

THE LAST POST

DECEMBER 1976/75 CENTS

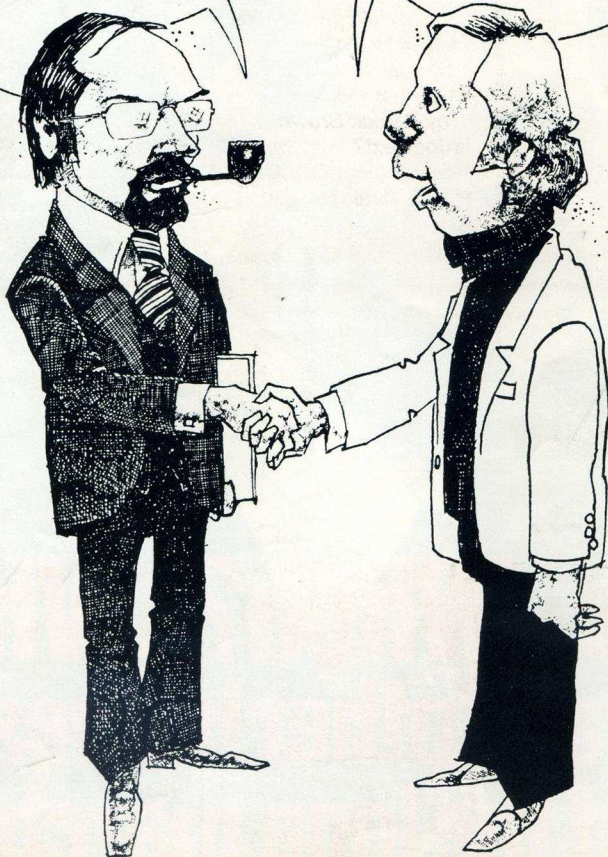
Quebec:
the election
probed

Joe...When?...Why?
(and other heroes
of the long march)



BONJOUR! JE M'APPELLE
GILLES TREMBLAY ET JE
SUIS SÉPARATISTE MOI

WELL, HI THERE! MY
NAME IS BOB SMITH
AND I'M A CAPRICORN



THE LAST POST

December 1976, Vol. 5, No. 8

CONTENTS

Letters	4
KEEPING POSTED	6
Bilingualism <i>by Sandy Schechter</i>	
Otto's way <i>by Winston Gereluk</i>	
Ham report <i>by Mick Lowe</i>	
Morgentaler <i>by Edie Farkas</i>	
Kissinger <i>by Alan Frizzell</i>	
Socreds <i>by Albert Train</i>	
The Last Pssst	
<i>by Claude Balloune</i>	20
Levesque's victory	
<i>by Patrick Brown</i>	21
Is Joe next?	
<i>by Murphy, Chodos & Brown</i>	23
Reed's deals <i>by OPIRG</i>	32



Reed in Canada
by OPIRG
page 32



Otto Lang:
the wheat tsar
by Winston Gereluk
page 8



Rene Levesque:
The PQ's victory
by Patrick Brown
page 21



Can Tories win?
by Murphy, Chodos and Brown
page 23

REAR VIEW

41

Stagflation
by Ralph Surette
Mackenzie King
by Norman Penner
Movies
by Thomas E. Reid
Theatre
by Barbara Lecker
Science column
by Democritus

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Letters

Those Chilean arms at Montreal

Dear Last Post:

We have been contacted concerning a story which appears to allege our company could be using Canadian ports to ship U.S. military cargo to various countries.

For your information our firm is a licensed freight forwarder regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission, Civil Aeronautics Board and the Federal Maritime Commission and we would not, nor could we, circumvent any requirements placed upon us by these regulatory bodies. We categorically deny carrying on business in the purchasing or selling of military supplies. We provide transportation services only. Our firm categorically denies utilizing any Canadian port for any of our accounts in any normal shipping procedure nor do we have any requirement for abnormal shipping procedures which would include Canadian or any other trans-shipment point.

The matter under discussion in your article was a shipment of cargo which included wing tanks consigned to the Government of Chile and which was shipped on behalf of that account. This cargo was delivered to the Chilean Lines in Baltimore, Maryland. No doubt the Chilean Lines, for purposes of their own convenience, off-loaded and/or reloaded the cargo at the Montreal docks.

We understand that this information was reprinted or was published in Peruvian papers and we are asking our agents in that area to make the record clear on our behalf. Further, we wish to clearly point out that our firm holds itself out as an independent licensed freight forwarder or expeditor of cargo which is our one reason for being. The Government of Chile is one of our valued accounts. We provide services for other countries as well under the same requirements.

We would hope that this clarifies the matter.

Jack Kagan
President

International Export Packers Inc.
Alexandria, Virginia

Teachers and workers

Dear Last Post:

Vol. 5, No. 6, article entitled "Suburbury: Mine Accidents. . . ." The author, Mick Lowe, is less than accurate. The implication that the average yearly salary of \$13,000 to \$17,000 for Inco's 7,000 miners is less than equal to the wage of the average high school teacher is ill-founded.

What is the average age and the average education of the Inco worker? Lowe's quote of statement "They hire a guy off the streets, give him two weeks in a stope school. . . ." should have afforded him the knowledge that the training of a teacher is a little more than for an Inco worker. Ask any teacher and also ask what the total cost of that training was to the teacher and also consider the loss of income during the four or five year training period. If that doesn't suffice, refer to an economics text.

What this article has achieved for the *Last Post* is a decrease in credibility. I felt that this magazine posed as truer than *Time*, with its underground flavour, but who knows, maybe you're both synthetic.

Sharon O'Neill Fair
Wawa, Ont.

The anti-French backlash

Dear Last Post:

I have just finished reading Drummond Burgess' "The Backlash" in your latest issue, and I want to submit that by concentrating on the bigotry which doubtless exists in English Canada he has missed some of the fundamental causes of the anti-French backlash and an opportunity to criticize strongly and constructively the policies of the Liberal governments both of Canada and Quebec.

Take my own case, for example. About four years ago I found my job threatened and then ended. While job hunting a number of positions in the federal civil service came up which I felt well-qualified to fill. In no case did I get a serious nibble. I couldn't help feeling at the time that had I been bilingual this would not have happened.

I was brought up in wasp Ontario where French was not taught until high school and then, in my case anyway, French was incompetently taught. Ra-

tional as I tried to be I could not help feel resentful at being cut out of a chance at a federal job by a change of the rules long after my normal schooling was over. I'm sure thousands of others have had similar experiences.

Secondly, late in June I took a swing through southern Ontario visiting friends and relatives. Two dominant themes appeared in their conversations — resentment against teachers for high salaries and poor results, and resentment against the *application* of Bilingualism. Almost everywhere people had stories about competent unilingual civil servants being replaced by "bilingual" and incompetent French.

The following is typical. A friend in Ottawa in private business has a number of government departments as important clients. Eureka, about two years ago her principal contact in a major account who was unilingual English was replaced by a "bilingual" French Canadian who could barely make herself understood in English and who is completely incompetent in her job. Needless to say, my friend is not an enthusiast for bilingualism *as practised* although she believes in the concept sufficiently to send her children into Quebec for language immersion in the summer.

Thirdly, whatever its other merits, Bill 22's attempt to force immigrant parents to have their children schooled in French must inevitably raise the hackles not only, or chiefly, of bigoted wasps but especially of immigrants who must empathize with the Italian parents in Montreal who want the right to have their children schooled in what is, after all, the dominant language of this continent and the language to have if you cherish career opportunities in North America as a whole.

The Olympic mess, the Sky Shops affair, the James Bay mess, and the incompetence of the Trudeau government all just reinforce the feeling that governments and ministries headed by French-Canadians are incompetent and corrupt.

I want to submit experiences and perceptions such as these, much more than French on post offices and soup cans, are what is behind the feeling which is articulated by saying "French is being shoved down our throats."

Sure, there is an element of bigotry there, but there is an even larger element of stupidity and incompetence. In fact the Liberal government's handling of the affair only really makes sense if one assumes that they want to stir the bilingual

pot in order to distract attention from the mess and sell-outs they are engaged in elsewhere.

Obviously, if the federal government wanted a popular and successful bilingual policy its first concentration would have been on funding second language education at the elementary school level. This would have been popular and successful both because most parents want their children to learn a second language because of the career and travel opportunities, and because of the well-established fact that knowledge of a second language opens channels in the brain which makes learning of a third language and perhaps other learning skills easier.

What a motherhood project! Instead, if the local situation is normal as I suspect it is, interested parents have had to battle the public school board to get French into the elementary schools and the study of French at the high school level has declined.

In short, by concentrating on the bigotry in English Canada Mr. Burgess has failed to note good and substantial reasons why English-Canadians feel unhappy with the bilingual program and has, in effect, let the Trudeau and Bourassa governments partly off the hook they deserve to be hung on for their mishandling of the whole issue.

Best wishes.

K. L. Morrison
Thunder Bay

Poor taste

Dear Last Post:

We subscribed to the *Last Post* in the summer and have just received our first issue. The humour (satire or whatever) is done in poor taste and the language is questionable and objectionable in places: eg: page 44. This kind of thing we cannot put on the shelves of a Junior/Senior High Library.

E. R. Lobe
Librarian
Senator Riley High School
High River, Alberta

Letters

continued on page 20

Sunday Morning

YOUR NEWSPAPER OF THE AIR

Switch on the world every Sunday morning and hear all about it . . .

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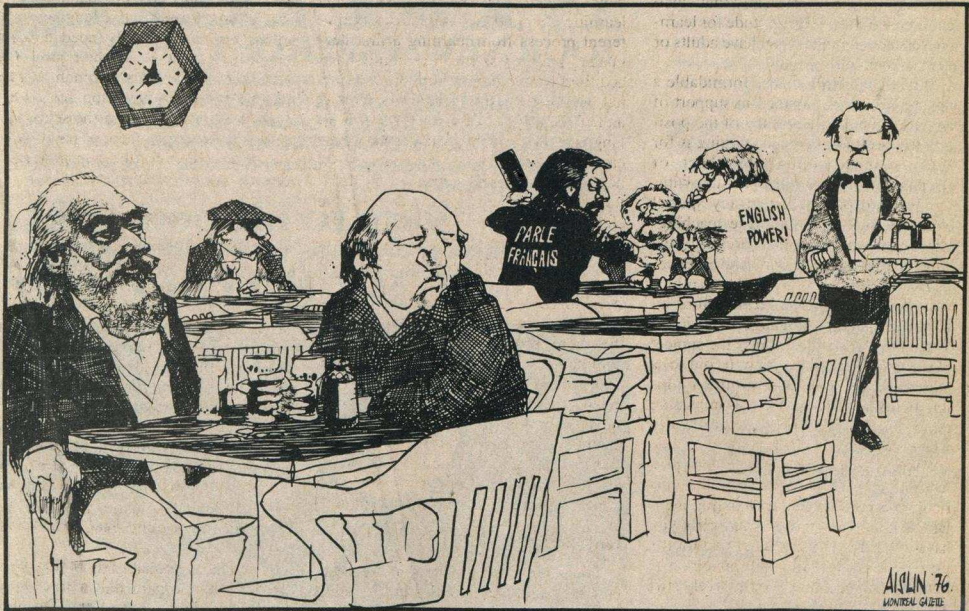
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KEEPING POSTED

THE BILINGUALISM DEBATE: IS THERE LIFE AFTER ADOLESCENCE?



"THAT POOR FELLOW IN THE MIDDLE MUST BE BILINGUAL."

by SANDRA SCHECTER

OTTAWA — Defenders of the government's bilingualism program in the civil service are no longer easy to find around Ottawa. The government itself joined the retreat in the Speech from the Throne by suggesting that the emphasis of the program would shift from the civil service to the educational system. In doing this, it was only adopting a position that had already become conventional wisdom. It was not only part of the Conservative Party platform but also the position of people who spoke with a great deal of authority on language issues.

In particular, the retreat from civil service bilingualism had the support of Keith Spicer, the Commissioner for Official Languages. Well-dressed, witty, articulate and genuinely bilingual,

Spicer commands respect on several levels. In a city that has become the home of the run-on clause and the polysyllabic Latinized vocabulary, the annual reports of the Commissioner for Official Languages have always been refreshing for their clarity and directness. They bristle with original reworkings of old clichés ("Teaching Old Dogs the New Trick of Obfuscation in Two Languages") and interesting variations on a variety of themes ("One Giant Step for the Bureaucracy, One Small Step for the Franco-phone"). His reports have consistently been interesting, even if they have rarely been read.

But it seems that everyone has been reading the Fifth Annual Report. Certainly the Tories have, combing the distinguished commissioner's report for reasons why the tides of bilingualism in the bureaucracy should be stayed. If

Spicer weren't enough they could also point to an eminent French Canadian linguist, Gilles Bibeau, who said similar things. In a massive report commissioned by the treasury board, Bibeau and his colleague suggested that the bilingualism program in the civil service be cut down to size.

In all, there have been approximately 58,000 adults enrolled in second-language programs in the civil service since the inception of the program in 1964. Now the Bibeau Commission informs us that fewer than ten per cent of these public servants have achieved the "threshold of bilingualism". It recommends, among other things, that positions be identified in terms of the language competence they require, that the bilingualism programs be modified to suit the particular needs of individual departments and that language teachers

for the civil service be more experienced, better educated and better trained.

Spicer would even go one step further — he urges that the government try to “get out of the business of basic academic language training for federal employees” and “teach the kids”. He had laid the groundwork for this recommendation in his Fourth Report a year earlier, noting that Dr. Wilder Penfield had “confirmed scientifically that small children have a readier aptitude for learning second languages than have adults or even teenagers”.

While Dr. Penfield is as formidable a name as could be invoked in support of any argument, his advocacy of the position that second-language learning is for kids stopped somewhere short of “scientific confirmation”. To start with, Dr. Penfield never claimed any special expertise in foreign-language teaching. His widely publicized address to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston back in the 1950s examined only the neurophysiological factors involved in maternal-language acquisition. When the Doctor did address the subject of second-language learning, he did so as a layman concerned with promoting bilingualism in Canada. He was imploring rather than confirming scientifically when he wrote in 1959:

“When you enter [the teaching] profession, I beg you to arrange the curriculum according to the changing mental capacities of the boys and girls you have to teach. . . . Remember that for the purposes of learning languages the human brain becomes progressively stiff and rigid after the age of nine”.

Spicer could also have cited other references, perhaps not as well known as Dr. Penfield but just as academically respectable. He could have cited the American linguist E. H. Lenneberg who, from his neurophysiological research into first-language acquisition, suddenly concluded that from mid-teens to old age “acquisition of [a] second language becomes increasingly difficult,” while advancing absolutely no evidence relevant to the learning of a second language to support his claim.

We could also have heard as well that children pronounce foreign sounds perfectly, that they react naturally and spontaneously to stimuli, that they don't ask questions, that they proceed by rote, that they come without prejudices, and that in general they are better equipped physically and emotionally to handle a second language.

All these arguments either lack evi-

Not entirely, surely

... Cranston is a dynamo — a slithery, volatile performer with enough charisma to dim the memory of Eleanor Roosevelt.

—*Toronto Globe & Mail, September 25, 1976*

dence or skirt the issue. To start with, learning a second language is a very different process from learning a first language. Children as much as adults have acquired speech habits from their maternal language that are hard to overcome, and if they are more open to a second language it is probably because they are a captive audience rather than because of any greater inherent capacity. In addition, learning a language in a competitive classroom situation poses more problems than learning one at home. As for pronunciation, it is questionable whether it is as important a language skill as has been made out. The emphasis on pronunciation has distracted attention from the more productive goal of sensible communication. The rote memorization argument is suspect too. With Harvard behaviourist B. F. Skinner waiting off-stage with his computerized teaching machines, we have only to be thankful that at some point in their development intelligent human beings refuse to proceed any further with rote memorization.

Language as 'kid-stuff'

Thus, the argument that second-language learning is kid stuff is being adopted by the federal government at a time when the scientific evidence in favour of it is being subjected to considerable questioning.

Not surprisingly, the government's move has more to do with political than with scientific realities. Fear of a French takeover in Ottawa has reached an all-time high, especially in the wings of the country. Claude Arpin's articles in the FP papers about westerners' reactions to bilingualism have sent even the most devoted bilingualism advocates scurrying for cover. Talking about teaching French to kids is a relatively graceful way of retreating.

Actually, the record of the bilingualism program in the civil service is not that bad. Ten per cent across the bilingualism threshold is at least as good as what the elementary schools have managed to achieve. But the point is not to argue who learns better or quicker. The point is to teach as many people, of all

ages, as much of a second language as possible. The many Canadians who missed out on competent second-language training in elementary school should at least have a second chance.

If more civil servants haven't been effectively trained in a second language, it has not been because of the quality of the programs offered by the Public Service Commission. As both Spicer and Bibeau point out, most civil servants, and especially those whose native language is English, still don't really need a second language to get by at their jobs. Civil servants don't learn French because there's no real motivation for them to learn it. Having to learn the second language in the atmosphere of paranoia and uncertainty that has been pervading the country doesn't help matters either.

Spicer an astute politician

Spicer is much more astute as a politician than he is as a linguist. One knowledgeable person within the government's language apparatus describes Spicer's function as being that of an “escape valve” and “the government's trial balloon”. Spicer can't be criticized for not being an expert but he should be careful about where his advice comes from. His job is to oversee the implementation of the Official Languages Act and not to advance the state of linguistic knowledge, but if he is going to get into linguistic arguments he shouldn't come quite so unprepared as he has.

Ironically, probably the most competent language organization the country is right within the government. The government has poured millions of dollars into the Language Bureau, which is responsible for second-language curriculum in the civil service, and has managed to attract to it people who would be capable of providing the commissioner's office with the kind of informed analysis it needs. The way the structure is set up, communication between Spicer's office and the Language Bureau is virtually nonexistent.

Spicer's reports always offer a little something for everyone, and that is perhaps why he is so popular. This time he has gauged the mood of the country even more accurately than usual, and his influence is greater than ever. Unfortunately, in the process we are asked to believe that our creative capacities parch and jaundice with our elementary school diplomas. It is not the most encouraging self-image, but it is evidently what both Spicer and Tadeau have in mind.

WESTERN FARMERS: LIBERALS JILT CINDERELLA AGAIN

by WINSTON GERELUK

WINNIPEG — In 1973, the Liberal regime in Ottawa began a systematic attack on one of the last remaining institutions working in the interest of Western Canadian grain farmers: the Canadian Wheat Board and its related system of orderly grain handling and marketing.

In 1974, Otto Lang, federal Minister in charge of the Wheat Board, strengthened the attack with the introduction of a new feed grains policy which effectively transferred control of a large portion of arm production from the Wheat Board to the open market.

In the federal election campaign held in spring, NDP candidates and the National Farmers' Union warned farmers that this was only the beginning, that Mr. Lang and his cronies in the private grain trade would not rest until they had completely destroyed orderly marketing. Conservatives, both federally and provincially, supported the Liberal moves.

So, only two years later, history is showing the warnings to be correct. Except this time, Mr. Lang is also the federal minister of transport, and has been allowed to broaden his attacks to the rights which farmers enjoyed in that area — again with the support of the Tories.

The latest changes will be devastating not only to grain production, but probably will spell the end to a promising rapeseed industry in the West. They shouldn't, however, lose the Liberals any votes amongst eastern Canadian feeders or supporters of the multinational grain companies.

Older farmers should know that the Canadian Wheat Board came into being, not because of the benevolence of the federal government, but because western farm organizations had spent decades fighting for some protection against ruinous price fluctuations and the manipulations of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange and the private grain trade. They believed that the Wheat Board would represent the best legitimate interests of the farmers by handling and marketing all of their grain.

The Wheat Board was introduced on a voluntary basis in 1955, and gradually extended its control over grain handling and marketing to such an extent that during the war, the speculative market in grains was suspended completely and the



Transport Minister Otto Lang seems determined to destroy the Canadian Wheat Board

government body was responsible for all grains produced for market.

The first "hole in the bucket" occurred soon after the war, when private feed mills were granted the right to purchase grain directly from farmers at whatever price they could negotiate. This was not a serious breach as long as export markets held; but when markets dwindled, farmers found themselves hauling their grain to the mills for next to nothing.

However, beginning in 1973 with an abortive interim policy, and then on May 22, 1974, Otto Lang moved to take the "whole bottom out of the bucket", with a National Domestic Feed Grains Policy which effectively took all control of feed grains away from the Wheat Board, placing them on the "open market".

At the time, it was hinted that producers would be given a chance to vote on the policy after a "reasonable period of time" — in fact it was only this September, and several developments later, that Mr. Lang was willing to announce that preparations were being made for the plebiscite.

He has not yet revealed the exact wording of the question on which farmers would be allowed to decide. There have been some indications that all permit book holders, including feeders who grow only some of their own grain, will be allowed to cast ballots along with farmers who grow grains for a livelihood.

There is some fear amongst supporters of the Wheat Board that the upcoming plebiscite will be a repeat of the 1973 rapeseed vote; that farmers will be asked to make their decision at the exact moment when Wheat Board prices are at their worst and open market prices are at their best.

At present, as a result of the Feed Grains Policy, the Wheat Board has no control over the domestic market in feed grains. Any domestic buyer is free to purchase wheat, oats or barley from any source, ignoring Wheat Board prices and quota regulations. And producers are free to deliver these feed grains to either the off-Board market, or to the Wheat Board, depending on the prices they can get that day. However, whereas grain

sold to the Wheat Board is subject to quota, off-Board grain is not.

While the Wheat Board lost control over feed grains, it gained extra (and costly) obligations as a result of the policy.

It was the Board's responsibility to co-ordinate *all* shipments of grain out of Western Canada, to supply initial stocks of grains to the program at Winnipeg Commodity Exchange prices, to accept "trades" for stocks held in Thunder Bay for grain still at country points, to maintain a ten million bushel reserve of feed grains at Halifax and Thunder Bay for the eastern Canadian market, and to adjust its buying and pricing patterns to the domestic feed situation.

The power to monitor the program and to evaluate its success was handed to the new free-enterprise oriented Canadian Grains Commission, and, in eastern Canada, a Canadian Livestock Feed Board was created to oversee supplies of grain and to administer the Feed Freight Assistance program which would subsidize the movement of Western grain to eastern markets at an annual cost of about 20 million dollars.

As could have been predicted, the effect of the policy on the Wheat Board was tremendous. It incurred costly obligations at the same time as its powers to operate effectively had been stripped away. It was forced to offer its grain on the open market at open market prices at the request of the Feed Board — grain it had already moved into export position at the Lakehead.

Indeed, during the 1974-5 crop year, 57 per cent of the feed wheat, 61 per cent of the oats, and 40 per cent of the barley required under the program by eastern feeders came out of Wheat Board stocks at prices established by the Commodity Exchange. Between August 1, 1974 and January 8, 1975, more than 9.5 million bushels of western feed wheat alone was sold or transferred to the open market by this method, receiving prices averaging twelve cents below its corn-competitive value, and *close to one dollar per bushel below* the Board's export and domestic selling price.

As a further wrinkle, since it was announced that the Board would be required to provide this grain at the going Exchange price, and since eastern feeders were guaranteed a supply, there was no incentive for buyers to bid aggressively on the Exchange, thereby depressing even further the so-called "open market" price.

Finally, this disturbing development.

On August 1, 1975, the date on which the new policy became effective, the initial prices paid for deliveries of feed grains by the Canadian Wheat Board were changed by the federal government. As an inducement to western farmers to "try the new program", initial wheat prices were lowered by \$1.50/bushel, barley by \$.60/bushel, and oats by \$.10/bushel. They were raised back to more realistic levels that November — it is impossible to say how many farmers sold off-Board as a result. It is known, however, that open market sales plunged immediately when prices were restored.

(The Wheat Board offers initial payments to farmers when grain is delivered, and then "final" payments when that year's crop is sold. Off-Board sales were rewarded with an immediate cash settlement roughly half-way between the Board's initial and its estimated final price.)

The effects of these changes would not have been so devastating had feed grains for domestic use constituted only a tiny portion of total prairie production. In fact, figures show that in the last ten years, the majority of oats and barley, and a significant proportion of the wheat produced were used for domestic feed.

