

LAST POST

THE LAST POST Vol. 1 No. 4

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LAST POST



Why
TIME's
in a stew

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Why the CPR doesn't
like you any more

Rompin' Ron, Mr. Fixit,
and other Paper Tigers

Coming up for air

With this issue, we begin a long gamble.

We decided long before we launched the Last Post last November that we would publish as frequently as we could, but with no promised regularity (subscribers still get eight issues, no matter when they come out).

This vagueness remains necessary for very simple reasons: each issue of this magazine costs some \$2,000 to print and distribute. Nobody gets paid — we're a rather loose co-operative spanning several cities, and some people with salaries help meet office and equipment expenses.

But the target we've always set our eyes on is a regular monthly publication — monthly in order to give coherent counter-information on the immediate events, as well as carrying major pieces in our expanded News Briefs section, along with the embryo of a section covering world affairs from a Canadian vantage point.

We have the people and the material. What we need to make this a monthly magazine is, quite simply, money.

Advertising will never come near fulfilling that need. For one, we've been told often enough in our search for ads that we won't succeed if we keep attacking people like Eaton's. We're carrying paid ads in this issue for the first time, and we will continue to, but that will never be a source of income we can depend on.

This magazine survives on its readers' subscriptions and newsstand sales, with contributions adding some. Its readers have kept it alive, and they are the only ones who can make it grow.

This magazine is not going to die, despite the odds people gave on its survival a year ago. But neither will it grow beyond a small circulation and infrequent publication without some help.

We ask our readers, who've thought what we're doing worthwhile enough to keep us alive so far, to help us meet the financial obstacles against publishing monthly. If we receive the support we need within the next few weeks, we can gamble on monthly publication.

We would also welcome your help in another way. We need your suggestions as to how we can improve our coverage. We hope you will send us your criticisms and your ideas for articles we should include, on people we should get in touch with across the country.

Clip the box below to help us publish more often; enclose a letter to give us your suggestions.

The editors.

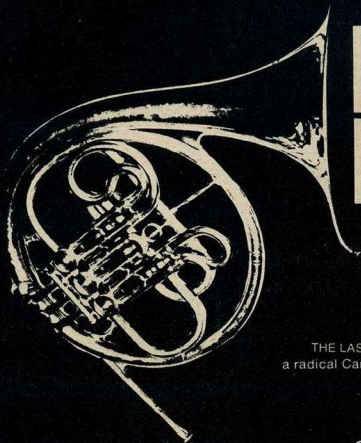
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- 1. I enclose \$_____ contribution towards the Last Post.
- 2. I pledge \$_____ to be contributed over the next year in _____ instalments, and I include the first instalment. (This permits us to know how much we can count on over a period, and might be more convenient for many readers.)
- 3. I enclose \$50 for a perpetual subscription to the Last Post.

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LAST POST

THE LAST POST Vol. 1 No. 4
a radical Canadian newsmagazine

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LAST POST

CANADA

The world's longest undefended computer

A form of genteel continentalism that long predates the energy debate is to be found in the flow of files and information between our RCMP and the FBI crime information centre in Washington.

It's already been admitted that files on draft dodgers and deserters flow freely along the teletype wire and to and from the RCMP's Security and Intelligence Directorate, that tabs are kept in Canada by our police on Americans the FBI considers subversive, etc.

According to RCMP Commissioner W.L. Higgitt, quoted in the *Globe and Mail* of August 4, some 20 or 30 cases plus another 15 letters exchanging data flow between the two police forces each day. The Ontario Provincial Police receives 200 requests a day from US police departments, says Staff Superintendent Elmer Moss.

From the same paper we learn that all this will now be vastly improved with the installation of a new \$40 million computer in the RCMP's Ottawa headquarters. It will start functioning next June and take five years to expand to carry all RCMP and local police files. The data will, according to Higgitt, be vastly increased and exchanged freely with the FBI, local US police forces and Interpol.

Although supposedly the only fingerprints and photographs that can be kept in police records are those of convicted persons, this regulation is a patent joke. Mounties and local police are seen photographing demonstrators at the mildest political rallies, and the Metropolitan Toronto Police admit that their files contain "members of motorcycle clubs...persons considered potentially dangerous to visiting dignitaries...persons under police surveillance."

All these gems will be cross-fed into the new RCMP computer. And by virtue of this, into the FBI computer which will be linked to it.

It will make small difference, actually, since we will only be paying the FBI back for their courtesy over the last few years—they've let us use their computer.

Local and provincial police involved in the computer planning have said that the RCMP is using the FBI computer to store some of its records, simply because, according to the *Globe and Mail*, "...the FBI computer can locate the information and transmit it to Ottawa faster than the RCMP can search its own files manually."

Well, Commissioner Higgitt firmly denies this, and what self-respecting nationalist wouldn't.

But then there was that embarrassing little episode Solicitor-General George McIlraith admits happened during his recent tour of the FBI computer centre:

NEWS BRIEFS

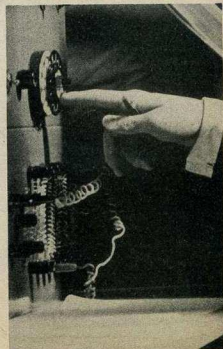
A request for information on a stolen car came pounding on the computer from RCMP headquarters.

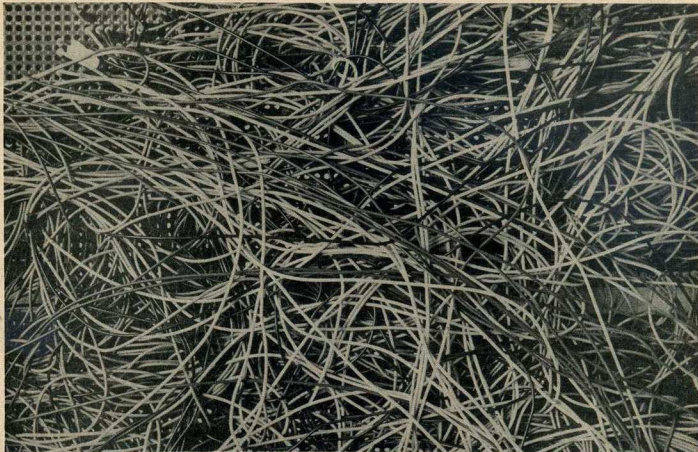
Apparently an RCMP constable in Swift Current, Sask., was checking out an Ontario car that had been parked for two days. He radioed his local dispatcher who queried RCMP headquarters on the TWX teletype network.

There was no record that the car had been stolen even though the Ontario Provincial Police and the RCMP update each other's lists of stolen cars once a day.

For some unexplained reason, RCMP headquarters decided to ask the FBI if its computer listed the car. While McIlraith watched, the computer was questioned and replied that the car had been stolen in Scarborough, Ont., only four days before.

How you gonna explain that one, Joe?





Rent-a-cop

Pinkerton's is a name burned into the history of North American labor struggles.

The private investigation firm with close police links has traditionally served as an army of strikebreakers in U.S. industrial strife situations, been used as company police in company towns, and provided corporations with the service of investigating the private lives of union officials and "trouble-makers."

Now the company seems to be expanding its Canadian operation, Pinkerton's of Canada. In an advertisement in the business press Pinkerton's extols in its ability to conduct espionage into the private lives of Canadian citizens.

Some choice statements:

"When Pinkerton's does pre-hiring investigations, you can be more certain that new employees will return your investment.

"Here's what some companies have already saved:

"One firm saved \$54,320 in training and costs when Pinkerton's found that eight of the 28 applicants under consideration were not good candidates."

"Another company saved \$9,500 in training costs by rejecting nine of 24 applicants."

"Your business can also save money and trouble (such as pro-union people) by looking to Pinkerton's for other investigation services, or security service."

Pinkerton's is also prepared to move into action, complete with radar devices and uniformed agents, onto the campuses of Canadian universities.

In an ad in a house organ for the staff and administrations of Canadian universities Pinkerton's crows: "Pinkerton's takes care of everything. You pay one fee and forget the details."

What details?

In a revealing paragraph this ad states: "Pinkerton's men and women

have been preventing trouble since 1850. They've met all kinds of campus problems and know them well." Like peace marches, protests, sit-ins and student strikes, maybe? Well, the ad continues:

"And Pinkerton's is focussing its total attention on **security**." What is involved in this service is revealed further down in the ad. "This includes a constant search for better ways to help you keep sources of trouble off campus, maintain crowd control, and assure thorough theft protection." With the aid of access to RCMP files, perhaps?

For good measure, Pinkerton's throws in the following "service":

"Also the campus drug problem is no stranger to Pinkerton's people."

"...Pinkerton's guards keep undesirable out... assist in narcotics suppression, control crowds."

To the potential employee whom Pinkerton's smears or the student it decides is a Commie, this represents a permanent private blacklist that has been compiled with the aid of police forces but without any legal status. In other words, the same results, without hassles like courts.

Foreign firms get millions

Foreign-controlled companies received 57.3 per cent of the \$321 million in federal grants paid to industry for research and development (R&D) under six selected programs during 1965-1968, according to returns tabled in the House of Commons.

A breakdown of the firms showed that foreign-controlled companies received most of the grants for R&D in the military sector.

Among the foreign-controlled recipients of government grants for military R&D were:

- Canadair (subsidiary of General Dynamics): \$24.6 million.
- United Aircraft: \$18.6 million.
- Canadian Marconi (subsidiary of Bendix Corp.): \$8.2 million.
- de Havilland Aircraft (subsidiary of Hawker-Siddeley): \$4.2 million.
- Douglas Aircraft: \$2.8 million.

It should also be recalled (see Last Post Vol. 1 No. 2 "Weapons For the World: Made in Canada") that Canada spent \$145,068,148 under the Canada-U.S. Defence Production Sharing Agreement to subsidize the production of arms in Canada for the U.S. between 1959 and 1967.

The Waffle: a gentle tip in search of an iceberg

The Waffle caucus emerged from its first national convention in Toronto last August as a gentle tip in search of an iceberg.

Flushed with success at the NDP national convention, with the attention received from the press through Melville Watkins, and with the conviction that they find themselves at the leadership of a nationalist resurgence in Canada, many at the three-day meeting were distressed to find themselves confronted with such incidentals as having to organize a base before they could be taken seriously as a movement. That, clearly, will become the real test of the Waffle.

Rick Deaton, a national staff organ-

izer for the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) caused consternation among many by calling the Waffle an "allegedly socialist" party.

When he proposed that "there is no movement without the working class — one's reaction to the question of who owns the means of production will decide whether we are a working-class party or a bunch of middle-class reformers", many delegates launched into a largely useless denunciation of trade unions as desiccated and reactionary. When he said that "the Waffle must be supportive of labor, and many Wafflers seem to conceive it the other way around", many were agast.

Bill Levine, one of the best CUPE national office men, gently told the delegates: "You're not talking the language of the people in the labor movement".

Except for the Saskatchewan Wafflers, whose strong base is a product of the Saskatchewan left's ability to build around immediate issues that concern the people of western Canada, and the New Democratic Youth, which has been organizing among young workers, the notion of these largely academic Waffle delegates talking to the labor movement seemed, to say the least, remote.

Jim Laxer, the Queen's University

professor who is the chief theoretician of the Waffle, admits that "a lot of people see the Waffle as a left-wing psychotherapy group like SUPA" (Student Union for Peace Action — a broad, student-dominated, anti-war coalition of the early sixties that marked the beginnings of the Canadian 'new left').

To him, the Waffle dies if any or all of three conditions set in: a) it remains a middle-class grouping, b) the leadership becomes parliamentary-oriented, c) it loses the leadership of the nationalist movement.

He sets these immediate goals for reaching a politically significant base; which he says does not exist outside the Prairies:

- press the energy campaign which will lead people to demand public ownership of resources (the first of three Waffle-authored paperbacks, reflecting the research capacity that is one of the group's strengths, will be published in a month, and Waffle-led demonstrations against the continental energy policy are scheduled for mid-September in several Canadian cities.)

- take the Waffle into the streets; raise the temperature beyond the teach-in level to active "agit-prop" work,

- get people to work in selected numbers of plants for long term organizing work, filling the void in political education left by the NDP,

- draw the line clearly between social democracy and socialism — hence the importance of the energy issue,

- in Saskatchewan press the key priority of organizing among farmers,

- maintain a presence in the Women's Liberation Movement,

- maintain a presence in the student movement.

And at the end of the line what does the Waffle become?

Many Wafflers are satisfied that it should become the left wing of the NDP, trying to pull its policy to the left; some claim to see the distant possibility of taking over the actual leadership of the NDP, but only after years of struggle which have effectively transformed the NDP's base; and a smaller group closer to the Waffle's leadership see these steps as being only intermediate to the formation of a broad-based socialist party that casts off the NDP and fights on the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary fronts.

But in the meantime, time is running out on the Waffle.

In Toronto, the strongest threat to the Waffle's tenuous leadership of "the nationalist movement" is quickly

forming: the Committee of 103, which is being organized by Liberal party grey eminences like *Toronto Star* editor Peter C. Newman, *Canadian Forum* editor Abe Rotstein and former finance minister Walter Gordon, will launch a vast propaganda campaign and a national petition demanding 51% ownership of Canadian firms, ecology control, and the whole spate of liberal-nationalist demands that bear little relation to the basic contradictions in Canadian society. This group, which Melville Watkins refused to join, might well seize effective control of the nationalist resurgence from the Waffle.

At the moment, the Waffle is a grouping of as yet undigested political tendencies, from liberal through social democratic to new-left. If it manages to build a valid base, it has a chance of growing into a launching pad for the formation of a socialist party in Canada. But it can much more easily become an interesting footnote in the sad history of Canadian reform movements.

Selling out Canada bit by bit

The Liberal government, having had its hand bitten by nationalists for trumpeting the glories of energy-sharing with the United States, has taken to rustling in the bushes instead.

Now it plays down talk of mass energy deals, and has shifted to selling our gas, oil and hydro piecemeal. Simultaneously, it placates the conservationists and liberal nationalists with talk of strict ecology measures and increased Canadian ownership of oil and gas companies, trying to cloud over the central issue of foreign control of our resources.

Unflinching, the Trudeau government is moving towards doing bit by bit what it found it could not do popularly in one lump agreement. The first critical step towards a continental energy deal lies in the impending agreement to sell up to nine trillion cubic feet of natural gas to the United States over a 20- to 25-year period.

Five companies have been lined up for some time before the National Energy Board seeking permits for exports amounting to nine trillion cubic feet to the hungry U.S. market. All that re-

mains to be done is for the Board, with a nudge from the Cabinet, to approve the mass sale—and that will come within weeks if not days. (The five companies are: Alberta & Southern Gas Co. of Calgary, a wholly owned subsidiary of the US firm Pacific Gas and Electric; Trans-Canada Pipeline; West Coast Transmission of Vancouver; Consolidated Natural Gas of Calgary; Canadian Montana Pipelines. These firms have also applied for permits to build \$258 million of gas pipelines.)

Ottawa is on the verge of taking the first critical step towards linking Canada's resource exploitation to the growing needs of U.S. industries—linking the first strands in the mesh of dependence on the U.S. market.

Although the United States is in critical need of oil, solid fuels and water as well, its most pressing requirement is more natural gas. Columbia Gas Systems Inc., the largest American gas utility, has warned its customers that its demands for the winter of 1970-71 far exceed the gas it will have. Other major gas companies have turned down new customers in large numbers. Consolidated Edison in New York has refused to build a \$370 million power plant addition because anti-pollution regulations in New York say the plant must use natural gas, and it cannot be sure of a supply. The signing of a gas deal thus becomes the first agreement to provide U.S. energy needs.

Gas and oil are inseparable. Gas is found in the same pools as oil. They are extracted together. The decision to export vast quantities of natural gas and commit ourselves to produce it for over 20 years is also a decision to increase substantially the oil exploration program, especially in northern Canada. Instead of slowing down our pace of exploration until we can find other world markets that are equally in need of our gas and won't force us into positions of dependence on them, we have decided to dance to the tune of American needs.

Instead of concentrating on developing other sectors crucial to Canadian needs (establishing industries which employ more labor and building manufacturing industries that will operate here on our energy resources) we become prime exporters of raw energy to the manufacturing industries of the U.S.

This increasingly makes Canada a pool of energy for the U.S. and once we have totally committed ourselves to a status of colonial raw material provider, the political implications follow. It's the equivalent of Guatemala trying to enlarge its banana production making it

even more dependent on one market, instead of trying to shift its economic base towards producing more of what it needs and can itself consume.

Look for your natural gas heating bill to get higher. Now that the demand will sky-rocket, the consumer will find his share costs substantially more over the long term.

The natural gas sale is, of course, only a part of a wider Liberal strategy of piecemeal energy-sharing. And that tactic was nowhere better outlined than by John Nassikas, chairman of the U.S. Federal Power Commission (the equivalent of our National Energy Board but



John Nassikas

more powerful):

The solution to the energy needs of the U.S., he told the Commission's 50th anniversary conference June 3, is not for Washington to seek a high-level agreement with Ottawa covering all energy resources, but to hammer out agreements on individual resources.

"It is a question of working matters out case by case at the administrative level by a hard-headed approach," he said.

Willy Strauss, chairman of the board of the Northern Natural Gas Company, which has a direct interest in the impending gas sale from Canada, told the same conference: "With respect to Canadian gas—which cannot be isolated from Canadian oil from the point of view of successful exploration—the current economic and energy needs of Canada and the United States must not be permitted to bog down in the semantics of 'continentalism' and overall energy policies. Instead, I urge that these problems be solved with a practical approach on a mutually beneficial and co-operative basis... Perhaps we should use the phrases 'co-operative gas' and 'co-operative oil' policy."

Some updated figures on foreign ownership in Canada of the manufacturing, energy and mining sectors:

Petroleum refineries in Canada, valued at \$4.1 billion, are 99.9 per cent foreign-owned principally by American corporations, secondarily by British.

Oil and gas wells are 82.6 per cent foreign-owned, amounting to a value of \$3.7 billion.

In response to a question in the House by NDP MP Ed Broadbent on foreign ownership of these sectors, Industry, Trade and Commerce Minister Jean-Luc Pepin revealed that foreign ownership of manufacturing, energy and mining amounted to a value of \$36.8 billion (The gross national product of Canada in 1967, the same year the figures apply, was \$62.1 billion.)

The manufacturing industry in Canada is 56.7 per cent foreign-controlled, at a value of \$22.4 billion.

Foreign interests also control 55.6 per cent of corporations manufacturing from primary metals such as nickel, copper and iron, with assets totalling over \$3 billion.

As far as the smelters and refineries that process this ore are concerned, foreigners hold 84.9 per cent of the shares worth \$2.4 billion.

When it comes to companies actually mining the metals, foreign capital holds outright control in almost half of them, by owning a majority of voting shares.

These figures were tabled in June in response to Broadbent's question of February 19. They were obtained by studies of corporate tax returns.

Yes boys, they're having nationalist trouble up in Canada so we'd better cool the language a little to make it a bit easier for Ottawa...

It's been a rough summer on the oil front, too.

Last March when Nixon slapped a limiting quota on how much Canadian oil would be allowed into the U.S., those who interpreted this as a move to muscle Canada into an energy deal by reminding us of our dependence on U.S. markets were denounced as Cassandras by everyone from Joe Greene down to the financial press.

At the end of May, however, a letter from a White House aide to a number of senators from oil-hungry states who complained about the quota came to light. The letter assured the senators that the quota was simply a tactical move in the context of negotiating a wider energy deal with Canada. The Cassandras had been proved right, and nationalist fur started flying. Joe Greene bravely announced he would not negotiate with Washington with a gun to his head (in fact, he would have been more honest to say "when the gun to my head becomes public").

This slightly cooled the cordiality of energy negotiations. With the Liberals already in a difficult position, Washington escalated the pressure again. In mid-June the U.S. slackened import controls on oil from Venezuela but not from Canada—thus indicating that benefits are available and if Canada doesn't take them they will be given to others.

To add to its troubles, Ottawa almost

lost control of the domestic oil situation, which depends on dividing the country up and leaving everything east of the Ottawa Valley open to oil imports from Venezuela, and everything west of the valley open only to domestic oil from Alberta. This keeps the Canadian oil producers with a securely protected market.

But when the Montreal-based Caloil Ltd., one of the largest private-brand gasoline marketers in Canada, tried to sell across the Ottawa Valley line into the Ontario refining market, it threatened to open a breach in the dam and spill cheap Venezuela-imported gas products into the protected markets of Ontario. The Exchequer Court backed Caloil's defiance of the artificial dividing line and for a while Ottawa was faced with a revolt of the western oil producers, who feared prices would plummet. Ottawa quickly slapped on a new bunch of license restrictions to calm the crisis.

The Caloil crisis served to make the point clear: we've got too much oil and can't get rid of it because we decided long ago to be an energy pool for the U.S. That's why the Liberals want the continental energy deal, even if they are scared to bring it through too quickly.

