

THE LAST POST

70063

November 1978/\$1.00

**Here
they all
go again
in Quebec**

**Our
early
line
on the
race
to lead
the
Liberals**

**Workin' on
the railway**

**Nova Scotia
turfs 'em
out**

**B.C.'s plan
to export
drug addicts**



WHY ARE THESE MEN DANCING?

Tory leader Joe Clark and Nova Scotia Tory M.P. Pat Nowlan hold a victory dance at the last Conservative convention. We had intended to use the picture then but it didn't show up in time. Now it's finally arrived and we felt our readers should not be denied this awesome sight.

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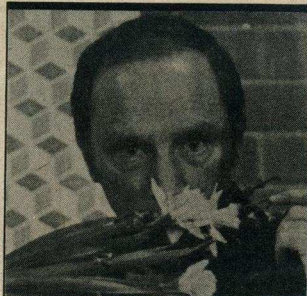
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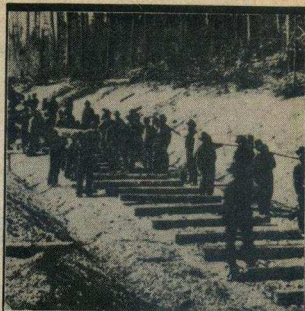


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HERE THEY ALL GO AGAIN. . . AND IT'S GOOD TO SEE QUEBEC BACK TO NORMAL

by WALTER J. TRAPROCK

The changing of the seasons. Mist clings softly to the lakes, leaves turn gold and crimson, uneasiness settles on the bird colonies, and small animals scurry through the leaves preparing for their winter sleep.

In the cities, the children, too, have an unfailing sense of timing. Hockey sticks appear suddenly on city streets, while baseball mitts hibernate in bedroom closets.

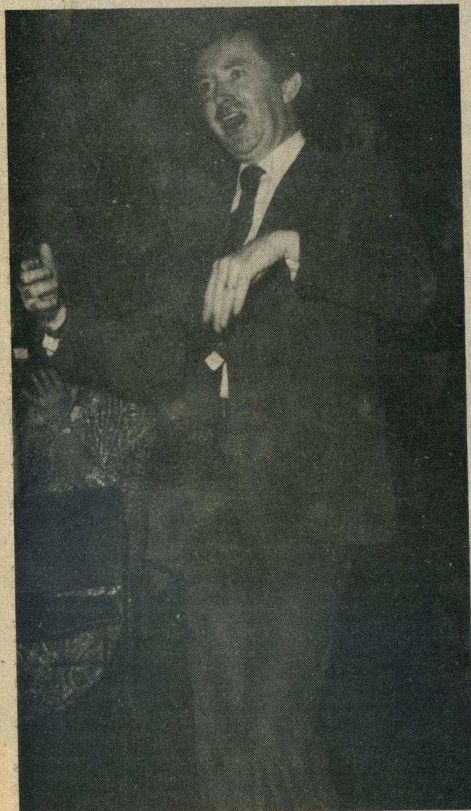
And the politicians go to their dressing-up boxes, pull out the clown suits, buff up the bozo noses, polish the twenty-inch shoes and practise pie-throwing and pratfalls. It's show-time in Quebec, a three-ring circus with conjurors, midgets, highwire acts, animal acts, hair-raising idiocy, death-defying stupidity, and, of course, everyone's favourite, the clowns, at the federal, provincial and municipal levels.

Social Credit leader Lorne Reznowski was first on the scene this fall. One Sunday in late August he visited Victoriaville, about 70 miles east of Montreal in the riding of Lotbinière. In a half-empty hall decorated with posters of his predecessor, André Fortin, whose death in a car crash last year left Lotbinière vacant, Reznowski denounced Trudeau, Rockefeller, bankers, homosexuals, abortionists and all the other dangerously wicked people who have turned Canada into a Liberal Sodom and Gomorrah when it could be a Social Credit paradise.

But Creditistes aren't really elected because of the charm, integrity, wisdom and charisma of their leader, or the sound fiscal policies put forward in the party program. Each M.P. is elected because he reflects the conservative views of his rural Quebec riding, and re-elected because he does a good job for his constituents. The Creditiste candidate in Lotbinière, Richard Janelle, doesn't even look like a crackpot.

Joe Clark took his opening bow of the season in the riding of Hochelaga, where one of the Tory stars, André Payette, is the candidate. Hochelaga wasn't one of the byelection ridings, but then, no one's perfect, and Clark did find Lotbinière, St. Hyacinthe and Westmount later on.

At a luncheon speech in the truly dreadful Constellation Restaurant near Montreal's Olympic park, Clark was introduced to about 60 businessmen and 20 journalists as Joey Clark — a touch of informality that brings us to *Last Post's* exclusive contribution to the debate over the constitutional



Joey Clark: is the Nurd Amendment the only answer to our predicament?



Jean Chretien: echoes of Thomas Hardy's character "Cripplestraw"

future of this great land of ours. The Nurd Amendment, which should be passed in the House of Commons and the Senate, and signed by the Governor-General with the urgency of a national emergency measure, may be the only way out of the unfortunate impasse in which we find ourselves.

The Nurd Amendment to the BNA Act would apply only when the government of the day is ruinously incompetent, and it can be clearly demonstrated by the nation's two leading polling agencies that a majority of the population think the leader of the opposition is a nurd. In those circumstances, the winner of the next general election would have a mandate for only one year, instead of the customary five. Canadians could then vote for the man they perceive as a nurd, confident that if he does turn out to be one he can't do too much damage in a year, by which time the other party might have got its act together. Take that, Eugene Forsey.

Of course, the Nurd Amendment may not be needed. Clark has been scoring points with various economic proposals, and the national press seems to have decided to rehabilitate him while beginning to sandbag Trudeau. If the Tory image-makers can persuade Clark to visit Tangiers for a chin

transplant, the country may yet be saved.

Morocco, home of the shady medical operation, was where Pierre Trudeau went after the Bonn summit. It's not known why he went there, but he did come back a changed man. The Prime Minister's Office began to hum and before we knew it the economy was to be fixed up just like new. Rumours of West German advisors in the East Block couldn't be confirmed, but there's NO question the ministers charged with announcing and selling the new economic package didn't take part in its preparation and hadn't done their homework. There were several embarrassing news conferences where ministers had much less of a clue than usual about the measures they were announcing.

The real story of Trudeau's economic miracle has yet to be told, but we offer, in lieu, this excerpt from Thomas Hardy's *The Trumpet Major*, which seems to paint a clairvoyant picture of a prominent Western head of government discussing the economy with his Finance Minister:

"Cripplestraw came up at a trot, moved a lock of his hair and replaced it, and said, 'Yes, Maister Derriman.' He was old Mr. Derriman's odd hand in the yard and garden, and like his employer had no great pretensions to manly beauty, owing to a limpness of backbone and a specialty of mouth, which opened on one side only, giving him a triangular smile.

"Well, Cripplestraw, how is it today?" said Festus with socially-superior heartiness.

"Middling, considering, Maister Derriman. And how's yerself?"

"Fairish. Well, now, see and clean these military boots of mine. I'll cock up my foot on this bench. This pigsty of my uncle's is not fit for a soldier to come into."

The Liberals' byelection concerns weren't really in Quebec, since they have an arrogant — and generally accurate — conviction that the province is sewn up. The federal minister responsible for federal-provincial affairs, Marc Lalonde, did show up at the beginning of the campaign to introduce the three candidates, and explain why, having 60 of the province's 75 seats, the Liberals need another two. Quebec, he said, must demonstrate to the rest of Canada that it has confidence in Trudeau. Lalonde didn't consider that Liberal defeats would indicate a lack of confidence in Trudeau, but he did say there was no political motive in a cabinet minister senior enough to hold four portfolios. Otto Lang, reopening the issue of capital punishment at the beginning of a byelection campaign. Lang, he said, acted alone.

As usual, the NDP presence in Quebec was rather less than nugatory. Not long ago, the president of the Canadian Labour Congress, Dennis McDermott, was in Montreal. Notwithstanding a CLC convention vote to endorse the NDP, McDermott told reporters a vote for the NDP in Quebec would be a wasted vote. Asked how he would advise Quebec workers to vote, he said they should vote for a party that could remove the present government from office. Was he endorsing the Progressive Conservative Party? No, he was advising workers to vote for a party that could remove the present government from office. In Westmount, the NDP standard was raised by Claude de Mestral, a retired Huguenot minister who must have an affection for Saint Jude, the patron saint of lost causes.

As the federal ship of fools sailed ponderously towards October 16, provincial politicians were no less at sea. Quebec politics are generally enlivened by the presence of fringe parties, but the summer polls showed an increasing polarization. The Union Nationale, the provincial Creditistes and the



The CLC endorses the NDP, but CLC President Dennis McDermott told reporters a vote for the NDP in Quebec would be a wasted vote

Parti National Populaire, appear to be losing whatever strength they had (the latter two having elected only one member each in 1976) as federalist voters adhere to the provincial Liberals and the *independentistes* stick with the Parti Québécois. Fortunately, the two major parties contrived to provide the comic relief normally provided by the fringe parties.

When Premier Rene Levesque announced his cabinet almost two years ago, it was generally agreed to be one of the most talented in Canadian history. Certainly, the government has passed some good, competent legislation — no-fault auto insurance and electoral reform spring to mind — but there has also been considerable, unexpected bumbling. In Bill 101, the Minister of Cultural Development, Camille Laurin, produced a piece of ambiguous legislation that will probably be before the courts long after Mister Laurin is nothing but a nasty memory. His white paper on culture is a rambling document that appears to have been drawn up by novelists rather than lawyers. Among other pearls of wisdom, it points out that Quebecers smoke and drink too much. Small wonder.

There are some other bizarre goings-on in cabinet, provoking speculation that there's NO agreement there as to how the Quebec nation is to be led to its great destiny of independence. Increasingly, one learns about important developments in government thinking through impromptu ministerial statements in improbable places.

The Minister for Intergovernmental Affairs, Claude Morin, told an interviewer in Halifax that the government is considering a joint parliament for an independent Quebec and its neighbour, Canada. The notion, obviously provoked by a CBC poll indicating that many Quebecers believe they'll still send M.P.'s to Ottawa after independence, was quickly denied. Morin is not in the habit of shooting his mouth off, so it's reasonable to wonder whether he was flying a trial balloon or just adding to the confusion, which some P.Q. members have suggested should be government policy in order to prevent the opposition from having a clear target to aim at.

Another minister who doesn't shoot his mouth off is Laurin, a psychiatrist who weighs every word. He mentioned casually to a reporter in Westmount that the referendum question would

concern taxation, since having control of all taxes is the key to independence. That bombshell was commented on variously by the Minister of Economic Development, Bernard Landry, and the Minister of the Environment, Marcel Leger, who contradicted Laurin and each other. Premier Levesque finally denied the whole thing.

The Minister of Sport, Claude Charron, picked a hot-line show to make his contribution. He said the government's co-operative stand at the Regina premiers' conference was not genuine, but rather part of a long-term strategy designed to prove that Confederation doesn't work. The world might be a better place if more ministers congratulated their governments on negotiating in bad faith.

The parliamentary assistant to Claude Morin, Pierre de Bellefeuille, and the Public Service Minister, Denis de Belleval, chose a workshop in the P.Q. national council meeting in Rouyn-Noranda to announce the decision to seek a common currency with Canada after Quebec becomes independent. Levesque confirmed that one, saying that the government had finally agreed that a common dollar and a customs union would be the key elements of the association part of the sovereignty-association package.

The national council is the governing body of the P.Q. between conventions, with representatives from all 110 ridings in the province. There were strong indications that the meeting in Rouyn-Noranda would be the forum for some interesting in-fighting. Militant *independentistes* were said to believe that Levesque and Morin were preparing a sell-out, that sovereignty-association really meant revised Confederation,



Premier Levesque: chocolate boycotts and federalism on other planets



Claude Ryan: can you spot the hand of God in the background?

not independence. There was talk of resolutions, floor fights and the government being brought to heel. That never materialized. Levesque made a reassuring speech in Thetford Mines, saying the referendum question would be based on the P.Q. program; the latest poll showed an increase in voter satisfaction with the government along with a decrease in the popularity of Claude Ryan; and Trudeau announced there would be no federal election until the spring.

Suddenly, the whole question seemed less urgent, and the P.Q., ever reluctant to discuss their project for independence in public, delayed discussion of sovereignty-association until the next national council meeting in December, and a full convention next May in Quebec City.

What happened at Rouyn-Noranda, then, was that several hundred of the P.Q.'s heaviest hitters, plus a raft of journalists travelled to the ends of the earth to discuss a chocolate boycott. The agenda for the meeting did include a resolution proposing that the government use public funds to promote sovereignty-association, but one of the first accomplishments of the meeting was to remove that resolution from the agenda. Added to the agenda was a resolution supporting a boycott of Cadbury-Schweppes products, because the company has announced it will close its Montreal plant on or about November 15. Minutes later, a resolution condemning repression in Nicaragua failed to win enough support to make it on to the agenda. It took three more votes before the meeting decided that the Nicaragua resolution should join the chocolate resolution as fit topics for Sunday's voting. Both passed.

Levesque was in interesting form during the weekend. His opening shot at English-language journalists was to announce that he hadn't been to Plattsburgh, New York, for 10 years. He

was reacting to an item that he said had been broadcast on CTV, saying that the Premier was a frequent visitor to Plattsburgh supermarkets despite Quebec's buy-Quebec policy. The item in fact said Quebecers go to Plattsburgh, not that Levesque does.

Levesque's exposé of the international history of federalism was even stranger. All recent attempts to set up confederations have been doomed, he said, citing the cases of Mali . . . the West Indies . . . Pakistan . . . Nigeria. He was asked later about some of the better-known successful federations, such as the United States, West Germany and Switzerland. The first two, he said, are special cases because they have a common language and culture, while Switzerland has the support of its neighbours: France, Germany and Italy. He suggested that you'd have to check other planets to find another federation like Switzerland. The meeting did vote a resolution, though, applauding the Jura's referendum vote in favour of becoming a full canton.

Citizens who fear that the P.Q. is a relentless juggernaut hurtling inexorably towards separation should be reassured to learn that it's really a party devoted to chocolate boycotts, led by a man who knows about federalism on other planets.

They might be less reassured by the antics of the opposition.

The Liberal's version of the P.Q. national council is called the general council. It met in Montreal in September to hear Claude Ryan give his first accounting since he was chosen as leader, and an excruciatingly boring accounting it was, too. Ryan is an incredibly dull speaker when he has a text, and his general council speech had a dull subject — party re-organization and plans to define a constitutional option. Ryan closed the meeting with a few off-the-cuff remarks that stretched into half an hour. There was some genuine humour, and Ryan's speaking style when he has no text is much more intimate and informal, the sort of thing that makes compelling fireside-chat-style television. The Liberals didn't vote for any chocolate boycotts, but they did, gasp, condemn the government.

Ryan came to life in an interview with Ray Bonisteel, host of CBC's *Man Alive* program. The interview, known as *The Hand of God Gaffe*, will haunt Ryan as long as he is in public life. He has denied saying, in so many words, that the hand of God was at work in choosing him to lead the Liberal party, but there was enough in the interview about divine intervention to raise questions about Ryan's humility. He said one problem with being leader is that he's had no time to pray since the convention. Fortunately, he said, he'd done enough praying in the past to have built up a credit balance to be going on with. Surely there's not much to fear in a province where even the leader of the opposition hears voices.

On the municipal scene, Mayor Jean Drapeau was on the stand at a provincial inquiry into Olympic costs explaining how he presided over one of the largest cost over-runs in history. He was also running again in the municipal election, and it was a courageous punter who would risk his 85 cent dollars betting that Montrealers wouldn't give him the opportunity to do it to them for four more years. The maverick Liberal M.P. for Hochelaga-Rosemont, Serge Joyal, was campaigning at the head of the Municipal Action Group and the Montreal Citizens Movement was running on an election platform that differed wildly from the party platform, being purged of all left-wing rhetoric.

After a summer of bus plunges, kidnapped wives and animal stories, it was pleasant to see Quebec settling down to its usual fall form.

Nova Scotia votes against big business, big giveaways

by RALPH SURETTE

The Tories sweep: they sop up everything — except, of course, the Acadians and Cape Breton, those most obvious minorities. Women are shut out of the legislature. The electoral map shows up in a solid block of blue through what one might call “Middle Nova Scotia.”

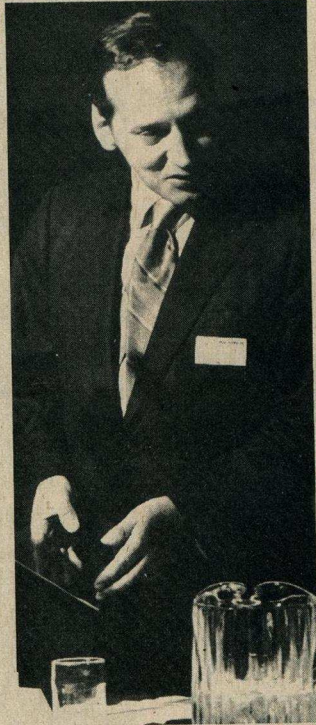
What is this? Another notch in the holster of middle class disgruntlement-become-lynch-mob reaction? The cut-the-bums-off-welfare/screw-the-frogs/give-it-all-to-free-enterprise crowd triumphant? Further justification for the much-ballyhooed Swing to the Right?

Actually, no. Not a move towards Bolshevism either, mind you, but then again, not what might be made of it by certain persons and interests in Central and Western Canada who seem intent on pushing the pendulum further to the right than it wants to go.

That there's a grim conservative mood in the land generally, and that to some extent Nova Scotia participates in it, is not in doubt. It's an anti-immigrant, anti-minority, anti-bilingualism, anti-welfare, anti-etc. etc. feeling, a kind of middle class brutality that is obvious enough.

It's also an anti-government, anti-bureaucrat, anti-public spending mood.

Both the federal Liberals and Conservatives are taking that to mean that there's a clamour to clear the shop and hand it over to the corporate sector, meaning mostly big business. The fact that the mood is just as much anti-big business as it is anti-government or anti-organized labour is virtually never mentioned, either by government or the media. In other words the “swing to the right” is being manipulated, either consciously or unconsciously, in favour of large corporations. It's the same phenomenon as when a villain has to be found for inflation. Wage demands and government spending get both barrels, while the pricing policies of the monopoly-sharing sector get the whisper treatment at worst.



Gerald Regan: a desperate play for the backlash vote didn't work

This anti-big business aspect is one of the lessons to be drawn from the Nova Scotia elections.

Throughout the campaign, the three major parties tried to outdo each other in espousing the cause of small business. The rise of the small entrepreneur as a downtrodden folk hero — thanks largely to John Bulloch and the Canadian Federation of Independent Business — is generally seen as part of the conservative reaction across Canada. But in the Nova Scotia context at least, “small business”

has actually become a euphemism for anti-big business sentiment — which is more marked here as a result of the spectacular collapses of publicly-subsidized large projects over the past decade.

In fact, the party which presented itself most insistently as the defender of small business was the NDP. While arguing for more direct action by government in economic activity, the NDP at the same time nearly appropriated the word “free enterprise” as a war cry. The point is that in this context even “free enterprise” was being used as an anti-big business slogan. Free enterprise: the guy trying to make a living with a half ton truck, a fishing boat or a strip of farmland — versus multinational corporate enterprise: the outside manipulators.

The NDP tried to stick the two other parties with the label of collaborators of big business, pointing out that they function on political donations from these larger corporations and have a vested interest in their success.