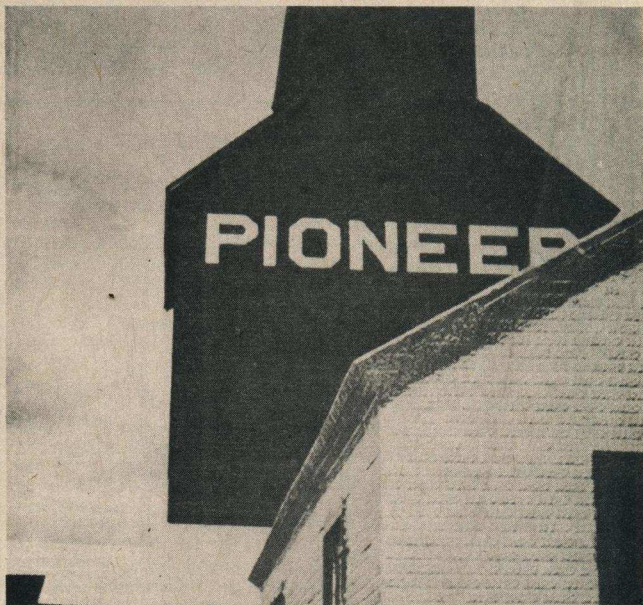
On an average, of the 338 million

bushels of oats produced annually, 93 per cent went for feed; of the 387 million bushels of barley, 60 per cent was consumed domestically as feed; and of the 587 million bushels of wheat, 12 per cent was used as feed. It is easy to see why the Wheat Board had always treated the domestic market as an important one, and one to be satisfied equitably.

In the House of Commons, and then on the federal election trail later that year, the New Democratic Party was the only party which joined the National Farmers' Union in condemning the changes, in pointing out the reasons for and implications of the new policy. Especially disturbing was the coincidence of these erosions of Board power with the ominous movement into Canadian agriculture of the giant multinational grain companies.

That very spring, Cargill Grain Co., to mention one, had just completed the purchase of 280 elevators, five feed mills and a hog-breeding plant from National Grain, a subsidiary of Peavey Corporation of Minneapolis. Cargill's alone is a threat to the orderly marketing plans of the Canadian Wheat Board because of its size and world-wide operations.

It ranks sixteenth on a list of the top 500 public industrial corporations of the



As the Board's power erodes, the multinational grain companies move in.

world, and is the largest privately-held corporation in the United States with sales of about 9 billion dollars in 1975 and holdings extending all the way from grain handling and transportation facilities to electronics and plastics.

As Roger Murray, Cargill's Canadian manager put it, the National purchase "places Cargill in a unique position to plan an efficient future expansion in the handling, processing and exporting of Canadian grain."

The erosion continues

This past year, more Liberal government moves to erode the Canadian Wheat Board, combined this time with an attack on another guarantee for which Western Canadian farmers have fought and paid dearly — "Crownsnest" or statutory rates on rail shipment of grain and rapeseed.

It has long been the contention of Western feeders that the cost of shipping their products to markets placed them at a disadvantage to eastern feeders, especially when the shipment of feed grain to the east was being subsidized, as it was under the Crownsnest Agreement.

The new policy, in assuring eastern feeders grain at off-Board prices without extending a similar guarantee to the West, simply exacerbated this problem. For instance, monitored feed grain prices for 1974 indicate that western feed grain costs rose 3.6 per cent above the costs for eastern farmers, and that for the first half of 1975, western feed costs increased to

8.8 per cent over eastern feed input costs.

Using his unique powers of reasoning, Otto Lang this year decided to correct these inequities by doing away with freight subsidies, thereby directly penalizing the western Canadian grain grower who will now have to pay more of the cost of transportation for his product.

Transport subsidies attacked

By subsidizing Prairie grain moving east and to B.C., the Feed Freight Assistance Program was calculated to make it competitive with U.S. corn at those points. However, as of August 1, rate subsidies have been reduced by 4 dollars/ton to B.C., and in Ontario and western Quebec, rates of assistance of 6 dollars/ton and less will be eliminated with other rates being adjusted accordingly. Subsidies to eastern Quebec and the Maritimes will be maintained.

Furthermore, supposedly in the interests of western cattlemen, Mr. Lang is proposing the removal of domestic feed grains from the Crownsnest agreement in favour of "compensatory" rates (only partially-subsidized rates). In this, he has the written support of Hugh Horner, Alberta's minister of transport, himself no stranger to the beef game.

This move might have a chance of achieving its purported aim, if it resulted in an increased price to eastern feeders. However, they are still going to be assured at "corn-competitive prices". It can only mean, therefore, that western

grain producers will have to bear the extra burden of paying the equivalent cost of the freight assistance that was previously borne by the federal treasury.

According to NFU estimates, on June 9 of last year, the new policy would have reflected itself in an immediate price drop to western growers of 18 cents per bushel of wheat, 17 per bushel of oats, and 7.25 cents per bushel of barley.

And, with Mr. Lang's new plans, the Wheat Board is hit with another obligation. As of August 1, 1976, it must on a continuing basis, provide for any shortfall in the domestic supply of feed grains *at corn competitive prices as set in Montreal*, no matter what the actual export price. Not only is this a serious blow to the Wheat Board but, as well, to western grain growers, who will now have to accept this price, *minus* increased transportation and handling costs.

Eastern interests favoured

This move is clearly a response to continuing pressure from eastern feeders, the Exchange, and the Canadian Livestock Feed Board. A report of the Winnipeg Commodity Exchange Feed Grains Marketing Study Committee released on April 5 complained that "a major challenge to the satisfactory operation of this market has been its need to compete for supplies alongside the export-oriented market controlled by the Canadian Wheat Board. . . ."

Then, on May 5, Dr. Roger Perrault, Chairman of the Feed Board, advocated the exact changes that Mr. Lang has since effected, adding this insight as to what was at stake: "The problem is that there are two systems working at the same time. On the one hand, a state monopoly, the Canadian Wheat Board, and on the other hand, a so-called free market in the West. It is difficult to strike a balance between the two."

Mr. Lang's reason for the revision? "We are still encouraging the growth of livestock and feed grain production across the the country according to the natural potential of each region." Leaving aside other obvious criticisms of this reason, it is difficult to understand why livestock production should be a priority at the very time when the beef industry has been in a three year depression because of low prices.

Finally, as another move to render the Wheat Board toothless, Mr. Lang has plans "in an advanced stage of implementation" to transfer control over wheat, barley, and oat imports into Canada from the Wheat Board to the

Oh, well done, Morency!

Internal Memo/Note de service



Date: June 24, 1976 - le 25 Juin 1976
From/De: Acting Manager, Human Resources Department
Chef adjoint du Service des Ressources Humaines
Subject/Objet: JULY 1, 1976 - LE 1er JUILLET 1976

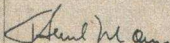
To/A:

Mr. Chief

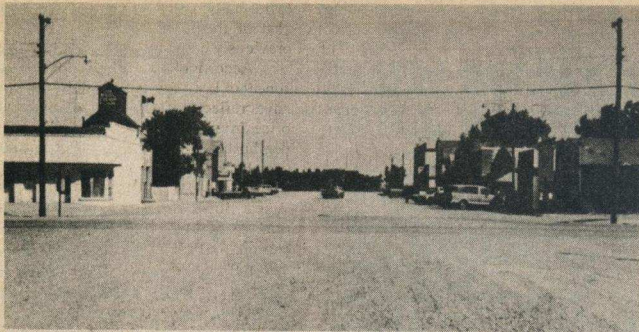
Mr. Personnel

This is to advise that the July 1st holiday will take place on Thursday, July 1, 1976.

Le présente confirme que le jour férié du 1er juillet sera observé le jeudi 1er juillet 1976.


J. Bernard Morency

—Canadian Broadcasting Corporation internal memo



Now the Liberal government is attacking the Crowsnest shipping rates.

Export and Import Permits Act. This act happens to be administered by the same department of industry, trade and commerce which has already shown how well it represents the interests of Canadian producers in the case of dairy, fruits, vegetables, eggs and meat. In short, the transfer will throw the grain trade wide open to the multinational grain companies who will now be free to integrate their Canadian feed grain marketing plans with those of their U.S. operations.

Cargill's won't be amongst those protesting any of Mr. Lang's latest moves. In 1974, they were offering contracts to feed grains and oilseed producers; and competition from the Wheat Board did not help.

Cargill's opens terminals

As well, they have two huge inland grain terminals at Rosetown, Saskatchewan and Elm Creek, Manitoba to worry about.

Only ten days after it was opened this October, their 500,000 bushel Elm Creek terminal was filled. The 4 million dollar plant is equipped to put through 10 million bushels of grain annually. By staying open 16 hours a day and paying premiums on grain that is in demand, it is attracting farmers from 35 to 40 miles away; plans are eventually to truck in grain from a 100 mile radius. The Rose-town terminal is reported to be offering farmers free hauling from their fields as an initial incentive.

Other terminals are being planned. All are located in central positions to exploit a network of truck routes; but trucking will only become firmly established once the present system of country elevators and railway branch lines are abandoned. The abrogation of the Crow agreement will be a major step in that direction. Consequences such as high trucking

charges and road repair bills will probably become evident only when it is too late to reverse the damage.

The Cinderella crop

During the late sixties, when grain prices plunged disastrously and the Liberal government had nothing to offer but programs such as LIFT, and Task Force Reports, many farmers turned to rapeseed as a cash crop.

In spite of the fact that rapeseed was not handled by the Canadian Wheat Board, and was subject to wild price fluctuations (e.g., from \$2.50 to \$7.50 in a single season), it offered farmers some much-needed capital in the fall, much preferable to the alternative of building more graineries for wheat they couldn't sell.

Almost overnight the much-maligned crop became everyone's darling, earning the name "Cinderella crop".

Since 1961, rapeseed has been granted "grain" status, and as such has been covered under the Crowsnest Rate agreement. This meant that rapeseed growers could ship their produce by rail at about 11 cents/bushel as opposed to about 44 cents/bushel (compensatory rate), a factor that also helped to make this mustard crop a viable alternative to grain.

If, as in the case of grain, this lower rate had been applied to rapeseed products as well as the raw oilseed, the operation of a whole range of rape-seed-processing industries in the West would have been secure. (They make everything out of rapeseed, from vegetable oil to plastic.)

In fact, a number of plants, such as Saskatchewan Wheat Pool's CSP plant at Nipiwaw were begun, and rapeseed processing was being touted as one area in which the dream of indigenous manufac-

turing would be realized, as opposed to the traditional pattern of shipping raw materials (and jobs) east, or out of the country.

However, rapeseed products were not included under the agreement, and rising rates on rapeseed oil and meal are changing the picture, as is increased competition with imported soybean and palm oil on the eastern market. Westerners are realizing their mistake in not pressing for rape products to be included under the agreement.

As a result, CSP Foods in Saskatchewan has been losing an estimated 300,000 dollars/month since January, 1976. And, plans for new or expanded crushing plants in Alberta and Saskatchewan are being shelved. Saskatchewan alone could lose more than 250 jobs and over 100 million dollars a year in farm income as it becomes cheaper to ship the raw material east than to process it in the West.

As well, Japanese processors are now changing their minds about joint processing ventures on the Prairies. According to Premier Blakeney of Saskatchewan, "It is now uneconomic to crush rapeseed in Saskatchewan and ship oil and meal to Japan. It is much cheaper to ship the rapeseed to Japan and have it crushed... there."

Punishing the victims

The crushing plant proposed for Sexsmith, Alberta may be similarly affected. Its products would have to move at Crow rates in order to be economically viable, according to Reinhold Muenlenfeld, the company's manager. Likewise, the Alberta Wheat Pool is seriously reconsidering its plans for a plant in Fort Saskatchewan.

As is his style, Mr. Lang is proposing to solve this problem by punishing the victims — in this case the rapeseed farmers who are going to be hurt by the loss of local markets. With the blessing of Alberta's Hugh Horner, he is proposing that the raw rapeseed itself be removed from the Crow Agreement, thereby end-

Reggie Who?

Reggie Williams, Bengal's rookie linebacker, on why he spurned a more lucrative offer from the Toronto Argonauts: "Going to the Canadian Football League is identity suicide."

—New York Times, October 17, 1976

ing the advantage which the raw product has over its processed form.

Removing rapeseed from the statutory rates and shipping it at compensatory rates will triple the cost of transportation, and make it that much less attractive for the farmer than the grains which remain under the Crow rates. Not only will the rapeseed grower have lost a cash crop, but local processors will be further hurt by the removal of a steady source of raw rapeseed. Meanwhile nothing will have been done about the original problem created by rising freight rates on oil and meal.

Before a surprise telegram from Mr. Horner to Mr. Lang was intercepted this May, it appeared that the prairie provinces stood united against any tampering with the Crowstest Agreement. However, in that telegram, Mr. Horner advocated taking not only rapeseed, but all domestic feed grains off Crow rates.

In response to criticisms, the Alberta minister attempted to cloud the issue by suggesting that he was only referring to grains and oilseeds for the domestic market, pretending that export markets would pick up. However, almost 100 per cent of Western Canadian rapeseed is sold in Canada, and any foreign sales we have been able to make are declining.

Amongst those attacking Horner's betrayal has been Saskatchewan's minister of municipal affairs, Gordon MacMurchy, who has charged that as a result, Western rapeseed could be priced right out of the eastern market.

"This is no time for weasel words," he has said, in response to Horner's arguments. "This is a vicious attack on the Crow rate. We are amazed that one Western representative in Ottawa could even suggest such an alternative."

"Rapeseed is only the first to suffer. Any further loss means a direct transfer

of dollars from the farmers to the railways," said MacMurchy. "We cannot have our own Western leaders making deals like this."

For his part, Mr. Lang is justifying his latest moves by exploiting the "user pay" slogan.

"Transportation costs are real, and someone must pay for them," is his argument. "Those who do not think that the user should pay . . . are pointing the finger of justification that someone else pay . . . the taxpayer," he has said.

As a matter of fact, the question of grain handling and transportation costs are very real subjects of enquiry with which the Snavely and Hall Commissions are charged. It appears that their conclusions have been pre-empted by the Minister of Transportation.

What Mr. Lang appears to want the western Canadian farmer to ignore is that the West has already paid dearly in land and money for the subsidized rates such

as those made possible by the Crowstest Agreement, as well as for the whole railway empire in the first place.

Secondly, the user pay argument only has relevance where the user has some control or input into the service and evaluation of its efficiency, particularly when the provider of the service is in a monopoly position — something which the farmers have never enjoyed with the railways.

Finally, Mr. Lang is hoping that farmers will quietly accept decisions that are clearly in line with the recommendations of his government's 1969 *Report on Agriculture* which stated explicitly that policies should be pursued to rationalize agriculture by facilitating the movement of "excess farmers off the land", and integrating those that remain more closely with the rest of the agriculture industry.

Mr. Lang's latest moves are definitely a step in that direction.

THE HAM REPORT: THE WORST KILLER OF WORKERS IGNORED

by MICK LOWE

SUDBURY — The Report of the Royal Commission on the Health and Safety of Ontario Miners produced a minor media flap when it was released in Toronto in mid-August.

University of Toronto electrical engineering professor James Ham aimed mild rebukes at both government and the mining industry for failing to protect the health and safety of the province's 30,000 hard rock miners.

Ham's revelations about dust, silicosis, lung cancer and underground accidents may have shocked the public, but to the Northern Ontario miners who have been working in those conditions for decades, Ham's findings hardly came as a surprise.

The reaction of workers at the International Nickel Company's Froid mine in Sudbury was typical. After four deaths in less than 12 months, Froid has become notorious as Ontario's worst mining death trap.

While generally pleased with Ham's recommendations of worker/auditors to

take responsibility for mine inspections, some Froid workers believe that the report ignored the worst killers of the province's mining workforce.

For years Ontario mining companies have lured young men underground with the promise of high wages plus bonus pay in a high-risk for high-stakes occupation. The incentive system breeds competition and a flourish of the monthly bonus sheet, accompanied by a boast that is often heard in the Froid shower room: "I'm the Number One miner!"

While the Ham report analyzed fatalities by age, job category, work experience and even time of day, it failed to explore how many fatalities involved bonus. An official of the United Steelworkers calculates that 60 of the 86 deaths at Inco since 1960 involved bonus pay or bonus-related work, while only 20 percent of the total workforce is on the bonus system.

But if Ham ignored a system that provides greater rewards for greater risks, it could be because few of the elected union men who testified before him were willing to state publicly that bonus is to

Yes, but does he have lustful thoughts?

Hugh Faulkner is said to be not happy about his demotion to Minister of State for Science and Technology from Secretary of State, in the recent Cabinet shuffle.

According to insiders, Mr. Faulkner was tired of the complex portfolio, feels his influence and that of other junior ministers is dwindling. . . .

—Ottawa Journal, October 13, 1976

blame, a statement that could mean political suicide within the union. Popular lore has it that bonus miners like the higher wages, even if it means higher risks.

When 28 year-old Frood miner Dave Patterson told a *Maclean's* reporter that "When a person's livelihood is dependent on bonus, you make money — but you break every safety practice there is," the remark was used against him in a hotly-contested campaign for the presidency of the 14,000-strong Steelworkers Local 6500 at Inco. Copies of the magazine article, with the quotation circled, were circulated throughout Inco mines and plants by supporters of incumbent president Mickey Maguire.

Miners many years Patterson's senior at Frood offered their own explanations for the soaring fatality rate. Four senior miners with a combined total of one hundred years underground were unanimous in their conviction that, despite technological improvements in mining, underground working conditions have deteriorated in the last five years.

All of the older men cited the reduction of the workforce as the main cause. Among jobs eliminated by Inco: trackmen, who maintain underground ore haulage tracks; powdermen, who control the amount of explosive material taken from underground powder magazines; and level bosses, responsible for the physical plant of each mine level.

Professor Ham does not even mention the steady reduction of maintenance job categories, and he disappointed the Frood workforce on one other key point by not recommending that miners be granted the right to refuse work in areas they believe are unsafe. As it stands now a miner can be punished by the company for refusing a job assignment.

"Guys don't often refuse," remarked Frood driller Keith Lovely, "because they know that someone else will have to do it. You say to yourself, 'Well, I can do this maybe a little better than the next guy, so I'll take the risk.' Besides you know that you can be sent home and lose a day's pay." To Patterson, Lovely, and the men at Frood, the freedom to refuse unsafe assignments is a basic human right.

Meanwhile the Inco workforce offered its own verdict on the bonus controversy: in mid-October it elected Patterson, who refused to back down on his stand on bonus, to the presidency of Canada's largest union local. The margin was more than 1,000 votes.

ABORTION: HOW MANY TRIALS WILL MORGENTALER FACE?



Morgentaler at a 1969 meeting of the Montreal Committee for abortion on request

by EDIE FARKAS

At the \$25-a-plate fund-raising dinner held in a Montreal restaurant in October, the Committee for the Legal Defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler raised \$15,000. That day, the telegrams poured in once again, from those as diverse as Ed Broadbent, Chatelaine editor Doris Anderson, and Irving ("Women-are-only-good-for-screwing") Layton. Everyone deplored the treatment of Dr. Morgentaler, who though acquitted three times by a jury on a charge of performing an illegal abortion, was now awaiting his fourth trial.

Article 251 of the Canadian Criminal Code says it is a criminal act to perform an abortion. In 1969, under an Omnibus Bill to amend the Code, abortion was made legal in certain cases: where a committee of three qualified doctors judges an abortion to be "therapeutic", that is, where the continuation of pregnancy would endanger the life or health of the patient.

Therapeutic abortion committees may be established only in hospitals that are provincially accredited; but — and this is the deliberate ambiguity of the law — no

hospitals, even those which specialize in obstetrics and gynecology, are required to set up abortion committees. If asked, a hospital administrator can justify his decision not to give abortions on any ground at all — moral, financial, religious.

The abortion law — federal in word, provincial in practice, paternalistic in application — gives permission to provincial governments to incorporate abortion into their social affairs policies any way they wish.

Quebec has the fewest number of abortions in Canada. It's no coincidence that it also has the most rapidly falling birth rate and the least daycare centres.

In Quebec, in 1972, of 216 accredited hospitals, only 23 set up abortion committees. Of these, 11 were francophone, most of them in the Montreal area. The total number of therapeutic abortions performed that year was 135 while, in Ontario, the total was 20,212.

Before concentrating on abortions, Morgentaler was a general practitioner, well-liked by his patients for his authoritarian approach to treatment. His campaign to repeal the abortion law started in 1967, when he delivered a

brief before a Health Committee in the Commons. By 1969, he had converted his practice into a family planning clinic.

Morgentaler was concerned with better and safer methods of abortion and, after thoroughly researching the field, decided the best technique for a pregnancy up to 12 weeks was the vacuum-aspirator method. This kind of abortion is widely used today; Morgentaler was the first to introduce and perfect it in Canada, even offering the government the use of his clinic and facilities as a training centre for doctors and nurses.

Quebec hospitals position

The official religious position of most Quebec hospitals, the Roman Catholic one, is used as the ideological justification for the unavailability of abortion. The correct line was decreed by Pope Pius IX in 1869. The soul, he said, enters the embryo at the moment of conception. The largest Catholic anti-abortion group in Quebec, Pro-Life, by-passes the argument-from-the-soul, maintaining instead that all human organs are functioning by 56 days after conception. On the religious view generally — conception, birth, maturity — all are stages of human life; the arrest of any stage, murder.

Feminists say that the fetus is a part of the woman's body and is not a person until it is born.

Religious convictions are best left to those who hold them. But to those fanatics who, out of "respect for life," attempt to indoctrinate school children in Quebec by showing them slides of blue, hacked-up fetuses, a reminder: the right of a woman to an abortion is not synonymous with the coercion of all pregnant women to abort. An authoritarian mentality which understands individual choice as a threat to herd-security, forms itself into nightmare visions of concentration camps and Malthusian genetics. (Quebec's own Jeanne Sauvé declared last year that abortion is "the first step to euthanasia.")

Often combined with this is the paternalistic view that women are frivolous, irresponsible, and don't know what's good for them. This was how Creditiste M.P. Léonel Beaudoin, during the Commons Debate on abortion in 1969, saw things: "Those women or young girls have the impression that their problems will be solved by the death of the fetus and that, in this way, they will trifle with the conscience and good faith of physicians and gynecologists. They will even threaten to commit suicide, but very

few ever do it." Not that they kill themselves, but that they trifle with the good faith of the magnanimous men!

As president of the Montreal Humanist Fellowship in the sixties, Henry Morgentaler was a man of many causes, a concerned writer of letters-to-the editor, a person who wanted to feel always that he was fighting for something bigger and more important than himself. This explains, perhaps, why Morgentaler, after failing in his more conventional attempts for abortion repeal, made himself the sacrificial lamb of the whole issue, and why the two other Montreal abortionists, Dr. Ivan Machabée and Dr. Robert Tanguay have rarely been heard of, though they, too, are awaiting trial.

By June 1970, Morgentaler was known by the police for performing abortions; his office was raided, his patients taken into custody, and his nurses detained. His trial was set for 1973. In the meantime, Morgentaler's research discoveries were published in the journal of the Canadian Medical Association. The aspirator technique could be performed, with relatively little discomfort to the woman and no side effects, in about ten minutes. Abortion was suddenly and openly being made very simple, almost too simple.

Illegal abortions

100,000 to 300,000 women in Canada receive illegal abortions every year. It is impossible to calculate what proportion of these are performed by quacks and butchers, or are self-induced by often fatal means like Drano, knitting needles, lysol, and vacuum cleaners. But statistics show that in 1966, over 45,000 Canadian women were admitted to hospitals for complications arising from illegal abortions.

Still awaiting his trial, Morgentaler declared at a Toronto rally that he had performed 5,000 abortions. The final straw, the last confrontation with the government came in May 1973, when Morgentaler and a patient cooperated in the filming of an abortion by the CTV's 'W5' film crew. On August 15, Morgentaler was again arrested and forbidden to talk to the media.

In Quebec, the package-deal-excursion abortion jaunt to New York or Plattsburg is offered by the same agencies that advertise "Vasectomies without delay"; "Superb bosoms in only four hours"; "Tubes tied on demand." There are feminist referral centres which offer competent service for the relatively few

women who have heard of them. And, of course, abortion for the wives and daughters of rich men has never been a problem.

