

THE LAST POST

70063

JUNE-JULY 1977/75 CENTS

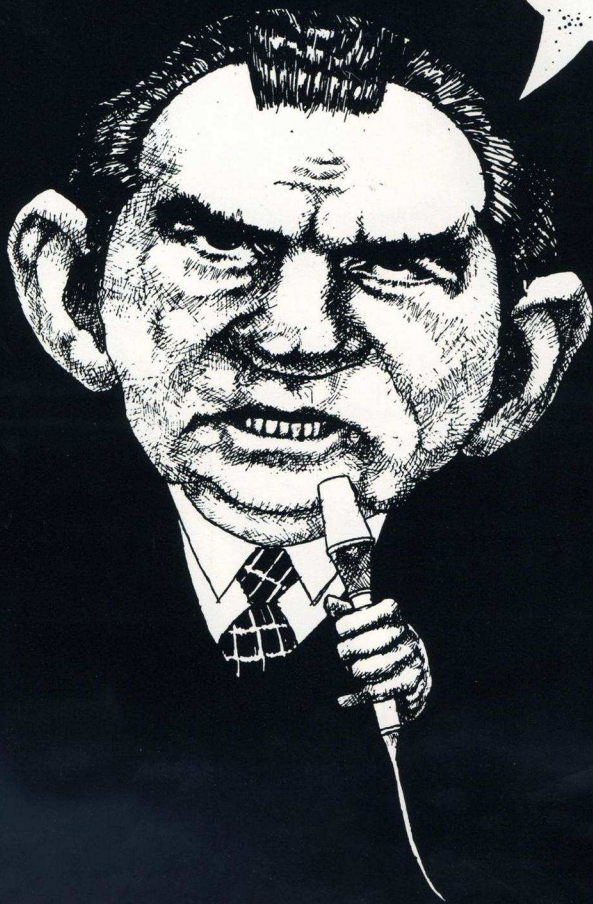
B.C.'S
ACCIDENT-
PRONE CABINET

Murphy and
Chodos on ...

**PIERRE
POURQUOI?**



♪ I DID IT
MY WAY! ♪



AISLIN 77
MONTREAL GAZETTE

THE LAST POST

Vol. 6, No. 3

CONTENTS



The new Trudeau
page 19

Bill Bennett's record
page 28

Maritimes' giveaways
page 4

Letters	4
Gift of the MAGI by <i>Ralph Surette</i>	6
The EDC's deals by <i>Virginia Smith, LAWG</i>	11
The Castaways by <i>Walter J. Traprock</i>	15
Last Psst by <i>Claude Balloune</i>	17
Pierre Pourquoi? by <i>Robert Chodos & Rae Murphy</i>	19
Bill Bennett & Company by <i>Peter McNelly</i>	28

REAR VIEW

The October Crisis
by *Norman Penner*
Mercury scandal
by *Thomas E. Reid*
Small is ugly
by *Kevin Henley*
CADAVER!
a new musical
Science column
by *Democritus*
The Berger report
by *Eliot Holmes*

Justice Tom Berger — page 46



We wish to thank the Ontario Arts Council for its financial assistance under its periodicals program.

The Last Post is produced by an editorial board.

Production this issue: Nick Auf der Maur, Patrick Brown, Drummond Burgess, Robert Chodos, Dale Cummings, Kevin Henley, Eliot Holmes, David Lloyd, Patrick MacFadden, Peter McNelly, Terry Mosher, Rae Murphy, Norman Penner, Thomas E. Reid, Virginia Smith, Ralph Surette. Cover photo: David Lloyd

Published by the Canadian Journalism Foundation, Inc., 454 King St. W., Rm. 302, Toronto, Ont., M5V 1L6. Phone: (416) 366-1134. Address all editorial and business correspondence to the Last Post, 454 King St. W., Rm. 302, Toronto, Ont. M5V 1L6. Montreal address: 4233 av. de l'Esplanade, Montreal, Que. H2W 1T1. Managing Editor: Drummond Burgess. Business Manager: Elsie Murphy.

Typeset and assembled by Heritage Press. Printed by Les Editions du Richelieu. Contents copyright 1977. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be duplicated in any way without prior written permission from the publisher. Last Post is indexed in the Canadian Periodical Index: CDN ISSN 0023-8651. Second Class Mail Registration No. 2315. Postage Paid at Montreal.

Letters from our readers

WASPs are so self-righteous

Dear Last Post:

re: **Rose Tanner Brown's article on racism in Canada**

What can I say and why do I bother to try and write? If I could put my feelings into words I would write pages but I'm not really articulate enough to do that.

I guess I just want her to know that I found the article very powerful and I thank her for writing it.

So many WASP Canadians are so self-righteous and we need, desperately need, to hear more truths like Ms. Brown is writing. If there ever was anything close to racial equality in Canada, and I know there never was in Nova Scotia, it is quickly eroding.

I'm saddened that the country is losing someone like her, but I certainly understand why she wants to get out. Leaving, though, is no solution for the majority of non-whites.

I don't know the cure for racism but articles like Ms. Brown's can only help.

M. Thompson
Englishtown, N.S.

How would Lorimer know?

Dear Last Post:

I refer to James Lorimer's missive in your March issue ("Letters," p.4) in which he attempts to point out the relevance between the "politics of publishers and the politics of what gets published." He may have a point with regard to the Ferns and Ostry book but he is decidedly out of line describing as ironical the imminent publication of Penner's book on socialism by Prentice-Hall of Canada. ("the politics of which 'they' could not possibly endorse"). I personally developed and signed the book and I would very much like to know from whom Mr. Lorimer

gleaned the knowledge of my/our personal politics. I somehow feel that he would be greatly surprised (1) to see what I shall publish in sociology and political science over the next few years and (2) by taking a course in elementary logic at the university in which he purports to teach.

Jonathan Penman
Editor

Disappointed with review

Dear Last Post:

I am disappointed that *Last Post* has published a "book review" (*Lady Oracle*, March '77) that is malicious and unfair. The opening statement ("... behind Atwood's deceptively simple prose lies a truly simple mind") is not a substantiated criticism, but merely a petty insult. Tinged with sexism, such remarks as "But Atwood's pushing 40", and "... just a regular hippie housewife" reveal an interpretation of Atwood's actions based on the contempt for women that renders them so vulnerable to the crudest of backbiting. I was hoping to read an articulate leftist critique of *Lady Oracle*. Instead, I was confronted with gossip constructed to reflect pejoratively on the following analysis of the book. Vicious and petty conjectures about Atwood's personal life cannot be the basis for an honest review, and are especially repulsive in a magazine that I respect.

Georgina Garret
Toronto

Witnessed racism at Mirabel

Dear Last Post:

Bravo to Rose Tanner Brown for her article on racism (April 1977).

It reminded me of a scene I witnessed

at Mirabel airport last summer. I was waiting in the Arrivals area for a friend coming from London, and I could see the customs area where travellers were being questioned. I could not fail to notice that all the coloured people, whatever their age and sex, were picked out for questioning (there were a few single, white males as well). It was obvious that those customs officers were discriminating against all coloured people, and I felt highly indignant about it. Why did I not protest at the time? Why did I not write to somebody? Maybe it has something to do with feeling powerless: I am only one, isolated individual. How effective would one protest be against such overwhelming idiocy?

After reading her article, I realized that I should go ahead and protest anyway. After all, if every individual protested every incident of discrimination she witnessed, what an outcry there would be!

Yes, there are racists in Canada, there are bigots, there are women-haters. Canadians are often smug and self-righteous. But the worst fault, I think, is that we are timid and uncomplaining. . . .

Kathleen Hamilton
Ottawa

Racism and capitalism

Dear Last Post:

That there is racism in Canada — as in any other capitalist nation — is not to be denied. That the ten long dreary pages submitted by Rose Tanner Brown (*LP* Apr./1977) did little to analyze the nature of and reason for racism is equally evident.

With galloping inflation, rising unemployment, increasingly repressive laws, in their desperation harassed and worried people often turn against any minority in their neighbourhood. This happens as long as they fail to understand

that it is the capitalist system — the status quo — the free enterprise dog-eat-dog society which they should really be uniting against to attack and destroy.

That Ms. Brown, with all her professionalism and formal education apparently has not yet stumbled upon this fundamental fact sheds light upon her own ineptitude. To lump all Canadians, all Americans, together as she does in sweeping generalities reveals the same level of ignorance of which she accuses others: "... only in Canada have I met whites who ... in six years in U.S. not once ... if Americans don't know they shut up ... all of Canada is bigoted ... just about every American I know was outraged ... all my American friends helped me ... Canadians have had such a holier than thou attitude ..." ad nauseam.

But when the lady dares to say that she knew "very few Canadians who had lost any sleep ... over Vietnam" she is really treading on dangerous ground. I would have to ask her where *she* was during those years? If in Canada, the only reason she knew nothing about the thousands of Canadians who, with grim determination, anguished, worked, demonstrated — would simply be because she was outside the struggle, and learning little about it from the kept media. Had she been part of that scene she could never have made such a stupid and offensive remark. Wherever she was, one must ask what was she herself doing to help end the war in Indochina and what is she doing now to help smash the same imperialist forces which continue their aggressive policies in Africa, from where, presumably, her own ancestors come.

And how does Ms. Brown explain her own sexist overtones: "... discriminator is not aware of what he is doing. ... HE! Has she never met a female discriminator?"

Since every capitalist nation is composed of opposing classes, to generalize as she does is to reveal her own abysmal ignorance. I am a Canadian and proud to be a Canadian, knowing that more and more of my people are striving to change this rotten system in order that human dignity will prevail for everyone — everywhere.

To rail against racism while not identifying with the campaign to overcome the system which produces and prolongs it, is to be part of the problem itself. Unlike "I-gave-up-Ms. Brown" there are millions who are not giving up, though faced with far more horrendous

agonies than those she complains about from her safe and comfortable suburbia. And other millions who have won their battles against imperialist armies and neo-colonialism, and yes, against Canadian capitalist exploitation, and — take note — millions more, including Canadians, who will continue the battle to eliminate racism and poverty and torture from the face of the earth.

Even (sic) a Native Indian prisoner has it more together than this educated lady: Brother Dacajewelah, the last of the Attica brothers serving sentence, explains: "Looking at history, the manifestation of capitalism and the current so-called social order, we can definitely see that the force initiated to implement the social order was one of genocidal conquest ..."

Perhaps if Ms. Brown found herself a corner from which she could join the struggle she would be less unhappy, frustrated and contemptuous, and thereby less contemptible.

Claire Culhane
Burnaby, B.C.

Thinks cartoon is Zionist — S. African propaganda

Dear Last Post:

I was not aware that Aislin, whose cartoons have made such sharp attacks on inequities of the present system, had been caught up in the current South African propaganda campaign against Idi Amin.

His cartoon inside the cover of your last issue, in addition to being disgusting and nauseating, makes this abundantly clear. Surely members of your editorial board have had enough experience with the kind of campaigns that can be mounted by wealthy governments and corporations to introduce "acceptable" spokesmen to naive media people to further their campaigns (not to mention CIA help in these matters).

Perhaps the inclusion of this cartoon is an indication of why we have never seen a good analysis of the repressive nature of the State of Israel in your columns and

the tie-ups between Pretoria and Tel Aviv, and Canadian policy at the U.N.

This cartoon is Zionist-S. African propaganda of the most blatant type.

It ill behooves us as part of the white world to pick up uncritically and magnify the attempts of a racist regime such as South Africa to divert attention from its own position.

And in an issue devoted to racism at that!

Charlotte McEwen
Ottawa

Shame and sorrow

Dear Last Post:

My response to Rose Tanner Brown's article (Racism, the Canadian way, April, '77) is one of deep shame and sorrow. I have spent the last few years trying to outgrow a past of smugness, complaisance and a firm belief in the myth of the superiority of Canadian people. Her article, to me, is a timely statement.

We, in British Columbia, have a particularly distressing history in the abuses we have heaped on minority groups. We should have learned by now that hysterical behaviours, such as that shown against the Japanese and Chinese Canadians in the past, can be and are being repeated. But we haven't. And today we continually hear of beatings of East Indians and our vocabularies have grown to include chic expressions such as "rug-riders".

Recently, my awareness moved beyond that faceless group conveniently called society and I had to look at the attitudes of my own family. When my first daughter was born, an uncle asked me how many white babies were in the hospital at the time. In response to my open mouth and blank stare he said, "It's just nice to see a white baby born for a change." I apologize, Ms. Brown, because I remained silent. It won't happen again.

Harriet Falladown
Smithers, B.C.

More letters on page 50

Industrial development schemes in the Maritimes are like ...

The gift of the MAGI

by RALPH SURETTE

HALIFAX —

It's a tragedy.

It's a comedy.

It's a farce.

It's a bureaucratic bungle.

Yes, and more. It's industrial development Atlantic Provinces style. It's something right out of Ripley's *Believe it or Not*.

Item (farce): Believe it or not, since the Bricklin auto plant in New Brunswick went under in the fall of 1975, leaving the public \$20 million in the hole, another dozen industries in which the New Brunswick taxpayer had a stake have gone under, adding anywhere up to an additional \$40 million loss. Most of them were outside companies given grants to settle in New Brunswick.

Item (tragedy): Unemployment this past winter has been hovering at anywhere between 25 and 50 per cent in various regions of Newfoundland, Cape Breton and Northern New Brunswick, and at somewhat lesser rates elsewhere (the Statistics Canada figures are useless in the Atlantic Provinces since they don't count people who have given up looking for work. The official unemployment rate in Cape Breton in February was 16.9 per cent. Yet 14,445 people in a workforce of 58,000 — or 25 per cent — were claiming UIC in the same month).

This is the end result of billions of dollars spent in the last 20 years by provincial governments, DREE and various other federal agencies to "develop" the Atlantic Provinces.

Item (Comedy): After Scott MacNutt, minister of various things in the government of Premier Gerald Regan, was

defeated in the 1974 election he was naturally casting about for something to do. His eye fell on Metropolitan Area Growth Investments Ltd., an agency created on paper back in 1972 by DREE and the provincial government to stimulate investment in the Halifax area, but which had never actually functioned. Never mind, Scott MacNutt needed a job.

"I really needed a job and so did my executive assistant, so after a month of fishing I said to Gerry Regan, 'Why don't you let me resurrect that Lazarus that the federal government wants us to set up,'" MacNutt told Tom Coleman of the *Globe and Mail* in October. Coleman had built up a case for MAGI as a hotbed of pork barrel politics, leaning largely on NDP sources. As it turned out, it was Coleman's last story for the *Globe* as Maritimes correspondent. He then jumped to Stephen Lewis' office as the Ontario NDP leader's executive assistant, and the story itself became a political issue, although there wasn't much about it that could be denied.

Halifax waited with bated breath for MAGI's first investment, out of its \$20 million fund — \$5 million provincial and \$15 million DREE. When it came, the fun started — and it still hasn't ended.

The new baby was a luxury cruise ship — the *Mercator One*, costing some \$5.5 million. The fact that it was refitted in Germany, registered in the Bahamas and employed Thais for about a third of its crew naturally led many to wonder what this had to do with employment in the Halifax metropolitan area. The fact that the ship was bought in partnership with one Joseph Nugent, Scott MacNutt's good buddy, who owns the majority

shares and operates it, led even more people to wonder even more what was up.

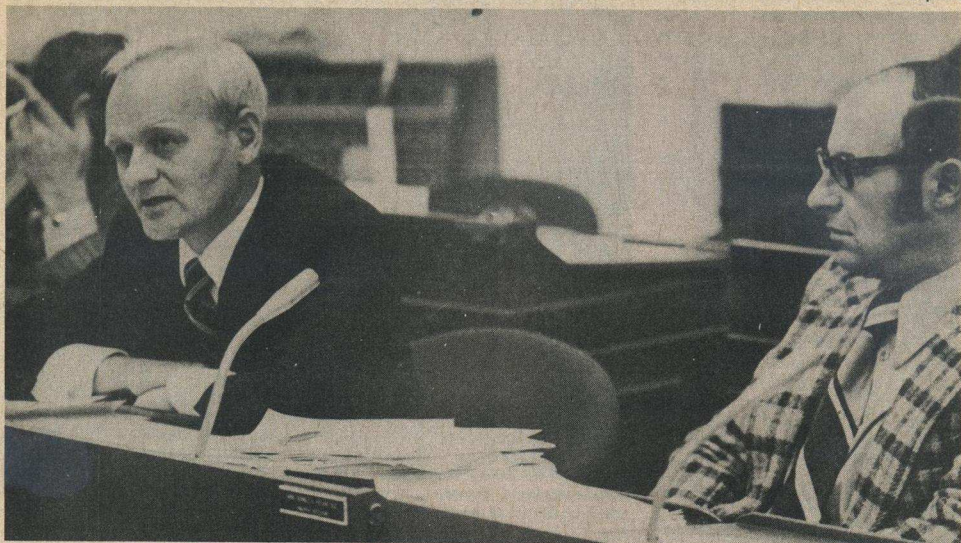
By midwinter Scott MacNutt and MAGI had become an embarrassment to the Regan government. MacNutt, who had earlier quipped that "No sailor ever distinguished himself on a calm sea," resigned as general manager and vice president of MAGI, and has since found a home with a Nugent-connected real estate firm.

By Easter the embarrassment was still acute. Unemployed Nova Scotia members of the Seafarers International Union were picketing the legislature in protest against the hiring of Thais for crew and vowed to picket the ship everywhere it berthed in the Atlantic Provinces this summer.

Inside the legislature, the fun continued. At a committee hearing, it was revealed that MacNutt had accumulated expenses of \$29,000 in a year, in addition to a \$39,000 salary. There was also a bill for \$9,000 from three snazzy Halifax restaurants in an 11-month period. MAGI chairman of the board Derek Haysom said he had "remonstrated rather forcibly" with MacNutt over the expenses.

Mayor Edmund Morris of Halifax, a sort of populist Tory, declared this "disgusting news for the common man," a "bad influence on youth" comparable to TV violence and a slur on all governments and called on the government to sack the entire MAGI board of directors.

MacNutt, not one to take things lying down and a man with a talent for a phrase, put out a statement that "I'd hoped the removal of my admittedly high



Scott McNutt (left) former vice-president of MAGI, testifies before the Nova Scotia legislature's industry committee, about the cruise ship Mercator One. Mercator One cost some \$5.5 million, was refitted in Germany, registered in the Bahamas and had Thais for a third of its crew. At right is MAGI counsel Edwin Harris.

profile from the scene would satisfy the jackals among us . . . I was wrong." He also pointed out that Haysom was in many instances standing beside him as he signed the bill for those restaurant meals and somehow failed to "remonstrate."

Perhaps more to the point, opposition questioning of the government in the legislature showed that the Regan cabinet had no idea of MAGI's doings, and did not want to know. The whole thing was set up with the vaguest of mandates — but it was vague for a purpose. Maritimes businessmen have built up this little fairy tale that the problem with development policy is that DREE is too bureaucratic and slow in giving out grants. MAGI would avoid that. There would be no "political" interference. In other words MAGI would not be accountable to anyone (provincial cabinet ministers weren't even sure whether MAGI was a crown corporation, and had no idea how it was supposed to relate to the legislature at all).

That DREE is bureaucratic and slow is not in doubt. But to hold that up as the reason for its failure indicates the sheer vacuity of the thinking that still dominates development philosophy in the Atlantic Provinces.

Judging that this marginal factor was at fault, the powers-that-be decided that the remedy was to apply the old formula: "private gain and public good coincide." Let MAGI be free to give money to whoever it will, free from bureaucratic, socialistic "political interference." Private business will then thrive, and so will the common weal.

The idea that private gain and public good coincide — the root of virtually every major scandal in the history of this country involving misappropriation of public funds — thus becomes a "new" philosophy. The results are only too predictable: businessmen-politicians handing out taxpayers' money to their

friends in secret. As it was with the CPR, so it is with MAGI.

Item (bureaucratic bungle): five men, until three years ago classified as "chronically unemployed", started up a greenhouse project at Lameque Island, N.B. They got, after much hassle, a provincial loan to put one acre under greenhouses, and a federal Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP) grant to operate. The bureaucrats were reluctant because according to them a successful operation would require three acres. They imposed certain "success criteria" for the one acre with the promise that if these were met funding would be forthcoming for the remaining two acres.

The men met the criteria, raising tomatoes and cucumbers. Now however no more funds are available. The LEAP money ended at the end of March and was not renewed, despite the fact that the men met the bureaucrats' norms. They have applied to private lenders for funds, but what self-respecting bank is going to lend money to five guys in overalls who don't drive up in a Lincoln Continental? The project is dead and the men are back to being "chronically unemployed."

One further note: The province had set up a \$700,000 experimental peat-burning furnace to supply the greenhouses

THAT OUGHT TO DO IT

In Paris, Texas, the local church will start a campaign to double its attendance with Double Miracle Day, featuring revivals led by an assistant Dallas Cowboys football coach, a millionaire interior designer, Miss Teen-Age America and the Yo-Yo champion of the world.