But the pressure has also been building on the U.S., this time from the international front.

In the Middle East, the tensions of war threatened continued oil supplies to the U.S. and underscored the dangers to Washington of depending on Arab oil. Peace in the Middle East is becoming a

matter of crucial concern to Washington.

The Libyan government embarked on a program of gradual nationalization of oil resources, weakening the hold of U.S. oil firms. Oil tanker rates shot up during the summer because of complications in the international shipping business.

Day by day, Washington's thirst for secure oil supplies close by, where it doesn't depend on the vagaries of nationalist governments, wars, and shipping problems, was reinforced. And that meant it looked more and more to Canada, drowning in its own oil.

Faced with a crumbling oil situation at home, and massive pressure from Washington, the Liberals' only way out is to abandon more and more of what remains of Canadian economic independence and go for the continental energy deal.

Because the alternative is too horrible for Ottawa to ponder: force a massive cutback of oil production and start getting out of the oil business, which would mean economic reorganization on a scale that requires such taboos as nationalization; keep what oil and gas we've got to provide to needier markets other than the U.S. at a future date; encourage the development of secondary industries that will employ our energy resources here.

But that would require a government with national priorities that don't jibe with the interests of the oil and gas industry. Not a government that saw its priority to "continue to be one of close collaboration with industry in all matters of legislation affecting industry's oil and gas operations," as Joe Greene put it recently.

To protect the oil and gas companies' interests, which lie in the direction of the continental scheme, Canadians will pay in the currency of political and economic independence.

We're staying in the banana business.

By Gordon Cleveland

Riel still panics Ottawa

By way of a source close to one minister we learn of a major cabinet crisis last February that was successfully hidden from the press.

At that time, the Post Office made the magnificent gesture of announcing that it would release a stamp bearing the likeness of Métis rebel Louis Riel, as part of the celebrations of the Manitoba centennial.

Eric Kierans, the minister responsible for the Post Office, found himself with a political tornado on his hands. Within Ottawa bitter criticism was levelled at his office for glorifying the 19th-century rebel who was hanged by the Macdonald government in 1885.

Kierans was forced to send a copy of the stamp of all provincial premiers and solicit their comments. Louis Robichaud of New Brunswick expressed serious misgivings about the "political repercussions", Thatcher of Saskatchewan was staunchly opposed, and Walter Weir, Conservative opposition leader in Manitoba, had a fit.

Kierans had to have the stamp approved by a cabinet meeting and is known to have remarked later that this was the only country in the world where

Abortions-tiny step forward

Up until several months ago, the question of abortion in Canada was not subject to real public debate. The government had absolved itself of any further responsibility by slightly modifying the existing abortion laws in 1969. The law had formerly stated that an abortion could legally be performed if the "life" of a woman was endangered. In an attempt to allow for a more liberal interpretation of the law, it was changed to read "life and health" of a woman.

In reality, this change did nothing more than provide a few legal safeguards for doctors performing approved therapeutic abortions. Hospital statistics showed no increase in the number of legal abortions performed after the "reform". In Saskatchewan, the figure even declined.

Abortion boards, provided for in the law, were not set up in many Catholic hospitals. Where they were established, the predominantly male medical profession continued to refuse to grant women the right to legal abortion. In Saskatoon, a teenage girl, pregnant by her brother, was refused an abortion on the grounds that "she knew it was wrong".

The estimated 100,000 Canadian women per year who wished to terminate their pregnancies had few alternatives. They could attempt to abort themselves with coat hangers and knitting needles, pay \$20 for a hack abortion and suffer the consequences, or seek out an expensive, illegal, but safe abortion from a sympathetic doctor.

In 1970, the Women's Liberation Movement launched its campaign to repeal abortion laws. In the cross-Canada Abortion Caravan, culminating in the disruption of the House of Commons in May, the issue was raised nationally. Interestingly, both the Prime Minister and Health Minister Munro chose to leave the country at that time. As the women were arriving in Ottawa, the Ontario Medical Association was busy holding its conference on pre- and post-natal depression entitled "Woman and her Curses". Little does the Ontario Medical Association realize that they constitute more of a "curse" to women than any post-natal depression ever will.

Shortly after the Caravan and the Ottawa action, witness the arrest of two competent Canadian physicians — both of whom are now in the courts on the charge of performing illegal abortions.

The arrest of Dr. Makaroff in Vancouver and Dr. Morgentaler in Montreal brought the availability of safe, illegal abortions in Canada to a virtual halt. (The situation has now improved somewhat.) The response to the arrest on the part of the medical profession and the press has some serious political implications.

The Canadian Medical Association had previously taken a decidedly conservative position on the issue, refusing to blink an eye at the death of at least 1000 women every year from botched abortions. After the arrest, however, they quickly came to the defence of the two doctors. The CMA changed its constitution removing all mention of abortion and thus ruling out the possibility of a doctor losing his license to practise for performing them. Then the CMA Journal, in its September issue, said that "the moral aspect of the abortion question should reside with the patient" and that the doctor's role should be to ensure that the patient really does want her pregnancy ended and to see that the abortion is done safely.

"Doctors should not be obliged," said the Journal, "to assume the function of gatekeepers to decide which unwanted children should be allowed into this over-populated world and which ones should not." The Journal's statement, the most direct one yet made by the medical profession, seemed to bring the day of legal abortion still closer.

Meanwhile, abortion remains illegal but it is no longer considered unethical. One hundred and eighty doctors in English hospitals in Montreal — the very hospitals whose Abortion Boards refuse nineteen out of twenty requests — valiantly signed a petition in support of Dr. Morgentaler.

The same press which, with few exceptions, had ridiculed the actions of the Women's Liberation Movement in Ottawa suddenly splashed its pages with grueling personal stories about abortions and staunch support for the humanitarian Dr. Morgentaler.

The position of the Women's Liberation Movement is qualitatively different from the kind of support which has suddenly come from the medical profession and the press. The women chose to fight this issue because they recognize that women in this society are oppressed — because they recognize that until women are no longer slaves to their biological function their political struggles can only be limited.

The issue of abortion, like the demand for government research on contraception, forms only one part of an ongoing battle for control of the body. For wo-



the release of a stamp on a man who died 85 years ago can cause a political crisis that requires the attention of the full cabinet.

Recalling the furor created in Manitoba over a year ago when a statue of Riel was unveiled sporting a huge pair of testes, we can at least be grateful for a country that bears a healthy respect for its old ghosts.

We are also in a position to authoritatively deny that the government of John Robarts in Ontario was lobbying heavily at the time for a stamp commemorating the Black Donnellys.

men, that control is a prerequisite for action.

The medical profession supported fellow doctors and responded to some vague notion of humanitarianism. It did not recognize the rights of an oppressed group.

The press has again managed to rob an issue of most of its political import. It has consistently ignored such questions as class discrimination — abortions are even more difficult for poor, working class and welfare women to obtain. Despite its new-found bravado on the issue of abortion, the press continues to remain silent on the myriad of other issues equally oppressive to women.

Initially, the demand for free, legal abortion was fostered by the Women's Liberation Movement. It has now become a safe, "respectable" issue for liberals to touch. Now, the politicians can feel free to debate the issue in Ottawa, the doctors can fight it in the courts, and the liberals can sympathize.

While abortions remain illegal, women's liberation will continue to help women seeking them. But women's liberation will also be preparing to work in communities towards other goals — free day care and the right to work for equal pay, to name only two. There will be few easy victories.

By Sally Mahood

QUEBEC

This union busts unions

The fast-developing snowmobile industry, which expects to reach sales of a million machines by 1973, is beginning to show signs of being a mature, up-to-date enterprise. One such sign is increasing American penetration into the Quebec-based industry: although the largest snowmobile firm is still the Quebec-owned pioneer Bombardier, its chief competitor, Giffen Recreation, is part of a small conglomerate based in Miami.

The trend toward monopoly is another sign. There are now fifty snowmobile manufacturers in North America, but already nine firms have been forced in to the arms of larger competitors. The three largest companies account for 75 per cent of sales.



In other respects, however, the snowmobile industry is following patterns that are as old as capitalism itself, if a recent incident at Boa-Ski, a Giffen subsidiary operating in the small eastern Quebec town of La Guadeloupe, is any indication.

In the summer of 1969, the United Steelworkers of America were trying to organize the 350 employees of the three-year-old Boa-Ski plant. Management responded with a tactic that has been used over and over again by small Quebec firms — they called in the Canadian Federation of Industrial Associations and its military arm, United Business Security.

The CFIA poses as a labor organization believing in "harmony" and "good relations" between workers and employers. How it operates is well illustrated by the Boa-Ski affair.

On July 31, 1969, after the presence of Steelworkers organizers had begun to worry the employers, the CFIA suddenly entered the scene. Without union accreditation, it called a meeting "to prepare the demands of the employees." At the meeting, CFIA head Lucien Tremblay "explained the collective agreement that would be presented to

management," according to the minutes of the meeting. A unanimous vote gave him carte blanche to carry on negotiations.

Tremblay negotiated with his old friend Ubald Brunet, of United Business Security, who had been appointed Boa-Ski's "director of personnel". Not surprisingly, "harmony" prevailed and they reached an agreement only eleven days after the employees' meeting. The agreement called for a wage increase of only 10 cents an hour, and the parties would meet later on, possibly — but only possibly — to raise wages again.

Disillusioned, the workers voted to dissolve their CFIA union on December 15, and turned to the Steelworkers. In response, Boa-Ski locked them out. Faced with the loss of their livelihood, the workers were forced to accept the CFIA, and return to work.

This was not the first time Tremblay and Brunet had negotiated together, with similar results. At Lord and Company, Victoria Precision Works, Canadian Structural Steel (where Judge J. Alfred Crowe of the Quebec Labor Relations Board ruled that "there is proof that the employer and the CFIA connived together, without even bother-

ing to hide it, with the intention of dominating or preventing the formation of an employees' association", and others, Tremblay had formed a CFIA union while Brunet had taken charge of strike breakers and made sure that real unions stayed out.

The CFIA had also tried to organize Montreal taxi drivers in opposition to the militant Mouvement de Libération du Taxi (Last Post, Vol. 1, No. 3). In this effort it received letters of support from Robert Bourassa and Pierre Laporte, then both candidates to succeed Jean Lesage as leader of the Quebec Liberal Party. Bourassa is now premier of Quebec, and Laporte is now minister of labor.

But the achievement Ubald Brunet is proudest of occurred way back in 1957, when workers in the tiny Gaspesian mining town of Murdochville held out for six months against the combined power of the Toronto-based Noranda Mines empire and the iron-fisted Quebec government of Maurice Duplessis. "If the police can't protect us," he said during a strike eleven years later, "we'll take care of that ourselves. After all, I broke Murdochville with 1,700 guys..."

INTER NATIONAL

Unknown war rages in Chad

TUNIS — An unknown war rages in Chad, a desolate, landlocked country in the Sahara. There are those who would have you believe it is merely a tribal dispute between the sand-swept Arab nomads in the north and the black-skinned Christians and animists of the south. But this is a war being fought by the mandarins in Paris.

The war in Chad has lasted four years. Guerrillas are trying to wrest power from the French-placed repressive black government of François Tombalbaye. It is no ordinary war. French Legionnaires, many of them veterans of the Algerian experience, strut down

the streets of the capital, Fort Lamy, smoking Gitanes and talking about the action they've seen. Fanon described their methods in Algeria: electric shock; anal insertions of broken glass; cigarette burns; high pressure enemas of soapy water; whippings. It's the same in Chad.

Six thousand Chadian soldiers and 3,000 French Legionnaires have joined forces to ferret out the insurgents. President Tombalbaye calls it "incipient banditry"; but the armed forces had killed 2,791 rebels by the beginning of this year (the Chad government claims), and the "incipient bandits" have killed 250 Chad soldiers and undisclosed numbers of Legionnaires and government officials.

The French intervention is now in its second year. Tombalbaye called for the French under a defense agreement signed when Chad was given "independence" from France in 1960. At present, the war is raging in all of Chad's provinces, but the greatest activity is reported in the large northern territory called BET (Bourku, Ennedi, Tibesti), itself larger than all of France. This is an all-out war in scope, scale, and sheer terminology.

The French themselves are now talking of a "Chadization" of the war and of selective "pacification" of some of the areas in the north. French military leaders have claimed that half the French troops would be withdrawn this July and the rest by July of 1971; but the half coming out this year consists of reservists and medical instructors. The combatants will remain through July of next year.

The official French government plan drawn up in January calls for increased French funds and arms shipments through 1975, and the continued use of French military advisors to assist the growing Chad army. Normally, 1,000 Legionnaires are permanently stationed at Camp Dubut outside Fort Lamy. Since April, 1969, French military presence has tripled. Troops and equipment, including helicopters and light aircraft, have arrived regularly.

In contrast, the guerrillas number at most 3,000 and are poorly armed with World War II weapons dug out of the drifting sands — and with spears made out of rusty car springs. The ragged rebels have managed to wage a continuous rebellion against overwhelming odds. French helicopters swoop down from the sky to chart guerrilla tracks of flight across the desert. Guerrillas know that frequently they can escape only by burying themselves in the



sands like moles, waiting for the droning to pass and the hot sun to turn to moon glow. They live in the mountains; the people supply them with dried dates and water.

Despite distinct military advantages, French prospects for a military victory seem dim. But victory will not come easily for the guerrillas, either. First, the climate: It reaches 125-130 degrees in the summer. Then, a protracted war of attrition, à la Algeria, will be unlikely: The population density of three people-per-square-mile makes a thin "sea" for rebel fish.

The guerrillas are united under a common banner, the National Front for the Liberation of Chad. "FROLINAT" spokesman is Dr. Abba Siddick, a 44-year-old surgeon who is presently exiled in Tripoli, Libya. The military campaign began June 22, 1966. Siddick recalled recently: "We began the struggle with an absurd arsenal. The first shots of fire came from two pistols, which was all we had. Now we own machine guns, muskets, hand grenades." Siddick says that FROLINAT is not a political party, but a political-military organization with a double purpose: to fight against the violence of the present Chad regime, and to replace it with a popular, progressive government.

The Moslems in Chad have been sorely exploited by the Tombalbaye government. Tombalbaye, a member of the black Sara tribe, has long been a desert spot. He was installed in power 11 years ago by the French as a reward for his servility during the colonial years. When Chad became independent he automatically became the republic's first President. Last summer, he was re-elected for a seven-year term as leader of the PPT (Parti

Progressiste Tchadienne) in what many people say was a rigged election.

During the early Sixties, Moslems were victimized by Tombalbaye's program of centralization. The Moslems were forced to pay heavy discriminatory taxes and they suffered abusive punishment for practising tribal customs. Chad tax collectors often tripled the tax rates set by Fort Lamy and pocketed the difference. Men who by religious tradition wore turbans were fined \$18 for wearing them; tribesmen who wore the Tou-bou belt dagger were fined \$53 for this "offense." The average annual Chadian income is less than \$30 per person. Men were given 50-100 lashes and women were paraded naked in public for misdemeanors.

The guerrillas are pledged to crush Tombalbaye's regime and his "freedom-destroying" concentration of power. They are also intent on removing the French Legionnaires once and for all, and are determined to free the country from the grip of neo-colonialism.

France regards Chad as a crucial strategic outpost, near the center of Africa. The French have established their largest military base in Africa at Fort Lamy. Pierre Mesmer, former minister of the armed services, recently boasted that France could dispatch a regiment of paratroopers anywhere in Africa within 24 hours. The 1963 coup in Gabon was reversed within a day by French paratroopers believed to have been airlifted from Fort Lamy. Moreover, Chad is the center for a defense telecommunications system linking Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Gabon, the Central African Republic and Madagascar. Not only has France maintained a firm strategic hold on her former colonies, but she is also supplying arms to South Africa and Rhodesia.

Chad is one of the poorest countries on the continent; but to the south lies the Central African Republic, with a rich uranium belt along its border with Chad. Geologists suspect that this uranium belt may stretch beneath the southern part of Chad as well.

French military strength will continue to exert itself in Chad regardless of political or economic reasons. French military generals are as eager to guard their fiefdoms as are the Westmorelands and Pattons. Long thought anachronistic, the French Foreign Legion regards its campaign in Chad as a last attempt to prove its relevance in the

modern world. One of the more audacious aspects of this campaign is that Paris has sent into Chad two commanders who were former warlords in Chad during the "colonial" period.

France is counting on replacing a faltering, defunct government with a new "reformed" organization. This will make Chad dependent on France for years. To counteract French involvement, some Arab governments have come to the defense of FROLINAT. The recent coup in Libya provided the rebels with a sympathetic ally to the north. The French, however, have tried to dissuade the new regime from supporting the guerrillas. They have promised the Libyan government arms and a hundred Mirage jets to be delivered before 1975 with the condition that Libya not use the equipment to aid Chad guerrillas. FROLINAT has a bureau in Algiers and representatives in Tripoli. Sources in London say FROLINAT also receives some support from Cuba.

Libya and other Arab nations seem increasingly worried by reports of Israeli activity in Chad. FROLINAT estimates there are more than 300 Israelis in Fort Lamy to protect business and military interests. According to Siddick and sources outside of FROLINAT, Israel trained no fewer than 350 Chad paracommandos in Congo-Kinshasa in 1969. Israel has long been implicated in helping Tombalbaye fight the guerrillas. Two Israeli technicians were killed in an eastern province two years ago by rebels who claimed they were involved in counterinsurgency activities. Israel seems intent upon stressing that the war is an Arab-Christian conflict in order to weaken the entire North African-Arab alliance.

FROLINAT says there is no direct US involvement in Chad "yet," but American oil companies have begun prospecting in the western region. Since Tombalbaye realizes that the presence of foreign imperialistic powers will shore up his regime, he has rolled out a red carpet for American industries. Tombalbaye visited Lyndon Johnson in October, 1968. After returning to Chad, Tombalbaye proclaimed that he and LBJ had almost identical views of the African problem.

Although Siddick believes Tombalbaye's government would have crumbled without French support, he says that the French presence in Chad helps FROLINAT strengthen its political position.

"A coup, a political assassination, or a too rapid victory will not unify

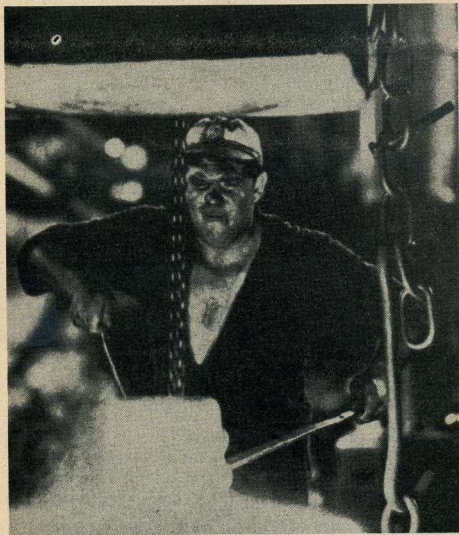
the two Chads. By their mere presence the Legionnaires can weld the centers of discontent into an important political movement and widen our appeal."

The guerrillas know that Chad does not have the political and economic stability to withstand FROLINAT forces indefinitely. A large majority of the population, many of them non-Arab, now oppose the Tombalbaye regime and these numbers are growing steadily. It is only a matter of time, too, before FROLINAT will begin an urban campaign. Now, to disturb the economy, the guerrillas attack transport trucks and urge the people not to harvest their cotton crops and not to pay taxes.

The guerrillas are optimistic. Time can only drift in their favor. As one rebel put it: "The French air forces bomb without discrimination; they machine-gun and destroy our villages, they napalm our livestock and burn our palm orchards where our fighters take refuge. By day, the French can go out and control certain regions. But by night, the countryside belongs to us."

By Marti Mueller and Jim White
reprinted from
Hard Times





How the Yanks bought Europe

BRUSSELS—The star-shaped, 14-story office building here called the *Bâtiment Berlaymont* houses the new technocratic élite of Europe—5,000 "Eurocrats", the international civil service of the European Economic Community. Increasingly, as West European nations move towards closer economic and eventually political ties, this is becoming the centre of the continent.

As European union becomes a greater reality, *Berlaymont* becomes more and more concerned about another reality, one that has a strong Canadian parallel, and which stands as a powerful obstacle to European union—the growing control by American corporations of the member nations' economies.

One of *Berlaymont's* more poorly

kept secrets is the massive report of the Rey Commission, a comprehensive study of American economic control in Europe that was several years in preparation. Although it has been ready for several months, it has not been made public and it's doubtful that it ever will. As the Paris newspaper *Le Monde* put it, "The Commission...did not want to run the risk of releasing this political ammunition" since it "could be deformed for propaganda purposes."

But those parts that have been leaked provide a glimmer of why the Rey report is unlikely to see the light of day.