The other parties, of course, protested their love for small business ever more ferociously. And although one can legitimately assume that the Conservative Party will be just as friendly to multinational enterprise behind the scenes as the Liberals were, the point is that they'll never dare admit it publicly.

The “small business” stuff is part of a wider movement in the Maritimes which generally comes under the rubric of “economic self-sufficiency.” This too was a slogan for all three parties in deference to a public mood, and it too contains its element of rejection of outside multinationals, as does a new emphasis — again by all three parties — on primary resources. The larger psychological tag attached to “primary resource” identifies it as something indigenous and not parachuted by some big operator from outside on government subsidy.

To reiterate the point: anyone looking to the Nova Scotia Conservatives' victory for proof of a public clamour for more

giveaways to the corporate sector is looking in the wrong place. The clamour is in fact to stop the giveaways, although the election result doesn't ensure that.

The campaign opened on a reactionary note. Gerald Regan, the now-defeated Liberal premier, came back from the mid-August premier's conference in Regina to announce his election. At the conference he had gone on a curious little campaign to paint himself as the saviour of "English-Canadian culture" — which he defined as the country's British heritage. A laudatory right wing column from the *Toronto Sun*, casting Regan as the good Anglo versus the scurrilous villain Lévesque, was reprinted in newspapers as official campaign material. Since Regan has never been an "English backlash" type, it seemed as though he knew he was in trouble and was making a desperate grab for votes.

With his party dropping to 17 from 31 seats, it obviously didn't work. All the more so, perhaps, since he got outdone as a monarchist by now-Premier John Buchanan. "John," one of his campaign workers stated, "is the second greatest monarchist in Canada — after John Diefenbaker."

Manitoba Premier Sterling Lyon sent someone out to help with the Tory strategy on cutting government expenses. One would have thus expected a platform somewhere to the right of Alaric The Bold. Yet, in fact, the Tory platform contained proposals like more day care, elected school boards, a more effective Freedom of Information Act, more power to the legislature and less to cabinet, more Canadian and Nova Scotia content in the schools, aid to senior citizens and a number of other generally "progressive" initiatives.

Yet the platform is not likely to matter much. One of the few spats in an otherwise dull campaign centred on calculations made by the Liberals and NDP to the effect that the Tory platform over all would require expenses of nearly \$300 million in the first 12 months of a Conservative administration. Yet Buchanan was preaching frugality and austerity at every turn — his main vein of attack being the Regan government's financial "irresponsibility." How could he square the contradiction?

The fact is he couldn't. But, alas, it didn't matter. He got elected anyway with a whopping 31 seats in the new 52 seat legislature. And now in power his options are such that he'll likely be able to carry out very little of his program. His promise to cut unemployment by half



Premier John Buchanan: the last two times the Tories came to power in Nova Scotia, federal Tory victories followed

within his four years in office seems particularly remote.

The reason is that virtually everything that moves in the Atlantic area requires some federal funding. Ottawa, running a long-range federal campaign parallel to Regan's and having a stake in Regan's return to power, blew over a half-billion dollars in various programs in the province over the past 18 months. That might well be all the province will get for a good long time. In addition, Ottawa is

slashing expenses like a wild animal, and at this writing is contemplating cutting back equalization payments. Buchanan comes to power with far less to work with than Regan had. Chances are that Buchanan, after a honeymoon period, will find himself in the same web that pulled Regan down.

Regan was essentially beaten two years ago, as soon as electric power rates started increasing dramatically. At that time, armed with the above-mentioned half billion in federal money, he went on a massive campaign to turn things around. But with inflation and unemployment getting worse, nothing was good enough.

Regan's wipeout sends a very special message to Ottawa. The last two times that Tories came to power federally — Bennett in 1930 and Diefenbaker in 1957 — they were preceded by the arrival of Tory administrations in Halifax. This, plus the fact that Regan had the last provincial Liberal administration in the country apart from a shaky regime in P.E.I. (although the New Brunswick

BEST REASON YET

Former Vancouver mayor Art Phillips is tired of being a "perpetual candidate" and wants Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to call an election soon because not doing so "impedes our personal freedom" and hampers the acting career of his wife, Carole Taylor.

—*Toronto Sunday Star*, Sept. 3, 1978

election Oct. 23 may, by the time you read this, have brought a Liberal government to power) has apparently sent shudders through the already-shuddering Trudeau administration.

For the NDP and party leader Jeremy Akerman, the results were only slightly less disappointing than for Regan. Although the party took an extra seat (up to four from three), the NDP was expecting

a breakthrough. It mounted a powerful campaign, featuring some candidates who had been working for two years or more, and some polls had shown them capable of taking nearly 30 per cent of the vote.

The theory was that the electorate was greatly disgruntled with the Liberals, but not particularly enchanted with the Tories. The result however gave the party

only an extra one-and-a-half per cent of the vote from the 13 per cent it captured at the 1974 election. As generally occurs with the NDP nationally, the party showed stronger between elections than at voting time. The anti-Regan feeling was strong enough that the electorate chose to vote Tory to ensure a Liberal defeat.

How B.C.'s number one export may be drug addicts next year

by DAVID CUBBERLEY

Early this summer Bill Bennett's Social Credit government unleashed a direct attack on heroin use in British Columbia with the passage of legislation making treatment for narcotic dependency compulsory. Known as *The Heroin Treatment Act*, the new law confers powers upon the state to compel those identified as addicts to submit to complete withdrawal for a period of three years.

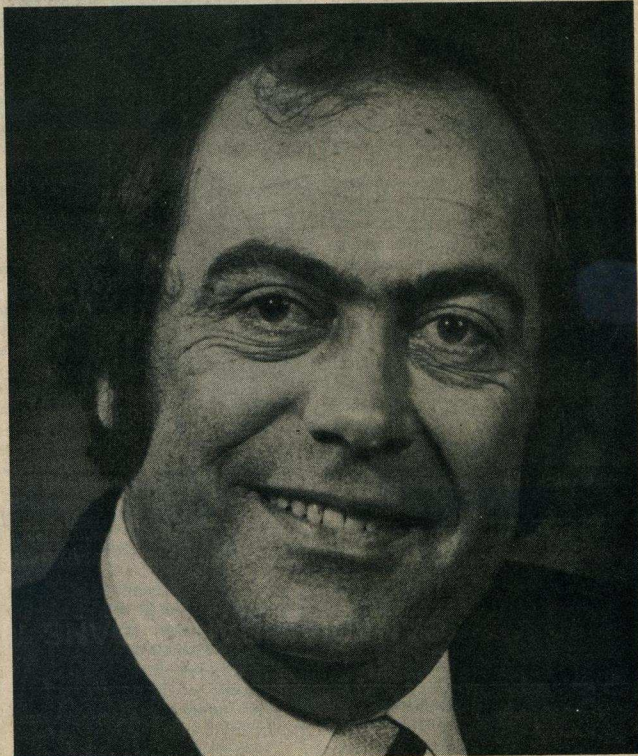
The bill provides administrators with the means to isolate users and to force compliance with the withdrawal program. It supplants a small, voluntary treatment program based on conversion of addicts to methadone use, and effects a complete reversal of philosophy as regards the treatment of drug dependency.

Now legislation for treatment of narcotic users is not, in itself, surprising; existing programs are poorly funded and undersubscribed. And heroin use in B.C. is a grave and growing problem. The province hosts at least 60 per cent of all known heroin addicts in Canada. Vancouver, its glamorous centrepiece, is the major port of entry for heroin to supply the entire west coast of North America. Moreover, its lower mainland is home base for some 7,000 regular users. Heroin use has been climbing steeply since 1961, when police reported knowledge of 1,787 users, reaching a level of somewhere between 8-10,000 today.

Previously, B.C. had put its faith in

B.C. Health Minister Bob McClelland called the concern for civil liberties a "red herring"

photo: CP



police suppression of the chain of supply. But rather than eliminating the speculative market in narcotics, this campaign succeeded only in raising the price of heroin sold on the streets. The present thrust is, in effect, a new means to the same end: now the market is to be eliminated by making the personal costs of heroin use so deadly as to effectively squelch the demand.

The Sacred *Heroin Treatment Act* is unique as a piece of medical health legislation. Defended as a vehicle for the treatment of unhealthy and derelict individuals, hence within the province's jurisdiction over health matters, the act was seen by many as an encroachment upon the criminal law system, which lies under federal jurisdiction.

The bill was instantly controversial, mainly because of the extra ordinary powers it confers for detention and examination of those suspected of addiction, and for the incarceration without trial of those judged to be subject to a narcotic dependence.

As originally presented, the bill created an administrative apparatus with unregulated powers, including:

- A series of special "area co-ordinating centres" in which to conduct "evaluation panels" charged with the "medical and psychological examination" of detainees suspected of dependency.

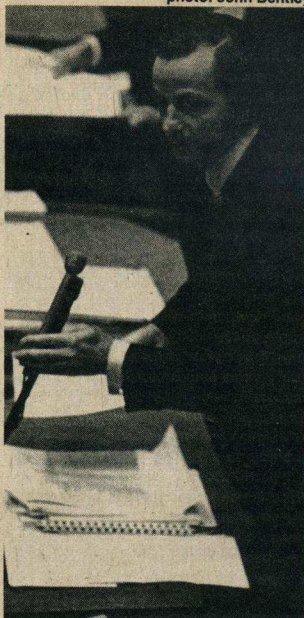
- The empowering of centre directors and members of the police, after having satisfied themselves as to the existence of "reasonable grounds" for suspecting narcotic dependence, to require — without obtaining a legal warrant — the detention of any suspect for up to 72 hours at a testing centre to facilitate examination by a panel.

- Upon unanimous decision concerning dependency by a panel with at least two medical practitioners on it, the centre director is entitled to require the individual to submit to withdrawal treatment.

- Once dependency is established in the above manner, the centre director may require the user to submit to six months of full-time detention at a new treatment centre near Nanaimo, on Vancouver Island; furthermore, the act establishes a Board of Review to which centre directors may apply for permission to extend compulsory detention for additional six month periods.

It needs to be noted that in none of these instances — where the citizen's right to continued personal freedom is being assessed by agents of the state —

photo: John Bentley



B.C. Premier Bill Bennett

does the legislation grant the accused the right to medical or legal counsel, nor to hear the evidence presented against him, nor to directly appeal judgements made against him for the purpose of restricting his liberty.

The *Socreds* launched their act as a get-tough stance designed to restore health to the social fabric. Health Minister Bob McClelland asserted that the program envisaged was humane in nature and motivation, and that the bill "takes care of people's civil rights in every way." Several weeks later, he baldly affirmed his belief that heroin addicts could be "successfully coerced into bettering their lots in life."

While the government congratulated itself for its efforts to restore Canada's national pride, critics from all opposition parties attacked the bill as the most vulgar infringement of civil liberties in the history of the province. McClelland countered the concern for civil liberties by calling it a "red herring"; "heroin addicts have no freedoms anyway because they are chained to the drug and continually forced to find ways to feed their habit."

These sentiments drew vocal support from several enforcement agencies, in-

cluding the B.C. Federation of Peace Officers. Federation President Phil Jamieson also attacked the defenders of civil rights, this time by claiming that the bill protected them: "it is a guarantee of civil rights, the right to exist not as a criminal, a victim of crime, a hopeless physical and mental slave, but as a healthy person free from the abomination of heroin addiction."

Fortunately the implications of this legislation were not obscured by conservative apologetics about the need to move forcefully in order to protect society from the ravages and crimes of the heroin subculture. So blatant were the contradictions that the Canadian Bar Association (CBA) was moved to oppose the bill publicly and to promise to challenge it in the courts.

In a public critique of the original legislation, the CBA denounced the intentions as unconstitutional, as a violation of due process of law, and as an encroachment upon civil liberties.

Noting that the bill involved the "compulsion and the potential confinement of citizens by the state" by means of an administrative mechanism operating outside of the courts, the CBA queried whether the act was not in fact "essentially criminal or punitive legislation in the guise of health legislation."

The CBA felt impelled to remind the *Socreds* that the lynchpin of the legal system in western democracies is the requirement that those accused of offences be convicted by trial before a court "before sanctions affecting the liberty of the person can be imposed." "Under Bill 18," it continued, "the initial power to confine has, in fact, been delegated to the administrative tribunal." As such, the legislation was simply a thinly disguised "circumvention of the judicial process."

The CBA's concern was supported by a penetrating analysis of the various ways in which the bill would violate the right

NOT QUITE HOW WE REMEMBER IT

There's something secure in turning back to the 1950s, through the music, clothes and TV shows like *Happy Days*. That period was a time of carefree happiness when good fortune was to smile on everyone.

—Murdoch Davis, *Toronto Sunday Star*, Sept. 3, 1978

TRY SCRATCHING YOUR HEAD

In light of the fact that some of the most highly acclaimed Canadian films of the past decade — *Mon Oncle Antoine*, *Kamouraska* and *J.A. Martin*, *Photographie* — have come out of Quebec, as has the highest grossing Canadian film of all time, *Deux Femmes en Dor*, [sic] it is puzzling to note the attitudes of French Canadians to Canadian movies. Fifty-one percent of French Canadians believe that Canadian films are inferior to others; only 37 percent of English Canadians believe this.

—*Weekend Magazine*, Aug. 19, 1978

of the individual to due process of law; as a critique it succeeds in baring the real intentions of the government. Its findings include the following points:

- The "evaluation panel" need only agree openly about the necessity for treatment of a given individual. There is no requirement that the panel establish that it can "provide a proven and effective treatment regimen" for the illness diagnosed. In fact, evaluation can occur without the subject being present, and confinement can be recommended without the treatment process being identified. "There is no requirement that the person . . . will have a hearing of any kind, let alone one where he may have legal and/or medical representation."

- The basis for forcing the individual to submit to evaluation is the existence of "reasonable grounds" for suspecting narcotic dependency; these are to be decided by the centre director or peace officer in the courts of their own private judgement. The individual has no recourse in law but to submit.

- Internment for withdrawal processing can be recommended for either "physical or psychic dependency" on narcotics, yet there is no requirement that anyone qualified to assess something as nebulous as "psychic dependency" participate in the panel.

Truly sinister combination

- If internment for "psychic dependency" seems open-ended, its potential combination with another section of the act is truly sinister. The legislation identifies its target substances as narcotics, which it in turn identifies as heroin and its chemical relatives, or "any substance with morphine-like properties." Since one of the so-called properties of a morphine-like substance is defined as the capacity to create the nebulous "psychic dependence", any drug which produced said phenomenon could be dealt with under the same act. In theory, the bill could provide a government with the legal basis for en-

croachments on civil liberties beyond those of heroin addicts.

- The CBA felt that the institution of a mandatory three year treatment schedule was "more consistent with a concept of punitive 'sentence' than with a therapeutic 'recovery period'."

- Anyone considered uncured at the end of three years could simply be reentered for a new three year cycle. There is no onus that the state supply proof that it can effectively treat the so-called disease.

Presumption of guilt

- Finally, under the act, the individual is granted no leave to appeal to the Court of Appeal if he disagrees with the decision to treat him; however, the CBA notes that the situation of the subject is one of "reverse onus", whereby it is the accused's responsibility to prove that he is not physically or psychologically dependent. The CBA notes that even within criminal law this is a "foreign concept" and adds that "within the health model a reverse onus is even more inappropriate." In sum, the individual remains guilty until such time as he can prove his innocence.

The threat of constitutional challenges by the legal profession itself forced the Socreds to reappraise their mode of advance, without, however, altering their intentions. A month into debate on the bill, the government moved to placate its critics by placing the power to finally commit those identified as addicts in the hands of the courts. Through rewording, the power to commit for treatment is given over to the Supreme Court of B.C., acting on the recommendation of the centre director.

Critics of the Bill, including the B.C. Civil Liberties Association (BCLA) and the CBA, see the changes as window-dressing which does not substantially alter the draconian powers involved.

In its public statements the CBA suggested, implying cynicism on the part

of the government, that the *Heroin Treatment Act* was simply a camouflaged attack on the illegal heroin market, which the Socreds were attempting to float past the public as medical health legislation. Such an objective the CBA sees as "clearly a function of criminal legislation."

Oblivious to the logic of opposition claims, the government continues to ply its course. It is unmoved by suggestions that there is available an alternate solution which would leave civil liberties intact. This would involve state regulation and distribution of narcotics to registered users, an approach which could, if properly developed, eliminate the illegal market at one pass and neutralize the major impetus for crime related to narcotic use.

A cloud of cynicism enshrouds a party which shows contempt for democratic liberties and feels no shame about selling punitive legislation as a "compassionate and realistic" medical strategy for containing and eliminating dependency.

Beneath all of the flourishes about saving the individual from the damage he does to himself, this remains a program of compulsion and constraint. It dovetails perfectly with the Socred approach of presenting itself as the caretaker of public responsibility, ready to move forthrightly to stamp out the excesses of the permissive society, while simultaneously pandering to the party's vociferous and growing right wing.

Mass exodus likely

One suspects that the cynicism is bottomless, that the Socreds lack — even within their own value system — any real belief in the viability of compulsory treatment as a medical program. It is evident that its immediate effect — if Canada is unfortunate enough not to be rid of it via the courts before it takes effect next year — will be the creation of a forbidding and totally unliveable world for B.C.'s resident habitues.

Hence, the most likely outcome of compulsory withdrawal is the mass exodus of the heroin community to other, unregulated jurisdictions within Canada.

And herein we glimpse what is probably the real motivation behind legislation of this type: a neat, clean method of rooting out the whole embarrassing subculture, of removing B.C.'s hated blemish. As one astute parliamentarian put it when the Bill was introduced: "B.C.'s number one export to her sister provinces in the coming year will be drug addicts".

Disunity hurts Indians' fight to defend native rights

by MARYHELEN VICARS

When Britain relinquished its hold on the colony of Canada, control should have been returned to the original people, not given to the "white immigrant" government, the National Indian Brotherhood believes.

Such strong words were not in short supply at the NIB's recent general assembly. But what was really needed — a clear demonstration of unity among the member organizations — was conspicuously lacking.

The NIB represents some 300,000 registered Indians through its affiliated provincial and territorial organizations.

Rather than a show of unity, there was evidence existing rifts had widened, and many delegates came away from the three-day meeting worried that Canadian Indians may be losing their national voice at a time when native rights and Indians' special status are facing serious challenges.

The NIB is going into its tenth year as the national lobbying and research body for status Indians.

The only major initiative taken by the NIB assembly, as the organization limps into its tenth year, was the decision to send some 300 chiefs on a junket to England this year to see Queen Elizabeth.

The chiefs are to appeal to the Queen to block the patriation of the BNA Act sought by Prime Minister Trudeau as the first step toward a new Canadian constitution.

The chiefs are planning to make a case for special treatment under any new constitution directly to the Queen, because, they agreed, the Canadian government which has betrayed them so often in the past cannot be trusted to include a guarantee of their rights in the planned new constitution.

The decision to send the gang to London was near-unanimous, but later, many delegates admitted to serious reservations about the scheme.

Some recalled an earlier delegation of



NIB President Noel Starblanket: worried about Trudeau's proposed constitutional changes

chiefs to London, when the British press had a field day with headlines like "Pow-wow at Buckingham Palace". The event was seen as a spectacle rather than the serious delegation which had been intended.

The NIB is worried about Trudeau's proposed constitutional changes, president Noel Starblanket says, because they contain only token references to native people.

"The government treated us like some quaint little ethnic group that's having a few problems fitting in with the rest of the country," he told delegates.

He says the Indians are going to insist on having a representative at all future federal-provincial constitution conferences.

"We want to explode the myth of the two founding nations, that it was the French and English who 'found' this country. The Indians were here first."

While Starblanket seemed successful in getting the delegates behind the NIB's stand on the constitution, he was less successful in convincing them of the need for a unified front.