The trial began October 18. The Crown's chief witness was a 26-year-old student from Sierra Leone. She was single, poor, black and alone. She had been literally dragged off the operating table by police moments after her abortion. Such was the hypocrisy of those who testified against Morgentaler, that a certain Dr. DesRosiers, gynecologist at the Maisonneuve hospital, was later found through records to have referred patients, including his own secretary, to Morgentaler for abortion. On November 13, the jury found Morgentaler "Not Guilty."

Furious with the verdict, the Crown brought the case to the Quebec Court of Appeal which, in an unprecedented move, overturned the jury's verdict. Morgentaler's lawyer, Claude-Armand Shepard, appealed the verdict to the Supreme Court; meanwhile, Morgentaler was sentenced to 18 months in prison.

The trial on the second charge began May 26, 1975. This time, Shepard pleaded the defense of necessity and the jury returned with a not guilty verdict in 55 minutes. By September, Morgentaler had served six months of the 18 month sentence of his first conviction. Eligible now for parole, he was denied it on the grounds that he had been an unruly inmate, fueling the discontent of the prisoners, to whose cause he is now committed.

In January 1976, the Criminal Code was amended to prevent an Appeal Court from ever again reversing the decision of the jury. In the same month, Justice Minister Basford ordered a re-trial of the first charge. By then, Morgentaler had served 10 months of a sentence which suddenly didn't count anymore and he was allowed out on bail. In September he was again acquitted on his first charge.

Morgentaler now (at time of writing) awaits his fourth trial, on a third out of ten counts of illegal abortion, on December 12. And, any day, the Badgley Commission's report on abortion in Canada is due out. Hopefully, Justice Minister Basford will disclose the findings of the commission before Morgentaler is subjected to another acquittal.

(Thanks to Roberta Hamilton of the Montreal New Woman Center for her help with this article.)

KISSINGER AND AFRICA:

IS HE, IN THE END, A 'VERY SILLY MAN?'

by ALAN FRIZZELL

In the imposing surroundings of the UN's Palais des Nations sit the representatives of four factions of the Rhodesian nationalist movement. Many of these delegates have only recently been released from jails and detention camps where they were incarcerated for up to ten years or more; opposite sit the men who imprisoned them.

That such an unlikely meeting could take place at all is due primarily to the hectic diplomacy of Henry Kissinger.

Kissinger's influence on the present structure of international relations is considerable and while his achievements in office have been overstated, the force of his personality is such that he has generated more biographies of the pseudo-psychological genre than any other modern statesman. Indeed they continue to appear with monotonous regularity.

Clearly some of Kissinger's achievements are not inconsequential, but much of his success seems paltry when compared to early expectations. Detente is now under attack in the United States,

there is still no permanent settlement of the Middle East dilemma, the Atlantic charter remains unwritten and the lengthy and elaborate preparations for a Vietnam agreement were undermined by the rout of the South Vietnamese army.

Moreover there are costs associated with his intrigues; the Christmas bombing of Hanoi, the secret bombing of Cambodia and the heavy-handed, bullying reaction to the Mayaguez affair. Perhaps the most despicable example of all, given Kissinger's continual and oft proclaimed concern with stability, was his encouragement of de-stabilization in Chile, an action whose justification required the contorted logic of a brute. Nevertheless, Kissinger might be able to leave the State Department with one final flourish if his African mission produces a solution to the Rhodesian problem — a possibility that appears to be increasingly remote.

In fact Kissinger's African adventure highlights the very real inadequacies of his approach to international problems, though in this case these flaws are exacerbated by the nuances of the Rhodesian situation. Kissinger's major objective is to prevent the Rhodesian dispute from developing into a continental, or even international, conflagration while the aim of the Rhodesian nationalists is to achieve what they perceive to be their legitimate rights, a combination which does not constitute a prescription for the success of the Kissinger initiative.

The concerns of the African nationalists appear to Kissinger as insignificant. He has always exhibited a penchant for the grandiose, indeed one would have to in order to submit, as he did at Harvard, a 377-page undergraduate project entitled, "The Meaning of History: Reflections on Spengler, Toynbee and Kant". Kissinger's interests lie in global strategy and in the equilibrium of power rather than in the struggle of the freedom fighters along the Mozambique border. While this might explain why this latest manifestation of shuttle diplomacy may be doomed to failure it does little to reveal why Kissinger has chosen as his model of diplomatic activity that which was developed by the conservative statesmen of 19th Century Europe. †

When Kissinger commenced his studies of international relations he was



Palais des Nations in Geneva, site of the Rhodesian talks

appalled by the sterile, and often picaresque, studies of international politics whose logic was largely borrowed from economic theory and which were common at the time.

Rejecting this approach he decided to study the diplomacy of Metternich and Castlereagh who, he considered, transformed a revolutionary era into an age of innocence and created a century of peace.

Kissinger has often, and quite unfairly, been described as a disciple of Metternich. Though he did realize that Metternich, through various alliances, managed to create a balance of power in Europe in the confused aftermath of the Napoleonic wars, he also understood that Metternich failed to recognize the very evident internal problems of the Austrian empire which would eventually destroy the Hapsburg dynasty. Thus, while not a follower of Metternich, Kissinger is certainly closer to him than to the Lone Ranger, and he would not agree with A. J. P. Taylor's description of Metternich as a "very silly man"!

What Kissinger learned from his studies of Metternich was that if states adopted a legitimate posture (i.e. were prepared to negotiate) to diplomacy, then the major powers, through some form of condominium, could create a stable world order which would withstand regional upheavals; he even argues that this order could survive in a situation of limited nuclear war. If the major powers recognized that they could not achieve all of their objectives and realized that legitimate spheres of interest existed, a balance of power could be achieved and maintained through secret and on-going discussions.

In practical terms this theory seemed sound as the United States initiated rapprochement with both the Soviet Union and China. The Soviet-American liaison even survived the problems of Vietnam and the Middle East. It was not until Angola that detente came under pressure. Kissinger's complaint was not that the Russians intervened but that they did so without consulting with the U.S. This complaint is difficult to understand since long before the Russians increased their arms shipments to the MPLA the U.S. had been sending money through Zaire to the two Western backed factions, thus encouraging civil war. Moreover, the South Africans, with little discouragement from the U.S., had become embroiled in the conflict before the Cubans arrived. What the Angolan civil war did engender was a sudden and

uncharacteristic interest in Africa in the mind of the Secretary of State.

Kissinger's latest diplomatic foray is, then, an attempt to ensure that the Russians do not outwit him again in Africa and while he has gained considerable credit for his African adventure it is interesting to note that the initiative for his involvement came from the South African Prime Minister, John Vorster.

The Angolan debacle had dealt a severe blow to Vorster's confidence and had also brought to a sudden halt the success of his overtures to the front-line African leaders. More important, however, was the serious condition of the South African economy. Oil price increases and the abrupt fall in the price of gold had left the economy reeling and placed South Africa in the unenviable position of having a lower international credit rating than either Spain or Portugal. Vorster, too, faced the threat of UN actions being imposed on South Africa as a result of his government's policy on Namibia.

The wily Vorster realized that a settlement of the Rhodesian problem in which he participated might buy himself time with Black Africa, restore business confidence and perhaps bring him a better deal on Namibia. Clearly the U.S. was the only country that had the diplomatic muscle to facilitate such a manoeuvre and as such the irrepressible Ambassador to Washington, Pik Botha, was assigned the task of dropping hints to Kissinger. Moreover, the South African government enlisted the aid of John McGoff, a conservative newspaper owner in the U.S., who informed Ford of Vorster's position. Ford, in desperate need of some achievement that would make him appear even remotely presidential, jumped at the opportunity. Kissinger agreed that the U.S. had a role to play.

Despite the fact that before the Angolan affair he had evidenced no interest in African problems, in truth the senior officials of his African desk had not seen him for over a year, he did see the



Back in his Mideast shuttle diplomacy days, Kissinger posed in Arab headdress

PC Prison Drama Ends

—Fredericton Daily Gleaner, October 2, 1976

Rhodesian problem as one of racial intolerance which could result in a "battleground with international consequences". Kissinger had learned from Angola that the short-sighted Russians would jettison their detente commitments in favour of short-term influence peddling and he did not wish to see the establishment of Russian hegemony in Southern Africa. Similarly he correctly perceived that a revolutionary government in Rhodesia would signal eventual doom for South Africa and thus jeopardize U.S. economic interests there.

Kissinger's first meeting with Vorster was a success; he was impressed by Vorster's analysis of U.S. interests and his seeming willingness to negotiate on the basis of those interests. Given assurances that pressure would be applied on the Rhodesian leader, Ian Smith, Kissinger accepted an invitation to visit Pretoria and projected a shuttle round the front-line nations.

Having come to an agreement with Vorster on the basic points of a Rhodesian settlement, though not on Namibia, the denouement of this little episode was the presentation of a fait accompli to Smith. It took two meetings to persuade Smith to capitulate. The first consisted of a monologue from Kissinger on the depressing situation in Rhodesia backed up by evidence from three security agencies (Defense Intelligence Agency, Intelligence and Research Bureau of the State Department, and the C.I.A. — why they need all three is, of course, a secret).

Thus forewarned of the impending apocalypse, Smith was given a few hours to mull things over. When Smith returned for the second meeting his response was, "all I have to offer is my head on a platter." One would, however, not normally think of Smith as a voluntary John the Baptist and some evidence of his deviousness became clear when he changed some of the more crucial clauses in the Kissinger seven-point plan when presenting them to the Rhodesian people and to his own party.

The origin of this seven-point plan is revealing. Kissinger gave some credit to the British, but the earlier British proposal was based on a Tanzanian suggestion conceived by Julius Nyerere. The

essence of the Tanzanian proposal was that there would be immediate majority rule and independence from Britain within two years. The Smith version of the agreement was that majority rule would be realized in two years and that for the moment there would be a dichotomy of government function between a council of ministers, with a black majority, and a council of state composed of equal numbers of European and nationalist members with a white chairman (i.e. Smith). Since the council of state would be the supreme body, Smith, who has a long history of making agreements and promptly renegeing on them, was playing for time and perhaps even hoping that the inevitable deadlock between the two councils would maintain white supremacy in government. He also managed to obtain from Kissinger the concession that the departments of defense and law and order would remain in white hands.

When Kissinger informed Nyerere of some of these changes to the original proposal the response of the Tanzanian President was, to say the least, not favourable. At this Kissinger changed his tune and argued that the proposal Smith had accepted was not an agreement but was only the basis for negotiation and that his own role was not that of an intermediary but rather that of an interlocutor — an unfortunate term since, as the London *Observer* pointed out, the second meaning of that word according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary is "a compère of a negro minstrel troupe."

The result of Kissinger's shuttle is the ill-conceived and probably ill-fated constitutional conference held in Geneva under British auspices (always a bad sign). Though the outcome of this meeting is difficult to predict, it is as likely as not that it will fail and with it Kissinger's diplomatic meanderings.

Such a failure would obviously reflect the obduracy of Ian Smith. The Rhodesian Premier has often failed to realize where his best interests lie (consider the folly of his failure to reach agreement with Mr. Nkomo, who poses no threat whatsoever to whites). Smith clearly hopes that by delaying majority rule factional disputes will re-emerge between the African leaders, thus offering

him some justification for an 'après moi le déluge' posture.

Of more concern is the fact that Kissinger has to some extent helped Smith's position; he has allowed Smith, the leader of an intolerably oppressive regime, to pretend that he has a legitimate right to negotiate and demand concessions before he will allow majority rule. But if the intransigence of Smith is the major stumbling block to settlement there are also problems which arise from the deficiencies of Kissinger's diplomacy.

The notion of world order based on global equilibrium of world power does not provide a framework for understanding, far less for providing a solution to, the Rhodesian problem. It is now clear that the guerilla army, ZIPA, is not prepared to accept the leadership of any of the various nationalist political groups and, as such, it is very unlikely that they will agree to solutions imposed by major powers. Kissinger's idea of the moral neutrality of negotiating positions, that success depends on a realistic appraisal of what can be achieved rather than on the revolutionary goal of total victory, is unlikely to appeal to the Rhodesian nationalists who are convinced that right is on their side and who feel slighted by Kissinger's failure to consider their opinions. In this instance the Africans have almost literally nothing more to lose but their chains.

Similarly Kissinger's conservative concept of the balance of power is far too simplistic in terms of the Rhodesian situation. The goal of the nationalists is not simply to achieve majority rule. They also insist upon a measure of economic power, as expressed in demands for higher wages, equality of land tenure and educational and training opportunities. These demands are more threatening to whites than the transfer of political offices to blacks, yet they have no place in Kissinger's agreement.

It is ironic that Kissinger should attempt to destroy racism in one country by enlisting the aid of an even more blatant racist in another. While there are clearly short-term advantages to South Africa in a Rhodesian settlement, these may well be offset by the long-term disadvantages of having someone like

Robert Mugabe in power in Rhodesia. The unforeseen rise of Mr. Mugabe and General Tongogara (the most radical of the African leaders) may influence Mr. Vorster to change his mind and encourage him to wreck the agreement. Since we are not privy to the Kissinger-Vorster negotiations we cannot know what Vorster has gained from the deal, but it could be that he has been promised U.S. economic and military support, more necessary than ever given the extent of black unrest in South Africa. Thus, it is not surprising that the Rhodesian nationalists and the front-line African leaders regard Kissinger's diplomacy with such suspicion.

If this seems an unduly bleak portrait of events it must be admitted that there are some encouraging signs. For example, the complacency of the Rhodesian whites in face of the proposal is remarkable. This, however, may be based less on belated humanitarian proclivities than on a recognition of the rather obvious loopholes in Smith's interpretation of the Kissinger plan.

Indeed it is difficult to see how it could be otherwise since for years the European settlers have willingly enjoyed the benefits of a system of economic and political slavery. Through a deliberate policy of refusing Africans employment and by forcing them to live on unproductive land they have ensured that the Africans must live in squalor, thus giving rise to the white prejudice that the Africans are indolent and uncivilized. To offer financial guarantees to these bigots, as the agreement does, is to condone that behaviour.

Despite the fact that Kissinger, with the encouragement of President-elect Carter, will continue to press for a settlement, he will probably fail for the simple reason that there is no middle ground between the Africans and Smith. When the Rhodesian Prime Minister left Geneva he did so with the insulting comment, "... my time is limited. We have got important tasks back home, not like these Africans who have nothing better to do than sit around here talking indefinitely." Such an attitude does not indicate that Smith has been browbeaten into submission.

What Kissinger has shown by his activities in Southern Africa is that he is a conservative who will tolerate injustice, racial oppression and economic exploitation if it contributes to his conception of a delicate world order. It is just as well that, unlike Metternich, his legacy will be failure.

SOCRED CONVENTION: THE OLD RHETORIC IS TROTTED OUT AGAIN

by ALBERT TRAIN

"Exterminate these foul brokers. Exterminate the usurer parasites."

— Philip Hele-Hambly, *Social Credit leadership candidate, November 6, 1976*

OTTAWA — Rough days are ahead for stockbrokers and moneylenders should the Social Credit party come to power with Philip Hele-Hambly at its head.

"The stockbrokers and their exchanges must be burnt to the ground," the 51-year-old Montreal high school teacher told more than 1,000 party faithful gathered to choose a new leader.

Moneylending "lines the greasy pockets of slimy usury" and only serves to fill people's homes "with evil crap like television," he shouted to polite applause.

"Anyone believed to have offered to lend money shall be given a fair trial, drawn, quartered and hanged."

Now as it happens, Mr. Hele-Hambly was not chosen party leader, and it appears unlikely Social Credit will be chosen to lead the federal government in the near future, so the well-heeled denizens of the financial world can rest easy for the time being.

But while Mr. Hele-Hambly's language was stronger than that of his fellow candidates, he was not alone in expressing those sentiments.

André Fortin, who came out on top, said it was time to "attack the biggest monopoly there is: the financial monopoly."

Although Social Credit is in most respects a right-wing, reactionary and backward-looking force, it should not be forgotten that it started as a party of protest.

There are really two Social Credit parties. On the one hand there are the right-wing conservatives and assorted opportunists who merely happen to find

the label handy and feel no real attachment to the weird and wonderful monetary theories of Major C. H. Douglas.

In this category fall British Columbia Premier Bill Bennett and most members of his cabinet, including three former Liberals and a former Conservative who found no problem switching parties. Most notable among these is Jack Davis, a former federal minister.

Of course it works both ways. Bud Olson, agriculture minister in the Trudeau government until his defeat in the 1972 election, first entered Parliament as a Socred. And Marcel Lessard, currently minister of regional economic expansion, was first elected in 1962 on a Créditiste platform.

The other Social Credit party is made up of the true believers, those who are able to make some sense of Major Douglas and who think debt could be wiped out and almost limitless credit made available through some clever manipulation of the Bank of Canada.

These are the people who make up the core of the federal party. These are the ideological descendants of "Bible Bill" Aberhart, who swept Alberta in the 1935 provincial election preaching the gospel from both Major Douglas and the Bible — paradise in both worlds.

These are the people who rallied behind Réal Caouette when he promised to issue "national dividends", dubbed "funny money" by sceptics, and who sent him to Ottawa in the 1962 election as part of a 26-member deputation from Quebec.

And it was these people who gathered at the Ottawa Civic Centre November 6 and 7 to choose André Fortin to succeed Réal Caouette, whose health is not what it once was.

Social Credit doctrine came through loud and clear at that convention. One after another the leadership candidates denounced the banks for manipulating credit and creating inflation through high interest rates.

One after another they called for the new monetary order. Even Fortin, the most serious of the candidates, called for the Bank of Canada to issue credit equal to the value of national production.

"A true alternative in economic policy would be that the Bank of Canada issue interest-free loans which would provide for the building of our country and would eliminate the disgusting debt in our public institutions."

Funny money!

Most of the other candidates were a good deal funnier. René Matte, the only M.P. besides Fortin to seek the leadership, promised to lead a charismatic renewal of the Social Credit in Quebec. In a speech filled with Caouette-style dramatics, he implored his listeners to believe that if 40 Social Credit M.P.s were elected in Quebec, surely the rest of the country would follow.

One candidate opened his speech by saying that "this nation cries out for leadership of a new dimension." His posters at the back of the hall promised "a new dimension in leadership."

Another candidate said the party could win a larger number of seats if it promised to abolish income tax. "You can have 40 seats if only you want them," he bellowed.

And then there was Philip Hele-Hambly.

But however comical the Social Credit party may appear to outsiders, there are a lot of people inside who take it very seriously.

The party began primarily as an Alberta-based movement in the depths of the depression. While neighbouring Saskatchewan looked to the CCF, Albertans looked in a different direction for economic salvation.

Not only did the Social Credit dominate provincial politics in Alberta for 36 years, but in each federal election from 1935 to 1957 a healthy contingent of western Socreds was sent to Ottawa, mainly from Alberta.

But in 1962 all but four of the Socreds sent to Ottawa were from rural Quebec, and the party has been Quebec-dominated since. The more than 80 per cent of convention delegates from Quebec reflected the party membership, and all 11 members of the federal caucus represent rural Quebec ridings.

No western Socred has been elected to Parliament since 1965. The western wing never really survived the split engineered by Caouette in 1963 after a spat with the then leader, Robert Thompson, and although the two wings were



Social Credit's old leader, Real Caouette, was a master of flaming oratory

officially reunited in 1971, the western wing is only a shadow of what it once was.

One of the priorities Fortin has set himself is to help revive the party in the west, but whether he can do any better than Caouette is open to question.

The two men differ less in substance than in style. Caouette was a master of flaming oratory, some would say demagoguery, while Fortin prefers to lean on the organizational talents he is reputed to have.

Will he be able to forge links with the nominal Socreds, those who hold power in B.C.? Will he give the party a higher profile in Parliament and in national debate generally? Will the Social Credit education board he proposes to establish succeed in spreading the faith, or conversely, will he soften the party's ideology in an attempt to broaden support? Will the federal Social Credit be a force to consider in the future, or will its steady erosion continue?

Or does it really matter?

the Last Pssst



by Claude Balloune

Help wanted dept.: The Montreal newspaper *La Presse* evidently believes its grasp of the political situation in Quebec is better than anyone else's. As the election campaign got under way, the then leader of the official opposition, **René Levesque** of the Parti Québécois, got a telephone call offering him a job on the paper. They wanted to pay him \$60,000 a year to go to Paris. While we're on the subject, we can confirm that there is absolutely no truth to the rumour that the *Montreal Star* offered a job to **Robert Bourassa**. Judging from that paper's election coverage, it would seem that the offer came from the other side.

Job wanted dept.: There's a number of people who are still speaking to **John Turner**. We had a chat with one of them recently, and learned that the former finance minister is running around Toronto saying nasty things about his former boss. The Man from Glad is referring to **PET** as, in his politer moments, a jerk. Students of the financial pages will have noticed a lot of little pictures of Turner in recent months in connection with appointments as director of this and that; but he still hopes that the call will come one day to fill the shoes still to be vacated by the man he's calling a jerk. One of those who thinks Turner might make it is Toronto adman **John de B. Payne**. Payne recently ran into a prominent Quebec Liberal in the Ritz Carleton hotel. The conversation turned, as all political conversations did in those troubled times, to **Bryce Mackasey**, and why he ran in Quebec. At a mention of a little organization towards a Quebec delegation to the next Liberal leadership convention, John de B. Payne is reliably reported to have choked on his ice cube.

Office to let: Some time before **Bryce Mackasey** made his agonizing choice to do what was best for the country by furthering his own ends, he was overheard discussing office accommodation on Parliament Hill. As a former minister of course, he didn't merit the palatial quarters awarded to favoured cabinet members. There was talk that he would have to move to a more modest berth suitable for a mere backbencher. **Ron Basford**, the less than hirsute Justice Minister, was said to have his eye on Mackasey's pad. Mackasey was overheard to say it would take several baseball bats to get him out of there. Wrong, Bryce, all it took was an offer of a cabinet post in Quebec City.

Little big man: A funny thing happened to **Prime Minister James Callaghan** of Britain during his recent visit to Canada. Walking down the steps of the Banff Springs Hotel, he noticed that his host, **Premier Peter Lougheed** of Alberta, couldn't keep up with him. Callaghan slowed down, expecting the blue-eyed sheikh to catch him up, but no, Lougheed slowed down too, always staying a few steps behind. We would be gratified to report that this was an uncharacteristic burst of modesty on

Lougheed's part, a sort of Western pickup of the Oriental custom of inferiors remaining a few paces behind. Unfortunately, this was not the case. Mr. Lougheed's problem is one of feet and inches, and he insisted on staying those few steps above his guest so that his shortness would go unnoticed. For the same reason, he never consents to be interviewed standing up.

The godparents: One reason for the outcome of the Quebec election was the massive dissatisfaction of the immigrant community with the **Bourassa government's** language policies. This caused something of a split in the Italian community. Ordinary Italian-Canadians were strongly anti-Liberal, and this caused some worry among the rich and powerful leaders of the Italian community. They depend heavily on Liberal patronage for construction projects and the like, and were last observed raising — without too much difficulty — a seven-figure sum for Bourassa's war chest.

Awful waste: Edmontonians are seldom accused of having their noses in the air. But in recent months an awful stink has been raised over the plans to construct a \$50,000 regal toilet for **Her Majesty's** visit to the 1978 Commonwealth Games. Nothing is to be spared to ensure the comfort of the monarch — there will be everything from muzak to magnesia. Not surprisingly, demands are being heard to cut down on this awful waste.

Don't fire the assholes, they're the only smokescreen we got: Few observers of the department of Indian and northern affairs are inclined to admire the quality, intelligence and ability of its staff. Indeed, the outgoing Minister, **Judd Buchanan**, in recent talks with an acquaintance, was not surprised to hear most of his staff described as "assholes". In many enterprises, the idea that incompetence is the rule rather than the exception might be cause for shock and grief. Not for Mr. Buchanan. "Of course they're assholes," he said, "but I'm not going to fire them, they're my smokescreen."

The new minister for Indian and northern affairs, **Warren Allmand**, was recently presented with the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study, a three-volume document backing up the Eskimo's claim to all of the Northwest Territories not claimed by the Indians. Mr. Allmand said there ought to be more of that sort of thing. Quite.