They show that the value of American-controlled assets in Europe in 1968 was larger than the gross national product of most world states; that American corporations totally control certain strategic technical sectors; and that European countries have fallen into cut-throat competition bidding for American industries to settle in their countries.

The report reveals that at the end of

1968, American firms had some \$9 billion invested in companies in EEC countries—three quarters of it in firms over which they had control.

Since the asset value represents only about half the market price, the report estimates that the real figure would be about \$18 billion. There is more: the value of the companies controlled by American subsidiaries is also about double their assets, so that the \$9 billion corresponds to an actual value of \$36 billion.

American subsidiaries are estimated to control 95 per cent of total European production of integrated circuits, 80 per cent of electronic computers, 40 per cent of titanium dioxide production, and 30 per cent of the auto industry.

One of the most striking observations of the report deals with how American corporations gain control of European firms without spending American capital—in fact, that the Europeans buy up the companies for the US.

"Thus, in addition to providing the market, the workers, and the executives (at least up to a certain level)," the report states, "European countries are also providing money for American investors. They use these funds to finance much of their expansion."

American firms raised about \$447 million on the European money markets in 1959, and \$2,600 million in 1967. The increase is believed to have continued through 1968-69, though figures are not yet available.

The share of investments provided by the United States has dropped from 25.5 per cent in 1959 to 16.1 per cent in 1967, while the share of European capital has risen from 29 per cent in 1959 to 47 per cent in 1967.

During the same period, the percentage of profits re-invested in Europe declined from 15.9 per cent to 8.9 per cent, while the percentage of profits repatriated to the US increased.

Within two to three years after the initial expenditures, the report demonstrated, American subsidiaries need no further financing from the United States, but grow in the local financial soil. Over the last 20 years, General Motors, for example, has not spent one single dollar for its foreign investments. Once the new American companies reach "cruising speed", the report states, they become powerful poles of attraction for European capital.

In 1968 American firms borrowed \$2 billion in Euro-currency. The Rey report notes that European financing covers not only installation and expan-

sion costs of American firms, but also provides the money for purchase of European firms like Bull, Ferrania, Simca and BEA—all purchased with European funds. This is, of course, a phenomenon that has been visible in Canada for years.

It also raises the point that doesn't rest too well with the liberal economic nationalists of Europe any more than those of Canada—when the villain is the U.S. that's fairly comfortable to get annoyed about, but when, as the General Motors case illustrates, your own capitalists are rushing to the American banner, it gets sticky for nationalists of a more polite stripe.

The Rey Report also illustrates that when the American fox is let loose among the European chickens, the last thing the chickens do is scatter in panic.

In order to attract American firms and the concomitant financial benefits to their respective countries, member governments try to outbid each other in giving American firms tax concessions and subsidies. In Belgium, for example, taxes of American company executives are negotiated in advance.

Le Monde calls this "ruinous insanity" and the report states: "In addition to the loss of tax revenue for the country concerned... unequal tax treatment for American and European companies alters the overall competitive capacity in favor of the American companies."

And further: "Anxious to draw maximum benefits from the various advantages consequent on American investment, the member countries compete with one another to squander money and tax revenue and hesitate about trying to formulate a common policy, which would demand patient joint effort."

Which bears a striking resemblance to the bowing and scraping of Canadian provincial governments vying for American companies to establish in their territory, not to mention the federal government's massive grants to American firms to establish themselves in underdeveloped sectors of the country.

What may prove to be the major difference between the EEC countries and Canada in this crisis, however, is that the European countries are recognizing the American penetration earlier, and are more likely to do something about it before it's too late.

By Paul Ganick

The author is a free-lance journalist specializing in economic affairs who left Canada two years ago to work in Paris.



Why Vietnam

US News and World Report, March 30, article entitled: "The Oceans—Coming Industrial Frontier":

A race is under way among U.S. firms to tap ocean resources on a massive scale. The lure: potential earnings of billions of dollars...By far the biggest user of ocean resources is the U.S. petroleum industry. It has made exploring for and extracting undersea oil and gas a \$5 billion-a-year business."

Die Weltwoche (a popular European weekly), May 22, in an article entitled "The Hushed Up Sea of Oil":

"The discovery of vast oil fields in the sea areas of Southeast Asia, belittled up to now, points to another reason (for prolongation of U.S. presence in SE Asia). In the course of the last years, American geologists, geophysicists and oceanographers have discovered a sea of oil of about 4,000 by 800 miles by exact surveying. It extends under the sea bottom from the Gulf of Siam, across Indonesia, to the coast of Northern Australia. But only the offshore rulers can exploit the immense reserves of oil in the future. Indispensable are connections from the derricks to the hinterland."

The Nation, July 6, letter by Fredrick Jaeger:

"And what about the concessions, extending from the coasts of Thailand and Malaysia up to 250 and more miles into the Gulf of Siam, in incontestable international waters? On the northern part of the Gulf of Siam, Amoco and the Gulf Oil Co. got concessions from Thailand and Cambodia which include the entire width of the Gulf of Siam. More than forty oil firms from nine countries, most of them American firms, take part in the exploration of the oil fields. Among them are Union Oil., Conoco, Tenneco, BP, and Esso..."

Sen. Gale McGee (D. Wyo.) in a speech before the US Senate, Feb. 24, 1965:

"It is my judgement that the area of Indo-China...is such a rich empire in its total context...that it makes a difference to the powers of the world what happens to that segment of resources potential...It was worth a war on the part of Japan...It was worth wars by the British, by the French, by the Dutch, and the Portuguese in earlier colonial times."

Maybe it's worth a war again.

REPORT ON BUSINESS



Keeping Brazil safe for Brascan

When the late Robert H. Winters was president of Brascan Ltd., the giant Canadian corporation that dominates the electric utility sector of the economy of Brazil, he was given to expressing himself about the political situation in the country where he had such a large economic interest.

"The military government," the former Liberal cabinet minister would say, "was dedicated to the principles of private enterprise. They realized they needed to create a climate friendly to foreign capital, and they did so."

However, as more and more reports of the treatment of political prisoners and the use of torture in Brazil have reached the outside world, one would think that Brascan officials might be somewhat more circumspect in their statements about that country's military dictatorship.

And in fact when J.H. Moore, Winters' successor as president, spoke to Brascan's annual shareholders' meeting in Toronto in June, his address consisted only of platitudes, reports of new company operations, and announcements of new appointments. †

Discussion of the Brazilian situation was left to Dr. Antonio Gallotti, pres-

ident of Light S.A., the major Brascan subsidiary in Brazil, vice-president of Brascan, head of its Brazilian management team, and one of two Brazilians on its twenty-two-man board of directors.

Dr. Gallotti praised Brazil's "political stability," its "free disciplined society," and, of course, its "favorable attitude regarding foreign capital."

"He contrasted the present happy state of affairs with the "economic stagnation" and the "devastating effects of uncontrolled inflation" that existed before the military coup that brought the present régime to power in 1964. "We now have equilibrium and our economic policies concentrate on rapid development," he said. "International confidence has been restored."

Brazilians, he said, "are involved in a major effort to preserve and vitalize the values of our social, economic and political life. We know that it is not only in government that the highest and truest power of the Nation lies. This power lies, above all, in the national character, in its people, in their unity and spirit, in their willingness to work together to construct by themselves general prosperity, peace and liberty."

Nor was all this simply an abstract matter for Brascan and Light S.A.

"The 'LIGHT' in Brazil," Dr. Gallotti said, "is proud of the works it is undertaking, which since 1964 have been carried out in accordance with the realistic policies laid down by the government."

A month later, a somewhat different picture of Brazilian society was painted by the International Commission of Jurists. In a report based on documents secretly removed from Brazilian jails and concentration camps and statements by escaped political prisoners, the Commission said that "torture today in Brazil is no longer a mere aid of judicial investigation. It has become a political weapon."

The highly-respected Commission, which has consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council and the Council of Europe, said that the spreading use of torture "corrupts Brazilian society." It detailed some of the forms of torture used, including the plunging of a prisoner's head into a bucket filled with dirty water or excrement until near suffocation, electric shocks, and blows on the genital organs and other sensitive parts of the body with lead and iron clubs.

There are thought to be at least 12,000 political prisoners in Brazil, the Commission said.

This repression is being carried out by the same government that Brascan vice-president Gallotti describes as "working towards the goal of a free democratic system at as early a date as possible."

Keeping Quebec safe for Pepsi

If anyone seeks evidence that business can cross national and linguistic lines, in its search for wider markets, he might be interested in a recent issue of *Marketing* magazine, a weekly publication for the Canadian advertising and public relations executive.

And if he is curious about how the image of the French-Canadian has changed from the ignorant rosary-clutching farmer to that of the Mustang-driving or mini-skirted consumer, he will find his answers in that issue's remarkable 24-page special section on "The French Market", and how to exploit it.

One of the cruder images of the French-Canadian, appears in a photo on the section's title page, and shows a gawking hockey fan clutching three hot dogs and a Pepsi.

"The man in this Pepsi commercial," the section's lead article begins, "... is meant to depict a typical French-Canadian hockey fan.

"Depicting him is one thing," the article continues, "selling him that hat and all the goodies clutched in his hands is another."

And the rest of the section embarks on answering the question it puts to itself: "...how do you get inside that French-Canadian mind...?"

Peter Bleau ("or Pierre Bleau depending on which business card he decided to give you") is president of a Quebec City ad firm and in one of the section's articles, entitled "We know all about French Canadians", he points out to his English friends that "there's still something that just isn't 'Frenchy' about so many of the campaigns we see today."

Lest M. Bleau be misunderstood as a fanatic Marxist pointing to the Anglo-American cultural bias in advertising, his detailed and intricate description of what the modern French Canadian is and how to seduce his newly-nationalistic and liberated mentality is worth quoting.

**WE CAN
HELP KEEP
THE RED,
WHITE AND
BLUE IN
THE ~~BLACK~~
HOLE!**

ANTITHESIS Forum of the American Exile Movement
P.O. Box 611 Station H
Montreal, Québec
Subscription: \$2.00 annually

Among the "essentials for marketers addressing sales messages to the Quebec market" are:

- "Avoid giving direct orders to your audience. The French Canadian dislikes orders intensely and wants a full explanation before following a course of action. He is proud and a respectful approach is essential — so don't try to be too familiar.
- The Quebecers are susceptible to emotional appeals, but because educational and living standards are improving greatly they are becoming more astute in judging real product values. So serious reason-why copy is essential in most ads.
- French Canadians are quite frank about their love of luxury and sensual pleasures and are willing to go into debt for good food and drink, travel, hobbies and comfort-giving items. They owe more to finance companies than other Canadians and drive more expensive cars than their wealthier Ontario counterparts.
- Most French Canadians with money are relatively 'nouveau riche' and determined to keep up with the Joneses (or the Berniers) next door with whom they usually maintain a somewhat distant, formal friendship.
- One of the best ways to approach French Canadians is through personalities they trust."

The portrait of Middle-Class Homo Quebecus as a Consuming Receptacle is elaborated further in an article on the J. Walter Thompson Agency's analysis of this strange being:

- "French Canadians buy and consume the following considerably more than English Canadians: Pre-sweetened cereals, desserts, perfume, tomato juice, squeezed orange juice, olives, cake mixes, dry packaged spaghetti, converted rice, spaghetti sauce, cream cheese, men's cologne, cosmetics, sweet biscuits, candies, abrasive

cleaners, dry packaged soups, high-priced booze and gasoline, glass cleaners, clothing, car accessories, instant coffee, gin, cosmetic toothpaste, convertibles and high-performance cars, and the most famous, cola drinks.

- On the other hand they use less: Regular coffee, canned fruit juice, tea, pickles, packaged dinners, milk, canned beans and soups, low-calory products, liquid detergents, toilet bowl cleaners, floor waxes and anticavity toothpastes.
- They also respond more to refunds, coupon redemptions, and contests."

The article fails to answer why these facts are so, if they are so, except to suggest "regional distribution patterns" have something to do with it. In effect, it's obvious the Why isn't important — if a survey shows more southern Blacks eat fried chicken and watermelon, push in there boys. Convince them watermelon is beautiful.

The article asks in a concerned tone: "And will these differences disappear as, in time, the French Canadian — as he is appearing to do — throws off the 'bonds' of traditional family life and dances to the rhythms of North American 'egalitarian and democratic family life'? Will things change with the emergence of the French-Canadian urban middle class?"

Well, the message is Have No Fear, because you can sell beer or Pepsi to a separatist just as easily so long as you pander to his curious socio-political ideas.

Jacques Bouchard, president of another ad agency, BCP Advertising, has been rolling back the frontiers in this field, and another article in the section reads:

"The youth of the French-Canadian market is more turbulent than in any other part of Canada, Bouchard said. 'The separatist movement proves that they are boiling,' he said.

"The more educated French Canadians become, the more French they want to be. You can compare this with the black situation in the U.S.

"The blacks had to become educated to realize that 'black is beautiful.' Now French Canadians are realizing, in what you might call a mass prise de conscience that French is beautiful,' he said.

"Although it might sound like a contradiction in terms, he said, the French Canadian seeks individuality in a mass identity. And, any adman who doesn't realize this has no idea of the standard of advertising needed in Quebec.

"Bouchard said that French Canadians are becoming so conscious of advertising standards that any suspicion of phinness in any ad campaign, or ad claim, can ruin the chances of success of the product so advertised.

"He said that BCP has been for three years studying what French Canadians expect and want in advertising. The agency has found that the old-fashioned 'joie de vivre' and 'singalong with folks' techniques are no longer palatable to French Canadian consumers.

"He cited an ad campaign for Labatt, which will run in student newspapers, as an example of how much things have changed.

"It is an advertising campaign featuring characters with empty 'balloons' coming from their mouths. Students are invited to vent their feelings about advertising — or anything — by adding their own comments in the 'balloons'."

Well, we've got to give youth a voice... And through the "French Market" section the appeal is repeated — hire more French ad men (a few Parti Québécois people would probably be good too, since they can relate to the new nationalist market), and use French personalities and performers to sell your products.

The ideal, presumably, would be to get René Lévesque to make television commercials for Pepsi.

**typesetting
composition
design
camera**

NORTHERN PRESS GRAPHICS INC.
750 LUCERNE ROAD
TOWN OF MOUNT ROYAL/QUEBEC
735-3236

AN ANATOMY OF THE TIME, CANADA LOBBY AND HOW IT CONTROLS WHAT IS PUBLISHED



Committee on Mass Media — the Keith Davey Report for short — which will not be released to the public for another month.

The reason for the Time Lobby's frenzied battle is to be found in that report, which might help tip the lucrative applecart America's largest magazine publishers have in Canada.

And this is what's in the report that scares them:

1) The Davey Committee recommends the cancellation of the special privileges of Time and Reader's Digest in Canada.

(Although Davey has personally been pressing for an immediate cancellation, other committee members have pressured for cancelling the privileges in five years only. It is still uncertain which formula will emerge.)

2) The committee recommends the setting up of a body which would be empowered to grant low-interest or no-interest capital loans to publishing enterprises in order to help them establish or grow. Much like the Film Development Corporation, the body would judge that this or that publishing venture is professionally viable and competently administered, and approve a loan equal to the amount the publishing venture has been able to raise by itself from private interests. If the publishing group succeeds in raising, say, \$100,000 of its estimated \$200,000 budget, then this body would be empowered to grant a long-term capital loan of another \$100,000. While the report discourages the idea of direct government subsidy to a publication, it encourages capital aid to a venture that has been able to attract a significant amount of private capital on its own initiative.

Though the report remains secret, **The Last Post** has learned from sources close to the Committee that these two recommendations form a principal part of it, with the proposal to give financial support to the industry being the chief one.

The report argues that Canada's publishing industry is as essential to the country's survival as its broadcasting system, and as worthy of support as its film industry. But it notes that while these two sectors of communications have received strong government support, the linear media have been left out in the cold.

Both these recommendations, if they go through, will destroy the Time Lobby. They endanger these men by opening up the possibility of new publications all over Canada, adding many more voices to what is now only the booming voice and echo of the publishers in the Lobby and the Magazine Advertising Bureau.

When the same battle was fought ten years ago, the Lobby won, and Canada went into a long night of dying publications, arid magazines, and stilled voices.

II. The Rally-round-the-flag gang

Nationalism is frequently a question of expediency. That's why it is so often embraced by the disenfranchised rich. So when Grattan O'Leary's Royal Commission on Publications was convened on September 16, 1960, the Canadian publishers began to sing a lusty song of nationalism, with a sober refrain that they, the struggling chickens, would be devoured if foxes like Time and Reader's Digest were allowed to stay in the coop.

I. The backroom boys

Three months ago, at a Toronto dinner event, Ronald MacEachern of the Maclean-Hunter Publishing Company spied Dalton Camp in the crowd, rushed up to him and pumped his hand, muttering solemnly: "Thanks for standing by us, Dalton." Unsolicited support is always gratifying, and the column Camp had written a few days earlier in the Toronto Telegram pleased a very special group of men.

Among them was John Crosbie, little-known but very powerful in the publishing trade.

Another was Steve LaRue in Toronto. His equal number in Montreal was Paul Zimmerman. Both are, again, powerful men but remain behind the scenes.

William Nobleman is also a critically important member of that group, but the least powerful.

Maybe the most powerful is "Bud" Drury, President of the Treasury Board and a senior member of the Liberal cabinet.

These men share a task — organizing one of the most powerful lobbies unleashed at Ottawa in recent years. And they've been busy at it for a long time, preparing for the crisis to come in October.

In trade shorthand, these men are known as "The Time Lobby."

MacEachern is the strongman of Maclean-Hunter, Canada's largest publishing business, a conglomerate of 110 enterprises. His task is organizing industry pressure, and parliamentary support.

John Crosbie is president of the Magazine Advertising Bureau in Toronto, a company that doesn't seek publicity. His forte is organizing pressure from Canada's largest advertisers and seeing that people like the Canadian Manufacturers' Association see things from the right point of view.

Steve LaRue is the Managing Director of Time International of Canada, liaison man with Time-Life headquarters in New York, the late Henry R. Luce's ambassador to Canada, and the man who controls Time magazine in the country.

Paul Zimmerman is the president of the Reader's Digest Association (Canada) Ltd., a glib, well-polished man who shares with Steve LaRue such tasks as making sure the paper mill owners and the national distributors toe the Lobby line.

William Nobleman, the publisher of the beleaguered magazine Saturday Night, has the job of convincing other magazine publishers and editors that the Lobby's position is the only reasonable one.

Quietly, and without the glare of headlines, these men are putting powerful screws on Ottawa to preserve their empire. They know how to go about it — they or their predecessors went through this battle twice before, and showed they could overrule even a Cabinet.

Their aim, which was unexpectedly supported by Camp in his newspaper column, is to protect the special privileges in Canada of Time and Reader's Digest. The rewards are over \$14 million in advertising for the two magazines last year, and control of the Canadian publishing industry — control which virtually gives them the power to decide which magazine flourishes and which dies.

Their target is a document that just recently got off the typewriter, and that has them scared.

The document is the Report of the Special Senate

But time heals many wounds, and the way to a Canadian businessman's patriotism is through his pocket-book, so it was a soft song of brotherhood and moderation that the Canadian magazine publishers hummed ten years later, at Keith Davey's Mass Media Committee hearings in February.

William Nobleman, the publisher of Saturday Night, declared that his magazine could not survive if it weren't for Time's presence in Canada. So he urged that the Committee leave Time and Reader's Digest alone.

But there was a distinctly jarring note during those same hearings last February when the Committee's counsel, Yves Fortier, posed a riddle to Maclean-Hunter vice-president Ronald MacEachern, the company's chief hatchet man over Maclean's magazine; ten years ago Maclean-Hunter howled that it faced extinction from U.S. magazines coming into Canada, yet now they staunchly defended Time and Reader's Digest's privileges in Canada.

Well, on the road to Damascus, it seems, Maclean-Hunter had seen the light. MacEachern answered that his firm "has learned to live with Time and Reader's Digest". Indeed it had, most lucratively.

He warned the committee of a "typhoon of criticism" if the government cancelled the privileges these magazines enjoy, scoffed at pointless "anti-Americanism", and played with candor that "...the disappearance of Time and Reader's Digest would rock our applecart."

In a year that finds nationalists turning into continentalists (and vice-versa) overnight, it is interesting to probe this remarkable conversion.

But to do this one has to go back even beyond the setting up of the O'Leary Commission in 1960 by John Diefenbaker, and trace the relationship of Canada's only English newsweekly to respective governments. All in all, back to a time when things were definitely cosier.

When John Diefenbaker came to power in 1957, he and Time magazine entered into one of the sweetest political-journalistic romances in Canadian history—a romance surpassed since then only by that of Pierre-Elliott Trudeau and the Toronto Daily Star in 1968.

