no firm assurances on which to base its present position."

This recent incident is not an isolated one. The U.S. has continually worked against maintaining openness with Canadians insofar as Garrison is concerned. This is compounded by the fact that there is little inter-departmental correspondence and exchange of information inside the U.S. bureaucracy itself. One example of this is that the Appropriations Committees were unaware of Canadian objections to the project and therefore allowed money to flow into the project. But then when they were made aware that Canadian objections were on the books, Senator Young began tacking Bureau of Reclamation and Army Corps of Engineers projects onto bills that were sure to receive approval, such as unemployment. The result was that the Bureau of Reclamation got \$40 million for their projects. The unfortunate ramifications of this and similar tac-

tics are that they work. Once the money has been granted the Bureau of Reclamation can go ahead with project features on Garrison that will affect Canada and there is little anyone can do about it, except putting a moratorium on any further construction.

Every request for a moratorium on the project has been turned down by the State Department and the Appropriations Committee has failed to exercise its power to close the purse strings on the project.

In a letter to U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Congressman Moorhead called for a moratorium on the project until "a viable alternative is developed." He stated in the letter, dated March 19, that "I find it difficult to understand how the United States can justify continued construction of a project which is certain to result in a Treaty Violation. Assurances that the project will not be allowed to result in a treaty violation are empty since there is no indication any alternatives proposed by Interior will ever be acceptable to Canada or Congress. As more money is expended and more of the project completed, it will become increasingly difficult from a political point of view in the United States to halt the project if the IJC finds that no viable alternatives exist or either nation disagrees with the IJC's findings and recommendations. I note from recent correspondence with your department that Canada appears 'unalterably opposed to continuation of the project as presently planned' and that your experts in the Department of State doubt that any of Interior's suggested alternatives will be acceptable to Canada."

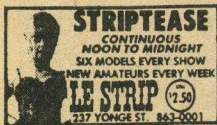
Kissinger's response to Moorhead's letter was that he considered "it would be inappropriate for him to do so." Kissinger's refusal, again, to declare a moratorium on further construction on Garrison led Moorhead to write directly to the Appropriations Committee through its Chairman, Joe L. Evins. This bid also failed and Senator Young's surreptitious tactics guaranteed money for the project.

In his letter to Evins, Moorhead charged that the Bureau of Reclamation and the Department of State had "not informed the Appropriations Committee of the Canadian objections, the spiraling

LIBERAL DILEMMA DEPT.

"This so-called sin-strip, with its disguised brothels called body-rub parlors, its pornographic book stores, strip joints and salacious movie houses, is an infection at the heart of the city."

—Toronto Star editorial, June 5, 1975



—Toronto Star, June 5, 1975

OVERREACHERS OF THE MONTH

Alderman George Ben reached into history for a comparison.

"As Napoleon once said, 'Every soldier carries in his pack a field marshal's baton.'"

Mr. Ben, a former member of the Ontario Legislature, used the quotation in answer to a question about whether he'd like to return to Queen's Park.

—Jeff Simpson, *Toronto Globe and Mail*, May 3, 1975.

She is a long-distance runner, an adroit political strategist, a woman of great stamina and formidable efficiency who scouts her territory, marshals her forces carefully and moves methodically. Napoleon would have admired Flora MacDonald.

—Heather Robertson, *The Canadian Magazine*, May 3, 1975.

cost of the project, or the expected additional costs that could come from altering the original project to accommodate the Canadian objections." Garrison has so far cost the American taxpayers approximately \$200 million and may cost as much as \$1 billion according to some estimates. Garrison will, at any rate, be over-spent.

The extent of Manitoba objections to the project can be judged from the fact that the North Dakota Legislature commended Premier Schreyer "for their courageous and sound position on the Garrison Diversion project which has earned them the lasting gratitude of their neighbours to the south" because Schreyer and the NDP "have reassured all North Dakotans of the solidarity of Canadian-American relations by courageously turning back a proposal to finance court action by environmental groups against the Garrison Diversion project..." The commendation went on to say Schreyer and the NDP "have made North Dakotans evermore aware of the top priority that must be given to joining together to assure that Garrison Diversion unfolds to the benefit of our neighbors in Manitoba and Canada as well as to North Dakota."

The court action referred to in the commendation is the suit by the Prairie Environmental Defense League to seek an injunction against the Garrison project. The federal government, as well, has refused to fund the lawsuit. Nor has PEDL received any support from the responsible governments for research on the Garrison project. Green's reasons for not funding them are that the matter is in good hands and the IJC will settle the dispute. However, the material quoted above indicates that what the IJC or anybody else has to say about the project won't stop it unless a moratorium is called. The PEDL is ready to launch the suit and have their strategy outlined. How-

ever, unless they can come up with \$50,000 they cannot proceed.

Onno Kremers, Vice-Chairman of the Manitoba Environmental Council, says of Green's position on environmental matters, "I think it comes down to a sort of an environmental ethic or the lack thereof on his part. He once stated last year in a meeting in Brandon, 'Were this project to be built in Manitoba I would probably be for it as well.' That's a direct quote. He claims that he's an avid materialist and he will use the environment in order to sustain his materialism. Well, you know, whether that is philosophically the right type of thing for a Minister of the Environment to think, I don't know. It's fairly indicative in terms of the way the whole province looks at environmental issues."

He went on to state that even the portfolio Green holds is contradictory. "One concentrates on resource development and exploitation and the other tries to stop it or tries to conduct it in a reasonable manner." Green is the Minister of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management.

In addition to this basic contradiction in Green's political post he has also not been abreast of developments insofar as Garrison is concerned. When Stamms' memo surfaced and was made public Green pleaded ignorance and referred to what it said as allegations. The memo had been delivered to Schreyer and in this instance Schreyer was obviously guilty of not informing the right minister of new developments. In the past, the experience of Manitobans has been that Green has not been able to stay in touch with the issue. He has also shown a marked inclination to rely upon unsubstantiated assurances by American officials.

Federally, the government has relied upon regular diplomatic channels so far in its negotiations. However, these have

failed to bring the project to a halt and have not stopped secret happenings on the part of the Bureau of Reclamation. Not enough has been done to let everyone concerned in Washington, particularly the Appropriations Committee, know that Canadians are, indeed, opposed to the project. Thus far, Environment Minister Jeanne Sauve has only registered her opposition vocally rather than through the funding of suits such as PEDL's.

Organizations such as the Canadian Wildlife Federation have also proved inadequate in dealing with Garrison. It promised the PEDL \$50,000 for the suit when it was ready to go to the courts. In return they were fed information about Garrison that no one else was given. They took the credit although this belonged to the PEDL for uncovering the information. Once the lawsuit was ready and a letter of intent was received from the law firm the Canadian Wildlife Federation was contacted. The refused to put up the money saying they didn't have it. Onno Kremers contacted the *Winnipeg Tribune* and when their reporter contacted the Canadian Wildlife Federation it said money was no object in the suit. What they questioned was the strategy; however, when the lawyers talked to them and described the strategy the Canadian Wildlife Federation commended them.

The unfortunate implication of all this is that Garrison will reach a point of irreversibility very soon now. Richard Madson of the Audubon Society feels that the point of irreversibility will be reached when the American government has appropriated and spent \$300 million on the project because they have never walked away from an investment like that before. In which case the United States will opt to complete the project, violate the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 and the Migratory Birds Convention of 1916. They will then settle for compensation to Manitobans affected by the project.

Time is clearly running out as the Bureau and the Interior department work behind the backs of all involved, and the Canadian government refuses to take concrete measures to stop the project. The IJC will meet later this year, but the only delegates hopeful of a solution seem to be the Canadians. Meanwhile, project features that will clearly damage Canadian waters are being constructed as the political furor continues and nothing is done except draglines biting into the prairie soil of North Dakota.

International Report

compiled by the staff of the Last Post

Britain: decision taken, but what will change?

by Victor Rabinovitch

The result of Britain's referendum on Common Market membership seems clear-cut: 67 per cent voted 'Yes' to staying in the EEC, and 33 per cent voted 'No'. But behind these figures lay a debate whose answers were far from being clear-cut.

Throughout the referendum campaign detailed cases were put forward by both anti- and pro-marketeters. However, with both sides contradicting each other on almost every point even the most politically aware voters confessed to being quite mystified. Confusion and a certain dismay that this vital issue could not be resolved by a quick, simple solution, dominated the campaign atmosphere.

Anti-market

The anti-market case was based on political, economic and emotional factors. Both left-wing and right-wing anti-marketeters stressed, with some justification, that the EEC is fundamentally undemocratic. Real decision-making power lies mainly in the hands of faceless bureaucrats at market headquarters in Brussels. Unlike the British civil service, these administrators are not answerable to an elected cabinet minister and an elected parliament. At most, they are responsible to another appointed official further up the line.

This was a key argument. The Common Market is more than a trading pact: it is an attempt to unify the economic and social conditions of all member states. Thousands of regulations, from the price of beef, or the conditions for labour mobility, or the standard size of wine bottles, are decided each year by politically uncontrolled bureaucrats. "That's un-British", argued right-wing anti-marketeters. "It's anti-democratic", echoed left-wing campaigners.

The anti-marketeters stressed that the EEC is a rich man's club, isolating Western Europe with stiff trade

barriers against Third World countries. Even inside the market, prices and tariffs are arranged to benefit the well-off areas rather than the industrially depressed regions — Italy's south or England's northeast, for example.

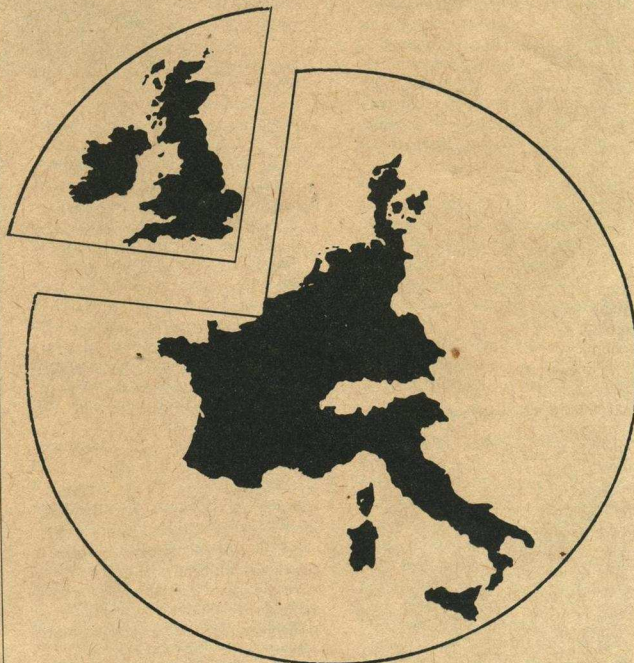
On the economics front, anti-marketeters argued that EEC membership would tie British industry ever more firmly to foreign decisions on domestic investment, output levels, marketing, taxation and monetary policies.

Perhaps Common Market competition would help Britain become more economically efficient, they conceded, but who needs this kind

of efficiency? Such competition would result in more investment going to the already wealthy areas of Britain; with the increased output of yet more useless consumer gadgets.

By contrast, an independent British economy might develop independent British priorities: for regular, evenly distributed growth, for social and collective projects, for co-operative management and industrial democracy.

Moreover, the anti-marketeters asked, what if membership in the EEC did not lead to a more competitive Britain? What if the free flow of goods and capital led to a loss of investment and a flood of imports?



Symbol of the 'Get Britain Out' campaign: Britain was usually coloured in red, symbolizing the imperial tradition for the right-wing anti-marketeters, and the socialist plans for an independent Britain of the left-wing anti-marketeters

On these disturbing questions no clear answers were provided by either the anti or pro campaigners.

Obviously, these political and economic arguments rested on an emotional anti-market base. This base took two forms — one essentially socialist, the other essentially conservative.

The socialist anti-marketeers said the Common Market represented the worst of capitalism. Its commercial integration and monopoly practices would benefit only the large and powerful. Its internationalism was really white, European isolationism. Its consumer philosophy wrongly assumes that material wealth — distributed unequally — is socially desirable.

“The first instincts of the Labour Party were the right ones”, a Labour rank-and-file activist explained. “Don’t get mixed up with the dregs of European fascism and its stablemate, hard-faced Tory capitalism.”

For the right-wing anti-marketeers, among them Ian Paisley of Ulster Protestant fame, the socialist arguments were brushed aside. What they rejected was the idea of giving up parliamentary sovereignty to those Continentals who, after all, had yet to establish stable governments lasting over one generation.

We should not smile at this from some sense of North American cosmopolitanism: this ‘John Bull’ view does have some basis in history. Put politely by Christopher Frere-Smith of the ‘Get Britain Out’ campaign, the right-wing saw the referendum’s central issue as “whether the United Kingdom was to be submerged into a West European federal super state.”

Pro-market

The views of the pro-marketeers were similarly coloured with a good deal of wishful thinking. On the political front, pro-marketeers conceded that the Brussels bureaucrats were exceptionally powerful. But, they added, the overall authority in the market belongs to each sovereign member state.

On any major policy decision each state could go so far as to veto the policy put forward by all the other members combined. Thus, the ultimate authority rests with elected national leaders, not Brussels

administrators.

Pro-marketeers also stressed the potential role of the ‘European Parliament’. True, they conceded, this body was now little more than a debating club; its members were tired politicians, delegated to attend by their home national assemblies. But, over time, this ‘parliament’ could increase its sovereign powers and its members could even be elected directly in all EEC countries.

As for the argument that joining the market would mean a loss of British sovereignty, it was argued that absolute sovereignty no longer existed anyhow. Britain was already a party to many international agreements which severely restricted her independence of action.

In the economic sphere, pro-marketeers again stressed that it was wrong to believe Britain was independent and free to develop her own domestic policies. The British economy is already integrated with other national economies. Such vital tools as interest rates, investment capital, access to markets, or transfer prices were already partly beyond the control of any one government. The real issue was for Britain to choose the partners with whom she might exert greater control on these instruments.

To the view that the Common Market expressed the wrong economic priorities, pro-marketeers replied that anything which promoted material prosperity was still desirable. It was wrong-headed and elitist to assume industrial expansion should be slowed down. The population size of the market, and its commitment to investing more money in under-developed regions, would provide the best possibility for sustained growth and full employment.

At the same time, however, pro-marketeers admitted that membership in the EEC would not necessarily improve British industrial performance. ‘Competition’ might assist the allocation of investment; access to large markets might improve export figures. Then again, they might not. No amount of debate could remove the risk that market membership might backfire, with Britain reduced even further in her economic performance.

Essentially, the pro-marketeers also fell back on several emotional

claims to support their viewpoint. Despite all its limitations, they argued, the Common Market was an important step towards internationalism. Already in this century two European-based ‘world wars’ had killed upwards of ten million people. Integration and equalisation amongst the leading countries of western Europe was a positive measure to prevent yet another such slaughter.

As for the fear that Britain would be swallowed by an undemocratic EEC, the pro-marketeers retorted that Britain’s role and importance would be increased by her market membership. British parliamentary traditions and practices would help raise the standard of European democracy.

British trade unionism, by far the strongest in members, tradition, internal democracy, and innovative policies, would strengthen European unionism immeasurably. This last point was repeatedly emphasized by socialist pro-marketeers.

What will happen?

On June 5 the British electorate voted by a 2-to-1 margin for membership in the Common Market. Many questions about this solid result remain to be answered.

Was it an expression of strong majority convictions? Did it express a certain inertia, in which those voting chose to keep Britain where she was, rather than quitting the market and beginning a new course? Was it due to the foolishness of many anti-marketeers who did, at times, verge on a ‘Rule Britannia’ hysteria? Was it due to the extraordinary pro-market bias of television and press reporting?

More important than this post-voting analysis are certain questions about Britain’s immediate political future.

1. Will there be a split in the Labour Party? The answer, I think, is a definite ‘no’. Some observers, particularly in the media, have pointed to the pro-market co-operation of certain prominent Labour Party leaders and much of the Conservative Party, saying this would initiate a new ‘moderate’ consensus.

However, this superficial observation takes no account of the labour

POLITICALLY I'M RATHER
TO THE RIGHT OF OLIVER
CROMWELL, BUT TO THE
LEFT OF DIANA DORS...



movement's history and traditions, where 'unity' is a constant theme. In the past, whenever a right-wing Labourite has chosen to quit the party and join with the Conservatives in the name of the National Interest, the labour movement has promptly repudiated such an individual and ejected him from elected office. There is no reason to believe that history will now take a new course.

2. Does the referendum result herald an anti-left upsurge? Probably not. The trade union movement, 11 million strong, will not suddenly disintegrate; nor will rank-and-file militancy and the resultant leadership militancy just fade away.

The trade union movement is the power behind the Labour government. At the same time, the Labour government will not carry out every radical demand of the unions, nor every item on the Labour Party's socialist program. As a parliamentary government it will try to maintain a balance of forces in the state, and such a balance obviously includes compromises with the status quo.

Non-Labour forces may hail every government compromise as a victory for 'moderation', perhaps claiming that the Common Market referendum has strengthened their hand. But there is nothing new in this power struggle; it is simply a continuation of the political class struggle. Similarly, there is nothing new in the need for the trade unions, and the Labour movement as a whole, to maintain maximum pressure for socialist policies from an elected Labour government.

3. What will Labour Party policy be towards the Common Market? The party, the co-operative movement and most trade union activists had lined up solidly against membership in the market. Although their views did not win, still their opposition was positive and useful, pointing out major weaknesses in EEC policies and structures.

What will happen now is open to question. In the other European countries, both the social-democratic and the communist parties participate actively within various EEC committees. The British un-

ions will almost certainly do the same, without hesitation. The British Communists, small in number though of some influence, will undoubtedly perform an about-face, arguing that political struggle should now take place *within* market institutions.

The Labour Party also ought to take best advantage from Common Market institutions. Labour could reinforce — and in turn be strengthened by — the strong social-democratic parties on the Continent. Eventually, the Labour Party will follow this course, but it still might dither for years taking the decision. As in 1939, following the Stalin-Hitler pact, left-wing Labourites might find themselves supporting 'principled opposition' while events and allies leave them holding an empty bag.

4. What about the "British crisis" we hear of so often? The "crisis" is primarily one of middle-class lack of confidence. In a sense we are witnessing a middle-class strike, in which the owners of capital are refusing to undertake long-term investments in industry.

We are also witnessing a genuine but gradual transfer of power between classes in Britain. Membership in the Common Market may strengthen investor confidence in industry, but it will not destroy the values, the confidence and the militancy of organised labour. To this extent, the "crisis" will not end.