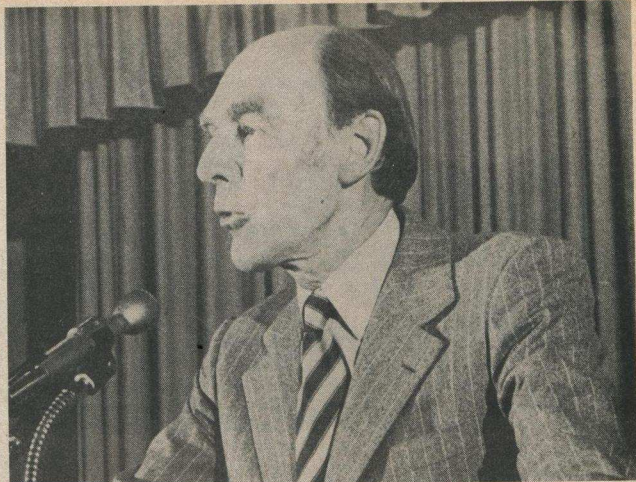
— *Newsweek magazine*, March 4, 1977

with heat as a pilot project for the further use of peat as a fuel source in New Brunswick. The furnace is useless without the greenhouses. Scratch one \$700,000 white elephant.

* * *

Starting last year and intensifying this past winter, there has been a mass movement of young people from the Atlantic Provinces to Alberta. There are no official statistics out yet, but no matter where you go — especially in the more depressed areas — someone knows someone in Alberta. This is particularly true in Newfoundland and Cape Breton, where young people have been leaving in groups, dozens at a time. Cape Bretoners are opening a new coal mine at Grand Cache, they're swarming into Fort McMurray with other Maritimers and Newfoundlanders. They're in Calgary and Edmonton.

It's not a new story. For a hundred years it was "the Boston States" and in the post-Depression period there was that "goin' down the road" bit into Ontario. Over the past decade, especially in the early 70's, the process was reversed. The western world's economy was booming and when the U.S. and Ontario boom there's at least a half-boom in the Atlantic provinces. People were returning — expatriates returning home, Americans fleeing the urban rat race — as making a living here became at least possible.



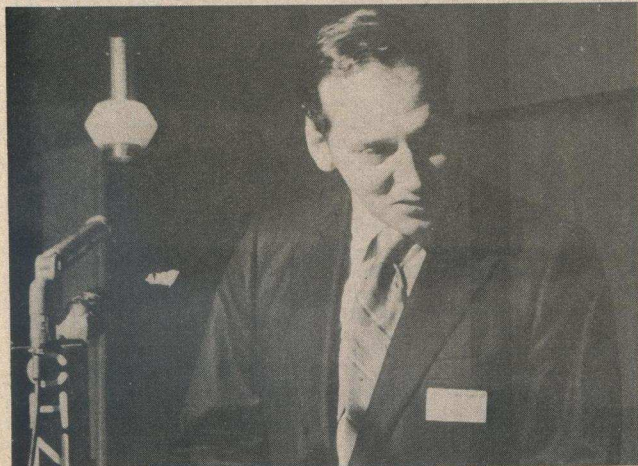
Robert Stanfield, himself no stranger to industrial development setbacks, attacked DREE for losing all sense of direction

There's a temptation to say that getting out is the Atlantic Province's safety valve. When times get tough, you leave. It's happened before. Now it's happening again. So what?

But the temptation is the lapse into defeat. Its corollary is that those who stay fall into a collective welfare mentality. The definition of a victory for an Atlantic Provinces politician these days is to

browbeat Ottawa into handing out more cash. Premier Gerald Regan of Nova Scotia was tempted to call an election this spring after he got a federal subsidy for home insulation and other energy measures. After all is said and done, the only net gain of 20 years of the most expensive "industrial development" one can imagine is that Maritimers and Newfoundlanders — collectively as well as individually in many cases — have become highly sophisticated pan-handlers.

Last fall, as unemployment rose, some vile humours rose with it. Robert Stanfield, no stranger to the industrial development game (the Glace Bay heavy water plant and Clairtone Sound Corp. collapses during his regime cost the Nova Scotia treasury anywhere up to \$200 million, counting interest; and there were other famous ones) hit DREE for having lost all sense of direction and of "improvising." There was a round of recrimination involving other gurus of industrialization in its early phase, but basically the charge was accurate, and the criticism all round has been rising ever since — but without any surer aim than DREE itself. The PQ election victory has also set off this business of figuring out who gets what in Confederation, which is not likely to do DREE any good. A recent study by the Economic Council of Canada showed that the Atlantic Provinces get far less from DREE than DREE itself claims. Like foreign aid,



Nova Scotia Premier Gerald Regan was tempted to call an election this spring when he got a federal handout for home insulation and other energy saving measures

Ontario's contributions to the eastern provinces often enough benefit Ontario through purchases made there. If you figure the amount of money that goes into outside firms, often capital intensive, that often import skilled personnel, that often collapse, the net benefit is close to zero. If you consider the demoralizing effect on local initiative, the result is negative.

Yet anyone with eyes open could see three or four years ago that even according to the weakest standards of judgment, the giveaway approach had failed. For some, though, the truth was too much. The Atlantic Development Board, an advisory body to DREE; carried out a study back in 1973 that showed that grants and giveaways had very little to do with why industries settled or didn't settle in the Atlantic Provinces. It wasn't released until three years later.

There were other early truths too. When the Michelin Tire plants in Nova Scotia started operations in 1973 — these plants being supposedly the ultimate success of the incentives system, with some 3,000 employees — the U.S. slapped on a countervailing duty on grounds that the grants to Michelin

constituted unfair competition for U.S. tire makers. The message was clear: any real success based on giveaways is going to threaten the centre of the universe, and we don't want to do that, do we?

The collapse of the Bricklin in 1975 and of the Shaheen refinery in Newfoundland in 1976 (costing Newfoundland \$40 million) were the final indignities for at least some Atlantic Provinces governments which got finally fed up with coming up as suckers that any hustler could take for a ride.

There was a move back to "basics" — and in fact that's where matters stand right now — to agriculture, fisheries and forestry. Back in 1952 in a speech in Twillingate Joey Smallwood is reputed to have told fishermen: "industrialize, industrialize, burn your boats. There'll be jobs in the factories." He denies it now, but if he didn't say it, he should have because it summed up the mood that prevailed in all these provinces for 20 years: fishing and farming were giving the Atlantic provinces a bad name. We needed the glossy stuff. Now, 20 years and billions of dollars later, at least a small lesson has been learned, and we're back to fishing and farming.

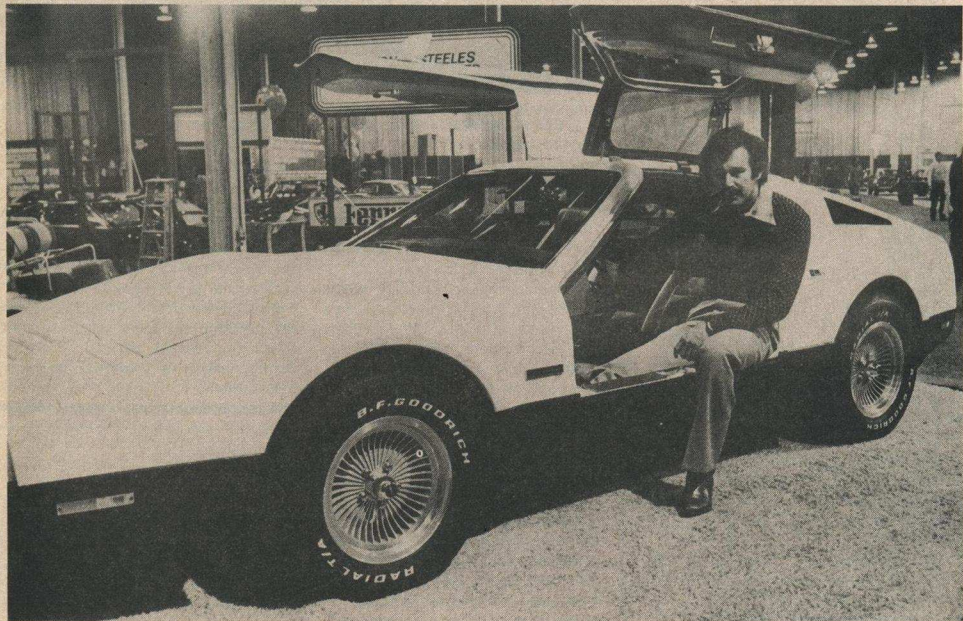
DREE has altered its practices somewhat to cover this, and "general development agreements" to cover the primary sectors are being signed with the provinces.

Fishing and farming won't save the Atlantic Provinces from high unemployment, although developing these sectors to the full is badly needed and will help.

What is really needed in the Atlantic Provinces — as in Quebec, as in the West — is indigenous manufacturing capacity. That the prevailing multinational enterprise system will not bring this about should be obvious, but teeth are clenched and knuckles are white in defiance of this obvious fact. Branch plant manufacturing concentrated in Ontario is the best it will ever deliver — and that's the real "crisis of Confederation." If every part of the country had its share of manufacturing, the country could likely be loosened up to everybody's regional satisfaction. As things are now, the "solution" is apt to be troops in the streets of Montreal to make sure that America's Ontario does not lose its captive markets.

In the Atlantic Provinces, the prevailing philosophy is something like this:

photo: David Lloyd



The collapse of the Bricklin was a final indignity for at least some Atlantic provinces, tired of being taken by hustlers

there are not enough "entrepreneurs" here. Thus the way to create them is to "improve the business climate." Throw more seed-money onto rocky ground and hope that it will catch. The lesson that this has failed miserably already cannot be learned because its implications are too awesome. As provincial cabinet ministers never tire of saying here, "it is not the business of government to run business." That is the dogma. Its "proof" is that every time a government takes over a failed industry it continues to fail and, what's more, becomes riddled with bureaucracy.

There's one successful development model operating in the Atlantic Provinces based on public initiative. This is Devco — the Cape Breton Development Corporation. Although it can hardly be called rampant socialism, when the word gets around it'll probably be scuttled as an embarrassing success. Devco was set up in the late 1960's to draw industry to Cape Breton in the wake of the closure of the coal mines. Its first efforts were in the prevailing style of the times — hand out wads of dough to any fast mover with a good line. There were a dozen embarrassing collapses in short order.

Probably because Cape Breton is considered a desperate case and a place where socialist-style perversions are common anyway, Devco was permitted to learn the lesson not learned elsewhere. Now it has revived the coal mines, built apartment buildings and motels, created a tannery and carding mill, is reviving sheep and cattle farming, has established marine farming on the Bras d'Or Lake, etc. etc. There seems to be no end to its ingenuity. Most of these projects are paying for themselves, something that will surely cause as much dismay as rejoicing in Halifax.

Devco is no radical outfit. It is simply one step further in the Canadian tradition of crown corporations. It functions both as developer and lender, but the companies it lends to are mostly small and have to have a link "to a Cape Breton skill, resource or market," as one official puts it.

Devco has not managed to save Cape Breton, but it is only now beginning to take off with its debts being retired and its new projects rolling. It employs 4,000 in its coal division alone, making it the largest employer in Cape Breton on that basis alone. Without it, Cape Breton would be even worse off than it is.

Trade unionists and others have called for an Atlantic Provinces Development Corporation to do throughout the area



Former Newfoundland Premier Joey Smallwood, shown here in 1959, is reputed to have told fishermen "industrialize, industrialize, burn your boats, there'll be jobs in the factories"

what Devco is doing in Cape Breton. Yet even this relatively small and conventional step forward will not see the light of day. It will founder on the pronouncement that "it is not the business of government to run business."

A government agency building motels and office buildings in mainland Nova Scotia — not a chance! Maybe Cape Breton where there are virtually no capitalists. But elsewhere — no way.

No, when all the smoke clears over DREE and the state of Canadian Confed-

eration and whatnot, there's likely to be a new development offensive in the Atlantic Provinces. New words will be found to replace "growth centres" and MAGI and Industrial Estates and whatnot, a new cloak will be found to cover the old carcass, but one thing you can bet on: it will be the old carcass, the one that says that private gain and public good are the same and that the remedy for underdevelopment is to "improve the investment climate."

O.K., BUT WHAT DO YOU DO FOR AN ENCORE?

Learn describes herself as one of the few language technicians in Canada. She gives herself a six-page spread of photographs and ritualistic mumbo-jumbo that deals with a cult-dance performance she invented and performed at a Toronto Church last October. It included a self-inflicted knife wound, which Learn says liberated her from the fear of physical pain and other impediments to the fullness of the art experience.

— *Toronto Globe and Mail*, February 26, 1977

WHAT IS THE EXPORT DEVELOPMENT CORP., HOW DOES IT WORK AND WHO DOES IT HELP?

What's good for business...

by Virginia Smith of Latin
American Working Group

TORONTO — When Atomic Energy of Canada hit the front pages late last year, Canadians were shocked to discover that they know almost nothing about the activities of their government's Crown corporations. Because the vital facts about AEC transactions were concealed from them, they could do nothing to prevent \$10.5 million payments to CANDU sales agents around the time when social service budgets at home were being slashed.

The Export Development Corporation, the Crown corporation which financed the Argentinian and Korean CANDU deals, has likewise escaped public attention since it was set up in 1969. But this little known organization is as deeply involved in the Third World as the much publicized Canadian International Development Agency.

The EDC was set up to help Canadian business do business abroad — especially in the manufacturing sector, generally the weakest area of the Canadian economy. The Corporation supports about 40 per cent of Canadian capital goods sales to markets outside North America.

Canadian taxpayers might be surprised to learn that many EDC deals have involved conflicts of interest and that Corporation transactions are often intentionally concealed from the public. They might be shocked at the EDC's willingness to support repressive governments — like Chile's junta.

Last fall, the EDC announced that Chile would be among the beneficiaries of a deal to support the sale of Canadian goods and services valued at \$103 million. EDC President John A. MacDonald added that "details of the projects and the names of the Canadian companies

involved could not be disclosed at this time for commercial reasons."

When MacDonald was later asked for additional information, he disclosed that the Chilean deal involved a foreign investment guarantee — in other words, EDC insurance against political disturbances. But he insisted that "in the case of foreign investment guarantees we can publish the fact of having provided a guarantee in a country but are not free to give amounts, names of investors or of the nature of the investment."

The EDC had earlier helped out the junta, just a few weeks after the overthrow of Salvador Allende. At that time, Chile was extended a \$5 million loan, to finance the purchase of Twin Otter aircraft from de Havilland Aircraft of Canada.

The Canadian government uses these innocuous looking little planes at home, to rescue adventurers caught in the bush. But these short-take-off-and-landing craft can be turned to more sinister uses. An ad in the *Canadian Defense Quarterly* claims that the Otter can be used to carry troops to and from short, makeshift strips. It can be handy for counterinsurgency, in other words. Dictators like Chile's President, Augusto Pinochet, may find the plane useful in their struggle to suppress liberation

movements.

A consortium of Canadian banks also partially financed the Twin Otter purchase through a \$3,500,000 loan. The EDC very generously agreed to protect the banks against possible risks in the project and guaranteed almost 60 per cent of the loan payments.

A high ranking EDC official maintains that this loan had been previously "negotiated with Allende's government and his representatives." But some Canadians were in fact upset at the EDC's apparent unwillingness to do business with Allende's Chile. In 1973, W. B. Nesbitt complained that the EDC had refused to finance a Chilean deal negotiated through an Ontario logging firm, although "the financial obligations Chile had incurred were always paid on time." Nesbitt had "discussed the matter with officials of the EDC and was informed that they were acting in accordance with government policy not to extend loans to Chile at present."

But, since the coup, the EDC has helped the junta not only through loans and insurance, but through concessions on payments of Chile's huge foreign debt. In 1974 and 1975, the junta convinced its creditor nations to reschedule — to delay payments — on the debt.

DALTON CAMP (NO LESS)

Still, one truly wonders whether Horner will live out his remaining days as the member for old Crowfoot, not as the familiar maverick, but as a turncoat Grit. Not, I think, for all the perks of power, a dozen limousines, or even Otto Lang's magic carpet. To exchange Crowfoot for Coventry, surely, is no exchange at all. . . .

If Horner goes over to the Liberals, I will be the second most surprised man in the land, second only to Horner himself. He has not come this far by betraying his own gut reactions and we both know today what his visceral feelings are about his present dilemma.

— Dalton Camp, *The Toronto Star*, April 11, 1977

In 1975, the Paris Club, a grouping of creditor nations, agreed to refinance 70 per cent of Chile's payments due. Canada cooperated in this rescheduling, although it allowed the junta to hang on to money that should have been repaid to Canada.

The EDC holds \$18.7 million of Chile's debt to Canada. When MP John Rodriguez asked why the debt renegotiation hadn't been mentioned in the EDC's Annual Report, he was told only that "the EDC now reports debt rescheduling in aggregate."

When Rodriguez made further inquiries about insurance of Canadian investments in Chile since 1970, he was told to mind his own business. "By tradition and as a matter of commercial principle, Crown corporations have not

been required by parliament to answer detailed questions on their administration and operations," Alastair Gillespie, the then minister of industry, trade and commerce, responded loftily.

The Corporation's cloak of secrecy covers more than its recent deals with Chile. Its spokesmen consistently refuse to reveal the details of politically sensitive transactions. MacDonald feels that

Government will have difficulty paying even the interest on the \$172 million debt. In the light of historical prices for sugar, as well as what importing countries like Canada will offer to pay at next April's International Sugar Conference, they cannot realistically expect to make the project pay.

The Royal Commission recently set up to enquire into abuses of government spending should also enquire into how the EDC came to be involved in such a dubious venture as this sugar complex, as well as into the manner in which Redpath persuaded the present Ivory Coast administration to commit their country to such an ill-advised project.

Not only do the people of the Ivory Coast stand to lose heavily in this instance, but so also do the people of Canada. It is our tax money which stands behind the loans and investment guarantees the EDC has made.

This project is said to provide a market for anywhere from \$74 million to \$90 million worth of Canadian goods and services. While a few Canadian workers may benefit from the jobs created in the production of goods used in the project, the expertise within the Tate & Lyle group for this sort of project is in Britain. What kind of accounting and transfer of personnel will satisfy the EDC that it is Canadians and not British who are benefiting from its loans?

Ever since buying out the Canada & Dominion Sugar Co. in 1959, Tate & Lyle has dominated the Canadian sugar market. They led other sugar companies in setting up "ghost" trading companies in Bermuda to disguise profits and evade taxes. In 1968, they closed down the sugar beet industry in south-western Ontario. In getting the EDC to finance their Ivory Coast venture, have they pulled yet another fast one on the people of Canada?

A WHITE ELEPHANT FOR BLACK AFRICA

by GATTFLY

TORONTO — Following close on its financing of the sale of a nuclear reactor to South Korea, the Export Development Corporation (EDC) is now involved in the sale of a white elephant to black Africa. The EDC, a Crown corporation responsible to the ministry of industry, trade and commerce, is the major participant in the financing of a \$172 million sugar complex to be built for the government of the Ivory Coast. The project, to be completed in three years, will produce 60,000 tons of raw sugar per year for export. The principal beneficiary of this largesse is Redpath Sugars Ltd., a Canadian subsidiary of the British multi-national firm of Tate & Lyle Ltd., which has altogether 150 subsidiaries in 30 countries.

The signing of the agreement was announced by EDC President, John A. MacDonald, on August 11, 1976. Linking the project to government bilingualism policy, he contended that the project was a Canadian one and not American or British, largely due to the assembly by Redpath of a bilingual design team in Montreal. Jacques Daigneault, EDC group loan manager, said the project "establishes Canadian technology in French-speaking Africa and is an entrée for French Canada".

A closer look at the parties involved in the Ivory Coast sugar project will show clearly why progressive Third World governments are opposed to the "industrial cooperation" model of development, particularly when it is export-oriented.

Foreign investors in the Ivory Coast, as a result of a cold-blooded decision by President Houphouët-Boigny to grant them a free hand, benefit from one of the least restrictive investment codes in the

world, including the right to repatriate virtually all profits and tax holidays of up to 7 years. This policy of open-door capitalist development has resulted in a "miraculous" 8 per cent annual growth of the economy.

French planners, who abound in every government ministry, produce one glossy report after another on fresh paths the country's development might take. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), a minor partner with the EDC in the sugar project, has already contributed Africa's only ice-skating rink! All this has been of little benefit to the average Ivorian, who still lives at the same level of subsistence as in 1960. A small local elite benefits, but by far the biggest winners have been the foreign investors.

With 95 per cent of its export earnings already coming from raw materials, a \$172 million investment in the production of raw sugar for export is the last thing in the world the Ivory Coast needs. The 2500-3000 jobs the project will produce locally are a poor excuse. At \$60,000 investment per job created, this is an extremely capital-intensive form of development, ill-suited for a country which has to borrow its capital abroad.

Apart from jobs involved, the main reason for the project, so far as the Ivory Coast is concerned, would be to earn money by selling sugar abroad. That might have seemed possible two years ago when the project was planned, but prices then were unusual. Today, raw sugar sells for 8 cents per pound which is well below production costs, thus crippling the economies of many developing countries. Corn sugar has captured a share of the market, and higher production has built up world stocks so as to keep prices low for the foreseeable future. At today's prices, the Ivory Coast

businessmen supported with government money are entitled to privacy, and last year turned down a request for information with the explanation that "if businessmen felt that dealing with the EDC meant that their affairs would become public knowledge, few would deal with the EDC."

The EDC finances many of its secret deals with countries governed by authoritarian governments — the Dominican Republic and Brazil, for example. Brazil is, in fact, one of the EDC's chief customers and, in 1974, the Brazilian generals secured Corporation loans worth \$72,300,000.

Canada now has about \$2 billion tied up in Brazil. When a government has poured in that much money, it tends to become fearful about political changes in its investment area. It is betting on the durability of the current regime, and naturally prefers stability to turmoil about human rights.

The EDC advertises itself as a boon to all Canadians — an institution that provides jobs and builds domestic industry. But the 1973 parliamentary debate on the EDC revealed that, in fact, a few big multinational corporations are gobbling up the biggest share of EDC Canadian government money through their subsidiaries.