Time greeted the coming of Diefenbaker in 1957 with whoops of joy and somersaults of prose. As late as 1961, reporting on Diefenbaker's visit to John F. Kennedy in Washington, the magazine bestowed Times accolades on him, describing how he "marched up," "vigorously shook hands," and "said firmly."

Diefenbaker responded warmly.

In 1956, Liberal Finance Minister Walter Harris had clamped a 20 per cent surtax on Time Canada's advertising revenue, at an annual cost to Time of \$250,000.

But Diefenbaker came to the rescue in 1958 and lifted the surtax, after intense lobbying and much flattery by Time—also after President Dwight Eisenhower, a close friend of Time editor-in-chief Henry Luce, had interceded on the magazine's behalf during a state visit to Ottawa. ("They like and respect each other, hit it off well," gloried Time of Dief and Ike. "Relations between Canada and the U.S. had rarely moved on a friendlier level." Peter Newman reports that one of Eisenhower's first questions to Diefenbaker was, "What are you doing to our Time magazine up here?")

The rescinding of the surtax followed a visit to Ottawa in late 1957 by Henry R. Luce and all his Time-Life brass to present Diefenbaker with the original of a heroic cover portrait.

Effusive compliments had been exchanged between the Prime Minister and the Editor-in-Chief at a Chateau Laurier reception and luncheon.

Oliver Clausen, who was working for Time in Ottawa in 1959, recalls in a Globe and Mail article one of the first breaches in the romance, illustrating also Time's solicitous concern for the favors of the Prime Minister:

"The story (Clausen's) noted that it had taken Diefenbaker nearly three months to appoint a successor to the late External Affairs Minister Sydney Smith and reported that, partly as a result of the procrastination, Canada's stance in the world had come under questioning.

"...I... was summoned to Diefenbaker's office and roared at furiously for an hour..."

"The Prime Minister saw the evil hand of U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles behind the story — although Dulles had died 10 days ago — and charged Time was trying to control Canadian thinking. He threatened to denounce Time in Parliament for yellow journalism.

"I finally staggered out to phone Toronto and Lawrence E. Laybourne, then Time's managing director for Canada. The call sent Laybourne scurrying for the first plane — and camping outside Diefenbaker's office door the next morning to dissuade the Prime Minister from carrying out his threat. He succeeded but things were never the same again."

By 1963, the once-ardent romance was clearly over. Time jolted Diefenbaker, writing of "his discredited administration." During that year's election campaign that brought Lester Pearson to power, Time sneered at Diefenbaker, "his self-martyrdom wearing thin," and chided "the Alice in Wonderland twist" of his campaign. Of Pearson's victory, it sang "an able man was offered a chance to do what he asked."

"Canadians had fallen in line behind a miracle man in 1958," Time wrote, calling the kettle black, "but he had not worked miracles." Time reported the change of power under the heading "The Air is Cleaner."

Behind the cooling of the romance was a group of Canadian publishers, who had become alarmed at the friendly attitudes of the Diefenbaker government towards the Luce empire, and even more at some disturbing developments in the U.S. publishing world.

Word that McGraw-Hill, the U.S. business magazine empire, was planning to print Canadian editions of its publications sent terror into the Maclean-Hunter board room. With Maclean-Hunter's profits resting on a stack of business and trade publications ranging from Financial Grocer to the flagship of the company fleet, The Financial Post, an influx of U.S. business magazines with Canadian sections threatened to pull the bottom out from the whole show. And of course, other U.S. publishers might get the same idea too. A stop had to be put to this.

Out came the Red Ensigns, the dusty speeches about offended sovereignty, and the wounded howls for protection from the American whale. Diefenbaker, faced with such displays of patriotism and the powerful publishing lobby's pressure, had no alternative but to trundle out crusty old Grattan O'Leary and his Royal Commission. Its mandate: "to enquire into and make recommendations concerning the position of and prospects for Canadian magazines and periodicals."

Maclean-Hunter appeared before the O'Leary Commission dressed in rags (it then had assets conservatively estimated at \$15,000,000 — with the largest part of its preferred stock

in the hands of the Presbyterian Church — and controlled more than 46 per cent of the advertising market in Canada) and pressed for the banishment of all foreign publications, begging the Commission not to be fooled by "Canadian editions" of U.S. magazines.

O'Leary and his commissioners duly complied and issued in 1961 a strongly nationalistic report, denouncing "Canadian editions" as "the ultimate refinement in the re-use of second-hand editorial material to provide a vehicle for a new set of advertising messages."

Canadian magazines, it pointed out, had to spend a large part of their budgets on getting editorial copy, while the Canadian editions of Time and Reader's Digest got 90 per cent of their editorial copy free from the U.S. parent company. This was unfair competition.

And so the O'Leary Commission made its chief recommendation that Canadian advertisers not be allowed deductions from their income taxes for advertising in foreign magazines — effectively making it too expensive to be practical. Time and Reader's Digest would not be able to attract as much advertising under such a regulation and Canadian magazines would get a larger part of the advertising cake. What this would have done, in effect, was banish Time and Reader's Digest as Canadian magazines and badly handicap them as competitors to Canadian publishers.

Great applause from the Canadian publishers led by Maclean-Hunter, which was eyeing how much it would get of the \$9,000,000 in advertising Time and Reader's Digest had attracted that year.

Time was frantic during the Commission hearings. One of the Commissioners, Kenneth Johnstone, who once worked for Time in London, had denounced the magazine as "a subversive force coming into Canada. By allowing it to snare Canadian advertising, we are in fact ironically subsidizing a reactionary policy inimical to Canada's best interests." So Time delightedly reported on flimsy charges of anti-Semitism levelled at a newsletter put out by Johnstone's public relations firm.

But if there was a desire to destroy Time in Canada, nobody leaped to deliver the blow.

III. The carpetbaggers

Diefenbaker vacillated, and finally did nothing. At first, he said he would implement O'Leary's recommendations. But Time was fast on its feet.

Time's "Canadian Affairs Section" at this time was written and edited in New York at offices in Rockefeller Centre, by a staff of ten, (only one of whom, John Scott, was Canadian). It was highly adept at finding Canadians to quote in condemning Ottawa's refusal to join the OAS, its refusal to maintain a fixed rate of exchange for the Canadian dollar, its refusal to accept nuclear warheads, and its protectionism — the State Department's line to the dotted i. Many of the Canadians it quoted happened to be executives of U.S.-owned subsidiaries.

In a twinkling of an eye, when the O'Leary report appeared, Time packed off ninety-one filing cabinets full of papers and John Scott from New York and hastily threw up Time Canada's editorial bureau in Montreal. It also moved the printing of the Canadian edition from Chicago to Montreal, and renamed the "Canadian Affairs" section just "Canada". It sort of took out a corporate citizenship, a nationalist insurance policy.

TIME AND READER'S DIGEST LAST YEAR WON 51.5 PER CENT OF THE EXISTING MAGAZINE AD MARKET.



Senator Gratton O'Leary

On the very day in January 1962 that the presses began rolling on the "new Canadian edition" in Montreal, Diefenbaker backtracked half way. He announced that advertisers in Time and the Digest would be allowed to claim 50 per cent of their outlay as a non-taxable business expense, instead of nothing, as O'Leary had proposed.

"They have," declared Diefenbaker, "established themselves in this country in good faith." A year later the Tories proposed that Time and the Digest be exempted entirely from tax measures against foreign magazines.

But the Diefenbaker government was on its last legs and didn't manage to pass any legislation on any foreign publications. The issue landed in the lap of Lester Pearson.

Shades of Eisenhower, Time again demonstrated its knack for having friends in high places. Just nine hours after the O'Leary Report was tabled, a senior representative of the White House was on the telephone to Ottawa, warning that implementation of the commission's findings would result in the immediate cancellation of a major United States aircraft-components contract then being geared up at Canadair Ltd., a subsidiary of General Dynamics in Montreal.

Newman, in his book *The Distemper of Our Times*, quotes a senior civil servant as writing to the Prime Minister: "There seems nothing, but nothing, that we could do which would upset Washington more. I had the impression that if we dared touch the Canadian operations of Time and Digest, the State Department would view it as far more serious than if, for instance, we sold armed tanks to Fidel Castro."

As ex-Time-man Clausen reported in the *Globe Magazine* in 1967: "The Kennedy Administration made it quite clear it wanted Time exempted from any legislation based on the O'Leary report. Washington put pressure on the Pearson Government by, in effect, making exemption a precondition for agreement to the pending U.S.-Canada treaty for partial free trade in automobiles and auto parts."

Kennedy personally spoke to Pearson in favor of Time.

A pro-Time and Digest lobby developed in the cabinet, led by C.M. "Bud" Drury, not inaccurately labelled by some reporters "Time's Cabinet Minister", whose constituency in Montreal is the site of Reader's Digest head office and plant. Drury was joined by Maurice Sauvé and Paul Martin, who feared aggravating the Americans' wrath.

Immense pressure was being put on ministers and individual MPs.

Douglas Fisher, then a New Democratic MP, was subjected to a constant barrage of letters and telephone calls from employees of Provincial Paper Limited and their wives. The company, which had its mill in Fisher's home riding of Port Arthur, supplied the two magazines with paper; the callers threatened him with a loss of votes.

In May of 1969, addressing a Grade 13 graduation class in Toronto, former finance minister Walter Gordon elaborated on the events:

"The United States State Department went into action. Its representatives urged on behalf of the whole United States administration that nothing should be done which in any way would upset or annoy the late Mr. Henry Luce who was the proprietor of Time. It was submitted that Mr. Luce had great power in the United States through his magazines, Time, Life, and Fortune. That, if he were irritated, the results could be most damaging to both Canada and the United States administration."

He also said in his book, *A Choice for Canada*:

"The matter came up at a time when the automobile agreement was under heavy attack in Congress. Approval of the agreement might have been jeopardized if a serious dispute with Washington had arisen over Time. In the circumstances, I believe the decision to grant the exemption was realistic. Nevertheless, steering this part of the legislation through the House of Commons, and explaining the reason for the exemption to the Liberal Party caucus, was one of the most unpalatable jobs I had to do during my period in government."

The bill Gordon steered through the House denied tax deductibility for advertising in any foreign-owned publication — except Time and Reader's Digest.

Its effect was to make the two magazines more powerful in Canada than they had ever been since their presence was now protected from any future competition from the U.S. (Newsweek, it was reported, had also been planning a Canadian edition).

Thirty-one Liberals refused to back the legislation and stayed out of the Commons during the vote. Thirty-six Conservatives were also absent.

During the ratification debate in the Senate, on June 28, 1965, Sen. Grattan O'Leary stormed his prophetic words:

"If this House votes for this legislation, it will be voting for the proposition that Washington has a right to interfere in a matter of purely Canadian concern, and voting a possible death sentence on Canada's periodical press, with all this can entail for our future voyage through history."

IV. "The applecart"

The cake of the Time-Digest lobby is a cosy fraternity of publishers united into an association called the Magazine Advertising Bureau of Canada (MAB), led principally by the three largest magazine publishing concerns in the country: Time International of Canada, Ltd.; the Reader's Digest Association (Canada) Ltd.; and Maclean-Hunter Ltd.

The combined circulation of the members of the MAB



Saturday Night publisher Bill Nobleman

reaches 52 per cent of all Canadians over the age of 15. It represents 93 per cent of the total audited circulation of Canadian consumer magazines (The Canadian and Weekend, as newspaper inserts, are not considered magazines by the MAB and have been excluded from membership.)

Typical of its broad membership are magazines like Time, Reader's Digest, Sélection du Reader's Digest, Chatelaine, Miss Chatelaine, Saturday Night, TV Hebdo, The Observer.

The aim of the MAB is tersely described by its president John Crosbie: "To improve the financial position of its members."

It does so in a simple way: it seeks out advertising for its members by cultivating the advertisers, bringing magazine and advertiser together in promotional events, and trying to convince a set national advertiser in advertising in as many of its member publications as possible. It will try to persuade an advertiser who wants space in Time to take a package deal that includes Maclean's and Saturday Night as well.

It is, in short, a close-knit interest group dedicated to keeping its members alive and comfortable. It's a sort of co-operative like Canadian Press, only it's dedicated to sharing ads and ad revenue rather than editorial copy.

Members of the MAB pay dues (the amounts of which the MAB considers "none of the public's business") proportionate to their advertising volume. As a result, the most powerful members are Time and Reader's Digest, which last year won \$14 million worth of advertising, or 51.5 per cent of the existing magazine ad market. Maclean-Hunter, with 41.4 per cent of the existing market, comes second but its power is diffused over many publications, not just one.

The members of the MAB in effect ride on the backs of Time and Reader's Digest, which pull in the largest proportion of ads.

Magazines like Maclean's and Saturday Night depend heavily on getting slopover from ads initially bought in Time

magazine

The mechanics are simple:

Time magazine prints 12 separate editions in Canada for 12 regions of the country. The Maritimes are a separate region, as are Toronto, Montreal, and so forth.

This permits Time to sell an ad to, say, the Royal York Hotel in every region except Toronto, where the hotel might not be interested in advertising. Or conversely, Time offers an advertiser like Eaton's the opportunity to advertise a large sale in its Toronto store only in its Toronto edition, with a city circulation of 55,000.

This gives the magazine a great attractiveness for advertisers. They can pick and choose any or all combinations of Time's circulation of 460,000.

Since there is no other English weekly newsmagazine in Canada (and since it's generally estimated three people read one magazine, translating Time's circulation to a weekly readership of well over a million), Time is by far the most powerful magazine advertising medium in the country.

So it attracts more ads than any magazine in Canada.

Now, when an advertising agency prepares an ad campaign, it will prepare its ad plates to a specific size, determined by the magazine in which it is running most of its ads. For example, the commonly-seen Gilbey's liquor ads, or the Rothman's cigarettes ads, are prepared to what is called "demi-tabloid" size. Or, to quote a more frequently-used ad industry phrase — Time size.

Maclean's magazine used to be the same size as Life magazine two years ago, substantially larger than Time size. But it cut its magazine size down to Time size.

This has nothing to do with more attractive appearance or layout convenience.

CANADA'S NATIONAL MAGAZINE ADAPTED ITS SIZE TO THAT OF TIME MAGAZINE, SO THAT IT WOULD BE ABLE TO CARRY AD PLATES CREATED FOR CAMPAIGNS IN TIME.

The reason is bluntly put by Peter Gzowski, editor of Maclean's until he ran into loggerheads with Ronald McEachern over its editorial policy:

"Canada's national magazine adapted its size to that of Time magazine, so that it would be able to carry ad plates created for campaigns in Time. It felt that it could attract more advertisers if it didn't confront them with the bother of having to make new ad plates of a different size, which can be costly."

The TV supplements in the Toronto Star and all the Southam chain papers are also "Time size". And this has little to do with attractive appearance either, rather with the simple economics of picking up the crumbs after Time.

But this is merely a reflection of how Canadian magazines have frequently found they have to dance to the tune of Time in order to be able to attract enough ad revenue to survive.

Time controls the Canadian magazine industry in much more direct and significant ways.

The 12 regional editions of Time magazine have a much greater effect on Canadian publishing than just providing convenient vehicles for advertisers. They are a principal factor in suppressing the growth of indigenous Canadian magazines.

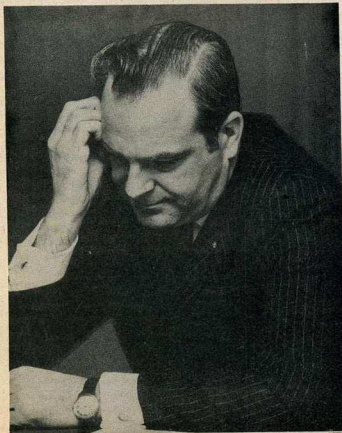
A clear example is to be found in the experience of Peter Gzowski.

Gzowski was editor of the Star Weekly until the rug was pulled out from under it by Toronto Star publisher Beland Honderich because it was proving "uneconomical." Before he got the offer to edit Maclean's last fall, the suddenly unemployed editor seized upon the folly of many frustrated journalists in Canada — why not start his own magazine?

The hallmark of Gzowski's venture was that it, was no amateur effort to put out one or two issues and see if it survived. He had the best contacts in the industry — financial and editorial — and set about planning its birth in the most classic, professional manner.

His was a "New York" magazine of Toronto, a general-interest weekly that would feature some of the best-known writers in the city, combined with some investigative reporting. It was to be aimed strictly at the Toronto audience, which heightened its chances of survival in a country where national magazines are almost invariably a direct ticket to bankruptcy.

Gzowski's magazine would undoubtedly have proved to be "radical" only in that it would have had the audacity to try to survive in this country — otherwise it would have been aimed at a constituency no different from Maclean's. In other words, it was not going to be foredoomed for its poli-



Senator Keith Davey

tical stance.

He set his target for financing at half a million, and was two thirds of the way to achieving that financing.

Until he learned one of the hidden realities of the Canadian publishing industry:

"It wasn't long before we realized, after studies we did on the Toronto advertising market, that our main competitor was not going to be, as you would expect, Toronto Life. Or even the Toronto Star or the Telegram.

"Our main competitor for getting Toronto advertising would have been the Toronto regional edition of Time magazine.

"It isn't a Toronto publication. It doesn't carry any specific editorial matter for Toronto. But, as far as we were concerned, it had most of the Toronto advertisers sewed up.

"We determined that a general Toronto magazine like the one we wanted to put out could not survive as long as the Toronto regional edition of Time survived.

"But what was the use of going to a big Toronto advertiser and trying to convince him to advertise in a new magazine? Time can deliver him all the Toronto readers he wants, and that's that."

Instead, the only kind of large-circulation magazine that can survive in Toronto apart from Time is a socialite sycophant like Toronto Life, a monthly slick sheet for the horse set whose idea of the most important event of the year in Canada is the Royal Winter Fair.

And Gzowski's experience will be and has been repeated in every major region in Canada. Time, with four regular pages of Canadian news genially lifted from the Toronto press and mixed with one or two happy stories about Eskimo artists and Montreal sculptors, with no specific editorial copy for the region in which it is publishing the extra edition, keeps its lid on the market.

The only hope for keeping a Canadian magazine alive, unless one is Maclean's with the money of the fifty-odd Maclean-Hunter trade publications keeping it afloat, is to build it on a tight regional base and low budget like The Mysterious East, or nationally, on readers' support and free labor, like The Last Post. And in both cases, the chances of achieving mass circulation more than 100,000 are infinitesimal.

Even Maclean's ran at a loss except for last year — and seems headed into the red again.

The Canadian Forum lives from hand to mouth, with a tiny circulation. The Five Cent Review died last year. Parallel died four years ago. The Montrealer died last spring. These magazines were as different politically as night and day. Magazine deaths are indiscriminate.

But one has been omitted. Saturday Night, with a circulation of 100,000. And that may prove to be the saddest case of all.

V. "With all this can entail..."

In its own way, Saturday Night is the Most Canadian magazine of the lot. It has been in Canada for decades, and today serves, by its publisher's own description, "the middle-brow." It's gotten better since Toronto literary critic Robert Fulford took over the editorship. Fulford is much respected as an editor who seeks out new authors, and if the magazine can't be said to have necessarily shaken the pillars of society, it has to be granted that it never claimed that role. It makes intelligent reading, but maybe any Saturday edition of the Globe and Mail offers as much.

IT'S VERY IMPORTANT TO TIME, READER'S DIGEST AND MACLEAN-HUNTER TO TRY TO KEEP SATURDAY NIGHT ALIVE, AND THAT'S WHY IT SURVIVES.

It has survived as another indigenous publication, which is probably credit enough in Canada today.

But how it has done so might make any thoughtful person brood a little.

Robert Fulford and his publisher, William Nobleman, appeared before the Davey committee last February 17, and in a lot of ways told it like it was.

The Chairman: You are familiar, I am sure, with the recommendations contained in the O'Leary Report... and the subsequent legislations specifically exempting Time and Reader's Digest. In retrospect do you think that that exemption was in the interest of the magazine industry in Canada?

Mr. Nobleman: Absolutely.

The Chairman: Why?

Mr. Nobleman: Why? Because without the Reader's Digest and Time magazine there wouldn't be a magazine industry in Canada.

Nobleman then explained that advertisers think in mass market terms, and unless there is a large magazine market, they will simply ignore magazines as an advertising medium. Without Time and the Digest, there is no market.

Asked if he thought Saturday Night would disappear if Time and Reader's Digest lost their exemptions, Nobleman replied: "I would say that it would be a very, very real possibility."

MacEachern of Maclean-Hunter, LaRue of Time, Zimmerman of Reader's Digest, Crosbie of the MAB — all argued the same way before the Davey committee. The \$14 million that goes into Time and Reader's Digest would not end up shared by Canadian magazines if the two had their exemptions cancelled. The money will drift to television and other media. Like Nobleman, they argued the disappearance of Time and Reader's Digest would be a death blow to the Canadian magazine industry.