"This government is more than willing to exploit any divisions we have among us, just as it's willing to talk out of both sides of its mouth on Indian issues," he said. "We should not provide federal politicians with ammunition against us by bickering among ourselves."

The biggest area of contention among the delegates and member organizations was the concept of sovereignty.

The resolution authorizing the trip to London contained an assertion of the sovereignty of Indian nations, with a pointed reference to Indian peoples in those parts of the country where treaties have never been signed "with any other sovereign nation."

photo: Indian News

While the idea of greater self-government and independence from government direction has been accepted since the end of the paternalistic Indian agent era, the talk of sovereignty made some of the delegations nervous.

There is concern that real sovereignty means more independence than the Indian people want, or need.

There is also concern on the part of some groups that sovereignty is incompatible with treaty rights.

If the Indians are independent nations, Canada's treaty obligations to provide goods and services are unclear. In response to that concern, the Alberta delegation presented a resolution on the last day which would have upheld the sanctity of the treaties, and downplayed the sovereignty concept.

"Promoting a sovereignty concept that is ill-defined can cause confusion and apprehension within treaty Indian communities and the parliament of Canada concerning our basic treaty rights and could jeopardize the eventual enshrining of our full treaty rights in the BNA Act," the preamble read.

Alberta was persuaded to withdraw the resolution, possibly because it seemed certain to be defeated, but it stands as clear evidence of the disunity which could mean trouble ahead for the brotherhood as it tangles with government on the constitution and other issues.

Indian Affairs Minister Hugh Faulkner warned the assembly he had "grave doubts" about the sovereignty position as expressed by Starblanket to the joint parliamentary committee on the constitution.

He told delegates, "I have been in this portfolio one year and I have come to feel strongly that a pragmatic system of Indian self-government is essential for the future of the Indian people."

With the sovereignty question unresolved and apparently occupying everyone's attention, other business didn't get done.

A package of changes to the NIB's own constitution was referred to a committee rather than acted upon, leaving a number of delegations unsatisfied.

Alberta and the other prairie organizations were after a change to allow all delegates the right to vote and speak at the general assembly. Now, each group is allowed a small number of official delegates, based on population, with others forced to observe from the sidelines. Alberta brought 50 delegates, most at the reserves' expense, but was allowed only seven official delegates.

Ontario had another cause, also tabled to a committee. Most provinces are represented by one organization. Ontario has four, and wanted to be allowed four representatives, one from each group, to sit on the executive committee.

Ontario's candidate for president, Fred Kelly, lost narrowly to incumbent Noel Starblanket. These two factors led to a pullout of at least one, and possibly three, of the four Ontario groups. Most observers were saying the pullout was a temporary gesture.

The Alberta Indian Association also discussed a pullout, but president Joe

Dion says they decided to wait to put the question to the Alberta chiefs when they meet this fall.

Mr. Dion says the NIB's growing interest in sovereignty and aboriginal rights means it's losing its appeal for prairie Indians.

The Indian Association of Alberta, the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians and the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood earlier this year formed the Prairie Indian Rights Council as a hedge against the day when the NIB might no longer represent the prairie Indians adequately.

Manitoba discovers the price of Norma

by DOUG SMITH

Norma Price, Manitoba's beleaguered Labour Minister, has been charging that the media in the province have been attacking her because she is a woman. She believes that many her comments and actions would not be considered newsworthy if they were being said or done by a man.

Price did not say whether what she had in mind was her statement that she does not like unions, her attempts to have charges against chemical companies dismissed, her denial that she gave an interview to two reporters, or the fact that she recently appeared in an advertisement for the Sun Life Assurance Company.

In any event, Price has managed to antagonize Manitoba's usually apathetic labour movement to a degree that few would have thought possible. The province's federation of labour has held two demonstrations with turnouts in the thousands, while the Manitoba Government Employees' Association — a union not noted for its militancy — assembled 2,000 people to protest the government's attitude towards negotiations.

Price was a surprise appointment to the labour portfolio, it having been widely assumed the job would go to Tory labour critic Bud Sherman.

Shortly after taking office, she began to raise hackles. For example, she told a council on unemployment that the New Democratic Party's tax policies were the cause of the INCO layoffs in Thompson (she did not say whether Ontario Premier Bill Davis and his socialist hordes were responsible for taxing INCO into the layoffs at Sudbury).

After that came her attempts to have safety charges dropped against two Brandon chemical companies (see *Last Post*, June 1978). Price has stopped the health and safety inspectors from making random checks at the plants, terming such inspections harassment. Now the companies are to be inspected only during the day.

Price also fired Deputy Labour Minister Jim Goodison for leaking the story on the chemical companies to the media. Goodison had given files, and the memo requesting that the charges be dropped, to a radio hot-line host.

The issue of workplace health and safety has been contentious in more than this one case. Prior to the October election, the NDP had passed a new workplace Health and Safety Act that was considered by many to be among the best in the country.

After the election many people began to fear that, although the Tories would not repeal the bill, they would circum-



Manitoba Labour Minister Norma Price: a distaste for unions

vent it by not properly staffing the department.

In February, Price criticized the act for the way it provided an adversary situation between labour and management. In April, the director of the workplace health and safety division, Victor Rabinovitch, resigned in protest. In his letter of resignation, Rabinovitch said he could not in good faith continue in the position since the department was grossly understaffed. Rabinovitch pointed out the department did not have a single researcher. The field chemists at the time had a backlog of five months, while outside Winnipeg there was virtually no general inspection.

Labour Federation President Nels Thibault has also charged that Price has stripped the health and safety advisory council of all its powers. Thibault said that the council, which had not met since January, was in danger of becoming little more than a rubber stamp.

The Steelworkers union views workplace safety as something other than just another political football and has been pressing the government for a Royal Commission investigation into mining

safety. In the past year, nine miners have died in accidents in Manitoba, and 66 have been permanently injured. When pressured for a commission Price claimed that the new health and safety legislation would take care of the miners' worries. Eventually, she agreed to set up a committee, but labour has been generally dissatisfied with the make-up of the committee and its terms of reference.

The NDP has been able to score points frequently on the issue of the minimum wage. The provincial minimum wage board recommended in December that the wage be increased in the new year from \$2.95 to \$3.29 an hour. Price

SCALPEL, NURSE . . .

Behind Linda Ronstadt's tremulous lower lip and those soft-core charms lies a voice that sells more records than any other female singer. It would take a sex-change operation to dislodge her from the bosom of a devoted public.

—Katherine Gilday, *Toronto Globe & Mail*, Aug. 9, 1978

refused, saying she felt it would not be in keeping with the government's restraint policy.

Throughout the stormy Spring sitting of the legislature, the NDP repeatedly asked the minister when she would raise the minimum wage. The closest she would come to committing herself was to say it would have to stay frozen until the economy was on a 'sound track'. However, this is not to say she has not been studying the matter; she has expressed interest in the U.S. system where hotel employees earn \$2.65 an hour if they do not receive tips and \$1.32½ if they do.

Some of her bucolic colleagues from rural Manitoba have advanced even more curious views on the topic, claiming, among other things, that the present minimum wage is to blame for the lack of gas stations between Winnipeg and Brandon.

Price caused the government another bit of embarrassment when she appeared in an advertisement for the Sun Life Assurance Company. Price had been an agent for Sun Life prior to the election and the company used a photograph of her that had appeared in her campaign material. Premier Lyon has said this does not constitute any example of conflict of interest, and Price has said she had no idea the ad was going to appear.

This past summer has seen Manitoba hit with a series of post-AIB strikes in construction, supermarkets, meatpacking and brewing. While the province's nurses were holding a strike vote, Price announced that the province would not tolerate harmful strikes. She also said that Manitobans were spoiled and should tighten their belts.

She said she would not interfere in the construction association's attempts to weaken the functions of union hiring halls, but she did criticize a number of demands by the retail clerks, particularly in regard to salaries, prompting charges there was a double standard at work in the government's treatment of labour issues.

Her dealings with the Manitoba Government Employees' Association have shown some interesting quirks. In March, when the province laid off 373 civil servants, the MGEA protested that the government was violating a law requiring at least four weeks' notice before making layoffs of more than 50 people. Price's defence was that the government was not a single employer, but employed these people through different departments; no department had more than 50 layoffs.

Price also considered taking the MGBA to court last spring when the association distributed a leaflet in the form of a pink slip. The leaflet publicized the time and place of a demonstration and asked: "Will you be next?" Despite this, Price said that the fake pink slips caused a great deal of anguish and confusion to some civil servants — not as much anguish, presumably, as the real ones caused.

The demonstration was being held to protest the government's bargaining position in which it had refused to offer any wage increase to clerical staff. When

it was suggested this was inequitable, considering the government's decision to raise doctors' salaries by six to eight per cent, Price replied that there was really no comparison between the two issues. Government negotiators felt most clerical staff were married women and did not need an increase.

Price's most recent, and perhaps last adventure involved an interview with reporters from Winnipeg's two daily newspapers. They reported that Price told them the government payroll had been reduced by 1,700 since the Tories took office. After the figure was pub-

lished, Price denied that it was that high, and said only 1,300 positions had been eliminated. Shortly after that Price denied that she had even spoken to the journalists who had written the stories.

Rumour has it that in an upcoming cabinet shuffle Price will go to the tourism portfolio. But labour has no reason to rest easy if she leaves. Her successor could be Warner Jorgenson, minister, without portfolio, who recently proposed that third parties be allowed to sue either unions or management for any damages caused to them by a strike.

Canada joins the big leagues in bankrolling Chile's junta

by **BETSY ANDERSON**
of Latin American Working Group

"I can only say we didn't send any troops down. We're not oppressing anybody".

The Bay St. banker was responding to charges that Canadian chartered banks are bankrolling the Chilean junta. He and his colleagues have long perpetrated the Bay St. doctrine that bank loans to a foreign government do not imply approval of that government's policies in any way.

Such well-worn apologetics will not withstand new evidence which indicts both Canadian and American banks. Private banks are boosting their loans to the junta just when other sources of funding are drying up because of international outrage over the junta's denial of human rights and dignity.

Canada's "Big Five" have participated with other international banks in bilateral and consortium loan packages

to Chile valued at over \$734 million since the coup in 1973. Over \$110 million comes directly from the vaults of Canadian banks. Jumping from \$24.3 million in 1975 to \$153.5 million in 1976, the total value of loans has more than doubled in each successive year.

The most frequent Canadian participants in the 21 transactions known to date are the Royal Bank of Canada (involved in 10 loans), the Bank of Nova Scotia (5) and the Bank of Montreal and Toronto-Dominion Bank tied with four loans each. Based on the value of loans made by the first third of 1978, it is estimated that Canadian banks will have helped make a billion dollars available to the Chilean junta by the end of the year.

How have Canada's banks become partners in footing the bill for Pinochet's junta?

In its first years (September 1973 - end 1975), the military junta was able to turn to multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, and to debt re-

scheduling for capital transfusions. However, in 1975 Pinochet was caught short at the Paris Club by the refusal of five European nations to reschedule the Chilean debt. International revulsion at the flagrant and consistent violations of human rights by the Chilean government could no longer be ignored. Experiencing similar pressure from the multilateral banking institutions, Pinochet decided to try his luck in the boardrooms of international private banks.

Unencumbered by concern for human rights and reasonably confident of the junta's stability, the banks became willing partners in an economic model which enforces scarcity on the majority of the Chilean population and requires continued violations of human rights.

The largest of four loans made by Canadian banks in 1976 went directly to the Chilean junta, allowing Pinochet to pay his Paris Club debt. The Bank of Nova Scotia, Royal Bank of Canada and Toronto-Dominion Bank together contributed more than \$20 million, almost one-fifth of the \$125 million consortium loan.

In 1977, the number of loans more than doubled. Five Canadian banks, (Bank of Nova Scotia, Royal Bank of Canada, Toronto-Dominion, Bank of Montreal, and Provincial Bank of Canada) participated in nine loans worth \$304.7 million. Three of these loans went directly to the junta and four

For more information on Canada's economic relations with Chile see: *Worlds Apart: Human Rights and Economic Relations, Canada-Chile*, a 38 page document with charts, describing 20 Canadian bank loans, 5 direct investments, 5 EDC credits, government economic relations and trade with Chile since the 1973 coup. Written by the Latin American Working Group, June 1978 and available from LAWG, Box 2207 Station P, Toronto, for \$2.75.

indirectly through government-owned corporations like the National Copper Corporation (CODELCO). In 1977, the Toronto-Dominion loaned \$1 million to the DINA, Pinochet's secret police, for the purchase of police equipment — a loan which directly bolsters Pinochet's repressive apparatus.

Indications are that private bank loans to Chile will double again this year. In the first five months, Canadian banks have participated in four loans, whose value of \$338.7 million is well over 1977's total of \$304.7 million. Typically, the most recent loan was first announced by the junta itself, eager to publicize its latest financial coup. A consortium of 25 international banks, including Canada's own Toronto-Dominion and Banque Canadienne Nationale (Bahamas) Ltd., are loaning \$90 million to CORFO — a government corporation which extends loans to private companies.

While Pinochet trumpets the news of every loan as proof that all is well in Chile, back in Canada the loans are steeped in a conspiracy of silence. Citing the Bank Act and bank confidentiality, Canadian bankers only rarely disclose the amounts that they are contributing to help one of Latin America's most notorious dictators stay in power.

A conservative estimate of the Canadian portion of the seven consortium loans where Canadian amounts have not been specified is \$66 million. Canadian banks are underwriting the junta to the tune of \$175 million. If one adds to this the value of government-related economic assistance to Chile since the coup — including debt relief, the Canadian share of multilateral loans and EDC credits — we find that the Canadian government and banks have spent close to \$250 million in bolstering the Chilean dictatorship. On top of this come the well-known \$850 million investments by Falconbridge and Noranda in two copper mines.

Through these generous deals Canada has become Chile's number two patron after the United States. Laid-off workers at Falconbridge and Noranda Mines might well ask if their jobs are being sacrificed to support a regime which has stripped their brothers in Chile of collective bargaining rights, and imprisoned, tortured, exiled, murdered and impoverished thousands.

The Canadian government has condemned Chile's horrifying human rights record on two occasions in the United Nations. Apparently the Canadian



President Pinochet

government saw no contradiction in condemning the junta's violations of human rights in the UN in 1976, while a Crown Corporation, the Export Development Corporation, simultaneously granted a foreign investment guarantee to an unnamed Canadian company operating in Chile. The guarantee, which insures the company against political disturbances, was a Canadian government bet on the junta's durability.

The EDC has been helping Canadian banks and corporations to pursue their interests in Chile ever since the coup. Many Canadians will remember the ill-timed EDC export credit to Chile in October, 1973 for the purchase of Twin Otter airplanes. The most recent EDC facility was jointly announced by the Bank of Montreal and the EDC. The deal had been previously touted by the Chilean junta eager to get international PR mileage. As it turns out, the junta

didn't tell the whole story. The EDC has in fact signed *two* agreements together with a consortium of Canadian banks, represented by the Bank of Montreal. The deal is worth \$22.1 million and involves the sale of Canadian equipment to two Chilean forestry and paper companies, Papeles y Cartones and Industrias y Forestales.

The latest announcement brings the number of EDC facilities for Chile since the coup to six. The EDC appears to be quickening its pace to keep up with the increasing number of bank loans and investments going to Chile. The junta has benefited from three EDC facilities in the first six months of this year.

Does the relationship between politics and economics continue to elude Canadian officials? It has been spelt out clearly by Milton Friedman, the American architect of present Chilean economic policies:

"It is widely believed that politics and economics are separate and largely unconnected; that individual freedom is a political problem and material welfare an economic problem; and that any kind of political arrangements can be combined with any kind of economic arrangements ... such a view is a delusion."

It is a delusion to think that EDC credits, bank loans and foreign investments in Chile are neutral. The economic model adopted by the junta dictates suffering, starvation and death for many times the number of people, great as it is, who have passed through the country's jails, prisons and concentration camps.

Isabel Letelier and Michael Moffitt (widow and widower of assassinated Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt)

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write in their *Human Rights, Economic Aid And Private Banks: The Case of Chile*:

"The time has come to erase the dividing line between first and second class human rights. The electrode to the nipple is an affront to human dignity; so is the nipple that has no milk for the suckling infant. The use of psychiatric institutions to harbour political dissidents is a perversion of professional responsibility; so is the failure of hospitals to care for the sick. Arbitrary arrest and detention violate the integrity of the person; so does the impersonal system of triage, which under a regime of enforced scarcity, decides who is to live

and who is to die."

Pinochet's economic model creates conditions which are attractive and profitable for foreign investors and international loans and credits. Repression is required to impose the model's harsh terms on an unconsenting majority of the population. Canadian economic relations, in the form of bank loans, investments and government-sponsored financial assistance, have helped consolidate the Chilean dictatorship, and by granting it a mantle of respectability and financial endorsement, have encouraged its continued violations of human rights. Even if the more brutal forms of repression are moderated in Chile's foreseeable

future, a relatively high level of repression, economic and political, must continue if the economic model is to continue.

Five years have passed since the murder of Salvador Allende. The horrors of the September 1973 coup are becoming dim memories to a public continuously bombarded with stories of injustice and poverty throughout the world. But the repressive policies of Chile's military government haven't changed, and Canadian economic relations with the regime are growing. Bank loans and investments in Chile continue to be made at the expense of both the Chilean and Canadian people.

Investment that cripples rather than helps

by ALISON ACKER

All day long, Jesus Carrasco, former miner, sweeps the dust from one side of the square to the other in the little town of Andacollo, Chile, where Noranda Mines proposes to invest \$350 million. Jesus gets \$7 a week, in a country where one loaf of bread costs 50-cents. If and when Noranda comes, he doesn't expect to get one centavo more.

"They haven't promised to employ a single one of us. I'm told they'll bring in their own people," he said. "And if we do get work in ten years time, it will be the same as it was with the Incas and the Spaniards and the Americans. They get rich and we get buried in a hole 20 foot deep."

Andacollo is a sad little town, despite the splendour of its famous church, where 100,000 people come to pray to the Virgin every October. Where there used to be 76 copper or gold mines in the area, now there are only 11 working. One of these is an open-cast mine at the fringe of the town, where use of machinery has cut employment down to only 12 men. Other miners listed as "employed" actually work alone or in pairs, panning for gold like the early Yukon miners, only there's slim pickings around Andacollo in the grey dust.

There are 400 unemployed miners in Andacollo, and another 132 on minimal employment like Jesus. They stand at their doors, small men, barely five foot three or four, faces pocked and blackened by dust. A small boy runs out, wearing his father's mining helmet, but the father doesn't say a word.

The mayor of the town, Hernando Faraó, sits between two Chilean flags and beneath a slightly askew photograph of President Pinochet.

"No," he says, "the Canadians haven't exactly promised us any jobs. They say in ten years, maybe, but that's all. We're not expecting any real change.

"We've hardly seen any Canadians. They're somewhere up in the mountains and I've only met them once. They've got all their supplies up there and they don't need us. If they do start mining, it will be engineers they want, and not us."

Noranda has boasted of offering 900 jobs, but has never said how many Chileans it would employ. Right now, increasing mechanization of the large mines, and bankruptcy in the small or medium-sized mines has reduced employment everywhere in Chile. In Chuquicamata, it is down from 10,000 to 8,000. In smaller sectors, there has been a 60 per cent reduction in the mining force since 1973. In one gold-mining town, Petorca, unemployment is 75 per cent.

Miners who do have jobs are exploited. It is low wages that have attracted the investors, and Chuquicamata miners, getting from \$17 to \$40 a week, risked repression to demand a 50 per cent raise in August of this year, insisting that they were merely seeking re-adjustments to bring their wages up to meet inflation.