In 1972, for instance, the EDC signed loan agreements totalling \$283 million. \$63,685,000 of this sum facilitated the purchase of goods from General Motors and MLW Worthington — both American owned corporations. MP Sinclair Stevens calculated that, altogether, \$126 of the \$283 million went to Canadian subsidiaries of American corporations. Again in 1976, Stevens pointed out that three large companies had consumed a lion's share of EDC financing during the previous year. Babcox and Wilcox and Hawker-Siddeley, both foreign controlled companies, each received contracts worth about \$110 million. Marine Industries, controlled by the Simards, the family of Robert Bourassa's wife, got nearly \$130 million in contracts.

Too often, multinationals shop around, looking for the country which will offer them the best export deal. Canadian "trade officials are increasingly frustrated by foreign owned Canadian subsidiaries that will trade only when Ottawa offers special export financing or assistance", reported the *Financial Post* late in 1976. "If special help isn't available, too often the subsidiaries are told to leave foreign deals to head office."



Alastair Gillespie, then industry minister, defended EDC's right to refuse to answer detailed questions

One glance at the list of EDC Board membership will clearly show the reasons for the fast friendship of big business and government within the EDC. The Board of Directors includes seven government officials and five business representatives. You won't find the owner of your corner store on the EDC Board; business representatives are usually connected to Canada's most powerful firms.

Several recent directors manage companies which have been beneficiaries of EDC financing. Paul Leman, President of the Aluminum Company of Canada, for instance, was appointed to the Board in 1969. In 1970, Alcan secured \$7,500,000 of EDC financing for a deal with Argentina. When MP Lorne Nys-

trom inquired about Leman's possible conflict of interest, Gillespie replied that Leman had declared his interest and refrained from voting. Gillespie of course said nothing about Leman's possible lobbying or about probable friendly relationships among Board members. Alcan, by the way, also received EDC financing in 1969 and 1975.

Past Board member J. H. Smith is President of de Havilland Aircraft, which financed six projects through the EDC between 1969 and 1975. Past Board member P. R. Sandwell's corporation, Sandwell and Company, signed a contract worth \$6,233,000 several years ago. And, just last year, Swan Wooster Engineering Company signed a Corporation contract to supply engineering ser-



Opposition M.P. Sinclair Stevens pointed out much of EDC financing benefits large, foreign corporations

VICES to the Panamanian government, while Swan Wooster President I. S. Ross was sitting on the Board.

Business-government links within the Corporation make it clear that the publicity brochures don't mention one major Corporation goal — the aggrandizement of already large corporations.

But EDC officials stick to the story that they are helping all Canadians and MacDonald even brags that "we're the only Crown corporation that doesn't cost the taxpayers a cent." The EDC has consistently operated at a profit, according to MacDonald, and earned \$12.8 million in 1975, \$19 million in 1976.

But MacDonald's claims would be hard to substantiate. The Corporation's chief source of money has been the federal finance department. Government equity in the Corporation "allows the EDC to finance exports at competitive rates because, as yet, no dividends are paid to the government and its money is in the Corporation without cost," according to a high ranking EDC official.

And the Corporation constantly needs new government money. "At this point (in 1976) the EDC is making more loans

than are being paid back; this accounts for the need for new government replenishment in 1974 and the raising of ceiling", says the official. And MacDonald himself acknowledged that, in the past, "we represented a \$400-\$500 million drain annually on the finance department." Because it was depleting government resources, the Corporation began borrowing some money abroad early in 1976.

EDC's apparent \$14 million profit conceals the ugly reality that Canadian taxpayers are subsidizing profit making business ventures. When the government gives the EDC money at no cost, Canadians lose the interest that might have been earned if the money were invested elsewhere. Or, put in another perspective, the government generously backs business deals, but can't find the money for desperately needed services like public transit.

A recent EDC ad in the *Financial Post* claims that Corporation programs offer substantial "mutual benefits to Canada and the host country." The importing country "acquires much needed technology, industrial infrastructure and

foreign exchange."

Most EDC deals are negotiated with countries usually described as underdeveloped. But unlike the Canadian International Development Agency, the EDC is primarily concerned with Canadian economic growth, not with the development of host countries. The Corporation may express pious hopes about the effects of its programs, but its loans are based only on commercial considerations. "The EDC policy is to avoid white elephants", according to an EDC official.

A glance at a few EDC projects quickly dispels the myth of "mutual benefits." In 1973, MP Reg Stackhouse complained about EDC involvement in the construction of a Caribbean luxury hotel. He wondered "whether this is the best way to utilize the money being made available by the taxpayers of Canada to meet the needs of the ordinary citizens in the Caribbean countries or elsewhere in the world."

The EDC, in fact, often finances projects that badly distort the developing economies of Third World countries. In August 1976, for example, the Corporation signed an agreement with the government of the Ivory Coast for the construction of a \$172 million sugar production complex. The principal beneficiary in the deal is Redpath Sugars, a Canadian subsidiary of the British multinational Tate & Lyle.

Like many Third World countries, the Ivory Coast is already too dependent on the export of unprocessed raw materials. Right now, raw materials account for 95 per cent of the country's export earnings. The Ivory Coast needs a raw sugar production complex as much as the Caribbean needs another luxury hotel.

DEY GO BANANA WHEN DEY HEAH DE DRUM

Prime Minister Trudeau expressed the hope last week that such prospects will lead Quebecers themselves to oppose the proposals and force the PQ to back down. That is most likely a vain hope, because it underestimates the appeal of the jungledrum-beat of ethnocentrism when it is skillfully played by a government to a society insecure about its cultural identity.

—George Radwanski, *Financial Times, News Service, April 12, 1977*

WHY DID CAST SHIPPING MOVE TO HALIFAX?

The Castaways

by WALTER J. TRAPROCK

MONTREAL — Up until this spring, Cast of North America was one of the two big container shipping companies operating out of the port of Montreal. Now, it's one of the biggest container companies operating out of the port of Halifax.

The move, while not of epic importance to either city, does illustrate a few interesting points about business decision-making. Announcing the move, the president of Cast, Klaus Glusing, explained that it was the result of a feud with the Maritime Employers Association. The MEA, he said, had changed the rules for assessing contributions to the Longshoremen's Job Security Fund, and Cast had got the dirty end of the stick. Glusing says that the MEA is controlled by his competitors, and that Cast hasn't been able to get adequate representation on the MEA board.

All of that may have had something to do with the move. What had more to do with it was Canadian National Railways, the British Monopolies and Mergers Commission and the mysterious Frank Narby, though not necessarily in that order.

Glusing's specific complaint about the MEA concerned the Job Security Fund, which guarantees 1600 hours of work a year to longshoremen regardless of demand, pays an indemnity of \$12,000 to surplus dockers who leave the trade, and has a \$17,000,000 deficit. The old formula for assessing companies' contributions to the fund was based on the weight and volume of cargo handled, the new one on weight alone. Because Cast handles a lot of heavy cargo like scrap metal, this is going to mean an extra \$500,000 a year in assessments, bringing Cast's total contribution to the fund to about \$3,000,000.

Nobody's disputing that an extra half million is a lot of money; the question is whether it's enough to make it worthwhile to shift the bulk of a \$70 million business from one port to another, a move that in itself cost several millions.



Quebec Transport Minister Lucien Lessard blamed the *maudits* federalists

It's especially puzzling because the MEA has jurisdiction over labour relations at the new port, and the assessment in Halifax is exactly the same as in Montreal.

Clearly, we have to look elsewhere for reasons for the move, as did the Quebec government. The minister of transport, Lucien Lessard, blames Ottawa for the whole thing, denouncing the *maudits* federalists for indifference towards Quebec ports while promoting profitable federalism for Halifax. A statement issued by the minister noted that the CNR is a minority shareholder in Cast and in Halterm, the container port in Halifax, and would also be gaining from transporting cargo by rail from the Atlantic port to Quebec. "These facts," the statement continues, "would not appear to be unconnected with the move of Cast to Halifax."

This certainly makes more sense than Glusing's claim that he's moving to avoid an assessment that is exactly the same in the port he's moving to. The

CNR spent some \$12,000,000 a couple of years ago to acquire an 18 per cent holding in both of Cast's parent companies: Euro-Canadian Shipholdings Ltd. of Bermuda, and Intercast S.A. of Switzerland. A shareholders agreement signed at the time states that "... each shareholder shall use his best efforts to ensure that all traffic the routing of which is or may be controlled by a component of or business included in the Cast group and which originates at or is destined to a place on the North American continent or will transit such continent, shall to the greatest possible extent be routed by rail and/or highway within the continent over lines or routes of CN and/or other components of the Canadian National Railways system.

At about the same time as the CNR was buying into Cast, the ports of Halifax and Saint John, N.B., were competing to sew up container business of Japanese shipping lines. The Halifax delegation that visited Japan included the president of the CNR, Robert Bandeen — another indication of the line's interest in Halifax. Bandeen, of course, denies any influence on the Cast decision, and told a House of Commons committee that the CNR has no say in Cast's operations, only learning of decisions after the fact. Since the Quebec government blames Ottawa for everything except the weather, and since the CNR has only an 18 per cent share in Cast, we'll have to give Bandeen's denial qualified acceptance, bearing in mind, however, that a \$12 million shareholder is never totally without influence, and the railway's interest certainly does lie in the direction Cast took.

The second part of Glusing's complaint concerned the alleged domination of the MEA by his major competitor, Manchester Liners Ltd., a British firm. Cast and Manchester shared about 80 per cent of the container traffic through Montreal. The way Glusing told it, the new assessment formula was a Manchester-inspired move against a business rival. He forgot to mention that Cast and its parents own about 37 per



cent of the shares in Manchester Liners, and was only just foiled in an effort at a total takeover. Late last year, the British Monopolies and Mergers Commission ruled that a substantial Cast acquisition of shares in Manchester's parent, Furness Withy and Co. was not in the British public interest.

At the height of the corporate power play that went wrong, Euro-Canadian Shipholdings Ltd. had 28.82 per cent of Furness Withy, in addition to the 37 per cent of Manchester Liners that it still owns. One interesting facet of the takeover deal is that it was the *British Monopolies and Mergers Commission* that put a stop to it; no Canadian body seemed interested in intervening in deals that would have given a virtual monopoly

of container traffic on the Saint Lawrence to a group whose controlling companies are registered in Bermuda and Switzerland. Which brings us to the mysterious Frank Narby, the man who built Cast, and who now lives in Fribourg, Switzerland.

Narby is known on the Montreal waterfront as something of a shipping genius. He still owns 62 per cent of Cast (the remaining 20 per cent is held by a Toronto company, Helix Investments) and plays an active part in running the show. He's the only one who knows for sure why the company moved, and he's unreachable. The most likely guess among shipping sources is that, having failed in a bid to get a monopoly of the Saint Lawrence traffic, he's giving up on

the river. The word is that Cast will be using its Halifax base to make major inroads into the U.S. Atlantic ports, leaving the Saint Lawrence to others. It'll take a lot of its cargo with it, including, for example, 7,000 containers of asbestos a year that will now arrive in Halifax by CN rail from Asbestos and Thetford Mines. Stevedore jobs will also be lost — perhaps as many as 75 — at least for a while, until new cargos can be found for the port of Montreal, which is already in serious trouble.

Whatever the reasons for the move, it's the old Canadian story. Corporate decisions that have a serious economic impact are taken in places like Fribourg, Switzerland, and not in the places that are going to be affected.

the Last Pssst

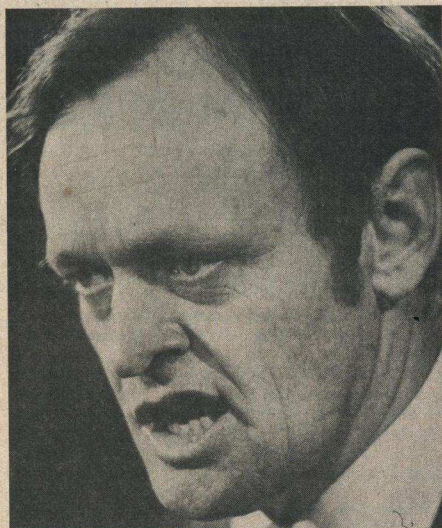


by Claude Balloune

Berger Aftermath: Expect the constitutional changes promised by **Prime Minister Trudeau** to include an eleventh province encompassing the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. Aside from rekindling the national spirit with a Diefenbaker-style Vision of the North, the proposal also has more practical aspects. If the North were a province, a northern gas pipeline would fall under federal-provincial negotiations, thus spreading the burden of responsibility if, as seems likely, Ottawa decides the pipeline has to be built. The North would be faced with the impossible task of persuading its job-hungry fellow provincial governments to support its opposition to the pipeline. Some provinces (notably Ontario, faced with the prospect of layoffs in the steel industry) regard the pipeline as a potential godsend. Making the North a province could also be regarded as giving northerners what they have always wanted — provincial status — in exchange for accepting what they don't want — the pipeline.



Prime Minister Trudeau — province builder?



Will Jean Chretien be sent to win the hearts and minds of the Quebecois?

Ottawa Odds 'n' Ends: The most likely summer cabinet shuffle scenario has **Jean Chretien** leaving to take over the Quebec Liberal party, **Otto Lang** taking over his post at industry, trade and commerce and new boy **Jack**

Horner moving into **Lang's** shoes at transport. This would make it **Horner's** responsibility to sell bilingualism in the air to English Canada when the report on that hot topic comes out. Another possibility is that **Donald Macdonald** will leave the cabinet for personal reasons and **Chretien** will take over finance instead of the Quebec Liberals. The rest of the shuffle stays the same in this scenario. . . . Why is PMO honcho **Ivan Head** spending so much time in Washington these days? . . . Celebs seen at fun party given by Bytown's host-with-the-most, **GG Jules Leger**: lovely raven-haired hooper **Karen Kain** and globetrotting **PM Pierre Trudeau**. . . .

A couple of years ago a Participaction-minded government, concerned about the physical health of the country's legislators, installed a gym on the top floor of the Confederation Building on the west side of parliament hill. For a while the gym resounded to the grunts and wheezes of MPs and Senators determined to become fit. Now the only people still seen there are the masseur who runs the emporium and **Senator Chesley Carter**, a spry 75-year-old from Newfoundland.

Who goes there? During the recent oil rig blowout in the North Sea there were questions raised about the threat of a blowout in Canada's own North. Everyone who knows anything about drilling up north, with the exception of the oilmen and their politicians, is extremely concerned about the disastrous effects of a possible spill up in the Beaufort Sea, where **Dome Petroleum** is drilling away. The drilling technology is new enough; the technology to handle a spill doesn't exist. That's not worrying Dome too much. They're moving into a new skyscraper in Edmonton. I'm told the security there is something else: identity cards that are checked at all times and restrict the user to certain floors of the building.



Brian Mulroney — Verdun was bad news

Around and about: My Winnipeg sources privately expect Premier **Ed Schreyer** to lose the provincial election scheduled for this summer or fall. Can a former western NDP Premier find happiness in the Senate of Canada? . . . Half Irish and half French, Verdun might have seemed the ideal riding for bilingual **Brian Mulroney**, who was The Candidate for the Tory leadership in 1976 and now occupies a senior executive position with the Iron Ore Company of Canada. Mulroney apparently thought so too for he was seriously considering running in the May 24 byelection there until private soundings told him he would lose. . . . Montreal Hadassah invited its two honoured guests for its annual Youth Aliyah dinner, both of them wives of world leaders, well in advance. Unfortunately when the time for the dinner came round in April, neither of them was able to make it. One was **Margaret Trudeau**. The other was **Leah Rabin**.



Guess who didn't come to dinner

Just a coincidence: We'd like to give an especially hearty set of congratulations to **Pierre O'Neill**, late of the prime minister's office. He's got a fat new job heading up the news department at Radio Canada, CBC's French wing. We're told the appointment of a Trudeau flunky to the job has nothing to do with prime ministerial belly-aching about separatists in the CBC.

Literary lapses: I wish I knew the name of the passerby who was overheard saying to **Peter C. Newman** as the *Maclean's* editor sat autographing copies of his *Canadian Establishment* in a bookstore: "If they catch you writing in it they'll make you buy it." . . .

One of the more bizarre bits of fallout from the late upsurge of Canadian nationalism is the marketability of the personal papers of Canadian writers to university libraries. Ever enterprising, the writers have leapt into the breach. They have taken to writing letters to each other at a furious clip. In some cases they put 'Not for Publication' at the tops of the letters on the theory that this makes them more valuable.

Official secrets: By the time you read this the CBC's flagship public affairs program, **The Fifth Estate**, may have been charged under our World-War-One-era Official Secrets Act. Seems the charge, if it finally gets laid, involves a program the show did on kickbacks to Progressive Conservatives in New Brunswick. The story was based in part on a secret RCMP report alleging political interference in the investigation. The idea of laying such a charge ought to have everyone rolling in the aisles, but the government could be serious . . . after all, it's high Liberal policy these days for everyone to hate the CBC.



Joe Clark: the Midas touch in reverse

The Midas touch: **Joe Clark** must have felt he had the Midas touch in reverse and must have had a premonition of how those by-elections were going to go when he flew to Noranda on May 7 to do some campaigning. He arrived to find a freak storm had left six inches of snow on the ground; next the city water supply konked out and Joe had to shave using bottled mineral water heated in an electric kettle.

By-election note: Pre-election polling showed the NDP would be a respectable second in Louis Hebert riding whoever they ran, and would easily win if **Judge Robert Cliche** ran for them. Cliche backed out when his wife talked him out of the idea. The NDP then made the brilliant decision not to run anyone at all. Losers, losers.

Social note: Montreal bon vivant **Nick Auf der Maur**, familiar to readers of this yellow rag, was married May 14 to **Linda Gaboriau** amidst the usual scenes of jubilation, revelry, drunkenness, etc., etc. . . . as a wedding present Auf der Maur got a job with radio station CJAD which is owned by Standard Broadcasting which is controlled by **Bud McDougald's Argus Corp.** . . . There is no truth to the rumour that Last Post is launching a take-over bid for Argus.

PIERRE POURQUOI?

photo: David Lloyd



The Trudeau of 1978 will run against the Trudeau of 1968, 1972 and 1974

by Robert Chodos & Rae Murphy

A spring weekend in late March, and a few hundred Liberal party and government functionaries from the National Capital Region, along with a few more hundred toilers in the Liberal vineyards on the periphery, mingled in one of the more garish hotels on Toronto's airport strip. Pressed into service for the occasion as "thinkers" they moved through the lobby and meeting rooms with easy camaraderie, toting an impressive-looking loose-leaf binder crammed with the papers they were supposed to think about. Yet, as the weekend wore its listless way from the plenary sessions in the "Galaxy Room" through the small workshops, and as the

furrowed brows gave way to barely stifled yawns, the inescapable conclusion dawned on even the most dedicated conference-goer that while the Liberals indeed had something to think about, they weren't doing it here.

The paucity of the ink that the conference received in the press seems, even in retrospect, justified. It was not a significant event. Yet, taken from another viewpoint, the conference's very lack of significance, in this most intense political year in recent Canadian history, was in itself significant.

But first some background.

The legacy of Kingston

Back in September 1960, in an era so distant that Tories occupied the government benches in the Parliament of Canada, the Liberal Party held what it termed a conference on national issues on the campus of Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. The event was not, at the time, an un-mixed critical success. In fact, a few days after it closed, reporter Harold Greer wrote in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* that "in the four days of talk and more talk at Queen's University, the study conference had quickly acquired all the characteristics of an unmitigated political disaster. Billed as a daring experiment, the conference had foundered on the shoals of a schizophrenic concept, poor organization, and the fuzzy thinking of its principal participants. . . . In short, the Liberal Party was portrayed at Kingston as being as disorganized and divided as a party can be without falling apart."

In its editorial columns, the same newspaper focussed on another displeasing aspect of the conference. Much of the delegates' time had been taken up with listening to some of the heavier Liberal thinkers of the day expound on their solutions to Canada's economic problems: Maurice Lamontagne suggested a permanent price conciliation board, Tom Kent wanted to put a tax on advertising to fund social welfare programs. It was not so much the practicability or efficacy of these ideas that the *Globe and Mail* was inclined to question as their necessity. It wondered whether, perhaps, these Liberal thinkers, Lamontagne and Kent and their ilk, weren't gloomsters and doomsters prepared to Sell Canada Short for Petty Partisan Advantage:

"The Canadian National Exhibition is drawing huge crowds, who are spending as though money was going out of fashion. People on the streets of this and every other Canadian city have an air of unassailable affluence. Everywhere, new cars — and new highways for the new cars. Everywhere, buildings going up. Even those Canadians who are living on handouts are better housed, clothed and fed than most of the people in most other parts of the world. So why all the anxiety?"

The asperity of the *Globe and Mail* did not prevent the Kingston conference from acquiring a place in Liberal mythology as the beginning of the revival that led to the party's return to office in 1963. It also didn't prevent the Liberals from twice trying to repeat the formula: once at Harrison Hot Springs, B.C., in 1969 and the second time in Toronto in March 1977. But in both cases the circumstances were rather different from those that prevailed at Kingston.

The motivation behind the Harrison conference was fairly simple: to establish and show off the new regime of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. The delegates sat around and decided that the government couldn't abolish poverty. (Which should stand as an answer to those cynics who say that ideas propounded at thinkers' conferences never get implemented. The Harrison conference pronounced that poverty was not to be abolished, and then the government went right out and didn't abolish it.)