The Chairman: Does it concern you as a Canadian that the magazine industry in Canada might be in serious jeopardy if it were not for Time?

Mr. Nobleman: Yes, but the time to have done something about that was long before I became involved in the magazine industry.

The Chairman: For example when Senator O'Leary made his report?

Mr. Nobleman: Much to late.

The Chairman: Even then it was much too late?

Mr. Nobleman: Oh, it was miles too late.

The Chairman: Well, how much too late?

Mr. Nobleman: How much too late? Fifteen years.

The Chairman: When did Time Canada Start?

Mr. Nobleman: In the early forties would be my recollection.

William Nobleman gets a full page ad from Time each issue this year, and they pay his magazine \$1,000 a shot for the page. That makes \$12,000, and Time is paying it cash on the barrel, which is rare in the magazine industry.

Nobleman had the embarrassing experience of being months behind in his MAB dues not too long ago. When he

finally got up in one meeting to announce he was able to meet Saturday Night's backlog, all his fellow members were cheered to see Saturday Night "coming along"... but the magazine had to back off again, and couldn't meet its dues.

Maclean-Hunter refused to print Saturday Night one month because it owed the company a staggering amount in back printing bills. After a brief crisis that raised doubts that the magazine would ever come out again, they scrounged another printer.

It's very important to Time, Reader's Digest and Maclean-Hunter to try to keep Saturday Night afloat, and that's why it survives.

The pathos of its long winter towards survival, coupled with their argument that they can only survive on the crumbs of Time, must somehow be the most significant comment on the whole affair...

VI. The foxes and the chickens

The danger in talking about saving the Canadian magazine industry lies in the unsettling question Senator Grattan O'Leary raised in his testimony before Davey last February — who the hell wants to preserve this garbage? ("I pick up a recent copy of Maclean's magazine and what do I read? That modesty has more sex appeal than nudity!")

Maclean's he denounced as sometimes "a pale imitation of Playboy". Saturday Night he dismissed — "it doesn't even count".

And when the committee asked him if he were writing the report today, would he try to protect the industry, he snorted: "I would if I thought the Canadian magazines were what they were when I made my report. They have changed and they say they are satisfied with the situation — and so why in the devil should I go out of my way to protect them? I won't protect Saturday Night. You know what is keeping Saturday Night alive as well as I do. It is being kept alive for that very reason. We want more magazines. It is not being kept alive by its own efforts. It is being kept alive because other magazines want to keep it alive and have taken the necessary financial precautions to keep it alive. If they want to go along with it, all right."

Maclean-Hunter has done an admirable job of learning to live with its enemies of a decade ago.

The cosy entente between Time and the Digest, on the one hand and Maclean-Hunter on the other, was cemented when both realized that mutual backscratching did a better job of raking in profits than competition. Enter the Magazine Advertising Bureau, the splendid co-operation of the most powerful Canadian publisher with the world's two largest magazines. Advertising efforts are shared, giving Maclean-Hunter more ads without having to fight Time and the Digest for them.

The ad market is big enough to keep the two of them going if they don't compete and just share their efforts instead. In fact, if they coast along in this brotherly manner, they find the market is just right — big enough for the two of them and that's all, no room for anyone else.

Of course this looks rather bad for poor Saturday Night, which would go under in a flash if it were left to its own. And since a pretense of a varied Canadian publishing industry must be bravely maintained for political reasons,

they "keep it alive and have taken the necessary financial precautions to keep it alive," as Senator O'Leary so ungraciously put it. Bad publicity if it died. Nationalists might seize upon this.

Competition?

Saturday Night can never compete with them. No other American competition can come in to threaten the Time-Digest-Maclean-Hunter crew, thanks to the Pearson government.

Except for The Canadian and Weekend, which are newspaper supplements and not separate magazines, no publication can rise to challenge them in this country. Oh, maybe a Toronto Life or Vancouver Life, but who cares?

And that's what Ronald MacEachern meant when he so candidly told the Davey Committee: "...the disappearance of Time and Reader's Digest would rock our apparel."

In digging through our back yard for foreign weeds, we tend to overlook growths of local variety. Although in some cases it's hard to tell them apart.

One MP remarked in Ottawa when Pearson pushed through the legislation exempting Time and the Digest that "we let the foxes into the coop with the chickens, and they will all be devoured."

Perhaps it would be more accurate to say we let the foxes in with the chickens, and the chickens discovered that they too could be foxes.

Time and the Digest wisely realized that the best way to accommodate themselves in this country was to make it lucrative for the opposition.

But another man who has had a busy summer must not be omitted. For he is crucial to the rest of the Lobby.

He is John Scott, the academic-looking token Canadian of the old "Canadian Affairs Section" in New York who today surveys the situation from the commanding heights of the Time head office in the Bank of Commerce building in Montreal.

As editor-in-chief of the four-page Canada section he's busy making the whole jamtack credible as a Canadian operation. A sigh of relief must have been heard from John Crosbie, Ronald MacEachern, Paul Zimmerman and "Bud" Drury when he got the word on what was in the LeDain report on drugs.

Scott's got to keep coming up with these stories fast this year. First of all it makes good publicity, and most important of all it makes the magazine look like it's actually doing more than it has been doing all its life in Canada — rewriting the papers, gluing together stringers' notes, and churning it all out in four pages.

People of a cynical bent might even maliciously speculate on the great convenience surrounding Time's leak from the LeDain Report. Look for more Cabinet leaks before the year is out.

John Scott has been so busy, in fact, that his office churned out more Canadian cover stories in the first half of this year than it did all last year, and double what it churned out a couple of years ago.

And all summer John Scott's legion of Stringers has been ferreting out quotes and facts on another major cover story.

It's on Canadian nationalism.

And that's the nicest touch of all.

This article was researched and written by Last Post staff.



Piety and profit

The people of Namibia strongly condemn the policies of the Canadian companies working with the co-operation of American and British companies who are mercilessly exploiting the Namibian natural resources. Especially, we strongly condemn the Canadian companies like Falconbridge and Etosha Petroleum, which in collaboration with American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining Corporation employ African slave labor.

The Canadian-American companies are not only helping the South African government to perpetuate white supremacy, economic exploitation and the permanent enslavement of the African people of Namibia, but also support South Africa through providing capital, goods and industrial aid.

We therefore appeal to the people and government of Canada, who believe in freedom and human equality, to demand an immediate withdrawal of all Canadian companies now operating in and exploiting Namibia.

—Statement by Mr. S. Nuyoma, president of the South West African People's Organization of Namibia, an underground liberation movement, made by telephone from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on CBC radio, August 23, 1970.

I. The New Swanla system

Namibia, or South West Africa as you'll see it on the maps, demonstrates in microcosm the history of white domination in Africa.

In 1885, at the Berlin Conference that formalized the scramble for Africa, it was parcelled out to Germany. It remained under harsh German rule until 1915, when the territory was occupied by South African troops during the First World War. German rule was replaced by equally harsh white South African control, plus all the added features of apartheid.

After years of pressure by African states on the League of Nations, the International Court and the United Nations, the U.N. General Assembly voted in 1966 to terminate South Africa's illegal administration of this territory. A special U.N. Council was established to administer the territory until self-rule could be achieved.

Repeated U.N. resolutions demanding South Africa's withdrawal, attempts of U.N. officials to enter the territory, massive pressure by other African states—all have failed to dislodge the South African government from its illegal occupation of the territory. Technically the U.N. administers it, and the name of the country is Namibia. In fact South Africa rules it and the name of the territory is South West Africa.

Beyond the strategic value of Namibia as a buffer zone for South Africa, the territory is one of the richest in Africa. Endowed with vast mineral wealth, particularly copper, it is doomed not only to remain in the stranglehold of the South African government, but also to be victim of the huge Western mining corporations.

And in that aspect of white exploitation of black labor and resources, Canada is more than amply represented.

On July 28 of this year, J.M. Titsworth, director of projects for Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) in Africa, sent a letter from his office in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to the chairman of the board of Falconbridge Nickel Mines Ltd. in Toronto. Falconbridge is the second largest nickel producer in the world (after International Nickel), with its operation based in Sudbury, Ontario. Titsworth's angry letter included a description of "the Swanla slave labor system" written by Mr. Andreas Shipanga of the South West African People's Organization.

That description is worth quoting at length:

THE NEW SOUTH WEST AFRICAN NATIVE LABOUR ASSOCIATION CO. LIMITED (NEW SWANLA)

Cheap African labor is a "traditional" policy of the White South African governments. Yet few people in the world know that there exists a company which makes its

business in the trade of human beings. To be exact, the above-mentioned company is a sort of "modified" slave trading company. The South African illegal "administration" in Namibia has 45% shares in this obnoxious company. Other shares are held by "employers" that is, by the White settlers individually and by the big foreign cartels such as the Tsumbe Mining Corp. (American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining Corporation, both of New York), De Beers (Anglo-American Corp. of South Africa), Matchless Mines (Falconbridge of Canada), Etosha Petroleum (Canadian registered company), etc.

In short, this company is the sole agent of manpower supplies to government departments, mining industries, factories, railroads and domestic services. The system is called "contract" labor. It operates on the following lines:

1. Employers who need African laborers must send money orders or cheques to the SWANLA headquarters which are situated at Grootfontein. There is a catalogue containing fitness categories of the laborers and prices of each category to be sold. It goes like this: "You need an African worker? We can supply you with any amount you require. However, before we supply you one or more, please consult the prices of the different categories: Grade A will cost you £ 18, B £ 15 and C £ 11. Enclose money order, cheque or money bills in a registered letter addressed to our company. On the receiving of the money we will send you the "boy"/"boys" of the grade of your choice. The "boy/s" will work for you for a period of 12 months as a contract. If he/they desert your employment, report immediately to the police and when he/they are found by the police, punishment for such a crime of breaking the contract is 9 months imprisonment; and after completing the jail term, he/they will be returned to your employment by the police to complete his/their contract."

2. To make this incredible system of human trafficking actually work, it was and is closely linked with the system of "Native Reservations" or as now they are called "Bantustans or Bantu homelands" by the Pretoria regime. These "reservations" must be minute in order not to support a great number of the inmates living on the land for their subsistence. . . must be arid areas where rainfall is pitiful. The net result, predictably, is that the poverty and hunger force the able-bodied men to leave "their" reservations in order to seek other means of existence in the "Whitemen-Only", and most prosperous larger part of the territory known as the "Police Zone" where the mines, factories and farms are situated. There is only one way out of the "reservations": through SWANLA recruitment agents in the "native reservations". . . This is the system that attracts foreign corporations from Western Europe, North America, Japan and even from South Africa to set up industries and mining enterprises in Namibia.

This vast exploitation of human beings is so attractive to foreign as well as local investors and employers because it assures huge profits to them unequalled anywhere else in the world. They detest anybody that points out their ill-gotten gains are a result of slave and forced labor. They will protest that they have nothing to do with the existence of this system saying that theirs is to do business and make profits for their shareholders. "Don't mix business with politics" is the ready answer one gets from these business tycoons operating in Namibia.

The letter adds that the worker earns some \$53 (Canadian) a year for his labors, gets no pension, is prohibited by law

from trying to form or join a union, is prohibited by law from getting compensation for accidents on the job, has no set hours and must work as long as he is told to, and has no right to file any complaint against his employer.

The letter is inaccurate in one point: Falconbridge does not own Matchless Mines. However, it owns 75% of the Oamites Mining Company in the same region, which according to New Swanla officials, also does business with New Swanla.

Companies from all over the world have flocked to milk this cheap labor pool, and Canadian investment has been anything but unrepresented. With the fullest support of the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce and other government agencies, Canadian private enterprise systematically buttresses the apartheid regime of South Africa, extracting handsome profits through the exploitation of black labor and resources.

II. Public holiness and private profit

It was easy for Prime Minister Trudeau to get sanctimonious last July about the new British government's announced plans to sell arms to South Africa. South Africa is a safe issue to get holy about. Besides, with the stake Canada has in the newly emerging markets of the embryonic African states, Trudeau's letter of protest to Heath was a clever diplomatic gesture.

Canada's public face towards South African apartheid is superficially liberal, or at least it has recently become so.

In the 1950s our representatives in the United Nations never voted for resolutions condemning apartheid and, in fact, Canada voted with South Africa more frequently than it abstained on resolutions.

From 1963 on, however, it voted for the U.N. resolution calling for an arms embargo on South Africa, supported the imposition of sanctions on Rhodesia, and with the 1966 resolution condemned South African rule of Namibia. Ottawa has held back, however, from supporting the call in the U.N. African bloc to declare South Africa a "threat to international peace", since that opens the possibility of U.N. intervention.

Thus, the rhetoric has become more forthright. But the substance remains relatively unchanged.

While reserved piety flows from External Affairs, it is apparent that External Affairs is not where our foreign policy is made. It is made in the offices of the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, which has been heavily encouraging Canadian investment in South Africa, and in the profitable environment that cheap South African labor provides.

Despite the embargo on arms to South Africa, Canada continues to service and provide spares for military equipment sold to Portugal and South Africa before the embargo (Portuguese colonial forces, with the aid of South African divisions and NATO arms, are fighting a war against liberation forces in Angola, which borders on Namibia.) Furthermore, in 1963, Canada excluded from the embargo the sale of piston engines and, more recently by Cabinet order-in-council, the sale of jet engines. If these are taken to be insignificant, one could recall the great agitation caused a few years ago when Canada briefly held back the sale of replacement parts to Portugal.

External Affairs published its White Paper on foreign policy this summer in the form of six bright little pamphlets. The change in layout is about the most substantial change from policies of the past.



In the tiny blue pamphlet on Canadian policy towards U.N. matters, on page 19, the pamphlet tersely states Canada's policy towards South Africa: (1) Social Justice and (2) Economic Growth. The fact that these two aims are much of the time totally contradictory perturbs the government only mildly.

We are reminded that "Canada's basic approach... is to trade in peaceful goods with all countries and territories regardless of political considerations."

By way of giving "more positive expression to the Social Justice policy theme", we are told further on, "the Canadian Government will make available further economic assistance to black African states of the area to assist them to develop their own institutions and resources. It is also the Government's intention to increase its contribution to the U.N. Educational and Training Programme for southern Africa." This bold and forthright policy of Social Justice is likely to win us many friends among the Africans.

And while we present this radical international stance as a bulwark against racist exploitation, the government's other

hand is busily undermining it to make sure it has no effect—not that it would anyway.

The Canadian Government maintains a large Trade Commission in South Africa whose task is to facilitate in any way possible increased Canadian capital investment in the country. Consular reports, published in the government magazine *Foreign Trade* repeatedly hail "the great economic opportunities" and "advantages unmatched elsewhere in the world" open to Canada corporations. They are discreet enough to stop short of pointing out that the "advantages" are a controlled, docile and exploited pool of black labor and a police state.

Sometimes even that mask slips. *Foreign Trade* of October 26, 1968 happily informs its readers that "if you are of pure white descent you will not need a visa."

The Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce has been particularly anxious to point out the unmatched advantages of operations in Namibia, using public money to do so: "Interested exporters should write to the Canadian Trade Commissioner, P.O. Box 683, Cape Town... We will have re-



liable firms undertake initial market surveys on their behalf," Donald Leavitt, Canadian Assistant Trade Commissioner, informs Canadians interested in the Namibian Market in *Foreign Trade*.

The conflict between our "basic principles" and our trade policies is dramatically illustrated by the Cabora Bassa Dam Project. This dam is a major hydroelectric and irrigation project vaster even than the Aswan Dam in Egypt. To be situated on the Zambezi River in Mozambique (another Portuguese colony in the throes of a war of liberation), it would be a major source of power for South Africa. For this reason, it greatly interests South Africa not to allow Mozambique to gain its freedom.

Many African leaders have urged that western countries not support this dam because its political implications are so immense and so detrimental. Sweden has held back its investment firms from involving themselves in the project, and even the Italian government has withdrawn financial guarantees to a prospective Italian participant.

Canada's response, so far, has been to fall over itself draw-

ing the attention of Canadian suppliers to the lucrative contracts open for their bids in connection with the dam, and encourage and facilitate their participation.

Even provincial governments are jumping on the bandwagon. Last month the Ontario Department of Trade and Development, "with the active assistance of the Canadian Trade Commissioner in Johannesburg", organized a trip for 19 Ontario manufacturers to display their products at an international exhibition in South Africa—just in time for "Canada Day" at the Johannesburg fair.

In March of this year, Trudeau admitted he was not proud of Canada's South Africa policy: "It's not consistent...we should either stop trading or stop condemning." He must regret this offhand remark he made in a question-and-answer period after a speech. Three months later, with the publication of the White Paper on foreign policy, we saw just how far the Trudeau government is really interested in resolving this "inconsistent" situation.

III. The Canadian face of apartheid

Though trade between South Africa and Canada is significant enough, it can't be argued that we, or even Pretoria, desperately depend on it.

In 1967 Canada exported \$78 million worth of commodities, while importing \$37 million. In 1968 we exported \$68 million, and imported \$39 million. In 1969, the volume climbed again, as we exported \$78.5 million, and imported \$45.9 million. We send South Africa wheat, lumber and wood products, metals, autos and mechanical equipment. We import sugar in vast quantities, various minerals, fruit, wines and tobacco.

It's not even possible to argue anymore that Canadian trade with South Africa is significantly more important than our trade with independent Africa (the total two-way trade between South Africa and Canada in 1969 was \$124.4 million, while with independent Africa it was \$122 million, and rising quickly).

A powerful lobby of interests has managed to hold sway over the Canadian government to assure that this trade is not impeded, but in fact encouraged. Why does Ottawa still pander to South Africa when other independent markets are overcoming her in importance? It's a barometer of how easily swayed the Liberal government is by corporate interests that it doesn't take the apparently easy route of abandoning South Africa.

The pro-South Africa trade lobby is imposing indeed. It encompasses some of the most powerful corporations in the country. It is they who set our effective foreign policy, to protect their lucrative base of exploitation in the Pretoria regime.

The largest areas of Canadian investment in South Africa are in mining, food processing, manufacturing and insurance.

One of the more blatant examples of Canadian corporate opportunism is the Garfield Weston food processing chain—the largest in Canada, and the largest in South Africa. Weston, who is the biggest agri-businessman in the Prairie economy, controls over a quarter of all the food sold in Canada, largely through Loblaw's food chain, and holds sway over an \$800 million empire. In South Africa he controls the South African Milling Company Ltd., making him the biggest baker in the country. He employs more than 6,000 South Africans, the majority of them black.

An indication of how profitable he has found this investment, and how his workers are treated, can be found in his whole-hearted defence of apartheid: "It's ridiculous to give the vote to black Africans," he said in 1964, "Let's get this straight, this was never a black country. It's ridiculous to try to force South Africa through the United Nations to give the vote to millions of colored men whose morals are not ours and whose Christian ethics are completely absent." He mocked reports of the blacks' social plight, saying "...believe me, every black pickaninny or black mammy can call on the government for a solution to any social problem."

As one of the most powerful capitalists in Canada, we can be sure Garfield Weston makes his opinions heard in Ottawa in any matters regarding trade policies towards South Africa.

The mining lobby, however, is the most powerful single pressure group on Ottawa when it comes to South Africa.

It is led in this case by Alcan, Falconbridge, International Nickel, Hudson's Bay Mining and Smelting, and the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy.

Since mining in Canada and mining in South Africa are at similar stages of development, co-operation is frequently close. INCO and the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa carry on joint exploration. These two companies formed Kaffrarian Metal Holdings (Pty) to follow up mineralization in the Transvaal and exploration in an area of the eastern Cape Province. The work of INCO in South Africa is reciprocated by the work of an Anglo-American of South Africa exploring subsidiary (New Conex Exploration Ltd. and the New Conex Holdings Ltd.) established in Canada. The same parent company bought 400,000 shares in one of the leading copper and gold mining companies in Canada, Hudson's Bay Mining and Smelting Co., giving it 15% interest. (Hudson's Bay Mining and INCO, though Canadian-based, are controlled by US finance. INCO is controlled by the Rockefeller and Morgan groups.)

Rio Alcan Mines, the Canadian side of the massive Rio Tinto mining complex, entered into a \$100 million project with American Metal Climax, Newmont Mining and Rio Tinto Zinc to exploit what could become "one of the world's largest open pit copper mines" in South Africa. Falconbridge Nickel entered into partnership with New Wellington Mines of Victoria to enter South West Africa, a situation we looked at earlier.

The largest single Canadian investment in South Africa is Alcan's \$30 million fabrication plant in Pietermaritzburg, Natal.

It is followed in size by the Canadian government, whose crown corporation, Polymer, has a 20 per cent interest in the Synthetic Rubber Co. of South Africa. Polymer and Fluor Corp., in conjunction with the Synthetic Rubber Corp., designed, engineered and constructed a plant near Johannesburg which produces 300,000 tons of synthetic rubber annually. It has been suggested to the government that this gross contradiction between its principles and its acts doesn't constitute the best public relations, and there is talk of Ottawa withdrawing the investment "at some future, convenient time."