The Chilean Junta is trying to cure its economic woes by selling every available resource — mines, forests, factories, railroads and ports. Chileans remember the 60 years before the Salvadore Allende government nationalized the

mines, years when four overseas companies collected \$10.8 billion in earnings from mining in Chile — more than the total Chilean GNP for 400 years!

"Overseas investment crippled Chile before, and is the worst possible solution now." Alamiro Guzman, president of the National Mining Federation, told me in Santiago this summer.

"The whole mining industry is in trouble and it will get worse. There will be no improvement until the copper belongs to the people again, and Chilean miners can work like free men, with union rights, not like slaves".

Guzman, an open Marxist who was imprisoned during the Junta's first years, talks of a general strike if the Junta continues with its repression of workers' rights. But he knows that in small towns, like Andacollo, miners are led by men appointed by the Junta, and often chosen precisely because they are illiterate and afraid. Five years of union oppression have weakened the power of the Chilean miners. They're cynical now of any promises.

"I remember working for the Americans," an "old-timer" — aged 35 but looking 55 — told me. "They had their cafeterias and we had ours. It was like whites and blacks. But sometimes I wish we had the Americans running things again."

"Why?" I ask. He stares at me, poker-faced, quite serious.

"They had such good garbage. We could live off their leavings. Now we don't have even that.

"If the Canadians come, tell them to bring good garbage."

CANADIAN BANK LOANS TO CHILE

DATE	TOTAL AMOUNT (in \$Million) (if consortium loan)	LEADER OF BANK GROUP	CANADIAN BANK(S) (Involved in consortium or bilaterally)	RECIPIENT
1. Jan. 1974	\$ 3.5	N/A	Consortium of unidentified Canadian banks	Banco Central de Chile
2. June 1975	.5		Royal Bank of Canada	Fanalaza Co. of Penco
3. July 1975	.252		Royal Bank of Canada	Celulosa Const. (CELCO)
4. 1975	24.0	Bank of America	Bank of Nova Scotia	Compania de Acero del Pacifico (CAP)
5. March 1976	1.0		Royal Bank of Canada	Compania de Acero del Pacifico (CAP)
6. April 1976	2.5		Royal Bank of Canada	N/A
7. May 1976	125.0	Banker's Trust	Bank of Nova Scotia (\$8.2) Royal Bank of Canada (\$8.2) Toronto-Dominion Bank (\$4.2)	Banco Central de Chile
8. Oct. 1976	25.0	Libra Bank	Royal Bank of Canada	Empresa de Comercio Agricola (ECA)
9. March 1977	10.0		Bank of Nova Scotia	Corporacion de Fomento (CORFO)
10. April 1977	3.0		Royal Bank of Canada	Empresa Nacional de Electricidad (ENDESA)
11. April 1977	.3		Royal Bank of Canada	Papelera del Pacifico (PADELPA)
12. May 1977	10.0		Bank of Nova Scotia	CORFO
13. May 1977	1.0		Toronto-Dominion Bank	Direccion General de Investigaciones
14. June 1977	55.0	Banker's Trust (N.Y.) Wells Fargo (Ca.)	Royal Bank of Canada	Compania de Acero del Pacifico (CAP)
15. June 1977	100.0	Chemical Bank	Bank of Montreal (Co-manager)	Corporacion Nacional del Cobre (CODELCO)
16. Aug. 1977	.4		Bank of Nova Scotia	Ministry of Foreign Relations
17. Dec. 1977	125.0	Wells Fargo	Royal Bank Int'l Ltd. (Nassau) Bank of Montreal Provincial Bank of Canada Int'l Ltd.	Banco Central de Chile
18. 1978	24.0	Chemical Bank	Bank of Montreal	Manufactura Papeles y Cartones
19. 1978	14.7		Bank of Montreal	Manufactura Papeles y Cartones
20. April 1978	210.0	Morgan Guarantee Trust	Toronto-Dominion Bank (\$5.0) Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (\$6.75) (Co-manager)	N/A
21. May 1978	90.0	Chase Manhattan (N.A.)	Toronto-Dominion Bank Banque Canadienne Nationale (Bahamas)	CORFO

United Nations tries again, but the arms buildup continues

by ERNIE REGEHR

The final document of the UN General Assembly's special session on disarmament (May-June 1978) must be considered a worthy representative of its genre. The product of consensus (only Albania rejected it), the document says a great deal about long-term objectives and over-arching principles, makes a number of constructive suggestions (including a few from Canada), but is silent on implementation.

Much wishful thinking

The document's "Program of Action" is indistinguishable from its "Declaration" in that it too confines itself to wishful thinking about what might happen if only everyone would resolve to make it happen. In the key paragraph on the process of nuclear disarmament, the document says:

"The achievement of nuclear disarmament will require urgent negotiation of agreements at appropriate stages and with adequate measures of verification satisfactory to the states concerned for:

- "cessation of the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear weapon systems;
 - "cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, and the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes;
 - "a comprehensive phased program with agreed time-frames, whenever feasible, for progressive and balanced reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, leading to their ultimate and complete elimination at the earliest possible time."
- "Consideration can be given in the course of the negotiation to mutual and agreed limitation or prohibition, without prejudice to the security of any State, of any types of nuclear armaments."

That the statement adds little to what Messrs. Brezhnev and Carter have been saying all along is, in itself, not an indictment of the special session. The stated objective of the session was to decipher international consensus on arms control issues and, though the General Assembly is technically capable of concluding international agreements, it is a declaratory rather than negotiating body and its efforts at arms control and disarmament certainly fall into the former rather than the latter category.

What must concern observers of the special session is not its failures or achievements but the nature of the consensus which it revealed. When the rhetoric is cleared away what is left is the simple fact that the international community is in no mood to make the accommodations necessary to achieve even modest control on military spending.

The question that remains is why, when it is almost universally recognized that nuclear weapons and the diversion of scarce resources away from human development towards both nuclear and conventional weapons undermine rather than enhance international security, does the military build-up continue unabated?

Structural arms race

The answer is in the context within which weapons development and disarmament negotiations take place.

In the first instance there is a decreasing connection between the level of military confrontation and the level of political tensions. The military build-up in Europe, in particular, now far exceeds the level of political tension there. It can be said with some confidence that both East and West Europe now seek acceptance of the *status quo* and that the military stand-off between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries is not based on active and specific political disputes.

The military build-up proceeds according to its own momentum, namely that supplied by technological innovation in weapons development and by the strategic doctrines of "deterrence" and "military balance" (neither term being synonymous with "stability"). New weapons systems beget new weapons systems as each side tries to counter the technical advances (real or imagined) of the other, so that, once the systems are in place and governed by notions of balance and deterrence, political détente has little impact on what has become a structural arms race.

First strike capability

A second feature of the current context of weapons development is that technological innovation has led to a major change in the military purpose of nuclear weapons. During the 1950s and 1960s nuclear weapons were designed to prevent war. The system of deterrence, although undermined by aspirations of a "strengthened deterrence", was built on the logic that if each side possesses nuclear weapons sufficient to destroy the social and economic order of the other side by means of a retaliatory strike, then each side is in turn deterred from launching the first nuclear strike.

Since then, however, technical improvements to weapons delivery systems have made it possible to deliver nuclear weapons with sufficient accuracy to, potentially, in a first strike, destroy enough of the other side's arsenal to restrict its ability to inflict retaliatory damage to acceptable levels.

The objective, therefore, has become to build nuclear weapons that can be used to *defeat* the other side, not simply to deter it from attacking. Consequently, in an international crisis, such as the Cuban missile crisis, the strategic advantage is rapidly moving to the side that strikes first.

That is, if a nuclear war seems highly likely, the incentive is to strike first to limit the other side's ability to inflict damage. Hence, technological innovation has undermined deterrence and actually given incentive to begin a nuclear war.

Weapons planners like to call this a more morally acceptable system since there is less emphasis on the threat of genocide as the chief element of deterrence. Whatever the merits of that argument, the implications for arms control are enormous. With increased accuracy, as opposed to simply numbers of weapons, now the central measure of the arms race, the ability to verify reductions (an essential element of arms control agreements) becomes extremely difficult.

Each side assumes worst

Earlier it was possible, by satellite surveillance, to count the other side's missiles, submarines and strategic bombers, but now the crucial element is their accuracy and so each side assumes the worst about the other's capabilities and the arms race spirals.

A third major factor in the rapid increase in world-wide military spending is that the major industrial powers have discovered that the sale of military hardware to developing countries is an effective means of exercising control over them, and of extracting economic benefits from them.

The industrialized countries annually sell almost \$20 billion worth of military hardware to willing military establishments in the third world. The sales are paid for largely with the raw materials that are mined in the developing countries. In the case of Iran and Saudi Arabia, American military sales are a means of repatriating "petro-dollars".

The research laboratories of the arms manufacturers and the financial interests of the arms sellers have become primary factors in the continuing arms build-up. Prime Minister Trudeau's speech to the Assembly included four proposals to "suffocate" the arms race, the first two of which (a comprehensive test ban treaty and a ban on the flight testing of new missiles) were directed specifically toward the technological impulse in the arms race.

The special session, however, could only reflect the context in which it was held — it could do very little to change it. At each turn the conflicting interests of

the various economic, political and military blocs and regions served to frustrate efforts to develop firm action proposals.

Prior to the session there were high hopes that a comprehensive test-ban treaty (CTBT) would be announced at the session or become part of the final document. It now appears a CTBT is more remote than ever. The Soviet Union wants to retain the right to test "peaceful" nuclear devices, the U.S. is concerned about verification facilities, and France and China have little interest in ending tests as long as the superpowers enjoy extreme superiority.

Thus the special session's final document stated rather lamely: "various views were expressed by non-nuclear weapon states that, pending the conclusion of this treaty (CTBT), the world community should be encouraged if all the nuclear weapon states refrained from testing nuclear weapons. In this connection some nuclear-power states expressed different views."

The Canadian proposal to seek a ban on flight testing of new missiles was excluded from the document.

On the issue of nuclear non-proliferation, the General Assembly simply restated the goal of the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT): "... on the one hand to prevent the emergence of any additional nuclear weapon states besides the existing five ... and on the other progressively to reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear weapons altogether."

Third world countries reluctant

As long as the nuclear club continues to test new weapons and build up its nuclear arsenals, third world countries — especially those, such as India, Brazil, Pakistan, Israel and others, which probably have the technical ability to produce nuclear weapons — are reluctant to close off their nuclear options. Nuclear weapons states consider non-proliferation to be a problem of maintaining the status quo, while non-nuclear weapon states consider non-proliferation to be a problem of dismantling present arsenals.

Roughly the same north-south split characterizes the issue of the non-first-use of nuclear weapons. Third world countries believe that such a declaration would not only add stability to the super-power stand-off but would reduce the incentive for non-nuclear states to acquire a nuclear deterrent. Both super-powers are in principle prepared to renounce the use of nuclear weapons

against non-nuclear weapons states. However, they attach conditions which exclude from their non-use commitments any non-nuclear weapons states allied or associated with nuclear weapons states.

On the matter of the conventional arms race (of the \$400 billion arms race, 80 per cent is spent on non-nuclear forces and weapons) the final document did little more than affirm that "the limitation and gradual reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons should be resolutely pursued within the framework of progress towards general and complete disarmament."

UN studies approved

One of the few concrete actions to emerge from the session was approval for extensive UN-sponsored studies of the links between disarmament and development. The studies are to be welcomed in that, given provisions to study all aspects of the impact of military spending on development, they offer some hope of moving the UN debate out of its hitherto simplistic emphasis upon ear-marking some of the savings from future disarmament in industrialized countries for increased development assistance to third world countries.

The new studies will examine ways in which the military transfers from industrialized countries to developing countries are used to reinforce patterns of dependence, and to extract surplus capital from developing countries for accumulation in the central industrialized countries.

Another specific measure adopted by the Special Session on Disarmament is reorganization of the multilateral arms control and disarmament machinery. The most important change is in the Geneva-based Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), which has been meeting since 1962 under the co-chairmanship of the Soviet Union and the United States.

The new committee will be known as the Committee on Disarmament, it will include all nuclear weapons states (China was not a member of the CCD and France refused to participate in it), it will have a rotating chairman, and will have a total membership of 32 to 35 states.

In addition, a Disarmament Commission composed of all member states of the UN will be established as the main deliberative body for arms control and disarmament issues. It will be a subsidiary body to the General Assembly and will report annually.

Bilingualism in the United States

by Robert Chodos

Although almost everyone is aware of the torrent of ideas and fads flowing from the United States into Canada, it is sometimes overlooked that there is also a reverse flow, albeit a much smaller one.

In the sixties, when Lester Pearson was trying to sell Co-operative Federalism as the answer to Canada's constitutional problems, Lyndon Johnson got wind of it, renamed it Creative Federalism, and applied it to American state-federal relations. The current Comprehensive Employment and Training Act in the United States bears some uncanny similarities to the Canadian Opportunities for Youth and Local Initiatives Program of a few years back. But probably the most surprising Canadian idea to gain ground south of the border is bilingualism.

As might be expected, bilingualism American-style differs both in form and in substance from the Canadian variety, although it has been scarcely less controversial. It is directed not at aging civil servants but at school children whose native language is not English — of whom there are an estimated 3.6 million in the United States. The program was originally conceived to meet the needs of Spanish-speaking children and the majority of the participants in the program are of Hispanic background, but it is by no means restricted to them and is equally applicable to children whose native language is Greek, Arabic, Chinese, Tagalog, Cherokee, Hualapai, Upper Kuskokwin or Pennsylvania Dutch. Or even French. Participants of whatever native tongue spend part of the school day learning in that tongue and the rest of the day learning in English. In general, the program is restricted to the early school years and students are switched to all-English classes for the upper years.

Bilingual education was not designed as a challenge to the prevalent idea that America is a melting pot, in which the English language is one of the most obvious badges of one's Americanism, and lack of proficiency in English a clear sign of one's failure to make it. In fact, the program was a product of the observation that

existing educational techniques weren't melting people effectively enough.

Its adoption at the federal level was part of the vast expansion of federal education programs that took place under President Johnson, himself an ardent believer in the universal applicability of mainstream American values. As a school principal in Cotulla, Texas, in the late 1920s, Johnson forbade the pupils in his school, 75 per cent of whom were Mexican-Americans, to speak Spanish on the school grounds. He was far from alone, for this is an educational technique that has been widely practised in American schools with large minority-language populations, and sometimes even enforced by law.

Bilingual education was intended as a less ham-fisted means of achieving the same result. If children are first taught to read, write and figure in their own language, runs the theory, they will be more likely to learn these basic skills and get hooked into the school system than minority-language children subject to the old rule of sink-or-swim. There are any number of studies showing that minority-language children taught by traditional methods perform more poorly on tests and drop out of school more readily than children whose native language is English. The need for a new approach to the problem was clear. The thrust of the Johnson education reforms was to provide equal educational opportunity to disadvantaged and handicapped children, and by melting-pot criteria there could be no doubt that minority-language children fit into that category.

The Bilingual Education Act, Title VII of the omnibus Elementary and Secondary Education Act, was first adopted in 1968, for a period of five years. In 1974 it was extended for another five-year period, and yet another five-year extension, with amendments, passed both the Senate and the House of Representatives this summer.

Meanwhile, bilingual education received further legal backing from the 1974 Supreme Court decision in the case of *Lau vs. Nichols*, in which the Court main-

THINK
ENGLISH!

"... Si... UH...
OUI... ER...
YES... "

MALLETT
78

tained that officials of the San Francisco Unified School District were violating the civil rights of Chinese-speaking students under their jurisdiction by not providing special programs to remedy their lack of English competence.

"There is no equality of treatment," wrote Justice William Douglas in the majority opinion, "merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education." While the Court did not specifically recommend bilingual education or any other particular program, its decision was an influential recognition of the situation toward which the bilingual program is directed.

Federal appropriations for bilingual education have risen from \$7.5 million in 1969 to a current \$135 million and a projected figure of more than \$200 million in 1979. The modest branch that was set up a decade ago has grown into a full-fledged Office of Bilingual Education within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. On the surface, bilingual education has all the appearances of a program that has worked, an idea whose time has come.

But all is not well with bilingual education, and the program is under attack from at least two sides. At the root of the debate is a disagreement over what cultural policy the United States should follow, and what kind of society it should be.

The maintenance approach

On one side of the controversy are the language minorities themselves, who see the bilingual program as a vehicle not for more effective assimilation into the English-language mainstream but rather for the preservation of their languages and cultures. How deep the support for this maintenance approach, as it has become known, actually is among the ethnic groups served by the program is not clear, but there is no doubt of its strength among the people who have actually become involved in the program and taken the greatest interest in it.

Dr. Normand Dubé, who administered a bilingual education program in the French-speaking St. John Valley of northern Maine and now heads an agency that develops materials for French and Portuguese bilingual programs, argues that there is nothing in Title VII that specifically mandates the transitional as opposed to the maintenance approach, and that people working within the program are free to apply their own philosophy. He leaves little doubt about his preference: "I buy the notion of putting people into the mainstream — but not at the expense of dying. You can't stop people from being what they are."

The first national conference of Franco-Americans, in Lafayette, La., last March, was largely devoted to a discussion of the bilingual program, and there was a clear consensus in favour of the maintenance approach. The conference adopted a resolution "to promote changes in Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act that would establish linguistic and cultural maintenance as a national educational policy." Dr. Rudy Cordova, director of the Division of Program

Development in the Office of Bilingual Education, who was a featured speaker at the conference, says that virtually all language groups have expressed similar sentiments.

On the other side is a vocal anti-bilingual backlash, fuelled by lingering American nativism and the no-frills, back-to-basics movement in education.

This backlash received expression on network television in June when the CBS news show *Sixty Minutes* showed supposedly bilingual classes in New York City being conducted entirely in Spanish; in one case, the teacher could barely speak English. Anchorman Mike Wallace also quoted a study done for HEW by the American Institute of Research which purported to show that the bilingual education program was a flop and had especially failed to achieve its primary goal — improving English-language proficiency.

Anti-bilinguals attack

The voice of the anti-bilinguals was also heard in Congress when the new five-year extension came up for debate in July. Congressman Ashbrook of Ohio proposed the abolition of the entire program, citing the American Institute of Research study and the Mike Wallace item as evidence of its pernicious nature. His amendment was defeated, but even some supporters of bilingual education took pains to dissociate themselves from its possible use for cultural maintenance.

"I think it is terribly important," said Congressman Sisk of California, "that we keep in mind that the purpose of the bilingual program is to make youngsters proficient in the English language. If that is not the intent of the program, and if we are veering off somewhere else to deal in culture or trying to create a bilingual society, then God forbid that I want to be any part of that action."

Title VII was amended with the aim of making sure that bilingual programs had measurable goals, that children weren't kept in the programs beyond the time necessary for them to learn English, and that non-English-speaking teachers were excluded from the classroom.

Caught in the middle of all this is the Office of Bilingual Education, which has to listen both to the language minorities advocating cultural maintenance and to the Congressmen saying English, English, English. At the Lafayette conference Dr. Cordova upheld transition in front of an audience that unanimously favoured maintenance, a difficult position but not a new one for him, since similar situations have arisen at a wide variety of language-minority meetings.

In the privacy of his office Dr. Cordova, himself a Hispanic American from New Mexico, admits to a certain sympathy for the cultural-maintenance goals of the language minorities, but being wise in the way of Washington politics he is disappointed that they can't be a little more diplomatic in pursuing them.