Mirabel's woes: Word has it that at the new **Mirabel airport** near Montreal, two million feet of sealant placed between the concrete slabs of the runway has deteriorated to the point that it will have to be replaced. Cost could run as high as two to four dollars per foot, or a total of four to eight million dollars. The sealant has an asphalt base. Because of the high cost of oil, the companies are taking more and more out of oil during refining, so that asphalt just isn't what it used to be.

THE P.Q. TAKES QUEBEC

by PATRICK BROWN

A few months back, Robert Bourassa and a bunch of the guys were not whooping it up in Sherbrooke, Que.; they were discussing the current political situation.

During a cabinet session at the weekend meeting, Bourassa asked the assembled ministers what they thought of an election some time in November. Apparently there was unanimous agreement that it was a rotten idea. Bourassa is reported to have replied "that's too bad, because we're going to have one".

The question that springs to mind is why. After all, the Liberals had a rather convincing majority in the National Assembly — 96 seats out of 110 — and two years still to go with their mandate.

In his election announcement, Bourassa said he needed a new mandate, before beginning negotiations on bringing the British North America Act under Canadian jurisdiction.

He was the only one who claimed to believe that the constitutional issue was a key one; and it was not widely thought that the election would result in a stronger mandate, in terms of seats, than the one the Liberals had already.

The death wish is thought to be a Tory trait, yet here was a Liberal premier stricken with what seemed to be a chronic case in mid-term. The most widely-touted explanation was that Bourassa could see his popularity slipping, and wanted to get in again before it got any worse.

It's true that Liberal popularity was at a low ebb after six years of government characterized by mismanagement, arrogance, secrecy and general bungling on all fronts, from minority language rights to labour relations. But there was more to it than that. Bourassa's unpopularity wasn't confined to the voters. There were serious moves afoot to oust him as leader.

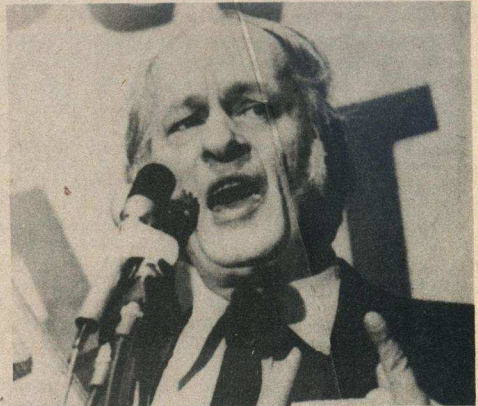
Such provincial ministers as Raymond Garneau (finance), Jean-Paul L'Allier (cultural affairs) and Lise Bacon (immigration) were burrowing from within, and the federal Liberals were burrowing from without.

With this kind of pressure on his leadership, Bourassa felt he had to do something. The disastrous something he chose to do was to call an election, with the idea, of winning it, and thus re-establishing his hold on the party.

Also in the back of his mind was the hope that the most troublesome of his ministers, the Bacons and the L'Alliers, who lean towards Quebec nationalism, would be defeated by Pequistes in their own ridings.

The scenario, then, had Bourassa returned to power, with a reduced majority perhaps, but with a cleaned-up caucus with strong federalist leanings and no designs on his job. That scenario failed to unfold as it should.

The Liberals went down to a stunning defeat. The Parti Quebecois ended up forming the government, with 69 seats, and the Liberals, who will likely soon have a brand-new leader, became the official opposition with 28 seats.



Premier Levesque: does tomorrow belong to him

Having decided to call an election, Bourassa proceeded to spread the rumour. Most of the late summer and early fall, hardly a day went by without at least one story that the premier was considering an election, probably for some time in November. He finally announced it on October 18, giving the minimum four weeks for campaigning.

As soon as the rumours began, so did the scramble. The Parti Quebecois machine was well-oiled and ticking over, but most other political groups were in considerable disarray.

The Union Nationale, for example, had only one sitting member (Maurice Bellemare, from Johnson riding), a new leader, Rodrigue Biron, and something of a financial problem. They had mislaid \$5,000,000. It was last seen as the proceeds from the sale of the party's newspaper and Renaissance clubs, but now it was nowhere to be found. Biron announced that the party's war chest was only a few tens of thousands. After the election, Biron announced that the clubs would be reopened, the Montreal one to be in a Howard Johnson motel.)

Of the lesser parties, the only one to meet with any real success was the U.N. Considering the party's problems going into the campaign, it did rather well, winning 11 seats, including one for its leader, Biron.

* * *

The campaign, though short, was fast and furious.

René Lévesque, Robert Bourassa, and Rodrigue Biron zipped around the province in planes.

Lévesque neglected almost completely to mention that his party advocates independence for Quebec. That message was spread by the Liberals.

The Parti Quebecois campaigned as the official opposition, which could now take power and replace a corrupt, incom-

tent government with one of integrity.

† The Liberals campaigned almost exclusively on the issue of separatism, despite polls showing that few voters considered it an important issue. What the voters were interested in were such things as unemployment, high taxes, labour relations, and in the ridings where immigrants or Anglophones are predominant, minority language rights.

What Bourassa told them was that only he could stop separatism, and he did it high, wide and handsome, blitzing television, radio, newspapers, billboards and even Montreal City buses with ads about the threat of independence.

Biron campaigned on those things identified by the polls as the issues, and ran especially strongly in Anglophone ridings. The voters did not seem to mind that his publicity on the language question said one thing in English and another in French.

The PQ was the only party that had no trouble finding candidates. Just about everyone who has had any kind of publicity was approached by at least one party, and usually by several.

The Liberals, a week after the campaign began still had not found candidates for all ridings. Twenty-one Liberals, including four cabinet ministers, declined to run again. They did, however, manage to recruit two notable federal parachutists, Jean Marchand and Bryce Mackasey.

Marchand was defeated, and is now presumed looking for a job. Mackasey won in the Montreal riding of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, but it was the toughest campaign of his career.

His campaign was run, as were all six of his federal campaigns, by a man known as *The Mechanic*, Arnie Masters. Masters puts together blockbuster campaign organizations, with an unparalleled machine for getting out the voters on election day. More than 800 people were working for Masters, November 15.

Mackasey also appeared in almost all the English TV commercials, saying how much he loved Canada, and what separatists were trying to do to it. He mailed to every address in the riding an expensive brochure that looked as though it was produced by *Time-Life Publications*.

People who can count will be extremely interested in Mackasey's account of his election expenditures, which by law are limited in N-D-G to about \$17,000.

The hysteria in English Quebec reached something of a new peak during the weekend before election day. One has heard the hypothetical independent Quebec compared with just about every trouble spot in the world, from Ulster to Cyprus. But Charles Bronfman, of the family that owns the Montreal Expos and Seagrams, the world's largest distillery, lived up to his reputation for being flakey and came up with a new twist. He called the P.Q. "a bunch of bastards who are trying to kill us", said it would be the Yom Kippur War all over again, and that he'd pull out his business if the P.Q. won.

When he had recovered, he recanted, presumably recalling that folks drink booze whoever runs the government.

* * *

There were several factors involved in the crushing defeat of the Liberals. First and foremost, the electors voted a bad government out of office. The Parti Quebecois becomes the replacement because it has been able to convince the people of Quebec that it will govern with integrity and competence, and that the contentious issue of independence was not to be decided in this election, but in a referendum within two years.

Secondly, there was the presence of a third party. The combined Union Nationale and the Liberal vote was greater than the P.Q.'s in 29 ridings that were won by P.Q. candidates. Supposing there had been no third party, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Liberals would have won those seats, returning to office with a slim majority. However, the U.N. spoiler thesis should not be given too much weight, since, after all, third, fourth, fifth and even sixth parties have been a part of the Quebec political scene for quite a while.

Thirdly, there was Eugene Whelan.

The P.Q. made its most astonishing gains where the party has had little support before.

Earlier this year we saw on Parliament Hill one of the angriest demonstrations in a long while. Quebec dairy farmers, with their backs against the wall because of reductions in federal milk quotas, had become angry enough to pepper Whelan with dairy products. Just before the election, the provincial agriculture minister, Kevin Drummond, promised 22 million dollars for the farmers, but it was too little, too late. Besides, Drummond rather lacked credibility as agriculture minister since his riding was Westmount, where all they grow is lawns.

Tuesday, November 16, the anniversary of the day they hanged Louis Riel in Regina, most of Quebec woke up with a hangover. But, it was business as usual. Stocks dipped a little, the Canadian dollar slipped a cent or so, then recovered. Most of English Quebec adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

A major asset of the P.Q. is Rene Levesque's reputation as an honest and straightforward man, and most people believe he will keep his promise to settle the independence issue by referendum. Public opinion polls suggest that the majority would vote to remain in Canada, and this reassures all but the extremists, among whom, it seems, we can now count Bryce Mackasey. He was off in Winnipeg a couple of days after the election beginning what looks like a bitter career of Levesque-baiting.

Another reassuring sign for federalists is the popular vote — the combined total of federalist parties was some 20 per cent higher than the P.Q.'s total.

In addition, a quick analysis of the P.Q. caucus shows moderates like Rene Levesque, Jacques-Yvan Morin, Jacques Parizeau and Claude Morin firmly in control and in the majority.

What may be more difficult to handle is the business of governing a province that has been sadly mismanaged for so many years. For example, the P.Q. is committed to continuing with the James Bay project, on which billions of dollars have already been spent, and billions more are needed.

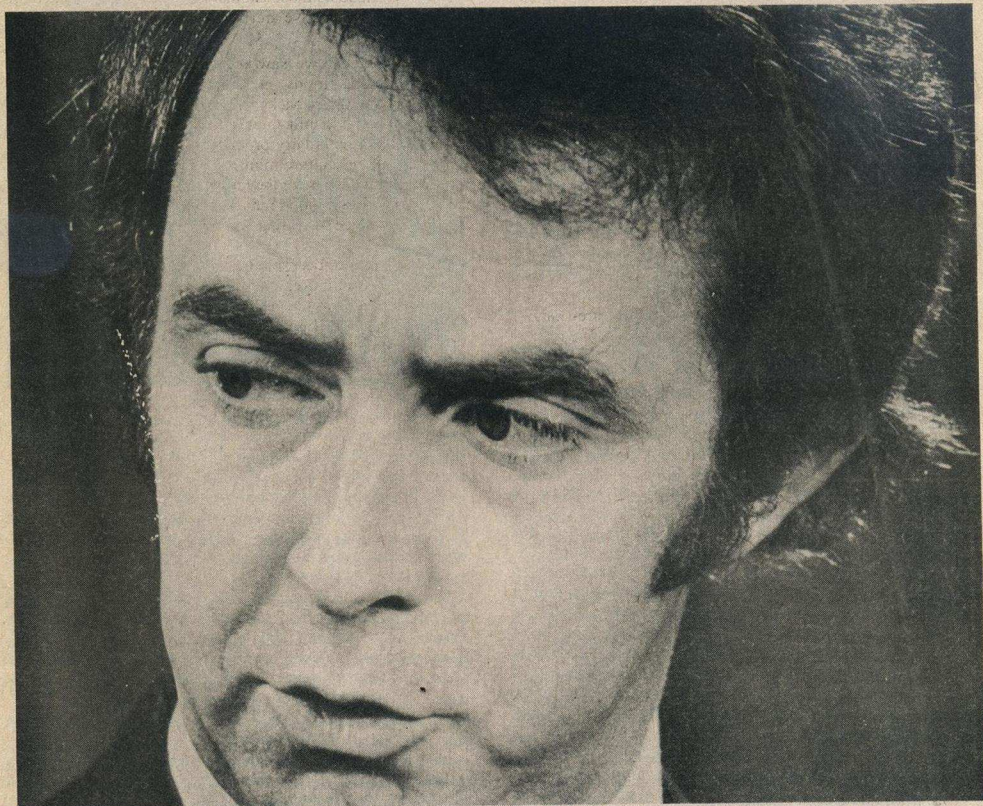
Levesque has a competent and experienced team of ministers, but Quebec's economic problems are not to be solved at a stroke. Some voters may be in for a disappointment.

One area in which sudden improvements can be expected is labour relations, on which the Liberal government had a truly abysmal record. Most Quebec unions and their leaders have welcomed the outcome of the election. Businessmen will find Premier Levesque about the same to deal with as Ed Schreyer in Manitoba.

As for independence, it's far too early to make any predictions, but there is one interesting point to make. For Quebec to separate would require an amendment to the BNA Act. Perhaps Bourassa was being unwittingly prophetic when he called the election on that issue.

AFTER RENE...IS IT JOE?

by Patrick Brown, Robert Chodos and Rae Murphy



Joe Clark: On his office wall he has a framed newspaper headline that says — *Wagner loses on fourth ballot*

Dr. George Horace Gallup will not be held responsible for choosing the date on which the next federal election campaign will end, but he and his associates bear much responsibility for the beginning of the campaign — a campaign that will be the longest in recent memory and probably the most important.

The spark was the strike of the airline pilots in June and it was in the wake of the controversy that arose that Dr. Gallup took his poll and found that popular support for the Trudeau

government had dipped to 29 per cent, a standing equalled only by Lester Pearson in the days just before the Liberal election disaster of 1958.

By late October desperate federal Liberals in Quebec were leaping aboard Premier Bourassa's sinking ship and other party stalwarts were exchanging Liberal party cards for British pounds.

The Prime Minister and his inner circle, the story has it, were stung into action. Heavy strategy sessions were held and

a public relations campaign was launched with the Man Himself hitting the road to speak to the masses. The cabinet was to be rebuilt and everything was supposed to come together with the Speech from the Throne.

The Tories had also made some plans, but theirs were more nebulous. Their problem was to appear as an alternative government without actually doing or saying anything. They had also to survive a summer spent debating capital punishment and language rights — no mean feat for the Progressive Conservative Party in 1976.

Having chronicled the improbable rise of Joe Clark to leadership of the Progressive Conservative Party, we were interested in observing his equally unlikely ascent to the Highest Office in the Land. And it seemed like a good time to start.

The occasion was the opening of the second session of the Thirtieth Parliament.

The date was October 12, 1976 and we were there. One of us, in fact, was sitting behind the first gargoyle to the left in the Senate Press Gallery as Madame Léger read the Speech from the Throne — we had full confidence that she was up to the job and we did not share the apprehension of CBC's Capitol Report that our country would find it difficult to manage in these troubled times with an incapacitated Governor-General.

During the speech two of our group played "Whaddaya hear" in the "hot room" of the Press Gallery.

And there was lots to hear:

(a) A wide range of Why-Bryce-Mackasey-resigned-from-the-federal-cabinet stories. The stories, although widely disparate, had two things in common. They all seemed improbable and they all could be traced to a single source: Bryce Mackasey.

(b) There were atrocity stories about Claude Wagner's madcap shopping spree in Brussels — an orgy of lace buying.

(c) There were rumours of war in the Tory caucus. A backbencher had usurped Joe Clark's seat — not a very nice thing to do to a leader. Was this a sign that the Tories had already pushed the self-destruct button? We eventually became convinced that Stanley Schumacher's challenge to Clark was purely an individual action, that it did not signal an interine battle and that, indeed, Schumacher would be properly punished. Robert Stanfield, defending Clark's retreat from Bow River to a neighbouring riding, put that retreat in perspective by saying: "Don't get me wrong — I think Schumacher is a son of a bitch and should have his throat slit," but at the proper time and, presumably, in the right circumstances.

For our part, we told anyone who asked us "Whaddya hear?" that Claude Wagner was about to be appointed to a federal judgeship. We had tried this one out on a Tory M.P. earlier in the day and we had not found his denial as convincing as it might have been. The Wagner judgeship seemed like promising ground to explore and so we persisted. We recalled that during his two previous stints on the bench Wagner had shown an obvious aptitude for the role. And as proof, we cited his otherwise inexplicable fascination with lace in Brussels. For his judge's robes, of course. We rested our case.

In this light, the rumour that Trudeau was about to appoint Wagner to the bench for a third go-round was selling reasonably well in the hot room.

In the midst of all this, we learned that Wagner had



Mackasey: Just what was he up to?

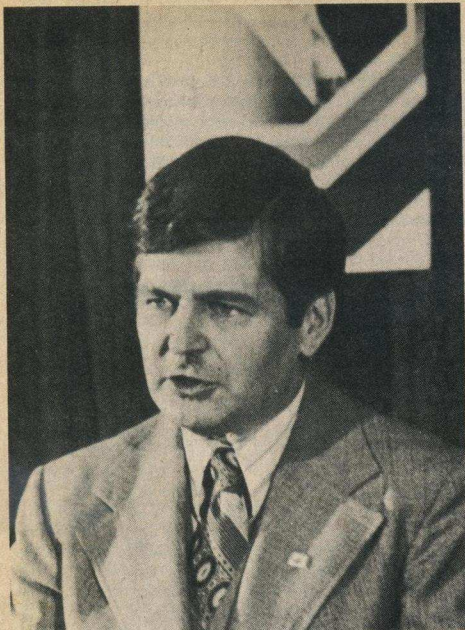
scheduled a news conference for the next morning to discuss "the current political situation." Our suspicions were raised, and we determined not to miss it.

He began by denying our rumour along with everyone else's. He said he wasn't going to be a judge, or enter the Quebec election, or start a Quebec provincial P.C. party. What he was going to do was stay in Ottawa, loyally serving the party and its leader.

Wagner then launched into an attack on the media of a kind that had people in the audience muttering such words as "Nixon" and "Agnew". Malicious, unfair, incorrect reports were persistently being written and broadcast about him. CTV was broadcasting nasty things about his health. Others were suggesting that he wasn't getting along well with Clark. Nothing, he said, could be farther from the truth. He had just seen his doctor, who wasn't nearly as concerned as CTV. And as for his relations with Clark, all those missed countries on the European trip had been arranged beforehand, and his resignation from the chairmanship of the shadow cabinet was only so that he could devote some more time to his riding and his position as External Affairs critic.

At this point there was a strange and worrisome digression. Someone asked about Tom Cossitt (PC — Leeds), and his role on the Tory external affairs committee. Wagner said that Cossitt, who has never been suspected of being soft on Communism, was responsible for formulating policy on Eastern Europe. If the Tories come to power there may be dark and dangerous changes in the attitude of our little corner of the Free World to those countries enslaved by the Kremlin.

There were inevitable questions about the celebrated trust fund, which Wagner, as is his wont, refused to answer.



Wagner: We'll have him to kick around some more

saying he might be forced to demand the names of so-called informed sources.

In sum, we will have Claude Wagner to kick around some more.

Still looking for the division in Tory ranks, we decided to seek an interview with Jack Horner, the only one of the defeated leadership candidates who had refused to applaud Clark when the convention had hailed his victory. We were encouraged in this endeavour by Clark himself, who spoke with enthusiasm of the co-operation he had been receiving from Horner and intimated that Jack would give us a similar picture. Stan Schumacher had received no comfort from Horner in the Battle of Bow River, Clark said, and indeed Horner had publicly supported his leader.

We were only a little apprehensive about the reception we would get when we approached Horner. On the whole, our treatment of Horner in our book *Winners, Losers* had, we thought, been fair, even kind. We had taken pains to point out the elements of exaggeration and deception involved in the common view of Horner as an ultraconservative cowboy, and had spoken highly of his intelligence and grasp of issues. We had applauded his lunge at a radio reporter on the day of the convention balloting. And our account of the one run-in we had had with the Horner forces would, we were sure, be taken in the good-humoured spirit in which it was intended:

Jack's brother Hugh, the deputy premier of Alberta, a dwarf John Wayne, threatens violence, but it's nothing that can't be dealt with. Brother Norval looms up. Again, no problem. Sister Mrs. McCorkel, who is built like a brick outhouse on square wheels, joins in, towering with rage

about what sneaks like us have done to Brother Jack's chances to lead this Great Party. That's it — we retreat."

One of us was delegated to arrange the interview with Horner. "We wrote the book *Winners, Losers* on the convention," we began. "Oh, did you?" said Horner's secretary. We explained our mission. "I don't think Mr. Horner would be interested in seeing you," she said, "unless you changed some of your content. He took exception to a remark you made about his very attractive sister."

It appeared that our stock in Horner's office wasn't quite as high as we had hoped.

Our search for internecine strife was going badly. Finally, we decided that perhaps we had been looking at the wrong side of the House, and discovered that the Liberals have unravelled to the point where the cabinet minister representing Manitoba is one Joseph-Philippe Guay. He's not there because of his ministerial qualities; he's there because the only other Manitoba Liberal M.P., James Richardson (who was not in the cabinet because of *his* ministerial qualities either), resigned.

Heading for the bar not long after Wagner's you-will-have-me-to-kick-around-some-more performance, one of us was privileged to catch the tail end of Richardson's resignation announcement. The announcement closed with a quotation from Walt Whitman ("Have you learned lessons only of those who admired you, and were tender with you, and stood aside for you? Have you not learned great lessons from those who braced themselves against you and disputed the passage with you?"), a choice that puzzled many observers, who doubted that the Member for Winnipeg South read himself to sleep with *Leaves of Grass* each evening. Richardson revealed the superficiality of his knowledge of Whitman by unaccountably missing several more appropriate lines: the poet's reference to "the never-ending audacity of elected persons", his exhortation to "get your weapons ready, have you your pistols, your sharp-edged axes?" or, perhaps best of all, his ringing declaration — "I talk wildly, I have lost my wits, I and nobody else am the greatest traitor."

Even as Richardson was uttering his lofty concerns about Confederation, the constitution, and the French peril, a still small voice of calm and reason could be heard from the edge of the stage: "Don't do it, Jim," said Bryce Mackasey, former minister of just about everything tiresome and politically dangerous trying to play his accustomed role of mediator and smoother-over of conflict. He might have been more convincing if he hadn't bailed out of the cabinet himself not long before.

Just what Mackasey was up to was a major topic of speculation for several weeks, with Mackasey himself doing much of the speculating.

A first version proposed that when Trudeau was preparing the cabinet shuffle that was going to put Humpty back together again, Mackasey threw a spanner in the works by demanding the Quebec lieutenantcy, now held by Marc Lalonde. The idea was to build a Quebec base for the Mackasey delegation to the next Liberal leadership convention. Trudeau refused, so Mackasey was forced to build his base and pursue his prime ministerial ambitions by moving into provincial politics.

Another version had Mackasey expressing to Trudeau his deep concern about the state of the state, bilingualism, Confederation and the like. Trudeau suggested he put it all in writing and give it to Jim Coultts, the senior PMO heavy. This

done, Mackasey cooled his heels for a month, and eventually got his Irish up and went to see Trudeau to find out why his points had not been replied to. Tempers flared; epithets became increasingly colourful; and Mackasey stormed out of the office and the cabinet in a huff. Jim Coutts then became Mackasey's Mackasey, urging him to calm down and pointing out how much the country needed him. Mackasey agreed to reconsider and said he would speak to Pierre. No, said Coutts, he would handle it. A little later in the day he's back: "Bryce, how would you like to be chairman of CN?"

A third version had Mackasey faced with a serious case of the shorts, and looking to the big bucks that go with running CN or Air Canada.

Whatever the reasoning behind it, Mackasey did end up in provincial politics, as the Liberal candidate in Notre-Dame-de-Grace riding, joining his former cabinet colleague Jean Marchand and backbencher Roland Comtois in deserting the founding federal Liberals for what at the time looked like the safety of the provincial Liberal lifeboat.

Getting it together in the 20th century

photo: David Lloyd



Stanfield: A lean, but never a hungry look

Perhaps reflecting both his previous station and his current circumstances, Robert Stanfield sits behind a large ornate desk which is wedged into a very small office. But Stanfield appears to have adjusted well to the knowledge that he will never be prime minister. In fact many of his detractors feel that he accepted his loser role all too soon and all too well. Stanfield has always had a lean but never a hungry look about him. But even that has lost its importance now.

We came to see Robert Stanfield with questions in two specific areas. We wanted to know what he thought of how Joe Clark was making out, especially in his relations with the caucus. We wanted also to hear his assessment of the Progressive Conservative Party now and the changes in the party since 1967 when he was elected leader.

In many respects, the two areas of questioning were closely connected. We didn't expect Stanfield to do any bad-mouthing of Clark — that wouldn't be his style in any case. Rather, we expected, and received to a certain extent, Stanfield's assurances that the changes wrought in the Conservative Party by his victory in 1967 had not been undermined by the struggle that took place over the naming of his successor.