The two major underwriters of insurance in South Africa are Sun Life Insurance and Manufacturers Life Insurance, the former totalling \$30 million. With the prevalence of high interest rates in South Africa, the insurance companies have taken advantage of investing in industrial debentures, linking them closer to profit off the labor market. With credit restrictions, the demand by industry for short-term bank loans has been considerable and Manufacturers Life found a ready

market for their funds at high interest.

The ninth largest plant in the world is Massey-Ferguson of South Africa, which, though the Canadian branch of the company has severed links with it to protect its international investments, still receives technical advice and research from Canada. An associate of the Massey-Ferguson complex, E.P. Taylor, made investments in the South African brewing industry through Canadian Breweries, which in turn are now owned by Rothmans, the cigarette manufacturers who are the mainstay of the South African tobacco business.

There is more than \$100 million in direct Canadian capital investment in South Africa. That investment indirectly (Polymer) or directly (Falconbridge) employs black labor at rates determined on racial grounds, black labor that is prohibited by law from unionizing, and frequently even from leaving the job.

Alcan's subsidiary, for instance, structures its share-participation program for employees on a racial basis with shares offered to "all white employees, some coloreds and a few Africans."

The Canadian government's efforts to encourage economic relationships with South Africa extends to its failure to abrogate the 1932 agreement giving South Africa Commonwealth preferential tariffs. It is estimated that \$10.2 million of Canadian exports to South Africa have benefitted from these preferences.

How this can lead to effective exploitation is illustrated by Canada's sugar imports from South Africa. Since leaving the Commonwealth, South Africa has, through the preferential tariff, increased her share of the Canadian sugar market from 5.3 per cent in 1961 to 23 per cent in 1969. In 1969 Canada was importing \$17 million from the Caribbean (where we have recently cancelled our preferential treatment). Canadian sugar interests are paying essentially the same price for their sugar as they were 30 years ago—because it can be exploited cheaply in South Africa (although this has meant no saving for the consumers).

Pressure lobbies trying to make certain Ottawa doesn't get too bold in its "Social Justice" goals towards South Africa also include the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, which has publicly expressed its admiration for South Africa's surviving international boycotts and remaining economically strong; the Province of Ontario (where the principal mining companies have their operations and headquarters); the Province of British Columbia, interested in protecting lumber and pulp sales; the Lumber Manufacturers Association, for the same reason.

IV. Pretoria's long arm

On the evening of June 6, 1969, two hundred young marchers, many of them South African expatriates, marched in front of Toronto's Park Plaza Hotel under the banner of the South-African Anti-Apartheid movement.

The target of the peaceful picketing was an opulent, formal-dress cocktail party and dinner organized by the South African Trade Commission to meet Canadian businessmen and Toronto luminaries. It was the third such event in a Canadian city, forming part of "South Africa Week"—so declared by the South Africans.

Four hundred of Toronto's business leaders and socialites, along with guests from the Canadian Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, as well as sympathetic South Africans

resident in Toronto, attended the glittering affair.

The South African Trade people had been worried about this dinner event, and sent out invitations to select people only—"We would like to run ads in the paper and have the public in, but that might be asking for trouble." Nicholas Stathakis, South African Tourist Corporation manager in Toronto told **Marketing Magazine**, "If the peaceniks or anti-apartheid league got organized against this they could spoil it."

The South Africans had also taken other precautions, it later emerged.

Two plainclothesmen were taking photos of the demonstrators walking up and down the street. A **Toronto Star** reporter, covering the event, remarked that he knew most of the cops, RCMP and Toronto police, who did this sort of work during demonstrations, but that he only recognized one of the photographers. He approached the man he knew to inquire about the other, and the police photographer said the other was definitely not connected with the Toronto police or RCMP. The second photographer refused to answer any questions.

John Buzzell, of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, recognized the man, however—from two previous demonstrations in Ottawa and Toronto, and from the South African Security police.

South African citizens who protest Pretoria's racial policies abroad are liable to immediate imprisonment for a year when they set foot on South African soil again. Pretoria has a long arm.

The London Sunday Times reports South Africa's security network to be among the most efficient in the world. "It is vitally necessary," the paper wrote in an exposé of South African agents in London, "for it to be able to identify all anti-apartheid groups in the world, and possible relations they may have with black terrorist organizations anywhere in Africa." Among the countries the security police is said to maintain information-gathering networks and security agents is Canada.

Discussion with anti-apartheid people in Toronto and Ottawa particularly reveal such activities as attempting to infiltrate anti-apartheid groups, photographing people at larger meetings and conferences, and seeking information by posing as journalists. (One such member of an anti-apartheid group was approached by a middle aged man claiming to work for the **Globe and Mail**, and seeking information. His attempt failed because the man he approached was in the middle of a visit with a real **Globe** reporter.)

South African embassy staff send out prepared features on South Africa to newspapers, offering to let them publish them free. Several small Ontario weeklies were personally visited by an embassy information officer peddling such articles, and offering free "junkets" to South Africa for the editor to write travel stories.

Larger newspapers are peppered with letters to the editor from "ordinary citizens", who are later discovered to be members of front groups like the Canadian-South African Committee, a small embassy-organized organization that meets monthly in the King Edward Hotel in Toronto to promote links with South Africa.

Newspaper editors with vague sympathies to South Africa are cultivated by embassy staff who try to get as much pro-South Africa material printed as possible. Thus the **Montreal Gazette** is frequently persuaded to run texts of speeches by Canadian businessmen supporting Pretoria's policies (a large spread was accorded to a speech last January by Herbert H. Lank, former Chairman of DuPont of Canada, who praised the Rhodesian and South African "democracies").



Garfield Weston

V. The Black Paper

Probably the best critique of Canadian foreign policy towards South Africa can be found in the work of a group of Canadian academics, journalists and African expatriates who will release this month their first "Black Paper"—a counter to the White Paper on Foreign Policy.

It is a sober and liberal document, and its authors admit that the recommendations they set down for a counter-policy constitute only a minimum set of demands.

They demand the abrogation of all preferential trade arrangements, ending the use of public funds to promote trade, and clear indication by the Canadian government that investments in South Africa are made without its support.

A more consistent policy would go further and impose a total trade embargo, order the withdrawal of all Canadian investment, and suspend diplomatic and consular relations.

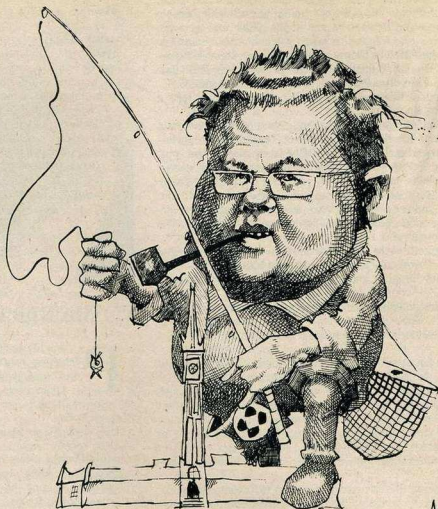
But the Black Paper also goes out of its way to point out that tactics of disapproval or withdrawal are insufficient.

Even the White Paper recognizes that the situation in southern Africa, including Angola and Mozambique, cannot be transformed by any change of heart in the white community, and that the racist regimes will resist equality "to the bitter end."

The Black Paper states that, given this admission, Canada has no choice but to "recognize the legitimacy of this struggle of the liberation movements" and recommends that Canada provide direct assistance, "financial, technical or medical" to the black liberation movements—a move even Sweden has taken, by contributing an estimated \$130,000 to Frelimo, the major liberation movement in Mozambique.

Only by transferring recognition from the white regimes to the black liberation movements, and by direct military and financial support, could we speak of a foreign policy of "Social Justice."

The South African article was researched and written by the Toronto staff of the Last Post.



THE VERTICAL PROSAIC

A LOOK AT THE OTTAWA PRESS GALLERY BY PATRICK MACFADDEN

It is the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Prime Minister. An auspicious occasion. In a large stone house high up on the svelte flanks of Outremont, his grateful constituents are attending a cheerful soirée.

The dancing is spirited. Tired old party warhorses kick a frenzied leg; sloe-eyed boutique owners unsuccessfully feign ennui. Lovely people swirl and bob and zoom. All is gaiety, all is joy.

The Prime Minister, languid and smiling, leans against the cream wall of the living room, modestly declines a proffered canapé, studies the pink liquid in his wineglass. He is a little oasis of calm.

A callow-looking fellow approaches, burdened with Uher tape recorder. A man of the electronic press.

"Tell me, Mr. Prime Minister," the voice is eager, rasp-

ing, "whazzit like to be haffacent'ry old?"

The mike, phallic, streamlined, curves in the air, homes like a guided missile, hovers two inches from the lips of the guest of honour.

Still smiling, the PM gives his glass a little twirl. The liquid slaps and tickles.

Slowly, he raises his head. His eyes rest curiously on the flushed face of his interlocutor, his smile as wintry as a dentist's. (Thus must have smiled the great Fouchard upon first discovering pyorrhoea.)

"Why," asks the Prime Minister, in the remote tones of one putting a Thomistic paradox to a bright if slightly distasteful seminarian, "why don't you," and here he gives his glass just the suggestion of a wiggle, "fuck off?"

Rhetorical in form, the question nevertheless remains

inferentially prescriptive...

To make music, you must first gather together some musicians. — I Ching, the Book of Changes

The Parliamentary Press Gallery, or PPG,* is an institution. On joining, you do not risk social disapprobation by saying you "work for a paper." What you do is "declare your affiliation," a formula that fulfils the requirements of post-Weblen sociologies in that it avoids the suggestion of actual toil.

It is also a club. It has a president, vice-president, secretary — a position often held by French-Canadians because of their uncanny bilingualism; it also boasts a treasurer, five directors, the inevitable past-president and some 120 active members. The set is rounded off by the inclusion of life members, honorary life members, (or membres honoraire à vie) and honorary members.

Unlike the National Press Club, with which to its understandable dismay it is often confused, the PPG is on excellent terms with women. On the other hand, only about three per cent of the membership is female.

As in any club, there are rules. Members learn them with commendable alacrity. The institution does not encourage unseemly displays of eccentricity.

There was the case — these matters are always "cases" — of the novice journalist in the Parliamentary Restaurant, a privileged place where media men mingle with the notables and munch at cut-rate prices. This young man, replete no doubt with dollops of cottage pie, and thinking to extend his bonhomie among the diners there assembled, addressed a formidable matron at the next table.

Her reply was ungracious. The young man — for he was a democrat — was roused to ire. His riposte took an invitational form, couched in terms so exquisitely obscene, and containing proposals so physically demanding as to daunt all save the most tractable of persons,* that the matron was constrained to draw the attention of the Maitre'd.

As it happened, she turned out to be the chosen of a member of the Senate.

When last heard from, the young man was wandering in remote Nepal, giggling aimlessly, his senses quite awry, babbling of green fields and the snows of Kiliminjaro.

The Dog's Wedding

If it moves, give it a drink; if it doesn't, pave it.

— St. Theresa on *The Art of Governance*.

There will be little lather at this stage.

— Instructions on shampoo satchet.

In the remote Tatra Mountains of southern Poland, unless a wedding feast is accompanied by fisticuffs and knife-fights, unless red blood jumps from fresh wounds, and eyes puff and blister into a pululating purple, unless cut and thrust and parry ring out in the forest clearing, why then such a wedding feast, such a milque-toast nothing of an event is held to be a flop and a disaster.

The phrase used by the people to describe such a nothing is "a dog's wedding."

The Press Gallery, in all humility, is a permanent dog's wedding.

Herewith a short list of members of the wedding:

Richard Jackson

Free Press Publications (Vic Sifton and Max Bell*) Vancouver Sun, Calgary Albertan, Lethbridge Herald, Victoria Colonist, Victoria Times, Toronto Globe and Mail, Ottawa Journal, Winnipeg Free Press.

Also syndicated in smaller papers in the West, as well as Beaverbrook's Daily Express in the U.K. (Jacksonian analysis reaches about 23% of daily readers in Canada. Highest paid journalist in the Gallery. But, coming up on the inside track, a close second in the bread stakes is...

Charles Burchill Lynch*

Southam Press: The Owen Sound Sun-Times, Ottawa Citizen, Hamilton Spectator, Calgary Herald, Vancouver Province, Edmonton Journal, Kitchener-Waterloo Record (47%), North Bay Nugget, Medicine Hat News, Winnipeg Tribune and the Montreal Gazette.

Also available on CTV and CBC/TV as an on-camera "resource person." Wittily described by Time Magazine as "King of the Gallery." Reaches about 23% of daily readers. (Actually with the tv gigs thrown in, he probably earns more than Jackson.)

Patrick Nicholson

Thomson Newspapers, (30 newspapers, 13 weeklies.)

Arthur Blakely

Montreal Gazette

Norman Campbell

Ottawa Citizen

Farmer Tissington

Thomson

Labor J. Zink

Toronto Telegram

Anthony Westell

Toronto Star

W.A. Wilson

Montreal Star

Not to mention others too numerous to mention.

Our informed observer

What we have here is a mixed bag.

But as one publisher says winningly: "Doesn't matter what a guy's politics are as long as he does a good job."

A good job is defined as being able to preserve the fiction that there are differences between the two major parties. To the degree this fiction is preserved, our man in Ottawa is honoured; to the degree it is exposed, he's banished.

The practice of putting oneself beyond the Pale is not widespread. Microcosm analysis is permitted; relating all the bits to one another is not.

The Press Gallery is going through "a transition period." These changes have little to do with the group itself, but with the evolving nature of government. The new modalities are confusing to the established gallery hands, particularly to the minority that meets for a cuppa in the fifth floor cafeteria. (The gallery has its own legal bootleg bar, beer at a quarter, licker at four bits; this concession allows the PG to keep out of the National Press Club across the Street, crawling with common public relations men and other assorted shuffle, board hearties and foamies.)

*Also known as PG, or "the lads." This latter mode is jocular.

*Proposals based largely, it transpires, on the forbidden drawings of the Kojiki, sacred book of the Shinto, completed 712 A.D. (Grove Press edition).

*Mr. Bell is a Calgarian, good friend of Big Clint Murchison of Dallas oil-and-cattle. Also best friends with Bob Hope, the well-known comedian.

*Interestingly, Che Guevara's last name was also Lynch. This is a little-known fact. Comrade Guevara, however, was born in Argentina, Mr. Lynch in Cambridge, Mass. The latter moved to Saint John, N.B., when only 14 days old.

The fifth floor minority includes: Blakely of the Gazette, Robinson of the London Free Press, King of the Regina Leader-Post — since returned to the Prairies — Campbell of the Ottawa Citizen, Nicholson of Thomson, and several devotees.

But let us at this point hand over to the Informed Observer.*

"Now what's happening is this," said the Informed Observer, setting back with a copy of Time Magazine on the black leather-covered settee in his tastefully-appointed bachelor apartment on Ottawa's wooded Cooper St. while outside the traffic sounds of summer in the capital sound like a swarm of bees.

"During the time of Dief and Mike," says the IO lazily, "these old guys were okay. The deliberate leak kept them going and they knew the ropes.

"But they're lost, see, with the Trudeau thing. And their reaction is 'I'm gonna get those bastards.' They don't know or can't understand what's going on anymore. A lot of them are from the West. They invented Western alienation—all on their own."

"But doesn't Western alienation have to do with the world crisis in wheat prices?" ventured the Last Post meekly.

"Naw, naw, naw," smiled the IO, "listen, Trudeau was out West a few weeks back and everyone loved him. Where was the alienation? Well, where was it?"

The Last Post said it didn't know.

"Well anyway," continued the IO, "places like Winnipeg, Lethbridge, Edmonton, their papers have the shaft into Kierans, they have it into Pelletier and Benson; and of course they're out to get Juneau."

Why this last?

"Because," said the patient IO, "they want to watch the Beverley Hillbillies for crissake.

"Not only that. The Thomson papers out there manage the news. They're not too keen on the French-Canadian thing, they feel Mackasey's soft on unions. Fact is, they think of old Bryce as a French-Canadian.

"Now the younger guys in the Gallery, they're something else. The Montreal and Toronto guys. They really get into stuff like pollution and ecology."

Here the IO paused, noticing the Last Post drooping visibly. "I guess you might call it Generation Gap," he added.

The dusk was performing its customary intransigent operation of 'gathering.' In some far tree an owl could be detected coughing.

— Myles Na Gopaleen

In 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution was instituted in Russia; in that same year the Canadian Press was instituted in Canada. It has 40,000 miles of wires, 400 on the payroll of whom 21 are in Ottawa. It spends \$6,000,000 a year.

Most of its stuff isn't very good.

The CP operation in Ottawa rotates its staff during debates and at Question Time. They lumber in and out dutifully. It may be the closest thing to institutionalized masochism since the B & B Commission.

*During the Pearson-Diefenbaker era, the Informed Observer became so omnipresent that the Toronto Star, in a fit of pique, refused to carry stories originating from this popular source. The paper has since relented, a tribute to the resilience of this truly unique individual.

Furthermore, doubt has been cast on the existence of the Ottawa rumour mill. Yet it exists. It is located on the Carp Road, just to the right of the underground shelter built for the Cabinet in the unhappy event of nuclear warfare. The mill looks like this:

* (Dept. of Nat. Defence circ. 281/7342/001917, classified, The Queen's Printer, \$1.15).

Uppermost in CP's mind is to make sure the results of the House votes get on the wire. This is a hangover from the days when a government might be toppled. In the Trudeau era, it has lost drama.

But CP remains fascinated by the House of Commons. Its objective function is to legitimize the non-events in that institution. It carries this out with enthusiasm. Sometimes this enthusiasm carries CP away:

It is Question Time. But there are no questions. Questions have to be invented. The Leader of the Opposition, a good sport, gets the ball rolling.

He unwinds to his feet and peers across the Floor; he is everyone's Scottish headmaster. He speaks:

"Would the Prime Minister consider, would he consider doing something about the Tragedy of Backstreet Abortions?"

The Prime Minister fixes his gaze on a small spot slightly to the left-of-centre of the forehead of the Leader of the Opposition. Then he rises slowly, as if in great pain.

"Yes," the Prime Minister replies. He pauses for a moment; then, almost philosophically, he adds, "in fact, I'll consider anything."

CP troops out. Within ten minutes the wires are humming, the type clacking:

OTTAWA (CP) — Prime Minister Trudeau Thursday promised to consider legislation to wipe out Canada's backstreet abortion scandal.

In response to Opposition needling, Mr. Trudeau said he'd "consider anything" if it helped to solve the problem...

HOUSE AGOG OVER ABORTION TUSSLE
BACKSTREET BUTCHERS MUST GO PM TELLS HOUSE
PM'S ABORTION PLAN STUNS HOUSE

Up until recently, CP trembled under the heavy hand of its manager Gillis Purcell. Purcell popularized CP's inverted pyramid blanchmange, guaranteed to gag but not to contain protein.

On retirement, GP decided to go for life membership of the PPG. Some assiduous lobbying finally got his name up for consideration.

When vote time came, Ottawa's CP men took their sweet revenge for the long evenings of torture. Some were mysteriously absent when the vote was called; others slammed their vote in against him. GP would not be a life member. By a narrow margin, of course.

The Politics of Personality

The halcyon days of the Ottawa pundit ended some five years ago with the emergence of the new urban readership in the big centres. The aggressive bureaux of the Toronto Star, Telegram and Montreal Star finally smashed the cosy meanderings of the De Poe, Blakely, Blair Fraser, Peter Newman, Greg Connolly Liberal cheering team.

The Gallery and the Liberals had become so close as to be indistinguishable. "When they all had their heads down in the trough," reminisced one veteran of those days, "it was really hard to tell them apart."

The politics of the status quo was so imbedded in the PPG establishment of the day that even the slightest initiative on the part of a government conscious of its rapidly-slipping credibility was greeted with a torrent of misunderstanding. The Executive had become the virtual prisoner of the gallery pundits. And the long list of scandals, from Rivard to Munsinger, was the most dramatic symptom of how two institutions, press and parliament, had locked themselves into a kind of destructive symbiosis.

In the nature of things, the breakdown was inevitable. For it must be remembered that the press serves to legitimize.



Ron Collister

That's its job. But with politics defined as an attribute of personality, when the personality cracks and the emperor is left looking for his last loin cloth, then the politics goes too. A dangerous situation, dangerous for the State, for the public enterprise itself.

And so the old style was sent packing; at the Conservative Convention in the Maple Leaf Gardens, the newsmen found themselves ranged like the Mormon Tabernacle Choir in front of the tv cameras. From now on, they would be a backdrop for the new style.