"The United States is reverting from Anglo-Saxon to a multicultural environment," he says. "We're recognizing that people have retained their culture, and that it doesn't make them less American. This program is encouraging the movement. As long as it's directed toward developing English competence, there are any

number of things you can do with the program. But a lot of people get hung up on trying to define the program and put it into a little box. When somebody says 'we have a maintenance program' somebody else stands up and says 'that's not what the program is for'."

In other words, cultural maintenance in present-day America has much the same status as sex did in Victorian England: you can do it, but just don't talk about it. That this might not be a satisfactory solution to minorities who have long received the message that their cultures are inferior seems to escape Dr. Cordova's attention.

One thing the bilingual education controversy has exposed is just how unwillingly some cultural minorities have been melted into the American melting pot. While few language minorities have held out against the assimilating power of American society for more than three or four generations, their eventual submission has often taken the form more of sullen acceptance than of enthusiastic embrace.

The latent language loyalties that still existed among cultural minorities have gained strength from the infusion of federal funds that has occurred under the bilingual education program. If the program says it is teaching you your language the better to assimilate you, that is reason to mistrust it, but it is not reason enough to refuse the money. Cultural minorities simply cannot afford to say no. It is a choice between preserving their languages under compromising conditions, or not at all.

Not a new movement

Although the current interest in cultural maintenance is often ascribed to such ephemeral phenomena as the bicentennial, which asked Americans to look at their heritage, and the popularity of *Roots*, it is far from being a new movement in American society; it is instead a very old movement that had been dormant. American policy toward linguistic and cultural minorities has been an open question since colonial times.

During the Revolution the Continental Congress published many of its declarations in French — in an effort to lure Quebec into the struggle on its side — and German as well as English. In the 1790s and again in the 1830s resolutions to have Congress print official documents in German as well as English were narrowly defeated.

Minority languages have often been recognized at the state and local level. Pennsylvania and Ohio both granted recognition to German-language public schools in the nineteenth century, and Cincinnati had a flourishing network of bilingual schools. Louisiana has officially recognized French at several times in its history, and New Mexico issued its laws in English and Spanish until 1949. Miami has had bilingual public schools since the influx of Cubans in the early 1960s.

Even in areas where state support and legal recognition have not been factors, ethnic groups have often created strong minority-language institutions. Before World War I, German-language daily newspapers in the United States had a circulation of roughly 800,000.

And French-Canadian immigrants in New England built a network of bilingual parochial schools that only began to decline after the Second World War. In short, the proposition that becoming an American means becoming culturally Anglo-American has been far from universally accepted.

Assimilation pressed

And yet, the pressures toward assimilation have almost always been the stronger ones. Sometimes these pressures have been brutal and sudden — as in the case of the measures that were taken to wipe out German culture during and after the First World War. At other times they have operated more subtly and slowly, but the effects have been the same. American values of success and achievement are inculcated, English is promoted as the vehicle of those values, the French or Spanish or Navajo speaking American is made to feel that his language is inferior and a burden to be cast off. "The children in this country of ours," said Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick of New Jersey during the recent debate, "must learn English. They have to learn it well. We cannot condemn them to a partial learning. They will never become president of General Motors or President of the United States if they cannot speak English properly."

All supporters of bilingual education, whatever their position on the transition-*vs*-maintenance question, are agreed that one of the desired outcomes of the program is a greater feeling of self-worth on the part of the child. A child who has a positive self-concept and is proud of his culture will be more inclined to preserve it, say the maintenance advocates. A child who has a positive self-concept will be better equipped psychologically to learn English, say the transitionists. Dr. Cordova, while admitting that students in bilingual programs have not learned English any better than those in all-English classes, does see "better self-image" as one of the positive results of bilingual education.

Other positive results, in his eyes, have been "creating greater multicultural sensitivity, more parental involvement and acceptance of second languages by the educational community." All of these are sufficiently broad that they can appeal to either a transition or a maintenance advocate. In keeping with the workings of the American political process, groups with vastly different ultimate goals have made a deal. It is in the interests of both minority-language loyalists and the more enlightened assimilationists for bilingual education to continue.

And so, despite the American Institute of Research, despite the hostile Congressmen, despite even Mike Wallace and *Sixty Minutes*, it will continue, at least until 1984. The melting-pot ideal is unlikely to be dethroned, but the resistance to that ideal won't disappear either. And, for the moment at least, bilingual education is a serviceable expedient for dealing with the problem of what to do with cultural minorities, a problem the United States, like most other countries, has not solved.

SEE THE PREMIERS

Much has been written about this past summer's historic Premiers' Conference in Regina. Angus Ricker felt the elementary school children of this land should not be denied their opportunity to read an account of this memorable event.

by ANGUS RICKER

THE PREMIERS

See the ten premiers.
They are in Regina for a premier's conference.
They are tall, short, thin, fat.
They are left, centre, right, righter and Rufus.
Sterling Rufus Lyon scored 98 per cent on the Canadian Dimension reactionary scale.
Even Pierre Trudeau had to admire that. And now he's imitating it.

THE BIG GAME

See Bill, Al and William at the football game.
On the 55 yard line, natch.
Now Al holds the ball while Bill kicks it.
Nice picture for the next day's papers.
William puffs his pipe in the stands.
Guess which premiers will shortly be seeking re-election?

THE FLACKS

See the flacks for the ten premiers.
They are number twos looking out for number ones.
The boss had to come to Regina in mid-August. He had better get some ink.
See those flacks scramble.
Scramble. Scramble. Scramble.

THE REPORTERS

See the reporters.
There are more than 100 of them.
They are bored.
Bored. Bored. Bored
Their minds are on vacation and any work is on

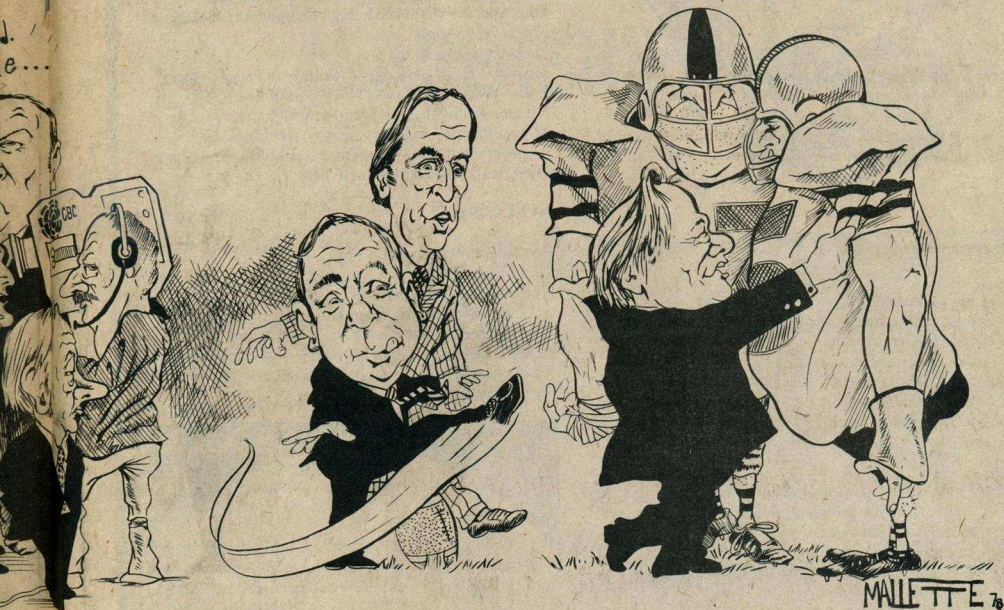


overtime.
Regina in August.
Doesn't swing like April in Paris, does it?
And some of them will have to go north to Waskesieu.
The ones with least seniority.
So what's new in Waskesieu, buddy?
That doesn't swing either.

THE CBC MAN

See the CBC man.
He is kicking the flack in the shins.

RS MEET IN REGINA



He is telling the flack he wants the premier at 3:30 sharp.
Or else.
See the flack grovel.
Grovel. Grovel. Grovel.
The flack will produce his premier.
If there's a TV camera handy, his premier wants to be on it.
Then the CBC will re-enact the conference starring Don McNeill.
Isn't that clever?
No wonder the other reporters mumble about the Man from Glad.

LES VEDETTES

See the vedettes.
René is a vedette.
Vedettes get escorted by noisy clagues wherever they go.
Clack, clack, clack.
Vedettes are even more important than the CBC.
But the other premiers also like René.
They think he won't be around much longer.
Then they will pick up the pieces.
Neat, eh?

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RED AL

See Al glower.
Glower. Glower. Glower.
Al is glowering about the non-status Indians and Metis. The Indians have barricaded the road to Waskesieu. The Indians are even better at arranging media events than the premiers are.

SILLY SERVANTS

See the civil servants and cabinet ministers. They are considering the Indian barricade. Consider. Consider. Consider.
Options. Options. Options.
One option is to mount a Caterpillar tractor on a flatbed trailer.
Pretty high powered when push comes to shove, eh?
Some silly servants don't think so swell.

UNHAPPY JACK

See unhappy Jack. Jack is negotiating with the Indians. Negotiate. Negotiate. Negotiate.
But his heart isn't in it.
He'd rather be playing cards with Claude Morin. The official ministerial poker championship is at stake. The honour of English Canada is at stake.
The caterpillar option is suddenly very inviting.

HOVERING

See Al fly in by helicopter.
Hover. Hover. Hover.
Al is talking turkey with the Indians.
Of course they agree. It is set up that way.

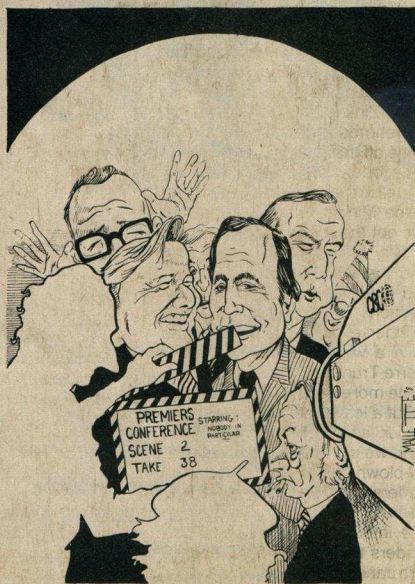
Premiers can arrange most anything when they have to (and the TV cameras are rolling.)
See the barricade removed after only six hours.
See the premiers in the Winnebago bus passing time by playing cards and drinking.
Some have drunk as much as some of the Indians.
Confrontation and boredom are great levellers.

PROTEGES

See Dick Spencer.
Dick Spencer is a protege of John Diefenbaker.
Dick Spencer wants the Indians charged for blocking the highway.
He is appealing to the bigot vote.
He wants to get elected provincially in Prince Albert. Indian what? Native who? No votes in that.
"It amazes me that the premier would allow one group of our citizens — already heavily subsidized by taxpayers' dollars — to obstruct a public thoroughfare." Now that's what they want to hear.

SO LONG

See the premiers say good-bye.
Good-bye. Good-bye. Good-bye.
They are off to scramble for another year.
Scramble. Scramble. Scramble.
But they are united. Even René is with them.
And Pierre sees to it that they are reunited every year.
That's how Canadian government works kids.



LAST POST'S EARLY LINE ON THE LIBERAL LEADERSHIP RACE

by Last Post staff

The following exercise may be in vain.

First of all, Lubor Zink, Ottawa columnist for the *Toronto Sun* has been brooding rather darkly of late that, by the time a general election is constitutionally necessary, Pierre Trudeau may call the constitution off. That is, he may pull an Indira Gandhi and declare a state of emergency or an apprehended state of emergency. Lubor Zink is both ultra-right and sometimes right, so let's not close off that option.

Secondly, the Liberals may do so well in the by-elections that the Prime Minister may feel that he has got the hang of things again and try his luck once more. He may therefore keep his promise and lead the party into another election.

Other events can combine in such a way that we may have Pierre Trudeau to kick us around some more; still, the murmurings about a leadership change seem louder, and, perhaps by the new year, we may be in the midst of a full-blown declared or undeclared leadership race in the federal Liberal Party. This article is therefore intended to give *Last Post* readers the early line on leadership candidates and an indication of probable Liberal methodology



**WE MAY HAVE PIERRE TO KICK US AROUND SOME MORE – STILL,
THE MURMURINGS GROW LOUDER**

in selecting Pierre Trudeau's replacement.

The logical place to begin is with the Cabinet. Even if one was to ignore the evidence that this would hardly be the time for the Liberals to go with another Quebecois, the leadership potential in the Cabinet is, to put it most

charitably, thin. Indeed, there is a large body of opinion which holds that one of the reasons Pierre Trudeau appears to be so brilliant is his mania always to surround himself with dummies. A case in point is Otto Lang.

It is unclear at this time whether Lang's recent statements con-

cerning capital punishment and the ability of the feds to ram constitutional changes down the throats of the provinces were due to jet lag or an early attempt to stake out some right-wing territory for a leadership bid. We hope he clarifies this soon — if he can.

From earlier cabinets there is Herb Gray, Bryce Mackasey (assuming he wins in the by-election). Not much chance here, even in spite of the latter's spirited defence of the civil service (a bold stroke in Ottawa Centre) and the grain growing possibilities of the Okanagan Valley.

All eyes therefore turn on John

Turner. The *Globe and Mail* likes his looks and the *Toronto Star* thinks he is great — such fullsome praise from the Eastern Establishment may work against Turner as much as for him. Also, there is the Spite Factor. Turner is not popular inside the party. It is considered that Turner let the party down and that upon leaving the ship he swam around and started gnawing at the hull.

If there is a Turner boom, there will also be a stop Turner movement — led probably by The Man himself. Messy, Messy. We hear Turner has bought property in the United States and may not even

want to bother with the campaign. As the saying goes, "if I can make all the bread in the world, I care not who makes the laws." Outside the current, or past, or even the cabinet of the immediate future — one that could possibly include Maurice Strong and John Evans — there seems little talent in the hinterland. One name, however, keeps popping up — Ed Schreyer. Young, bright, popular as hell and he must be bored of being clubbed by the Stone Age men in the Manitoba government.

Schreyer has one drawback — maybe this is important — he is



BRYCE MACKASEY: TRYING HARD, BUT NOT MUCH CHANCE AT THE SUCCESSION



ALL EYES TURN TO JOHN TURNER, BUT HE'S GOT PROBLEMS; HE'S AN EASTERNER AND HE LEFT THE SHIP, SOME WOULD SAY JUMPED SHIP, AT A CRUCIAL TIME

ED SCHREYER IS A GOOD LONG-SHOT BET; OF COURSE HE'S NOT A LIBERAL, BUT THEN, NEITHER WAS PIERRE



WHAT ROLE WILL MAGGIE PLAY??

not a Liberal. However, neither was Trudeau until the time came. In our mind, Ed Schreyer remains a good long-shot bet.

As to the methodology of choosing a leader, it is here we are likely to find the next leader as we take the public opinion survey which has become such an integral part of the political process.

A political pollster will probably decide upon the following leadership qualifications:

- The new leader must be a Liberal and come from a solid Liberal background — by solid, we mean of the old-school-none

of- Viva- Fidel- stuff or the free-market-is-dead;

- The new leader should be from the West (as far as possible) and, if possible, speak Diefenbaker French;

- The new leader must be young and, given the new politics, it would be an added bonus if the leader were to be female;

- While political experience would be helpful, it is essential that the public recognize and believe that the new leader be both independent of Trudeau and one who has made a public break with him;

- The new leader should have a high public profile. The name should be, as they say, a household word.

Adhering to this criteria, the choice for new leader of the party is both obvious and natural — Margaret Trudeau (she is between movies anyway).

Thus the early line on the new Liberal leader is Margaret Trudeau — and likely the next Prime Minister.

We certainly hope Lubor Zink turns out to be wrong.



THE LOST PAST

With organized labour under attack by politicians, businessmen and the media, it's important to remember the conditions that gave birth to the labour movement. Here, a look at the men who built Lord Strathcona a railway in what was later to be Alberta

WORKIN' ON THE RAILROAD

by Warren Caragata

Like most things on the Prairies, it all started with the CPR.

If it wasn't for construction of the rail line and the accompanying growth of a coal industry whose best market was always the railway companies, the labour movement in the early years of Alberta would have been a far different creature.

Out of the brutality and crushing conditions of the railway construction camps and coal towns came a tough, militant and radical movement — all necessary to fight back against employers whose credo was profit above all else, even human life.

And nowhere was this philosophy more naked than in the camps filled with the men who built Lord Strathcona a railway.

In the late 1890s, construction began on the Crowsnest Pass branch line of the CPR from Lethbridge through into the Kootenay mining region of southeastern British Columbia —

a line that was to add Consolidated Mining and Smelting to the growing empire of Canadian Pacific.

The line was completed in 1898 and conditions were so bad that even the Royal Northwest Mounted Police officers, whose job it was to keep order among the construction workers on the line, were touched. The work was done by contractors hired by the CPR.

* * *

From the weekly report of RNWMP Supt. Deane:

"All patrols, when passing near construction work, have orders to go, out of their way if necessary, and look in upon working parties, enquiring of the foremen if there are any complaints.

"As far as I have been able to learn so far, the rate of wages does not exceed one dollar per day and rations. Some contractors do not pay quite so much and I should judge from the appearance of the men that I have seen that they will not care to squander their money when they get it."



Typical construction camp during building of the Crow'snest Pass line. Workers testified that some of the bunkhouses were more like hospital wards. In some cases, men slept in tents, without stoves — in January

From a letter to the commissioner of the RNWMP, Oct. 23, 1897, from Insp. G.E. Saunders, Macleod:

"Owing to the fact that all labourers are charged with their railway fare from where they were hired to Macleod and also in many cases with their transport from Macleod to the particular camp at which they are to be employed, a great deal of dissatisfaction has arisen and much hardship experienced.

"This has been accentuated by the fact that the hiring agents in the East, particularly about Hull and Ottawa, have misrepresented things and made promises to the men which the management of construction here refuse to ratify. They also send up men totally unfit for the work.

"... These men have families in the East and when they discover that after working six weeks or two months there is not a cent coming to them or more probably they are in debt to the contractors, that they have no money to send to their families and that they have nothing themselves, they, as a rule, leave that particular employer and wander around destitute, without blankets or even boots in some cases ...

"There are a number of men who are totally unfit for the work and what will become of them during the winter is hard to surmise ...

"No provision has been made by the company for returning these men to their homes, winter is coming on and there is likelihood of much hardship and destitution ...

"Some pressure ought to be brought to bear for fairer treatment of the men."

RNWMP report of Dec. 21, 1897:

"Men who are seriously ill are carted all the way to Macleod and Lethbridge — distances of between 100 and 150 miles. There is no accommodation for such men along the line of construction and to see men with rheumatic fever, broken limbs ... jolting along the rough mountain roads in all kinds of weather seems, to say the least, inhuman."

* * *

Extracts from the report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into complaints respecting the treatment of labourers on the Crow'snest Pass line, April, 1898:

"Men can be discharged at any time without notice by the company and contractors ... men are to give 15 days notice when intending to leave work. There is no regular inspection of camps ..."

Two men who complained about conditions were fired "as being ringleaders. Having been engaged by the month at \$20 to \$26 and board, they were deducted for Sundays and for days they could not work owing to bad weather or other circumstances over which they had no control and that on these days they were charged for their board."

"At dinner [at a camp near Wardner, just inside the B.C. border], they saw they were being fed upon what they considered was not sufficient to sustain them while working. The men affirm that the cook told them that there would not be enough food to feed them any longer, upon which they refused to go to work and matters stood in that condition until



To fight conditions imposed by the CPR, the skilled trades organized themselves into unions. Locals of the railway running trades were first to be established in Alberta. Here, working men in Medicine Hat gather for a banquet in 1895 honouring CPR engineer Pete Grace

the return of Mr. P. Nash. . . .