The origins and purposes of the Toronto conference, how-

ever, are rather more obscure. On the surface, it violated a cardinal political maxim: a ruling party, especially one that has been in office under the same leader for almost a decade, is not supposed to think out loud. It is supposed to have all the answers already. It's the guys on the other side of the House who have the questions. If one does ask questions, it must be in full understanding of the dialectical relationship between questions and answers for the practising politician. That is, the political process works only when the solutions are in place before the problems are posed. One should only ask questions to which answers are already at hand. To do otherwise is to issue an open invitation to political writers to wax wroth over a "crisis of leadership in these perilous/uncertain/challenging times."

Whether or not anybody was listening, the Liberals in Toronto projected non-solutions to the two problems they posed, which were euphemistically labelled "National Unity" and "Economic Perspectives". They also did their level best to ignore John Turner, a potential solution to a problem that by the grace of Dr. George Gallup they were able to avoid or at least postpone posing: their own leadership. The Liberals were in the vulnerable position of railing about the mess the country was in, in full awareness of the circumstance that it is they, and more particularly their current leader, who have presided over this mess — indeed, who have done much to create it. They cheered Horatius while just as cheerfully sawing at the bridge supports.

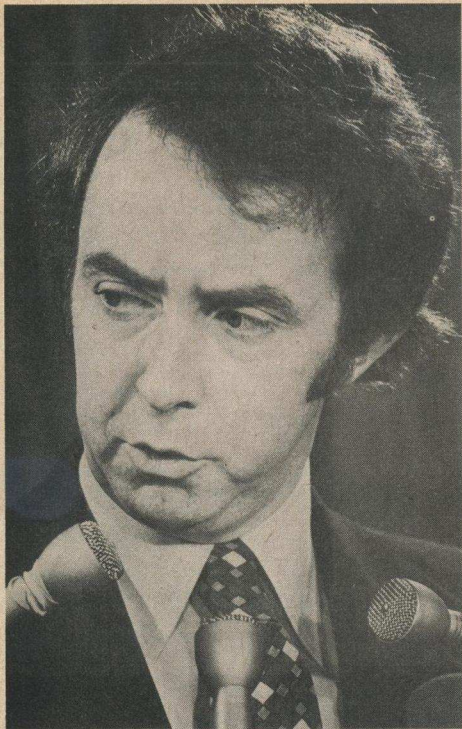
The Liberals run against themselves

The first session got off the mark with the organizers of the conference praising each other for the fine job they had done in organizing it (a theme that was repeated every time they got to the platform) but it wasn't long before the essential contradiction of the conference was laid out.

One side of this contradiction was expressed by Maurice Lamontagne, now a Senator and co-chairman of the conference. He advised the delegates that they should not concern themselves with immediate policy matters. They should not, for example, worry about the new budget which was due to be brought down the following week — as things were to turn out this was good advice. The delegates should rather twist their minds around longer-range problems; they should think about policy for the 1980s and beyond. The implicit assumption was that it would fall to a Liberal government to deal with these problems of the future. There was a certain *insouciance* at the conference regarding the existence of other political organizations in Canada. If Joe Clark's name was mentioned once, neither we nor Lamontagne were aware of it. Even René Lévesque did not appear to be the object of undue concern. The delegates comported themselves as if Canada was, to all intents and purposes, a one-party state.

The other side of the contradiction first came out in the opening panel discussion on "A United Canada: Views from the Regions," and developed into the central theme of the gathering. The message here was that the country was in terrible shape and it was all the fault of the government.

The Liberals, then, have been, are, and will continue to be the government. But the trials and tribulations, tensions and



If Joe Clark's name was mentioned once, no one heard it; even Rene Levesque didn't appear to cause much concern; the delegates behaved as if Canada was a one-party state

traumas of Canada today have been made worse by the policies and programs of this government. The contradiction can only be resolved, therefore, by the government's remaining in office but not advancing any policies or programs. As you can see, once this dialectical leap was made the delegates had thought themselves out of anything further to think about.

The idea is for the Liberals to seek re-election by running against their own interventionist policies of the last 15 years. If the Kingston conference unveiled a social policy based on the active involvement of government in the economy and society, the meeting in Toronto heralded the dismantling of that policy. Thus most observers have suggested that the Liberals have moved to the right — a shift that has taken place with such breathless speed that Jack Horner had to run to catch up.

Economic problems are to be blamed on government itself. Constitutional problems are to be handled in a spirit of benign neglect: the federal ship of state will merely drop anchor and wait for the oarsmen of the regional dinghies to get tired and clamber back on board. It is an ingenious notion but there is a major obstacle to its implementation.

Normally when a party runs against itself it acquires a new leader for the purpose — preferably one not too closely

identified with the old regime but in a pinch anyone will do (even Hubert Humphrey tried to disassociate himself from Lyndon Johnson in 1968). The Liberals, however, have to run against themselves with Mr. Trudeau at their head. If they can't jettison Mr. Trudeau they must ask him to abandon the policies that have been the dominant thrust of his leadership — and Mr. Trudeau seems more than willing to oblige. The Trudeau of 1978 will run against the Trudeau of 1968, 1972 and 1974. The land is not strong and, in Quebec, things are anything but *solide*.

Borrowing from Joe Clark's platform

When this policy conference was first conceived, the Liberal party and its leader was at a low point in the public's estimation. The polls told us that Pierre Trudeau was the most unpopular prime minister the country has ever had. Indeed, the Liberal low point in the polls equalled the previous nadir achieved by Lester Pearson in the wake of the



With the Liberals moving to the right, Jack Horner had to run fast to catch up

Diefenbaker landslide victory.

In early December, 1976, Geoffrey Stevens, Ottawa columnist of the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, described a meeting with some prominent Liberals who were considering a party-wide campaign to present to the spring conference a demand for a leadership convention. Stevens wrote of "a growing feeling among people in the federal political milieu that things can't go on much longer the way they are. . . . Either the Liberals find a Dalton Camp or there's an election."

In January, columnist Anthony Westell wrote the following scenario for the policy conference:

"But in the corridors, bars and hotel rooms, the Liberals will certainly be talking mainly about the subject that always fascinates politicians — prospects for the next election.

"If they are still trailing badly in the polls, the question of whether they could do better with a new leader will be discussed candidly and urgently. The Liberals will be watching the performance of cabinet ministers at the policy sessions to see if a potential new star is emerging, and canvassing the pros and cons of recalling John Turner to service.

"The collective wisdom to emerge from these informal contacts will quickly be reported to Trudeau, and he will of course be monitoring policy discussions to see to what extent the party is still in tune with his ideas.

"He will be interested in particular in the debates on national unity because it is there that any backlash against bi-

lingualism, any doubts that his concept of Confederation is still viable, will surface and indicate underlying discontents.

"Trudeau is said to feel that an English Canadian with support in the west might now have a better chance than he of holding the country together, but before handing over power, he would want to be assured his policies would be continued. He is not ready to retire in favor of a leader who would water-down bilingualism or concede to Quebec some form of special status."

Westell concluded with the notion that if the spring conference embarrassed Trudeau, the Man would announce his resignation over the summer and the October policy convention of the party could then be transformed into a leadership convention.

As we know, between winter and spring a reversal took place in the public opinion polls, so that the question of leadership per se did not arise. But the conference did repudiate Trudeau's policies and he was able to salvage something from the situation only because he disguised this rejection by appearing to join the attack.

One of us had seen this manoeuvre executed before. At a United Automobile Workers convention, with the master Walter Reuther in command, there was once an opposition group standing outside the hall with the intention of marching into the convention at least to disrupt it and at most to take it over. At first Reuther dismissed the group, but it got bigger and bigger. Finally there were enough protesters to force their way into the hall. Reuther saw the marchers as they entered, jumped from the platform, grabbed one of the protesters' placards and got to the head of the demonstration. Everyone then joined the demonstration and marched around the hall until Reuther reached the platform again, whereupon he gavelled the convention to order and to the ringing cheers of both protesters and delegates continued with the orderly conduct of the convention's business.

Unlike Reuther, however, Trudeau in going to the head of his enemy's column must also adopt their positions.

This shift is most glaring in the Prime Minister's developing response to Quebec. There is, in English Canada, an evident yearning for the tough, no-nonsense Trudeau of an earlier time: the one who stood up to bottle-throwing separatists in Montreal, not the one who wants to force French down the throats of Calgary schoolchildren. In the first few months after the Quebec election, Trudeau was willing to play that role only intermittently and, it sometimes seemed, almost despite himself: tough statements about Quebec's language policy or international role would be given front-page treatment in English-Canadian newspapers, while the moderating context would be ignored.

By the time of his western tour in mid-April, however, Trudeau was developing a certain feeling for the part. In Saskatoon, he warned westerners to have no truck or trade with the Parti Québécois. That same week, a slowdown in the government's bilingualism program was said to be in the works and the cabinet welcomed Jack Horner to its table.

At the conference, this new mood took several forms. One was the low profile kept by the Quebec delegates. Despite the elaborate simultaneous translation mechanism, interventions in French in the smaller workshops were few and generally outside the mainstream of the discussion. In a national unity workshop, an MP from Quebec City named Louis Duclous inveighed against inequalities in the federal civil service and the danger posed to French Quebec by immigrants joining the



John Munro seemed rather pleased with himself and the way he had tamed the CLC leadership; as proof he brought along outgoing Steelworkers' leader Bill Mahoney

English community with a passion that few Péquistes could have surpassed. He was listened to politely by the delegates, most of whom wanted to talk about Western Alienation.

The high visibility of delegates from the west, where the Liberal party is — even with Jack Horner in its corner — not thriving, is as curious as the key role played by Quebec Conservatives at the Tory leadership convention last year, and arises from similar circumstances. It is assumed that the Liberals don't have to worry about Quebec: Quebec has nowhere else to go. So both in the panel discussions and the workshops the message was that Liberal concentration on Quebec was out. No more of these (unspecified) concessions to Quebec at the expense of our own regional problems. Even though none of the delegates would admit to having heard of Joe Clark, they would have warmly received his standard

speech (had it been delivered by someone else), the one that decries the concentration of power in Ottawa and praises the maintenance of regional identities.

The result is that the gap between the Liberal response to Quebec and the Tory one has narrowed significantly. Both parties are offering a version of decentralization, a turning over of more powers to the provinces. As Trudeau himself has said more than once, this has little to do with the demands and aspirations of the Parti Québécois. At this point, however, it's hot stuff in English Canada.

While the panel discussions were rather polite, the going in the smaller workshops got a little heavier. For example, a proposal to dissolve the CBC and create five regional broadcasting systems was raised. This is not to suggest that anyone is responsible for proposals that arise from the floor, but it is

an indication of the un-Liberal mood of the conference. Every proposal, from hare-brained schemes of "turbo federalism" (which deserves no explanation here or anywhere else) to sombre proposals for a House of The Provinces (a permanent, institutionalized federal-provincial conference), was given credence by the delegates only to the extent that it implied a movement of power away from the federal authority.

If the discussion on national unity was largely borrowed from the thoughts of Joe Clark, the talk on economic matters owed more to Gerald Ford.

The universe unfolds — again

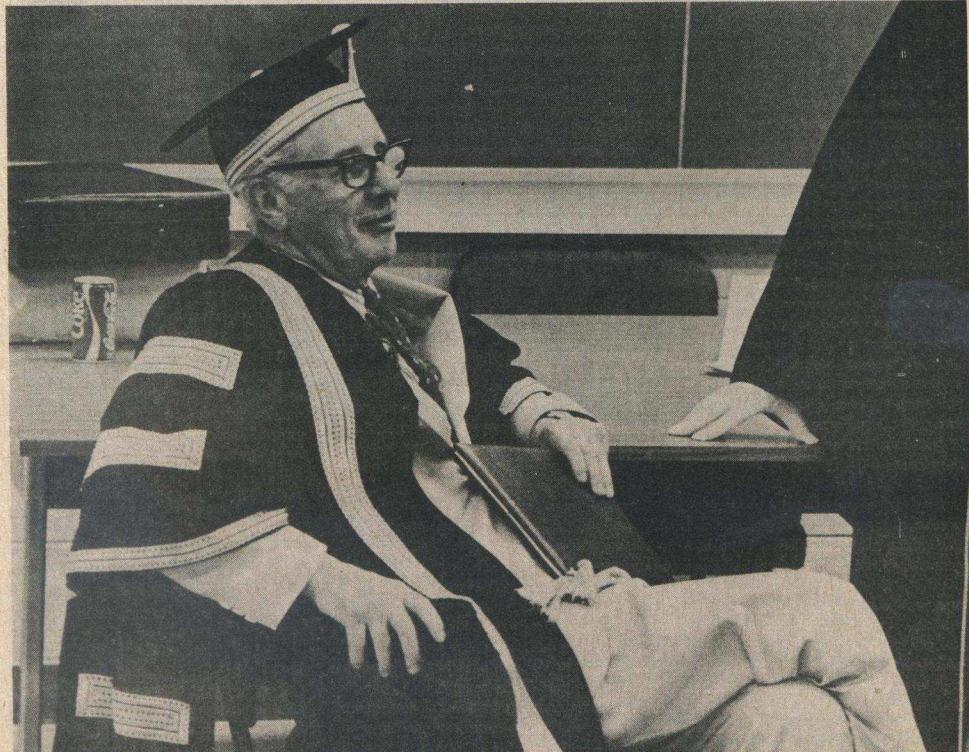
Alone among the cabinet ministers who dutifully put in an appearance at the conference, John Munro seemed rather pleased with himself and with the way the universe was unfolding. For it is John Munro who has tamed the fearsome leadership of the Canadian Labour Congress; as proof of his

persuasive powers, he brought with him to the conference William Mahoney, the outgoing Canadian director of the United Steelworkers and one of the more engaging eunuchs developed by the Canadian labour movement.

Mahoney also attended the Kingston conference and is therefore a certified thinker with seniority. At Kingston, he outraged some delegates by attacking Joey Smallwood for his harsh treatment of Newfoundland's striking loggers, but his speech was on the whole so conciliatory that some members of the Liberal high command thought it might be useful to suggest to him that building a new party out of the ashes of the old CCF would lead nowhere and that labour's true interests lay in supporting the Liberals. At the time, Mahoney demurred. His 1977 speech, however, was widely interpreted as a job application — a seat in the Senate being the position most often mentioned as being suited to his qualifications.

Mahoney redefined the CLC's concept of tripartitism down to the level of a beer commercial. That is, for a long time Pierre and Joe and Donald and Bill along with a clutch of corporation executives have been getting together to kick the economy around (whether or not they enjoy a Molson's is not recorded). The idea is that the real decision-makers in the cabinet and the board rooms and the political officers of the

photo: David Lloyd



The delegates gave Walter Gordon a standing ovation before he spoke, but were less enthusiastic afterwards

trade union movement should meet head on — and privately. Let the people who can make the deals do the dealing.

At the end of his speech, Mahoney received the only spontaneous standing ovation of the conference (Walter Gordon was given a standing ovation before he spoke but was greeted with far less enthusiasm when he finished). The ovation was, from a Liberal viewpoint, entirely justified. What better testimony to the efficacy of controls than an appeal for their replacement with a permanent system of controls based upon private discussion. As Jimmie Durante used to say, "everybody wants to get in on de act."

So Mahoney went over big in the panel discussion, but when the delegates met again in the smaller workshops the response was to reject even this approach to "labour co-operation". There would be no more deals with "big labour". Labour, organized labour at least, has no business in political activity and the involvement of labour in the process of government must be indirect.

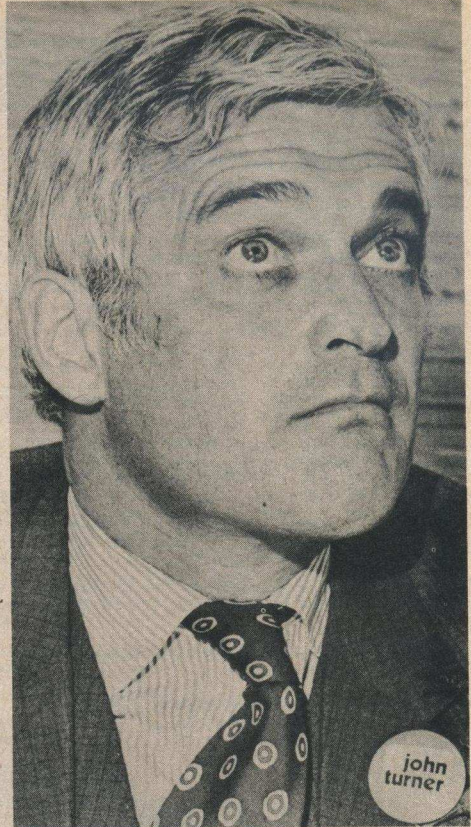
This does not in any sense imply official rejection of Mahoney's overtures. However, if the conference was designed to test the mood of the Liberal party, which apparently it was, the workshop discussions clearly indicated no mood to woo labour — even when its leaders came bearing gifts.

Another speaker who was enthusiastically received, although not quite so enthusiastically as Mahoney, was John Bulloch, the Toronto men's-wear entrepreneur who has become Canada's principal preacher of the gospel of small business. Bulloch's speech was the most coherent of the conference and probably the most progressive; he wanted to free Canada from excessive dependence on the international corporate system and in his emphasis on self-reliance he often sounded like a disciple of Julius Nyerere. It was totally at odds with most of the other things that were being said at the conference, but it was good crowd-pleasing stuff ("if every kid in Canada were wiped out the educational budget would still soar") and the delegates loved it.

But the delegates' ability to encompass contradictory points of view was most evident at a panel discussion on Canada's economic relations with the industrialized world. They heard and applauded both Walter Gordon and Toronto lawyer Bill Macdonald, whose presentations had nothing in common except that they were both highly critical of the government.

Gordon, who should know better by now, apparently still believes in the value of trying to persuade Liberals to adopt measures that would increase Canada's economic independence. He spoke of tough laws to ensure that subsidiaries of foreign companies behave in the national interest, even of nationalizing the oil companies. Macdonald, much of whose time has been spent in lobbying for corporate clients against some of the more useful measures introduced by the Liberal government (notably the tax reform proposals, in their original form, and the competition bill), wanted the government to subordinate all other considerations to the single goal of enticing corporations, both foreign and domestic, to invest their money in Canada. This meant a reduction in the public sector and a reversal of the unfortunate situation in which "we have stressed wealth redistribution at the expense of and in advance of new wealth creation."

While Macdonald's speech was in itself a rather straightforward exposition of big-business economic dogma, there were some delegates who saw it as part of a more devious pattern. The day before, Macdonald's law partner, John Turner, went to Vancouver and made a major speech, dis-



John Turner's triumphal entry was, in the event, not all that triumphal

tracting the attention of the news media (or so the more conspiracy-minded delegates were inclined to think) from the conference. Then the emissary, Macdonald, comes and criticizes the government in strong terms. Then the next day Turner himself makes his triumphal entry.

The only trouble with the scenario was that the entry was, in the event, not all that triumphal. Turner did some glad-handing (all the while professing that he wasn't running for anything) but the atmosphere was not without a certain nervousness. The reporters and television cameras seemed more interested in Turner than the delegates did.

Turner is, after all, only a private citizen and — even if the Ottawa rumour mill has been more than usually productive recently of stories involving the prime minister's imminent resignation — the leadership of the Liberal party is not at issue. The only thing that would be likely to change that in the near future is a defeat at the polls and to admit that that is a possibility at least in the cocoon of a gathering of Liberals in a Toronto airport hotel, is to think the unthinkable.

Read Last Post

- Vol. 1, No. 1:** Available only to libraries. **\$2.00**
- Vol. 1, No. 2:** Not available.
- Vol. 1, No. 3:** Available only to libraries. **\$2.00**
- Vol. 1, No. 4:** *Time* magazine and Canada; How the CPR treats the public; The Ottawa Press Gallery. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 1, No. 5: Special report on the Quebec crisis, 1970.** Also, the story of the Maritime fishermen's strike. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 1, No. 6:** Michel Chartrand and the Quebec labour movement; Phasing out the electrical industry; Women in the labour market; Sudbury's labour camps. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 1, No. 7:** David Lewis and the NDP; Destroying the NHL; Interview with the IRA chief of staff. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 1, No. 8:** Jumbo issue . . . **Renegade report on poverty** prepared by members of the Senate Committee on Poverty who resigned. Also, the Liberals' youth-spy program; War games in the Arctic. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 2, No. 1:** Canada's press and the Vietnam war; The Lapalme drivers' story; Special section on Canada's resources; Vancouver's war on 'hippies'. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 2, No. 2:** The story of Stompin' Tom Connors; Farmers, Ottawa and the food industry; Canada-U.S. relations; Aislin's best caricatures. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 2, No. 3:** The *La Presse* affair; Quebec labour mobilizes; The story behind the Auto Pact. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 2, No. 4:** Portrait of Joey Smallwood; Civil Service unions. **\$1.00**

- Vol. 2, No. 5:** Pierre Vallieres' story; The *Toronto Star's* deals; Canada's book publishing crisis. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 2, No. 6:** The May '72 labour revolt in Quebec; Jean Marchand's regional development program. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 2, No. 7:** The Claude Wagner phenomenon; Bennett's defeat in B.C.; The Waffle-NDP war; Claude Balloune's 1972 election portraits. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 2, No. 8:** Professional strike-busters; The NHL cosmetized; Invading the U.S. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 3, No. 1:** Special Report: The Parti Quebecois' independence scenario; The report everyone ignores. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 3, No. 2:** Canada and Brazil — Brascan Ltd. and the Liberals; Canada's energy crisis. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 3, No. 3:** The James Bay deals; The 'greening' of Toronto; Yvon Dupuis and the Creditistes; The Caribbean's dead season. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 3, No. 4:** ITT — the Catch-22 experts move in on Canada; The food prices scandal; B.C.'s Land Act battle. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 3, No. 5:** Pierre Laporte, the Mafia and the FLQ crisis; Cambodia; The multiculturalism boondoggle. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 3, No. 6: Special Section: The military putsch in Chile;** How the CPR still rules the West. **\$1.00**
- Vol. 3, No. 7:** The James Bay court battle; Our ambassador's secret cables from Chile; Sports and drugs; Aislin's caricatures '73. **\$1.00**



st back issues!