Some went willingly, some tore the curtains down on the way out. Blakely of the Montreal Gazette pulled the Company of Young Canadians down with him as he exited. Gordon Pape of Southam's and the Gazette churned out a series of scrawls on the evils of cannabis* before departing in a blue haze for Fleet Street and El Vino's. Thus far from London, two Papien paranoid specials have been of clinical interest: the first prophesied a Black Power uprising in Kensington, the second told of the Irish Republican Army's use of "Viet-Cong-type" anti-personnel bombs. So far, neither of these eventualities has eventuated.

Inserting another penny

You can shoot six balls for a penny and your score will depend on whether you have the skill to direct your ball into certain channels more highly valued than others. But suppose you know nothing about the game and with your first ball score the absolute minimum. To your delight, you will find that you have scored 1,000. Thus encouraged, you keep on and make possibly 5,000. Even if you are aware that the total score possible is 48,000, you think you have done very creditably for a beginner. After all 5,000 is a lot of points. You insert another penny.

— Myles Na Copaleen

The astute reader will have noted that the PPG is responsive to changes in the larger political nation, that it reflects whatever is number One on the cosmic hit parade. Number One right now is the politics of concern.*

This has spelled disaster for the Gallery establishment. A more complex politics has removed the action from the House of Commons and driven it into committees.

Or so the Last Post put it to the Gallery's Resident Radical, on a clear day when you could see the sulphite wafting in great yellow waves from across the river and the Eddy Match Company.

"Horseshit!" snorted the Resident Radical, "you guys don't understand about papers, that's your trouble. Know what Chesterton called them? Stuff printed on the backs of ads, that's what he called them. And that's what they are. Let me tell you about the Press Gallery."

Herewith the RR's thoughts:

"The Canadian Press gives the blow-by-blow covering the House when in session, press conferences and the utterances made by the cabinet ministers before the tee-vee."

"Leaks are generally calculated as witness the LeDain

*After the first anti-dope piece hit the Southam's carousel, George McIlraith, Solicitor-General and the Liberal's hatchet man in the Ottawa area, met Pape outside the House. "Love that article, Gordon," said Big George. And off they walked into the sunset, arm in arm.

*The analysis favoured in schools of journalism leans heavily on the McLuhan-based style theory of political change, plus some semi-mystical concepts of "destrudo" supplied by the psychoanalyst, Daniel Cappon. Happily, such analysis has had no effect on the political process whatsoever; but it's been an ego-booster for media men.

drug report. Other leaks happen because some of the new boobs, especially in private radio, don't know the rules of the game."

"Calculated leaks are fed to the favoured Toronto Star, not necessarily to Anthony Westell —"

Here the Last Post interrupted to ask why not Westell?

"Because," said the RR with a withering look, "the Hindmarsh-Walter Gordon pressure cooker on King Street does not approve of some of the pro-Yankee trash fed Westell by the PM's Office advisers, like Jim Davies, Oxford computer expert who's sent down to the Hudson Institute for 'ideas.'"

"He could get the same ideas in Saturday Review," protested the Last Post. The RR ignored this (on the surface quite reasonable) interpolation. And continued:

"Westell wasn't a bad interpretive reporter for the Globe and Mail, knows his history and constitutional theory. But, Jes-us, as a gasbag persuader for the Liberal Party, he's no match for Peter Newman. Now Newman screwed himself up with the Rideau Club by telling stories out of school in his book; when you're on the inside, an osmosis process is supposed to build-in defensive reactions as to just what inside crap should see print.

"But the PG sees things good, like the Establishment should. When there's eight per cent unemployed, that means 92 per cent employed, making money to buy goods so the newspaper bosses can make money through advertising.

"Now, on Quebec: the gallery's uptight about separatism, as witness George Bain, Westell, Lynch, Collister, Phillips, Fraser Kelly of the Telegram —"

"But but," the Last Post interjected, "Mr. Kelly lives in Toronto!"

"Heh-heh-heh," exploded the RR, dissolving into helpless laughter, "you don't have to be in the Gallery to call the shots. Kelly's the No.1 politico; over on the Star, it's Goodman.* Marty decides what the Ottawa stuff *should* be about. And he's going to go a long way in the Liberal Party eventually."

"There is a good deal of toing-and-froing between journalism and politics then?" asked the LP

"Humph!" screamed the RR, "remember what Lenin said: 'Today a banker, tomorrow a general, today a general, tomorrow a banker. 'Humph!'"

And he continued: "The top flacks earn a lot of bread. Ottawa's the only posting where a guy can make up to \$25,000. So they don't want to blow that, do they? The information officers parrot the official line; they're able to fox the reporter who doesn't have enough time to get independent facts. This line of transmission keeps Ottawa airtight. Hee-hawing at ministers who goof, like Munro on dope, is allowed so's to give the mentally-imprisoned gallery flacks an outlet for steam. But they know they're okay for life as long as they toe the line.

"And that line can come down pretty goddam'd abruptly," continued the RR. "Remember the 63 Bomarc crisis with Dief up against Norstad? The US ambassador arranged for a press briefing of the top gallery boys in the Envoy's Room of the US Embassy, and laid down the facts of life so tight that even the Dief boys got the message."

"What about the politics of the journalists?" we asked.

"Very few Tories left in the Gallery now," said the RR

sadly, "they've found it's better to back the Libs in the long run; that way they can always get jobs as government flacks."

"Which newspapers does the government pay most attention to?" we wanted to know.

"Globe and Mail, Canadian Press, Toronto Star and Telly, CBC, not necessarily in that order. Time Mag. too. Objective CP reportage is really just Establishment-subjective in that they give credence to utter shit supplied by all manner of government spokesmen and kite-flyers."

"What sort of social consciousness has the Gallery?" we asked objectively.

The RR's honest face went a bilious hue and his wooden leg crackled ominously.

"Indicative of the social conscience of the gallery," he replied, as evenly as he could, "is the support given to Young's Prices and Incomes Commission, a fascist administrative organ. Look, these guys are employed by millionaire publishers. These guys don't like unions. They're dependent on the Liberal machine for inside news and privileges. The Liberals don't like unions. End of story."

And he sat back and began to take the paper off a cough lozenge.

"Finally, sir, do you think the people of this country understand the relationship between government and the press?"

The Resident Radical reflected for a moment. "It is hard," he said, his voice slightly muffled behind the lozenge, "to hear a conversation between two fish."

Interlude

What stories does the Gallery not tell, we hear a strangled cry.

The question is misplaced; it presupposes a level of activity that, quite simply, is not there.

Some things to bear in mind: firstly, this government is not an autonomous body; it is a client government that has many of its decisions made for it in Washington. The most important figure in Canada is known around the PM's office as "Le Roi." The reference is to Nixon.

Secondly, MPs now have weekend air passes. As a result, the representatives of the people flee the coop on Thursday afternoons. The Thursday exodus is known as "the bull run." (Regional Development Minister Marchand, when asked what he like best about Ottawa, replied with remarkable frankness: "The train to Montreal.")

Thirdly, amorous peccadilloes involving pregnant secretaries never make the wire. (This, on the whole, is a good thing, since God punishes all evildoers anyway.)

Finally, some stories don't get written because nobody wants to dig, or else self-censorship intervenes. There's a story needed, for example, on conflict of interest in the Senate. Another on the method of choosing who gets jobs on various commissions. And so on.

But in general, if the entire gallery were uprooted, it wouldn't make too much difference. Better still, the members might be usefully allocated to the boardrooms of the corporations: Lynch, say, to International Paper on the North Shore, Wilson of the Montreal Star to Molsons, Westell to Eaton's, Jack Cahill to Esso.

That's where the action is.

The new Information Canada may make redundant a lot of gallery work. This will allow the gallery to get on with its real job — to act as a lobby for the press barons.

The big problem about the PG is not what it doesn't write but how and why it writes what it does. As in Jack Cahill's stomach-turning drivel about Joe Greene's spiritual contortions over his Denver speech on the plane to Colorado. Ca-

*Martin Goodman, the much-feared managing editor of the Toronto Star. He was bureau chief in Ottawa until 1968.

*General Lauris Norstad of USAF and NATO, now retired. He holds an honorary degree from McGill University.

hill, of course, was sitting right there with him as Joe wrestled with the language. The following day, Cahill's paper, the Toronto Star, splashed Greene all over page one. Super Captain Canada. (The Globe carried it on the business page the night before from an advanced text, presumably being less impressed.)

The device of 'I was there on the plane' is an old Peter Newman suit, played heavily during the Pearson years. The use of it for pseudo-nationalistic purposes signifies a change that's becoming widespread in the new politics of concern — from phenomenological to ideological trivia.

Easy Riders

The greatest moment of his life was when he made the discovery that life itself is in reality an art form.

— Myles Na Gopaleen

For some, an Ottawa posting sounds like the far side of despair. For despite the high salaries quoted by the Resident Radical, there are drawbacks: Liberace at the National Arts Centre, midjet lady wrestlers on the local tee-vee, Jack McPartin at the consol doing "You're nobody till somebody loves you." It is not a cornucopia.

And yet: there are those who thrive. One journalist who smiles bravely through it all is Smilin' Ron Collister, beaming great rays of amiable optimism over state television each evening. Once a Toronto Telegram reporter — during which stint he built a reputation for tough reportage — Rompin' Ron has become the nation's good humour man.

He commands an audience of some three million — and he's given 50 seconds to get it all together. An impossible task. The PM's Office shows great interest in him. He's the new man in the new medium.

And so, he massages.

The film clip on tee-vee shows a concerned PM. One quote. Cut to a clip of a concerned Stanfield. One quote.

Cut to clip of a concerned Tommy Douglas. One quote.

Cut to Smilin' Ron:

"It's perfectly obvious that there's little difference in the three parties over the question of seniority in the civil service." (Here a boyish grin.) "After all, most people are agreed that the main lines of the White Paper's recommendation are quite fair and above board... consensus... genuine concern however... understandable... all in all... getting down to the real job... and certainly not meant to be final... adopt a wait and see approach... tremendous willingness on the part of... a good sign... only common sense after all... no doubt come up with something. This is Ron Collister on Parliament Hill."

"The trouble with Ronnie," sighed one MP, "is that he's seen too many cricket matches."

The journalistic output from Parliament Hill is like pronography. It concentrates on two or three basic human activities, rings the changes on them, repeats the formula and emphasizes the play of the parts. However, unlike pornography, the Press Gallery product is not required by the Criminal Code to contain redeeming social value.

This, on reflection, is wise. Of course, journalism is transitory, fleeting, used next day to wrap the haddock in. Yet it is the particular oddity of Hill journalism that it leaves no impression whatsoever. Somehow towards the end of the first paragraph, the inner eye fidgets, glazes over, turns off.

"Long term problems require long term solutions." W.A. Wilson of the Montreal Star. Or again:

"Sometimes he (The Prime Minister) meanders thought-

fully on to outline what he sees as the most important issues facing Canada and what politics should be about at this moment in history." Anthony Westell of the Toronto Star.

Yet this is not true of the output put out by the King of the Gallery, Charles B. Lynch, Southam anchor man, harmonica player extraordinary and winner of the Bowater* Award for journalism. In an age when journalism has become a branch of the social services, Lynch can throw around pollution counts like a tyro, while still preserving an affection for the Monarchy, the Rideau Club and the Denholm Angling Club.

True, there is no record of any substantial contribution to the world's body of information: one book, on China, with the slightly Ripley-Believe-it-or-not title: "China, one-fourth of the world."

Then there are the dispatches from various arts and parts: in Vietnam, he notes the girls — "lovely little dolls," to whom in a gesture of typical gallantry, he awards "their rightful place atop the feminine heap." (The bottom part of this heap is occupied by "the ladies of Red China in their shirts and baggy pants.") Lynch the traveller: "I believe in Indonesia," or again, "My favorite vacation spot, when there is no work to do and when Great Events have been put aside, is Hawaii."

Not to be overlooked is Lynch the gourmet: "... the great meals I have eaten, the best of which would have to be Peking Duck, closely followed by Calgary Steak, trailed only slightly by an assortment of repasts in London, notably at Wheeler's."

Nevertheless the Southam chief has his detractors. His breezy optimism, his insistence on publicizing his whimsical, almost fey adventures with the rod in Laurentian lakes, his warm affection for the Royal Family, and particularly for the young Prince Charles with whom Lynch became intimate while they were touring the North together, all of these have led less able colleagues to label him the Scotty Reston of the hardware merchant set. And yet in a country where roughly half of the male population lines up every Saturday morning outside the local Canadian Tire, there is something to be said for the assuring presence, in the news media, of an ever-present, genial Mr. Fxit.

His copy from the Hill has remained constant over the years, although an initial concern about the Prime Minister seems to have given way to an avuncular and, on the whole, approving interest.

It is, in its own way, appropriate that the head of the country and the head of Southam's should finally have come to a conjunction. They are probably the two most powerful men in the nation, at least in terms of audience ratings. (Although, salary-wise, Lynch is still slightly ahead.) More importantly, the two men share certain basic assumptions.

For both of them — the one representing the fourth estate, the other the State — share an agnostic view of human progress. It is not too fanciful perhaps to imagine somewhere on that conservative plateau where the hardware merchant and the ghost of Bernanos clasp hands and gaze bemusedly at the brazen **chutzpah** of the Enlightenment, these two powerful Canadians may meet and discover a common quiddity.

And there we may leave them. On Parliament Hill. Behind them, the sulphurous cancer of the Eddy plant; in front, the sightless windows of the American Embassy, square and squat across Wellington Street.

*Pronounced Booter. It sells newsprint.

Patrick MacFadden is a member of the Last Post editorial co-operative.



The great Canadian train robbery

by Robert Chodos

The train's pretty full tonight," said one conductor to another as the Canadian Pacific Railway's sleek *Canadian* headed through the smoky industrial area of Montreal toward Windsor Station, coming in from Ottawa on the final leg of its transcontinental trip.

"It usually is," said the other conductor. "They could fill another Ottawa-Montreal train too if they scheduled it properly. But they won't."

"It doesn't make any sense," agreed the first conductor. "Crazy company we work for."

If they thought that their employer had lost the business acumen and eye for profit that had built it into a conglomerate with a net income of \$80 million a year, they needn't have worried. For making money on its passenger services is not part of Canadian Pacific's grand design. In fact, on some of its passenger runs, it is to the ultimate corporate benefit of Canadian Pacific to lose as much money as it can.

It has been a long time since the CPR has even made any pretense of wanting to be in the passenger business. Five years ago the late Robert A. Emerson, then CPR president, said that he could "see no prospect of being able to attract to passenger trains people in sufficient numbers at prices they are willing to pay to defray the expenses incurred," and every CPR executive who has felt it necessary to express himself on the subject of passengers has echoed that position. However, Emerson and his successors have sometimes tried to give the

impression that they have tried everything to make rail travel attractive, only to be spurned by an unappreciative public. The facts are somewhat different.

Under the National Transportation Act, passed by the Pearson government in 1967, a railway wishing to abandon a passenger service or branch line must first prove that it is losing money on the service to the satisfaction of the Canadian Transport Commission, the body set up by the government to administer transportation policy. Then the CTC, after considering "all matters that in its opinion are relevant to the public interest", will rule on whether the railway can go ahead and abandon it. If it rules that it is not in the public interest for the service to be abandoned, the railway must keep it going and the government will subsidize its losses on the service to the extent of 80 per cent.

Two years after the Act was passed, the railways made their first applications for abandonment. The government-owned Canadian National Railways applied to abandon thirteen of its passenger runs, mostly serving out-of-the-way towns where there are few, if any, alternatives to rail transportation. The CPR applied to abandon its entire passenger service except for its Montreal commuter routes.

The CTC is expected, although not required, to hold public hearings on applications for abandonment (Transport Minister Don Jamieson assured the House of Commons last fall that everyone would get a chance to say his piece, noting that under the National Transportation Act "the public interest is quite well protected"), and it decided to begin in Guelph and Owen Sound, Ontario, with hearings on the abandonment of passenger links between those communities and Toronto.

From the railways' point of view, the experiment with public hearings was a disastrous failure. University professors, housewives, students, provincial government economists, commuters all turned up with evidence that service should be continued.

The CPR decided that, in its next move, it should proceed with somewhat more circumspection. In cancelling three of its five Ottawa-Montreal trains, it would make sure that it had built up an incontrovertible case that the runs were uneconomic. And it would, if possible, try to avoid public hearings.

To achieve its first goal, it rescheduled its trains to make them as inconvenient as possible. A morning train was pushed forward from 8 am to 11:30 am, to render it useless for people who wanted to make a one-day trip. An evening train from Ottawa to Montreal was rescheduled to pass through Montreal West station at 9:50 — missing a connection for New York by five minutes.

Meal service was curtailed, and prices were raised. A bacon-and-eggs breakfast that had cost \$1.95 now cost \$2.75 à la carte (including 20 cents for toast, 30 cents for marmalade or jam, and 40 cents for tea or coffee).

CPR trains, instead of attracting an average of 150 customers, now attracted an average of 40.

Then the railway, complaining that it was losing money, announced that it would cut out three trains daily in each direction on August 1, leaving only the Montreal-Ottawa leg of the *Canadian* and one other train in service. And since this was only a reduction of service and not a discontinuance, it claimed the right to do this without getting permission from the CTC.

The CTC, and its chairman Jack Pickersgill, agreed to

the CPR's definition of its powers. It raised no objection to the dropping of the Montreal-Ottawa trains, although there were outcries from everyone from the Canadian Railway Labor Association to *The Montreal Star*.

Meanwhile, a larger battle was shaping up. Among the trains the CPR had applied to discontinue was the *Canadian*, the last remnant of its once-proud transcontinental service. The CTC said no, and told the CPR to prepare a 'rationalization' plan to cut the *Canadian's* losses. The CPR's plan, submitted on July 20, the deadline given by the CTC, included reducing the *Canadian* to three days a week, except in peak periods, and cutting out dining and sleeping car service. Again, customers would be driven away and it would be only a matter of time before the *Canadian* was dropped completely.

Unable to escape public hearings, the CTC proceeded to schedule them for the most inconvenient possible time — mid-to late-August, when many people would be on vacation, when farmers would be out harvesting, and before anyone except the CPR would have time to prepare briefs.

Faced with protests over the timing, Pickersgill, who hadn't spent half his life with the likes of Mackenzie King and Paul Martin without learning how to weasel out of a question, said the possibility of holding hearings at places east of Winnipeg had been under study, and in order to provide the 60-day postponement requested by anyone with reasonable grounds for a delay, the Commission is willing to hold additional hearings after the end of September. However, "the Commission has decided to proceed with the hearings as announced, in order to give Canadian Pacific an opportunity to elaborate on its proposals, to be questioned on them, and to enable other parties to proceed with their submissions, if they are ready to do so." On the key question of whether additional hearings would be held in the west, Pickersgill said nothing.

The CPR's tactics, and the government's docility, were a familiar story. For the CPR had once had three daily transcontinental trains. One was dropped in 1959, and in August, 1965, the railway announced that it would drop a second one, the *Dominion*, on September 7. The Board of Transport Commissioners, predecessor to the CTC, on September 1 issued an order that "the Canadian Pacific Railway Company shall continue to operate the present passenger service provided by the *Dominion* until the Board orders otherwise."

Prevented from dropping the *Dominion*, the CPR did the next best thing. The *Dominion* that left Montreal for Vancouver on December 7, 1965 had no sleeping cars or dining cars — it consisted of an engine, a baggage car, and two coaches. Passengers stayed away in droves. On September 28, the CPR again asked for permission to drop the *Dominion*. Again, the BTC said no.

At subsequent public hearings, the BTC was faced with unkind remarks about the way the CPR had "complied" with its order. Chief commissioner Rod Kerr replied that "the basic purpose of the Board Order was to continue the *Dominion*. Seasonal changes in the consist of the train have been made from time to time and the Board did not treat the Order, regardless of the fact that it was and is susceptible perhaps to a different interpretation, the Board did not treat the Order as precluding the company from initiating such changes, such seasonal changes."

Meanwhile, the CPR claimed that it had to cancel the *Dominion* because it needed the diesel power to haul the wheat that the Canadian government had just sold to the Soviet Union. This, however, was evidently an afterthought, since even CPR president Emerson admitted that "before advice was received by Company officers from the Government of the proposed increase in wheat sales to Russia, plans for the discontinuation of the *Dominion* were well under way, although no decision had been announced."

On January 7, 1966, the BTC authorized the CPR to drop the *Dominion*. By January 11, the *Dominion* had vanished without a trace. The Board said it might require the CPR to revive the *Dominion* for the busy summer season, or perhaps for the Centennial travel boom in 1967, but it never did.

"My politics? Railways are my politics!"