"Apparently taking information from the walking bosses and time keeper as to what happened, he, on the Sunday morning, discharged 54 of these men.

"They were at that time about 130 miles from Macleod.

"Nash not only at first refused them food to keep them on their way but also sent somebody ahead of them or went himself to give orders to the company's camps not to feed them on their way. . . .

"Nash gave orders to his cook not to give them any provisions and . . . it was only upon their threats that they were permitted to take what they could lay their hands on in the kitchen and which was sufficient to feed them for three meals. . . .

"On the road, the 54 men were really refused provisions . . . Insp. Saunders declares that Nash admitted to him that he had given orders to the camps not to supply them with food.

"He wished to teach the other men a lesson.

"These men . . . assert that they suffered a great deal of hardship on their way, many of them going toward Macleod destitute, without food, sleeping in the open, suffering from cold and having before them a long distance to walk. . . .

"The work on the wagon, or tote, road was continued under Nash during about one month and eight days. . . . It is averred by some of those who continued the work that they suffered a great deal from cold under tents, having generally no stoves until the beginning of January and from being fed at

times with frozen provisions and this lasting during two or three weeks."

"Mr. Haney [the CPR's construction manager] says that at least two pairs of blankets are necessary for protection against cold in ordinary circumstances.

"Men who had more than one pair were a very rare exception.

" . . . It happened that men, after quitting their work at six o'clock, would have to pitch their own tent on the frozen earth, often covered with ice and snow.

"The tents not being provided with stoves, the men's suffering was intensified by their clothes being wet after working amidst snow . . . and having no means of having them dried. A common result of this was suffering from rheumatism and colds."

"The company had appointed officials to receive the men and look after them on their reaching Macleod. . . . In some instances, tents were provided for them but not in sufficient quantity . . .

"Numbers were kept in box cars . . . [on] the work on the track between Lethbridge and Pincher Creek . . . they were kept in a boarding car which was denominated by them as "Jumbo car" number three.

"It is alleged that during two months from 90 to 115 slept in that car . . . two men were obliged to sleep in each bunk and there being three tiers on each side, this forced six men to face six other when rising and retiring.

"It is mentioned that it was not sufficiently heated, that it

was filthy, the atmosphere intolerable and unhealthy, that there was no washing or lavatory facilities in the car (only one small basin and an ordinary pail for water) and that there was not sufficient drinking water provided."

"At some camps, men were entirely forbidden, on pain of instant dismissal, to say a word during the work . . ."

"A special complaint . . . is the overcharges on store supplies by the company and the contractors to the men. . . . Among the most common articles bought by the men are blankets. For these, they have been charged from \$2.75 to \$4.50 per pair, and in about 100 cases, old blankets full of holes were supplied to the men at a cost of \$4.50 per pair."

* * *

Report of the Commission to inquire into the deaths of McDonald and Fraser on the Crownest Pass line, 1899:

"The number of men working upon the road who became ill and were treated by the medical staff is, I think, abnormally large.

"With particularly healthy climate and sufficient good food, how does it happen that there should be in the neighborhood of 1,500 men requiring treatment in a total aggregate of from 2,000 to 4,000 and all within the space of less than a year.

"There must have been an utter disregard for the simplest laws of health somewhere and I think it may be found in the lack of sanitary conditions in the camp."

* * *

Testimony of Louis Fontaine, a construction worker, at the inquiry:

"I reached the camp in the afternoon and left the next morning because there were a good many sick and it was not a healthy place and I left the next morning. . . . There appeared to me to be like a hospital. That is the short and the long of it. I thought I could not stay in the camp because I thought there was too many sick. I am a healthy man and I want to stay there."

* * *

Excerpts from the testimony of Gallagher, Mann's walking boss, describing the camp:

"**Question:** Would you call Mann's camp a very comfortable one for the men — the bunkhouse?"

Answer: I would, very comfortable.

Question: What sort of a floor did they have in the bunkhouse?"

Answer: No floor at all.

Question: Not the mud.

Answer: The ground, yes sir. . . .

Question: What sort of roof did you have?"

Answer: It was cedar dug out trough shape so as to keep the rain out.

Question: No leakage there?"

Answer: No it was too cold in the first place.

Question: What ventilation?"

Answer: Well, there was the door.

Question: And the window at the far end that was never opened?"

Answer: I don't know whether it was or not.

Question: That is what you call comfortable quarters for the men?"

Answer: It is as comfortable a camp as I have seen for railroad men and I have been railroading for 20 years."

* * *

Evidence again of Fontaine, engaged by Mann at

Crownest Lake at \$40.00 a month:

"**Question:** Where did you sleep, in the bunkhouse?"

Answer: Yes, I sleep on some brush in the bunkhouse.

Question: What kind of a bunkhouse?"

Answer: There were beds, there were poles and some brush on top of that. If you have no brush you sleep on top of the poles."

* * *

Evidence of John Harris, who assisted the cook and who was in Mann's camp from Oct. 1897 to July 1898:

"**Question:** Do you think it was a good place to sleep in?"

Answer: It was very unhealthy.

Question: What made it unhealthy?"

Answer: Well, it was damp, snow on top and leaking through.

Question: Did it leak much?"

Answer: Yes, sir.

Question: Any floor in it?"

Answer: No, sir.

Question: No good ventilation?"

Answer: No sir, not until about February. There was two vent holes put in the top then. . . .

Question: Why do you say February?"

Answer: Because it was after these young fellows died.

"**Question:** Then before these ventilators were put in the bunk house how did they get fresh air in at all? Was the window open or shut?"

Answer: The window was always shut.

Question: And the door was shut at night?"

Answer: Yes sir. . . .

Question: Was not that an awful place to sleep?"

Answer: Yes sir, I always felt sick when I got up in the morning. . . .

Question: Did you hear anything said about Fraser and McDonald?"

Answer: Charlie Griffith, the chore-boy, told him [the doctor] they had got two more sick men.

Question: Told the doctor what?"

Answer: That they had two more sick men in the other bunkhouse.

Question: Yes?"

Answer: The doctor jumped in his rig and drove away. He said he hadn't got time to see them both.

Question: What else did he say?"

Answer: He said he would be back in a day. He would see them on the next trip coming down.

Question: What else did he say?"

Answer: He did not say anything else. He drove away.

Question: Did he go to see them?"

Answer: No sir.

Question: Did he see them at all as far as you know?"

Answer: I don't believe he did.

Question: How often did the doctor call there at the camp?"

Answer: At the time he only came about once or twice a month."

* * *

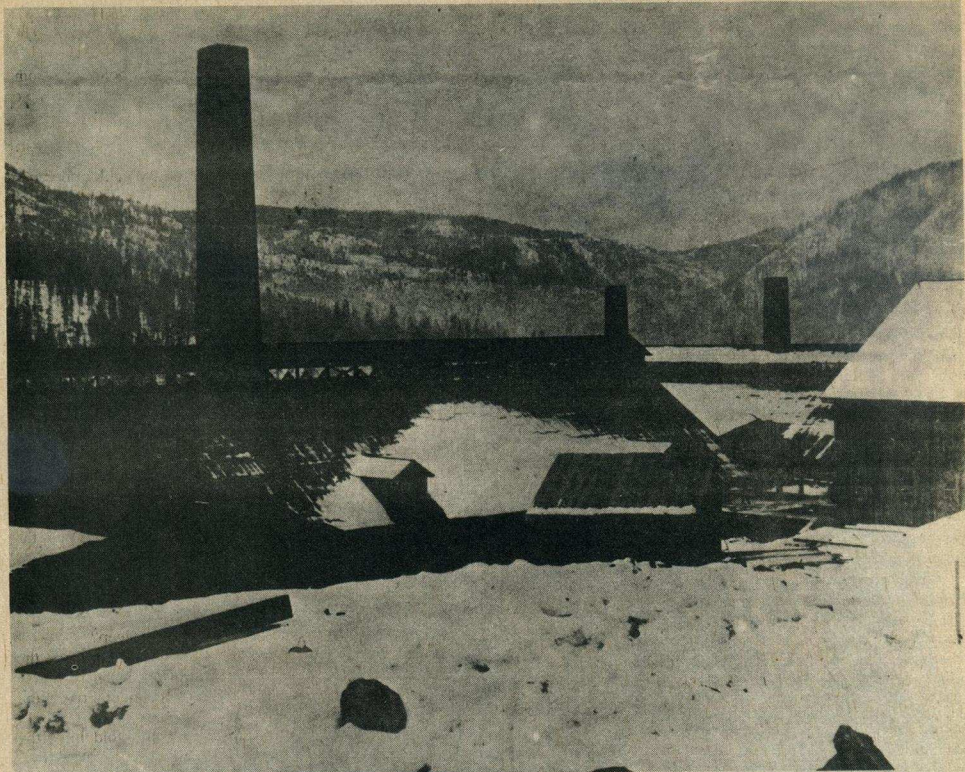
Charlie Griffith, referring to the visit of Dr. Gordon:

"**Question:** Did he see these men?"

Answer: No, he did not.

Question: What did you say to him about them?"

Answer: I just told him that there were a few men in the adjoining camp that had sore throats and he said not to bother



The Crowsnest Pass line led to the Kootenay mining region of southeastern British Columbia and added Consolidated Mining and Smelting to the CPR empire. Here is seen the smelter at Trail around 1897

him because he would have to take them away to the hospital.

“He asked me what was wrong with them and I told him one of them had a sore throat, the man Fraser; Dr. Gordon said he had no time to be bothering with one camp all day.

Question: What else?

Answer: He said the persons with sore throats, it was just through cold. He said he would give me some cough medicine and then he went away.

Question: Did he give you the medicine?

Answer: Yes, in a large tin. He just put about half a pint of the medicine in the baking powder tin and told me to fill it up with water and then he went away immediately.

Question: Did he see the men?

Answer: No sir, he did not.

Question: How long had he been in camp?

Answer: He was there from a quarter of an hour to half an hour.

Question: And how far would he have had to walk to see these men?

Answer: About 30 yards.

* * *

Testimony of Dr. Gordon:

“Question: What else did you do at Mann’s camp or whom else did you see?

Answer: I think I saw everybody that needed attendance.”

* * *

Evidence of S.G. Gallagher, the walking boss at Mann’s camp:

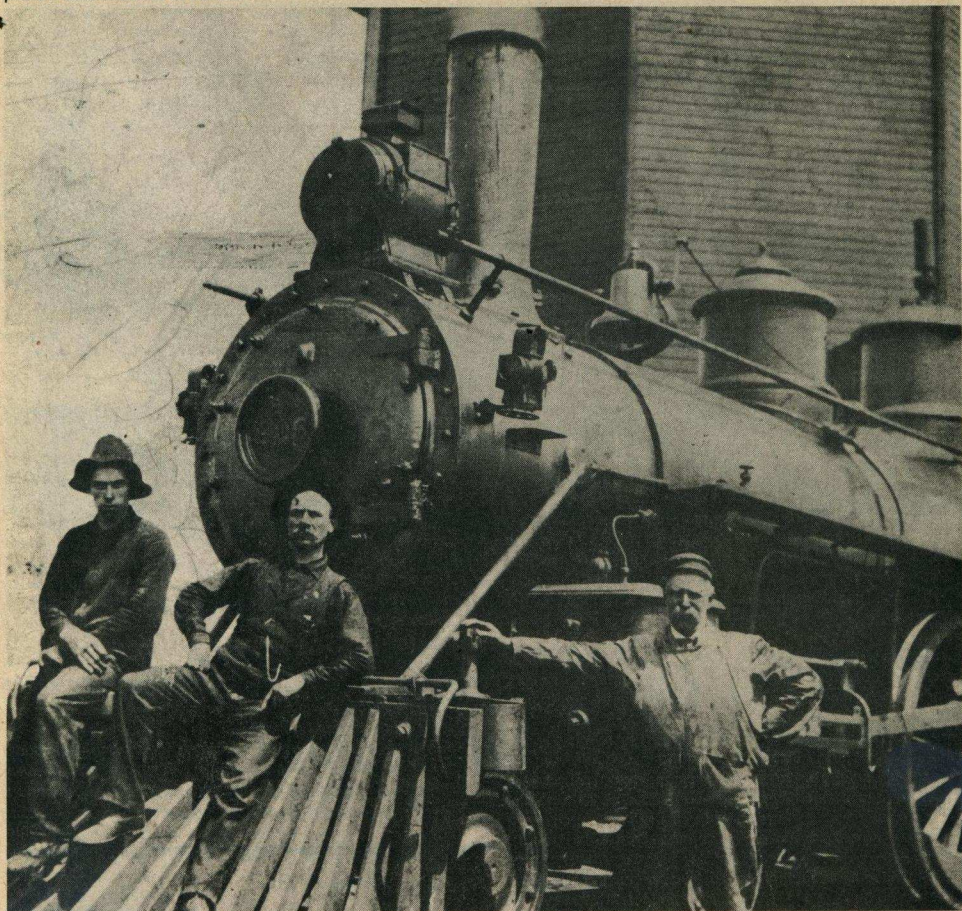
“Question: When the men did not go out to work what was it your duty to do?

Answer: Well, my orders was to fire them out. Of course I did not always do it, sometimes I would fire them out and sometimes not.

Question: That is whether they were sick or not?

Answer: Well, if they were sick and wanted to go to the hospital we were supposed to send them.

Question: And if they were sick and did not want to go to the hospital, what then?



Until 1900, four railway running trades locals in Medicine Hat were the labour movement in what was later to be the province of Alberta

Answer: Well, if they would not go to work I would tell them they would have to go out.

Question: Even though they were sick, is that right?

Answer: Yes sir.

Question: Sickness was no excuse?

Answer: No sir."

* * *

McDonald and Fraser, having been in the camp for five days without medical attention, were finally sent in an open sleigh, in mid-January, from the camp, about 100 miles west of Macleod, to Bullshead, about 12 miles west of the Crow'snest Pass.

There they were taken by ambulance the remaining dis-

tance to Pincher Creek. The whole trip took three days and on their arrival at Pincher, they were kept in a box car until a doctor came, about four hours after they had arrived.

McDonald and Fraser died there, 20 days after being hired on.

McDonald worked 10.5 days before taking sick and after deductions for board, mail and medical care, was owed \$5.35. Fraser worked 11 days and after deductions was owed \$6.35.

The inquiry recommended to the federal government that there should be government inspections of such camps.

With considerable haste, the government passed the Public Works Health Act of 1900.

Two years later, an inspector was hired to enforce the act.

* * *

But even with inspectors, the government was still more interested in allowing and encouraging entrepreneurs to build railways than it was in the health and well-being of the people doing the work.

It wasn't that the conditions during Crownsnest Pass construction were an isolated instance.

In 1910 and 1911, the boom that had hit Calgary with the building of the CPR mainline moved to Edmonton as two new transcontinental routes, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern, were being pushed through.

Again conditions were such that the workers rebelled as they had during mainline and Crownsnest construction but this time, they were to have an organization behind them.

Railway workers in Alberta had been organized almost from the start but organization had been restricted to skilled employees.

The navies, the young men who cleared the brush and laid the track and in many cases paid for the experience of opening up the "Last, Best West" with their lives were ignored as poor organizing risks by the established unions of the day.

It was a time when most trade unions were formed to look after the interests of skilled workmen. The unskilled were transients and hit first and hardest in times of depression. Organizing them was considered bad business by Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labour and its subsidiary organization in Canada, the Trades and Labour Congress.

In addition, the conditions faced by the unskilled and their precarious position in the labour market combined to make them more willing to take the lure of socialism. As Gompers and the AFL probably saw them, the navies were an unstable lot.

The first union in the province was a branch of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, chartered in September, 1886 in Medicine Hat. Several months later, firemen followed suit and formed a Medicine Hat local of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. Two other locals of railway running trades were established soon thereafter and until 1900, these four Medicine Hat locals were the labour movement in what later was to become Alberta.

The tradesmen on the railway had their organizations to defend them from the Van Hornes but Gompers had his qualms about the navies.

Those qualms weren't shared by the people who in 1905 in Chicago established the Industrial Workers of the World as a radical rival to the American Federation of Labour.

The Wobblies moved into the GTP and CNR construction camps and when conditions were too much to take, the workers had the likes of Joe Hill and Big Bill Haywood to back them up.

It was more than a decade and two federal inquiries after Fraser and McDonald had died building the Crownsnest line, but little had changed.

* * *

As one IWW member said in a letter to the Wobbly paper, the Industrial Worker of Aug. 6, 1910:

"We were told that when we arrived in Wolf Creek [about 100 miles east of Jasper] the cook would be waiting for us with a good supper. We arrived in Wolf Creek about 3 a.m. and it was raining hard.

"We were all lined up after leaving the train and marched through the woods about three miles, wading through the mud and soaked by the rain. Before getting to the camp, we had to cross the McLeod River in a scow.

"When we arrived in camp we were wet to the skin and hungry as bears but there was no sign of anything to eat. We were all so tired that we flopped down any place we could in our wet clothes and slept until breakfast time.

"The grub in this camp (Headquarters No. 1) was something fierce. It was so rotten and so poorly cooked that it made nearly everyone sick, including myself. . . ."

"I started to work about 9 a.m. and worked till quitting time. After supper I went to the boss and asked him where I was going to sleep. He told me they didn't charge anything for flopping in the bunkhouse but that I would have to furnish my own blankets and towels and soap . . .

"I found that before going to work I was in debt to the extent of fare advanced from Edmonton to Wolf Creek, \$1.25; meals eaten from Wolf Creek to camp, 50¢ each, \$6; hospital fee \$1; and mail 25¢ making a total of \$8.50.

"If I had stayed on the job I would have bought a pair of blankets at a cost of \$4.50 and soap and towels would have cost some more. I sat down and figured it out and I saw that if I held the job down for the first 20 or 30 days I would have to work for nothing so I told the boss I didn't think I needed the job. . . .

"I saw five men at Shirley's Camp No. 23 who couldn't get a cent of wages when they quit. They had to hike to town without money to eat on and wouldn't have eaten if the cook hadn't put them up a lunch.

"It's a rotten job all through and a man would be better off on the bum. . . ."

* * *

Two years later, things along the line were still pretty tough, as the following letter from "a working man on the job" to the newspaper *Solidarity* of March 22, 1913 shows:

"A man at Mile 148 got his leg badly burned and laid in the bunkhouse several days. When his funds were exhausted for board, the foreman told him to get out.

"He started for the hospital at Mile 160 but was unable to continue beyond 150. He laid at 150 for five days . . . after that, the superintendent was forced by the men to take the sick man to 160 in a sleigh.

"Another man was burned about the face by a carbon lamp and when he got to the hospital at 160 he was told that any man who could walk would not be allowed in there. The doctor (?) in charge gave him some talcum powder and told him to go back to the camp at which he worked.

"He had to lay around 13 days and at the end of that time, he was charged \$13 for board for the time he did not work. . . .

"We had several government inspectors along this line during the last year which has not amounted to as much as the wind blowing from the south . . .

"He did not enter one bunkhouse and slept in the offices with fine accommodation. Eating with the foreman and time-keeper, not with the men; and all these so-called inspectors are the same. What have they amounted to?

"Nothing. Conditions are worse than ever."

Warren Caragata, who works for the Alberta Federation of Labour, is currently writing a book on the history of the labour movement in Alberta

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Rear View

The CIA's Angola caper

by MICHAEL SMITH

In Search of Enemies, by John Stockwell. W.W. Norton/New York. 285 pp. \$US 12.95 cloth.

John Stockwell could have been the perfect 'Company' man. His mission school background in the Belgian Congo, where he learned fluent Tshiluba and his years as a Marine Corps intelligence officer after university in the U.S., impressed the CIA recruiting officers. He had three successful tours of duty in Africa where he rose to CIA Chief of Station (COS) in the tiny central African republic of Burundi, followed by a headquarters desk job in Langley and an up country tour in Vietnam.