5. Was the referendum just a political trick? It certainly was politics, but there is no reason to doubt the usefulness of this referendum. It enabled a fundamental decision to be taken after a thorough, if confusing, debate.

Perhaps this exercise will point to a course for future democratic developments: as with any democratic instrument, a referendum can be used for good or evil. What will determine its concrete usefulness will be the political maturity and education of the classes and individuals participating. And Britain certainly remains the most mature, most experienced of all democratic societies.

Victor Rabinovitch was for four years joint editor of the British trade union paper "Engineering Voice".

South Africa and the OAU: a black perspective

by Ernie Regehr

JOHANNESBURG — To be in Johannesburg at the time of the Organisation for African Unity's conference on southern Africa last April was to watch South Africans fully absorbed in what has become, next to football, their pre-eminent spectator sport: detente.

In front-page banner headlines the English-language dailies gave a running account of the OAU game between the "hardliners" and the "moderates", with all the hoorays reserved for the latter; at the same time the Afrikaans daily *Rapport* concluded hopefully that "the militant black states who want to intensify the armed struggle against South Africa did not have their way."

The *Rand Daily Mail* called it a "make-or-break week for detente", but what was one man's "make", one soon discovered, was clearly another's "break".

While the white press grasped at signs of "moderation" and "support for dialogue" emanating from Dar Es Salaam, another mood prevailed on the part of two black men in an isolated office in the centre of Johannesburg's financial district. When the white press saw hope, here there was only despair; and when the mood outside turned to pessimism, here spirits became light.

Though no single opinion can be held up as representing the "black view", like their fellows who at football games (when they are allowed in) cheer on any visiting foreigners who come to do battle with white South Africa's beloved "Spring Boks", the two black men in that office clearly had a different view of South African interests than that represented in the white press.

For them, the OAU foreign ministers' conference to discuss the changing situation in southern Africa was not a "victory for dialogue", and the scenario they drew from the Dar talks was not one to warm the hearts of the white editors down the street.

Detente, they reasoned, had now run its course, and the impact of the Dar Es Salaam Declaration was not,

they were happy to add, to promote dialogue but to limit severely the nature and extent of the contacts with Prime Minister John Vorster that would be countenanced by the OAU. The Lusaka Manifesto could be stretched no further, and Nyerere's assertion that the issue for the OAU was not "detente" or "dialogue", but the "liberation of southern Africa" represented for them both the mood and the intent of the OAU.

Detente had always meant negotiation with John Vorster, a man, in their eyes, with no mandate to

condition that he become a citizen of the Transkei — slated for "independence" next year — and refrain from involvement in South African politics. The rumour must be granted little or no credibility, but the fact of its circulation demonstrates the extent of black resentment against contact with Vorster.

But the Dar conference, as they saw it, had effectively limited future contacts, which meant that Vorster was now losing his image as a "true African statesman" — which in turn meant that he would not succeed with detente while retaining the



negotiate the future of South Africa, and their suspicions extended to anyone willing to make even indirect contacts. And since contacts between South Africa and Zambia had reached the level of foreign ministers, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, whether he deserved it or not, could no longer claim their trust.

"Kaunda has gone too far", they said, and to show the extent to which he had fallen from grace in black South African eyes, they repeated the rumour that had been circulating in Johannesburg that President Kaunda's political advisor, Mark Chona, had been enlisted to go to Robben Island to encourage Nelson Mandela to strike a deal with Vorster.

The deal, as the rumour had it, was that Mandela would be freed on

status quo at home. "Vorster is losing and he knows it, and he is therefore leaning more and more to America — and America is pledging support to South Africa."

That Vorster continues to court the United States and NATO countries is in no doubt, and that the traditional support both the Americans and NATO have given South Africa is due to be extended is also not to be discounted.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's notorious "Operation Tar Baby" (a policy "to maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states") is complemented by NATO's increasing interest in the southern Atlantic as a strategic counter-weight to the Soviet Union's buildup in the Indian Ocean

and, according to London's Institute for the Study of Conflict, her overweening influence in Somalia. The South African naval base at Simonstown is cited as having a new strategic importance that the West will be anxious to retain after Britain's withdrawal.

The scenario drawn by the two black South Africans adds to this a reputed major military buildup in Mozambique, financed by both China and the Soviet Union, creating a situation that is "escalating toward a major confrontation" — and, they add, "black South Africans welcome and accept it". "Both blacks and Afrikaners are prepared to fight to the bitter end — the platform for dialogue is being destroyed. The situation is now dangerous. It will lead to the death of South Africa as we know it now, and out of that something new will grow."

Hence, the most important item on South Africa's agenda is not the question of who shall vote, but the creation of a new consciousness that will not only equip the majority to rule but also prepare the minority whites to accept it. But the two blacks said, "no white will now allow himself to be ruled by a black. The white man who has so long preached that he must 'help the blacks along' is now a prisoner of that paternalistic ideology — and it will finally lead him to confrontation and defeat. The white man will not change by evolution — the white man's consciousness will only change through conflagration. The black man now talks about force, not dialogue."

The real contest in South Africa, it was argued, is between liberation for all and Afrikaner nationalism. ("English-speaking South Africans are confused, and while they are in practical terms collaborators with the Afrikaner, they try to express sympathy and solidarity with blacks — but blacks know where the English-speaking white really stands. Blacks are more likely to trust an Afrikaner because he is frank and forthright and says exactly what it is he wants. We have a saying: 'An Afrikaner will give you a horse without a saddle, but an Englishman will give you a saddle without a horse'.")

In the early stages of South Africa's current public campaign for

friends and influence in independent Africa, there was some hope that Mr. Vorster's Afrikaner constituents would tolerate at least moderate change at home in exchange for detente abroad.

But that hope is now seen to be groundless, for even the minor changes that have occurred, such as increased access for blacks to certain cultural facilities such as libraries and museums, or the granting of leasehold rights and home ownership to some urban blacks, have been wrested from a largely hostile and unwilling electorate.

The 1974 Synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (the largest and most influential of the white Dutch Reformed churches) took a markedly conservative turn in refusing any relaxation of its position against mixed worship or interracial marriage, and in refusing to endorse earlier condemnations of the migrant labour system. And now the brother of the prime minister has taken to telling Rhodesian audiences that South Africa's Afrikaners will not allow their government to throw Ian Smith to the wolves.

The extent to which blacks can effectively challenge white intransigence is not easily determined. If you eliminate the appointees of Pretoria — Homeland "governments", Urban Bantu Councils, the Coloured Peoples Representative Council, and the S.A. Indian Council and others — black politics appear almost dormant.

While it is certainly a disservice to write-off all government appointees, or those who work through apartheid structures, as stooges — some homeland leaders and particularly the Coloured Labour Party in the Coloured Peoples Representative Council have used their positions to rally opposition to apartheid policies and to give voice to the aspirations of the disenfranchised — the ultimate hope for liberation rests rather with the black politics that function independently of the separate structures created by the white minority.

And there the appearance of dormancy is misleading, for the re-emerging black politics deliberately eschew the mainstream of South African politics.

What for years had been the chief aim of black leaders in South Africa

— to gain for their people full participation in the white-controlled institutions that now shape social, economic and political life in South Africa — holds little interest for racial blacks within the republic today.

Instead, current efforts envision the creation of a network of black institutions to counter and eventually replace white institutions as the predominant force in South African society.

Organizationally the movement is not easily pinned down. The variety of black groups that have been founded in the past half-dozen years — including the Black Allied Workers' Union, the Black Art Studio, the Natal Workshop for African Advancement, the Edental Lay Ecuemical Centre, the Black Community Programs and the Black Peoples Convention — have no formal links, but the force that binds them and effectively forces them into a single movement is the phenomenon of "black consciousness".

Black consciousness is not a recent creation, the present generation of blacks readily admits, but it is its articulation in the past six years by students at the country's separate black universities that has made it a prominent force among blacks of various traditions and political persuasions.

Affirming that values for blacks must arise out of their own experiences and not be passed on from white culture, black consciousness emphasizes economic and cultural self-reliance and solidarity among all tribal groups — blacks jointly, the two men in the Johannesburg office argue, clearly possess the power for political liberation, to build a new society upon the ruins of the old South Africa.

They are not the first to predict imminent conflagration in South Africa. Prediction in southern Africa is a hazardous business, but if the views of two black South Africans are to be taken seriously, then moderate, orderly, evolutionary change in South Africa just now has little to commend it — either to black nationalists or to Afrikaner nationalists.

Ernie Regehr is the Last Post's correspondent in southern Africa.

Last Pssst



Anti-semitism: A curious thing happened to my friend **Terry Mosher** when he stopped signing his political cartoons and caricatures 'Aislin' and started using his real name. In the past, when he did a cartoon that didn't please some people, he'd receive stacks of mail addressed to Aislin, a pleasant-sounding, inoffensive Irish moniker he and wife Carol gave to their eldest daughter. The notes would chide him, perhaps call him a scumbag and things like that. But when he switched to Terry Mosher, a name which has to some a vaguely Jewish ring to it, the protest mail took a decidedly more vicious, nasty twist: jew baiting. The number of anonymous, menacing notes increased dramatically. He became a 'dirty Jew.' The point is that when people addressed a protest letter to somebody they thought to be 'Christian,' they were more inclined to polite criticism. But when they thought they were addressing a letter to a Jew, the same people obviously felt licensed to go all out, and be scummy, twisted and sick. Anti-semitism lurks around in the poisonous character of some of our fellow citizens. It reminds me of what **Albert Einstein** once said when he first advanced his theory of relativity. He said that if the theory proved correct or acceptable, the Germans would uphold him as an example of triumphant German thought and technology, while the French would proclaim him a Citizen of the World. If the theory was disproven, the French would dismiss him as a Goddamn German and the Germans would denounce him as a Goddamn Jew. C'est la vie, eh?

Meet Canada's New Ralph Nader: The Consumers Association of Canada recently appointed lawyer **Gordon Henderson** as chairman of its publicly-funded Consumer Advocacy Committee. His credentials? Well, Mr. Henderson is a senior partner of the corporate law firm of Golling and Henderson, a company specializing in patents; is with the Cable TV Association; has represented major developers, like Campeau in their unsuccessful bid to take over Bushnell TV; helped the Ottawa Roughriders get a stadium seat expansion; and last year served as chairman of the United Way.

Montreal Post Office: The main Montreal post office, long noted for its efficiency, labour peace and spirit of co-operation, is now the scene of an investigation into a loan-sharking racket. It seems that six postal supervisors are running a lucrative side-line and the authorities are onto them. Business it appears was brisk, what with all that lost pay from innumerable walk-outs. Leave it to management types to make money out of a strike.

The New Journalism: Striking Newspaper Guilders at the *Montreal Star* had remarkable success with a strike newspaper, *Montreal Extra*. Right from the first issue they sold all advertising space available in a wink. Reason? The advertising salesmen told buyers the paper

by Claude Balloune



Striking *Montreal Star* reporters didn't find Louis Laberge's jail term newsworthy for their strike newspaper

would not be pro-labour, nor be nasty to the advertisers old friend, the *Star*. So in the first issue, there was not a line about their own strike, something one would think would be newsworthy in a strike paper. Nor was their any mention of the week's big local story, the imposition of a three-year jail term on **Louis Laberge**. Reporters **Josh Freed** and **Sheila Arnpolous** did however strike it big with a story linking Liberal MNA **Harry Blank** with all those dubious and nefarious 'rich' Vietnamese refugees.

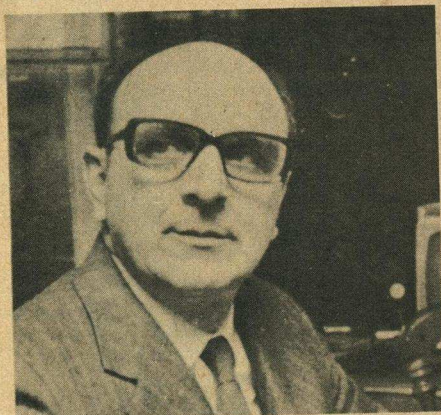
On the other side of town, *La Presse*, the hemisphere's largest French daily, is buying for \$2,000 an interview with **Jean Paul Sartre**, who has recently given up writing because of failing eyesight. The money is to go to the Paris newspaper, *Liberation*, a Maoist-leaning paper that Sartre favours.

Latest Quebec Gossip: Senior federal Liberal organizers continue to worry about the state of the Quebec provincial Liberals. **P. E. Trudeau** gets regular reports and secret surveys indicating that the **Bourassa** troops are in disarray, popular support is eroding and the party machine is showing cracks since the departure of **Paul Desrochers** as chief organizer. The Feds in Ottawa now feel that the PQ would pick up 41 seats in an election. Worse, the

traditional Liberal bastion in Montreal's West Island, their English base, is disintegrating. In fact, they feel that none of the current English reps have much of a chance of getting re-elected if there are credible independent alternatives — and that includes four cabinet ministers, including current Labour Minister **Jean Cournoyer**, who was parachuted into a safe English riding. Now, there's no such thing as a safe Liberal seat for the provincial wing.

As for Paul Desrochers, apparently he's mad about the lousy image he now has, due to all the scandals and the Cliche inquiry. He's writing a book to set the record straight. At one point he was so mad about a story saying he blew the **Operation Vegas** phone taps of criminal and political types, by leaking word to one of those involved, that he wanted to sue the *Montreal Gazette*. Aides discouraged him. In between writing chapters of his book, Desrochers serves as V/P of Canada Permanent Trust, handing out certificates at high school composition competitions. His son, by the way, a sort of drop-out, recently applied for welfare, but daddy intervened and blocked it.

Crime-busters: The famous Quebec crime probe has wrapped up its tainted meat phase of its public investigation and resumes public hearings sometime in the autumn. The crime-busters are spending the summer delving into the next target, which is being kept secret for obvious reasons. The next target is the links between the Montreal Police and organized crime, and is expected to revive the old **Jean Jacques Saulnier** case, brothel protection, etc.



Jean Jacques Saulnier: his case may be revived

Tory Countdown: For the upcoming Conservative leadership convention, there will be 2,811 delegate votes, meaning 1,406 are needed to win. Quebec, which managed to elect three Tories, gets 729 delegate votes. Alberta, which gave the Tories a clean sweep, will have 219 delegates. Now, if it comes down to a fight between **Claude Wagner** and **Peter the Shiek Lougheed** . . .

I just returned from a trip to Europe and there's a few things I think I should report to my readers. Paris, which is fine except for the people, has a restaurant on the Champs Elysées called **Le Snob Snack**, which is always packed with people anxious to pay an extra fifty cents for coffee. In London, the tube stations all have advertising posters

Last Pssst

showing a pack of Gauloise cigarettes and the legend: "**Start Fuming.**" In Denmark, the porno industry has now replaced agriculture as the second top foreign exchange earner. If **Gerald Ford** reads this column, he won't have to go to Europe on a fact-finding trip.



Henry Morgentaler: no leaking of names

Abortion Defence: Supporters of imprisoned abortionist **Dr. Henry Morgentaler** are tussling with the problem of whether to leak names of some of the prominent people and their daughters — including the daughter of an interesting judge — who availed themselves of his services. However, medical and other ethics dictate against this. The doctor agrees.

Speaking about judges, Supreme Court Justice **Jean Beetz**, named along with **Bora Laskin** not too long ago, is bored with being a Supreme Court Judge and wants off. Waiting in the wings and anxious to take Beetz' place is **Julien Chouinard**, 46, who just quit his job — as I predicted in an earlier column — as secretary to the Quebec cabinet. He's been named to the Appeals Court but wants on the top court in Ottawa where all his friends are, including **John Turner**. He was secretary to the Union Nationale cabinet before Bourassa came to power. However, the latter found him very helpful and kept him on.

And talking about John Turner, there is an absolutely scurrilous rumour going around that he first got his taste for politics when, as a 12-year-old at an exclusive boys' school he organized a protest against the alleged inclusion of saltpeter in the mashed potatoes. We can squelch rumours, but nobody can squelch the passion of John Turner.



THE GNOMES OF NASSAU

by
Robert
Chodos

A place in the sun . . .

NASSAU, the Bahamas — They are white and North American just like the tourists who outnumber them here by perhaps a hundred to one, but it is easy to tell them apart. They wear suits and ties instead of loud shirts, bathing suits and funny hats. They stride purposefully down Bay Street, Nassau's main thoroughfare, and don't pause to buy straw hats and baskets from the Bahamian ladies at their stalls on the sidewalk, or imported perfume and liquor in the stores. They are in Nassau to work, not to play, and what brings them here is not what Nassau has, which is the traditional tourist package of sun, sea, sand and gambling casinos, but what it doesn't have, which is taxes.

They form Nassau's growing community of international bankers who have turned this town into something of a minor Zurich and who, despite the naturally secretive nature of their trade, are becoming more and more conspicuous here. Actually the international bankers are quite happy to talk about their business, so long as the conversation is off the record and doesn't get too specific. When it does the banker will often interrupt you and say "Listen. What we're doing here is perfectly legal" . . . There follows a pregnant pause . . . "In the Bahamas." He will then give you a knowing look and you are expected to follow another line of questioning.

Like Switzerland, the Bahamas — since 1973 a fully independent country and a member of the United Nations — has somewhat unusual laws regarding such matters as taxation and the regulation of financial institutions. There is no personal income tax in the Bahamas, no corporate tax, no inheritance tax and no sales tax. There is a property tax of sorts but it is not onerous and contributes less than \$2 million each year to the public coffers.

Now since taxes are the bane of the businessman's existence, the world could not have failed to notice the existence of these forbearing provisions. Ever since Harry Oakes — who had made one of Canada's great fortunes by striking gold in northern Ontario — took up residence here to escape the terrible tax burden imposed on him and his kind by the government of Prime Minister R. B. Bennett, the Bahamas has been known as a haven for those wishing to get away from such problems.

Nassau's emergence as an international banking centre is a more recent development, and involves more than the mere absence of taxes. While the banking laws of the Bahamas don't provide for numbered accounts, as in Switzerland, they do allow banks to keep to themselves the names of their account-holders, so it amounts to more or less the same thing. In fact they not only permit secrecy, they insist on it.

Bahamian laws also encourage foreign banks to set up "non-resident" subsidiaries in the country. These banks are not permitted to take domestic Bahamian business, which is relatively insignificant anyway: until 1948 — well before all this happened — all the banking business in the Bahamas was handled by one bank, a branch of the Royal Bank of Canada. What they do instead is trade in foreign currencies, mostly with each other. This is the mysterious Eurocurrency —



Prime Minister Lynden Pindling rarely misses an opportunity to reassure the banking community

mostly Eurodollar — market, of which Nassau has become a thriving centre.