Stanfield was satisfied with the outcome of the leadership race, and his satisfaction had only partly to do with the individual who was elected — he apparently could have been happy with almost any of the candidates and happier still if someone of stature outside the caucus would have run. He allowed that it would have been "good natured" of John Robarts to have made a run for it, but since Robarts demurred, and there was no natural successor in the caucus, the selection of Joe Clark was as good as any.

More important to Stanfield was that the convention did not repudiate the policy initiatives that began with the movement to oust John Diefenbake.

Even before he entered national politics Stanfield says he was concerned that the Conservative Party, "the inheritors of the tradition of Macdonald and Cartier didn't know how to put it together in the middle of the 20th Century . . . we really didn't have a policy of national consolidation."

If one thinks back to the Montmorency Conference in 1967 when the Tories tried, if not to evolve a coherent national policy, at least to try out some options, one can see what Stanfield means.

This was the conference that came up with the famous "deux nations — two founding peoples" formulation. It was an era when Quebec Premier Daniel Johnson had developed the technique of saying one thing in French and another in English to the level of high art, and it was generally believed

that the problems of confederation and national unity could be solved by creative translation.

But it didn't work for the Tories. John Diefenbaker railed against "deux nations" at the convention that had been called to pry him out of office and choose his successor, and the convention decided not to adopt the formulation but only to table it. In the next year's federal election, Stanfield went around the country trying to say that "deux nations" wasn't party policy while an angry Diefenbaker in Saskatchewan and an enthusiastic Marcel Faribault in Quebec were saying that it was. The Tories were in a vulnerable position and the new Liberal leader, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, was not slow to take advantage of it. As Stanfield ruefully suggests, "we even lost the big vote."

Trudeau reviewed the 1968 St. Jean Baptiste Day parade in Montreal amid flying bottles and clashes between police and members of the *Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale*. "TRUDEAU DEFIES SEPARATISTS," read the headline in the *Toronto Star* the next day, election day, as Liberal candidates were elected with large majorities all over southern Ontario.

English Canada's sudden acceptance of Trudeau was based largely on the belief that a French Canadian was required to keep Quebec in line. This was confirmed for many people in October 1970, when Trudeau once again showed the separatists he meant business. The War Measures Act marked the high point of Trudeau's popularity in English Canada. The greater the apparent danger of a break-up of Canada, the easier it was for Trudeau to persuade people of his indispensability.

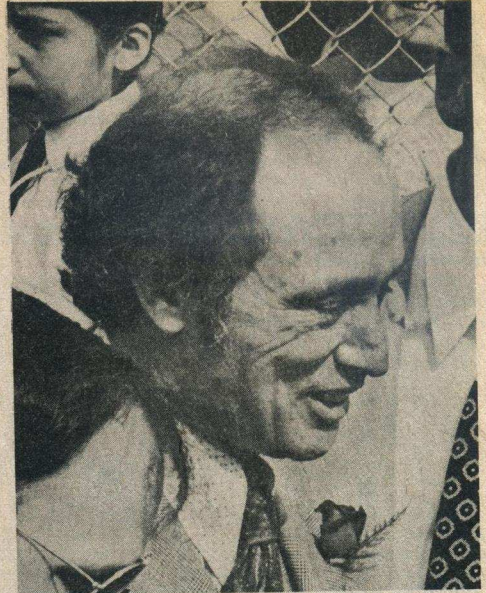
But after 1970, the double-edged nature of Trudeau's policy toward Quebec began to make itself felt.

The policy was a consistent one and had been clearly spelled out. "Only blind men," Trudeau wrote in 1964, "could expect a consensus to be lasting if the national flag or the national image is merely the reflection of one part of the nation, if the sum of values to be protected is not defined so as to include the language of some very large and tightly-knit minority."

The separatist threat was to be dealt with on two levels. Any show of Quebec nationalist strength was to be met with all the means at Ottawa's disposal, including force if necessary. And meanwhile the federal government was to be given more of a French Canadian face. This latter goal was pursued with gusto toward the end of Trudeau's first term. Bilingualism was only part of it: this was the era of French Power (that it was commonly known in French as *le French Power* is an indication of how seriously it was taken in Quebec). It meant Quebec ministers in important economic portfolios and French Canadians in key civil service jobs. And it led to a Tory sweep of English Canada (105 seats as compared to only 54 for the Liberals) in the 1972 election.

For while the Tories might be hopelessly vulnerable in English Canada on the question of standing up to the separatists, they were much better placed when the issue was French Power. It wasn't that they were against French Power — at least not all of them. They didn't have to be. Voters in English Canada who wanted Quebec kept not only in line but in its place simply had nowhere else to go.

Stanfield consistently pursued a policy of not going after that vote directly, and so did Clark. Still, they came within an inch of winning the 1972 election, with the overwhelming support of the anti-bilingualism backlash and without significant representation from Quebec. It is entirely possible



Trudeau: A double-edged policy on Quebec

that in 1978 they will go that extra inch, and more, under precisely the same circumstances. Both Clark and Stanfield admit that there are dangers in that possibility, but say that if the Tories are to win the backlash vote it is at least better to win it through inadvertence than through a direct appeal.

Another, somewhat less circumspect Tory confidentially predicts that once his party is in power and in effect ratifies the Liberals' bilingualism policy the western protest vote will go back to the NDP. But we leap ahead of our story.

After 1970, separatism-versus-federalism disappeared from the top of the agenda. Internal Quebec politics focussed on other matters: labour, language, organized crime. The 1973 Quebec election gave the provincial Liberals 102 of the 110 seats, and reduced the representation of the Parti Québécois from seven seats to six. Trudeau appeared on television on election night to proclaim his policy vindicated. In the euphoria few people noticed that the PQ had won 30 per cent of the popular vote, a gain of five per cent over 1970. The next year's federal election was fought almost entirely on economic issues.

All the indications were that French Canada had embraced federalism while English Canada, through its opposition to measures that would make the federal government appear the government of all Canadians, was encouraging separatism. By 1976 this option had become explicit in English Canada, and the *Toronto Sun* was throwing its editorial weight behind the Parti Québécois. "If they want to go," English Canadians were saying, "let them go." The only thing was it was far from certain they wanted to go, even after the PQ's victory.

The stronger the English Canadian backlash grew, the more reluctant all the federal political parties became to touch

it. James Richardson's resignation over bilingualism was a one-day wonder in Ottawa. Richardson's reasoning was a little convoluted and he had got his timing all wrong, but with all that his message was clear enough: "Because of the very real difficulties and divisiveness that have been encountered in the bilingual program in the public service, in the Armed Forces, and elsewhere, it seems to me that most Canadians would consider it prudent to continue for some time longer with the bilingual experiment, before agreeing to entrench increased language rights, for all time, in the Constitution."

Richardson had bolted not only the Cabinet, but also the three-party consensus on bilingualism. He was not going to be quiet; he would embark on a speaking tour to take his case to the people. Whether he would have any more impact in the country than he had had in Ottawa remained to be seen.

Meanwhile, the question of separatism was supposed to get finally buried. The instrument was to be the Quebec election called by Premier Bourassa so that he could get another victory under his belt before the effects of the post-Olympic bust began to tell. This was to be three-

strikes-and-you're-out for the PQ. René Lévesque had to take his own seat and the party had to win 15 (or 20, or 25, or 30, depending on whom you talked to) to stay in business. If they didn't do it this time they would have lost their last chance. And even within the PQ itself few people expected them to do it.

The outcome of the Quebec election has, of course, changed all that. And while René Lévesque was enjoying the fruits of the decline of Trudeau's strong federalist policy in Quebec, Joe Clark was preparing to do the same in the west. The issue of language, at worst an irritant to even the reddest neck, became the catalyst that unleashed the resentments of the west over the inequities of a federal system that has concentrated all power and wealth in the centre.

This being the case, the Tories with a new young leader from the west should be sitting pretty. Still, in spite of the polls, most Tories we talked to in mid-October seemed rather nervous. Perhaps they know something.

But again we leap ahead of our story.

A program that's no program

The ceremonial opening of Parliament makes good sense during the summer months when Ottawa is crowded with American tourists. They seem to get off on royal occasions even when, as in Canada, they are done by proxy. But in October when nobody is in Ottawa except those who have to be there (by appropriate coincidence, the city was host to a conference on mental retardation the same week as the Throne Speech), it becomes one of the sillier of our borrowed traditions.

The unctuous and fatuous sentiments that the occasion seems to demand reduce everything to rancid jello. The setting doesn't help either — the Supreme Court justices sitting in their costumes, flanked by the dozing Senators, while behind the bar are crowded the Members of Parliament, standing on one foot and then the other as if milling around a crowded toilet at half-time during a football game. . . . And King Charles died for this?

Anyway it started on time and the speech went like this:

The government is in trouble over its bilingualism policy so it is going to retreat from it. Or rather:

"Canada is a diverse country. Unity can result only from a recognition of that diversity, and not from any attempt to impose rigid uniformity. In matters of language and culture, it is important to recognize the personality of the various parts of the country without departing from fundamental principles of justice and generosity, which should apply everywhere.

"The Government has established programs intended to give real meaning to the official languages policy. Some of these measures have proven successful, and will be continued. Others have not, and will be modified.

"Grievances originating from public servants through the Commissioner of Official Languages will continue to be reviewed, in order to fulfill the Government's commitment to ensure maximum fairness and effectiveness in the implementation of the official languages policy."

The Prime Minister has also received some bad press over some disparaging remarks made about the "Free Enterprise System" and so he is retreating from that position —

whatever it was:

"The Government intends to promote greater freedom and efficiency in the marketplace, and thus reinforce the market system's vital role in the allocation of national resources among national needs.

"Significant revisions to laws promoting competition in the marketplace will be placed before you. The Government is determined to preserve and enhance Canada's traditional policy of reliance on individual enterprise as the mainspring of economic activity."

The Government favours "a reliance on the market to stimulate the growth Canada needs, together with an enduring commitment to social justice and equality of opportunity. On the other hand, that choice also implies that the working of the market must be improved and that less costly, less interventionist ways must be found to pursue social goals."

What exactly one can expect from these pronouncements is unclear. Somewhat later Otto Lang raised the possibility that projected changes in the corporate structure of Air Canada could lead to the eventual sale of the airline to the private sector. There is no truth, however, to the rumour that various rent-a-cop outfits are discussing purchase of the RCMP.

With its business flank taken care of, the government also wants to make peace with the trade union movement. This is symbolized by the prime minister's refusal to cross a picket line of Canadian Press reporters on Throne Speech day, resulting in the postponement of a press conference for which he is already an hour late, and also by some conciliatory gestures in the direction of the Canadian Labour Congress, which the October 14 Day of Protest is about to give new stature as a central labour body. The Throne Speech recognizes this new influence and makes some very nebulous but nevertheless nice promises to the CLC leadership — enough to give everyone a chance to sit down and talk, which was all the CLC wanted in the first place.

Unemployment is expected to reach over eight per cent of the labour force this winter. The Throne Speech tells us that the government hopes to deal with this through essentially a

bookkeeping device and new names for old programs.

And there we have it, the outline of a legislative program that is really no program at all. A smug appeal from a government that firmly believes it was born to rule — this despite all recent evidence to the contrary. A program that seems to bear out the Liberal contention that its troubles begin when it proposes too much government and too many

programs and that it must simply pull in its horns a bit and get on with its public relations job. The Liberals will sit back and wait for the Tories to make their mistakes.

To make things a little more interesting, they have also arranged an ambush along the tortuous path to establishing a homegrown constitution.

Policy cometh before the fall

photo: David Lloyd



One Tory said: Joe's problem is his wife won't call herself Clark and he lost in Bow River and he has to go into the House and prove his manhood.

In the brief period since his election as leader of the Progressive Conservative Party Joe Clark has had his work cut out for him. He has had to establish his leadership in the caucus, he has had to establish his presence inside the party and he has had to come forward as a leader of stature in the country as a whole. He has also assigned himself another priority — the creation of a party in his image in Quebec.

Given the rapid unravelling of the Liberal government, he has had a number of things going for him — the momentum of the leadership campaign has continued to build and the former unknown backbencher has within the space of considerably less than a year been catapulted to the position of a potential prime minister.

However, this new prominence also worked against Clark. The pressure was on him to get up front and lead the party. To lead the party meant to mix it up in Commons with the Liberals. To some members of the party and of the caucus, it also meant to pounce at the jugular of a government that seemed bruised and battered.

Throughout the spring and summer Clark wasn't ready or willing, and the suspicion grew that he wasn't able.

For his part, Clark organized a number of task forces and

committees to study various policy options. This had two distinct advantages. While these committees studied matters Clark didn't have to say anything. And, in the fullness of time, when he was finally to be smoked out, he would have something to say. To Clark's critics there seemed endless opportunities to shaft the government, which were missed as was the attendant publicity. Policy-making bodies have always created problems for the Tories: it is a Tory proverb that Policy cometh before the Fall.

Clark did much to mollify his critics with his speech during the Throne Speech debate, which, while rambling and unspecific, was at least hard-hitting, and that was enough for Southam's Charlie Lynch to declare it "the best speech we have heard from an opposition leader for 20 years, when John Diefenbaker was newly at the head of the Tories, and scenting Liberal blood." Considering that the comparison was with Robert Stanfield, Dief in his declining years and Lester Pearson, that wasn't quite the compliment it seemed to be, but there was general agreement that Clark's speech did mark a successful return to the House of Commons. †

Clark's own strategic inclination, and that of his advisers, is to ignore Trudeau in the House, and not give him the

chance to engage in the one-on-one verbal combat at which he excels. But because of the unnatural obsession in the Tory party with "taking on the prime minister," there is pressure on Clark from his caucus to attack Trudeau directly. "Joe's problem," said one Tory who knows the caucus, "is that his wife won't call herself Clark and he lost in Bow River and he has to go into the House and prove his manhood."

Clark's concentration on building a Tory presence in Quebec has caused problems for Joe Clark and has put strains on the fragile unity of the party.

In an organizational sense, Clark's efforts are seen by some as quixotic to say the least. There are more fruitful areas in which to hold highly-publicized caucus meetings and arrange other stunts. Politically, concentration in Quebec blunts efforts in other parts of Canada to hit Trudeau where he is seen to be most vulnerable. How many Tories ache to say the same things James Richardson has come up with?

But Joe Clark, like Robert Stanfield before him, is marching to a beat of a different drummer.

Jacques Lavoie, the newest Quebec Conservative MP, in some ways is typical of those Tories who have managed to get elected in Quebec. The first requirement is to conceal one's party affiliation, the second is to spend 26 hours a day on constituency work.

That's how Heward Graffey does it in Brome-Missisquoi, and how Roch Lasalle does it in Joliette.

Claude Wagner is a special case, having been brought into the party with a high profile and a lot of electoral help from the surprisingly active ghost of the old Union Nationale machine.

Lavoie was elected in the celebrated byelection which Tories still speak of in the way that Brits speak of Dunkirk. He knocked off the Liberal parachute, Pierre Juneau, who had just resigned from the CRTC and is now safely berthed in the top spot at the National Capital Commission.

His success in a way underlines the Tories' problems in Quebec; by-elections can be won, but in general elections they can usually only manage to come up with a Quebec caucus that could meet in a phone booth. Joe Clark thinks he can change all that.

Clark has been in almost perpetual motion since winning the leadership, and Quebec is where he's been spending much of his time. He expresses particular pleasure at how well he's getting on with Claude Wagner. Eye to eye, he says, is the way they now see, and the trip to Europe was a great help, since not only did Joe get along so well with Claude, but Maureen got to know Giséle Wagner better, which in the light of the latter's reputation as the Lady Macbeth of Ste-Hyacinthe sounds quite remarkable.

Anyway, Clark claims to have the Wagner situation under control, for the time being at least, although relations might be even better if every time Wagner visited the office of the Leader of the Opposition he didn't have to look at a framed newspaper page headlined *Wagner Loses on Fourth Ballet*.

Relations between the two men were not helped by the recent convention in Quebec that saw Clark's choice for president of the provincial association, Roch Lasalle, defeat the old guard candidate backed by Wagner and Jacques Lavoie — Jean-Yves Lortie, famous for his Pernod-and-orange-juice punch bowl, who is said to be in disfavour because of the way in which the party HQ in Montreal was acquired. The exact vote is being kept a closely guarded secret for some reason, but it is said to have been close. Clark's entire slate won. After it was over both Wagner and

Lavoie were publicly denouncing Ottawa for imposing its will on Quebec, and Wagner was making some pointed comments about Clark. All in all, it was a bad day for the 'we're all friends' image.

All may not be rosy, but Clark does seem to have defused the explosive situation that existed in Quebec after the leadership convention. That was an achievement, but winning the ten to twenty seats in the next election that Clark says he's hoping for will be a bigger one. Clark's goal may be realistic, and he derives satisfaction from the large number of francophone votes picked up by the successful Tory candidate, Jean Piggott, in the October 18 Ottawa-Carleton byelection. Grasping at straws, perhaps, but at least there are some straws to grasp at now.

On the other hand, Clark's strategy is subject to a number of rather large ifs.

First of all, the electorate has to be convinced that bilingualism will not suffer under a Tory government; second, good local candidates have to be persuaded to run, some of them of more ministerial calibre than, say, Joseph-Philippe Guay; and third, there's a favour that has to be returned.

Most Tories in Quebec worked hard for the Union Nationale in the provincial election. With the UN showing surprising strength, it can be expected to throw its weight behind the Tories in a federal campaign.

The assistance of a party led by a sewer-pipe manufacturer which has managed to mislay several million dollars of its own electoral war chest does not, at first glance, seem like much of an asset. But when it comes to door-to-door campaigning, getting out the vote, and putting together local machines, there's life in the old Blues yet.

The Conservatives and Quebec

Robert Stanfield believes he was defeated in Ontario, and resigned the leadership largely because he had come to the sad conclusion that he was unacceptable to Ontario voters. He is convinced that even in 1972 when he came so close to victory Ontario voters who deserted the Liberals intended only to teach them a lesson and not to defeat them. Stanfield also suggests that in 1974, with the lesson duly administered to Trudeau, the Liberal majority was building regardless of the Tory wage-freeze proposal and that the election was lost for the Conservatives before it was called.

Moreover, Stanfield is convinced that the basic reason the federal Conservatives are unacceptable to the electorate of Ontario is that neither the party nor its leader has had credibility in Quebec. Stanfield even suggests that when the Tories appear to have a base in Quebec, their fortunes improve in Ontario. Thus, according to Stanfield's interpretation, a man such as Claude Wagner running in Quebec might be able to draw more support to the Tories in Ontario than he could in his home province.

Stanfield has said on more than one public occasion that he rejected persistent advice that he forget about Quebec and concentrate on English Canada; win big in the east and west and later Quebec will be unable to resist climbing aboard a moving bandwagon. Stanfield believes that such a strategy is not only divisive but also, because of his assessment of Ontario voters, downright silly politics.

All this is, of course, oversimplified, but in essence it is the viewpoint of Robert Stanfield and the section of the party that he represented that the only way the Progressive Conservative Party will be able to come to power and remain there for any reasonable length of time — that is, the only way it will be able to govern — will be to have a national policy. In its efforts to achieve such a policy it has floundered, mainly because of internal dissension, since the Diefenbaker majority evaporated. This process began with the Montmorency Conference and if the Tories' current constitutional proposals seem scarcely related to the heady days of 1967, they have nevertheless moved a fair distance from John Diefenbaker's preoccupation with the flag and the Queen. They have even moved a fair distance from the One Canada slogan.

Joe Clark believes in the same politics as Robert Stanfield. His situation differs from Stanfield's in several important respects. He has control of the federal caucus, at least temporarily. He is a westerner and thus may be able to talk some English Canadians into things a French Canadian leader, or even a Nova Scotian, couldn't. There is a theory that English Canadians are able to see one of their own in Clark, who comes from Alberta and has spent much of his life in central Canada, in a way that they never could in Stanfield, who represented a Nova Scotian aristocracy that had lost none of its distance, *hauteur* and sense of *noblesse oblige* as its real influence had declined. One Tory summed it up by saying that his party "finally had an English-speaking leader."

If there had been no election in Quebec, or if Bourassa had been returned to power, the current federal election campaign could have ended as prosaically as it began with the Throne Speech. Trudeau could have trimmed his sails, and everybody could have shadow-boxed around bilingualism. The election could have been a toss-up with very little seeming to be at stake.

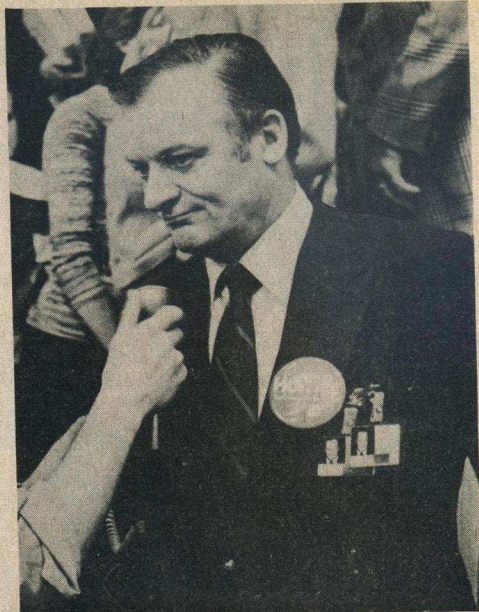
But things now stand in a different light. An election campaign that focuses on constitutional arrangements rather than language could open up an area of wide disagreement between Liberals and Tories.

As prime minister, Pierre Trudeau has been an active proponent of the thesis that the federal government should remain strong and has jealously guarded Ottawa's powers, in the process engaging not only Quebec but also Alberta and other provinces in noisy battles.

Joe Clark's concept of federalism has powers flowing the other way. "I think that there's a cycle naturally in federalism," he said on CTV in late October. "I think there are times when the central government should be strong and times when the cycle should move towards the provinces and this is a time to move towards the provinces, I think."

He advocated greater flexibility on the part of the federal government in negotiating a new constitution with the provinces, and said that such delicate matters as immigration and communications should be up for grabs. In the light of the often conflicting interests of the different provinces, which kept the whole question tied up even before the complication of a PQ government in Quebec City arose, Clark's constitutional position is understandably short on specifics.

Trudeau has also talked about cycles, but in a somewhat different context. "During the entire [Duplessis] period," he wrote in 1967, "while nearly everyone connected with the Left was urging Ottawa to redress the situation in Quebec, I remained a fierce supporter of provincial autonomy. By 1962, however, the Lesage government and public opinion in



Jack Horner

Quebec had magnified provincial autonomy into an absolute, and were attempting to reduce federal power to nothing; and so, to defend federalism, I entered politics in 1965."