Vol. 3, No. 8: Bell Canada's multinational plans; The tar-sands rip-off; Ontario's 'Bland Bill' Davis. **\$1.00**

Vol. 4, No. 1: The James Bay labour revolt; The CLC's orderly transition; Oil promoter John Shaheen; The Crisis in Trinidad. **\$1.00**

Vol. 4, No. 2: Election '74 special report; The Hudson Institute in Canada; The housing mess; Jean-Luc Pepin; Invasion plots; How to survive an Annual Meeting. **\$1.00**

Vol. 4, No. 3: The Mountie's strange activities; The Bata empire; City reformers revisited; Rhodesia under attack. **\$1.00**

Vol. 4, No. 4: Canada's food industry moguls; Nova Scotia as the 'power cow'; Dr. 'Strangeoil' in the tar sands; Last Post comics. **\$1.00**

Vol. 4, No. 5: Not available.

Vol. 4, No. 6: The story of the Syncrude deal, with exclusive documents; The CIA in Canada — it's only business; Guyana's takeovers. **\$1.00**

Vol. 4, No. 7: Bourassa awash in scandals; Columbia River deal revisited; Trinidad's 'Carnival'; Death Squad cop in Canada. **\$1.00**

Vol. 4, No. 8: Quebec's meat scandal; Canada's banks in the Bahamas; The Liberals' budget; International Women's Year. **\$1.00**

Vol. 5, No. 1: The Weston conglomerate; National energy report; Undersea mining; Aislin's Belfast sketches. **\$0.75**

Vol. 5, No. 2: The B.C. Penitentiary cover-up; Land claims discovery; Loughheed's populism; Trudeau's controls. **\$0.75**

Vol. 5, No. 3: Politics of the 'New West'; Blakeney's resource takeover; Cuba, the end of isolation; Racism in B.C. **\$0.75**

Vol. 5, No. 4: The Montreal Olympics mess; Canada's housing czar; Nuclear power safety; Dave Barrett's defeat. **\$0.75**

Vol. 5, No. 5: The victory of Tory leader Joe Clark; The 'Judges' Affair'; The Bryce Commission's non-probe; Subliminal advertising; Causes of rape. **\$0.75**

Vol. 5, No. 6: Joe Morris and labour's big bid; Working isn't safe; Olympics security; Watergate — dirty tricks all round. **\$0.75**

Vol. 5, No. 7: The airline pilots' strike and the backlash against bilingualism; Quebec: the politics of confusion; The 'Joe and Pierre show'; The McCain family; Black consciousness. **\$0.75**

Vol. 5, No. 8: Joe . . . When? . . . Why? The Tories since the leadership convention; Reed Paper's record in northwestern Ontario; Otto Lang's wheat policy; the PQ's election win. **\$0.75**

Vol. 6, No. 1: Special Quebec issue: The P.Q. Cabinet; the P.Q.'s American policy; Understanding Quebec, a special review article; English-Canada's reaction; also, enlarged reviews section. **\$0.75**

Vol. 6, No. 2: Racism, the Canadian way; Trudeau and Levesque woo the U.S.; Canada's rearmament plans; the farmers' predicament. **\$0.75**

Reduced price for ordering all back issues (except Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2, 3, Vol. 4, No. 5) **\$25.00**

Bulk orders discount for 10 or more copies available on many back issues; please inquire in writing or by phone.

**Remember, if you order
all the 37 available back issues
there's a special price of \$25.**

ORDER FORM

I enclose:

\$ _____ for back issue numbers _____

\$25.00 for all available back issues (Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and Vol. 4, No. 5 are not available)

Send with cheque or money order to:

THE LAST POST
454 King St. West
Suite 302
Toronto, Ont. M5V 1L6

Name _____

Address _____

Postal Code _____

It's barely one-and-a-half years since the reborn Social Credit party led by Wacky's grey flannel son, Bill Bennett, pushed the 'Socialist Horde' of the New Democratic Party back outside the gates. Peter McNelly reports on what's happened since:

The political scoreboard in B.C.

by Peter McNelly

VICTORIA — Barely one-and-a-half years since its dramatic vault to power in December 1975, Premier Bill Bennett's Social Credit government is on the defensive.

Staggered by a rush of hip pocket scandals since Christmas, Bennett has been forced to appoint one Royal Commission, two judicial inquiries, three in-house attorney-general's department investigations and a good half dozen more minor probes of assorted descriptions.

Unemployment is up, the labour force is declining, and provincial revenues remain strained despite a series of hefty tax and rate hikes in 1976.

Public opinion polls show a significant drop in the government's popularity since last fall. Moreover, Bennett is running consistently behind his party, while NDP leader Dave Barrett continues to out-poll his. The next provincial election is not expected until at least 1979, but for all practical purposes the campaign already is underway.

Stung by the memory of 1972, the forest and mining com-

panies continue to sponsor a heavy dose of prime time television spots selling their particular brand of corporate citizenship. The NDP is fighting back with a series of province-wide newspaper ads talking about unemployment and asking for money to help "send them a message" in Victoria. When it comes, the next campaign will be a rocker.

The government is emerging from a difficult spring, and as the problems piled on his desk like so many unexpected bills, the premier seemed for a while to be losing his grip.

His minister of economic development, Don Phillips, a car dealer from the Peace River who represents the right wing, anti-union feelings within the party and who is reputed to have close ties to the John Birch-styled Canadian League of Rights, found himself up to his nose in a stock trading scandal. Two of his top aides, Arthur Weeks and Donald Cameron, lost their jobs last December when it was disclosed they had used inside knowledge of a government-backed natural gas pipeline project in Phillips' constituency to buy shares in



Premier BILL BENNETT: His one-and-a-half year old Socred government has been hurt by a series of hip pocket scandals

two firms involved in the deal.

Finally, Bennett had to appoint a judicial inquiry. No one has been able to tie Phillips to any wrongdoing, but his testimony before the inquiry in late March contradicted that of Weeks on many key points, so he is far from cleared at this time.

Then there was the complex and mysterious Christmas Eve out of court settlement with an Alberta construction company, M.E.L. Paving of Red Deer, which had been suing the provincially owned B.C. Railway for fraud. In a nutshell, M.E.L. alleged the BCR's preliminary surveying work on the northernmost extension of the BCR was so sketchy as to be actionable for recovery of additional construction costs.

The so-called Dease Lake extension of the BCR into northwestern B.C. began in the early 1970's as a pet project of former Socred Premier W. A. C. Bennett. He originally estimated the 400-mile plus line at \$68 million. Now, still more than 200 miles short of its goal, the line has eaten up



Economic Development Minister DON PHILLIPS: A representative of right-wing, anti-union feeling; two of his top aides lost their jobs in a stock trading scandal

more than \$200 million in public funds.

In April, the government halted construction on the line pending the outcome of a Royal Commission appointed by Bennett to study the BCR. With the help of a lazy Vancouver news media that failed even to staff the 41-day trial, Bennett was hoping to let the affair drop. Instead, the issue dominated the first months of the spring legislative session to such an extent that the Premier had no choice but to appoint some kind of inquiry.

Other problems weighed on the government. NDP house leader Bill King disclosed that one of Bennett's aides, Socred warhorse Dan Campbell, now head of an inter-governmental relations office, had forwarded a politically annotated list of civil servants in the environment department to minister Jim Nielsen.

Known affectionately here as "Da Fonz" because of a certain resemblance he has to Henry Winkler, Nielsen did not appear to have done anything with the list, which was pre-

pared by a low level public servant named Klaus Ohlemann who subsequently apologized publicly. Many of the political references on Ohlemann's "blacklist" turned out to be incorrect, and the story gradually petered out.

Incredibly, Bennett ordered an in-house investigation to find out how this information got into the opposition's hands.

Some of this has worked its way into B.C.'s mordant bumper sticker war. Recently, NDP supporters began to put stickers on the fenders that read "Inquiries, B.C.'s number one industry." These parody a similar sticker Socreds supporters bannered to protest the then NDP government's mineral royalties legislation a few years back. The Socred stickers said, "Mining, B.C.'s Number Two Industry."

But the major political and social problem remains unemployment. At the moment, it stands at 8.8 per cent with 106,000 British Columbians officially out of and looking for work. When the Socreds took office, 95,000 people were out of work.

More significantly, the province's labour force actually declined by 9,000 in February, the last time this has happened since 1946. It may be only coincidental that Alberta's labour force grew by 11,000 in February. The number of personal and small business bankruptcies doubled last year while the amount in personal savings accounts — a good sign of middle class caution — increased by more than \$1 billion during the last 12 months.

People are playing their cards close to their vests. The government's most recent budget contained no tax cuts to stimulate the economy and no short-term job creating programs. Also, the Socreds have been holding the line on community college funding; and there is a two-year waiting list for entry into many technical training courses as a result.

The recent budget did move to repeal the Succession Duty and Gift Tax Acts, a measure that will eliminate up to \$30 million — just a bit more than it costs to fund the Pharmacare program of free prescription drugs for seniors — from the treasury next year.

A recent analysis of succession duties in B.C. carried out by former director of the province's finance and economic research branch Bill Stow showed that 70 per cent of 1975's collections came from only 430 estates. But the Socreds had promised to remove these taxes, and Stow's arguments got lost in the rhetoric that the move would be good for investment.

Social Credit has been called a lot of names since coming to office, but the one its critics and supporters probably can agree on most is "bottom line government." Government supporters argue the Socreds are doing only what is necessary to keep provincial finances sound during the recession. Hence, the tax increases were necessary in 1976, especially since the NDP had "bankrupted" the province in a wild welfare spending spree.

On the other side, the government is accused of being heartless, unresponsive and guilty of actually hampering the hoped-for recovery by refusing to run a modest deficit. Opposition leader Barrett says the government has created a "tax-fed depression" that is most apparent in the Interior where unemployment regularly exceeds 20 per cent.

Academics like Dr. Leonard Laudadio, chairman of the economics department at the University of Victoria, have charged Socred fiscal policies could only have been enacted by a "bunch of economic medicine men."

Deficit financing is a capital crime here, and if Social Credit has any philosophy at all, it is balanced budgeting.



Environment Minister JIM NIELSEN: Known as 'Da Fonz', he received a politically annotated 'blacklist' of civil servants in his department

Last year's budget raised personal income taxes, jacked up the sales tax by 40 per cent, increased medicare premiums 50 per cent and followed decisions to double automobile insurance premiums and ferry rates.

This last move brought down the wrath of Social Credit supporters who run Vancouver Island's tourist industry. A recent first-time federal subsidy for the ferry service has given Bennett a politically clean way to back down and reduce fares in time for summer. Nevertheless, most government members now say privately they went too far attempting to discredit the NDP after the election.

Bennett gave every sign of being wholly unresponsive to public pressure until recently. Despite his carefully manicured press conferences and well timed national addresses in Toronto, Bennett has not held a single public meeting at home since he was elected. Up close, he is a remote man with nervous eyes whose awkward body gestures suggest someone who has never learned how to dance.

He is inevitably compared with his father, and the eastern press generally has found the differences to stand in the son's favour.

Bennett the younger, of course, knows how to use a knife and fork; but he doesn't have his father's populist fire. Where his old man used to boast he was "more conservative than the Conservatives, more liberal than the Liberals and more socialist than the Socialists," the son talks about making Crown corporations more "accountable" to the legislature.

Where the old man (as he is now called) could create a legend with a phrase — "nothing is freer than free, my friend" — the son does not go to news conferences without wearing makeup. Also, W. A. C. Bennett loved to argue with the legislative press gallery. Bill Bennett hates tough questioning.

The old man used to taunt the press's lack of initiative with quips like, "Is that all? Can't you think of anything else?" Bill Bennett gets so nervous under direct questioning he sometimes forgets what the question was all about.

But like his father, Bill Bennett hates to lose, demands absolute loyalty and has a long memory. His political lieutenant, Provincial Secretary Grace McCarthy, is a master organizer who almost single-handedly rebuilt the Secred constituency organizations after the party's defeat in 1972.

Privately, the NDP wishes she was on their side.

Social Credit's defeat of Dave Barrett in his home riding of Coquitlam was a triumph of organization over voter loyalty. Barrett had ignored his constituency. Particularly, he had failed to recognize that suburban Vancouver had changed from a small-town, rural society to a bedroom community servicing the downtown core.

Neither Barrett nor his constituency secretary Harvey Beech believe in nitty gritty organization the way most other NDPers do here; so the former premier paid the price. He was beaten by one George Kerster, a quiet and clever sometime automobile dealer and television announcer who spends most of his time taking care of constituency problems.

Barrett stormed back to the legislature last June winning in fine style a revenge byelection in the working class constituency of Vancouver East. The former premier marshalled more than 70 per cent of the vote with a tough campaign that urged voters to "fight back" against the government's tax increases.

But Barrett didn't have a go at Vancouver East until after he had skillfully manipulated his caucus to give him unanimous support as party leader. Once he had that, the possibilities of a serious leadership challenge at any subsequent NDP convention became remote. Most of Barrett's supporters still like him personally as well as they used to, but they no longer trust his intuitions as much. His opponents within the party, and there are many of them, have been muted until after the next election.

Barrett knows he must win the next election or his political career probably is finished. He will certainly be finished as provincial NDP leader if he loses.

Although the splits within the NDP over his leadership — his critics charge he is administratively incompetent — will never heal, they are not destructive enough to cause serious damage during an election.

Most party members recognize Barrett is still the best vote getter they've got; and Barrett himself shows no sign of having lost his enthusiasm. He has quietly been campaigning since last fall, spending most of his weekends on the road, speaking to public meetings in small Interior towns, keeping

in touch with people directly. It's the style he knows best.

With the caucus behind him, Barrett got down to the business of finding a seat. The most logical choice was the working-middle-class constituency of North Burnaby where his former Education Minister Eileen Dailly had just scraped back in.

Vancouver East, the second choice, Barrett's childhood stomping grounds, was faithfully represented by veteran former Attorney-General Alex Macdonald and Resources Minister Robert Williams, both of whom had been re-elected comfortably.

Dailly offered to resign immediately. Indecision in office had left her with a mediocre reputation, and her chances of serious responsibility in any future NDP government are remote.

Barrett almost accepted her offer but got cold feet when it counted. Still shell-shocked from his defeat, Barrett decided not to risk re-election on anything but an absolutely sure thing. That meant Vancouver East, a CCF-NDP seat in every provincial election since 1933.

After much posturing and bluff calling in caucus, details of which are conflicting, Williams stepped down; but not until

photo: Kini McDonald

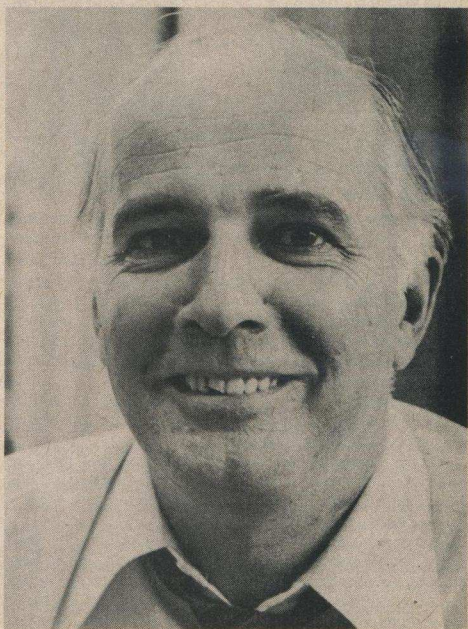
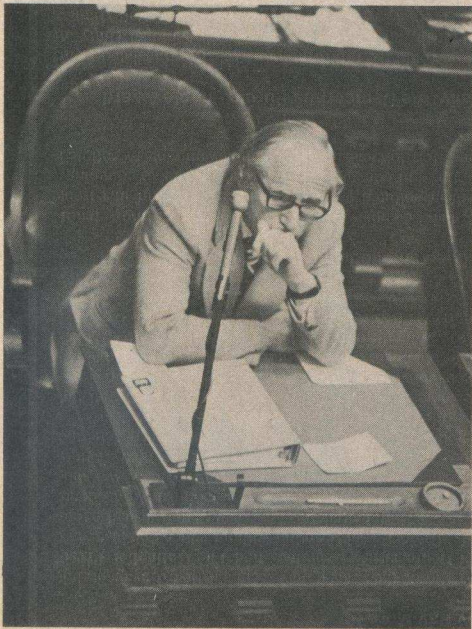


GRACE MCCARTHY, the Secred's provincial secretary: A master organizer — privately, the NDP wishes she was on their side

photo: John Bentley



photo: John Bentley



The Opposition

DAVE BARRETT is back in the house as Opposition Leader, but leaves much of the legislative work to house leader BILL KING (photo at left) leaving Barrett free to get out and chase votes. Barrett won re-election in Vancouver East after ROBERT WILLIAMS (photo bottom right) stepped down. At that time, Williams got a deal that was leaked in such a way that most people thought Barrett had had to buy the seat. Williams is currently in a backroom struggle to displace ALEX MACDONALD (photo bottom left) as the other MLA representing Vancouver East.

he had worked out a deal with the party to pay him \$80,000 over four years as a "research assistant" to the caucus.

With typical bad timing — some say the news was leaked deliberately by anti-Williams forces within the party — the NDP saw this part of the story break during its 1976 convention. To this day most people think Williams forced Barrett to "buy" his seat. Williams' stature within the party is falling, even though he once was considered potential leadership material. Currently, he is engaged in a vicious backroom struggle to wrest the next nomination from Macdonald, a witty but essentially lazy man in his early sixties who ought to have the good sense to retire to his waterfront home on the university cliffs of Vancouver Point Grey.

Despite these embarrassments, the NDP will continue to use Williams for years. He's the most original thinker in the party, a man of action who once told Macdonald he'd had enough of the "can't do" lawyers in the attorney-general's department.

"I want lawyers who can tell me how to do what I want to get done," Williams said.

Williams was responsible for the best economic planning done by the former government. His plans for integrated forest, mining and railway developments in the north formed the basis of policy which no future government will ever be able to abandon wholly. Also, he was working toward plans for economic decentralization along lines that would have turned the province's half dozen major forest companies into, effectively, quasi public utilities supporting a stewpot of smaller economic units under public ownership. But all that has to wait.

Barrett has kept a low profile since returning to the legislature, having delegated the house leader's job to former labour minister Bill King, a self-educated railwayman from Revelstoke in southeastern B.C., whose stentorian ways have earned him the nickname, "the senator." A tough and intelligent debater, King has taken the caucus under his wing and set a more disciplined style in the House, one more suited to the grey flannel Socreds. This, of course, has freed Barrett to spend time speaking up-country.

And what of the other, so-called minority parties, the provincial Liberals and Conservatives? They are, for all practical purposes, dead. British Columbia has become a two party state.

The latest opinion survey conducted by University of Victoria sociologist Dr. Dan Koenig showed only 8.5 per cent support for the Tories and 7.1 per cent for the Liberals provincially. Each party has only one seat in the 55-member legislative assembly.

The Liberals are led by the young, intelligent, Harvard educated, well-dressed, polite and economically conservative Gordon Gibson, who represents a largely upper middle class constituency in North Vancouver. A former aide to Prime Minister Trudeau, Gibson may well wish he was back in Ottawa as he confronts a ravaged and nearly bankrupt provincial party whose key members have no serious interest in breaking up the coalition of free enterprise voters that put the Socreds back in office.

At the moment, the Liberals are conducting a save-us-from-the-political-poorhouse fund raising drive that asks people to donate to the "Gordon Gibson leadership fund." It's hard, says Liberal literature, to attract good candidates to a party that's broke. Hard indeed.

The Conservatives are ably, if dully led, by a physician, Dr. G. Scott Wallace, who comes from the Victoria area's

richest constituency, Oak Bay, a place known to Victorians as the "tweed curtain."

This is a reference to Oak Bay's traditional British character, a quality which probably existed more in the tourist brochures than anywhere else. Over the years, Oak Bay has become the residential haven of middle and upper level civil servants of the old school whose wives thought elegance was something you could buy if you had enough money.

A former Socred, Wallace bolted the old party in 1970, flirted with the idea of establishing a Paul Hellyer style "Action B.C." party for a while, and finally drifted back to his philosophical home with the conservatives.

But they didn't help him very much when the deal went down in 1975. Several constituency associations refused to nominate candidates provincially for fear of siphoning Socred votes, and Wallace was left bitter, alone and disillusioned. He is not expected to seek re-election.

The Forlorn Hopes

photo: John Bentley



Conservative leader G. SCOTT WALLACE

photo: John Bentley



Liberal leader GORDON GIBSON

One of his former colleagues, Hugh Curtis, jumped to the *Secreds* before the election and is now minister of municipal affairs. Competent but colourless, Curtis has learned to blush only slightly when Wallace attacks him in the House as a "turncoat."

With Curtis on the cabinet benches are several other political claim jumpers. Among them are three of Gibson's former seatmates: Attorney-General Garde Radow, Labour Minister Allan Williams and Education Minister Pat McGeer.

The infamous Human Resources Minister, Bill Vander Zalm (the one who said he wouldn't mind Quebec separating because then British Columbians would have to read French on cereal boxes any more) is also a former Liberal as is Energy and Transport Minister Jack Davis, who got bounced out of federal politics in the 1974 general election.