This activity is not subject to Bahamian exchange control regulation, or to much regulation of any sort.

According to Frank Davis of the Central Bank of the Bahamas, the government is currently working on revisions to its banking legislation to improve the country's attractiveness to foreign banks. Prime Minister Lynden Pindling rarely misses an opportunity to reassure the banking community that no changes in the tax laws are being contemplated. "Let me . . . dispel any notion of an impending change in our status as a tax haven," Pindling told the Nassau Chamber of Commerce in March, adding that "we have to work hard in order to maintain and increase the respect and trust of international investors."

These reassurances are important because the main thing the Bahamas has to offer is an elusive and ill-defined commodity called confidence. There is no point putting money into a tax haven if there is even a chance that the government may decide that taxes are a good idea after all in a year or so, or if the government may be displaced by another with a different sense of priorities.

Confidence is a difficult thing to come by in a part of the world that has in recent years seen political events ranging from the Cuban Revolution to disturbances in the Dominican Republic to demonstrations against foreign banks in Trinidad to a general strike in Grenada, but the Bahamas has by and large succeeded in maintaining it. Most of the major

political currents of the Caribbean have passed the Bahamas by. In 1967 rule passed from the United Bahamian Party, the organ of the country's white minority, to Pindling's Progressive Liberal Party, which speaks for the black majority, and investors were apprehensive about the future. But while many of the internal policies of the government changed, its friendliness toward foreign investment did not. A brief monetary crisis in 1972 and the coming of full independence in 1973 also caused flurries of concern, but they too died down.

Add to this the Bahamas' proximity to North America,

which allows Nassau residents to watch Miami television and to direct-distance-dial to anywhere in North America (which, for the bankers, notably includes Wall Street) and an advanced infrastructure built up to accommodate the tourist trade, and one begins to ask, what more could an international banker want? The answer to that is the presence of other international bankers, and by now Nassau can of course offer that too. From one bank in 1948 there are now 168 fully active financial institutions in the Bahamas, only nine of which are licensed to handle domestic Bahamian business (and most of those do international business on the side).

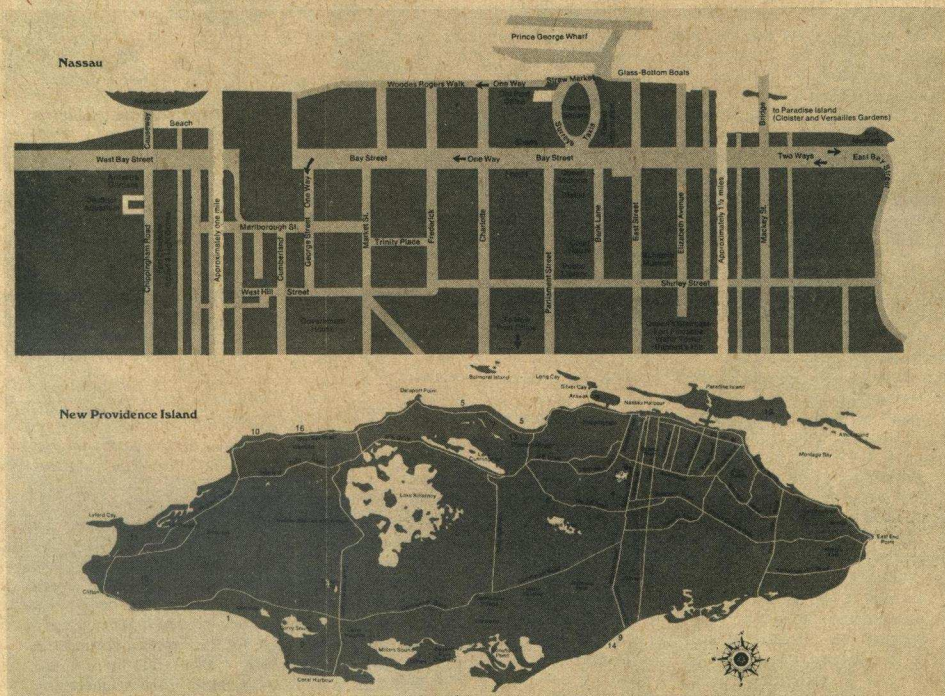
Where the living is easy . . .

One doesn't have to look very hard in Nassau to see that Canadian financial institutions are major participants in all this activity.

The main branch of the Royal Bank of Canada, the same one that once sufficed for all of the Bahamas' banking needs, occupies a prominent position on Bay Street, right near the parliament buildings and Rawson Square, the heart of town. The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce and Bank of Nova Scotia are close by. A few blocks to the west is the office of the Royal Bank of Canada International Ltd., a wholly-owned Bahamian subsidiary of the Royal set up

specifically to engage in Eurocurrency trading. Turn left and you will quickly approach the head office of the Bank of Montreal (Bahamas and Caribbean) Ltd.

If you go west again for a few miles you will come to a lavish, modern structure that identifies itself as the Trust Corporation of the Bahamas building, and inside are the offices of TCB and RoyWest Ltd., in both of which the largest single shareholder is the Royal Bank of Canada. This building is also the nominal head office of a large number of corporations of obscure origin and purpose; these have names such as Financial Growth International Ltd., Development



Corporation of the Americas Ltd., Casablanca Investments Ltd. and, perhaps most suggestive of all, the Baffin Island Trust Company Ltd.

If the Canadian banks are heavily involved in international banking in Nassau then that is because they are international banks, and although that may sound like a truism there is more to the concept of an international bank than might appear.

Canadian banks have carried on business outside Canada since near the beginning of their corporate existence. In the 1880s the Royal (then the Merchants' Bank of Halifax) established a branch in Hamilton, Bermuda, while the Bank of Nova Scotia set one up around the same time in Kingston, Jamaica, and by 1920 Canadian banks had an extensive network of branches in the Caribbean and Latin America as well as branches and representatives' offices in the United States, Britain and Europe. Perhaps a bit overzealous in pursuit of a business opportunity, the Royal even established a branch in Vladivostok in 1918, despite a warning from Lenin and Trotsky that "the Red Guard will hungrily await your arrival." With the failure of the counter-revolutionary forces in Siberia, the branch was closed in 1920.

For the most part, the Canadians simply operated as domestic banks in the countries where they set up shop. A branch of the Royal Bank of Canada in, say, Georgetown, Guyana, is not vastly different from a branch of the Royal in Saskatoon. But in the last decade or so banking, like so many other forms of business, has become a truly multinational enterprise.

"A European company wants financing for a North Sea oil venture," says an advertisement in the British publication *Euromoney*. "A U.S. aerospace firm needs product development money. A shipowner in Hong Kong needs growth capital. Time to talk money with the Bank of Montreal. A multinational bank of multinational scope and outlook."

Although Canada has been relegated to the bush leagues in most areas of economic endeavour, banking is a major exception. Economist Tom Naylor of McGill University has advanced the thesis that the Canadian bourgeoisie has always specialized in the finance and utility sectors, leaving such activities as manufacturing and resource exploitation to the Americans and whoever else was interested. Canadian banking legislation, unlike American law, has encouraged the development of large, national banks instead of small, local ones, and has also, at least until recently, protected the domestic banks from foreign competition. The traditional rum-and-saltfish trade between the Maritime provinces and the Caribbean made for a logical Caribbean outlet for the Halifax-based banks — the Royal and the Nova Scotia — and gave them the germ of an international presence from early in the game. And the traditional British domination of international banking made it only natural that the early Canadians, who regarded themselves as junior partners in an imperial enterprise, would lean in that direction too.

And so the big five Canadian banks — the Royal, the Commerce, Montreal, Nova Scotia and Toronto-Dominion — are not only dominant corporations within the Canadian economy, but also institutions to be reckoned with on a world scale. The Royal is the 31st largest bank in the world, the Commerce 35th. Major consortium loans anywhere in the world, and particularly in the Western Hemisphere, rarely take place without the participation of at least one Canadian bank. Joint ventures such as the Orion group, in which the Royal is a participant along with American and Western

CP photo



Financier E. P. Taylor presides over the exclusive Lyford Cay development

European banks, have consolidated the Canadian banks' international ties. The growth of the Eurodollar market in the 'sixties and 'seventies has brought international currency trading to a new level of sophistication, and in this activity too the Canadian banks have been involved at the highest level.

And that brings us back to Nassau. For if history has prepared Canada to be the home base for a group of multinational banks, it has prepared the Bahamas to be the host country for many of their activities.

While economic dependency and its consequences are endemic in the Caribbean, most countries have in the process got involved in relatively stable activities such as growing sugar cane, bananas and other export crops, producing oil and extracting valuable ores. But the economic history of the Bahamas is somewhat different.

When the colony was first settled the mainstay of its economy was piracy and Nassau became a notorious pirate centre until an early eighteenth-century governor called Woodes Rogers cleaned the pirates out and gave the Bahamas its uplifting motto: "With the pirates expelled, commerce is restored." After this Bahamians turned their attention to wrecking, a pleasant if chancy occupation that generally consists of waiting for a ship to be wrecked on the shoals and then combing it for anything that might be of value. Or at least that is how it was practised in the neighbouring Turks and Caicos Islands and other places; the Bahamians didn't always leave so much to chance. Wrecking Bahamian-style

included another step: directing the ship in question toward the shoals, just to make sure.

During the American Civil War the Bahamas struck it rich by turning itself into a base for running the Union blockade of the Confederacy. The Eighteenth Amendment in the United States ushered in another period of prosperity as the Bahamas — like Canada — became a rum-running centre. "There has always," says a researcher at the Central Bank of the Bahamas, "been some sort of racket."

The three activities that currently give the Bahamas a veneer of prosperity unknown in most of the Caribbean are all very much within the tradition: tourism, the buying and selling of real estate, and international banking. The remarkable success of these endeavours is largely due to the work of two enterprising Bahamians. Sir Harold Christie, whose real estate agency is still a fixture on Bay Street, saw that the Bahamas' hospitable climate and even more hospitable tax laws might be an attraction for the wealthy of the world, and that maybe some of the locals could live off the crumbs. Sir Stafford Sands turned what had been a luxury tourist trade serving the very rich into a high-pressure, lowest-common-denominator tourism aimed at the mass market. It was also Sir Stafford who saw the full potential of the Bahamas' tax-haven status for corporations and promoted it vigorously abroad. Both men left substantial fortunes at their deaths.

Sir Harold comes across in all accounts as a genial, likable figure, a gentle rogue, totally devoted to his work. That a class of people whose natural habitat was New York, London and the Riviera could be interested in a small, struggling island colony was a sufficiently improbable proposition that it took all of Sir Harold's persistence and persuasiveness and

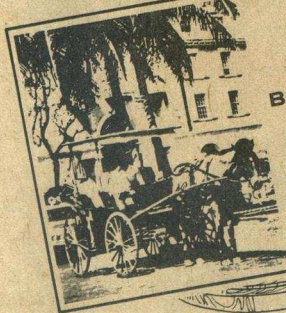
the right combination of circumstances to realize it, but realize it he did. His first big catch was Harry Oakes, the gold-mining magnate, who swaggered about Nassau in his prospector's outfit for seven years until he was hacked to death in 1943 — the murder has never been solved. The Oakes estate still owns large chunks of New Providence, the island on which Nassau is situated.

After the war Sir Harold went to work on another Canadian tycoon and eventually talked Edward Plunkett Taylor into buying a swampy, mosquito-infested tract of land at the opposite end of New Providence from Nassau. That area is now the exclusive Lyford Cay development, complete with golf course, tennis courts, homes at values ranging from \$100,000 to \$1 million and guards at the gate to keep Bahamians and other undesirables out. Taylor himself is now an honoured resident of New Providence, and the Chamber of Commerce cited him as a Distinguished Citizen "for service to the community through business" last March.

Sir Stafford was a different sort of promoter, a large man, obese, and with a demeanour to match his physique. He sustained contradictions at which weaker men would have balked. In 1964, while minister of finance of the Bahamas, he co-authored along with New York tax expert Sidney R. Pine a book called *Tax Ideas*, which detailed how Americans could avoid taxes by setting up business in the Bahamas. In 1966, while still minister of finance, he was appointed a director of the Royal Bank of Canada.

But his real passion was tourism. Sir Stafford looked at everything in terms of its potential effect on the tourist trade. When the Bahamas switched from pounds-shillings-and-pence to decimal currency in 1965, there was some discus-

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sion of what the best name for the new currency would be. But there was no doubt in Sir Stafford's mind. "Imagine what an American tourist would say if an article cost, say, ten conchs or five wahoos," he told the Chamber of Commerce. "Immediately he'd ask, 'How much is that in real money?' The dollar is the only logical and sensible name for the new currency." But just to give Bahamian money a *souppçon* of exotic flavour, Sir Stafford introduced a diamond-shaped 15 cent piece and a three dollar bill. There were 45,371 tourists in the Bahamas in 1950, the year that Sir Stafford took over the Development Board (later the Ministry of Tourism), and 915,273 in 1967, the year he left office.

After the election of Pindling Sir Stafford left the Bahamas and lived out his last years in voluntary exile, never staying in any one country long enough to allow the local tax authorities to catch up with him.

What the ordinary Bahamian gets out of all this is unclear. Although wages are high by Caribbean standards, prices are even higher: with the absence of taxes, the government has to depend heavily on import duties for its revenue, and everything is imported so everybody feels the pinch. And since it's the same size pinch no matter what your means, it's the poor who feel it most. The Bahamas' dependence on customs duties also prevents the government from undertaking a serious program of import substitution to promote local agriculture. Even at that the government is seriously underfinanced, and its total budget in 1973 was only \$107

Where the money 'grows on trees' . . .

A country like the Bahamas and a business like Eurodollar trading were clearly made for each other.

Despite its name, a Eurodollar is not strictly speaking a dollar, nor is it necessarily resident in Europe. It is rather a claim held outside the United States against a dollar on deposit in a Stateside bank, and although the dollar itself never leaves the United States, the claim is lent and deposited, bought and sold all around the world just as if it were real money. So long as it doesn't come back to the United States it remains a Eurodollar.

In effect, a Eurodollar has all the advantages of a U.S. dollar without being subject to the controls placed on domestic dollars by the U.S. Federal Reserve Board. As a result, depositors can generally get higher interest rates on the Eurodollar market than in the U.S. — or on the domestic market in any country. The spectacular growth of the Eurodollar market — from \$9 billion at the end of 1964 to a current figure of more than \$100 billion — was one of the major financial events of the 1960s and helped bring about the international monetary crises of the early 'seventies. The Eurodollar makes life pleasant for international bankers, multinational corporations and oil potentates but difficult for central bankers trying to regulate their countries' economies through monetary policy.

"One reason that the Euro-dollar market appears formidable to central bankers," says economist Jane Sneddon Little of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston in her recent and informative book *Euro-dollars: the Money-Market Gypsies*, "is the extraordinary freedom from regulation. As a market for dollar balances deposited outside of the United States, it is a truly international creature beyond the control of any single national authority. In trying to tame the market, central

million, or \$595 per Bahamian, a little more than half of what the government of Ontario spent per Ontarian in the same year — and that's only part of government spending in Ontario since the federal government spends vast sums in that province too. And although the education budget of the Bahamas is now comparable on a per capita basis to that of Ontario, there is a lot of catching up to do, for it is only under Pindling that the Bahamas has started to spend more per year on education than on tourist promotion.

Bay Street and the area around it have a certain glitter to them, but go "over the hill", back from the harbour, and you find yourself in conditions similar to those that prevail throughout most of the West Indies — not desperate poverty, but just enough for the basics: what Trinidadians have come to call "scrutning."

After the change of government in 1967 Milo Butler, then a member of the new government and now Sir Milo and the governor-general of the Bahamas, walked into the Bay Street branch of the Royal Bank of Canada, slammed his fist on the manager's desk and demanded to know why there were no black faces in the bank. Since 80 per cent of Bahamians are black it was a good question, and the manager didn't have a satisfactory answer. Subsequently the black faces started to appear, but despite — or perhaps because of — the proliferation of banks in Nassau there are still fewer locals in high banking positions in the Bahamas than there are in Jamaica or Trinidad.

bankers have been in the untenable position of chasing an elephant with butterfly nets."

In fact, the only way the Eurodollar could be regulated would be through international agreement, and the existence of the market in more or less its present form is too useful to too many people for that to be a likely eventuality. Even governments often find it convenient to flout the regulations they themselves have set up. The old monetary system that the Eurodollar helped bring down didn't work anyway; the Eurodollar provided an easy way for bankers to get around it while still paying lip service to its continued existence.

The world centre of the Eurodollar market is, not surprisingly, London; with its status as a banking capital it is only natural that large numbers of these quasi-dollars floating around outside the United States would find their way there. The market first grew to major significance in London when word got around in the early 'sixties that banks there were paying higher interest rates for U.S. dollar deposits than banks in the United States, and many banks have set up branches in the City for the specific purpose of getting in on the action.

Again not surprisingly, the main secondary centre of the market is Toronto, which Mrs. Little lumps with London as "huge financial merry-go-rounds." Although Toronto isn't in quite the same financial league as London, its proximity to the United States and the close connections between the Canadian and American financial markets give it certain advantages, which our enterprising banks have not hesitated to exploit.

The Canadian banks tread a thin line in their Eurodollar activities. On the one hand they try to make use of every advantage which their freedom from American regulation

gives them over U.S. banks; on the other hand they have to do this without angering the elephant and bringing down the weight of U.S. retaliation. In the late 'sixties, there was a danger that massive sums in U.S. dollars would be transferred from the United States through the Canadian banks to Europe; this flow was stopped by voluntary U.S. guidelines set down by Ottawa. Later, the agencies of the Canadian banks in New York City developed what Mrs. Little calls a "rip-snorting business selling Eurodollars in disguise"; this too was eventually handled through voluntary guidelines, laid down this time by the U.S. Federal Reserve Board.

As of this past March, Canadian banks in Canada had C\$14.7 billion in U.S. dollar assets (loans) and C\$15.3 million in U.S. dollar liabilities (deposits). These figures are dwarfed by the U.S. dollar assets and liabilities of banks in the United Kingdom (US\$65.5 billion and US\$69.1 billion respectively at the end of 1973) but comparable to or greater than those for other Western European countries. Total foreign currency assets of the Canadian banks, held in Canada or abroad, were C\$29 billion, or 29 per cent of their total assets, while total foreign currency liabilities were C\$29.2 billion — just under 30 per cent of their total liabilities.