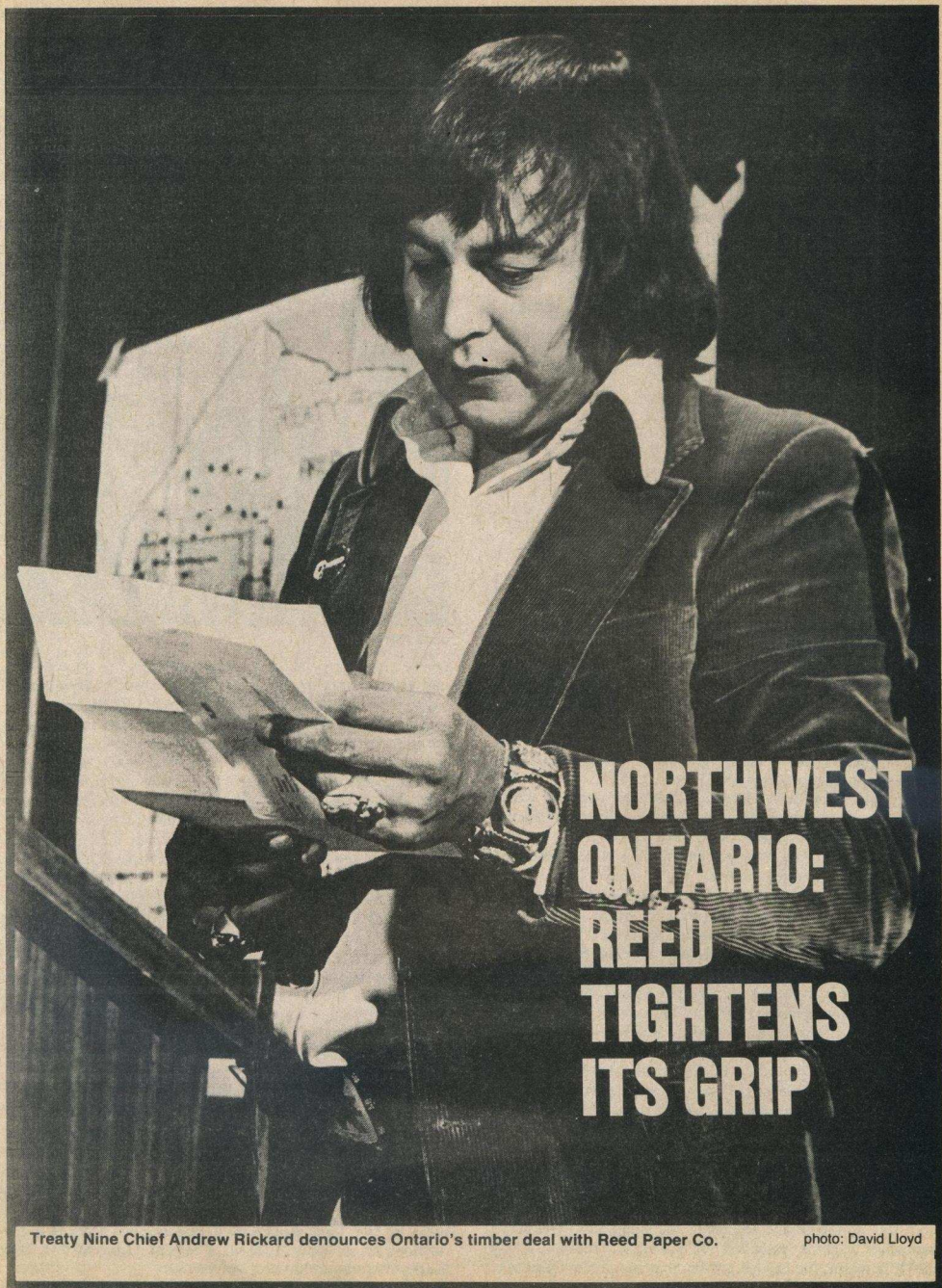
All indications are that Trudeau's estimation of where we are in the cycle at this point is almost diametrically different from Joe Clark's. In the wake of the Quebec election, there is the possibility that he will give us a repeat performance of the One Canada, stand-up-to-the-separatists campaign of 1968 — and it is a possibility of which Clark is aware.

But if Clark was unduly worried about that prospect he managed to conceal his concern on election night, when he delivered his sober statement calling for calm while suppressing an incongruous grin with some difficulty.

After all, it was a Liberal government that had gone down to defeat, and a Liberal prime minister's version of federalism that was being rejected. If the provincial Liberals, with their huge majority, had turned out to be paper tigers, then it was not too much of a leap to conclude that the federal Liberals in Quebec might be equally vulnerable.

So while Clark was being statesmanlike, Jack Horner was openly expressing pleasure at the election result and Claude Wagner was saying that Quebecers might find Tory federalism more palatable than the Liberal kind. They were reflecting the feeling in the bones of most Tories that the sun was continuing to shine on their party and that the new alignment in Quebec would in some way be good for them, even if they couldn't quite figure out how.

Patrick Brown, Robert Chodos and Rae Murphy are members of the Last Post's editorial board. They are the authors of *Winners, Losers*, a recent book on the Tory leadership campaign and convention.



**NORTHWEST
ONTARIO:
REED
TIGHTENS
ITS GRIP**

Treaty Nine Chief Andrew Rickard denounces Ontario's timber deal with Reed Paper Co.

photo: David Lloyd

Until late October things seemed to be going just fine for Ontario's minority Conservative government, led by Premier Bill Davis. Opinion polls indicated the government had recovered its popularity and, if an election were held, would win a majority. Election predictions began to be heard.

Then the government stumbled badly, by announcing a deal with Reed Paper Ltd. to give Reed timber rights to 19,000 sq. miles of northwestern Ontario — an area larger than Nova Scotia. An angry public reaction forced Davis to duck for cover, promising that hearings on the deal would have a chairman independent of the government.

More was involved in the reaction than this particular deal — though it was threatening enough with the enormous area involved, the environmental dangers, the destruction of native peoples'

livelihoods, forestry management questions, and the secret nature of the negotiations.

For Reed had long been in bad odour in northwestern Ontario. Its subsidiary, Dryden Chemicals Ltd., had for years polluted the English-Wabigoon river system with mercury discharges. The mercury pollution was only ended in 1975. The eating of heavily contaminated fish had raised fears — still not dispelled — of Minimata Disease among native peoples in the area, similar to that which became a national scandal in Japan.

The two articles below — prepared by the Ontario Public Interest Research Group — trace the foot-dragging of Dryden Chemicals and the government, in ending mercury poisoning; and examine the major move into Canada by Reed International, the British-owned multinational corporation.

by the Ontario Public Interest Research Group

I. The Dryden story

The chlor-alkali plant in Dryden began dumping mercury into the Wabigoon River in 1962, nine years after the first symptoms of methyl mercury poisoning struck individuals in Japan. By the end of 1962, 45 of the 121 officially verified Minimata Disease patients had died, and methyl mercury was the recognized killer.

Yet in Canada at that time there were no standards whatever to limit or regulate the uses and abuses of mercury by industry. Nor was there any system of sampling or monitoring on the part of government or industry to determine what, if anything, this mercury was doing to water eco-systems, wildlife, and human beings. Mercury was just one element among a thousand unknowns that government allows industry to discharge into our environment.

And for industry, at least in the case of Dryden Chemical Company, the prime consideration governing the use of mercury was not that of long-term environmental health or the safety of workers and nearby residents.

Mercury was well-known as a very poisonous substance; technical journals invariably emphasized the dangers of working with mercury and the value of keeping it within a closed system. One Ontario health journal recorded four cases of mercury poisoning in 1962 in the chlor-alkali industry alone.

At this time an alternative to the mercury cell process did exist. Dryden could have chosen to install the diaphragm cell process which has an even longer history in Canada than the mercury cell process — going back to 1911. However, the chemical industry had long favoured the mercury process because it requires a lower supply of labour. Residents and workers might have used some different criteria to judge the

value of a mercury cell process — but nobody asked them.

So in 1962, Dryden purchased 60,000 lbs. of mercury and began its production of chlorine and caustic soda. Thereafter an additional 6,000 lbs. would be purchased annually to compensate for losses of mercury to water, air, solid wastes, products, and accumulations within the plant itself. There was no catchment basin outside the plant, no circulation of water, no attempt to recover the thousands of pounds of mercury dumped into the river system.

Dryden continued to dump into the river an average of 10 to 20 lbs. of mercury per day until 1970. That's more than 20,000 lbs. since 1962. In addition there's another 30,000 lbs. of mercury recorded as going into the plant which no one can account for. "It either emerged undetected, or, in part, lies deep unseen in the works." (*Globe and Mail*, 1975)

In 1966 Sweden began to take action to prevent further contamination by mercury of waterways and wildlife in that country. The use of mercury compounds for seed treatment was banned and chlor-alkali plants and pulp and paper mills were listed as major sources of mercury contamination.

That same year the World Health Organization recommended that the Acceptable Daily Intake for organic mercurials in food be zero, and that a "practical residual limit" not to be exceeded be set at .02 to .05 ppm.

These two articles were prepared by the Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG) at the University of Waterloo, and are taken from its special publication *Quicksilver and Slow Death*. Researchers and writers include: David Moffat, Patti Moffat, Peggy Nichols, David Robertson and Terry Moore.

In 1967 Swedish researchers determined that metallic mercury could be methylated under anaerobic conditions. This meant that the inorganic mercury being dumped by Dryden could no longer be considered an innocuous heavy metal resting peacefully in the Wabigoon River silt. Tiny organisms were ingesting the metal and as big fish ate little fish which ate the organisms, the poison was becoming more and more concentrated. The Swedish findings were corroborated by research in Japan and were well documented in international journals. Also well documented were the tragic disasters at Minamata and Niigata where the nature of mercury poisoning was especially well understood.

By the late 1960's a tremendous amount of fish in Canada had accumulated levels of mercury capable of poisoning people. Although much of this fish was sold commercially the government detected and suspected nothing. And although experiences in other countries clearly testified to the dangers of mercury contamination the government remained dumb and inactive.

When "experts" from the Ontario Water Resources Commission (OWRC) were asked in March of 1970 why, on the basis of experiences elsewhere, action had not been taken sooner, they replied, "We have all their papers but they're written in Japanese and Swedish and we couldn't read them."

Awareness of the mercury problem eventually surfaced as a result of the research by a Norwegian graduate student, Norvald Fimreite, who had been studying mercury uses and contamination in wildlife in Canada since 1967. Fimreite

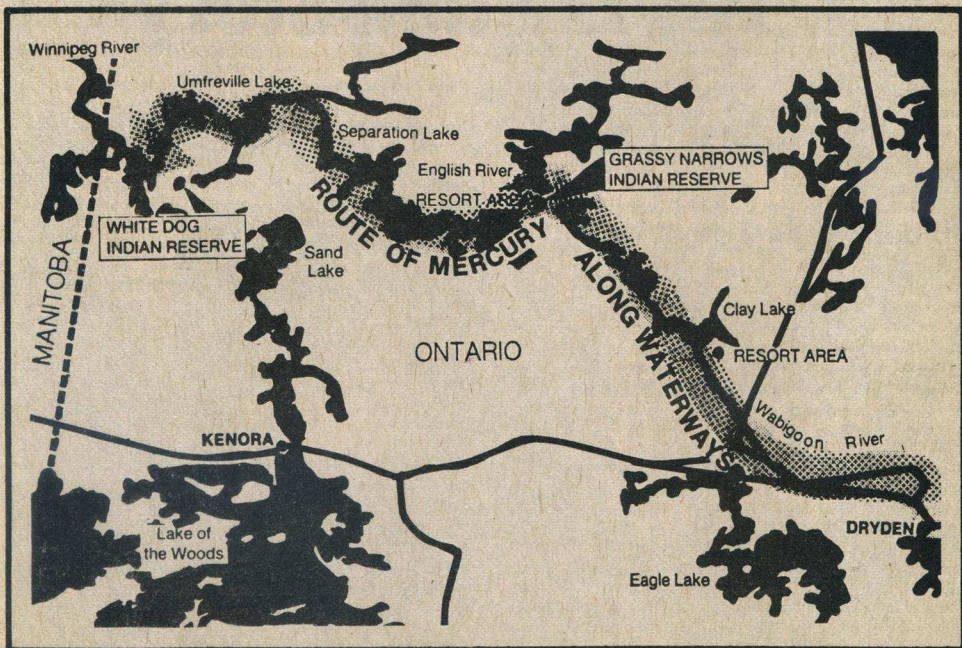
presented a paper to a symposium on pollution at the University of Western Ontario in 1969. This symposium was attended by representatives of the OWRC.

By 1968, the group working with Dr. Tadao Takeuchi, at Kumamoto University, Japan, had published no fewer than 183 papers on the subject. By that year the number of deaths in Japan was approaching 100, with several thousand maimed; methyl mercury was an officially recognized killer.

Meanwhile, Dryden continued to dump mercury. Why not dump? There were no government regulations limiting or prohibiting mercury in effluent. There were none written until 1972 (and there are still no regulations for other industrial sectors). There were no standards for mercury in fish and "guidelines" for fish sold commercially were not established until 1970. Nor was there any systematic monitoring program for mercury written into Canadian water quality standards. Neither is there, to this date, any standard for mercury content in food generally. And not until 1976 were any standards established limiting the emissions of mercury into the air.

Fimreite had attempted, through a review of published reports and commercial statistics, and by direct inquiry, to estimate the total amount of mercury contributed annually to the environment in Canada, particularly to water and soil. The paper stated, in part:

"It is evident that by far the largest quantities of mercury and mercury compounds are used for industrial purposes. The industrial and urban areas in Ontario and Quebec must account for at least 2/3 of all mercury used in Canada ... The



Mercury entered the English-Wabigoon river system at Dryden and worked its way 140 miles downstream, past the two Indian reserves and into Lake Winnipeg.

aquatic systems are most likely to be contaminated, with the highest amounts of mercury appearing at the ends of food chains, in animals such as large predacious fish, fish-eating birds, and mammals. The accumulation of mercury following industrial uses of mercury may be more serious, not only because of the higher amounts of mercury and mercury compounds being used and released, but also because these relatively large amounts of mercury will enter a more distinct part of the biosphere. The resulting mercury concentration will therefore be pronounced where such contamination occurs . . . Investigations in Sweden indicate what we must expect. He [Hassebrut] found clearly increased mercury contents in fish exposed below a chlor-alkali plant."

As well yet another Swedish paper on the conversion of mercury to methyl mercury was published in March 1969 followed by a full issue of *Environment* magazine (U.S.A.) outlining the dangers of mercury, summarizing Japanese and Swedish findings, and detailing the major sources of mercury pollution. But not until May 1969 did Canadian and Ontario authorities think to investigate what was happening here. Mud samples from the St. Clair River were tested and shown to have incredibly high levels of mercury. By August the mercury was traced to the Dow Chemical plant at Sarnia and by fall officials began to wonder about the fish, sending samples away to California for testing.

Elsewhere in Canada people were also beginning to wonder about the fish. Research scientists at the University of Saskatchewan decided to examine fish downstream from a chlor-alkali plant on the North Saskatchewan River. In November 1969 they submitted results of their preliminary study (Wobeser et al., 1970) to the Saskatchewan government. The levels of mercury were very high and the federal department of fisheries and forestry began, in the spring of 1970, a survey of mercury in fish in all parts of Canada. Meanwhile Canadian chlor-alkali plants found it necessary to purchase an additional 195,000 lbs. of mercury simply to replace losses from the previous year's operation.

Dryden keeps dumping

In 1970, numerous water systems across Canada were closed to commercial fishing because the levels of mercury in fish had exceeded the maximum "safe" level of .5 ppbf. In the English-Wabigoon River system fish were found to exceed this level by as much as 30 times. These were levels at least comparable to Japan, where, by this time, over 70 people had died.

It would take from 70 to 100 years for the river systems in northwest Ontario to cleanse themselves — assuming that Dryden would stop dumping mercury. Given the extensive contamination of waterways, and considering the large and potentially lethal deposits of mercury still percolating up from the bed of the river, it should have been abundantly clear to Dryden at this stage that any continued discharge of mercury would be completely irresponsible.

On February 27, 1970 the Ontario Water Resources Commission issued control orders to six Ontario companies. These orders, seemingly tough on the surface, required the companies "... on or before the 1st day of May, 1970 . . . to provide facilities to ensure the mercury contaminated brine is not discharged to the environment under any circumstances."



In 1970, federal Fisheries Minister Jack Davis claimed mercury had been caught before there was "any real danger to human beings."

The monitoring of effluent, however, was left up to the companies. No measures were taken, after 10 years of dumping, to ensure that Dryden and other plants actually stopped contaminating the river system with mercury. Nor did the control orders impose any legal obligation on the companies to actually curtail emissions of mercury into the environment; in reality the control orders were nothing but polite, and somewhat fatuous requests.

On April 8, 1970 Jack Davis, federal minister of fisheries and forestry, issued the following statement on his government's response to the mercury problem:

"Fortunately we have caught our mercury problem in time. We have caught it before there has been any real danger to human beings. Once spotted we have closed the fishery. Either that or we have bought up all the fish and had them destroyed. Nothing has escaped the watchful eye of our Federal Fisheries Inspection Service — a service which is regarded the world over as tops in so far as fish quality and public health are concerned."

While Davis was boasting about his ministry's "watchful eye" and world renowned reputation, George Kerr, Ontario minister of the environment, was making public announcements to the effect that mercury in the fish would be cleared up in "twelve weeks" (which indicates just how little you have to know about the environment to head that ministry). In fact, the government still refused to take seriously the dangers of mercury pollution. In an attempt to downplay the issue Kerr commented that "we have eliminated the source . . . we are confident that there isn't any mercury loss now."

But in 1970, the source of mercury was far from being eliminated, at least in the English-Wabigoon River system. According to company figures only 4 lbs. of mercury a year was dumped into the Wabigoon River between 1970 and 1975. Yet in May 1975, when the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) asked federal officials from Environment Canada to conduct an independent check of the Dryden plant's dumping habits they discovered that this operation was, in reality, discharging 30 lbs. of mercury, over four times the amount Reed officials actually admitted to dumping. The federal officials noted that this was a conservative estimate, saying that it was difficult to determine how much more was leaked into the waterway. One official felt that it could be as high as 100 lbs.

An accurate account of Dryden's dumping habits is impossible to obtain. A spot check, carried out by the NIB and the Society of Friends on Sunday, April 12, 1975 and analysed at McMaster University, suggests that an excess of 7 lbs. of mercury entered the waterway on that day alone. And between 1972 and 1974, 4,085 lbs. of mercury was "lost or unaccounted for" by Dryden.

Under the chlor-alkali regulations effective May 30, 1973 the company was required to complete monthly reports indicating the quantity of mercury in liquid effluent discharges. There was no cross-checking of these figures or systematic monitoring of Dryden effluent by any government agency. Samples of effluent were tested occasionally (15 times in all) by Ontario Ministry of Environment personnel and these random checks often contradicted the company data.

The company's reporting form notes that on days when no effluent figures are given, there is no effluent. However, on six days when the company claimed no mercury discharge, the ministry found levels of mercury ranging from 61 to 6500 parts per billion. (Background levels for this waterway are about 1 ppb.) In addition, for the first five months that Dryden reported their effluent the average daily readings were obtained by dividing the monthly total by the number of days in the month, instead of dividing by the number of samples taken. Moreover, the company's averaged data do not include "operator's errors" within the plant. These are cited by the company to account for massive spills recorded in the data; for example, on January 13, 1975 one such error produced a discharge in excess of 7 lbs. of mercury.

So how much mercury has Dryden really been dumping? In July, 1975, five and a half years after Dryden was asked to eliminate all mercury discharges, MOE officials conducted an intensive survey of mercury discharges from the Dryden Chemical plant and the adjacent pulp and paper mill. This study admits that nobody knows how much mercury was dumped; it concluded that not only did Dryden Chemical Company reports account for only a portion of all mercury being discharged, but that the techniques used to sample effluent over the last 5 years were completely inappropriate; grab samples were taken although discharges fluctuated considerably over time; only the water was sampled whereas much of the mercury was in particulate form; and samples were not preserved before analysis, yielding lower results. It should have been inconceivable for Dryden to consider monitoring by use of occasional samples when the mercury was being discharged in large quantities all at once (by batch mode process). What is more, Dryden did not even bother to measure mercury levels in the cooling water and the storm water — containing quantities of mercury possibly greater



Ontario Environment Minister George Kerr said he would only enforce environment protection "which the industry can handle in stride."

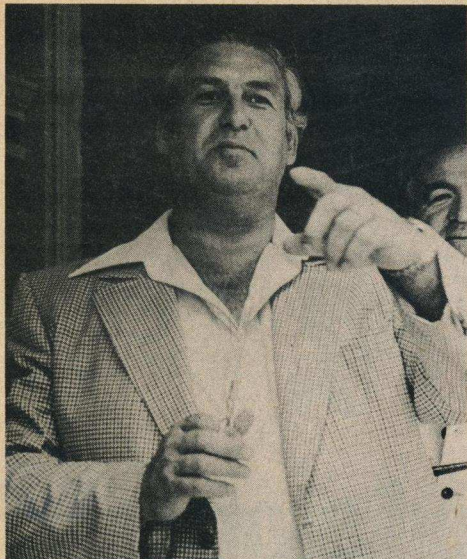
than in the process water. And, to make matters worse, the effluent flow of the cooling water was just estimated and the storm water never considered.

In Quebec, where companies previously using techniques similar to Dryden converted to a continuous sampling system and a direct measure of effluent, the reported losses of mercury increased by orders of magnitude. Obviously the Department of Environment regulations governing the discharge of mercury by chlor-alkali plants should have required the use of standardized and approved techniques when monitoring the liquid effluent. In the absence of such requirements, the results of Dryden's "monitoring" of mercury discharges are really meaningless.

And yet for almost five years the industry and the government had been loudly proclaiming that mercury discharges were either non-existent or well below the government standards. On November 6, 1974 the Ontario minister of the environment said, "I can reassure you that since I came to the ministry there has been no mercury emissions." Again on March 13, 1975, in a statement to the legislature, the minister said, "Through the Ministry of the Environment Control Orders imposed since 1970 my ministry has effectively eliminated the flow of mercury in industrial effluents."

In approving the chlor-alkali mercury regulations in 1972 the government imposed the first legal restrictions on the industry's use of this most toxic metal. The legal limits, however, in allowing the continual dumping of mercury at levels convenient to the industry, simply managed to subvert the effectiveness of other environmental legislation such as the Federal Fisheries Act — which in theory at least, makes the discharge of any deleterious substance an offense.

The new regulations allowed companies to continue dump-



Ontario Natural Resources Minister Leo Bernier has been a strong supporter of Reed Paper's plans for north-western Ontario.

ing .005 lbs. of mercury per ton of chlorine produced. (Dryden produces approximately 8,000 tons per year). According to Environment Canada such a regulation is based on the application of "best practicable technology" or in other words what the government feels the company can afford.

The regulations are not based on health considerations and completely ignore the varying size of chlor-alkali plants in Canada and the varying degrees to which river systems are contaminated. Considering the sloppy sampling techniques and general lack of enforcement that accompanied these regulations it becomes apparent that the government did not in fact demand responsible action from the industry. Pulp and paper regulations, announced by the government in 1971, provide a further example of how our government "regulates" the industry. What follows is a description of these regulations by the Canadian Environmental Law Association:

"These regulations purpose to limit the discharge of suspended solids, organic matter and toxic wastes from pulp and paper industries into our waterways. After a long period of drafting by the federal government, in close consultation with the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association (the only body with the technical information), the regulations were announced in November, 1971 - but they do not apply to any existing pulp and paper mill in Canada! Furthermore, the Minister of the Environment has set no date for these regulations to come into force for existing mills, although they now apply to new, expanded, or altered mills. If and when such a date is set, existing mills will be allowed to discharge more pollutants than new, expanded, or altered mills.

"The fact that such regulations were made, that considerable publicity was given to them by the federal government, and yet that they will not cost the industry one cent for current operations or cause any clean-up of their existing operations is an unfortunate but typical illustration of how governments often give a false impression of their concern for the environment."

The Ministry of Environment is currently sitting on a document entitled "Alternative Proposals for Pollution Abatement: The Ontario Pulp and Paper Industry". This 500-page study was completed in 1974. It documents in detail just what the pulp and paper industry is doing to the lakes and rivers of Ontario, and provides graphic illustration of what little effect the 1971 regulations have had in helping to toilet train the industry. In fact, for all practical purposes the regulations don't exist.

For example, beginning on page 281 there appears a table which, in part, asks the question, "Does mill currently meet Ministry of Environment water quality requirements?" Each of the pulp and paper mills in Ontario is listed and only two out of the 31 rate a "yes". On the same page the study mentions current problems of the Dryden mill which include "mercury accumulation and fish tainting from other mills (i.e. the Dryden Chemical Company) and accumulation of bark and fibre."

Another Provincial government report, one which has been made public, entitled *Status of Industrial Water Pollution Control in Ontario 1973*, gives us some idea of how forcefully the government has been pursuing polluters in general through the courts. For the period 1965-1972 the Industrial Wastes Branch of the Ministry of the Environment laid a total of 107 charges, obtained 81 convictions for a total of \$31,955.00 in fines, or an average of \$394.51 per conviction.

Considering the size of the companies being considered here, this amounts to little more than a licence to pollute (and a cheap one at that). Meetings with civil servants in the Ministry of Environment have confirmed that the government prefers to *consult* with industry regarding its effluent discharges rather than assuming an adversary role and forcing them to clean up.

George Kerr, Ontario's Minister of Environment, expressed the government's attitude best when he stated the following last February: "I do not intend to zero in on the pulp and paper companies to literally club them into taking on an expensive program in environmental protection which, at this time, the industry can collectively ill afford." He went on to say that he intends to set clean-up objectives, timetables and rates of spending "which the industry can handle in stride".