Of these, Allan Williams has emerged as the strongest minister. That's a good thing for Bennett, because 65 per

cent of the province's trade union contracts expire this year, including all the major ones in the forest and construction industries.

Bennett is concerned that recent federal talk about ending the anti-inflation controls program a year earlier will spark B.C.'s militant unions to seek a new round of increases which he thinks might provoke a series of crippling strikes and delay the recovery even longer. As a result, Bennett has unwisely urged employers not to sign one-year agreements but to shoot for two and three-year contracts if possible.

These words were not lost on the B.C. Federation of Labour, which quickly shot back a statement telling the premier to keep his nose out of the collective bargaining process. Throughout this flap, Williams kept his mouth shut.

The government spent most of 1976 trying to make the NDP look as bad as possible. It went so far as to print two versions of its budget speech. The domestic version carried a tough-talking tirade against western socialism, but the export edition had the expletives deleted.

A high-powered team of auditors came in to examine the government's books, and they forecast the NDP had racked up a \$545 million deficit in its last year. One year later, the accounts show this deficit to be only \$260 million, including a \$181 million "loan" to the insurance corporation that was paid back a day later. This was a bookkeeping device that allowed the *Secreds* to charge all of the corporation's accumulated deficits to the last fiscal year under the NDP.

At the moment, ICBC has a \$50 million operating surplus and liquid reserves of \$425 million. Drivers with good records enjoyed a 17 per cent insurance premium cut this spring, and more cuts will be announced as the next election gets closer.

W.A.C. Bennett believed the voters responded best to chequebook politics, a strategy his son appears to like, too. It's clear that a strictly negative approach — blaming everything on the NDP — isn't working.

Raw data in Koenig's poll shows the NDP leading Social Credit 34 per cent to 30 per cent, but he uses an adjustment formula based on past voting results to pro-rate the "actual" *Secred* strength.

On an adjusted basis, the *Secreds* lead the NDP by eight percentage points in Koenig's poll. Last October they held a 16 point lead.

Apart from the ferry and insurance rate cuts, Bennett is counter-attacking in several ways, some of them quite subtle. He caught the NDP indecisive and divided on a controversial bill to provide operating funds to private schools.

Recently, Vander Zalm announced a \$100 million "surplus" in the welfare department, a statement that needs no elaboration in B.C., where the former government's \$100 million welfare "overrun" became synonymous with its image of financial irresponsibility.

But the government's new accounting is calculated more for headline writers than accountants. Most of Vander Zalm's savings came by short funding day care programs, home nursing care operations, supplementary welfare benefits and cost of living pension increases for the elderly and handicapped. The cynicism is breathtaking in its simplicity.

It is a mark of Bennett's political skill that he has recognized his problems early enough in his term to have enough remaining time to attempt to solve them. Even though it has been shaken, his government is still strong.

Too many people, Dave Barrett among them, have underestimated Bill Bennett before.

EXPLETIVE DELETED

Premier Bill Bennett's government printed two versions of its budget speech, one for domestic consumption and one for the outside world. The following tirade against socialism was omitted from the export version:

"As I look at the last sad remnants of the former government sitting across from me, I believe that when people read this tragic story of how their money went down the drain, they will never again return that party to power.

"Mr. Speaker, the parties that expound this irresponsible use of public funds are on the skids everywhere in the world. The people have thrown the socialists out in Australia. They have been thrown out in New Zealand. They are hanging on the ropes in Britain and their leader has quit. And they have been thrown out here. And now, the chief architect of this financial disaster in British Columbia is trying to slide back in. How can the former premier and finance minister of this province have the gall to ask people anywhere to vote for him after the way he has blown their money on one of the fanciest spending sprees this country has ever seen?

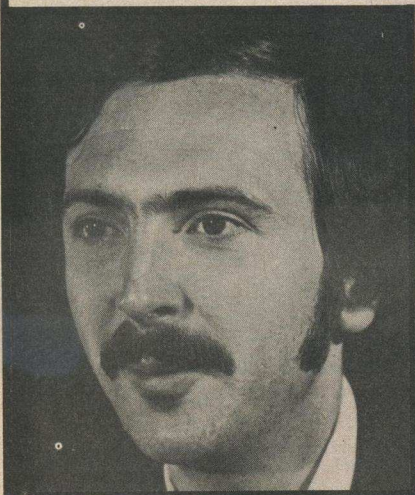
"I would remind the House of what that former premier said a year ago when he presented what turned out to be a demolition budget.

"'We are not here to play games in the old style,' he said. 'We're here to serve the people and we're doing it very well.' Do the honorable members call what he did serving the people?

"He served them alright — a serving of bitter, bitter medicine that we're all choking on today.

"We have met our responsibilities in government. We have not shirked from our duty. We have met the needs of people by starting to rebuild their shattered economy. And, I repeat, once that rebuilding is accomplished, never again must it be handed over to such a wrecking crew."

Rear View



Quebec Energy Minister Guy Joron:
How small? How beautiful? — page 39

- Penner on the October Crisis — p.35
- Tom Reid on Grassy Narrows — p.37
- Henley on the 'small' fad — p. 39
- Cadaver! a new musical — p. 43
- Democritus on science — p. 44
- Holmes on the Berger Report — p. 46

Whose October Crisis was it?

by NORMAN PENNER

The Assassination of Pierre Laporte, by Pierre Vallières, James Lorimer & Company/Toronto. 192 pp. \$15 cloth; \$6.95 paper.

The October Crisis of 1970 still haunts the conscience of Canada. The kidnappings, the daily communiqués from so-called FLQ "cells", the brutal murder of Laporte, the dramatic parade of cars and motorcycle police escorts accompanying James Cross and his kidnappers to their rendezvous, the imposition of the War Measures Act, and the arrest and detention of nearly 500 innocent people — still remain vivid in our memories. It is as though some kind of gigantic live drama were being enacted in front of our eyes, and we were helpless to do anything. Yet that is the very nature of political terrorism. While ostensibly directed at the enemies of the cause which is being advanced by the terrorists, individual acts of violence alienate the people who might otherwise support some or all of their aims, immobilize the mass

movement, and turn would-be participants into spectators.

Now Pierre Vallières has written a book, published simultaneously in French and English, which raises disturbing questions about the nature of those events, and particularly about the case of Pierre Laporte. Although the questions he raises cannot be answered as he himself says without a full enquiry, and the production of documents which are in the government's possession, Vallières himself comes to very definite conclusions, summed up in one cryptic sentence at the end of the book:

The October crisis was not an accident of history, but the premeditated execution of a plan whose central purpose was to wreck the hopes of the Québécois for a future as a self-governing people. (p. 173)

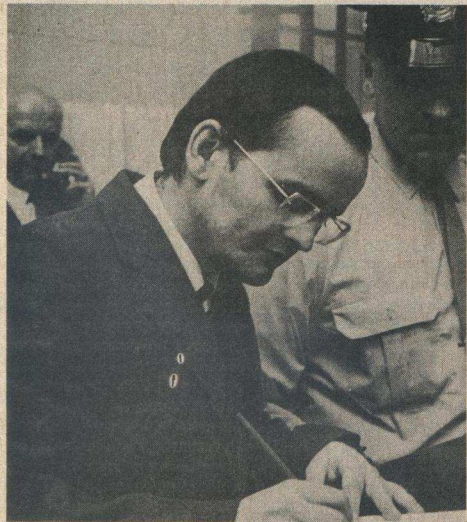
But Vallières fails in his book to establish this thesis for to do so would require some more convincing evidence that the kidnappings were not the work of the FLQ or related terrorists but in fact the work of agent-provocateurs employed in the service of the state authorities. What he does show with

credibility is that the two governments involved used the kidnappings to impose the War Measures Act directed not at the terrorists but at the PQ and its supporters, and that once having decided on this course, they did not consider saving Pierre Laporte's life to be a high priority. It may well be true that the governments concerned were not unhappy about the sequence of events because it provided them with a chance to discredit and undermine the PQ. But this is quite different from concluding that the whole episode was stage-managed from the beginning by them.

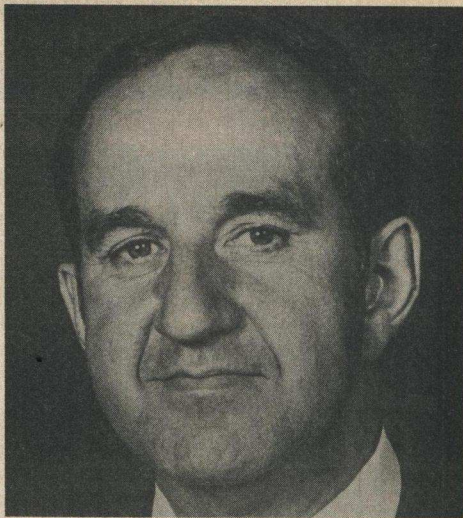
One thing that Vallières overlooks in his entire discussion is that political violence was a tendency in a section of the revolutionary left during the sixties, that its efficacy or otherwise was hotly debated in socialist periodicals, and was rejected by all but a tiny group who continued to believe that the tactics to pursue in the Québec situation were those of guerilla warfare and armed struggle. One of the editors of *Parti Pris* expressed the majority view when he wrote in the issue of August-September of 1965:

Certain FLQ sympathizers believe that armed action at the present time, can create a revolutionary climate, accelerate the historical process, and obtain unofficial support from foreign countries. Such armed action taken with these aims in mind, is, in my opinion, not viable, and is even dangerous as it leads to the useless imprisonment of activists, who can be much more effective out of prison. . . . It would be better not to count on these types that need for their work to hear the noise of bombs. They act not out of a sense of reality, but out of a psychological impulse which renders their "militantism", very transitory. (*Parti Pris*, Vol. 3, No. 1-2, août-septembre 1965, p. 81)

Because Pierre Vallières was a participant in this debate, it would have been interesting and appropriate for him to analyse the October events also from this point of view, to exam-



Author Pierre Vallières in a 1970 photograph



Pierre Laporte: questions about his assassination remain unanswered

ine how or if they confirmed the view of those who rejected the use of such methods in the fight for social change. This is particularly necessary because Vallières himself has moved quite a distance from the revolutionary left altogether, not just from its extremist wing. He now advocates uncritical support for the PQ. He lists the main challenges in the coming period to be these:

Will the Québécois give their new government the strong support it will need during the next few years? Or will they succumb to fear and division, once more crippling the most progressive elements in Québec society and leaving the majority wallowing in confusion? (p. 170)

In socialist terms this clearly means putting the national question ahead of class interests, for presumably if the PQ makes a patriotic appeal to the working class to forego immediate social reforms, promised or demanded, Vallières would urge acceptance of that proposition. This is precisely where he parts company with most of his erstwhile colleagues who, while they support the general slogan of independence for Québec, are not willing to give the PQ this kind of blanket and unconditional support.

In the meantime, the book is another very useful contribution to the study of the October 1970 events. It raises some new questions as well as reviving some old ones. These are particularly vital in view of the current crisis facing the country and the recent resurrection by Trudeau of the concept, this time explicitly stated, that the PQ is the "enemy within". Such an approach as Trudeau takes could result in a repetition on a far larger scale of the War Measures Act, and the sending of troops into Québec. But even short of that, it tends to cut off any attempt in English Canada to enter into a reasonable discussion with Quebecers over the future of Canada, including and especially with the PQ.

The mercury-poisoning scandal

by THOMAS E. REID

Grassy Narrows, by George Hutchison and Dick Wallace. Van Nostrand Reinhold, \$8.95.

No Safe Place, by Warner Troyer. Clarke Irwin, \$13.95.

No 'limited' company can be judged as a person can be judged, by his fellow men. No 'limited' company has any moral or ethical responsibility to society. No 'limited' company can be said to have, or to lack, compassion, decency, a sense of fair play, or respect for tradition, not even its own. Strictly speaking the only duty of a 'limited' company is to its charter.

A company can no more be punished for running down our environment than a truck can be punished for running down a child in the streets. When you get right down to it, a corporation should not even be expected to obey the laws of the land if the company is able to interpret the law in such a way as to justify its own ends, or if the penalties for flouting the law are tolerable, which they generally are.

That, if you want realism, is the way it is, and the implications are horrifying; the results predictable.

Look for example at what has happened in Northwest Ontario. Reed Paper has poisoned with deadly mercury, for now and for a hundred years into the future, a river system vital to the survival of the Indians living downstream on the Grassy Narrows and White Dog Reserves.

Grassy Narrows by George Hutchison, illustrated dramatically with David Wallace photographs, and one of two books recently published on the subject of mercury poisoning, is a sentimental study of the natives, their hideous plight, and their utter helplessness. The other is *No Safe Place* by Warner Troyer, a shocking exposé of the cruelty, intransigence, and apathy of Reed Paper management, government employees, and federal and provincial politicians.

In *Grassy Narrows*, Hutchison quotes Reed Paper president Robert Billingsley as saying, "This company has a strong commitment to environmental protection..." but there is plenty of evidence that is inconsistent with that calming assurance. In *No Safe Place*, Warner Troyer carefully documents the company management's complete disrespect for the environment and their callous disregard for the health of their own employees and of the luckless natives who live in the toxic environment created by Reed Paper.

No cynic will be surprised, but the majority of people in Ontario will be caught with their opinions down. They will want to assign the guilt somewhere, but in this case it is hard to get the drop on a single villain. After having read both books I've come to the conclusion that there are on all sides guilty parties and innocent victims.

The company, as I've pointed out, is beyond the stings of criticism, and its president, Billingsley, is merely doing his job, protecting the interests of the company with every last loyal fibre in his body.

Let's face it, no conscientious corporate manager would dare do more than an occasional public statement, many would have been satisfied to do less. Billingsley, at least,

submitted himself to interviews, even if they were platitudinous and self-serving. For most people that is all that is required. Certainly the shareholders don't give a damn, and he knows it.

Billingsley is stuck with (Reed Paper claims) a marginal operation at Dryden. They didn't need the aggravation and additional cost of cleaning up the process. How in hell would that contribute to the operating profit? End of discussion.

But outside the gate, beyond Billingsley's jurisdiction, there is plenty to discuss. In 1962, the year it was discovered that Minamata Disease was caused by mercury-laden waste water, Dryden Chemicals (Reed Paper), according to Troyer, began discharging 10 to 20 pounds of mercury a day into the Wabigoon River. At about the same time, the Japanese were discovering that mercury-poisoning blinds, cripples, and kills its victims.

By 1970 the world was alert to the dangers of mercury-poisoning, and George Kerr, Ontario minister of energy and resource management, ordered Dryden Chemicals to stop "discharging mercury into the environment under any circumstances." In a half-hearted and inefficient way, they did what Kerr demanded. According to Reed's own figures though, as cited by Troyer, there was a further "loss" of at least a ton of mercury between 1971 and 1974. ("Losses" are not illegal, even if they are lethal.)

The Caribbean Connection

ROBERT CHODOS

Manley of Jamaica, Burnam of Guyana, Williams of Trinidad. Sugar, bauxite, tourism, tax havens, gambling and reggae. The rich diversity of the Caribbean, its complex relations with imperial powers and transnational corporations, and its growing links with Canada are described skillfully and engagingly in *The Caribbean Connection*.

The *Last Post's* Robert Chodos combines a convincing background of political and social history with a survey of contemporary developments in the region. He illuminates the Canadian role in a host of activities including banking, insurance, aluminum, missionary work, aid programs, and immigration.

The most informed tour available, and at economy rates. \$7.95 paper, \$13.00 cloth.

James Lorimer & Company, Publishers

Today the fish in the river system are full of mercury, and if you were to eat average portions of the fish daily for two weeks your health would be in extreme danger. There is no cure for mercury poisoning.

Whether or not there are cases of Minamata Disease among the Indians no one knows for certain. There have been government surveys and tests, but the results have not always been readily available, and for reasons that only federal and provincial bureaucrats can explain and justify, all the tests necessary to confirm Minamata Disease have not been undertaken.

Why not, you ask? Well for one thing, it would only be in the best interests of the Indians to carry out proper tests. The company at this point must object to such diligence. Certain results might lead to legal actions and demands for compensation. Reed Paper is not in business to reimburse people for ill-health, whether or not the company's activities caused the problem.

No government is anxious to uncover trouble either. Political administrators have limited resources and the problem of dying Indians hidden away on remote reserves is clearly not as urgent as the maintenance of stable employment opportunities that Reed Paper offers to 1500 white folk in Dryden. But don't be too quick to blame the politicians. They are doing nothing that you and I wouldn't likely do in similar circumstances. A politician's responsibility is to his constituents, and time and time again the politicians have discovered that their constituents are a motley, self-centred and intolerant crew. If the politicians could do more and still retain the goodwill of their supporters they undoubtedly would.

As for the bureaucrats, their politics are even more intense.

A cabinet minister can occasionally ire the prime minister without rebuke, just as long as the minister delivers his riding in each election. A bureaucrat has no such leverage. He must never displease his masters by recommending unnecessarily some action that might upset a large segment of the electorate. Better to ignore the whole thing and take Friday off.

As for Indian politicians and activists, well they haven't had much good fortune in dealing with the white man. There are too few of them to be a threat at the polls, and they speak from ghettos that are not exactly seats of wealth or influence. They can talk at us of course, but the self-satisfied among us can absorb without injury any amount of poor-mouth talk. The Indians could fight too, but not for long on their diet. So they seethe.

That is not to say that there is nothing that can be done. Men like the benevolent George Hutchison, a skilled writer-reporter from *London Free Press*, and Warner Troyer, a top broadcast journalist, have written books. Hutchison directed his appeal to the heart, Troyer to our sense of justice. And there are many others who have picked up the fight in their own way.

Occasionally a politician will come forward and register his or her outrage, but you will never be certain whether or not the gesture was made out of humanitarian or political sentiments.

The answer of course lies in numbers of people. Voters could make things happen, but then so could a children's crusade. But for now nothing is happening. We sit. All of us are victims of an immature civilization and a selfish society. You can expect that effective action will not be taken in our lifetimes.

Here's a couple of things that can be done, starting with

photo: David Lloyd



Treaty Nine chief Andrew Rickard attacking Reed Paper expansion plans in northwest Ontario

the source of the poison.

No company should be able to escape moral responsibility. If governments can impose morality on individuals, as they do with legislation on pornography, they can legislate corporate morality. And when public companies do get caught violating the law let them pay a realistic penalty, which only starts to be meaningful when it can be measured in currency units against earnings per share. For example, \$100,000 might be very painful to an individual, but to many corporations it can represent less than one cent on each outstanding share, which is, as corporations score it, no penalty whatsoever. Hit them with "a nickel a share" and they will soon find the path of righteousness.

We must have freedom of information laws in Canada. Our best interests are not being served by our government if a bureaucrat like Dr. Peter Connop can use our tax dollars to hire a specialist to do a survey for mercury-poisoning among the residents of White Dog and Grassy Narrows, and then

hide the findings from the public as well as from those tested. Had it not been for Warner Troyer we might never have learned that of 74 individuals tested, 45 were found to have tunnel vision, a classic symptom of Minamata Disease.

If there are any complaints about *Grassy Narrows* and *No Safe Place* as books, they would be that *Grassy Narrows* has given the Indians a poetic nobility that only mythical creatures deserve, and that while Warner Troyer loads his musket with any and every rusty nail he can lay his hands on, which is fair when you consider the prodigiousness of the target, he does not always keep his powder dry. By that I mean some of his inferences and conclusions as presented in the book are not carefully qualified, leading one to assume that they might be illogically or unjustly arrived at.

In any case you should make room in your library for both of these books. They can serve as a grim reminder that few of our governors or managers are perfect.

Fascism with a human face?

by KEVIN HENLEY

Salaire minimum annuel \$1 million ou la course a la folie, by Guy Joron. Editions Quinze. 150 pp.

The current minister of energy in "La Belle Province" is Mr. Guy Joron, "the only Québécois politician who comes from the milieu of High Finance." Like his counter-part in the United States, Mr. James Schlesinger (author of the limited-nuclear-war strategy), Mr. Joron believes in conservation of energy, and the development of non-polluting technologies such as solar and wind energy. The basic philosophy of this gentleman is exposed in a recent book, *Salaire minimum annuel \$1 million ou la course à la folie*.

The book rides a wave of environmentalist, conservationist, apocalyptic literature, daily fare in every bourgeois media, and the special subject of \$200,000 studies done by the likes of "the Gamma group" at McGill and Montréal Universities, commissioned this time by the federal ministry of supply and services. Also deeply implicated in this propagation are the federal energy, science (see Science Council of Canada reports, especially Report 19) and environment ministries (see "Environmentally Appropriate Technology"), not to speak of numerous provincial organs, private banks and oil companies. Correspondingly, in the United States, Ralph Nader has the highest profile ever erected in American communications.

The fundamental thesis of this literature never varies; Guy Joron's "Introduction" gives as good a summary as any. "The industrial economy is sick with cancer. It proliferates too rapidly and develops itself in every direction without regard to the physical limits of our planet nor to the psychological limits of mankind. It grows for the sake of growing only. We no longer know what human objectives all that is supposed to serve. . . ." (p.7) [All translations are by the reviewer.] The Introduction goes on to blame the over-industrialized economy for an excess of garbage, ecological disequilibrium, the disappearance of the fundamental values of civilization, bizarre morals, individualism, lack of interest in politics, excess criminality, social conflict and general alienation! In the ensuing chapters, Joron adds unemployment, inflation, the degradation of spoken French in Québec, lack of manners, identity neurosis, political corruption, bureaucratism, le Complexe Desjardins (which blocks the view of the St. Lawrence River to the patrons of la Place des Arts), terrorism and the Reverend Moon. . . . Unfortunately, as anyone familiar with recent Montreal newspapers can attest, this is by no means a complete list of the agglomeration of diseases attributed by Club of Rome types to capitalist production.