Of course, not all of the Canadian banks' Eurodollar activities are carried on within Canada. Most of them have branches in London and other Western European financial capitals, and some have set up shop in Singapore, Hong Kong and Beirut, the banking centres of Asia. And then there's Nassau.

Nassau differs from other Eurodollar centres in its almost total artificiality. For while London, Toronto and Singapore have long been financial or trading centres of some importance, Nassau was only a tax haven — quite a "successful" one as these things go, but still nothing more than that. And indeed, in the early days of Eurodollar trading in Nassau, in the mid-sixties, most of the bank branches here made good Mrs. Little's description of "a plaque, a walk-in closet, a desk, a file cabinet and a telephone." All of the actual banking was done at the head offices in the United States, Canada or Britain. For a large number of medium-sized American banks that couldn't afford to get in on the big-league stuff in London, it was a way of getting into the Eurodollar market on the cheap.

Now all that has begun to change. The real-life bankers began to arrive in Nassau a few years ago, and since most Eurodollar trading takes place between one bank and another bank, they have attracted more and more of their colleagues. The Royal Bank of Canada for instance, incorporated its Royal Bank International subsidiary in Nassau in 1961, but activated it only in March of 1972. It now employs 23 people in Nassau, including 18 Bahamians, almost all in clerical positions; it also has a branch office in George Town, Grand Cayman, the Bahamas' main competitor as a Caribbean tax haven. Conveniently, the chairman of the board of Royal Bank International is that prominent Nassauvian E. P. Taylor, who despite his advancing years still takes an active interest in the affairs of the company, and rarely misses a board meeting.

Since the large sums of money in Nassau are, by and large, only passin' through, the question of where they are coming from and where they are going remains. Probably the greatest source of Eurodollar deposits in Nassau, and also the most frequent destination for Eurodollar loans, is Latin America — especially for the Canadian banks. Latin America is

characterized by chronic political and economic instability, and by a small number of very rich people who want to keep their money in a safe place to guard against revolutions, inflation, currency crises and similar misfortunes. Many of them have found that place in Nassau.

In the case of the American banks, it would appear that most of the money that comes in from Latin America finds its way back to Head Office in New York, Philadelphia or Chicago. The Canadian banks, for whom Latin America is a traditional sphere of influence, seem to lend much more of the money collected from there back into the region. "You name it and we're into it," said an official of one Canadian bank here when asked what sort of business his bank did in Latin America. He went on to suggest that the Canadian banks were more heavily involved in Latin America than the American banks were, and that in fact a significant amount of American investment in Latin America is financed by Canadian banks.

A somewhat different insight into the nature of the business being carried on in Nassau was given by another Canadian banker, who recounted the tale of the man who came to him with a proposal to corner the world market in platinum. The amount of platinum the man had mentioned sounded a bit odd to him, and with a little checking he found that it amounted to 257 years' production of the metal. Another potential customer came in with half a million dollars in a cardboard box. "I told him we don't want to see that," he says. "Some people in this bank and in other banks would have taken it gladly — it's perfectly legal in the Bahamas."

This same banker mentions Africa as a growing secondary locale for loans out of Nassau, while Mrs. Little assigns a similar role to the Far East.

While all this is going on, there are undoubtedly a few people in the Bahamas who are asking themselves how long it can last. Like the Eurodollar market itself, the existence of Nassau as a tax haven and banking centre is to the advantage of too many powerful people for it to be in any immediate danger of being wiped out overnight. But again like the Eurodollar market, Nassau *could* be wiped out overnight if enough of those people got together and decided to do it. Proponents of the Bahamas as a tax haven like to make the distinction between "evading" taxes or regulations and "avoiding" them — it is the latter that is done in Nassau. Nassau exists not in spite of the authorities in its phantom residents' home countries, but with their tacit blessing, and it is on that blessing that it will always depend.

It also depends on a delicate balance that has to be struck by any government of the Bahamas, white or black, new or old regime, between the needs of the international financiers and the wants of the Bahamian population. The old government struck the balance by keeping the wants of the population ruthlessly in check, while the new one is considerably more attentive to them — but it no less than its predecessor has to make sure that that side of the equation does not get out of line. But such equations do not last forever, and sooner or later there is likely to come a time when one side or the other has to give.

These things have probably occurred to Lynden Pindling as he presides over the bustle and glitter of Bay Street, and they must be sobering thoughts.

Robert Chodos is a member of the Last Post editorial board

1975

**WHY
NOT!**

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR

Canada's Women's Year

by Edie Farkas

Only half the budget went to projects

International Women's Year was proclaimed by the United Nations; its theme — "Peace, Equality, and Development" — is symbolized by the dove, its designated purpose is to ensure the "integration of women in society."

Under Marc Lalonde, federal minister of health and welfare and minister responsible for the status of women, the Canadian I.W.Y. program has stressed the necessity of attitudinal change. In his opening statement in the *Newsletter*, the bulletin published by the Ottawa Secretariat established especially for I.W.Y., Lalonde said:

"Certainly, the government of Canada can act as a catalyst through changing legislation and through programs designed to improve the status of women, but changing a law won't necessarily change the outdated attitude that women's place is only the kitchen. It's attitudes that must be changed."

However, it is not a set of social mores that keeps poor women with large families in the kitchen, nor is it an attitude that forces women on welfare to submit to the sexual advances of government welfare agents.

The government's policy has been to change "certain legislation, rules, regulations, and traditions" that are "barriers" to equality. The latest advance along these lines has been a bill amending the Canada Pension Plan to entitle the family of a female contributor to money when she dies.

Press releases and federal bulletins push the idea that if people would only raise their consciousness about their real "freedom of choice" then, somehow, through a kind of national mental effort, women will indeed be liberated.

The \$5 million allocated for I.W.Y. was divided between the Secretariat, set up to organize publicity, and the Secretary of State's Office, which received \$2.5 million to distribute through grants to Women's Year projects.

Lalonde's plans for commissions, conferences, and symposiums to be organized by the Secretariat were met with angry objections from women's organizations all over the country. \$250,000 had been set aside for a federal conference to be held with those who are euphemistically known in official publications as "decision-makers" from the "government, private industry, and the media." To this, the Chairwoman of the Ontario Council on the Status of Women objected that the money could be used for better purposes — like funding free day care centres for which women have been fighting.

Also part of the original I.W.Y. schedule were four regional conferences. They were abandoned by January in favour of a new federal program which Lalonde announced

Edie Farkas is a member of Montreal Power of Women

had been initiated to "better reflect the present priorities of people across Canada." These improvements included the provision of travelling information officers and information mobiles.

As part of the Secretariat's duties, \$750,000 was used to pay the Ronalds-Reynolds ad agency in Toronto to create and handle the controversial "Why not?" campaign. This deluge of advertising was aimed at fostering pride in women's work of all kinds — it was greeted by both feminist and conservative women with outrage at its slickness and condescending flippancy. Women's groups had some "Why not's" of their own. Why not set up free day care centres? Why not implement the recommendations of the costly Commission on the Status of Women? Why not repeal the abortion laws? And why should women be encouraged to take part-time work paid at a pittance in addition to maintaining the full-time job of housework paid at nothing at all?

The smooth-talking advice given to women was as insulting to them as the sex-stereotyping it officially condemned. In fact, it operated on the same basic assumption held by "male chauvinism" — treat women as if they were mindless and they will act accordingly. One issue of the *Newsletter* tells women:

"It's your year; your place is wherever you want it to be — the kitchen, the office, the factory, the store, the studio, the boardroom, the House of Commons, the school board, City Hall, the Judge's chambers, the garden club, the PTA . . . the list is limited only by your courage and imagination."

A woman is meant to believe that if she is in the office or in the factory, it is really where she wants to be — doing slave labour is as much her choice as working in the House of Commons. This is the old "if-you-haven't-made-it-in-society-it's-your-fault" routine, but with a special bonus for women. Not only is it the woman's fault if she remains doomed to the garden club, but it is also indicative of her lack of "courage" that she is *unable* to accept her liberation. Women are expected to feel guilty about their lack of freedom.

The stress on "choice" was the most important part of the attitude-changing campaign. In its "Think About It" section, an early issue of the *Newsletter* tells women: "There is a great deal of talk about the 'barriers' to equality but sometimes these barriers are self-imposed. Think about it!" In the special issue on funding, it is announced that projects concerned with the "special problems" of women in their "chosen field of activity" will be some of those receiving funding priorities. But the government does not offer women the choice of whether to bear children or not, whether to do housework or not, whether, in fact, to be economically independent or not.

The ad campaign was a new resource for the publicity departments of big companies. P.R. men know that the young, liberated woman has since the late 'sixties proved a more seductive image than the "dumb blonde" of the 'fifties. With the I.W.Y. campaign, even the "just-a-housewife", previously ignored by all but the producers of household products, was artificially injected with some status — making her as useful for big business as models, stewardesses, private secretaries, receptionists have always been. Big companies could bolster their image as groovy and progressive by showing a liberal interest in *even* the housewife, and while she was being so honoured, nothing was done by business or government to change her "status" in reality.



Marc Lalonde, minister responsible for the status of women, sees the whole problem as the need to "change attitudes"

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR. IT'S NOT A SLOGAN, IT'S AN ATTITUDE.

Sure, we have a button for you to wear during International Women's Year. But there's something else you should wear. Not just this year, but, all the time.

It's an attitude. An attitude that says to one will ever again deny you an opportunity just because you're a woman. That no one will ever pay you less money than a man when you perform the same job as a man. That next time a prejudice or a precedent says "No, you can't," you're going to ask "Why not?"

It's a question that poses a very serious point. And the point is that, despite numerous laws which outlaw discrimination against women, many opportunities are still denied us many areas are still closed to us and many more prejudices will cloud the minds of men and women alike.

There aren't many women lawyers in Canada. There aren't many women doctors. There aren't many women stockbrokers or architects or bus drivers or mechanics. There still aren't enough women Members of Parliament.

And what we should be asking ourselves is "Why not?" because unfortunately change will not come until we demand it. We must tell ourselves that nothing is



reminding ourselves that this is 1975, not 1875. Let us tell ourselves, and those around us, that we will no longer settle for a secondary role in society. Let us look upon the progress we've made on the past with pride. And the challenges we face on the future with determination.

If you'd like more information on International Women's Year and the status of women in Canada, all you have to do is write us or fill in and mail the coupon below.

If you'd like a "worn 1975" button, and a set of papers, just check the appropriate squares.

We're here to help.

beyond us. That, if we find the ability, we must have the confidence to be as strong we want to be. That, if we have the conviction, we must have the right to try.

Every housewife should be accepted as the equal of her husband, but not before she's a poet. An intelligent, capable bank teller should be given the same opportunity to be some president as her equally capable male colleague. But the best "Why not?" is it all a hangover from the past? If it is, let's put the past behind us. Let's keep on

WHY NOT? - OTTAWA, ONT. KIA 0A1
Please send me information on the year and the status of women in Canada.
Please send me a "worn 1975" button.
Name _____
Address _____
City _____
Province _____
I would like to receive _____

What the reformist demands ignore

The Commission on the Status of Women has this to say on "women's work": "Even today, some people still consider women's work outside the home unnecessary; they are not yet fully aware of the need for two salaries in some households or of the number of women who are the sole support for their families." The commissioners, here as throughout the Report, use bold reasoning: their investigative method is to describe a condition and then radically affirm that yes, it does exist. Thus they see no social imbalance in the fact that some households need two salaries and others don't. It is a matter of expediency that where one wage is insufficient, there should be a woman in reserve to supplement it.

The Commission considers the more women in the labour force, the better. A large proportion of women surveyed as "participating" in the labour market is supposed to be a sign of the times, of the progress made in the fight for women's rights. So the Commission's Report is particularly concerned with the marital status of working women as an indicator of attitudinal gains: it stresses that of the 34 per cent of the labour force which, in 1967, was female, half of these women were married since "married women today have

more time for outside activities than they ever had before." This situation is historically explained with the "non-sense" tone that marks the whole report:

"A turning point for working women, married and single, World War II gave them a chance to show more than ever before that they could perform a wide variety of tasks and carry much more responsibility. Married women also found that it was possible to work and, at the same time, manage a home and family, often without a husband's help."

From a world-view that hails war as a backdrop for women who want to show their stuff, it is a short step to condoning all exploitative conditions as long as they give a few people the opportunity to be rich or valiant or liberated.

One might ask why it would be a source of pride for a woman to work both inside and outside the home "often without a husband's help." Underneath the optimism with which the Commission predicts that by 1980, over 40 per cent of the labour force will be composed of women, is the hope that one day professional women will no longer have to prove their worth to their chauvinist bosses, to deny that they have escaped the kitchen-office through privilege or tokenism.

The Commission's emphasis on the "right to work" is reflected in those recommendations which have to date encouraged the more reformist demands of the women's movement, such as "equal pay for equal work." Legislation for equal pay has proved ineffectual. The outspoken Ontario Council on the Status of Women reports that despite widespread wage inequality in that province, only 409 successful appeals through legislative procedure were launched in 1974.

This is because the initiation of an appeal is restricted to

the individual employee — and she meets obstacles at every turn. The government refuses to initiate an investigation into a workplace where discrimination is known to exist. All complaints must be strictly between the worker and her boss, thus assuring that no collective action against an employer will be taken. Many women exploited by lower wages are immigrants who speak languages other than English or French. The difficulty of presenting the stipulated written complaint and arguing it orally is evident. There is little or no publicity given to successful cases or to the methods of appeal. Not only women newly arrived in Canada, but apparently those working for I.W.Y. too, are ignorant of the complaint procedure, since there has been not one word on the "equal pay for equal work" legislation published in the Secretariat's bulletin.

The bulletin *does* give women some employment advice: "Learn how to get the job you want. Learn the importance of a well-presented resumé and good interview techniques." Clearly the Secretariat is here speaking to the four per cent of women in the labour force shown by a 1972 survey to be in managerial jobs and to the 17 per cent who did professional and technical work. Descriptive blandness is inadequate to meet the needs of the majority of women in the labour force: 79 per cent of whom were employed in clerical and service work and manufacturing and sales.

It is no accident that the Women's Bureau of Labour Canada has published detailed reports on "discriminatory practice in the universities" and on wage "differentials" between male and female social workers, while lumping all non-professional women into the category "working women". The 1972 survey shows that these women were most frequently used in industries which are labour intensive — textile and leathersgoods production, knitting mills.

The sexual division of labour is not simply the effect of patriarchal attitude-flexing, but is a way to keep profits up and cost of production down. Women in factories are not *allowed* to do the same work as men. In leathersgoods plants, for instance, men do the cutting of the leather, women the stitching. In food-packing plants, men make the product, women package it. Women are paid less to do the menial work that can be accelerated quantitatively without any effect on the quality of the product.

To assign a job to a woman is to define the job and its wage value. The boss can then manipulate salaries to his advantage. For example, 20 or 30 female sewing machine operators in a clothing factory may be paid lower wages to sew linings or sleeves than the one or two males who are hired to sew the complete garment for sample-production.

Union regulations further reinforce the employer's benefit. In leathersgoods plants in Quebec, the union sets the starting salaries for the lowest unskilled jobs like "gluer" — these are usually filled by teenage girls. Regulations allow only men to be hired as leatherscutters, but because of the piece-rate used to encourage fast work, a woman at the stitching table can theoretically, if she works like a machine, make as much as a man cutting leather at a higher piece rate. But on the basis of the average worker, with human rather than machine-like skills, a male leather cutter makes approximately 15 per cent more than a female stitcher.

In response to this kind of exploitation, the Ontario Council on the Status of Women has proposed that an amendment be made to the Employment Standards Act whereby a woman could launch a complaint against job typing through the procedural format provided by the "equal pay for equal work"

THE BOARDROOMS OF CANADA DON'T HAVE MANY WOMEN. WHY NOT?

Policy decisions made in Canada's boardrooms have a tremendous influence on our lives. They affect the price of our food, the style of our clothes, the design of our homes, the quality of the goods we buy. Yet most of the women just listed in Canada's boardrooms are serving coffee to the men who make those decisions.

The strange thing is that, so far as we know, no company has a charter forbidding women to sit on the board of directors. And there is no legal barrier blocking the way. So why aren't more women reaching the boardroom? Why aren't there more of us in the mid and upper management levels?

Are we so conditioned into believing that only men have careers that we automatically hesitate when we reach the fifth rung on a ten-rung ladder? Or is the ladder pulled out from under our feet two days after we start to climb?

Perhaps the answer lies with us. Perhaps we should all look again every job we tackle as being a career. Being a housewife is a career and a demanding one. Being a mother is a career and a



rewarding one. But if we want to be bankers or bankers, carpenters or carpenters, printers or politicians, why not? Why don't we refuse to accept pre-judicial barricades? Why don't we follow the example of those who have proven it can be done?

Maybe we've all been conditioned into not caring enough. Maybe. But if it is a pre-judicial or a pre-judicial stops any one of us from pursuing any career we

choose, then we should try to change it. We should make our voices heard. We should talk to each other, call to those whose influence we need: Politicians, husbands, directors, teachers, news paper editors.

And we should talk to the men on the boards of directors. As equals. If you'd like more information on the International Women's Year and the status of women in Canada, all you have to do is write or call us and read the coupon below. If you'd like a "win" Sign Buttons and a set of posters, just check the appropriate squares. We're here to help.

WHY NOT? (OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

NAME _____

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PROVINCE _____

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DATE _____

WHY NOT?

legislation. The latter, by itself, offers women a right to appeal against work interpreted as either the same or substantially the same as a man's in the same establishment. The principle of equal pay for work of equal value, which recognizes the equal wage value of different jobs, could be enforced, says the Ontario Council, by government job evaluators. The government has to date refused such legislative change, saying that its enforcement would require large numbers of bureaucrats travelling from workplace to workplace at great expense. (To solve this problem, the government might consider re-cycling some of its travelling I.W.Y. information officers.)

Even legal reform on the principle of pay for value would be a recognition of the special nature of the exploitation of women. When the government refuses to consider amending a law in favour of the majority of women, it is clear that business matters overrule the professed objectives of Women's Year.

The pay for value principle has been accepted by the Commission on the Status of Women; however, its notions on the values inherent in jobs traditionally male or female are determined by the laws of the "market economy":

"Another reason for women's lower earnings is that occupations and professions predominantly female tend to be lower paid than those predominantly male. Just why this is, is not clear, but supply and demand are probably chiefly responsible. . . . Certainly, the supply of women for many traditionally female occupations and professions has kept pace with the demand. It is likely, then, that a major reason for lower pay rates in these occupations and professions is that a sufficient number of women

"When the government refuses to consider amending a law in favour of the majority of women, it is clear that business matters overrule the professed objectives of Women's Year"

have been available for lower pay than the pay necessary to obtain sufficient numbers of workers in the occupations that are predominantly male."