The Ministry of Environment is supposed to play a regulatory role in relation to industry in general. Yet all the information pertaining to the industry's financial ability to undertake abatement programs as well as data on actual effluent discharges is provided by the companies themselves. In reality, the possibility of true regulation is seriously undermined. When you add to this the close identification which exists between government and industry officials at the political level what you end up with is regulatory agencies which protect the institutions they are supposed to be regulating.

In the light of the above it is not surprising to read what a 1972 nine-nation international study group report on water management has to say. The report stated that the Canadian

government's national effluent regulations program is "likely to be ineffective in enhancing water quality, inefficient, inequitous, productive of perverse incentives, difficult to enforce and hard to evaluate." The regulations "apparently are politically attractive because they appear to be tough while, at the same time, they do not hurt anybody too much."

Discharges end in 1975

Mercury discharges from the Dryden plant did not end until 1975. Planning for the two week long job of dismantling the old chlor-alkali plant's mercury cells and replacing them with permionic membrane cells did not begin until June 1975. In August the new equipment was bought and transported and, at last, on October 21, the mercury cathodes at Dryden ceased operation.

According to the president of Reed Paper of Canada Ltd.

this was a \$5-million conversion. Reed had previously cited "astronomical costs" as justification for not converting. They now emphasized that "this was a change for public relations, not an economic change". Yet the alleged \$5-million cost of conversion represents only part of a \$63-million expansion within the Dryden plant during 1975. And considering that this expansion follows profits of over \$35-million (after taxes) in 1974 Reed's reluctance to pay the costs of conversion becomes reprehensible.

In fact Reed had already received \$18,640 from the Ontario Ministry of the Environment under the Pollution Abatement Incentives Act and over \$2.5-million in grants from the Federal Department of Regional and Economic Expansion.

In the final analysis, the Ontario and Canadian Governments were actually compensating Reed for not putting an immediate stoppage to its mercury dumpings. Dryden Chemical continued to profitably poison the river, destroying the social and economic fabric of at least two native communities in the process.

II. The Reed story

Dryden Chemicals Ltd., the company responsible for the contamination of the English-Wabigoon river system and the destruction of two Ojibwa communities in northwestern Ontario is part of one of Europe's largest paper and packaging corporations.

Its parent, Reed International Ltd., is a British based transnational empire whose tentacles extend into 44 countries and the lives of 90,000 workers around the world. The corporation's growth has reflected the familiar pattern of multinational development — connections in the right places, access to finance capital and an ability to orchestrate takeovers of competitors and other profitable operations in related and diversified areas of production.

At present, the Reed conglomerate is a complex mixture of over 400 operating, holding and associated companies involved in almost everything from "building products" to newspapers, television and radio stations.

Reed made its debut into the Canadian economy in 1961 when its subsidiary, Reed Paper Ltd., purchased controlling interest of Anglo-Canadian Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd. After acquisition, Anglo-Canadian began a period of rapid expansion by initiating numerous takeovers of other pulp and paper operations. So successful was the effort that by 1969 Reed had achieved the status of junior partner in the powerful Canadian Pulp and Paper oligopoly.

By 1974, Anglo-Canadian controlled Dryden Paper, Dryden Chemicals, Woods Dryden Paper Bags, Lignosol Chemicals, St. Charles Transport, Anglo Paper Products, Montmorency Paper, the Bersimis Mining, Anglo-Southern Paper, Hope Timberlands, Canadian Gasline, Textile and Paper Waste Sales, Krever Fibres, the Acme-Gulf group of companies which include Acme Paper Products, Gulf-Pulp and Paper, Quebec Containers, Anglo Packaging (Quebec) and Inter-Provincial Bag.

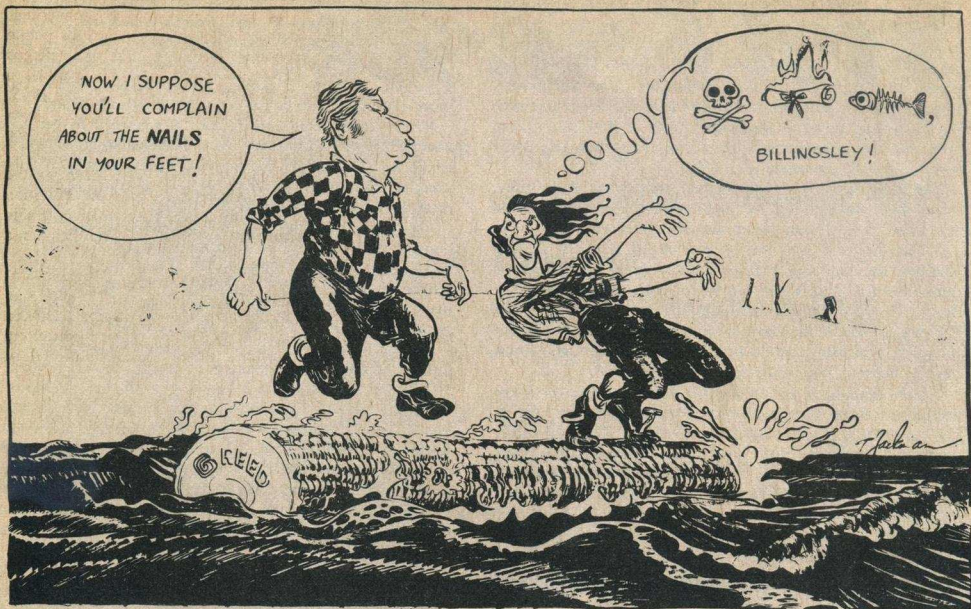
But Anglo-Canadian was only one of the fronts that Reed

was active on. Through other subsidiaries Reed acquired interests in the following companies: Kott Lumber, Tamerack Lumber, Tamerack Components, Stairfab, Acron Lumber, Home Lumber (Scarborough), Alpha Forest Products, Argo Lumber, Maple Components, Alendale Lumber, Main Lumber, Pickering Sash and Man., James Gillies and Sons, Woodbridge Lumber, Advanced Farming Systems, Gateway Building Supplies, Riverdale Lumber, Empire Wallpaper and Paint, General Paint Corp. of Canada, National Drapery, Dvoskin, Dirge, World Wide Wall Covering, WHS Lloyd, Sertax, Arthur Sanderson and Sons (Cda), Forestville Power, Reed Mining, Clemac (Que), Crestgold Capital, Dominion Colour, Richmond Furniture Design, Butterworth of Canada, Prince George Pulp and Paper, Takla Forest Products, Takla Logging, and Intercontinental Pulp.

Although those corporate names may not be familiar, Reed's products find their way into many Canadian households. Its Canadian subsidiaries are involved in the manufacture of upholstered household furniture, record and liquor cabinets, bookcases, recliners, sofas, lounges and chairs, selling under the names of Stratolounger and Futorian. Other decorative products include wallpaper, paint, fabric and draperies with such brand names as Sunworthy, Boxer, Staunton and Sanderson.

The companies also manufacture windows, sashes, doors, trusses, wall panels and contract barns, silos, and industrial storage buildings. The pulp and paper operations produce and distribute corrugated containers, folding boxes, paper and polyethylene, shopping, notion, millinery and grocery bags as well as newsprint, Kraft, and specialty papers, paper-board, chlor-alkali chemicals, turpentine, gummed tape, waxed paper, etc. Other corporate interests include mining, shipping, hydro-electric power, publishing and fashions.

By the early seventies, with the acquisition binge behind them, Reed management entered a new phase of corporate



THE RAT RACE vs. THE RED RACE

development, that of consolidation. The task for management was to transform a multinational conglomerate into a mature, integrated and rationalized operation. In other words to increase Reed's corporate profit and its power.

On one level this meant internal expansion; the initiation of new companies, acquiring control over those corporations not fully owned, and the elimination of external dependencies. At another level it meant redeveloping and streamlining the various wings of the empire, centralizing management, getting rid of redundancies and transforming subsidiaries into efficient and profit maximizing divisions.

Reed Canada began its consolidation in 1974 by acquiring the remaining 19 per cent of Anglo-Canadian shares. In the same year Reed amalgamated 22 smaller wholly owned subsidiaries and changed the name of the Canadian company from Reed Paper Group Canada Holdings Ltd. to Reed Paper Holdings Ltd.

In 1975 Reed completed the acquisition of Alpha Industries and merged it with Desatoya Ltd., under the newly incorporated Reed Lumber Co. Ltd. This manoeuvre provided the company with "a nationwide distribution system for lumber and building products" which would soon be vitally necessary "for the lumber our expansion would be generating". At the same time Reed established another new company, Reed Forest Products Ltd., to co-ordinate the forest and lumbering operations of the company.

As part of the same reorganizing effort, Reed Paper announced in 1976 that National Drapery would change its name to Reed National Drapery and that all its U.S. operations would be amalgamated under the name Reed Forest Products Inc. In the same year Reed Ltd., the company's

operating subsidiary, took over the business formerly carried on through Dryden Paper Co. Ltd., Dryden Chemical Ltd. and Anglo Paper Products.

The head of the reorganized Canadian wing of the Reed empire is R.W. Billingsley who prior to consolidation was the President of Anglo-Canadian Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd. Sitting on the board alongside Billingsley are such notables as A.A. Jarratt and Renault St. Laurent. A.A. Jarratt up until 1970 was the deputy secretary for the Ministry of Agriculture in the United Kingdom and is presently chairman and chief executive officer for Reed International Ltd. Renault St. Laurent is the son of a former Prime Minister of Canada and is director of the Banque Canadienne National, Imperial Life Assurance Co. of Canada, Scott Paper Ltd., Rothman's of Pall Mall and others. Together with the provincial government, these individuals and other Reed executives are planning a massive expansion program in northwestern Ontario which threatens to be another environmental catastrophe.

Early in 1973, Natural Resources Minister Leo Bernier announced a provincial policy of doubling forest production in Ontario by the year 2000. The following year Premier Davis granted Reed Paper an 800 sq. mile tract of timberland near Red Lake. This was in addition to the 9,000 sq. mile ponderosa that Reed already controlled in Canada.

Shortly after the government made public its promise, Reed announced plans for a \$190 million integrated forest products complex which Billingsley described as an operation that "will permit the optimum utilization of the region's forest resources". One year later the total cost of Reed's projected expansion was revised upwards to \$350 million.

Clearly, as Billingsley suggested, "We have an important role to play in the future here."

But nobody realized how important Reed's role would actually be until representatives of Treaty No. 9 released a series of leaked government documents. The documents revealed that the province is prepared to turn over not just 800 but 26,000 sq. miles of timberland north of Red Lake — an area that the government's own Strategic Land Use Plan recommends be preserved until 1991.

The documents further revealed that what Billingsley meant by "the optimum utilization of the region's forest resources" was a clean sweep over the entire area.

When the deal was finally announced publicly in late October, the area was whittled down slightly to 19,000 sq. miles — still an area larger than Nova Scotia and more than six times the size of Ontario's Algonquin Park. Reaction to the deal was so hostile the Davis minority government had to run for cover, promising that the hearing on the vast project would have a chairman independent of the government.

Expert opinion suggests that given the volume of wood available in these marginal forests, Reed will have to "clear-cut" in order to produce sufficient revenue to make the effort worthwhile. Up until now Treaty No. 9 Indians have managed to preserve both the traditional lifestyle and essential wilderness to introduce changes in a slow and controlled manner. A commitment that Leo Bernier in 1974 assured native leaders would not be abandoned.

Now it seems that despite these assurances and without

consideration of the 12,000 Cree and Ojibwa who live in the area, the government is making plans with Reed which will undermine that lifestyle and perhaps destroy 19,000 sq. miles of Ontario's timberland. "It is a sell-out of the first degree," protested Andrew Rickard, Treaty Nine Chief. "This project's effects will be felt by every resident of Ontario."

Reed's relationship with labour is governed by the same disregard with which Reed considers the environment and the health and welfare of the native peoples. It is a corporate mind-set that is engendered by an overriding concern for profit maximization and growth.

"It is our objective," writes President Billingsley, "to outperform the media of all publicly-owned Canadian pulp and paper companies with respect to both profit growth and return on gross capital employed." For Reed it doesn't matter who have to make the sacrifices or what the consequences are so long as that goal is achieved.

For the workers in Reed's companies it means a persistent fight to protect their standard of living. In 1974, Reed's 10,000 or so Canadian workers generated a revenue of \$303,201,000 and a profit to the company's owners of \$34,257,000. Nonetheless, in that same year, workers were forced to wildcat at both the Montreal and Dryden plants in an attempt to get a fair wage settlement. Instead of negotiating with the workers in good faith, Reed tried to break the strike by hiring scabs and by launching a court suit against the International Paper Workers Union and the Canadian Paper Workers.

Although Reed Canada is part of an incredibly powerful international empire with assets exceeding \$400 billion and an annual revenue of well over \$1 billion, its management has shown a great reluctance in dealing with a strong national labour movement.

Instead, Reed prefers to divide and separate workers at its various plants from their co-workers across the country by, as Billingsley euphemistically phrased it, "moving to put more emphasis on labour-management relations at the local level, where both labour and management know one another better, and are more realistic about what can be achieved and how to achieve it." Billingsley's reaction to the labour movement has on a number of occasions become quite aggressive and hostile.

"The labour situation in Canada is almost out of control. We have seen ample demonstration in the public sector of labour's irresponsible actions and our government's ineffectual efforts to restrain them . . . This counter-productive and destructive attitude has already begun spilling over into the private sector . . ." He goes on to suggest that "we have seen unions grossly misled into making unreasonable demands, harming the national economy and hurting thousands of individual Canadians."

Billingsley even goes so far as to argue that "management has a moral responsibility to speak up and take a firm stand, and to support government in whatever measures are necessary to convert labour to a responsible partner."

All this from the company that has irresponsibly and knowingly dumped tons of mercury into our waterways; that has virtually destroyed the social and economic structure of two Indian communities; that has contaminated the fish and poisoned the people; that has put tourist camp operators out of business; that is involved in secret negotiations with the Ontario government to systematically rape 26,000 sq. miles of Canadian timberland and is making unilateral decisions that will affect all of our futures.

Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG)

Copies of the publication *Quicksilver and Slow Death* can be obtained from OPIRG, Room 351, Chemistry 1, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario.

Single copy at \$0.50 each
Over 10 at \$0.30 each
Over 100 at \$0.25 each

Defence Fund for the Victims of Mercury Pollution

The Ontario Public Interest Research Group has established a defence fund for victims of mercury pollution. Money donated to the fund will be turned over to native peoples' organizations to assist them in their fight with government and corporate polluters.

Donations can be made by filling out the coupon below and sending to OPIRG at the University of Waterloo.

- Please find \$ _____ enclosed as a donation to the fund.
- Please send me a Charitable Tax Receipt to cover my donation.

Cheques should be made payable to: The Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG).

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

Rear View



Mackenzie King and Liberal reformism —
page 43

- Surette
on stagflation — p. 41
- Penner
on Mackenzie King
— p. 43
- Tom Reid
on movies — p. 45
- Lecker
on theatre — p. 46
- Democritus
on science — p. 49

The mess we're in explained

by RALPH SURETTE

Inflation or Depression, by Cy Gonick. James Lorimer & Company/Toronto. 408 pp.

Inflation & Wage Controls, by Cy Gonick. Canadian Dimension Publishers/Winnipeg. 145 pp.

I am one of that probably impressive number of people who has made repeated but vain attempts to read and enjoy *Canadian Dimension* magazine, usually foundering at about the fifth paragraph of editor Cy Gonick's editorial.

A while back I was writing a magazine article on economists and I phoned Gonick, who is also a professor of economics at the University of Manitoba, for his opinion. He informed me that it was all there in the first chapter of his new book, *Inflation or Depression*. With the abstract turgidities

of *Dimension* in mind, my private thought was: well, lucky it's all in the first chapter.

To my utter amazement, not only did I make it past the fifth paragraph — and indeed past the first chapter — but I found myself unable to put the book away until I had greedily consumed the last word. As it turns out, the book is a gold mine for anyone confused about what's been going haywire in the Canadian and world economies.

Why is the capitalist world bobbing between the twin whirlpools of inflation and unemployment? Why are economists pulling their hair out because suddenly their traditional Keynesian navigation aids aren't stopping the ship from going down both whirlpools at once?

In answering those questions, Gonick, the dreary editorialist, has come up with nothing short of a triumph of journalism and scholarship: a book garnished with fact after fact in explanation of the crisis from every possible angle: the

impact of the multinational corporations, the oil cartel, ecology, food and commodity shortages, Nixonomics, world monetary upheavals, worker alienation, government spending, the decline of U.S. power, the Vietnam War, consumerism, Keynesian economics, the credit boom, continentalism, etc., etc.

The only real drawback of the book is that, with long publishing deadlines, it went to press before wage and price controls were imposed and came out after Pierre Trudeau's "flip-flop". Gonick had foreseen this likelihood, and given a rundown of the meaning of wage and price controls in *Inflation or Depression*, but it was rather cursory.

He then wrote a shorter companion book called *Inflation and Wage Controls* to round out his labours. Although in terms of length and speed of publication (and typographical errors), the second book qualifies as a "quickie" there's nothing quickie about its content. Gonick was flying when he finished the first book, and there is no loss of altitude in the second. The fact-studded explanation, drawing on a staggering amount of published material worldwide, continues in a

crisp style that rarely bogs down in flat theorizing. The shorter book recaps the basic argument of the first and goes from there to why we have wage and price controls. There's a lot of stuff there that the Ottawa press gallery missed.

But perhaps this is too much praise. After all, Gonick has only laid down the facts — in effect, he has written a textbook touching all the bases and giving a global perspective — and there are hundreds of economics professors around who could do that, aren't there?

Well, no. In Canada, in economics as in journalism or anything else, just stating what everybody knows is often an extraordinary thing. I am reminded of the alternate press, especially in the early days some seven or eight years ago. All an alternate newspaper or magazine had to do was to state the obvious and it had a scoop. Given the state of the economics profession, which bases most of its economic model-building on the presumption of a pure free market situation which doesn't exist (what Gonick calls the "esoteric examination of trivia"), that is what Gonick has done: stated the obvious and got a scoop. In the absolute it may not sound like much. In context it's virtually a heroic act.

Gonick's view is that the present impasse can only get worse, or at best continue as it is — financial page chit-chat about "The Recovery" to the contrary. Every attempt to halt inflation will provoke hyper-unemployment, and vice-versa.

During the Great Depression, John Maynard Keynes showed governments what to do to avoid any such disaster in future: at the first sign of recession, print money, loosen credit and do a number of other things to stimulate employment even though the result is inflation. In a free market system there does indeed seem to be a direct see-saw between unemployment and inflation that can be controlled.

But capitalism needs depressions — or at least severe recessions — to regenerate itself, to clean out bad debts, weed out the weaker corporations and beat down the workers' demands. After 30 years of aborted recessions, says Gonick, capitalism has accumulated all kinds of excess fat. The body-economic is too corpulent to be moved by mere Keynesian tinkering.

In particular, we have the emergence of the multinational corporation with its pricing policies which ensure that prices will only go up, not down, no matter how severe a recession there is. Free market pricing is a myth, as everybody knows. Yet Gonick's elucidation of this phenomenon — how it works, and why — is in itself worth the price of the book.

The role of the multinational corporation in our permanent inflation-recession, in fact, is more or less central to the crisis in present-day economic theory as conventional economists, financial editors and whatnot pull out all the stops to blame "government spending" for all our ills and ignore the monopoly-sharing sector and its activities.

And, says Gonick, "the bulk of the research and investigation about the operations of the modern corporations has come not from leading scholars, but from muckraking journalists, environmental crusaders, a few junior professors and bands of poorly-paid left-wing researchers group."

Keynesian economics and monopoly-sharing multinational corporations are joined by the inevitable deterioration of American economic power, the oil crisis, the food crisis, the rebelliousness of a new generation of workers and other related factors as reasons for today's economic crisis.

But any attempt on my part here to describe the contents of Gonick's two books is bound to be too short and somewhat misleading. In conception, the work is almost encyclopedic.

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What Gonick has done is gathered that whole body of research of the last 10 years by muckrakers, left wing groups, etc. and added it to what the business sector admits on its own — although not too loudly — and come up with a coherent explanation of what's going on. And this at a time when conventional economists are floundering around saying they can't figure out what's happening now that Lord Keynes is kaput.

I might add that Gonick's books are written without academic pretension and economic terms are defined for the layman — two important factors. In fact, I can't help but reflect that Gonick has lived up to the ideal of what a teacher should be. Instead of trying to score points with other professors, he has addressed the student and the public and done so without condescension.

Certainly, he's taught me a lot. When I say he states the obvious, I'm talking about the gut feeling about price

manipulation, monopoly and whatnot that most of us have, but never get to know exactly how it works. How it works is what Gonick proves and explains in admirable detail. I might add here too that these books don't set out to prove in advance the generally held assumptions of the Left. Simply, the figures speak for themselves. In fact Gonick walks over a few left-wing clichés that he finds wanting — especially as regards environment, food and commodities.

I don't want to leave the impression that these two works are perfect. They're not. Nor does one have to agree with Gonick's every conclusion — some of which are based a little too much on the latest quarterly figures while he was writing the books. But the work of bringing together the material is simply monumental, and as far as I'm concerned, invaluable. It is a major accomplishment.

Now I'm going to try just once more to read *Canadian Dimension* ... hey, maybe there are two Cy Gonicks.

The aging of Mackenzie King



Mackenzie King with John D. Rockefeller Jr. during the Colorado coal miners' strike

by NORMAN PENNER

The Age of Mackenzie King, by Henry Ferns and Bernard Ostry. James Lorimer and Company/Toronto. 356 pages. \$6.95 paper. \$15.00 cloth.

First published in 1955 and long out of print, this devastating account of the climb to power of Canada's most controversial Prime Minister has now surfaced in a new printing by a new publisher. On its first appearance it caused a loud explosion and was killed. The publishers refused to reprint it even though it had sold out within six months. Members of the academic establishment denounced it and the CBC refused to have it discussed

or reviewed on its radio or TV outlets.

But times have changed. There has been an upsurge in radical analyses of Canadian society since the late sixties. They are reaching an ever growing audience, and there is no longer any difficulty in getting such works published and promoted. A significant weakness in this radical literature has been the lack of attention to Canadian ideological history and this work, which was in fact a fore-runner in the field, now returns as a useful and much needed addition. Yet because this is 20 years later, and considerable work has been done on Mackenzie King, some important weaknesses in the book now appear in a sharper focus.

The narrative covers the period from

Mackenzie King's student days to his election as Liberal Party leader in 1919. It focuses primarily on King's attention to the labour question which the authors assert was the chariot he rode for 20 years to reach this goal.

As Deputy Minister of Labour, editor of the *Labour Gazette*, then Minister of Labour under Laurier, and later special labour consultant to the Rockefellers, King established a reputation of expertise on labour matters. He culminated this phase of his career by writing his book *Industry and Humanity* which pleads the case for labour-capital harmony through conciliation — the guiding thread of his work up to that point. His election to the Liberal Party leader-

ship, coming as it did just after the Winnipeg General Strike and in the midst of considerable labour unrest, was due in no small measure to this reputation.

But the main burden of the narrative of the book is to show that this reputation was ill-founded. Examining in detail the main highlights of his career as labour expert — particularly the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, the Grand Trunk Railway Strike of 1910, his assistance to Rockefeller in breaking the coal miner's strike in Colorado — the authors conclude that all of these activities reveal hypocrisy, self-delusion, chicanery and outright lying on the part of Mackenzie King. Moreover, in spite of his claims to be the workingman's friend, mediating fairly between labour and capital, the authors assert that King's policies and practices were in fact anti-labour.

Judgment too simplistic

Yet there are several other themes within the book that mitigate or call into question this all too simplistic judgment. The opening sentence of the book declares that "the Right Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King was the most successful parliamentary politician in history" (page 1). Towards the end of the book the authors give us their view of the reasons for this success:

We believe he was successful because he was a scientific politician; because he understood better than any of his serious rivals in Canada and most of his contemporaries elsewhere, the actual forces he had to deal with. (page 278).