Everyone, of course, is to blame. Unions, governments, corporations, consumers, pressure groups and leftists. Only finance-capitalists are given a curi-

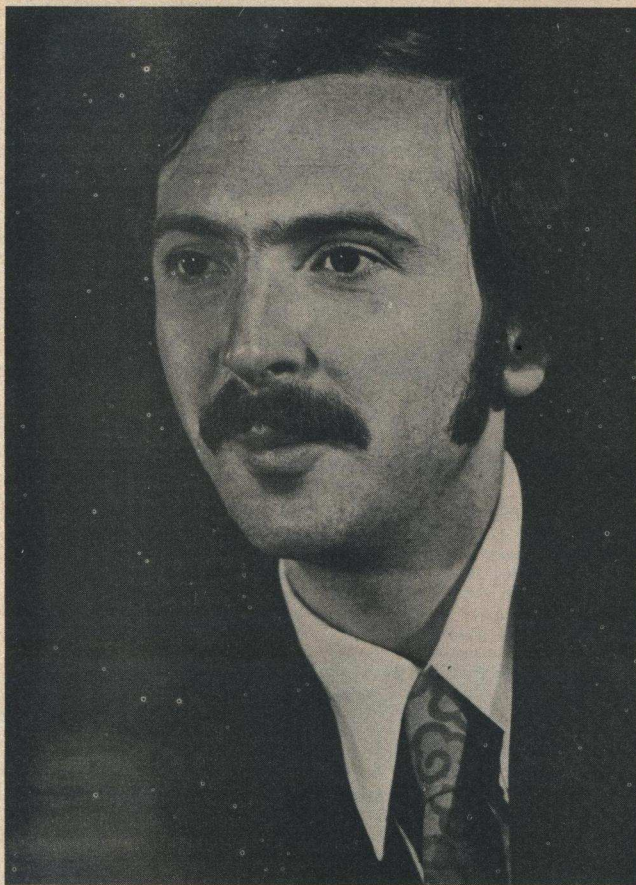
ous reprieve; the main problem is the ordinary man-in-the-street. You and I, with our lust for material wealth and expensive automobiles. Guy Joron himself is depicted on the back cover of the book in living colour, sitting on an expensive automobile, in front of a Summit Circle mansion, shoes off, flowers near by, smiling, the Natural Man at Home in his Environment. Meanwhile, Joe Blow (or Pierre Tremblay) had better curb his "Rising Expectations", or Civilization Itself it at an End. Guy Joron has already made his minimum annual salary of \$1 million, so to hell with the rest of you.

Since the working class never reads serious literature, the book is evidently aimed at the petty-bourgeois intellectual, grey-haired nun, civil servant or school-teacher, ready to follow the PQ government into an independent, flower-strewn, little-man's paradise. Provided that the power of Big Unions and Big Corporations is broken first. . . . Onward Christian soldiers! Long live Humility! Small is Beautiful! Science is Death! Ignorance is Bliss!

A few of the more fundamental truths of our universe have been forgotten in this pretty little scenario.

First of all, the physical limits of our planet have no necessary connection with industrial growth. *Scientific American* (September 1976) points out that with existing technology our planet can feed 50 billion people.

Secondly, by 1982 the USSR will have produced the first operating fusion-



Quebec Energy Minister Guy Joron: he's already made his minimum annual salary of \$1 million

power generator; no need to wait until 1999 as Joron suggests for solar technology to give us cheap, non-polluting fantastically-abundant fuel.

Third, several engineers in the U.S. have already described a "fusion torch" which will extract elements from rocks and garbage, making mining unnecessary and recycling practical.

Lastly, who said we have to stay on this particular planet? The problems are real, but so are the solutions; Joron and his financier friends are simply using ecology to solve their monetary crisis, by eliminating the capitalist opposition. While the Liberals were in power, Joron supported fission as an alternative to

James Bay inflation — nowadays, instituting austerity to pay off David Rockefeller seems more "realistic". Why not spend several million to control fission wastes, instead of several billion to buoy up the garbage-heap called Rockefeller Centre? "Ecology", like "independence", is simply a slogan used by the PQ to get power and to keep it; they do not have any intention of coming through on either promise.

As for Joron's "psychological limits of mankind", it is yet another catchphrase to camouflage the real source of social problems. Because international finance-capital funds the Club of Rome, and decides that "humanity" has no

future in industrial growth, is no reason for You and I to go along with the gag. Instead, we have simply landed in another classical "over-production crisis" — capitalism has super-inflated its property-titles vis-a-vis real wealth. Hence the apparent necessity to "devolve" into a pre-industrial economy, thus accumulating the funds necessary to pay off current debts to inflated market-prices. Hence, wage controls, austerity, aging machinery and massive speculation (where the returns are still attractive).

On page 90, Joron surprisingly approximates what has really happened to the North American economy. In fact, the industrial structure of the whole continent (not just Québec) has not changed for twenty years (not ten). Heavy industry, the necessary base for social progress (War on Poverty, medicare, enlarged universities, etc.), has not increased at nearly the same rate as the social and service infrastructure. The liberals of the 1950s and 1960s invested heavily in hospitals, community colleges, multiversities and Vietnam without taking care of basic iron and steel. Primary and secondary industry has regionally decentralized (into Western, Southern and Canadian branch-plants) but has fallen way behind the explosive growth in tertiary, or service, industry. Hence, inflation and "Zero Growth".

But the rest of Joron's economics is incredibly bad. He asserts that the further industrial expansion of the Western economy is, for all practical purposes, impossible. The domestic market is saturated with television sets and washing machines, while no one in the Third World has enough money to pay for theirs! This is like the guy who once told Henry Ford that the market for automobiles was saturated, since the workers couldn't pay for them. Ford responded by increasing wages in his own factories, and caused a landslide of industrial production.

While the automobile is not recommended for any sane society, the main thing that prevents humanity from bringing poorer countries up to North American levels of production-consumption is the capitalist finance system. Replace the grossly-inflated U.S. dollar as the international reserve currency with some more stable system (possibly based on gold), and the way is clear for renewed investment in real production, trade and technology transfers. Inevitable consequences of the demise of the U.S. dollar would be a shift away from "invest-

ment" in currency, food, real estate — and military — speculation. Unfortunately, several leading New York banks would also disappear, but that is the price we have to pay for progress. The other obstacles to rational development would topple much more easily afterwards.

In fact, Joron's ultimate reference to psychological limits and to avaristic "human nature" (p. 49) are simple reflections of Ivan Illich's reactionary theses. Illich, quoted in this context by two professors at CEGEP Ahuntsic (Yves Mongeau, Jean Proulx, "Jalons d'une politique de développement organique", *Le Devoir*, 8 January, 1977), believes that the removal of religious barriers brought out the Promethean, hubristic, expansionist nature of man, who will only be stopped in his folly by the total breakdown of civilization. (See *Medical Nemesis*, McClelland and Stewart, p. 154). "Envious, greedy and lazy dreams" will be the downfall of us all.

Fundamental to this notion of human excess and folly is the religious concept of "original sin". Man is basically evil — it is only by following the revealed natural laws of God (a shortage of oil, for example) that he can save himself from hellfire and damnation (hubris). If a person enjoys himself, he must be doing

something wrong. Why does the zero-growth philosophy spread so quickly, why is it endorsed by all layers of society? It is because it responds to a deep guilt feeling that was fostered by our upbringing in Calvinism and Jansenism (for Catholics). Malthusian philosophies left over from previous Great Depressions. He who believes that a natural resource is a fixed entity, that man does not determine what a "resource" is according to his level of technology, is still a victim of religious perversion. (The "raw material" of fusion-power is seawater.)

Joron's demagoguery consists in rallying about himself the Québécois independence movement, who will distinguish themselves by leading the first capitalist nation on Earth to renounce materialist values and embrace Ralph Nader. Since Québec is not yet a nation-state, alors, we have a golden opportunity to beat the Chinese to the punch and survive happily on nothing. This explains the book's 50-page diversion into the Québec identity, whose "traditional values" were almost destroyed by television advertising! Independence will restore the traditional values of the 17th Century, when industry was no problem.

Of course, in criticizing Joron, the aim is not to whitewash the conservative

industrialists, who claim that there is no ecology problem. For decades the extractive and manufacturing corporations have been wiping out sections of the human environment for quick profit, primitively accumulating off the land and people's bones, failing to replace what was taken, failing to restore the ecological balance at a higher level of alteration for man's further use. The predictable result can easily be the incapacity of the human race to reproduce itself. In fact, in order to produce the kind of human being who knows enough about economics to avoid waste and destruction, average consumption (of such basics as education, single-family houses, leisure time, etc.) will have to increase dramatically. A farmer unaware of agronomy cannot avoid a dust-bowl. An advancing, scientific, socialist society could easily solve all the problems.

Thus, Joron's attempts to defend himself from the Left are particularly interesting. "However, the industrialized socialist countries of the East are equally engaged in the growth-race, and in the final analysis, in the same dead end to which capitalism has brought the West." (p. 123) Which is to say that socialism is no solution to environmental destruction and scarce resources because (once again

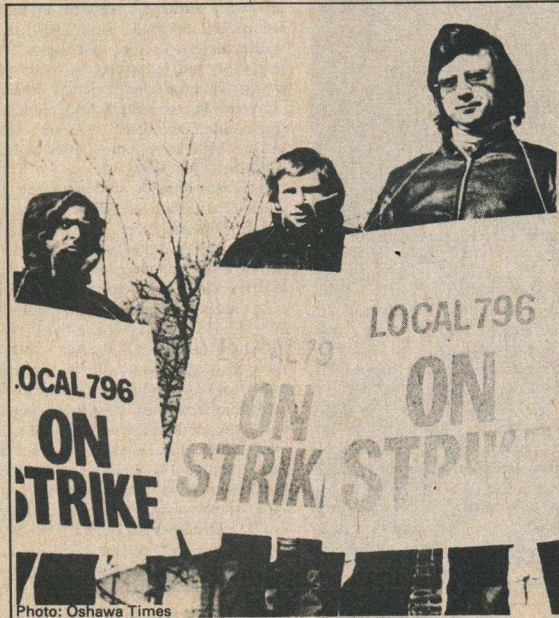


Photo: Oshawa Times

THIS MAGAZINE

is about the relationship between political and economic power in Canada.

It's about the real power of Alcan, about Workers' Councils in Canada, about wage and price controls, about Brascan in Brazil, about the new *Maclean's*, about the political economy of Canadian culture.

It's also about Canadian art, literature, theatre, labour and people. In short, about Canada.

This Magazine is serious, literate and very readable. It's leftist, but not didactic.

Subscribe today to **This Magazine**. The genuine alternative.

Please enter my subscription for _____
1 year, \$4.50 (\$5.50 U.S.);

_____ 1 year, institutional, \$7.00 (\$8.00 U.S.)

This Magazine is published six times a year.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Code _____

This Magazine, 3 Church St. #401,
Toronto M5E 1M2

the old song-and-dance) the USSR and its friends have the same problems we do. Everyone is expected to agree that Socialism>equals-USSR, even if the "socialism" of those secondary economies is enormously distorted by U.S. imperialism's control of the world. With the technological backwardness, the shortages of capital and skilled labour, the diversion of 35 per cent of socialist investment into military production (politically essential but economically useless) — how does one propose that the USSR be "different"? World economic policy is still decided in lower Manhattan; so long as that situation exists, "socialism" (including China, Cuba, Vietnam, etc.) will be only marginally different.

Not only that, but Joron would have us believe that finance-capital is not the cause of these problems, because pension-fund money currently "controls" the New York Stock Exchange! The workers vote for their pension-fund directors, who invest the money in the best interests of the workers. Therefore, the working class runs U.S. capitalism, and is itself responsible for the crisis!!!

That this pension-fund money is being poured into the inflation sink-hole (particularly in the New York City Municipal Assistance Corporation gimmick) ought to be added to the crimes of finance-capital, not used to explain away the others.

Aside from this review, Joron's idiocy received rare coverage in the press. Even my "Left" friends whom I consulted for this review are beguiled. Very firm and penetrating on such issues as the Chinese role in Angola, or the "liberal"-capitalists' use of Watergate to get rid of Nixon and Ford and put themselves into power, my friends suddenly become very mushy when the subject is environment. Huge industrial establishments, even the very word "Progress", are associated in their minds with multinationals! They suddenly forget that Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Harry Magdoff have all proven that productive corporations are all dependent on finance-capital, and that these corporations do *not* operate in their own industrial interests. (This explains why such firms as General Motors are

forced to speculate in the Eurodollar markets to maintain debt-equity ratios.) Capitalism and Progress, my friends, are not synonymous, but opposites. First, individual capitalist titles to social property cause a discrepancy between real wealth and book values of property. Then, the individual capitalist "invests" in speculation, making money off public taxes (for example, the James Bay and Olympic pyramid-building projects). Finally, the same capitalist goes into mental crisis, and accuses the working class (consumers) with becoming too greedy! Guy Joron is typical of the inability of the capitalist to think, or act, in the best interests of the economy. He is part of a social disease.

The presidents, boards of directors and principal shareholders of the New York banks no longer believe in bigness — they currently control the "Small is Beautiful" movement. We are in a classic over-production crisis, and Zero Growth is its ideology. Fascism with a human face is at the door. But no need for jack-boots and swastikas this time out, because everyone agrees that cut-backs are necessary. My fellow anti-Vietnam-war demonstrators have since joined the ranks of the new Waffen-SS and are marching *softly*, uncomprehendingly, behind Ralph Nader, James Schlesinger and Guy Joron. Now, if we can only persuade the Third World to get *just a little bit* richer, while we get a whole lot poorer, we can meet them part-way, and everyone will share the poverty equally. (The *power* of the New York banks, naturally, will go untouched.) Then there will be social peace, and moral harmony, in the Middle Kingdom. . . .

The irony of ironies is that none of this popular austerity will stop ecological decay. Instead, it will be enormously accelerated. We have so "intervened" in the "natural" environment, we are so inextricably a part of nature (the conscious part), that our voluntary "withdrawal" from the eco-system will itself cause the ecological disaster. This is something that Marxists have always understood, while Malthusians and other Calvinists never have. Such a phenomenon as the southward march of the Sahara Desert into central Africa, caused by cash-crop agriculture under the Roman and American Empires, will be repeated over the whole globe. To follow Joron and his Wall Street bosses is to condemn all humanity, and all nature, to extinction. The madness (la folie) of capitalism does not have a capitalist solution.

photo: Paul Wodehouse



Ralph Nader: the highest profile ever erected in American communications

CADAVER!

or

ALL IN THE FAMILY

a new Canadian musical in, oh, about three acts or so

Produced by Jimmy ("There's no sight on earth more terrifying than a Scotsman on the make") Lorimer III (for it is He).

and featuring

John ("Here come de Judge") Turner

Paul and Jacques Rose

Francis Simard (no relation)

Bernard Lortie

Marc ("Taxi Driver" — 7 nominations) Carbonneau

Guest Appearance: Bob ("La Job") Bourassa,
(courtesy of the Brussels Symphony)
with Louis Riel as The Ghost
and

Fidel Castro as The Warden

Narrated by Jean ("Get me a Blue Line") Marchand

Orchestration: The Toronto Guilties, Juan Fellatio, bass,
Nolo Contendere, drums

Score: The Little Sisters of St. Hubert

Songs:

Ouvrez Laporte!	The Company
The Old Rugged Cross	Em. I. Siks
Get me to the Church on <i>Time</i>	Bob Bourassa
Vaya con Dios for crissake	The Cuban National Ballet
Chevy Fender	Chenier Sell
Reprise	J. Napier Turner ("ol' Blue Eyes")
The Queen	The Company

No photographs, please.
Thank you for not smoking.

PATRICK MacFADDEN

ELEMENTS

SCIENCE REPORT BY DEMOCRITUS

Stay out of Trafalgar Square

Remember the dreaded **Legionnaires Disease**? The one you get from going to an **American Legion Convention** in a Philadelphia Hotel? No doubt many readers feel that those 29 victims of a medical mystery wrapped up in an enigma deserved all they got, but after all, there is still that lingering curiosity. **Democritus** researchers had been speculating that a **Nickel Compound** derived from those modern pressure-sensitive credit-card receipts burned wholesale in the hotel furnace had somehow entered the hotel air-conditioning system. All the symptoms seemed to fit, but apparently it was not to be, and there's no hope that credit-card receipts past and present will be immediately banned by a concerned government.

But those poor **pigeons** may be in for a hard time. **Sheila Mortimer Katz** of the **Hahnemann Hospital** in Philadelphia was one of those studying lung tissue from the late legionnaires, and she too fell prey to the dread disease. Her sputum revealed **Chlamydia**, a virus associated with **Psittacosis**, otherwise known as Parrot disease. Pretty Polly owners in Britain used to come down with it fairly frequently, and often died. **Psittacosis** can also be transmitted by pigeons. The disease had all but disappeared with the discovery of antibiotics, but it does seem to respond badly to modern antibiotics of the **cyclin group**. In any event, the disease is extremely rare in the United States, which may explain why doctors failed to recognize the classical symptoms — chronic bronchial pneumonia, no indication of bacterial infection, high fever. **Katz** speculates that **pigeon excrement** must have dried on air-intakes, and found its way into the hotel atmosphere.

Incidentally, had the doctors involved with the hunt for the mystery virus been familiar with Sherbrooke, Quebec, they might have recognized the symptoms. There has been quite a number of cases of psittacosis in the **Eastern Townships**, and special studies have been made in Sherbrooke.

Out of the strong came forth sweetness

Those of us with even short memories will remember that the **Judges' Affair**, in which cabinet ministers whispered in judicial ears and were found out, was sparked off by a Montreal lawyer not a million miles removed from the **Progressive Conservative Party**, who was disgruntled over not having received his fee as crown prosecutor in a price-fixing trial because he was not on the governing party's **patronage list**. He leaked letters to a journalist, resulting in the removal from the cabinet of a minister who had earlier indicated that in his opinion the judge who acquitted the companies accused of price fixing

was a little short of marbles.

Those of us who can understand sentences like that are also capable of following the convoluted studies and counter-studies in the **Great Sweetener Battle**. The connection, for those of us who are both baffled and still reading, is the **sugar companies**, who were the alleged price-fixers in the **Judges-Ouellet-Holden** affair that we began with, and are somehow behind the **saccharin-cyclamates** affair. It does seem that a minister responsible for consumers who speaks out on the consumers' behalf ends up in disgrace (if only temporarily), while ministers who leap to ban substances on the basis of dubious scientific tests are elevated to the status of **Consumer's Hero**. The only scientists who seem able to detect the dangers of saccharin and cyclamates appear to be those whose kids have the pocket money to afford **The Real Thing** by the tanker-truckful. Many more rational studies are being ignored, especially those whose conclusions disagree with the interests of the **sugar lobby**.

Perhaps some obliging M.P. could be prevailed upon to ask in the **House of Commons**, where saying nasty things about sugar companies and their toadies is not an indictable offence, that the question of sugar companies' contributions to research into sweeteners be looked into objectively. Then, perhaps, if saccharin or cyclamates prove to be harmful in doses other than **hundred-pound bags dropped on the head from a great height**, they might be classed as drugs instead of banned altogether. A grateful population of the obese and diabetic will applaud the questioner. The **Sugar Cartel** will not.

Work is the curse of the drinking classes

It's the ends of those weekends, lost or found, that are hard to take, if the **British Census** is anything to go by. It turns out that more Britons die on Monday than any other day. To make it worse, those final Monday Mornings Comin' Down are especially fatal for males between the ages of 15 and 59. The **census office** suggests that the stress of returning to work on Monday may bring on a heart attack. The office's quarterly journal, which **Democritus'** researchers consider essential reading, goes on to add that when Monday is a holiday, the excess stiffings on staff tend to appear on Tuesday, after the return to work. We knew it all along.

The census quarterly, incidentally, also warned that alcoholism is on the rise among Britons, with an estimated half-million alcoholics now available for researchers like those at Indiana University to investigate.

The good people at Indiana have so far confined themselves to **rats**. They've found a drug that makes members of the **rat community** not only give up the booze, but

prefer death to drinking — in the same way that many Brits seem to prefer death to Monday morning. The research at Indiana U. was carried out by an assistant pharmacology professor, **Joseph Zabik**, and funded by something called the **Distilled Spirits Council of the United States**.

Prof. Zabik reports that **5-Hydroxytryptophan** (known to its chums as **5-HTP**) was given, in one dose, to rats who had been drinking nothing but a 12 per cent solution of alcohol — about the same as most wines. All the rats began drinking less and less, and some began abstaining from their portion altogether until they died. Those that were permitted not to not drink themselves to death, that is to say those who were given water, went on to lead a perfectly normal life. The implications are obvious. If people behave like **Zabik's** rats, one dose of **5-HTP** would put an end, one way or the other, to an awful lot of sloppy and anti-social behaviour. Prof. Zabik, who announced his discovery at the first International Toxicology Congress in Toronto recently, isn't sure how it works, and he's looking for money for further research.