Stockwell had learned much about the CIA and its activities over his decade in the clandestine services of the 'Company' but he was also beginning to have his doubts. He toyed with the idea of resignation but in July 1975, three months after the fall of Saigon, his superiors made him an offer he could not refuse. John Stockwell was selected to head the CIA Angolan Task Force. Thrust into the inner circle of the 'super-grades', Stockwell was thrilled at the prospect of playing a real part in the shaping of CIA policy and directing American involvement in a clandestine war in southern Africa. But the disastrous failure of 'IAFEATURE', (code name for the CIA program in Angola), confirmed Stockwell's doubts about the Agency. *In Search of Enemies* is his account of that year as head of the Angolan task force and is, as he says, a book about his knowledge and doubts about the CIA, especially its clandestine service.

One has the feeling that it was a very painful book for Stockwell to write. It is more an apology for, than a condemnation of, the CIA clandestine services: more a confession than an accusation. There is a lack of analysis of why, for example, the U.S. was "searching for enemies" in Africa and of how it became involved with the governments of Zaire and South Africa on the losing side of the Angolan war. Ironically, Stockwell is not as critical of American foreign policy in Africa as he is of the CIA for allowing itself to embark on a program that it was incapable of carrying out. He does not follow the route of Philip Agee, whose book *Inside the Company*, put the CIA temporarily out of business in several South American countries by exposing the names of all agents he could possibly remember. Only the public figures in the Angolan program are identified. Yet, *In Search of Enemies* is a fascinating book to read.

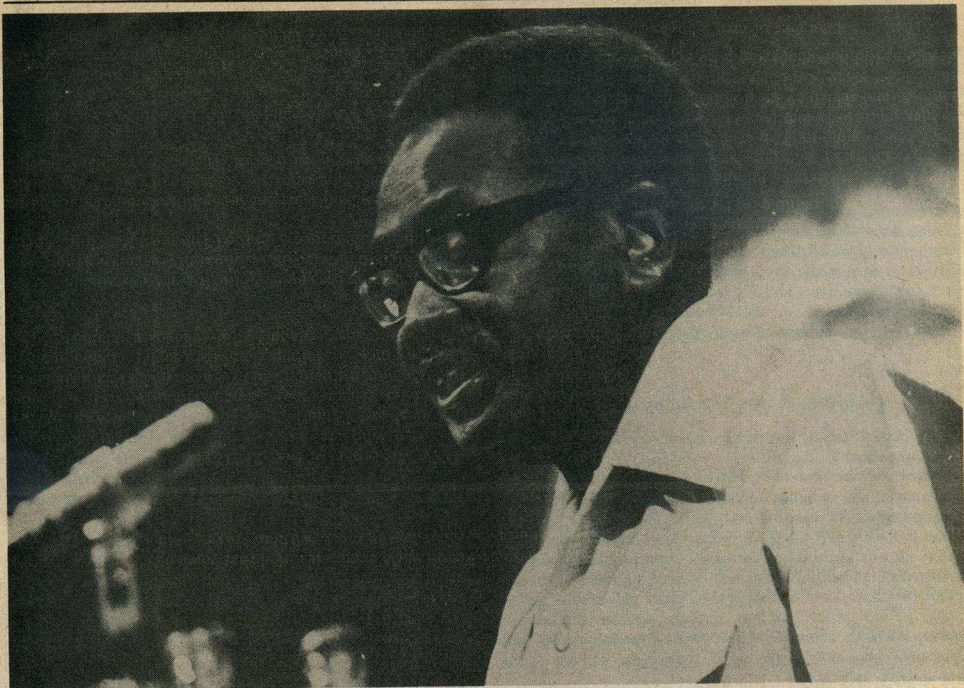
Stockwell paints a portrait of an organization rife with internal squabbles, lax personnel more interested in expense



Author John Stockwell: the Company's man in Angola

accounts and pensions than efficiency and performance, entrenched administrators and uncontrollable field agents who often pursued conflicting policies. An organization beset with financial problems that continually posed the dilemma in Angola of 'how can we win this war and stay in budget?' We see embattled administrators leading paper chases for congressional committees to hide illegal operations, and spending more time asking colleagues how they will respond to Senate investigators than working on their current programs. Of course, these were the post-Watergate, post-Vietnam days in Washington.

The book is also interesting to read for its help in illuminating events in Angola and southern Africa as a whole. One of the most effective aspects of 'IAFEATURE' was the propaganda blitz, which despite some accurate and aggressive reporting by a few journalists, systematically confused and misled the American public. If one is trying to follow current events in Rhodesia and Namibia, or the recent invasion of Shaba province in Zaire, it is helpful to know how we were misled in Angola. As Carter and his foreign affairs advisor Brezinski fulminate about the Cubans in Ethiopia and Zaire, it is interesting to remember that it was the CIA-sponsored war in Angola that led to the first, full-scale, Cuban presence in Africa.



Angolan President Agostinho Neto: with Cuban help, survived the CIA's 'IAFEATURE' program.

An analysis of American involvement in Angola should start with the 1969 Kissinger study of southern Africa, the so-called "Tar Baby" Report (NSSM-39), prepared for the National Security Council. The report outlined the pros and cons of five policy options the U.S. had in southern Africa without recommending a specific one — they ranged from closer identification with the white regimes against all black liberation movements to a cooling of relations with the white regimes while still rejecting any encouragement of the black liberation movements. What is particularly interesting in the report was the assessment of the strength of the liberation movements: "... military realities rule out a black victory at any stage. Moreover, there are reasons to question the depth and permanence of black resolve. Recently there has been a decline in the level of insurgency. Neighbouring black states — vital to successful guerrilla activity — will choose to preserve their own security in the face of inevitable punishing white retaliation at an early stage of any significant guerrilla warfare."

American policy was thus predicated on the continued existence of white minority governments. Change would occur by the gradual extension of political and economic rights to the African population and by the gradual erosion of racism. It was to be a sort of American-styled, civil rights movement, in southern Africa. But three anti-colonial wars in Africa — Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola — drained the Lisbon treasury and sapped morale in the Portuguese army, leading to the April 1974 overthrow of the

Caetano government. The new Portuguese government began negotiations for five new African states. The failure of the CIA to predict the Lisbon coup was bad enough; American policy based on continued Portuguese presence in Angola and Mozambique was disastrous.

Decolonization proceeded relatively smoothly for the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau and, with the exception of white settler reaction, for FRELIMO in Mozambique. But in 1974 there were three rival liberation movements in Angola. During the anti-colonial war, the MPLA led by Agostinho Neto, the FNLA led by Holden Roberto, and UNITAS led by Joan Savimbi, appeared to be of equal military and political importance. But this was not, in fact, the case. As was soon to emerge, the FNLA and UNITAS were more concerned with preventing an MPLA victory than with fighting the Portuguese. FNLA's Roberto had a close association with Mobutu which prevented the MPLA from operating in Zaire and weakened the MPLA's ability to support their liberation fighters in the Dembos mountains east of Luanda. And when the MPLA opened an eastern front from Zambia, the colonial Portuguese government reacted by seeking a stand-off arrangement with UNITAS' Savimbi and encouraged his anti-MPLA activities. But the critical difference for the growing MPLA ascendancy was that after the coup in Portugal, the underground organization that had been painstakingly organized by the MPLA in the urban areas, especially the coastal cities like Luanda, was now able to surface. Had there been no external involvement in Angola, one suspects that the

FNLA and UNITAS would have withered away in remote rebellious regions of the country, while the MPLA, despite internal ideological problems and personality conflicts, would have begun to construct a post-colonial society.

While the liberation movements began a series of diplomatic discussions, external pressures began to mount sharply within Angola. Kissinger, still smarting from America's debacle in Vietnam, saw the rise of MPLA as a "cheap Soviet victory." He was not alone. In 1973-74, China had already begun to arm FNLA and UNITAS. One month after the coup in Portugal, 112 Chinese advisors joined FNLA in Zaire along with 450 tons of arms. Without approval of the '40 committee', the CIA had been funding its old friend Holden Roberto. In January 1975, some \$300,000 was approved by the '40 committee', and six months later when the Angola Task Force was set up, the '40 committee' approved a \$14 million covert, para-military program.

Stockwell plunged into the action

Stockwell, despite his doubts, plunged into the action. He vividly describes the FLASH, IMMEDIATE and CRITIC telexes and the blur of 'cablese' that poured in from CIA operatives, the complex logistics involved in the CIA arms shipments in Air Force C-140's for Zaire and their distribution to FNLA and UNITAS bases. As a professional operative, he was appalled at the lack of precise information on America's allies in the war and decided to make a personal tour of inspection. Warning to another clandestine adventure, he left on the Pan Am 'red eye' special to Kinshasa, equipped with a pad of edible writing paper, a pen with invisible ink and 16 boxes of radio gear for his 'communicator' sidekick.

Despite the Ian Fleming overtones, Stockwell's chapters on his visit to Kinshasa and his meetings inside Angola with Roberto and Savimbi, provide some of the most interesting detail of the book. He writes off the FNLA as having grossly over-rated their strength to the CIA station in Kinshasa and, although impressed with Savimbi, realizes their impossible strategic position isolated in the south and east with their backs to the South Africans in Namibia. Yet, when Stockwell returned to Washington at the end of August 1975 hoping to recommend massive intervention by the U.S. to "put the MPLA out of business before the Soviets could react," or to stay out of the conflict altogether, his CIA bosses would hear none of it. Stockwell realized he was being asked to wage a "no win" war, a holding action that was simply designed to prevent "a cheap Soviet victory." But perhaps Stockwell did not see the whole picture. His relations with the CIA Kinshasa station were cool and he did not seem to be part of the increasingly co-operative relations between the CIA and the South African government. In the next few months, however, it became clear that America's allies, Zaire and South Africa, were going to try to win the war.

In October 1975, a secret South African armoured column of some 2,000 troops struck from bases in Namibia and drove north capturing all the major towns south of Luanda. Part of the column drove east and secured most of the strategic Benguala railroad. In the north, where regular Zairean troops had already been operating, Mobutu committed his elite Seventh and Fourth Commando Battalions, flying them to Ambriz where they began an advance on Luanda. Other Zairean troops joined with FLEC (the Mobutu backed Front

for the Liberation of Cabinda) for an attack on the little enclave of Cabinda where Gulf Oil had developed its very profitable offshore operations.

On November 11, 1975, the Peoples Republic of Angola was born when the Portuguese turned over the government to the MPLA. In the provinces, rival republics were also proclaimed by FNLA and UNITAS. The South Africans continued to advance on Luanda from the south and the Zairean-backed FNLA reached to within 20 miles of the capital. It was only the arrival of Cuban troops, eventually 15,000, and the supply of sophisticated Soviet equipment, especially the 122mm rockets, that prevented the annihilation of the MPLA.

The CIA had also become more deeply involved in the struggle. The 'IAFEATURE' budget would eventually reach \$32 million. CIA military advisors were sent to work in FNLA and UNITAS, arms shipments continued, the propaganda campaign was in full swing with CIA men in Kinshasa and Lusaka, 'manufacturing' FNLA or UNITAS victories or Cuban atrocities, and planting them in local papers for media wire-service pick-up. The Agency began a campaign to recruit mercenaries, which helps to explain why the Angolan government meted out harsh sentences to those who were captured after the war. One aspect of the mercenary program deserves attention.

\$500,000 for mercenaries who fled

Bob Denhard was a well-known Congo mercenary who had fought for Mobutu in the '60's in a program financed by the CIA. In 1967 he had a falling out with the general and led a mercenary attack in Shaba province in southern Zaire. By 1975 he was back in the good graces of both French Intelligence and Mobutu, helping Zaire raise mercenaries for attacks on Cabinda. CIA contact was established with Denhard by French Intelligence, and he agreed to supply 20 French mercenaries for UNITAS on short term contracts for \$350,000 cash in advance. As Stockwell notes, Denhard "was playing all ends against his bank account." The CIA eventually paid half-a-million to Denhard for mercenaries who fled months short of their contract. Last May, several weeks after the mercenary invasion-coup against the government of the Comoros Island (the tiny, former French colony off Madagascar that became independent in 1975) it was revealed that the new head of the armed forces and the police, a man calling himself Colonel Said Mustafa Ahdjou, was in fact, Robert Denhard.

In December 1975, Stockwell briefed the Working Committee (a sub-committee of the '40 committee') and described the situation for the CIA-backed forces as in a "stable state of panic." By that time U.S. and foreign press reports had revealed CIA involvement in Angola and, what was far more, devastating, tacit or actual cooperation with the South African invasion. Despite frantic U.S. lobbying, the spectre of white South African troops in Angola led Nigeria, and then the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to recognize the MPLA as the legal government. With a major diplomatic victory in hand, MPLA battalions, stiffened with Cuban troops, turned to battle.

But the destabilization of Angola was not over. Constant threats from both Zaire and South Africa have continued. One plan, the so-called 'Operation Cobra 77', came to light early in 1977. 'Cobra' was to have been a massive military invasion of Cabinda launched from Zaire, involving soldiers

from FNLA and FLEC, trained by mercenary officers, supported by Mobutu with the help of the South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS) and a consortium of international financiers — headed by a Swiss based, Canadian businessman — which raised a reputed \$3 million to destabilize the Neto regime.

Cabinda highlights one of the ironic aspects of CIA involvement in Angola. Gulf Oil's offshore investments had begun to earn such profits that, by Angolan independence in November 1975, they were paying royalties in excess of \$500 million a year, 16 times the CIA's 'IAFEATURE' budget. Under American pressure, Gulf began paying royalties to escrow at a time when her installations were being protected from attack and sabotage by Cuban troops. Gulf quickly mended fences with the MPLA when it became clear that the government would not disintegrate under attack, but her profitable installations continue to provide fuel for annexationist minds in Zaire.

But if Angola has been harrassed by rebel groups, mercenaries, foreign intelligence agencies, and international financiers, it has also allowed attacks on Zaire. In 1977, several months after the revelation of 'Cobra 77' a group of anti-Mobutu, Zairean exiles crossed into Shaba province and came close to capturing Kolwezi. The so called Katanga gendarmes had once been armed by the Portuguese to fight against the Angolan liberation movements. Their anti-Mobutu stance made them natural allies with the MPLA, who also armed them during the civil war. The same scenario was repeated in May of this year, with greater bloodshed, as French Legionnaires and Belgian paratroopers "liberated" the Shaba town of Kolwezi. There is one aspect to Angola-Zaire relations that may yet temper continued hostilities; the

economic benefits of reopening the strategic Benguala rail-road which runs through both countries.

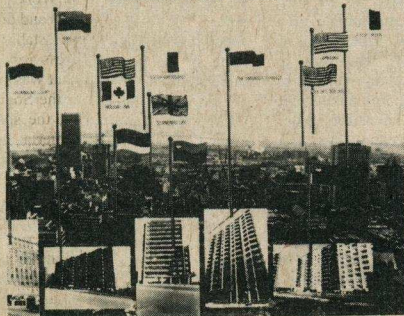
The Angolan Civil War also had serious repercussions for Namibia (South West Africa) and SWAPO which has been waging a guerrilla struggle against South African occupation of that territory. Before Angolan independence, SWAPO and UNITAS were able to co-operate. This became impossible when South Africa entered the war, and was a major setback for SWAPO. The MPLA victory and its firm support for the liberation movement has stabilized the situation for SWAPO. But Pretoria continues to disrupt Angola. In a particularly vicious attack last May, South African Mirage jets bombed a transit refugee camp at Kassinga, several hundred miles from the Namibian border, leaving 100 dead. As the smoke cleared, South African troops landed in American C-130 Hercules transports and before they left the same day more than 600 Namibian refugees were killed.

Angola has also had its internal problems. In July 1977, several members of the MPLA who had been read out of the Party by Neto attempted a 'putsch' in Luanda. Cuban troops helped put down the rebels, but not before they had murdered several key members of the government. The complex origins of the attempted coup lay within the MPLA, but given the magnitude of its struggle in the past decade, it is surprising that the MPLA has survived at all.

The CIA may have lost its clandestine war; South Africa and Zaire may have been beaten on the battlefield; the MPLA may have survived through all of this; but the cost to the Angolan people has been incalculable. The CIA should note that the 'prevention of a cheap Soviet victory' was determined by Angolan lives. . . .



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Redneck platitudes abound

by EDIE FARKAS

Where the Cherries End Up, by Gail Henley. McClelland and Stewart/Toronto. 244 pp. \$10.00 cloth.

Amoeboid redneck platitudes nourish and spawn one another in this collection of episodes plumbing the lows along the descent to womanhood of a rural proletarian. The author plays at socking it to us straight, hitting us with a shot of undiluted hyphenated-Canadian northwoods poverty the way it is in Polackville, more formally, Jasno Gora, the fictional farming community she situates in northern Ontario.

The PR excrement boasts of a dauntless young author who is not only a holder of degrees and an actress, who has not only been presented to the Queen and Prince Philip, and served as assistant to the Cultural Attaché in London, but has also summoned the moral adrenalin to enter the business world, founding a company which manufactures her own invention, "a cosmetic hygiene product." The discreet Henry Jamesian allusion to said product places the goldpanners in publicity on the right track, since in Gail Henley's case it is best to market the author and not her novel, which is as great a conformance as its heroine-narrator's consciousness.

"... flat, unconvincing portraits of the idle rich; bald, impotent male intellectuals; and more pervasively, of rapacious, rich Jews."

The ominous ignorance of Genia Luckoskie, the heroine, allows the author to draw freely from all those stereotypes which have become so clichéd that the ever-pragmatic American television networks are now selling them for their liberal belly-laugh exchange value. American liberalism dictates that, rather than becoming righteously indignant to

no effect, fans of Archie Bunker laugh their heads off because he's so, well, *uncool*. Under American democracy, even lower class audiences towards whom the Bunkers and the Jeffersons are aimed, are given the opportunity to feel morally superior to *someone*.

Gail Henley's publisher is obviously expecting a different sort of reaction from the Canadian reading audience. The second half of *Where the Cherries End Up* is comprised of flat, unconvincing portraits of the idle rich; bald, impotent male intellectuals; and more pervasively, of rapacious, repulsive, rich Jews. These pictures are unmitigated by any comedic touch; we are meant to see the world through the blunt, vicious mind of the narrator. Her bitterness lessens the force of her hatred, nor is she honest enough to examine what she loathes, but contents herself with self-expression. The author seems to have followed Rules One and Two of Effective Novel-Writing for Novices: use a first-person naive narrator; use plenty of understated commentary to suggest multiple layers of meaning, and your career is launched.

We are given the true grit of Genia's life on the farm: the overworked mother whose breasts remain miraculously lovely after feeding seven children, the alcoholic father who selfishly keeps the choice morsels of food — the onions and herring — for himself, the lecherous uncle to whom Genia responds at first gladly, and then with increasing repulsion. The sex passages are the most successful of the novel, perhaps because Genia is not sophisticated enough to gloss them with romance.

The Polackville farmers do not trust and are too simple to manipulate government representatives. Since there is no one in the community who wants to marry and protect her, Genia decides to set out for the big city to find a husband, and along the way, an education. After an artificial section revealing how she goes into business by converting an outhouse into a french-fries stand on the highway, Genia is shown arriving in Montreal and attending McGill University.