The "actual forces" which he understood so well, turn out to be the working class and what King understood was the potential power of this relatively new social force. In fact according to the authors, King in this respect could be compared to Lenin:

They differed in their objectives and their techniques to be sure, and they lived in markedly different circumstances. But they had something in common besides the fact of success. They had a common view of what politics is about in an industrial society. Both recognized the forces at work beneath the surface of social life shaping its course without regard for the sentiments and memories of men. Both knew how to use these forces, one for one purpose, one for another. (page 5).

Obviously the main difference was that Lenin adopted programs and policies to enlist the proletariat in the struggle to overthrow capitalism, whereas King wanted to keep the working class within the system.

[King] placed the State above the strikers and employers, above classes, above society — above the people. There were always two equal sides to every question — the State would appear to travel directly down the centre road and the people would follow. (page 73)

The book thus oscillates between some remarkable insights into the emergence of liberal reformism as the dominant ideology of Canadian society, and an all-consuming hatred for the man who was most associated with that emergence. We are told on the one hand that King knew better than anyone how to manage the capitalist state by reformist policies, and on the other, that he was doing this out of his enormous personal ambition for power and cash. It is almost as though he had fallen upon the secret of the world and made it part of a master plan to advance the greater glory of Mackenzie King. We are told that he was "no friend of labour", but then the authors constantly measure his actions against the standards of a friend of labour, or even from a socialist standard. This tendency to mix an historical interpretation of the rise of ideology with a "good guys versus bad guys" account of the same history, results in needless confusion. This confusion is compounded when the "good guys" turn up all too frequently to be the Tories!

Ingredients for first class study

Most of the ingredients are there, however, for a first class study of the rise of liberal reformism, and with it the rise of Mackenzie King, but one has to elevate the historical analysis over the emphasis which the authors give to King's real and imagined foibles of which there were more than enough.

Right from his student days at the University of Toronto, King by his own choice was exposed to the twentieth century industrialism and its social and political consequences. He maintained contact with socialist circles in Toronto. In Chicago he studied sweatshop conditions, wrote learned papers about the labour movement in the United States, saw at first hand the frenetic reaction of the United States government and employers to the trade unions. In England he

sought out the Webbs and established friendly relations with the Fabians.

During this period the state of labour relations in Canada was abysmal. Employers and governments regarded strikes as miniature revolutions and reacted accordingly. But at the same time, the labour movement was growing, and so was the socialist movement.

In 1913 Professor O. D. Skelton, who later became King's right hand man, published an article in the *Monetary Times* called "Are We Drifting Into Socialism?". His answer was "yes" if the capitalists and the governments do not adopt a more conciliatory attitude to labour, and grant reforms and concessions. These he said would be "the best bulwarks against socialism." Liberal reformism arrived in Canada, as it had arrived earlier in other industrial nations as an alternative capitalist response to socialism. In Canada, King was the main ideologue as well as the practitioner *par excellence* of this ideology.

King knew exactly where he was going

That he knew exactly where he was going with this idea is shown in his work *Industry and Humanity* which appeared at the end of 1918. Ferns and Ostry devote a whole chapter to this book and their analysis of it is probably the best part of their work.

It repeated and enlarged upon the idea that Skelton had put forward in 1913. It had considerable references to the post-war program which had just been issued by the British Labour Party and which had made a big impact on Canadian socialist and liberal circles. Something along these lines, but short of socialism, was regarded by King and others as preferable to the hysterical and violent reaction of Meighen and the Tory-Union Government to the claims of labour, and the upsurge of socialism.

Although this book does not go beyond 1919, it is worthwhile noting that King as Prime Minister paid considerable attention to the small labour group that made its appearance in the House of Commons in 1921 and later blossomed into the CCF. He tried to woo them into the Liberal Party and although J.S. Woodsworth, the leader of this group, never succumbed to King's blandishments, there is no doubt that Woodsworth regarded King with much more benevolence than he did Meighen or Bennett. The same is true of Tim Buck, leader of the Communist Party of Canada, who was often mesmerized by King, calling him the leader of "the

progressive bourgeoisie", and openly supporting him during three different periods.

It would be a mistake to think of King only in relation to the labour question, although Ferns and Ostry are right in saying that this was his major impact up until 1919. The fact that he supported or at least did not desert Laurier on conscription, won him the support of the Quebec delegation at the leadership convention. He lost no time in cementing an alliance with Ernest Lapointe which succeeded in re-uniting the French and English sections of the Liberal Party, the key to Liberal victories for most of the ensuing 55 years.

This is indeed a remarkable book even

though flawed, and somewhat ravaged by the passage of time. It ought to be followed by further radical studies along similar lines of Canadian political and ideological history, which, while not ignoring the personal foibles and idiosyncracies of the principal actors, will concentrate on the more important social, economic, and ideological foundations for their actions.

The only addition made to this printing is an introduction by the well known political scientist, John Meisel of Queen's University. The introduction is all too brief and really says nothing. It ought to have gone into some detail on the history of this book, the controversy it generated, and the reasons for this reac-

tion. Further, it should have dealt with the considerable King industry that has developed since this book first appeared, and made some comparisons. It is altogether a disappointment.

Bernard Ostry during his short career as an academic showed a brilliant flare for political studies and appeared to have a considerable potential in this field. He has since become a senior civil servant, which is a loss to Canadian political thought, as the reappearance of this book demonstrates. Henry Ferns never returned to Canada after the fierce reaction to the book in academic circles. He has remained in England working as a social scientist at the University of Birmingham.

MOVIES:

by
Thomas E. Reid

The Front

Just after the Second World War the Americans were feeling their oats. They had fought hard on two fronts for democracy and won. They had the A-bomb and they were not adverse to using it. With both might and right on their side, millions of Americans were excited about their obvious dominance in the world of men and supermen. They were the light and the way.

In the giddiness of the moment, feelings and philosophies were subjective; the Yanks did not trifle with objectivity. They were clearly enjoying the fruits and smells of victory. Their blood was up and they were going to do some chest thumping about the unmistakable correctness of the American way.

The celebration went on for years and soon got out of hand. The upbeat mood of the mob became unpleasant. The wine of success began to sour and turn toxic in its effect. The celebrators, drunk with self-approbation, were hot for another fight. They would take on anybody in the house, but there were no takers. It was a time for bully tactics. "What about those damned Commies?" Yes, the Ruskiens, the Rooskiens, the Reds and the Pinkos were everywhere; in positions of power and influence. It was only a matter of making the invisible enemy visible. What about Hollywood?

In lotus-land there most assuredly was a community of wrong-headed intellectuals who must be dealt with. They with all their socialist philosophies in ill-disguised propaganda films such as *Grapes of Wrath*, *Tobacco Road*, *The Flaming Cross* and *The Ox-Bow Incident*. Who could tolerate Communists as the moral instructors of millions of Americans?

It was true. The very insights and perceptions that made

Hollywood artists creative also made them sensitive to long-standing social injustices, which, felt many behind the movie scenes, would be relieved by a more consciously-egalitarian society, such as the one Russia appeared to be working toward.

There were many Communist party cells in Hollywood during the 30s; during the depression; during that period of American history when the republican experiment seemed to have failed. The Communists in Hollywood were barn-door targets. For doubting the American dream, they stood to be punished.

In 1947 the pogrom of Hollywood began. The House Un-American Activities Committee searched out the disbelievers and jailed them for not cooperating and/or had them blacklisted from future employment at their highly lucrative jobs as actors or writers.

The campaign continued into New York and focussed on performers and writers. To be or to abet Communists or former Communists, or those suspected of being fellow-travellers, was to retire sans nestegg.

The Front is a conscience-popper of a movie about those inglorious days, specifically in New York. A small group of television writers who are on the blacklist hires a cashier (Woody Allen) to front for it. They write the scripts and the front delivers and pretends to have created them. The front enjoys the psychic rewards and 10 per cent of the financial rewards. The psychic rewards have an unusual effect on the front. An altered character is cast up ... one which has come to believe that his ill-gained fame was earned. As a result the front attempts to live up to the attendant obligations of principle. His self-esteem rises like a meteor, and in the end explodes, magnificently.

But the real story here is one of an extralegal system of trial and sentence and its devastating effects on men and women who rely on constitutional rights rather than on

pragmatism. As a counter-point, the actions of some businessmen in this movie give mute instruction on the cowardly virtue of expediency, when merchants must quickly cave in to the demands of an hysterically paranoid society.

Under these extreme pressures friends become enemies, manic oppressives revel in sadistic pursuits, exploitive personalities quickly shed all vestige of conscience, and sensitive men and women suffer horrible personal degradations and indignities.

It's all in *The Front*, along with delicious servings of Woody Allen quirkiness and comedy. Here's a competent film about a fascinating and appalling era during which America slouched down yet another path of dishonour in search of its psycho-national security.

The Marathon Man

To set the scene, scriptwriter William Goldman has an elderly German stall his Mercedes on a narrow New York street. A Jew is in an American-built car immediately behind him. There is an exchange of words — bitter words that have been incubating since the Nazi regime in Germany. The expletives escalate to a demolition derby fueled by maniacal ethnocentricity. The scene ends with the two cars in flames, their drivers immolated at the wheel, after having collided with an oil truck.

Cut to Paris. Doc Levy (Roy Schneider) is attempting to make a delivery, of what we know not, and a collection. There's an attempt on his life, which he foils.

The Marathon Man is Thomas Babington (Babe) Levy

(Dustin Hoffman), Doc's kid brother, a post-graduate history student at Columbia University in New York. He is writing a doctoral thesis on tyranny in the United States. Doc's and Babe's father had shot himself when his career was interrupted by the McCarthy hearings. The academic son has kept his father's .45 as a reminder.

From these elements Goldman and director John Schlesinger construct a terrific thriller, which breaks new ground in mystery movie making.

The horror begins when Babe finds himself inexplicably involved in Doc's business and among a set of circumstances that only a person who has lived through a nightmare could fully appreciate. The reporter instinct wants me to tell you more, but any exposition of the plot will deprive you unnecessarily of the shocks and tensions that have been so artfully and strategically placed in the picture's scream of terror.

The villain of the piece, unlike any head-on Frankenstein that our hero could easily dodge and outrun, is a deliberate and ruthless gang led by a human monster in pensioner's clothing played by the authoritative and poised Laurence Olivier. As the runner, Hoffman interprets the script remarkably well, but his motivation is not entirely inner. In *The Marathon Man* the menace is so persistent there is no room for method acting. As Doc's best friend, Kennedy look-alike William Devane shows excellent range and may have launched a brilliant film career with this flashy but ambiguous role.

I feel obliged to warn the faint of heart that not many minutes pass in *The Marathon Man* before someone lies, sits, or stands bleeding, profusely. Just the same, a real movie fan cannot afford to miss this Robert Evans production. Take a Gravel and go, but only with someone with whom you feel safe.

THEATRE: by Barbara Lecker

The National Arts Centre — English and French

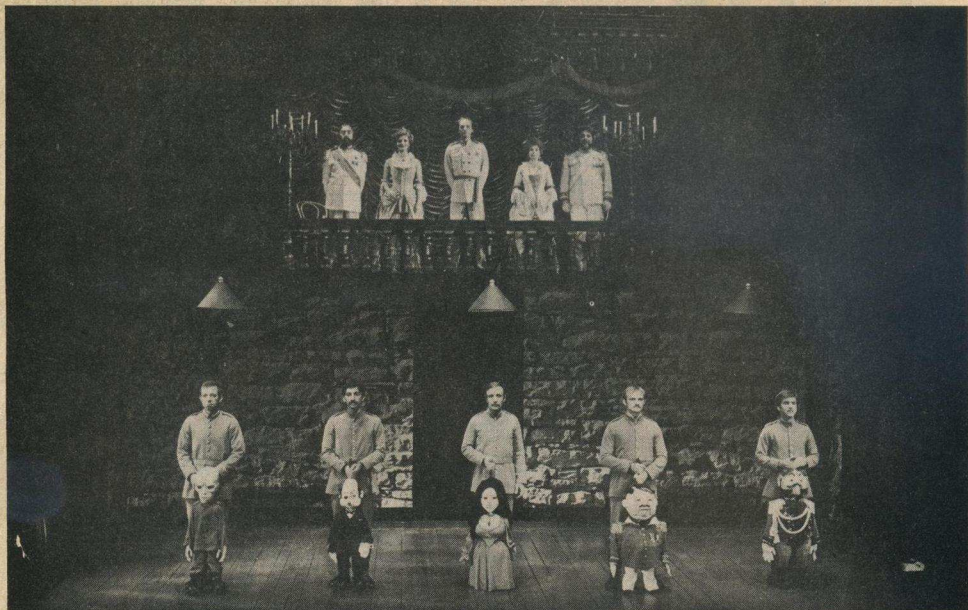
The recent appointment of Donald MacSween as the new Director General of the National Arts Centre is unlikely to bring about sweeping changes in the policy of Ottawa's only permanent professional theatre showplace — at least not immediately. But if the former Director-General of the National Theatre School had taken a first-hand look at the theatrical offerings of his new home on the day of his appointment, he might have learned a great deal about the peculiar brand of cultural apartheid which has taken root there.

In the spacious main theatre, the English subscription audience watched a tepid and, at times, almost embarrass-

ingly amateurish production by the visiting Bastion Theatre, from Victoria, of Georges Feydeau's *A Stitch in Time*. The French farceur's minutely engineered play demands clockwork timing and a kinetic angularity of line which suggests Giacometti sculptures wound up like tin soldiers. It's the kind of play which has long been the specialty of the British National Theatre Company and such elegantly mannered players as Geraldine MacEwen, Maggie Smith or Robert Stephens. It's a much more doubtful piece for an uneven ensemble to attempt and it marked a shaky start to a season which in its light-hearted exploration of the theme of love and marriage, was

clearly trying to win back an audience miffed by last season's staging of such innovative contemporary works as Peter Handke's *Ride Across Lake Constance*, from which National Theatre audiences walked out in large numbers.

Slightly down the hall from this less than vintage Feydeau and past the main floor bar where Ottawa's well-preened civil-servant audiences meet at intermission (though the performance breaks are conveniently staggered so that the French and English clientele in practice never meet) a largely French audience was watching a very different kind of play in an intimate studio setting. It was Director Jean Herbiét's Ottawa revival, this time



National Arts Centre's *Woyzeck* with, at bottom, Felix Mirbt's puppets *Woyzeck*, the Doctor, Marie, the Captain and the Drum-Major

in the regular subscription series, of his widely acclaimed 1974 Ottawa production of Georg Buchner's *Woyzeck*, staged with the brilliant rod puppets of Felix Mirbt.

The play traces the real-life murder, by the itinerant Leipzig soldier *Woyzeck*, of his unfaithful mistress. But its real subject is the progressive dehumanization of *Woyzeck* himself by a brutalizing military life which is a scathing parody of 19th century German society. The play's episodic structure and its incomplete state at the time of Buchner's tragic death from typhus in 1837 at the age of 23, have led to a certain arbitrariness in the order of staging of scenes. But in the modern director's theatre, unconstrained by religious fidelity to the text, this has been seen as a challenge rather than a disadvantage, and Buchner's *Woyzeck*, like his earlier two plays, *Danton's Death* and *Leonce and Lena*, has exercised an important impact on the contemporary theatre.

It is a play which is bitterly ironic about both the philosophical and moral cant which dominated Buchner's age. His proletarian hero anticipates Bertold Brecht when he tells the Captain that he could be virtuous, too, if he were a gentleman with a hat and a watch and a

topcoat. It seems clear that what fascinated Buchner about his play's real-life prototype was the trial doctor's report that *Woyzeck* had been impelled to the murder by voices which had come to him in a vision. The account seems to have raised the issue of man's free will to Buchner in almost emblematic terms. The use of puppets in the play is, therefore, not difficult to justify in terms of the central vision of the play itself, which, like Shakespeare's *King Lear*, seems to suggest that "As flies to wanton boys, are we to th' gods, / They kill us for their sport."

Puppeteer Felix Mirbt and his four manipulators sensitively underline the theme by alternately manipulating the puppets, visibly present on the stage, as in the traditional Japanese Bunraku Theatre, and participating in the action themselves. *Woyzeck*'s victimization by such caricature types as the Captain, the Drum Major and the Doctor (who eerily foreshadows Auschwitz and Buchenwald) is effectively communicated in scenes which have the imaginative power of moral tableaux. The puppets are particularly effective in the folkloric episodes, where the gaiety punctuates



Louis di Bianco and Felix Mirbt with the puppet *Woyzeck*

(continued on page 49)

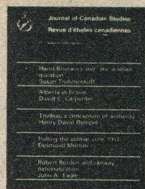
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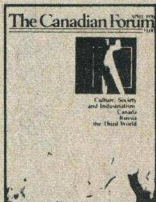
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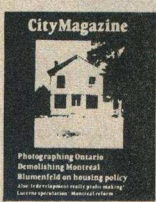
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the pervasive atmosphere of grand guignol.

But the Herbiét-Mirbt production adds a new dimension to Buchner's play. The excitement of this highly innovative *Woyzeck*, which a number of critics have suggested should be toured nationally, is due to its subtle exploration of some of the most central issues of the modern experimental theatre. In a powerfully dramatic set, suggestive of Jean Genet's *The Blacks*, five aristocrats narrate the play from a candelabra-lit balcony tier, while the manipulators and their puppets execute the action below. But the narrators alternately dictate the action and respond to it and, in a similar way, the manipulators are sometimes mere soldiers in grey, intended to be the invisible prime-movers, while at other times they participate directly in the action.

The NAC's production is in the best tradition of contemporary experimental theatre in that it is both a play, Buchner's *Woyzeck*, and a play about the nature of playing. The cumulative effect of the

interpenetrating plane of reality is to make it a theatrical exploration of the relationship between the actor and his role, the actor and the audience, the play and the world it purports to imitate. It is this aspect of the production which makes it not only a finished piece, but an infinitely variable work-in-progress.

While it is obviously unfair to compare this memorable production to the, likely, choice false start of the NAC's English theatre season, it is important to point out two things. It is well-known that the budget of the French Theatre section of the Arts Centre is considerably lower than that of the English theatre section. They are a kind of Cinderella in glad rags in the National Theatre complex. And yet, in spite of this financial disparity, the *Woyzeck* production is no anomaly. Like the directors of the English theatre section, Herbiét has tried, over the past few years, to offer a varied program of classical and experimental plays and, last season, he evolved a new episodic piece, *Le Manipulation de Dieu*, in which he

effectively used Mirbt's puppets in a Goyaesque setting.

What impressed me about *Woyzeck*, in the final analysis, is not only that it is a highly innovative production of a play which is by no means self-evidently popular in appeal, but that it played, this time around, to a regular subscription series audience, many of whom must have come totally unprepared for the experience. And yet no one in the audience walked out.

No one interested in perpetrating serious theatre would be philistine enough to put this forward as the acid test — and Peter Handke's own *Offending the Audience* reminds us that there really are times when even the opposite response is to be welcomed. But a production, like *Woyzeck*, which manages to seduce its audience without artistic compromise is clearly to be warmly applauded. It might even be time to urge that the two theatre divisions at the National Arts Centre, now so apparently out of touch, become more equal and decidedly less separate.

ELEMENTS

SCIENCE REPORT BY DEMOCRITUS

You can be right once too often

Remember the *La Soufriere* volcano on Guadeloupe that was going to explode this summer with the force of several atom bombs? Remember how it didn't, and all the people who were evacuated for months were finally allowed to go home? Well, one of France's leading vulcanologists, **Haroun Tazieff**, said that was just what was going to happen, and refused to hang around Guadeloupe waiting for a non-event. Tazieff's superiors, concerned as they are with scientific objectivity, the truth and accuracy, fired him from his post as head of the vulcanology service of the **Global Physics Institute**.

Dept. of sundry plugs

The **Keigaku Publishing Company** of Tokyo has come out with a slim volume that's likely to come in handy as people get more numerous and food less plentiful. **Chozaburo Tanaka's** book *Tanaka's Cyclopedia of Edible Plants of the World* lists 10,000 species of edible plants, their uses, which parts are edible and where they can be found.

Bang! it went

On the morning of June 30, 1908, there was a massive explosion in a remote area of **western Siberia**. A blinding

flash was visible 500 miles away, debris was thrown for 20 miles, and a heavy dust cloud hung over the crater for hours.

There are a number of theories to explain the explosion. A meteorite has been suggested, but no traces have been found. The possibility that a fragment of anti-matter wandering through the universe may have collided with Earth has also been raised. But the most intriguing suggestion comes from a Soviet geologist who has been studying the mystery for 17 years.

Dr. Alexei Zolotov has just returned from an expedition to the area, and he says the explosion was probably **nuclear** in origin. Wood samples from the site show an unusually high level of radioactivity.

Dr. Zolotov says that so far he's been unable to turn up a single fact to contradict his nuclear hypothesis. The trouble is that his solution to the mystery raises more questions than it answers. After all, nuclear explosions were unknown on earth until almost 40 years after the Siberian explosion.

Doctor Zolotov says he does not rule out the possibility that the explosion may have been a crash-landing of a nuclear-powered alien spacecraft.

(continued on next page)

(Science column continued from page 49)

Horny

Canada is one of 22 nations that have agreed to ban the sale of **rhinoceros horns**, widely thought to have aphrodisiac powers, especially in the Orient. All 22 countries are signatories to the 1975 convention on international trade in endangered species of wild flora and fauna. It's good to know that the Canadian rhinoceros population is safe from the ravages of horny orientals. Now about those seals, whales, musk oxen, caribou, and polar bears. . . .

It's a long way

Australian astronomers have a new entry for the Guinness Book of World Records. They have confirmed the discovery of an object that is twice as far from Earth as the farthest body previously recorded. The object, a **Quasar, or Quasi-stellar radio source**, is estimated to be about 26-billion light years away from earth. That means that the signals detected at Siding Springs in New South Wales began their journey from the edge of the known universe before the earth was formed.

Science marches on

The Chandra Shekhar Huzad university in Lucknow,

India, is making great strides forward in **rat research**. The Uttar Pradesh State Agriculture Minister, **Vicendra Verma** has proudly announced to the waiting world that research at the university has shown that rats could be an excellent source of manure. The research team also found that ratskins could be made into purses, watch straps, gloves and shoes. Ah, the march of science.

The latest miracle killer

A commonly used fungicide in Canada is known as ethylenebisdithiocarbamate — EBDC. EBDC in itself is harmless, but when it is cooked, it can break down to form a toxic chemical known to cause cancer and fetus deformities, ethylenethiourea. The government is planning to ban the use of EBDC and order the destruction of any foodstuffs that it's been used on.

Democritus awards

Finally, the Democritus Golden syringe for wishful thinking goes this month to the **Australian Freedom from Hunger Campaign**. The campaign is spending 84,000 Australian dollars trying to convince opium growers in Northern Thailand that they should grow mint instead of poppies. Imagine all those mint-crazed muggers on the streets of New York.

Letters (continued from page 4)

How did we miss it?

Dear Last Post:

Concerning your "TV: Some post-Olympic awards" (*Last Post*, October 1976), your list of prizes was shamefully incomplete. You omitted one of the most coveted honours of all, the Gold Medal for outstanding sports history research. This medal, of course, went to Lloyd Robertson for his report that "weightlifting is a sport which goes back a long way. It is believed to have originated in ancient times when men began lifting weights."

Paul Sharkey
Montreal

Obscenely contemptuous

Dear Last Post:

I refer to an obscenely contemptuous title to a passage quoted from Margaret Drury Gane (p. 44, October 1976).

I do not know the context of the quotation and I am therefore unable to assess the emotion of the sub-editor on other grounds. However, I think it is possible for good journalists to draw upon a more subtle, a richer repertoire of vocabulary to express themselves.

We have favoured the *Last Post* for its refreshing, forthright and fearlessly documented views, but a school library catering for students in impressionable

and formative years has a delicate duty of selecting its materials. The criterion for taking exception to the words in this instance is not puritanical or bourgeois morality but mere standards of imaginative diction and more literate journalism. As it is, we have enough vulgarities and illiteracies to combat in the mass media.

I hope this letter has not grown out of proportion. The point is small, yet significant.

F. G. Pereira
Librarian
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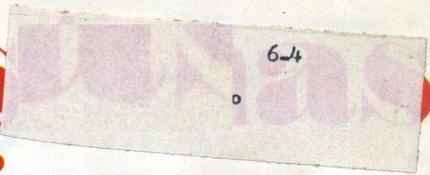
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