After this double-talk, the Commission incisively suggests that "people must stop thinking of particular jobs as the domain of one sex or the other."

Not only does this type of analysis ignore the material basis of women's work, it also clouds the issue of woman's "role" in society. Those jobs which are regarded, through a history of attitudes, as traditionally "female", are at any given moment in history simply "cheaper". In all the service work that this society offers women, in order to survive a woman must do a double work load: she must sell not only her labour but herself — her physical and emotional being. If she is in a receptionist-type job, she must spend a portion of her wages on making herself attractive. Her ability to play up to her boss, to anticipate his desires — this use of her "femininity" — has been called woman's "intuition".

Housework and GNP

More and more, women from all camps of the women's movement are coming to see that the social justification of women's work stems from the fact that "women's work" on the labour market is an extension of isolated work within the home. Meanwhile, commissions and government studies cling to the explanation that views the vast majority of women who make up the service and clerical work forces — 60 per cent and 72 per cent respectively in 1972 — as the end-result of a process of socialization. It is held that the transmission of attitudes through the education of children fosters sex roles. So that when the housewife takes outside work, social norms relegate her possible jobs to those which fulfill her feminine "destiny."

But this can't be the whole story. There is still no connection between the fact that women's occupations like secretary or stewardess are the wife and mother roles extended, and the fact that for fulfilling these roles, women are paid less than men who merely "work". If anything this would suggest that women should be paid more for doing more. Unless, as both the Status of Women Commission and Labour Canada know, it is the fact that the work women do in the home is unpaid, that makes its extension into the labour force such an inexpensive matter. But the problem of what to do with the dissatisfaction of the women themselves — their "attitudes" — remains and is being faced by government observers of the women's movement with growing alarm. In the publication of Labour Canada's Women's Bureau it is noted that:

"The sense of frustration and injustice which has sparked the virtual social revolution at present being supported by women in

HOUSEWIVES AND MOTHERS SHOULD BE HEARD.

WHY NOT?

Any woman who is a housewife and a mother has what is possibly the most demanding career in the world. Think about it.

It's exhausting and rewarding, its exciting and frustrating, stimulating and boring. It's both its frantic, its physical and mental. Think about all the specialized jobs we perform every day of our lives: jobs which, outside the home, command a lot of respect: nurse, teacher, psychologist, chief accountant, interior designer, chauffeur, electrician and plumber. We are all these and more.

In addition to being housewives we are often partners to our husbands working on the family farm, all at the fish dock, in the store or service station. And in many instances, we work at a second full-time career outside the home.

In most of the five million women in Canada who choose housemaking as a career, it is a rich and rewarding one.

Right now, the great push to equality leaves many of us wondering where to fit into today's society.

The answer is... "stand and count". Sure there is a move towards greater



We are much more — our voice can help change the laws, our purchases as consumers can affect the economy, our voice on school boards can improve our children's education, our concern for the community can change for the better the quality of all our lives. This is the year for housewives to take their rightful place in society. If you'd like more information on International Women's Year and the Status of Women in Canada, all you have to do is write or call in and mail the coupon below. If you'd like a "WHY NOT?" button and a set of posters, just check the appropriate squares. We're here to help!

Individual freedom. A movement to free both women and men from stereotyped roles. Freedom of choice and opportunity. Freedom to pursue lifestyles of equality. This is how it should be. And the most equal person in the world should be the housewife.

The whole social structure of the home and community revolves around us. We are the pivot of society.

The next time someone says "only a housewife" challenge that remark.

WHY NOT? OTSMA ONE KIA GAT
 Please send the above information to I.W.Y. and the Status of Women in Canada.
 Please return the "WHY NOT?" button and a set of posters.
 Please indicate what you would like: button posters
 Name
 Address
 City
 Province Postal Code

WHY NOT?

the United States and Canada, has its roots even in fields as yet not too well known by the women themselves. The failure of economists and statisticians to include as a national asset for purposes of assessing the national product, the value of unpaid services provided by women within their own homes; and the failure to consider women working in their own homes as persons actively employed in the labour force have contributed to a state of affairs which is somewhat paradoxical."

This "paradoxical" state is further defined by the story of the bachelors and the housekeepers. If a hypothetical group of bachelors married their housekeepers, thus continuing to get all those household services for free which had been previously exchanged for pay, the gross national product would drop because the housekeepers would suddenly be doing their duties for love and not money.

Over one-half of the adult female population, or over three and one-half million people in Canada are employed full-time in the care of their families and homes. According to the Commission on the Status of Women, this comprises "one of the largest occupational groups in the country." When the Commission studied the lot of this group in 1968, it discovered that the minimum hours of work for a housewife having no children was six and for the housewife with two or more children, eleven. The housewife who also works outside the home will therefore work an eleven-hour-plus day.

Technological development in labour-saving appliances and convenience foods are considered to have aided the housewife who can afford to buy them, but the Commission discovered that the woman at home uses these improvements to do her work better rather than more quickly. Women use technology in the home to raise "the standard of living."

Moreover, technology gives housewives "more time in the care and personal development of their children" than they used to have.

Housework has remained at a relatively primitive level of mechanization — no elaborate household machinery exists at costs which would enable mass production. In comparison with the rate of technological advance in other areas, work in the home is still labour intensive. And no wonder. Since housework is unpaid, what difference does it make to anyone but the housewife herself, how long it takes to do it? If

housework were paid at an hourly rate, it would be in the interest of government and business to promote research on developing labour-saving devices.

Aside from the length of the working day, the major stumbling block for measuring housework in wage value, according to the Commission, is the amount of time devoted to "particular tasks". "Many of the goods and services produced by the housewife have no counterpart in the employment world since they are related to her unique role of wife and mother." In other words, when a woman teaches other

Women's groups do essential work

The secretary of state's \$2.5 million I.W.Y. fund for women's groups is not a large amount when compared with ongoing financial support received by some organizations. For example, the Company of Young Canadians receives \$4 million a year; last year, of the 98 projects in which the company was involved, only two were based on women's issues.

Information on the criteria for funding was mystifyingly complex. Even an information officer with the secretary of state was dissatisfied with methods of funding; he was quoted by a Montreal newspaper as saying that there was no "adequate policy" on funding, that projects could be vetoed by M.P.'s at will.

If Montreal's office of the secretary of state is any indication, most women had a hard time finding out how to apply for money. The man in charge of the Women's Program was nowhere to be found; the regional coordinator would give no interviews and dealt with people asking for information by having her secretary relay messages between them and her.

\$150,000 was allocated to projects in Quebec for the period from April 1974 to March 1976. Women's groups reacted to the I.W.Y. allotment by officially boycotting the whole program. One of Montreal's oldest groups, Women's Information and Referral, said in its statement on I.W.Y. funding:

"In terms of individual groups this means that no groups will receive enough funds to do anything effective. In practical terms, those of us already working in a concrete way with women will have to compete for crumbs among ourselves. We refuse to participate in this scramble."

Women's centres and groups in Montreal have been operating without I.W.Y.'s encouragement for several years now. Most of them receive some sort of government financial aid, but for groups working with women in the community, this means operating on a shoe-string budget, rarely giving staff much more than the minimum wage, often giving them less. Invariably, these centres handle a variety of projects, not all of them directly related to feminist issues, many dealing with problems that provincial social service agencies ignore. And, as part of their day-to-day functions, the centres act as training places for the city's unpaid community workers — the majority of whom are volunteer women.

"Women's work" has always included social service — the extension of the nurturing and servicing functions from within the nuclear family to the community. Women are encouraged to take on the state's responsibilities but of

the goodness of their hearts, in the same way that they are expected to do housework out of maternal and wifely love.

According to the Commission on the Status of Women, volunteer community work is, in fact, one of the advantages of being a housewife — it gives the woman a chance to become "involved".

Metropolitan volunteer agencies in the private sector help to fund and sometimes staff women's centers. For instance, an agency in Montreal, Centr'Aide (formerly known as Federated Appeal) is a coalition of five welfare organizations, including Red Cross and Allied Jewish Community Services. It depends on anywhere from 15,000 to 25,000 volunteers yearly to collect money in a huge door-to-door campaign. Part of Centr'Aide's work is to recruit volunteers to 160 city organizations, one of which is the Y.W.C.A. The "Y", in turn, operates a women's centre staffed by three full-time, two half-time and five volunteer workers.

The centre receives about 600 phone calls a month requesting legal aid, information on birth control and abortion, and contact with feminist groups. It runs discussion groups and courses on women's liberation.

Many of the calls come from women whose husbands beat them and who have no place to go if they decide to escape their homes. So the centre has joined with other Montreal groups in trying to set up a transitional home for these "battered" women. But staff must give extra time to solicit donations to rent a building, since the provincial department of health and welfare makes no provisions and offers no support for the numerous brutalized women in Quebec.

When asked what she thought of the I.W.Y. program, staff member Marge Janz called the campaign a "farce" — "It aroused curiosity but provided no answers. It's just like the government to do research when faced with problems." She said that the centre had applied for a manpower grant as part of the Women's Year program and was refused on the grounds that "women are not considered a disadvantaged group this year."

Other community-based centres are funded through various government grants which provide them with subsistence level funding. The New Woman's Centre is an information and service centre operating with a staff of ten. Because so many of their calls are requests for abortion and day care information, they are trying to move away from community service — "the bandaging work" — to organizing action groups fighting around the lack of these facilities.

After operating on donations and taking no salaries

people's children she is a "teacher", when she teaches her own, she is a mother; when she serves coffee to her boss, she is a "secretary", when she does the same for her husband, she is a wife. But even measuring only those "counterpart" jobs, the Commissioners would have had their hands full.

A study done several years ago by the American Chase Manhattan Bank found that the housewife should be paid \$257.53 per week for performing the work of a nursemaid, dietitian, food buyer, cook, dishwasher, housekeeper, laundress, seamstress, practical nurse, maintenance man, gar-

dener, chauffeur. Even considering the fact that the study was based on American wage scales in 1970 and that not all wives are gardeners and chauffeurs, the discovery that the "average" housewife in 1970 should have been earning a yearly salary of over \$13,391 and that she didn't protest even her long working hours or lack of vacation, shows why women's work is so cheap.

Labour Canada encourages research into housework because, as it says: "the belittling of the role of the housewife

continued on next page

that the state refuses to carry out

from July '74 to March '75, they applied for and received a demonstration project grant from the provincial department of health and welfare. It gives them \$108,000 a year for three years; nine-tenths of the budget goes to salaries which are approximately \$160 a week. Though the budget is a large one relative to most demonstration grants, the fact that the ten women take equal salaries rather than the differentiated ones the government set out for a smaller staff, leaves very little over for maintenance and unexpected expenses.

Some of the services the centre provides are feminist therapy, a legal clinic, and a "do-it-yourself" divorce co-operative.

Another centre which does a variety of community jobs on a bare minimum of financial aid is Women's Information and Referral, located in the inner-city neighbourhood of immigrant families, students, and poor old people.

On its grant from the department of health and welfare, Women's Information gets \$1000 a month, enough to operate two phones (which at six or seven thousand calls a year is a heavy operation) and to provide two salaries at about \$100 per week. The grant is for a duration of 18 months; when the first stage of it ended last March, the government's evaluation process lasted six weeks, during which time the staff had to do without salaries.

The group of women at the centre started working together in 1972, functioning mostly from their own homes. After a LIP grant and two \$1000-a-month grants from the secretary of state's multi-culturalism program, they applied for their present manpower and immigration grant last September. In December they were notified that they would be funded by the Immigrant's Orientation Program and paid retroactively to October. The money finally arrived in February. Until then, they had worked on loans and donations; when the first \$6000 came, they owed \$5000 of it.

Through its links with the community, Women's Information knows what services are most needed and when unable to provide them itself, it organizes "spin-off" groups to deal with single issues. For instance, the staff found that they couldn't cope with the number of rape calls they were receiving, so they organized a rape squad: they rounded up women interested in working with rape victims, solicited donations, and finally received \$10,000 from Catholic Charities.

This is the kind of work Women's Information feels it is doing for free. It is work which "takes the load off provincial government": the centre does the organizational jobs that government-employed secretaries, researchers,

and social workers would have to be paid to do. And all this aside from its regular job of offering legal aid and birth control information, running a free clothing exchange, setting up feminist discussion groups, giving abortion referrals.

Provincial Social Services, while offering a minimal amount of help to men, rarely concern themselves with the specific problems of women. One of the most neglected groups is that of unemployed or unemployable transient women — "the little old ladies" carrying shopping bags who sleep in the waiting rooms of train stations every night because there are no beds available for them. Organizations like the Salvation Army provide ten beds for men for every one for a woman. Women's groups in Montreal are working together to provide a home for transient women, paid for by charity.

Non-professional women workers are given no protection by provincial agencies. Ville-Marie, the metropolitan division of Quebec's social service agency, supports an employment service for men looking for daily work. The service inspects work-places to ensure that the men are at least paid the minimum wage. But women are left to the mercy of agencies like Office Overload, Maries Selick, Wee Sit Better, and the like, which act as middlemen between company and employee, paying the woman as an employee of the agency sometimes as little as half the hourly rate the agency is paid by the company.

Mona Forrest of Women's Information says: "We would like to see ourselves as being able to report problems and organize briefs, telling social service agencies: 'this is what's needed.' But if we are doing this work already, let them recognize it, and if they are not providing services for women and we are, let them pay us for it."

The government gets a good deal with women's centres staffed by "radical" women. On the basis of their potential "subversiveness", social service departments refuse to give the centres adequate funds, offering them demonstration or experimental grants instead: they save money and have a myriad of services performed for practically nothing. The token grants do not hide the fact that the needs of certain groups, like immigrant women and older transient women, simply do not concern these agencies. By giving the centres enough money to scrape through, the government ignores those concerns which are economically redundant — such as the employment of women over 40. Women's groups end up having to supplement their grants by soliciting donations from upper-middle class charity organizations.

MOST PARENTS DON'T ENCOURAGE THEIR DAUGHTERS TO BECOME DOCTORS, LAWYERS, POLITICIANS.

WHY NOT?

Maybe you haven't thought about it much, but most little girls grow up to be typists or secretaries or housewives. Each can be a satisfying and rewarding career. In the girl's own choice, it that way.

But many of us let our children grow up believing that girls don't really have much choice. That medicine, law, politics, industry are all pretty much closed shops to women. That all the important decisions are made by men. That women don't have leadership qualities.

But women do have leadership qualities. Women do make vital decisions. And women are successful in industry and the professions. Of 242 Federal Members of Parliament, more are women and one of those is an Cabinet Minister. Sixty per cent of Canada's doctors are women. And five per cent of our lawyers.

Now, if you compare those figures to those of ten years ago, you'll find that they're encouraging. But they're not good enough. We're not getting the kind of thinking of successful women as being exceptions.

There are no leaders or role models that give a woman a sense of pride. Minister or Professor. And you better never think that women are the Supreme Court of Canada. Of the fifty companies in Canada, not one



Has a woman president? Very few even have women on the board of directors.

The fact that we've come as far as we have proves we have the abilities. So why aren't more of our direct representatives, women? Why aren't more of our doctors women? More of our lawyers? Our business, our engineers, our accountants?

If it's not because we've been intelligent or less capable, maybe it's because we've been conditioned into feeling inferior. Maybe it's time we tried harder. Maybe it's time

we started talking about it more. To our husbands, our husbands. To our school teachers and counsellors. To our daughters and sons. To ourselves.

We have the right to fill whatever role we like to choose. At the very least, we have the right to try. And if we're not doing it, why aren't we?

As one of us ourselves. And to society. If you'd like more information, write to International Women's Year and the Status of Women in Canada. All you have to do is write or fill in and mail the coupon below.

If you'd like a "WHY NOT?" button, fill out a set of names, send back the appropriate amount. We'll be here to help.

WHY NOT? OTTAWA, ONT. (K1A 0A1)

Please send me information on the status of women in Canada.

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Name

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WHY NOT?

100% Satisfaction or your money back

... has been responsible in no small part, for many of the dissatisfactions being experienced at the present time, particularly by some younger women who might well have found satisfaction in choosing such a role but for prevailing attitudes." Government's real concern for "attitudes" here becomes apparent. The wife-mother role in the nuclear family is important not only because it is the root of women's versatility within the economy as a whole, but also because it provides all of the social services which have been privatized and transformed into the moral imperative of every 'real woman'. When women refuse to do this work for free, they can no longer be used as reserve labour to be reabsorbed into the family when no longer needed on the market.

Research cited by the Commission shows that "more goods and services are produced without pay in the home than anywhere else." One recent Canadian study estimated that the work of the housewife amounts to 11 per cent of the GNP; in 1968, this would have meant about \$8 billion. Other studies reported by Labour Canada include the 1921 estimate by the United States National Bureau of Economic Research which found that the value of housewives' services was 25.1 per cent of the GNP. The most recent reported study showed that in the U.S. in 1964, housework was valued at 24 per cent of the GNP.

In 1958, British economist Colin Clark found that because an increasing number of women are going out onto the labour market and because of better household equipment which causes the same number of services to be provided by fewer housewives, "the value of unpaid household services in industrialized societies amounted to 44 per cent of the national product on the basis of production for the market." Another

economist writing in 1961 found that one of the urgent reasons for investigating these trends is that the "failure to include the value of household services in the GNP, biases seriously all measures of the long period trends in national product." In other words, when a woman leaves home to take an outside job, the shift is considered as an addition to the GNP, instead of a change in the type of employment. Therefore, since women have recently entered the labour force, the GNP looks as though it is growing faster than it really is.

For facilitated measurement of the economy and "because of the social changes taking place at such rapid speed in our time", the Women's Bureau of Labour Canada and the Commission on the Status of Women suggest that housewives, for their unpaid work, be given, not — as might be logically concluded — a wage, but a special pension.

An international movement of feminists working around "wages for housework" has developed in reaction to state and big business manipulation of the demands of the women's movement. In Canada, there are Wages for Housework groups in Montreal, Toronto, and Windsor.

The anti-capitalist movement has been verbally attacked by those traditional leftists who view the housewife in much the same way as does the Commission on the Status of Women: that is, as the metaphorical entrepreneur of a small business which is metaphorically owned by the male head of the family.