After meeting her first rich Jewish boy, a character which sparks a flashback to the first Jew Genia met — one who ate the Luckoskie's food greedily,

leaving his spittle all over their furniture, like the hacked-up emission of some congenital disease — Genia has the backwoods misfortune to shack up with another (rich) Jew, Jesse Finklestein. We are introduced to his hypocritical parents, his corned-beef-eating friends, and his (Jewish) obsession with sex. Poor Genia — she's oppressed-

"The novel ends in a burst of stale sentimentality, with the requisite affirmation of strength through tenacity."

exploited-proly enough to believe Jesse will marry her. After the inevitable jilting, we follow her to Toronto where she tries for six weeks to find a job. She is unsuccessful until she bumps into another Jew, a two-bit huckster this time. "Wouldn't you know it!" says our ingenuous heroine. "It seems as if I'm bumping into a Jew every time I turn around and I still can't recognize one when I see one." But Chaim Snelzer "was a failed Jew. If he couldn't get ahead, he wasn't going to let any other Jew get ahead." When Genia is admitted to hospital suffering from malnutrition and stomach cramps an ambitious doctor asks her "You're not Jewish by any chance, are you? You know that would really answer a lot of questions, if you were?" True Grit is not alone in her special insight into the filthy race; everybody in the novel seems to share her understanding of essential Jewishness.

Lest you think Gail Henley's repertory limited, be assured that the novel bears other Canadian literary staples: American graduate students using Canadian tax-payers money for bursaries, weak-chinned academics embroiled in petty rivalries, beautiful rich girls whose pinchable bottoms substitute for brains. The novels ends in a burst of stale sentimentality, with the requisite affirmation of strength through tenacity.

Herman Kahn unthinks Canada

by LUKIN ROBINSON

Canada Has a Future, prepared for the Hudson Institute of Canada by Marie-Josée Drouin and B. Bruce Briggs. Preface by Herman Kahn. McClelland & Stewart/Toronto. \$12.95.

Do we really need the Hudson Institute, Canadian branch, and courtesy of Herman Kahn, to tell us that Canada *has* a future? And if our future turns out to be no better than this book, it will be pretty dismal.

It's a bad book. To begin with, it is abominably written, full of "priorities", "options", "strategies", "scenarios" and all the other buzzwords of hype journalism and bureaucratic writing — even a couple of "challenges and responses" manage to get dredged up — as well as just plain bad English. Some sentences don't make sense, with words or perhaps even a line or two left out. Where were M & S's editors?

If the manner is bad, the matter is no better. Two things threaten Canada's future most of all: U.S. domination and an independent Quebec to which the rest of Canada would refuse economic association. We are told that the U.S. will continue to dominate us mainly because "Canadians do not want to do without U.S. markets, capital, technology, management skills, and entertainment," as if we could not create these things ourselves.

The fact that U.S. corporations already have a huge stake in Canada and want to see it enlarged is ignored. So is the support they get from the U.S. government, and all too often from governments in Canada as well. How often do we hear Canadian politicians, federal and provincial, say that we *don't* need American capital, compared to the countless times they say that we do? Nor are politicians the only offenders, by any means.

Authors never examine U.S. connection

Canadians are taught to believe that less U.S. investment and a less pervasive U.S. presence and influence would mean an enormous loss in "prosperity and liberty." This is endlessly asserted but never examined or proved, and is probably untrue. But the authors do not question it in the least, stating the issue in terms of "cutting economic ties with the U.S.," which no one is suggesting. They seem never to have heard of Walter Gordon, the Watkins Report, the Gray Report, the Committee for an Independent Canada, or any of the many aspects of the struggle for Canadian independence.

They do somewhat better in the chapter on the "Future of Confederation", which examines the PQ's various "options" for Quebec. What the PQ is in effect proposing is "a common market or free trade agreement with the rest of Canada." But the rest of Canada "has a commitment not to grant sovereignty-association." Why? Partly for bargaining purposes, and partly because of an "emotional commitment" to Canada as it is now. The authors are surely right in saying that "should separation nevertheless occur, it would be irra-

tional not to attempt to make the best of it," and they add that "it is perfectly rational to commit oneself not to do something under any circumstances, but it would be irrational to carry out the commitment when the circumstances arise."

However, they consider their "standard scenario" the most likely, namely, "a strong majority of Quebecers opt for staying within Canada." But there is no analysis of Quebec society or the roots of French Canadian nationalism; they refer to "the diversion of the present independence-sovereignty movement," and the couple of pages on Quebec's economy elsewhere in the book are feeble.

The "three core scenarios"

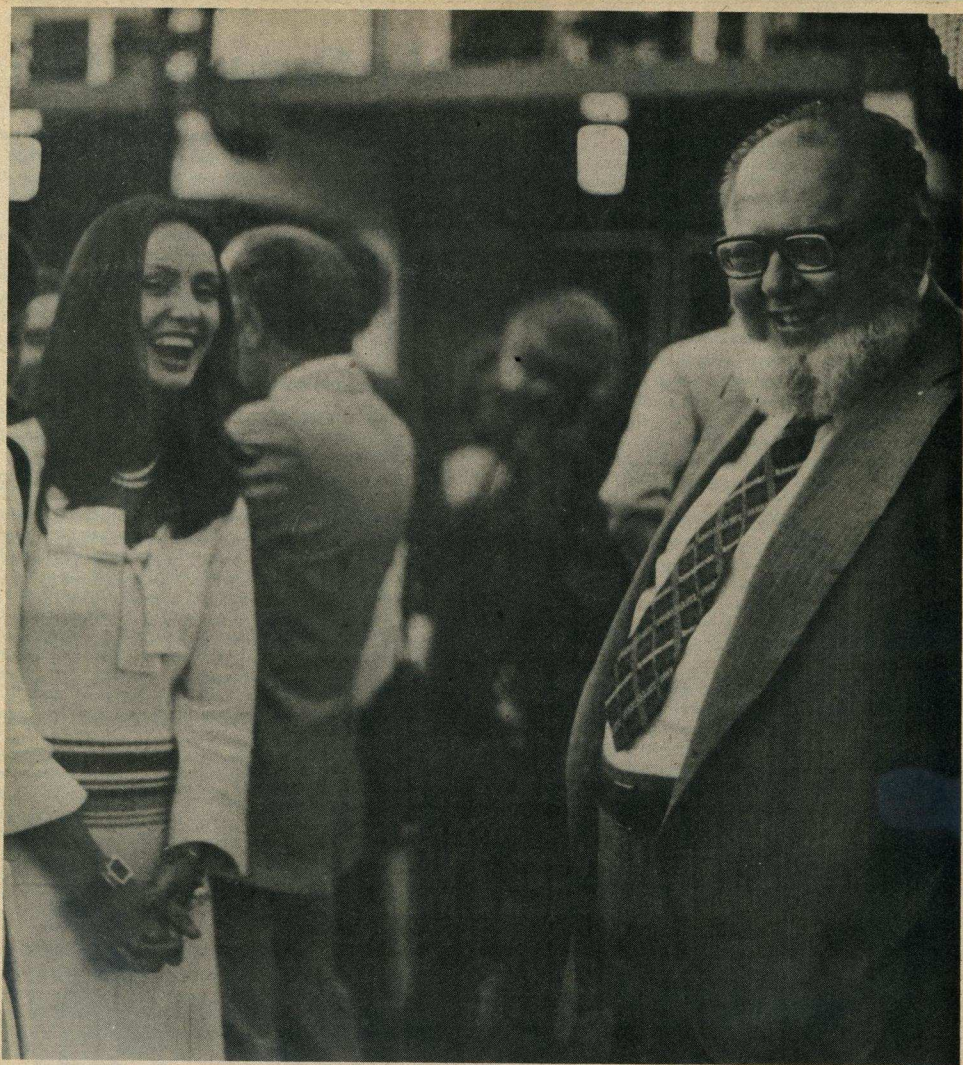
The book is organized around what are called "three core scenarios": the standard Canadian scenario, the accelerated growth scenario and the constrained growth scenario.

Essentially, these scenarios differ from each other only by one-half of one per cent in the assumed growth rate of GNP — the accelerated growth being one-half of one per cent above the standard growth, and the constrained growth being one-half of one per cent below it. But grouped under each scenario are other assumed trends which reveal the authors' biases and/or seem rather arbitrary. For example, "halting and selective turnaround of growth of government" and "greater willingness to cooperate with U.S. on selected issues" are associated with accelerated growth, whereas "more government involvement," "further and faster movement to the left," "conservation emphasis" and "restraints on foreign and Canadian multi-nationals" all come under constrained growth.

Only the standard scenario mentions balance of payments difficulties and "new approaches to federalism (with emphasis on flexibility." Accelerated growth would allow Quebec's problems merely to "simmer", whereas constrained growth involves the "possibility of intensified federal-provincial conflicts" and might "force decentralization." I doubt that economic growth *per se* will have so large an influence on the outcome in Quebec, or that constitutional discussions are only a diversion from unsolved economic problems.

It is also remarkable that all three scenarios assume that economic growth will be fastest in 1976-80 and will decline after that. But at current rates, even the constrained growth rate for these first five years looks high — 3.5 to 4.0 per cent on the average. Perhaps the authors accepted Mr. Chrétien's budget pledge of close to 5 per cent growth for this year, a pledge which the Prime Minister repeated at the Bonn summit but which almost everyone else thinks is out of reach. Growth in the 1980's will be slower because the labour force and productivity will both grow more slowly, according to the forecasts.

Most of the opinions expressed are well to the right, although occasionally a different view creeps in. For example, we are told that, "despite all the rhetoric about changing values, work is a central organizing aspect of life to the bulk of Canadians." So far, so good. Why is it central? Because it offers "pride, responsibility, and the satisfaction of making



Co-author Marie-Josée Drouin (left) laughs it up with Hudson Institute boss Herman Kahn

one's own way and supporting one's own family." We are then given all the old chestnuts about unemployment being "a way of life," about young people and women looking for jobs and working only long enough to qualify for unemployment benefits, and so on. The only unemployment that matters is among adult men, "particularly male labourers, to whom supporting their families through honest work is a central definition of manhood." I hope the reader will forgive me for quoting correctly.

In spite of unemployment that will remain high, the authors believe that people "may simply refuse unattractive jobs." They therefore propose, in Herman Kahn's words, "an innovation which would be terribly useful for the Third World and the First World alike," namely, importing armies of Asian labourers for "specific periods or in specific jobs . . . (which) Canadians would not do, except perhaps at an inflated price."

This would be our equivalent of Europe's migrant workers,

who can be sent home when they are no longer needed. It follows Kahn's earlier idea, "both in the national and in the world interest," of bringing in Korean labour conscripts to work in the Alberta tar sands. Kahn sold the idea to Jean-Pierre Goyer when he was Minister of Supply and Services, who took it to the Cabinet. Goyer got a lot of publicity with the idea, but the Cabinet said NO.

The chapter on social policy contains this gem:

"In a protracted hard-times scenario for Canada, pressures for less government control of the economy and less spending would increase." But "an alternative hard-times scenario would have economic activity come under increasing government control, both directly and via massive expansion of government-subsidized jobs."

The best I can make of this is that prolonged stagnation might lead people to *want* less government intervention, but that the failure of business to put life into the economy might *compel* more. If that's what they meant, why not say so?

Possibilities for social policy are summarized as "a 1940's and a 1950's British scenario." Adding "a heightened emphasis on the poor (and) a garnish of post-industrial values" (whatever they might be) would give us "a 1960's British scenario." Then comes "today's British scenario" in which the government's growing social commitments lead "to a crushing burden of taxes and regulations that seriously damages the Canadian economy and its competitive position in the world, and corrupts the national will to work." This is called policy analysis!

"Where have all the flower children gone?" Politics and people's social outlook are moving to the right, in Canada as well as the U.S. One result, the books says, is that "we are rediscovering fundamental economic roles: that the function of labour is working, not striking; that in a capitalist system, capitalists must make profits; and that government regulation and redistribution presumes somebody else's production to regulate or redistribute." Consequently, there is growing opposition to "excessive welfare, and what is increasingly viewed as over-weening, bloated, and insensitive government." This is related to the growth of the "knowledge industry" and the rise of what is called the "new class of bureaucrats, academics and journalists . . . [who] are moving towards power in every country of the Western world."

These groups are said to be mainly responsible for the "limits-to-growth movement," which is dismissed as "a useful ideological justification for the haves keeping out the have-nots." There are similar jibes and churlish exaggerations on almost every second page.

Resources chapter the best

The chapter on energy and mineral resources is the best in the book. It has a clear point of view and is coherently set out. Energy will in the short run remain relatively expensive, because the 20 to 30 years of cheap oil hindered the development of alternative sources. This will take time. But in the long run there will be no shortages either of energy or minerals, because resources are theoretically almost limitless. It is only a question of how much it will cost to find, extract and transport them.

The main current possibilities for energy — north shore and Arctic oil and gas, the tar sands, coal, nuclear energy and others — are reviewed with unqualified optimism. Later will come the two "inexhaustible resources" of solar and fusion energy, with geothermal energy a possible third.

The argument with respect to minerals is as follows: iron ore accounts for 89.9 per cent of the consumption of the dozen principal metals used in the world, and aluminum for 4.5 per cent. These two are considered "clearly inexhaustible." The next eight metals account for a further 5.6 per cent of world consumption. Of these, two — silicon and magnesium — are also "clearly inexhaustible," while the next six are "probably inexhaustible." Inexhaustible is ultimately measured in terms of the amount of the minerals which is thought to exist in the upper layer of the earth's crust.

It is acknowledged that "commercial production only requires known reserves a generation ahead, so it would be a waste of money to look for more reserves." But the known reserves of four of the ten minerals mentioned more than doubled between 1950 and 1970 — iron ore reserves increased fourteen-fold, and oil reserves incidentally increased six-fold. Under the pressure of demand and higher prices if necessary, this sort of growth is expected to continue. "It is impossible to credibly demonstrate that the world is running out of energy and resources because of physical constraints." Since Canada is exceptionally well endowed, "it is extraordinary that such a rich and prosperous country has espoused many of the neo-Malthusian or limits-to-growth views."

The case is presented with gusto, and a layman is really not able to judge the merits. I have two reservations. The first is that there are qualified and respected experts who know the facts and come to a quite different conclusion. The notion that there may indeed be physical, which includes environmental, as well as economic and social limits to growth is not simply a bad dream of doubting amateurs.

The second is that there is no discussion of the implications of exponential growth. A rate of 3 per cent a year means a

ROBERTS LETTERS PROJECT

Dear Editor:

I am, with the permission of Lady Roberts, collecting the letters of her late husband, Sir Charles G. D. Roberts (1890-1943), for publication.

Roberts was a well-known poet and writer of animal stories, and an avid outdoorsman. He lived at various times in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Toronto and Vancouver, travelled extensively in Canada between 1880 and 1943 on lecture tours and personal visits, and had contacts with persons from all walks of life.

This is my final attempt to collect additional Roberts letters prior to completing the preparation of the existing collection for publication. I should greatly appreciate hearing from any persons holding letters from Sir Charles. I can be contacted at:

Roberts Letters Project
c/o Department of English
University of New Brunswick
Fredericton, New Brunswick
E3B 5A3

Fred Cogswell
Head, Roberts Letters Project

doubling in 24 years, 5 per cent a doubling in 14 years. We know the story of the man who invented chess. The prince of fabled wealth to whom he showed it offered him any reward he wanted. He asked for one grain of wheat on the first square, two on the second, four on the third, eight on the fourth, and so on. By the 30th or 40th square, the prince's graneries were empty. Thirty times 14 years is only four centuries, 40 times 24 less than a thousand years.

Robert Heilbroner, in his *Business Civilization in Decline*, makes this telling point. "It is estimated that the 'ultimately recoverable' amounts of coal would suffice to maintain our current rate of coal use for over 5,000 years. However, if our use of coal continues to expand at a rate of just over 4 per cent a year, this same 'ultimately recoverable' resource would be consumed within 135 years. . . . Today we extract and use about 2.7 billion tons of the ten leading minerals each year. If our rate of use were to grow at a modest 3 per cent a year for a thousand years, this would entail a weight of materials greater than that of the earth itself." (my italics)

The book's time horizon is 1990. Anything may be physically possible for the next 15 years or so. If there are no difficulties for the present, they will begin to be felt later on, and it is not too soon to start thinking about them now. The

book's message is that there's nothing to worry about. Can we afford to be ostriches?

The jacket cover is stamped "Top Priority" and heralds the book as "a report from the outposts of tomorrow by the 'think tank' experts whose business is policy analysis." The claim is absurd. There are comments on a multitude of subjects, and no doubt it would be too much to ask that they all be original. But they should be more than merely hurriedly superficial. "The methodology evolved over the last decade by Hudson Institute (U.S.A.), typical of many Hudson studies" and used in this book, is a lot of puffery. Of serious policy analysis there is virtually none. If a "think tank" can produce nothing better than this, all one can say is that both the thinking and the tank are disappointingly shallow.

Since Herman Kahn published his book *On Thermonuclear War* some 20 years ago, my feeling has been that he was a moral defective. *Canada Has A Future* and Kahn's preface, which is obviously calculated to help it sell, strike me as an intellectual fraud. If that sounds harsh, there is more in the book which leads me to that judgement than inclines me to be lenient.

Inco moved in; is it moving out?

by PERRY SHEARWOOD

The Big Nickel; Inco at Home and Abroad, by Jamie Swift and the Development Education Centre. Between the Lines, Toronto. \$5 paper.

The nickel miners of Sudbury are confronting the giant mining company, INCO, in a strike that most anticipate to be of long duration. Who are these workers? Are they the refugees from a hobo jungle portrayed in a *Globe and Mail* photo of the picket line, or the wild eyed, hot-headed militants seen on the CBC National News? What is INCO? Is it an all-Canadian company pushed to the wall by the demands of its employees?

To get a more accurate and comprehensive picture one can turn to *The Big Nickel; Inco at Home and Abroad*. This recently published book is the product of extensive research into INCO's history and its current situation. The story of the International Nickel Company is traced

from its founding in 1902 by a group of Wall Street bankers, through the two world wars (when INCO maximized profits by sales to both sides), and up to the present day and the government-financed export of nickel-mining jobs from Canada.

Nickel is a key substance for the armaments industry and war has constantly fueled INCO's growth. The slackening in demand following the Vietnam war has led to a glut of nickel on world markets.

INCO now has at least seven month's supply of finished nickel stockpiled. Feeling secure in this situation, INCO management has decided to hold down labour costs and attack the grievance procedure fought for by generations of miners. The provocation of a strike coupled with recent lay-offs of thousands of Canadian employees reflects INCO's desire to transfer production to its lateritic ore mines in Indonesia and Guatemala.

The Big Nickel documents the corrup-

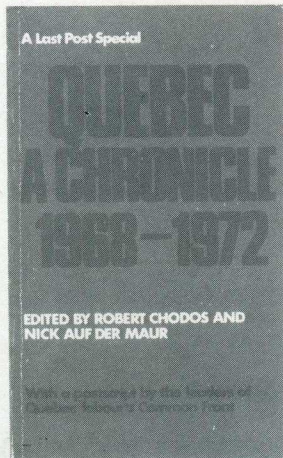
tion, the political repression and the corporate maneuvering that has permitted INCO to set up foreign subsidiaries at the expense of the Canadian taxpayer. Also examined is the proposed sea-bed mining of nickel-containing nodules. This prospect tempts one to ask if the seas are to be the common heritage of mankind or a source of more profits for INCO and more lay-offs for Canadian workers.

Included in *The Big Nickel* is the horrifying story of the deaths by cancer of numerous former employees of the Sudbury sintering plant. The Steelworkers' demand for long-term disability benefits is substantiated by this account and other information on industrial safety and pollution.

The Big Nickel is attractively produced and illustrated. For those who would like to delve deeper than the newspaper headlines into the reasons for labour unrest and the faltering Canadian economy it cannot be too highly recommended.

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