Stuff that in your electron microscope and measure it, Texas

Canada's own **National Research Council** has announced the discovery of the longest and heaviest molecule yet found in interstellar space, where the molecules — especially the **BIG** ones cosmic fishermen like to talk about — are few and far between. The joint Anglo-Canadian team has discovered a tiny drop of **Cyanotriacetylene** in a dust cloud near the **Taurus** constellation. The molecule is especially remarkable for its length, since the temperature and ultra-violet radiation out there around **Taurus** tend to discourage long molecules. What the scientists are looking for is insight into the formation of large molecules in interstellar space, which may help in explaining how extremely complex molecules necessary to life were formed on earth. The team, which works at the University of Sussex and at the NRC radio telescope, broke its own record with the new find. It was only just over 18 months ago that they spotted

Cyanodiacyetylene in the **Constellation Sagittarius B2**, and up until now, you couldn't say longer or heavier than that.

Why Pay More?

At \$96.00 the year, it may seem a trifle extravagant, but most **Democritus** researchers find **The Gallagher Presidents' Report** a subscription without which one just can't do. It's a confidential insiders' newsletter, usually four mimeographed pages, destined for company presidents and managing directors. To give you an idea, we subscribers average an annual income just discreetly below six figures. Gallagher is a mine of sociological data and sometimes polls us subscribers. Just this year we learned a little more about ourselves (apart from the salary all but quoted above). We presidents and managing directors, among our many onerous duties, prefer decision-making (98%), while the nastiest chore is travelling (52.6%). Second prize is two subscriptions.

So does smoked salmon

British scientists have discovered that **rainbow trout** cough in polluted waters. The scientists report that trout have tiny gill convulsions exactly analogous to coughing, in an effort to clear the gills while swimming in polluted areas.

Finally, the Democritus Purple Pimple Award . . .

How could the following press release, translated from the French, go unrewarded, even with National Unity at stake. It comes from Quebec's Ministry of Social Affairs, presided over by the Minister of Silly Beards himself, Denis Lazure:

At this time of year, when carnivals and vast public assemblies are multiplying, the Ministry of Social Affairs is intensifying its campaign of prevention and information on venereal diseases. . . .

And Happy Holidays to all our readers.

**IF YOU'RE MOVING . . .
PLEASE SEND US YOUR CHANGE
OF ADDRESS; WE DON'T WANT
YOU TO MISS AN ISSUE
BUT THERE'S NO WAY WE CAN REACH YOU
IF YOU DON'T LET US KNOW
YOUR MOVING PLANS**

The people and the pipeline

by ELIOT HOLMES

As Long As This Land Shall Last, by René Fumoleau, OMI, McClelland and Stewart/ Toronto. 415 pp. \$4.95.

Dene Nation — The Colony Within, edited by Mel Watkins, University of Toronto Press/ Toronto. 189 pp. \$4.95.

The Past and Future Land, by Martin O'Malley, Peter Martin Associates/ Toronto. 281 pp. \$8.95 paper, \$13.95 cloth.

This Land Is Not For Sale, by Hugh and Karmel McCullum, Anglican Book Centre/ Toronto. 213 pages. \$3.95.

It's clear now that one of the more valuable concessions wrung from the Liberals during the period of minority government preceding the 1974 election was a Mackenzie Valley pipeline inquiry headed by someone of Mr. Justice Thomas Berger's spunk.

Only days after the report was tabled, Liberal cabinet ministers had begun their denigration of Berger. Energy Minister Alastair Gillespie said Berger had gone beyond his mandate and was not supposed to recommend against a pipeline. Jack Horner, the first Albertan in the cabinet in five years, had unkind words for the caribou. If people in eastern Canada were as concerned with the buffalo a century ago, where would Alberta and Saskatchewan be today, he wondered.

Pending release of the National Energy Board report, the government was officially taking a wait-and-see position, but all the same they were finding it difficult to suppress their fixation on a Mackenzie pipeline. In his book *The National Interest* published two years ago, Toronto writer Edgar Dosman lays out in detail the bureaucratic shenanigans that went on between 1968 and 1975 and helped lead the government toward this fixation.

By now even the most blinkered watcher of oil company television commercials is becoming at least grudgingly

aware of the social and environmental harm a northern pipeline can cause. It's true that some northern natives no longer depend on the land for their physical sustenance, although many do. But the land is their heritage, and without it they are dispossessed. To suggest that obstinate greed on their part will cause southern Canadians to freeze in the dark, as Calgary Mayor Rod Sykes would like to have had Berger believe, rather begs the question. No group of people, least of all Sykes and his ilk, want to have their heritage confiscated.

Colonial conquest has normally been motivated by expectations of strategic or economic advantage. It was not just for adventure that Europeans set out to other continents. And it was not just for the pleasures of frostbite and mosquitos that white Canadians sought control of the huge northern land mass and its riches.

In *As Long As This Land Shall Last*, René Fumoleau, a French-born Oblate priest long resident in the Northwest Territories, tells of the small interest the Canadian government showed in the northern portions of the vast reaches "ceded" by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1870. Missionaries and traders brought news of periodic famines and other severe hardships suffered by the Indians, but the government saw little advantage in providing assistance.

But government geologists were hard at work, and in the late 1880s, newspapers carried accounts about the north practically floating on oil.

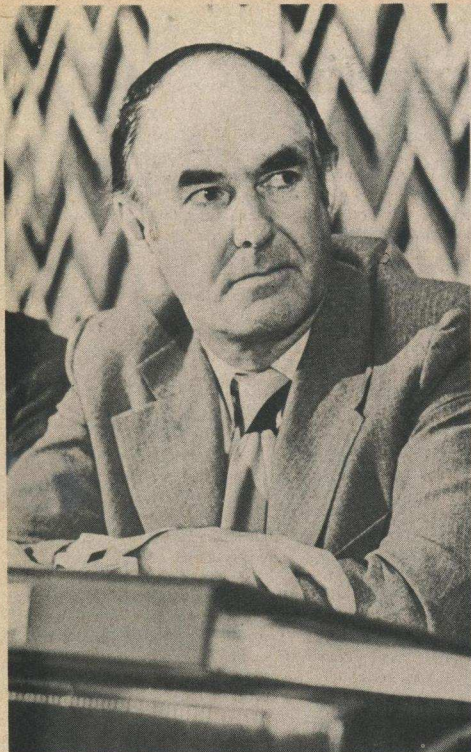
"From 1870 to 1888 the Canadian government had no interest in the poor Athabaska-Mackenzie district," Fumoleau writes.

"It refused repeatedly to acknowledge any responsibility for the Indians inhabiting that desolate country. Suddenly, with the discovery of 'immense quantities of petroleum', the expense and obligation of a treaty with the Indians began to look minimal when compared to the enormous wealth to be acquired from them."

Treaties covering most of the prairie region had already been signed when the first treaty party set out in 1899 to northernmost Alberta and the southern part of the Mackenzie district. The Klondike gold rush was on, and the government was anxious to strike a deal with the Indians. This wasn't easy,



Justice Thomas Berger: his appointment was a concession wrung from the Liberals during 1974 minority government



Energy Minister Gillespie: complained Berger had exceeded his mandate



Minister without Portfolio Jack Horner: no buffalo-lover he

because neither the treaty commissioners nor the Indians had a clear idea of what the treaty was supposed to achieve, nor were they able to understand one another clearly.

Oral evidence indicates that wherever the treaty party went, their interlocutors were adamant in refusing any agreement that might hinder their freedom to hunt, trap and fish. "What I understood then was that they won't stop us from killing anything and there won't be no law against game, and so on," an Indian who was then 16 recounted many years later. The Indians were suspicious of the white man's motives in offering them albeit small amounts of money and supplies, but after some argument and negotiation, they signed Treaty 8, believing it was a treaty of friendship. Land surrender was simply out of the question, and they had no true idea what they were signing. Nor were all the signatures on the treaty

genuine.

The majority of chiefs were illiterate, and signed with a cross mark, Fumoleau says.

"Over the years thousands of Indian people have signed their names with this simple mark, which in most cases is as unique and personal as handwriting. Yet, on the Treaty 8 documents nearly all of the marks next to the chiefs' names are identical, perfectly regular with a similar slant, evidently made by the practised hand of one person."

Barely was the ink dry on the treaty when the Chipewyan people were told they could no longer kill beaver, although they had understood the treaty guaranteed full hunting rights. Other unilateral violations were not long in coming, and by 1920 some Indians were so fed up that they threatened to boycott the treaty and to refuse the annual treaty payments, believing this would dis-

engage them from the terms of the treaty. But such, of course, was not the case.

An oil find was made at Norman Wells, and in 1921 another treaty party headed north to impose cession of the northern part of the Mackenzie district. Bishop Gabriel Breynat, quoted by Fumoleau, was later to write:

"The Royal Commission arrived from Ottawa to negotiate with them [the Indians] the terms of a treaty [Treaty 11], which terms were prepared in advance to be imposed upon them rather than freely discussed in a spirit of reconciliation and mutual concessions as often happens in the negotiation of treaties."

Fumoleau is a churchman, and he draws heavily on church sources. Notwithstanding this, he doesn't hesitate to knock the churches where he feels it's deserved, but he also likes to give whatever credit is due, sometimes by way of contrast with government hard-

'Every time the white people come to the north or come to our land and start tearing up the land, I feel as if they are cutting our own flesh. That is the way we feel about our land. It is our flesh.'

heartedness. The government was gradually taking over education and health services from the Roman Catholic and Anglican missions, but was hardly very gung-ho about it. In 1936 total government education spending for the 3,854 registered Indians of the Northwest Territories was \$37,865.16. "In 1944, the budget had slipped to \$37,566," Fumoleau reports. Health spending in 1936 was \$43,819 in an area of half a million square miles, falling to \$36,838 in 1944.

In the later chapters of his book, Fumoleau speaks of native suffering at the hands of white trappers and traders, of the mining companies that had no jobs for Indians, and of people like Breynt who campaigned to have the government honour its treaty obligations.

As Long As This Land Shall Last covers the period ending in the Second World War. Its clarity and the painstaking historical research that went into it make it useful reading for anyone interested in the current struggle.

Dene Nation — The Colony Within is a collection of essays, many of them prepared for presentation to the Berger inquiry on behalf of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories. Mel Watkins, who edited the collection and contributed an essay himself, lived in Yellowknife for several years working as economic consultant to the Brotherhood.

As the title suggests, the central theme of the book is colonialism — colonialism in economic, social and political relations between the Dene (the Indian inhabitants of the Northwest Territories) and the white bureaucrats, businessmen and others who have come to dominate them.

Peter Puxley, another Brotherhood consultant, describes the colonial relationship at some length. "At the level of the individual, the essence of the colonial relationship may be understood in those situations where one individual is forced to relate to another on terms unilaterally defined by the other." The

same applies, of course, to communities.

"The experience of colonialism is an experience of alienation. The fact that the term 'land claims' does not define the Dene conception of their situation (which they conceive as a situation where their rights as a people are being ignored) has more practical ramifications.... Therefore, it must be understood that the kind of land settlement the Dene are talking about not only involves structural recognition of the political right to decide what takes place on Dene land, but also involves a process of decolonization."

The book contains simple statements from native people describing their attachment to the land or their unhappiness at what colonization has brought them. Several essays deal with the people who continue to live off the land — their number and distribution as determined by Phoebe Nahanni's comprehensive land-use study, the value of the meat they bring home compared to store-bought food, the difficulties they have faced because of fluctuating fur prices.

Other contributions deal with the economic history of the region with its dependence on staples such as fur and minerals, the loss of economic rents because of the federal government's excessive generosity to mining and oil companies in its royalty structures and the economic implications of a pipeline. In his contribution, Watkins underlines the importance of a strong Dene voice in future development and challenges arguments that the so-called national interest must override the native interest because of an alleged energy shortage.

In another section of the book Dene authors describe how local government and schools have become the tools of the dominant white minority. Brotherhood legal counsel Gerald Sutton defines the concept of aboriginal title, and Peter H. Russell, a Toronto professor, argues that the idea of a Dene nation inside Confederation in no way violates Canada's

constitution.

The essays, consistent in their viewpoint and wide-ranging in subject matter, have obviously been selected with a good deal of care and have been edited to high standards.

The Past and Future Land tells the story of the Berger inquiry as it travelled through the north and briefly through the south. It also tells the story of a people with a deep spiritual attachment to the land.

"Every time the white people come to the north or come to our land and start tearing up the land, I feel as if they are cutting our own flesh," a witness told the inquiry at Fort Good Hope. "That is the way we feel about our land. It is our flesh." She expressed herself more graphically than most of the others appearing before Berger, but similar feelings were poured out almost everywhere the inquiry went.

Martin O'Malley is a journalist who covered the fourth and most important phase of the hearings for the Toronto *Globe and Mail*. The first phase was on engineering and construction of a pipeline, the second on the physical environment and the third on wildlife. The fourth phase, in O'Malley's words, is "the one that deals with the people in the path of the biggest free enterprise project ever."

"If the pipeline goes through, the native way of life will take a turn for the worse," one witness said in Sachs Harbour.

"We always hear about all the good the oil companies are doing and all the good that they're going to do for us. We never hear about the damage they do to the land or about the animals that get killed. They don't admit things like this, but the people know and you can't really fool them. They were born here and this is where they make their living. They know the land better than a lot of the experts trained in universities."

Fear of the unknown motivated some witnesses to testify against the pipeline. Some with more formal education, both natives and whites, based their testimony on careful research. Several native interrogators with little technical training gave oil and pipeline company experts a tougher grilling than they expected. O'Malley says Berger was followed everywhere by "a Greek chorus of the boreal forest": in one of his few idle moments, as he sat by the side of a lake chatting with acquaintances, five young Dogrib boys suddenly popped out of the water and shouted: "No pipeline!"

Some witnesses expressed support for



Justice Berger at Willow Lake during his inquiry

a pipeline. The need for economic stimulation, the rights of northern whites, 23 million Canadians in the provinces freezing in the dark — these were their themes.

But more than about the pipeline, people talked to Berger about changes in their way of life and the social distortions white colonization has brought. Social worker Phillip Blake spoke of his home community of Fort McPherson:

"Look at the housing where transient government staff live. Look at how the school and hostel, the RCMP and government staff houses are right in the centre of town, dividing the Indian people into two sides. Look at where the Bay store is, right on top of the highest point of land. Mr. Berger, do you think that that is the way the Indian people chose to have this community? Do you think the people here had any voice in

planning the community? Do you think they would have planned it so that it would divide them? Do you think they would have planned it so that it divided them and gave them a poorer standard than the transient whites who come in, supposedly to help them?"

O'Malley blends verbatim testimony with summaries of some of the longer submissions and with sympathetic descriptions of inquiry proceedings, of Berger's legendary patience and understanding, of unconventional travel methods and makeshift hearing sites. Chief John Itsi of Fort McPherson urged Berger to move the hearing from the settlement to the nearby mouth of the Peel River. "You have your inquiry down there. I'll invite about a thousand mosquitos," Itsi quipped.

This Land Is Not For Sale talks not only of the Mackenzie Valley, but also of

James Bay, the Churchill River in Manitoba, Nishga territory in northwestern British Columbia and other native hot spots. Hugh and Karmel McCullum are gung-ho church-sponsored crusaders out to expose the evils of the white man's economic steamroller and of government paternalism. They don't provide much original material and their self-righteous attitude is a bit tiresome at times, but they provide a general survey of native struggle and an accompanying economic analysis useful to the uninitiated reader.

Perhaps the last word should go to the N.W.T. Indian Brotherhood. In a proposed agreement in principle between the Dene nation and Canada, they "agree that non-Dene have the right to self-determination and the use and development of their own institutions; and the Dene pledge their support to the non-Dene in the pursuit of their rights."

Letters continued from page 5

Insight on Non-white problems

Dear Last Post:

Rose Brown's piercing article on racism gave me more insight into the trials and tribulations of non-white Canadians. I personally have witnessed more racism and very blatant racism at the University I attend. I thought that with more learning and more understanding the students would be more tolerant. I don't know if the white students are envious of the non-white students for the chance of a higher education, or whether it is because they (non-white) try harder and generally pull off the better grades. The more articles that are published, exposing racism, should help to change our old attitudes.

Paul Trudel
Hamilton

He questions fusion-worship

Dear Last Post:

I'd like to question the wisdom of fusion-worship, advocated in the letter "Nuclear power Malthusians" in April's *Last Post*. Firstly, fusion power is not without dangers; and secondly, criticism

of nuclear theology is centring more and more on including among the more conventional costs the impact that such-a-giant technology has on people. Human-scale energy production in fact rules out both fission and fusion.

While it is true that many scientists still see fission power as essential for several decades to come, these same people are persuading Carter to curtail the breeder reactor program on the grounds of economics and safety (*Nuclear Power Issues and Choices*, Ballinger 1977). And as for fusion reactors, these still would generate a great deal of radioactivity, although not from fission products, and there would still be the problem of protecting the surroundings from this radiation. To quote Dr. R. W. Cahn of the University of Sussex, "... [fusion] will also bring with it problems of pollution, energy imbalance during construction, resource depletion [mainly scarce lithium], sabotage and potential stoppage such as we find with every other source of energy..." (*Nature*, 10 March).

The authoritative voice of Academician P. Kapitza vetoes the use for high-power energy production of a number of very efficient human-scale technologies, such as windmills, by showing that none justifies the pricetag because of the large size necessary (*New Scientist*, 7 Oct. '76). (But big is beautiful — he's for atom bombs 10km down to extract geothermal energy.) However, by turning this argument around, one can say that to live in a world free of the tremendous carrying charges of nuclear energy, it's necessary to restrict energy consumption and opt for 'small is beautiful', as promulgated in, say, Mark Satin's synthesis of alternative thinking *New Age Politics* (hard to come by: Fairweather Press, 2344 Spruce, Vancouver, \$1.50). He sees us as living

within a "monolithic mode of production", with big energy being just one of the products it proffers, like "professionalized medical care, mass-produced housing, organized religion, nuclear-family child care, and universal, compulsory schooling".

Unremarkably, shrillest among the attackers of those who question 'nuclear salvation' is the strange 'North American Labour Party', ostensibly a left group. They say "... let the NDP windmill nuts scream... — nuclear energy, especially fusion, is the way to the future". But this isn't 1907, and critics of nuclear power can't be identified with the 'machine-breakers' of Jack London's *The Iron Heel*. Nowadays, a realistic left analysis of energy options has to include the fact that while it's cold in Winnipeg, it's sunny too.

Mark Drew
Toronto

White liberal attitudes hard to believe

Dear Last Post:

Bravo to Rose Tanner Brown! Her article on racism in Canada is one of the best I've read in your magazine.

I must say that the only thing I can't believe is the total ignorance, blindness and hypocrisy of all those white liberal acquaintances. Not to mention their personally insulting behaviour in loving (and believing) their institutions rather than their friend, Friend?

No wonder Ms. Brown is angry. And bitter!

Having lived in both the U.S. and Britain, I can say that Canada certainly wins on complacency. I am curious to see the response to this article.

Marjorie Clegg
Ashton, Ont.

ORDER FORM

I enclose:

- \$5 for an 8-issue personal subscription (Foreign rate, including U.S., \$7; Institutional rate \$7)
- \$9 for a 16-issue personal subscription (Foreign rate, including U.S. \$13)
- \$5 for an 8-issue renewal (Foreign rate, including U.S., \$7; Institutional rate \$7)
- \$ _____ for back issues _____
- \$ _____ contribution to the Last Post
- \$50 for a lifetime subscription

Send with cheque or money order to:

THE LAST POST
454 King St. West
Suite 302
Toronto, Ontario M5V 1L6

Name _____

Address _____

Postal Code _____

Subscribe to *BCToday* :

A new progressive voice in Canadian journalism on the west coast.

BC Today is an independent journal of news and comment published twice monthly in Victoria, British Columbia. Our paper specializes in legislative reporting and political analysis, plus top flight features and columns from people like Ben Metcalfe and cartoonist Bob Bierman.

Now about to commence its second publishing year, *BC Today* has a provincial circulation of 5,400 and is taking steps to reach a national audience.

BC Today is published by Peter McNelly, former *Victoria Times* and *Vancouver Province* legislative reporter and previously an aide to former premier Dave Barrett. The paper is edited by William Barringer, former columnist with the *Detroit Free Press* and founder of *Victoria's Monday Magazine*.

Last year, we exposed the six-year cover-up on the true financial story of the *Columbia River Treaty*; showed how the multi-nationals were putting the squeeze on independent service station operators and published Mel Hurtig's findings on the lack of Canadian content in B.C.'s school system.

Also, *BC Today* broke the pre-Christmas public opinion survey that sparked John Turner's return to the top of the political gossip list as Pierre Trudeau's heaviest contender within the Liberal Party. We think this is the type of journalism that will appeal to you.

If it is, subscribe now, and your subscription from this advertisement will be credited from our first May issue, Vol. 2, No. 1.

**One year's subscription costs \$14.
You will receive 24 issues a year.**

Here's my subscription (24 issues)
to *BC Today*:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/PROVINCE _____

POSTAL CODE _____

- I have enclosed a cheque
or money order for \$12.
 Please bill me.

Please mail all remittances to: *BCToday*
P.O. Box 66, Victoria, B.C., V8W 2M1

Here's my subscription (24 issues)
to *BC Today*:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/PROVINCE _____

POSTAL CODE _____

- I have enclosed a cheque
or money order for \$12.
 Please bill me.

Please mail all remittances to: *BCToday*
P.O. Box 66, Victoria, B.C., V8W 2M1

Last Post is not on Air Canada

**We're pretty stimulating reading, so
you won't be offered
the likes of the Last Post
the next time you fly . . .**

**Most airline passengers have to be
cosseted, soothed, protected, cocooned . . .**

**Offer them the Last Post
and they might upset their martinis . . .**

**But you could always subscribe
and sneak it on board.**

Be a sneak... Subscribe!

Use handy order form on Page 50