This privatization of the nuclear family as a social unit is precisely what allows government policy to downplay the financial dependency of women. The Commission itself, when faced with the problem of female dependency, could only offer special pensions for housewives, paid for either through a portion of the husband's contributions or through the independent contributions of those women who could afford them. In either case, the wife would still, in effect, be supported by her husband.

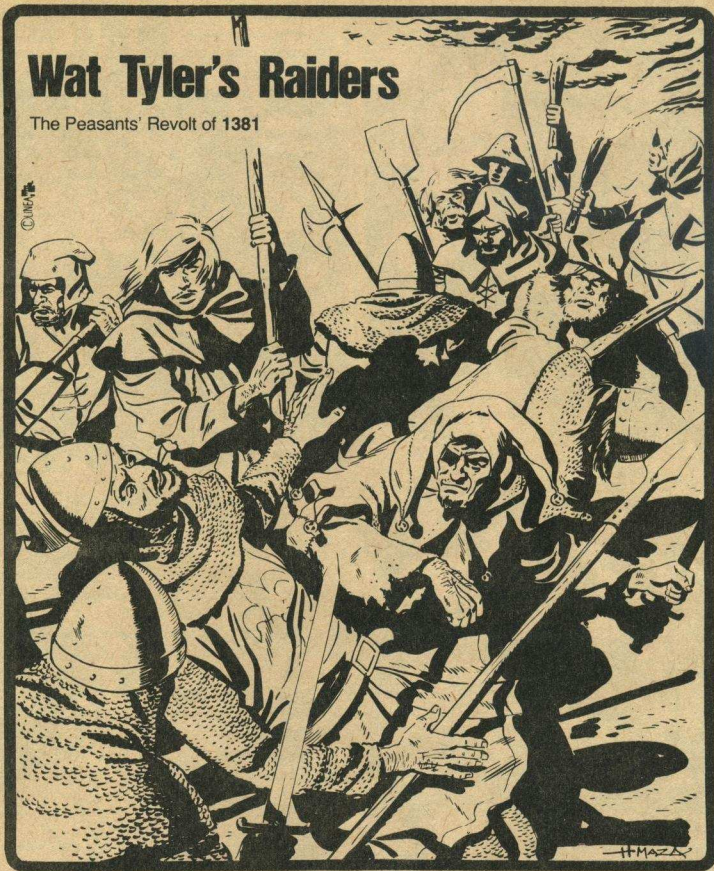
The Wages for Housework movement sees both so-called service work done in the home and human reproduction as commodity-productive work. The fact that housework, the occupation of the majority of women and the prototype of all women's work, is unpaid, is the source of the financial dependency of women upon men, of the societal structure of domination which is reproduced within the supposedly private confines of the home. Wages for housework is not just a demand for justice in an unjust society; the wage for all houseworkers is a pre-condition for a feminist movement.

I.W.Y. publicity has stressed that sexism works both ways — that men suffer from sex-determined roles too. It is true that the dependency of women and children on the salary of the male bread-winner acts as a repressive force, a discipline on the man who goes out to work each day to "provide" for himself and the several people in the family. (It is not uncommon, for example, for employers to appeal to the wives of striking workers to pressure their husbands to return to work.)

And much has been said too, about the psychological oppression of women — their lack of self-confidence, their passivity, etc. But these are the occupational hazards of work which has been hidden because it has been unwaged. If all women's work is seen as an extension of unpaid housework, then those characteristics that make women good housewives — the ability to perform boring, repetitive work, the capacity for self-denial — can no longer be transformed into a definition of "feminine nature" itself.

Wat Tyler's Raiders

The Peasants' Revolt of 1381



Part V — Final Installment

THE STORY SO FAR

Brian Hayman, under arrest for poaching the Duke of Kent's deer, was rescued by Wat Tyler and John Ball. Taking refuge in an old mine, they plan rebellion with small groups of family and friends. They are joined by Brian's identical twin, Richard, who managed to avoid capture by disguising himself as Tam-Tam, a hunchback who lives with the Hayman family. The Duke does not know of the identical twin, so Brian and Richard decide to confuse the enemy by leading simultaneous attacks in different parts of Kent, stressing the name Brian Hayman. The plan works, rebellion spreads and the Duke's castle is attacked.

Removing his hunchback costume, Richard Hayman chases after the duke, who fled to safety near his personal guard during the fight.



The Duke picks up a sword and gets ready to fight.

BRIAN HAYMAN! WHY DON'T YOU ASSASSINATE ME? I'M UNARMED.

Realizing he's trapped, the noble turns ...

Brian Hayman doesn't stab unarmed men in the back. Defend yourself scum ... pick up a sword.



Brian Hayman! I never believed in flesh and blood phantoms.

I'll send your soul to the devil!



A poorly timed attack, a misplaced parry ... and Richard Hayman falls, beaten by his opponent's superior skill.

THE PHANTOM IS NO MORE!



As steel clashes against steel, Richard Hayman, being the less experienced swordsman, begins to lose ground ... and the chain mail under the duke's doublet protects him against the brave thrusts of the peasant.



The duke, realizing he was still in danger, stayed in his chambers, under the protection of his personal guard.

I have finished off Brian Hayman. Now their leader is dead, the peasants won't have the stomach for a fight. Tell the tower guard to attack without mercy.



Meanwhile, the real Brian Hayman rushes to the body of his fallen brother.



The guards, seeing Brian Hayman, dropped their weapons in terror, believing they were seeing a ghost.



He fell back crazily to the window, making no attempt to defend himself.



Swearing vengeance, he charged towards the room where the duke was skulking.



The guards fled. The duke, seeing Brian without a scratch, was terror-stricken.



Crazy with fear, the duke threw himself out of the window into the flames that were already beginning to destroy his castle.



It wasn't long before the peasants had won a total victory. Brian's father and his fiancée Susan were freed with the other prisoners in the dungeons. The castle was left a flaming ruin.



The King had to negotiate. He promised to abolish slavery throughout England, reduce rents, and outlaw forced labour. He offered a free pardon to all. But it was all hypocrisy, a trick to gain time.

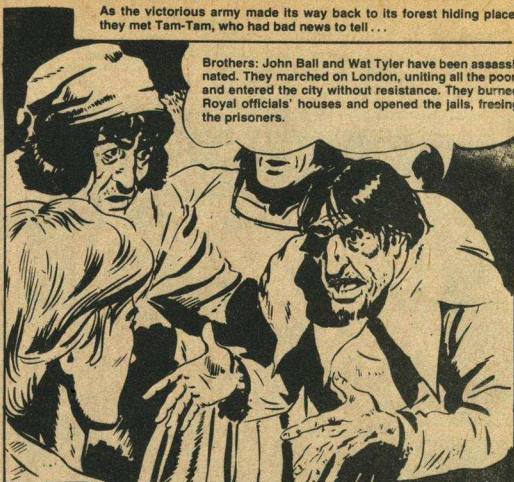


We'll carry on the struggle!



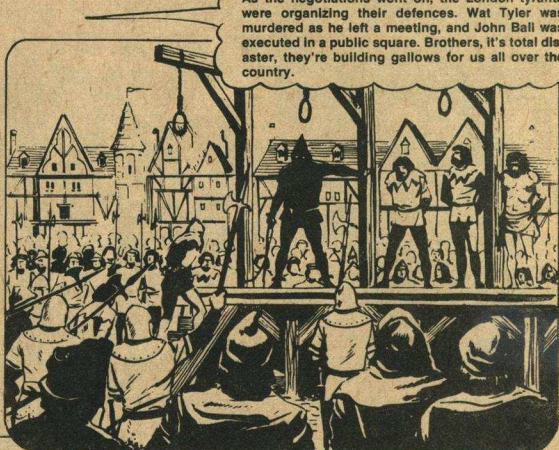
It's useless, I've seen it with my own eyes. Hundreds of our followers have been executed. All the promises of freedom were just deceit from the Regency Council and the King.

As the victorious army made its way back to its forest hiding place, they met Tam-Tam, who had bad news to tell...



Brothers: John Ball and Wat Tyler have been assassinated. They marched on London, untiling all the poor, and entered the city without resistance. They burned Royal officials' houses and opened the jails, freeing the prisoners.

As the negotiations went on, the London tyrants were organizing their defences. Wat Tyler was murdered as he left a meeting, and John Ball was executed in a public square. Brothers, it's total disaster, they're building gallows for us all over the country.

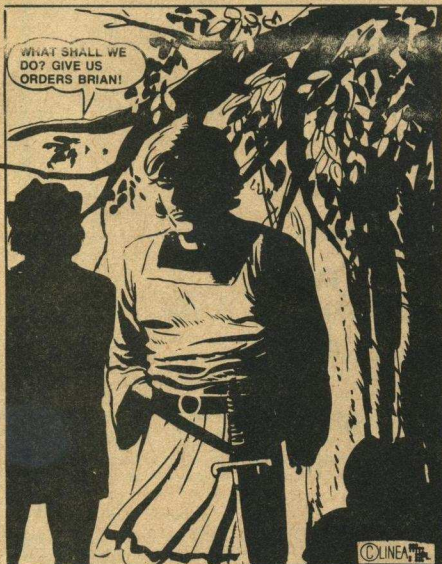


WE'LL FIGHT ON FROM THE FORESTS!

LINEA

Próximo Episodio
DESTINO FINAL

Brian Hayman, saddened by the news, spent a long time in deep thought. All had failed ... and he was responsible for the lives of so many honest men who had confidence in his leadership.

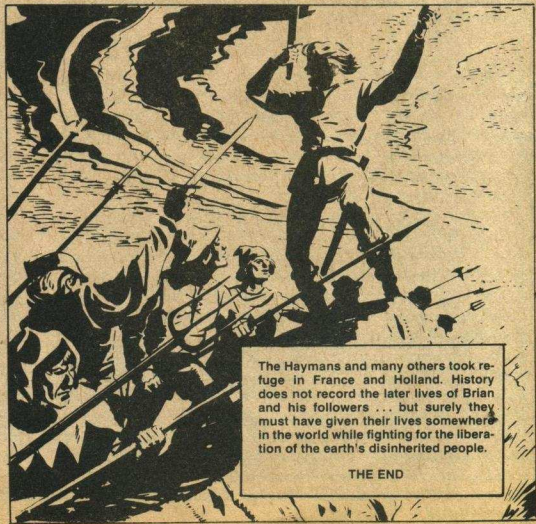


Brothers, the rebellion has failed. We'll never know why ... perhaps it was because not all of us joined the march on London, limiting ourselves to righting local wrongs. And perhaps because we trusted the promises of a twelve-year-old king who is in the hands of a corrupt regency council. We didn't work to build a national movement.

In defeat and despair, the peasants separated, each going his own way ... as a well-equipped army marched on the region to put down the insurrection.



As they returned to their normal lives, many were executed.



The Haymans and many others took refuge in France and Holland. History does not record the later lives of Brian and his followers ... but surely they must have given their lives somewhere in the world while fighting for the liberation of the earth's disinherited people.

THE END

Bear View

- Schiff on the secrecy problem — p. 40
- MacFadden on the Queen — p. 42
- Murphy on Nixon's White House — p. 44
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- Roberts on Vietnam filmed — p. 49

Placebos for a sick society

by MARVIN SCHIFF

The Public Right to Know: Accountability in the Secretive Society, by John Crispo. McGraw-Hill Ryerson/Toronto. 395 pp.

When Dr. John Crispo, the Toronto labour relations panjandrum, finished his latest manuscript, *The Public Right to Know*, his publishers apparently set their most creative dust jacket hype artists to work. The result: A verbal fanfare that portrays Crispo as something of a latter-day Jeremiah while the prophetic insight of his books makes him about as credible as a contemporary Henny Penny.

Not that the apocalypse Crispo foresees as possible isn't virtually upon us. Tainted meat scandals; revelations of CIA perversions; demonstrations of the crassest political cynicism by the Davises, Trudeaus, Drapeaus and their ilk; inflation, racism, unemployment, labour strife. With such evidence assaulting us daily, who can dispute Crispo's bland assertion that "North America is a sick society"?

The evidence is irrefutable, even if one doesn't buy Crispo's further claim that Canada and the United States will dissolve in revolution or anarchy if social, political and economic reforms aren't instituted at once.

However, only the most unimaginative reflex liberal is likely to purchase the package of placebos he prescribes to cure the ailments he passionately — if not always articulately

or even grammatically — describes.

The bulk of Crispo's book, which he describes as a "political tract", is devoted to documenting the existence of the malignancy he sees eating away at Canadian and U.S. society. (He exempts Mexico from his geographical definition of North America and asserts as axiomatic that the Canadian and U.S. viruses are functionally identical.)

In sections on government and politics, he predictably resurrects Watergate and assails Trudeau-style political opportunism and pragmatism. He refers to conflicts of interest in Canadian government — notably membership of Senators on corporate boards of directors — as Canada's Watergate and attacks growing government bureaucracies for their lack of responsiveness to public need.

In business and finance he finds the public interest perverted by interlocking corporate directorates that pursue anti-competitive practices and by audits that hide more than they reveal. He questions the lack of accountability of multi-nationals and claims the stock market "has been so replete with abuses of all kinds that it is a wonder it has survived at all."

In advertising and marketing, Crispo finds "hucksters purveying their false images about fraudulent products in deceptive packages". In self-governing professions and labour unions he finds avaricious self-interest. In the media he finds the profit motive and other elements of owner interest taking precedence over the public's right to know.

Nothing particularly new, perhaps, but the cumulative ef-

“Only the most unimaginative reflex liberal is likely to purchase the package of placebos he prescribes to cure the ailments he passionately — if not always articulately or even grammatically — describes.”

fect of these and other bits of evidence as Crispo heaps it up is highly sobering. At least, it would be were it not for the fact that his diagnosis of society's fundamental problem is not logically consistent with the way he attempts to make his case.

In the preface to his book he claims the problem is fundamentally one of secrecy, what he calls “the iron curtain surrounding and precluding effective surveillance of the anti-social and irresponsible activities so many groups are engaged in”. In the face of such awesome secrecy, then, what are the sources of the evidence with which he supports his sombre view of the state of North American society?

Documents leaked by dissenters from the system? Personal experience in the inner sancta where institutional evil is perpetrated? An uncanny sixth sense that permeates iron curtains?

No. Instead, Crispo's evidence is virtually lifted off newsstands. The documents from which he draws his insights into the rot in our major institutions are such radical rags as the *Globe and Mail*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Financial Times*, the *Toronto Star*, the *Wall Street Journal*, even the Royal Bank newsletter.

In fact, his book is largely a pastiche of editorials, newspaper punditry and book reviews. They do, as Crispo claims, amply demonstrate sickness in society. But if the causes of the sickness are revealed in the press — in fact, what many consider to be the most establishmentarian segments of the establishment press — how can we believe our fundamental problem is secrecy?

Public inertia, perhaps. A general feeling of powerlessness bred by the complexity and massiveness of institutions. An I'm-all-right-Jack syndrome that enables us to shrug off evidence of injustice, corruption or stark stupidity so long as it doesn't touch us too directly. Surely, though, not secrecy?

But if Crispo's analysis of the elemental problem were not enough to sap his book of substantial credibility, the solutions he proposes would be. Having urged us to reform or face the imminent descent of the sky, the best he can provide is a clutch of modest measures, most of which have been tried to one degree or another and found wanting.

Traditional liberal that he is, he decries further intrusions of government into the “free” market — certainly socialism is a no-no — but his response to rampant bureaucracy is, typically, more bureaucracy.

Rejecting wage and price controls, for example, he opts for a “national income and costs review board”, a federal-provincial body “charged with the task of identifying those out-of-line groups which have acquired too much power, deciding what can be done to bring them down to size, and raising a public furor until some action is taken”.

Trendy, trendy. A sort of souped-up Food Prices Review Board and, the reader might well suspect, likely to be just as effective.

Crispo would have bureaucracy proliferate to reform the media as well. He opts for “media review boards” or less all-pervasive bodies like press councils, but he never deals with the serious doubts that have arisen about the efficacy of press councils already in existence.

Meanwhile, as if in response to readers who might wonder whence cometh the title of his book, he proposes to make institutions more responsive to public need and less secretive by requiring public representatives on their governing bodies.

Again, trendy, but Crispo fails to grapple with the phenomenon of co-option. He doesn't indicate how truly representative individuals are to be chosen to protect public interest or how they are to be kept honest once chosen.

The catalogue of weaknesses in Crispo's logic could be greatly expanded. Suffice to say, though, that if the sky really is about to fall, the pillars he would erect are hardly likely to keep the heavens from caving in.

He compiles a formidable array of press clippings to demonstrate the sickness of Canadian and U.S. society, but his expertise as a wielder of scissors and paste is not matched in this book by his skill as a social policy planner.

FALCONBRIDGE

Portrait of a Canadian
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John Deverell and the Latin
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\$4.95 paper \$11.95 cloth

James Lorimer & Company, Publishers

Honi soit qui mal y pense

by PATRICK MACFADDEN

My Queen and I, by Willie Hamilton, M.P. General Publishing. 276 pp. \$12.50.

On the morning of Thursday, May 15, 1975, Elizabeth Alexandra Mary of Windsor, through Her Privy Council, conveyed to the Governor-General of Trinidad that the convicted murderer Michael X, erstwhile leader of the Black Power movement in the United Kingdom and awaiting execution or Royal Pardon in a monkey-cage on death row in Port of Spain, should hang. By seven next morning, Michael was twisting in the Carib wind, at the end of a rope specially woven in Birmingham for the event.

Later that month, the Monarch's Victoria Day message was directed to the world's women: Elizabeth wished them well, opining that if only they would grasp the opportunity, there was, for women, no peak unscalable, no problem insoluble, indeed, no obstacle insurmountable.

History does not record whether Michael X's widow, Desiree, was able to take comfort in these timely observations. But most fair-minded persons would agree that in making decisions on great affairs of state, in applying Her mind to matters of import affecting those territories where Her writ still runs, Elizabeth does what a great leader ought to do — suggest direction, point the way, offer Queenly wisdom; if you like, Give Head.

Willie Hamilton is not such a fair-minded person. A Labour M.P. for the Scottish constituency of West Fife, he

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MONTREAL

describes himself in the following way: "I am a Democratic Socialist. A Christian Democratic Socialist. That means a belief in the equal dignity and worth of *all* human beings, whatever their birth or wealth."

All human beings? Hitler? David Frost? But let that pass. Those who have been exposed for even short periods of time to the thought processes and prose style of upper-cased Christian Democratic Socialists will know what to expect from the West Fife's Mr. Willie Hamilton. Picture for a moment a haggis-eyed Maxwell Henderson side-saddle aboard a Clydesdale. You will have caught the fustian rhythms of this plodding piece of poltroonery.

Mr. Hamilton is also — and I hate to say this — a coward. In what he grandly calls AN OPEN LETTER he addresses his Monarch in the following way:

"Your Majesty,

You know me solely by ill-repute. Yet I cannot recollect that I have ever said a cruel or critical word against you *personally*." [Italics in the original.]

What this obsequious knavery comes down to, of course, is Hamilton's pathetic attempt to ward off the inevitable retribution threatened in that austere and awesome motto, *honi soit qui mal y pense*. Just how baleful such retribution can be is exemplified by the case of the unfortunate Joyce Davidson. This woman, it will be recalled, was once employed on television in Toronto, during which time she gave offence to all the Queen's subjects in Canada by stating that those subjects didn't "care" about the Royal Personage. Quite properly, she now ekes out her days in the Purgatory of Manhattan, condemned forever to cohabit with the unspeakable David Susskind.

But such cautionary tales mean little to the bovine Hamilton. His crudities splatter the pages like old porridge. I cannot resist quoting the following passage, again from the so-called open letter, which for sheer offensiveness, surpasses even the grossest improprieties of a Beatrice or a Sidney Webb:

"Meanwhile, you are to be seen at your radiant best at annual high-society horsey events, and, quite frankly, at your most uncomfortable among factory workers, or even children. Why not try going to the Durham Miners' Gala, or the Tolpuddle Martyrs celebration, one year. That is where you will find your people of real worth, rather than in the Royal Box at Ascot. You might even start to enjoy yourself."

The breathtaking impertinence of this last sentence aside, one can only wonder at the patience of the voters of West Fife. Notice too the cloth-cap sneer at "horsey events", particularly revolting in that these noble animals cannot, of course, defend themselves. As for the Durham Miners' Gala, may I interject one personal note? I have also been fortunate enough to visit Ascot, although not (alas!) in the Royal Box: I have seen Her jockey, the great Lester Piggot, with just a faint touch of the knee bring Britannic Majesty's mount surely through the ruck, sail Her colours in regal thunder past the post, while the English people rose to their feet in the cheaper stands and roared their hearty approval. And although I think Her wrong to use only freemasons as trainers — a practice which in my view has cost Her the Derby and the St. Leger more than once — nonetheless I can assure Mr. Hamilton that Epsom and Ascot have it all over his crawling, hymn-singing, serge-suited, phlegm-stained gala. As for the Tolpuddle Martyrs, I gather not even the trains go *there* anymore.

But the enormity of Hamilton's unsolicited advice to Queen Elizabeth knows no bounds: Wouldn't it be nice, he suggests if "you would subject yourself to the kind of spontaneous interviews recently given by Queen Margrethe of Denmark?"

Absurd. Fatuous. Queen Elizabeth, for one thing, speaks no Danish. And Canadians hardly need to be reminded of the disasters that flow when ladies in high places grant interviews, spontaneous or otherwise.

But it soon becomes clear that the Christian Socialist Hamilton hates all monarchs. George the Third — "crazed ancestor" — in fact that great King suffered only from a mild porphyria; Edward the Seventh — "especially liked women" — *who* do men like in West Fife, one wonders? And on the present Prince of Wales, we are gleefully told Buckingham Palace keeps a dossier on all the girls whom Charles dates or who have in any way kissed the Royal Rod. It appears that one girl, "an aristocrat with violent left-wing leanings", caused the Palace to warn the young Prince away from her spidery charms.

Hamilton predictably regards this as interference with young love. One wonders how such a person can keep even his sporan straight. *Last Post* readers with some personal knowledge of aristocratic women with violent left-wing leanings will appreciate the Palace's wisdom in this regard. Although I must say, just again to put my own view, as far as Charles is concerned such a fate would serve Him right since He appears to me to be a Complete Fart.

But Hamilton tips his hand just once too often when he mounts a savage attack on, above all people, King Canute. He repeats the hoary old bromide of Canute's attempt to stop the waves. It cannot be said often enough: Canute was a wise and good King, the waves episode being designed to show His followers that He could not do all they wanted. And it is to His eternal credit that He was responsible for starting a navy. In this connection it is of interest to notice on the dust-jacket a photograph of the absurd Hamilton, poking his Christian Democratic nose into the Royal Yacht *Britannia*, while being saluted by two seamen of that proud craft. Would that the halcyon days of the press-gang were here again, so that this old goat might be given a first-hand sample of that naval tradition, first made possible by the Viking Canute, whose manly record was best summed up by Sir Winston as "rur, buggery and the lash".

A great deal is made in this tiresome tract of how profligate the Monarchy has always been. In 1831, we are told solemnly, £ 570 5s went to the Chancellor of the Garter! And so on. It sounds to me like a bargain.

What Hamilton represents is the nadir of that tradition of Calvinism overlaid with Benthamite utilitarianism which has spread like a pox through Western civilization. His quarrel is not with the Monarchy but with himself; the over-weening concern with Demos masks a neurotic distrust of the totems beloved by Demos. The totemic simply *is*. It does not *do*. Hence it is anathema to the Calvinist. Weber put the matter well when in reference to the writings of the English puritan Richard Baxter he points out that Baxter's warnings against the temptations of wealth are directed solely towards the use of money to support an idle kind of life. If Willie Hamilton ever comes to Canada he will find ready employment on the editorial pages of the Toronto *Globe and Mail* where he may excoriate the misuse of the Unemployment Insurance Commission and thus find the inner peace that so far has clearly eluded him.

Nixonizing the Nixon gang

by RAE MURPHY

Before the Fall: An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House, by William Safire. Doubleday. 704 pp. \$14.50.

Say you were expecting the "Gottedamerung" and received instead "Raindrops Keep Falling on my Head"; the impression, while not totally unpleasant, would nevertheless be that somehow what had been delivered was less than had been promised. Thus William Safire's portentously titled *Before the Fall: An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House* is a sometimes glib, often cloying, shamelessly padded collection of the trials and tribulations of a palace courtier, relentless in its self-importance.

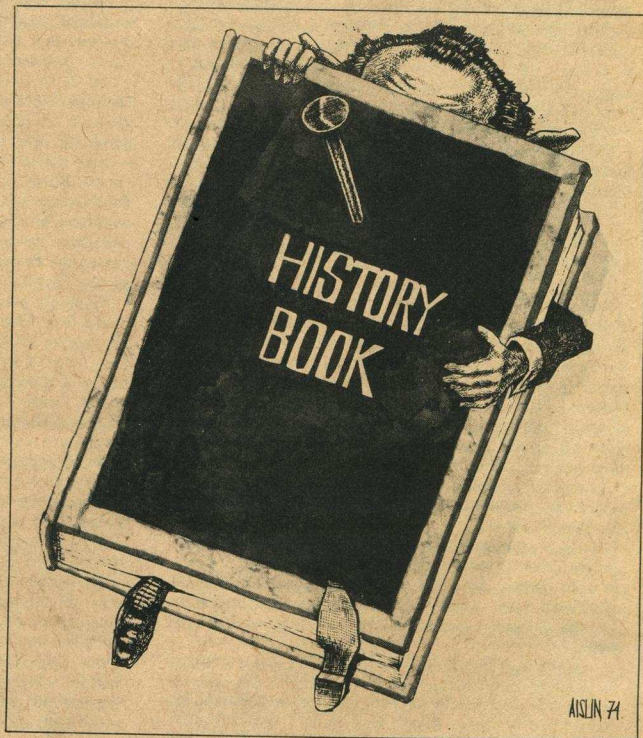
Safire was a Nixon flack of long standing. They first met in late 1950s Moscow. Nixon was there to open an American exhibition. The highlight of this visit, legend has it, was the debate in a model American kitchen between Nixon and Nikita Khrushchev. The debate, duly recorded for posterity, apparently proved that the free world's Handi-Wipe was tougher and longer-lasting than that of the forces of Godless Communism. The debate also proved that Nixon could "stand up to the Russians". Standing up to somebody has always been felt to be the essential virtue of American leaders.

Prior to the debate in the kitchen, Khrushchev had bested Nixon in a confrontation in a portable American television studio on the site of the exhibition. Nixon emerged from the studio "sweating profusely". Safire, the man of the moment, rushed into the crowd of shaken Americans shouting "this way to the model kitchen". Thus the unscheduled stop and thus, as they say, "history was made".

Young Bill Safire was, at that time, flacking for the kitchen.

Later he was to meet Nixon at the U.S. embassy and kindred spirits struck up a relationship that, through its ups and downs, continues, one suspects, to the present.

Safire was apparently assigned to write an approved version of the Nixon presidency. He began his labours with a quarter-million dollar advance around



the time of Nixon's re-election. Then, for whatever reason, Safire was sued for the return of his advance, perhaps because Nixon, even at his height, was reckoned to be pretty poor box office in the publicity business; or maybe some early draft convinced the publisher that Safire, when he wasn't stringing alliterations for Spiro Agnew — Nattering Nabobs etc. — was out of his depth.

With Watergate things changed. Nixon became a hot item and Safire, with a smaller advance and a new publisher, left the Nixon service on the very day John Dean started to snitch. He went to "give balance" to the *New York Times* as a columnist who, up to a few days before the final collapse of Saigon, was extolling Nixon's great achievement of "peace with honour" in Vietnam. Unfortunately for Safire, about the only

argument he musters to prove Nixon wasn't a completely rotten president was that it was supposed to be indisputable that he had won "peace with honour". Safire coined the phrase for Nixon and uses it throughout the book.

When Safire set out again on his book he was given access to White House files and memoranda, as well as the apparent cooperation of the Nixon palace guard. This detail is significant because the aim of the book was to be a sympathetic treatment, to give balance to the nasty things others were rushing to print. It was, perhaps, designed to be the first 'revisionist' history of the Nixon administration.

It seems obvious such a trend will develop. Each new American president seems to make his predecessor look good. It took John Kennedy to make

Dwight Eisenhower look wise; Lyndon Johnson to make Kennedy cultured; and Richard Nixon to make Johnson a humanist. There is still time for Gerald Ford to make Nixon look almost benign.

But in Nixon's case, at least from the evidence in *Before the Fall*, it is going to be a very tough job and clearly one that is beyond the story-telling and image-making powers of William Safire.

One of the problems with Nixon is that because he was a fixture in the American firmament through almost the whole postwar period — longer than any other major politician — by the time mischance made him president he did not really exist as a political personality. He stood for nothing and stood nowhere. He was merely his own product designed down to the last touch of chrome, remodelled from time to time for market approval. Thus the dichotomy presented by otherwise serious writers about the old Nixon, the new Nixon, the new old Nixon and the old new Nixon. There was, in fact, no Nixon.

So the problem of finding President Nixon is to find a man who packaged, prepared and protected this thing they called *The President*. The only relevant book on the Nixon presidency would be a Franz Kafka re-writing *The Wizard of Oz*.

In any case, Safire isn't up to it and with the thrust and insight of a cork on a placid lake he has written about the just plain folks out there at the White House. He has pictures of the boys sunning themselves at Camp David. He reproduces memoranda, minutes of meetings:

"The president entered the room, cordially greeted a few of the Senators, hoped Mike Mansfield, recently returned from China was 'not too tired' — I know how it is. You don't know when to go to the bathroom or when to get up."

He includes some lines from John Erlichman:

"You can bus some of the children some of the time, but you can't bus all of the children all of the time."

Erlichman was apparently quite a cut-up. He did imitations of Henry Kissinger that used to knock 'em dead in the Cabinet room. Not only that, Erlichman

used to draw nice sketches. There is one Erlichman drawing of a light fixture in the Cabinet room reproduced. Behind that fixture unbeknownst to most was a microphone. Oh, Safire's irony is h-e-a-v-y.

Elliot Richardson was a fine doodler, and Haldeman wasn't funny at all.

And then there was Henry Kissinger, insecure as hell and always trying to ingratiate himself with the boss: Nixon came into Kissinger's room at Camp David once and said he shot 126 that afternoon. "Your golf game is improving Mr. President," said Henry. "I was bowling," answered the prez.

And there were lots more — a great gang, Safire included. His job was to toss up one-liners and do general word polishing. Nixon had two other speech writers: Pat Buchanan, the right-winger who was generally called in when Nixon was going tough, and Ray Price, the closest liberal who generally wrote the nicer stuff (it was Price who wrote Nixon's resignation speech). Safire was never much for the politics or policy, just the polish (they say Gerald Ford has seven speech writers just to preserve his image of plain speaking dumbness).

While Safire tries, quite naturally, to enlarge his role in the Nixon Court, he makes no effort to suggest he was one of the political operatives (also quite naturally). He was essentially a courtier and as such suffered the slings and arrows of a courtier's life. He told the boss something the boss (or Haldeman) didn't like once and he was cut off for three months — not a nod as they passed in the halls and no invitation to Tricia Nixon's wedding. Tough, but courtiers out of favour in other regimes have suffered greater indignities. As a writer, thus, at least by inference, an 'intellectual', Safire, who also owned up to knowing a Democrat or two, was to suffer constant suspicion. He was excluded from much inside stuff by the ever-watchful Haldeman. Once he was not allowed to see a budget message even though it had already been released to the domestic and foreign news agencies — including Tass. His exclusion was even more perplexing because he

had written the final draft. Haldeman ran a tight ship indeed.

Anyway, they are all there in *Before the Fall*: the father figure of John Mitchell; the weird thug Charles Colson (who apparently appealed to Nixon because he was from Massachusetts and didn't like the Kennedys); Henry Kissinger who compensated for his insecurities by ordering air strikes; H. R. (Bob) Haldeman, the Rasputin from J. Walter Thompson; and dear Bebe Rebozo, the perfect company for a man who wants to be alone.

AND THE MAN HIMSELF: "noble and mean spirited, good and bad, a man in a hurry to be great...." Also a little flacky.

- The Man gets a poor public reception at an airport — an RMN memo: This airplane will not land at any more airports.
- Soup spilt at a state dinner — An RMN memo: No more soup is to be served at the White House.
- Something displeases him in Laos — An RMN memo: Fire every embassy employee in the country.

But he was also one of the boys. He told his aides they could tell their wives they had to work late at the office anytime they wanted and he would cover for them. A man like that has to inspire loyalty.

Safire doesn't have much to say about Nixon's politics. He does, however, tell us that Nixon wore a pair of blue striped pajamas to Moscow.

About the Nixon ladies. They were something else even after something else has already been said. Safire has a vision though: An old man will someday hobble into the White House. It is Richard Nixon, completely exonerated by history. He is to be greeted at the door by the first Woman president: Julie Nixon.

And George Orwell promised us this stuff would be all over by 1984.

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SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 8 ON PAGE 50

Across

- A1. Frogs a dead horse
C1. Unequal
C9. Scribes
E1. Datum
E7. Womens lib
G1. Trainers

G12. LIPs

- H. Omen
IB. The Candu
K1. Saddlebag
K11. Ranch
M1. One star
M9. Eritrea
O1. Enter
O7. Sky blue

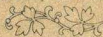
Down

- A1. Foundation stone
A3. Overt
A5. Slumming
A7. Delaware
A9. Assume
A11. Herons

- A13. Rebellion
A15. East-by-south-east
G3. Amendment
H9. Thuggery
I11. Cordial
J5. Slatier
J7. Abortis
K13. Nurse

ELEMENTS

SCIENCE REPORT



BY DEMOCRITUS

High sky eye

Six European countries have pooled resources to build a telescope for the European Southern Observatory.

Preliminary assembly of the parts has just been completed in **St. Chamond, France** ... with the co-operation of **Belgium, Denmark, The Netherlands, West Germany and Sweden.**

The telescope is to be installed on a high mountain overlooking **Chile.**

It's presumed that the telescope will be pointed upward at the sky.

Rough and not ready

A British medical researcher ... after painstaking inquiry into the matter ... has found North Americans and Englishmen the most constipated people on earth — something the French have long suspected.

Dr. Dennis Burkitt told the **Ontario Medical Association** that the rampant constipation is caused by eating foods largely lacking in essential natural fibres ... such as found in whole wheat.

But beware ... there's more than just a little irregularity involved here.

Dr. Burkitt also says the lack of such fibres may be a factor in other serious ailments such as **heart disease, gallstones, appendicitis, obesity and varicose veins.**

Wretched of the sky

With **Vietnam** behind them and receding fast ... the American nation needs a new adventure to challenge their considerable scientific ingenuity.

A project of that nature may have been launched at **Princeton University** last month, when a group of scientists and assorted other professionals assembled to work out seriously the problems involved in establishing a colony of human life in outer space.

Taking it anything but a joke, they talked about the engineering, medical, dietary, agricultural and legal problems in setting up a community of some 10,000 people in a space station orbiting the earth ... but at a safe distance.

What separates this venture from Buck Rogers is the involvement of the **U.S. National Aeronautical and Space Administration** ... the same people who brought you the men on the moon.

NASA will continue research along these lines at its **Ames Research Center** in California.

Power for the space colony would be derived from the sun, while raw materials would be gouged out of the moon.

Gerard O'Neill, a professor of physics, says his **Princeton** studies have indicated that a permanent beachhead in space could be secured in 14 to 25 years.

What part **Howard Hughes** will play in the project is

still a mystery to **Democritus** researchers.

Lost, weak end

For he-men who think **virility** comes in a cold can of beer ... here's a real let-down.

Two American scientists say they have found high levels of a **female hormone** in the blood of men who drink excessively.

They found that **alcohol** stimulates the liver to produce **estrone** ... a female sex hormone.

This hormone blocks the production of **Vitamin A** ... an essential ingredient in the formation of **sperm cells.**

In some cases, estrone levels in drunken sailors have been found to be three times greater than normal.

All this leads to sterility, impotence and the development of female characteristics.

Bottoms up, fellas.

More booze news

It has long been known that **alcohol** can soothe the mind ... but that it doesn't do much for the **liver.**

But, just exactly how booze does its damage has never been exactly pinned down.

Now, medical researchers at **Mount Sinai School of Medicine** in New York think they have targeted the culprit ... namely **acetaldehyde.**

Enzymes in the liver convert alcohol into **acetaldehyde** ... which is known to be a potent cell poison.

So, if someone calls you an alcoholic ... tell 'em to buzz off. You're an acetaldehydic.

... But not a drop to drink

On the other hand, you'd better not drink the **water** either, if you're travelling. **Doctor B.H. Kean** of the **Cornell Medical Centre** says that one of the few safe substitutes for water in foreign countries is **beer.** He says that in his experience in 60 countries, there is no bad beer produced anywhere in the world, because brewing is such a competitive field. **Doctor Kean** advises travellers to take to the bubbly brown beverage if they want to avoid the **demon diarrhea.**

Tutti frutti

Attentive readers of this column will have noticed that **Democritus'** researchers have left no stone unturned in keeping the public informed of hanky-pankified goings-on in the insect world. This month is no exception.

Robert Cook, a French geneticist, has been breeding a special strain of female **fruit flies** to maintain a female sterile gene. He says that his flies have been exhibiting **lesbian behaviour**, engaging in rudimentary male courtship.

Geneticists commenting on the experiment agree with **Cook** that it has little bearing on human sexuality, since

the lesbian behaviour was retained when **chromosomes** were substituted in laboratory strains that had not shown lesbian tendencies.

Apparently there's nothing gay in the genes, and Cook speculates that the change in sexual behaviour may have to do with the abnormal conditions imposed by breeding for sterility.

Over her dead body

The continuing march of science, with speculation proceeding to hypothesis, which in turn gives way to theory, is admirably demonstrated by a series of reports from **Manchester, England**. It seems that a team of dedicated archaeological, medical and Egyptological experts are taking apart the first **mummy** dismembered in Britain in half a century . . . and the gentlemen of the press have been on hand for each new revelation.

The first big breakthrough was the discovery that the **2000-year-old girl** had suffered numerous bone fractures before being mummified. The fifteen-year-old had shuffled off this mortal coil at about the time of

Cleopatra, and why, one wondered, all the broken bones.

Elementary, said report number one, she was stoned to death for contracting pregnancy before marriage. Within days, a new theoretical breakthrough! The poor girl had probably not been taking her pleasures lying down . . . but had been knocked down in one of the world's first known traffic accidents.

Within a week, science had taken another leap forward. At latest report, the team of experts believes that the young lady died as a result of a crocodile attack, since she was not pregnant, and had spent some time in the water before being embalmed.

The discovery that the body had been a **float**er may pay to yet another hypothesis put forward by the intrepid investigators. Earlier, they suggested that the girl's remains had been allowed to decompose for a week before being embalmed, as a protection against nasty habits among mummifiers. It was suggested that the Egyptian embalmer was an unsavoury sort of character, who was not above a little gentle necrophilia on his lunch breaks.

Edith Butler: singing of Acadia

by CAROLE ORR

I was listening to the radio the other day and I swear to God I heard Telly Savalas croon-moaning a love song romance-poetry talk-sing MacArthur Park style done up by the nemesis of Needle Park. We recall wondering what they'd do for an encore after Sinatra proclaimed he'd done it His Way. Now we know. Such a relief then, in the midst of all the ordure, to hear Edith Butler.

Butler brought out an album last year after enormously successful performances at the Mariposa Folk Festival and in Montreal's Place des Arts. Titled *Avant D'Etre Depaysee*, the album is cut after cut of beautiful or rocking or charming or grabby songs written and sung by Edith on her twelve string and Daniel Deschenes on piano, plus backup. The production is lacking in points, but is still first-rate and Butler is brilliant. A born stage performer, Butler takes hold of an audience the moment she appears, tall and lithe, honey brown hair and a wide easy smile. She has a rich throaty voice, nasal sometimes, with the unmistakable vibrance of great joy and conviction. As always, very infectious.

A great deal of her material is drawn from and dedicated to her native Acadia — legends of giants and laments of women left alone. Sometimes in English, though largely in French (surely this

is no longer an obstacle: any population that watches Kojak has innate understanding of foreign tongues), the musical base is Acadian traditional, which is what we would classify generally as folk. Unlike its blood relative Cajun, the Acadian style is more languorous or understated, though like Cajun, with more than the usual in-between notes, a bit like the Spanish.

But though rooted in the folklore of her people and in her home town of Piquetville, New Brunswick, Butler's style and arrangement is current, and periodically she'll sing a song like "Peace Brother" — not the usual woolly rubbish but a rebuke to weedy dreamers and trendy lefties.

"They march with placards, then go home and play the guitar and smoke a little pot," she shrugs. "You have to do more eh?"

"When I sing of Acadia, I sing of a minority group really, which is what needs to be talked about. One of the things."

All Butler's songs have depth and polish and love — whether a lullaby such as "Berceuse pour Jocelyn", or a song for Acadia. Everyone in the country should hear her, and would be completely taken by her.

"I once saw Maria Callas, and she was like a goddess, a brief moment of eternity. She is not a good singer now you know, but that doesn't matter, she raised

them towards something . . .

"You must be a sort of magician, you can't leave them there on the ground."

Butler is true to this idea of the performer on stage, and in recording the magic is there too.

"I think maybe I can give the small people pride with my songs for them."

On the way, she can give all people the joy of good music. If they hear her.

Our entertainment industry in general seems to be snoring or cowering. This implies latent ability, that may in fact not be there at all, but a lot of our artists deserve better.

Granted there is another factor here as well: the enormous amount of control American distributors, retailers and other free enterprisers have over what gets displayed how prominently on the newsracks, and even more so who gets played by the DJ's. Still, the CRTC rulings in the case of radio has changed this considerably, and besides, look at Pierre Berton!

If the country is really going to go along with this North American capitalist thing, then the operative word is Enterprise (Free), one supposes.

We face the challenge of the century: to enterprise and market freely without that we should fall into a state of sin, Oh Lord.

William Buckley smiles serenely and crookedly in his swivel chair.

Public enterprise in Canada

by ERIC HAMOVITCH

A Nation Unaware: The Canadian Economic Culture, by Herschel Hardin. J. J. Douglas/Vancouver. 369 pp. \$10.95.

It began in 1821. That was the year the government took over construction of the Lachine Canal after its private promoters had proven unable to carry the project through despite generous government purchases of stock.

This set the pattern which was to be followed in the building of other canals and later in the construction of Canada's major long-distance railways. They were built either under government ownership and control (e.g. the Intercolonial Rail-

way connecting the Maritimes with Lower Canada) or with exceedingly generous government support in the form of cash grants, land grants, bond guarantees and other incentives (the most notorious case being the CPR). Yet other railway companies were rescued from financial collapse when the CNR was created to assume their massive debts.

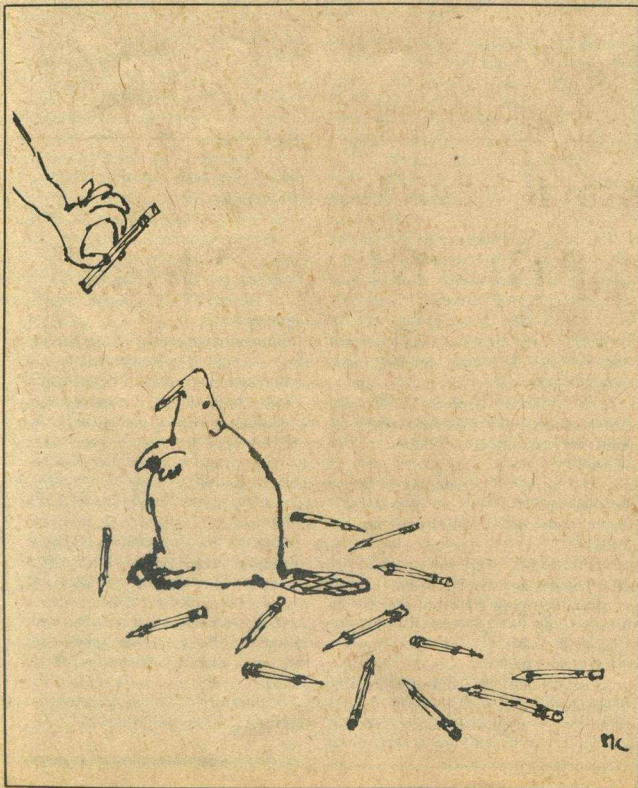
This government activity firmly established the great Canadian public enterprise tradition which, according to Herschel Hardin, is the central facet of Canada's economic culture. Canada is a country better suited to public than to private enterprise, says Hardin, but we have been conditioned to think otherwise; hence we are "a nation unaware".

Crown corporations are often thought of as being stodgy and unadventure-

some, while capitalist enterprise has a vigorous and dynamic image. The truth has often been otherwise in Canada, as Hardin shows in a selective survey of technical innovation, which is supposed to be an indication of entrepreneurial dynamism.

It was the CNR, and not the CPR, that pioneered network radio and the use of diesel locomotives. In its early days, Ontario Hydro undertook a program of technical innovation that stirred international interest and compared more than favourably with the performance of the then privately owned power companies in neighbouring Quebec. Outside the field of public utilities, the Polymer Corporations, initially set up by the government to overcome a World War II rubber shortage, proved sufficiently innovative and enterprising to thrive in a highly competitive international market after the war. Research Enterprises Limited, another wartime creation, was a highly innovative producer of optical glass and radar equipment, but C. D. Howe shut it down after the war.

By way of contrast, Hardin borrows from J. J. Brown's *Ideas in Exile* a long and sad list of Canadian inventions which were developed in the U.S. or not



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at all, because Canadian capitalists were unwilling to take the risks which are so often invoked to justify their profits. Hardin points out the distinction, essential but often overlooked, between enterprise and mere acquisitiveness. Entrepreneurs take risks and carry ideas to fruition, thus making productive contributions, whereas the avaricious stock promoters, financial manipulators and assorted empire builders who have been eulogized in our high school history texts and our financial press have engaged in a function which is essentially non-productive, and at times counter-productive. Canada's traditional commercial elites have contained a distressingly high proportion of the merely acquisitive, and they have rarely failed to put their own short-term interests ahead of long-term national interests (and in our system why shouldn't they?).

So far, so good. Public enterprise can serve Canadians well, given half a chance, and private enterprise is not all that it is made out to be. It is indisputably true that we have a greater penchant for public enterprise than our southern neighbours, but does it follow, as Hardin asserts, that the dominance of private capital in Canada has come about as what

he repeatedly calls the "American-ideology-in-Canada"? By insisting as he does that the Canadian economic culture is a public enterprise culture, is he not confusing what is and what ought to be?

There is nothing peculiarly Canadian about public enterprise in a capitalist context: it has been the general pattern throughout western Europe as well as in Canada. Nor is there anything peculiarly American about private enterprise: American ideological influence is only one of the factors, albeit an important one, to be taken into account in explaining Canadian capitalism. Can it be supposed that if the mask of American ideology is torn away, we will see Canadian geography and character striving to create a public enterprise system, or does there lurk an element of private greed beneath the placid Canadian exterior?

"Economies are cultures," states Hardin. "Economists are culturally backward. Economics is too important to be left to the economists." Fortunately, not all economists are culturally backward, or Hardin would have had trouble finding economists to invoke in support of any of his arguments. He produces some sound economic arguments and some rather nebulous cultural arguments

in favour of monopoly in public services and oligopoly in manufacturing. He laments Diefenbaker's decision to end the transcontinental monopoly held by Trans-Canada Airlines (now Air Canada), which caused a reduction in the load factor of domestic commercial flights, and he points to the now classic example of the highly wasteful "miniature replica" situation in the refrigerator industry. But monopoly and oligopoly are beneficial only if they can be regulated in a manner responsive to public need (something the so-called "open market" system has not always done). Air Canada's recent performance weakens arguments in favour of restoring its monopoly. People living in remote northern communities have had more than they can take of the commercial dominance of the Hudson's Bay Company. The list goes on.

Hardin relies more on wit and historical example to support his arguments than on reams of figures, and the result is a highly readable book. While not all of his points stand up to careful scrutiny, *A Nation Unaware* is helpful in debunking the widely held myth of the innate superiority of private over public enterprise.

Movie review:

The core of the film is "loss"

by WILLIAM DWIGHT ROBERTS

"First they bomb us then they photograph us." Quote from *Hearts and Minds*.

Hearts and Minds is not fair. Contrary to the accepted norms of sound journalistic analysis, it neither represents both sides of the argument nor begins and ends with the vaguery of an arbitrated finale. But, just perhaps, it gets to the truth of the matter. Concentrating on the aftermath, the film uncovers the emotional, intellectual, and physical impact upon those human beings involved.

For most, the war in Vietnam is over. Behind us, the just societies leave ruins, cripples, destruction, death, and an all too obvious yet unheeded final conclusion: the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination and the pursuit of peace (happiness is a way off). It is not solely upon the shoulders of the Americans that the shame and guilt must lie; Australian and South Korean servicemen, and, let us not forget, Canadian munitions also took their toll. The silence of other "just" nations prolonged the holocaust.

And is it over? On the basis of U.S. Defence Depart-

ment statistics that only one or two per cent of the American bombs, mortars, mines, etc. in Vietnam fail to explode, it is estimated that between 300 and 600 million pounds of "live" explosives still remain scattered through the fields and jungles of Vietnam. Years of unceasing U.S. defoliation may have permanently depleted the productivity of the soil. The sword of the American power is far from blunt. Only its reasoning is dull.

In *Hearts and Minds*, director Peter Davis sits us down to 110 minutes of this reality. Like bad medicine, it is hard to take but we're better off for having done so. It is far from a scolding of American atrocities. Rather it is a warning of man's insatiable appetite for violence. Refined and organized, we call it war. From the most documented conflict in history, Davis draws a documentary of powerful visual impact. Intelligence officers, soldiers, beggars, grieving families, and of course the philosophical coffin-maker all have their say. The man who directed the television milestone documentary "The Selling of the Pentagon" doesn't miss a trick. Even "Stateside", the

continued on next page

continued from page 49

"kill'em, rip'em up" football games, the "I wanna be another tin soldier cadet corps", and the "squelch the Red Menace and Yellow Peril" 40's and 50's movies are revealed for what they really have been to thousands of North Americans — instruments of behavioural conditioning.

Prying our eyes open with actual combat footage and the gross stupidities of powerful men (General Westmoreland claims that Orientals do not prize life nearly as much as Westerners while Colonel Patton was proud to see his "good bunch of killers" in chapel the other day) we are forced to face man's bestial inhumanity to man — not in terms of Vietnam but in terms of war itself.

Director Davis claims the film to be "not a chronology of the war so much as a study of people's feelings." At one point a young, naked Vietnamese is being beaten and tortured. He turns his face to the camera. It is impassive, at peace, the eyes are aware. In the face of brutality he returned the face of acceptance. In Vietnam, after 600 years of war, pain had become a way of life; suffering a cultural heritage. The body could not betray what the mind had already learned to cope with.

We have denounced wars, and yet they flourish. We claim over and over again the purity of our system of political accountability, yet presidents and diplomats can still launch the model of the "free" world into a horror which closely resembles genocide. *Hearts and Minds* pleads with us to take notice. It is an extremely troubled, sober, and contemplative film about the origins and consequences of this and all wars. Without commentary we are reminded through the words of a veteran aviator of the awesome impersonality and destruction modern warfare can now bring to bear: "You never could see the people. You never saw any blood. You never could hear the screams. It was very clean. I was a technician."

There is no "good ending" to any war. In Vietnam bombs and mines still remain. Countless limbs, on both sides, can never be replaced. But hopefully, this agony is a lesser evil than the consequences of continued warfare. We should be thankful, as Canadians, as whatever, that these particular hostilities are over. We should also beware of taking moral positions of applying purity tests as to degrees of complicity the American people had with the White House/Pentagon/Saigon triumvirate. Many Americans simply believed what they were told; how were they to know it was lies.

The film breaks the boundaries of conventional discussion and becomes something much more profound. When *Time* magazine proclaims with authority (March 17, 1975) — "*Hearts and Minds* displays more than enough heart. It is the mind that is missing" — I can only suggest you cancel your subscription. On one side this film is a complex tale of a nation which possesses apparently infallible power only to find it doesn't work. The divine right of winning is disproved as thoroughly as the divine right of kings. On the other side it is a shrewdly argued vindication of antiwar views.

Yet its core lies somewhere else, in a sanctuary that is less partisan. The core is loss. The loss of ideals, dreams, and illusions; of relatives, liberties, and limbs. And finally the most dreaded of all — the loss of collective humanity's ability to identify with human suffering.

LAST POST PUZZLE NO. 8

by Charles Ivor Boire
General Editor: Claire Balloune

Clues are cryptic, consisting of at least two elements, one of which is a direct reference to the answer, the other a rebus, anagram, hidden word, play on words or a pun. Any proposed solution to a clue may therefore be checked against the whole clue to see that it fits in with all the elements. Anagrams are usually flagged by the inclusion in the clue of a word such as "confused" or "upset"; puns are flagged by words such as "we hear". Letters in the solution may be indicated in the clue. Thus S may be indicated by "south", P by "soft" (music), M by "thousand" (Latin), IE by "that is", EG by "for example", MD by "doctor" and so on.

Specimen clue: "Preserve a District Attorney in the country."

CAN A D.A. CANADA

ANSWERS

The answers to this puzzle are on page 45

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
A															
B															
C															
D															
E															
F															
G															
H															
I															
J															
K															
L															
M															
N															
O															

CLUES — ACROSS

- A1.** Belabors the point like a Quebec butcher. (5, 1, 4, 5)
C1. Some animals must be more than this others too. (7)
C9. Pharisées' cronies or press gallery hacks? (7)
E1. Given to go out with 'em, we hear. (5)
E7. Blow me with sin in the ladies lobby. (6, 3)
G1. Racing men on pubescent breasts? (8)
G12. Suckers for government projects! (4)
I1. A call for the gents sounds portentous. (4)
I8. Just the thing for Canadian reaction, and capable we hear. (3, 5)
K1. Where a Liberal fund-raiser kept the loot in the Old West? (9)
K11. Whelan should be back on it, meanwhile. (5)
M1. Not a first-class hotel for the team with only one good player. (3, 4)
M9. An ear rite in a separatist province. (7)
O1. Come in around between French. (5)

- O7.** Anglophone opposite of enfer-rouge from election pulpit. (3, 4)

CLUES — DOWN

- A1.** Rock bottom in Last Post Canadian journalism. (10, 5)
A3. Open like S in a vertical alphabet. (5)
A5. Trudeau on skid row with poor peoples' porcelain? (8)
A7. What a state for a Du Pont to be in. (8)
A9. To take office . . . or for granted. (6)
A11. Neither she nor the birds. (6)
A13. Riel had one discontented feline. (9)
A15. Get the point, like New York from Ottawa. (4, 2, 5, 4)
G3. U. S. underworld takes five, for a change. (9)
H9. Bourassa election practice borrowed from Indian cult. (8)
I11. Friendly drink. (7)
J5. Yellow briar author carries a sax. (6)
J7. Mission ends like Morgentaler. (6)
K13. North over sure about recent Nova Scotia striker. (5)

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