— Sir Allan MacNab, Prime Minister of Canada, 1854

Friendship and co-operation between the Canadian Pacific Railway and the government of Canada are not recent innovations. For the building of the CPR in the 1880's was not the work of a small group of entrepreneurs, acting alone. It was a public project, paid for largely by the Canadian people. It was the centrepin in the vision of a native Canadian capitalist class just recently come to life and soon to die in infancy. Prussia under Frederick the Great was said to have been not a state with an army, but an army with a state. Canada in the 1880's was not a country with a railway, but a railway with a country.

The building of the CPR was the climax of a railway boom that had begun twenty years earlier, when Canadian businessmen-politicians had stopped simply granting land to each other and started granting railway charters as well. The origins of that boom were not in any move to create an independent Canadian economy. In 1849, Montreal's leading capitalists had signed a manifesto that Canada be annexed by the United States, and the first railways were built in that same spirit.

Their purpose was to provide convenient routes between the fast-growing American West and east-coast ports in the United States. The Grand Trunk Railway, the high point of this first orgy of Canadian railway building (2000 miles of road were constructed between 1850 and 1860), ran from southern Ontario through Montreal to Portland, Maine. The Grand Trunk specialized in good relations with guardians of the public purse: several leading citizens of the 1850's simultaneously held executive positions in the Grand Trunk Railway, the Bank of Montreal, and the government of Canada. Another Grand Trunk potentate was Alexander Tilloch Galt, commissioner of the British-American Land Company, who considered "the interests of the Company and of the country to be identical."

With government loans of £3000 per mile of road built (Canada's public debt increased from \$12 per capita in 1852 to \$30 per capita in 1867, almost entirely as a result of railway building), the Grand Trunk prospered. And so, almost despite itself, did native Canadian industry. For although the railway boom began in response to American needs, it could not but help spark an industrial revolution in Canada — first the building of railway equip-

ment, then other industries, started to spring up. A proposal for a political unification of the colonies, which held out the promise of a common market and the possibility of more railways, sprang up with it. The railway-promoter/banker/politicians would soon be seen in yet another guise: Fathers of Confederation.

Galt joined the cabinet of Georges-Etienne Cartier (also a Grand Trunk man) and John A. Macdonald in 1858 as finance minister, exacting a promise that the government embody in its program a proposal for a federal union of Canada, the Maritimes, and the northwest territories.

When Canada and the Maritimes united in 1867, the links were to be secured by the long-awaited Intercolonial Railway, to bring Maritime resources down to Upper Canada. Some, however, entertained a still wider vision. Manitoba and the northwest territories entered Confederation in 1870, and when British Columbia was negotiating entry a year later, its delegation — made up of representatives of British capital and Canadian investors — demanded a wagonroad to the Pacific as a condition of union. The easterners promised them something even better: a railway.

Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald immediately set about fulfilling the promise. He awarded the contract to a syndicate called the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, headed by Sir Hugh Allan of Montreal, along with a subsidy of \$30 million in cash and 50 million acres of land along the main line, plus additional land subsidies for the branches. But when it was revealed that Sir Hugh had enriched the coffers of Sir John A.'s Conservative Party by \$300,000, the Pacific railway project and the Macdonald government both came crashing down.

The succeeding Reform administration of Alexander Mackenzie was not nearly as committed to building railways. And besides, the boom-and-bust economic cycle had just entered one of its prolonged busts. Railway building under Mackenzie was limited to the construction, as government projects, of lines where no water transportation was available. But with the upturn in the economy in 1878 and the return of the Conservatives in the elections of that year, interest in the idea of a Pacific railway revived. Within three years, a new Canadian Pacific Railway Company had been formed.

The new syndicate, headed by Montreal financiers George Stephen (later Lord Mount Stephen) and Donald Smith (later Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal), avoided the mistakes of the old. The government chipped in with a grant of \$25 million and 25 million acres of land. As well, it turned over to the CPR the lines that had been built under the Mackenzie administration at a cost of \$38 million dollars. Far-reaching tax exemptions were thrown in too, along with a provision that the company would have a monopoly of western traffic for twenty years.

In return, the CPR promised "the completion and perpetual and efficient operation of the railway."

British and French backing was rounded up for the project. William Van Horne was brought in from the United States to run the show. Immigrants were brought in from Europe to do the actual work — cheaply. More government assistance was repeatedly asked for (the company was constantly on the verge of bankruptcy) and obtained. By 1885, less than five years after it had started construction, the CPR had fulfilled the first part of its bargain. The last spike was driven in at Craigellachie, and

the railway was completed. In June, 1886, service was begun between Montreal and Port Moody, B.C., fourteen miles east of Vancouver.

But already, the company had more than a railway. It had the land (total grants in the end came to 36,370,828 acres, by the company's own figures), which it gradually sold off to settlers and land companies, carefully retaining the rights to the minerals underneath. It bought its first steamships in 1884, and opened its first hotels in 1886 (its hotels now include the Empress in Victoria, the Saskatchewan in Regina, the Royal York in Toronto, the Château Champlain in Montreal, and the Château Frontenac in Quebec City).

When the CPR wanted to buy a railway charter in the Crow's Nest Pass area from one F. Augustus Heinze in the 1890's, it found that a smelter at Trail came as part of the bargain. To keep the smelter going, it began to buy mines in the area, eventually acquiring the Sullivan Mine at Kimberley, B.C., now one of the world's largest lead-zinc mines. The mining and smelting properties grew into the giant Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company (Cominco), 53% owned by Canadian Pacific. In the 1920s people began to complain that sulphur from the smelter at Trail was killing vegetation in the area, and when the complaints started becoming lawsuits the company decided to recover the sulphur instead, and went into the fertilizer business. It now also has a potash mine near Saskatoon, a 69% share of the rich Pine Point mine in the Northwest Territories, a 9.03% share of Panarctic Oils Ltd., now busily engaged in drilling for oil in the Canadian north (Canadian Pacific Oil and Gas, another CPR subsidiary, has an additional 9.03% share), and mining and manufacturing operations in Japan, India, and the United States among its diverse interests.

The company's entry into oil and gas came much later. Oil was discovered on its property at Leduc, Alta., in 1947, but it had leased the land to oil companies and cashed in primarily in the form of rents, reservation fees, and production royalties. In the late fifties it began its own drilling program in Alberta, and in 1964 began to explore for oil and gas in the North Sea off Great Britain.

Marathon Realty, yet another subsidiary, owns Place du Canada in Montreal, Palliser Square in Calgary, Project 200 in Vancouver, and industrial parks in Montreal, Sudbury, Calgary, and Edmonton. Pacific Logging Co. Ltd. carries out logging operations on Vancouver Island, and operates a lumber processing complex in the Kootenays.

CP Air began as a small feeder operation, and, with a government only too willing to grant it lucrative routes, now has passenger revenues of more than \$100 million a year, with flights from Canada to Australia, Holland, Southern Europe, and Latin America. In 1958 it was first allowed into the rich transcontinental domestic market — until then the exclusive preserve of the publicly-owned Air Canada — with one flight a day, which the Air Transport Board justified on the grounds of linking its international gateway terminals. By 1970, CP Air had seven transcontinental "executive jets" daily.

By 1962, Canadian Pacific interests had become so widespread that a separate company, Canadian Pacific Investments, was set up to manage the non-transportation part of the operation. The net income of Investments in 1968 was \$41,902,000.

By contrast, the CPR's total income from rail passenger transportation in that year was \$13,421,720.



"The public generally, and businessmen specifically, must come to realize that it is just as moral and just as praiseworthy to operate a railway, an airline, or a trucking firm at a profit as it is to make a profit manufacturing motor cars or packing meat or making steel."

— Hon. Jack Pickersgill, June 9, 1970

On October 28, 1960, Robert Emerson, then a CPR vice-president, appeared before the MacPherson Royal Commission on Transportation, to present the railway's brief on passenger service. Emerson said that the CPR firmly opposed the idea of maintaining unprofitable passenger runs or branch lines by federal subsidies; he called it a "flagrant misuse" of federal money to perpetuate these "uneconomic" services (the irony of the CPR's coming out against federal subsidies has been noted).

And the only thing that was preventing the railways from getting rid of passenger services as they wished was public opinion.

"The passenger deficit," Emerson said, "is a problem which is within the power of railway management to rectify, given a realistic public climate and reasonable regulation."

He called for legislation to permit the railways to get rid of losing passenger or branch line facilities without a major fuss from the communities affected. He insisted that "passenger train service on Canadian Pacific is no longer required for the economic well-being of Canada."

The MacPherson Report, presented to the government in 1961, did not embody all the CPR's proposals.

It did, however, accept their basic philosophy, which was that railways were to be operated for profit. It suggested that the government should largely keep its nose

out of the transportation business, and that "competition" should be the main regulatory factor.

This was, in effect, a ratification of a CPR corporate policy that had let passenger equipment deteriorate while pouring capital into freight equipment and drilling for oil, because that was where the profits were to be made.

But not quite. The MacPherson Report did not totally abandon the proposition that the railways had a public service to provide. It recommended, for instance, that the government control railway freight rates in cases where shippers had no other recourse (although it suggested the removal of all other freight rate controls — freight revenues of both major railways have shot up since the MacPherson Report was implemented in the National Transportation Act of 1967). And it also recommended that the government subsidize passenger routes and branch lines that could not possibly make money but are necessary for the public interest.

On the whole, however, the MacPherson Report responded to what the railways wanted, and the railways were happy with it.

Nevertheless, it was at this time that Canadian National Railways embarked on a challenge to the established truth that railway passenger service was a moribund institution. The CNR had always been something of an ugly stepchild to Canadian Pacific: it had started life in 1919 when the government took over two bankrupt railways, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern. A few years later, the government tacked on the venerable



CPR President Sinclair

Grand Trunk Railway, which had also fallen on hard times, and other smaller roads. It was not until the post-war régime of Donald Gordon, when a massive modernization program was undertaken, that the CNR became anything like an efficient, productive railway.

There has always been a certain ambiguity surrounding the nature of the CNR: its executives, by and large, have regarded it as a business to be run like any other, but it was impossible to escape entirely the idea that, as a publicly-owned utility, the CNR had a responsibility to the public as well as to itself. And the same ambiguity pervaded the heresy that the CNR proclaimed in the 1960s. In a speech to the Moncton Board of Trade in 1965, Pierre Delagrave, then vice-president for passenger sales and services, said that "I cannot stress too strongly that CN is in the passenger business to make a profit

— sooner or later." But in the same speech he admitted that the best CN might be able to do was break even, or cut its losses to a minimum. Nobody at CN ever expected to reach the break-even profit before the early 1970s.

At any rate, CN plunged into the passenger business headfirst. It reduced fares drastically on many runs. In 1962, it introduced its red, white, and blue fare plan, with cheaper fares on non-peak travel days, in the Maritimes. The experiment was a success, and the next year it expanded red, white, and blue to include the whole system. When in 1965 the CPR pulled out of pool train agreements in the Montreal-Ottawa-Toronto triangle, CN introduced its Rapido — Montreal to Toronto non-stop in five hours. The ill-starred TurboTrain, when it functions properly, reduces travel time by yet another hour. Bistro cars with live entertainment, computerized reservations, and heavy, heavy advertising were further innovations.

The response was encouraging. The number of passengers carried jumped by 14% in the single year between 1963 and 1964. Passenger revenues rose from \$48 million in 1961 to \$84 million in 1967.

Meanwhile, Ian Sinclair, the CPR's new president, sat back and said "I think they are wrong. Based on all the information I have and based on all the judgements I can give it, we know they are wrong."

In CN's top management, the faction that agreed with Sinclair was winning out. Pierre Delagrave, the most enthusiastic supporter of passenger service and the architect of CN's passenger policy, left the railway in late 1965 for Domtar Ltd. By May, 1969, Robert Bandede, CNR vice-president for corporate planning and finance, was saying that continuing passenger rail service in Canada "doesn't make any economic sense." He called the subsidies paid the railways by the federal government a glaring example of wasted financial resources in the transportation industry, and said the CNR and the CPR should get out of the passenger business.

How large a part the passage of the National Transportation Act in 1967 played in this change in CN policy is not clear. The MacPherson Report, the basis for the Act, was supported by CN top executives, including Delagrave, even while the passenger experiment was in full swing.

However, the Act was the product of the same kind of thinking as the new CN policy — the same kind of thinking that could allow Robert Emerson, when reminded of his company's pledge of "perpetual and efficient operation of the railway" during the hearings on the *Dominion* in 1965, to say that "efficient operation" meant "profitable operation."

In the new era of railways-for-profit, the chief guardian of the public interest was to be the Canadian Transport Commission, set up under the Act. Those who hoped the CTC would perform that function effectively were not reassured when transport minister Jack Pickersgill, who had just helped create the \$40,000-a-year job of CTC chairman, promptly appointed himself to fill it. They have been further dismayed by the Commission's polite attitude toward the railways.

Perhaps the most disturbing thing of all was Pickersgill's remarkable speech of June 9, 1970, to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in Montreal.

It was that speech which prompted Maurice Wright, lawyer for the Canadian Railway Labor Association, to bring the August 17 Winnipeg hearing on the *Canadian*

to a halt with a demand (rejected by the courts) that Pickersgill be disqualified from participating in the hearings. The CTC chairman, Wright said, had clearly shown his bias in favor of the railways.

In the June 9 speech, Pickersgill emphasized the need to get rid of "uneconomic services and facilities which are no longer required in the public interest."

He called this "a process which is going to be painful in the short run, but highly beneficial to the public and the treasury in the longer run."

"To be carried out successfully, public understanding and support for the process of rationalization and modernization will be indispensable."

Familial sentiments when spoken by CPR and, latterly, CNR executives, but more worthy of attention when coming from a guardian of the public interest: "It is essential that, so far as possible, transport services be operated on business-like lines with economic viability as the main test of efficiency and adequacy."

However, some people have begun to insist on other criteria for the value of passenger services than the CPR's profit margins.

At the Guelph hearings in April, Kirk Foley, a transportation economist with the Ontario government, demonstrated that if the Guelph-Toronto run were discontinued, Ontario would have to make an immediate expenditure of \$4 million on roads to prevent the level of highway service from seriously degenerating. And further expenditures would be necessary in the future.

Foley also pointed out that the government of Canada runs its 190 airports at an annual deficit of \$57 million. As well, it spends \$121 million a year for communication, navigational aids, and meteorological services — a large proportion of which can be regarded as a direct subsidy to airlines.

This suggests that the government is subsidizing airlines to an extent exceeding the \$68 million it will hand over to the railways in 1970. And this does not take into account the losses the government will take on the \$644 million cost of the new Montreal international airport at Ste-Scholastique and the \$200 to \$300 million cost of expanding the Toronto International Airport.

Nor, in terms of total expenditure of resources, does it take into account the tax loss on underused lands around airports, or the distortion of highway needs that airports entail.

Rail transportation can also be offered at a much lower price than air travel: when a Turbotrain is in full operation, its per-seat running cost is one third that of an airplane. It is not the poor who will benefit from the new international airports.

Another witness at Guelph, landscape architect William Coates, pointed to the horrible example of San Francisco:

"In the middle 1950s, a good, high-speed electric railway, the Key system, served the eastern side of the San Francisco Bay area connecting the cities of Berkeley and Oakland with San Francisco. Local authorities allowed this line to suspend operations in response to financial pressures and the entire system was dismantled.

"Invaluable right-of-way property was sliced up like so much sausage and sold piecemeal. Private automobiles and buses fulfilled the need and contributed to the growing smog blanket. In 1962, seven years later, the electorate of the same area, strangling on exhaust fumes, inad-

equated freeways, and limited parking in San Francisco voted a \$792 million bond issue to build a new high-speed electric railway, the Bay Area Rapid Transit, to service the same area plus some new communities. A substantial portion of the \$792 million was used to buy new rights-of-way along original Key route lines.

"This was anything but common-sense, comprehensive long-range planning."

One well-known fact about the automobile is its insatiability. Studies done in the early sixties showed that land used for a four-track railway would provide seven times more passenger-miles than if the same land were used for a four-lane highway.

In the United States, where the automobile is king, Congress authorized the \$41-billion Interstate highway system in 1956. With only 70 per cent of the system completed, \$41 billion has already been spent, and Congress will soon authorize an additional \$34 billion for Interstate highways. The U.S. National Organization of State Highway Officials estimates that "the national highway needs for the next 15 years will cost \$320 billion."

Meanwhile, other countries are demonstrating the advantages of rail passenger transport. In France, electric trains run at average speeds of 65 miles an hour. In Britain, upgraded train service between major cities has resulted in a 60 per cent increase in rail passengers. Japanese "Bullet" trains travelling at more than 130 mph carry 200,000 passengers a day in the heavily-populated Tokyo-Nagoya-Osaka areas.

In Australia, the state railway system of New South Wales carries 233 million commuters and 15 million long-distance travellers yearly. "We don't really expect to make profits from passengers," says Neal McCusker, head of the New South Wales system. "We make money from hauling freight and have a responsibility to the public to provide comfortable transport and an efficient commuter service at a reasonable cost."

Even in the United States, the last bastion (along with Canada) of the privately-owned railway, the introduction of the high-speed Metroliner increased rail passenger travel in the Boston-to-Washington corridor by 50 per cent.

All of which suggests that a comprehensive rail passenger system might be highly "economic" and "efficient" for Canada, if not for the CPR. This has been the basic point made by the Canadian Railway Labor Association, uniting several railway unions, in its fight against rail passenger abandonment. Its efforts have included participation in public hearings and a campaign to bring the issue to the attention of the public.

One person who was disturbed when the MacPherson Report was issued in 1961 was Jean Marchand, then president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions and now federal minister of regional economic expansion.

"Transportation policy," Marchand said, "is closely tied to economic planning and as such must be linked to the common good and not the profitability of private enterprise."

Try to tell that to the CPR, or to Jack Pickersgill.

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WADSWORTH

BOOK REVIEWS

Canada's First Century: by Donald Creighton. Macmillan.

Some one in 1946 asked Maynard Keynes if Britain was to be America's 49th state. "No such luck," he replied. Donald Creighton, history professor, Companion of the Order of Canada, in 1970 would reply to a similar question: "Unfortunately." To explain this process, Prof. Creighton has written a most important book that could have been entitled *Canada's First and Last Century*. It was not, and because of this suppressed optimism Creighton's *Canada's First Century* is more than a piece of Canadian historiography. It is a political document and as such must be located and understood.

As narrative history the book is an example of Canada's historical traditions. The tradition is great because it takes the country seriously, having its origins in the way John A. Macdonald viewed the country. *Canada's First Century* is a highly readable work by one of Canada's greatest historians, writing in Canadian history's greatest

tradition, but Prof. Creighton has given us more than a highly readable work. His book is also an articulate conservative's reactions to the process of change that he sees. His reaction to changes leading to the end of the dream of Confederation feeds a pithy and invective prose that attacks a myopic continentalism. Where his earlier *Dominion of the North* was equivocal, *Canada's First Century* states the clear dangers for the survival of Canada as a significant fact. The material of *Canada's First Century* is in fact the background for *Grant's Lament for a Nation*.

The book is necessary reading for many. For that generation, now a majority of Canadians, which grew up around the Cold War, Creighton dispels many myths. For Europeans who may wonder where they are going, here is a futuristic story modelled on the model colony. Liberals should read it as an indictment. Conservatives who customarily tilt at windmills while an electric pump is being installed elsewhere should hire the professor as a policy adviser, although rumor has it that he votes NDP. The most doubtful, already considering Spain and Czechoslovakia as precursors to the future, may wish an elegant, compact summary of memories.

As theatre, *Canada's First Century* is worthy of a Governor-General's Award. The persecution and assassination of John George Diefenbaker by the Canadian and American press (is there a difference?) under the direction of John Fitzgerald Kennedy and the state department is there for all to see. Tickets can be had for the price of a continental energy policy.

Creighton's theme is sparse. In 1867 "politics and geography faced each other in an implacable confrontation." The Fathers of Confederation, desired a political union stretching from sea unto sea and a parliamentary system distinctly, for 1867, British-American. This desire became fact by the end of the First World War. Since then, beginning with Mackenzie King, the trend has been to bring continentalism "one long stage further towards its final triumph."

Canada's dubious and ambiguous diplomatic responses to the Commonwealth and finally the Cold War sealed her fate. Acceptance of the presumptuous Truman doctrine and its consequences, Korea, the Suez, Bomarcus and Cuba were part of continentalism. These were not the high points of a Canadian diplomacy but rather signs of ineptitude, diplomatic confusion and subservience.

Diefenbaker, the one exception in a dreary procession of continentalists, was defeated on the orders of the U.S. State Department, as Creighton has pointed out. Other factors also conspired to cause his downfall. The tragic flaw of the Conservatives and Diefenbaker was the lack of a comprehensive and coherent body of doctrine. Without this a strategy was impossible, and the Conservatives and Diefenbaker fell easy prey to an angered state department quite accustomed to arranging changes of government and coups.

In his presentation of these crises, Creighton as narrative historian develops Mackenzie King and others as archetypes. Their personalities become the summation points of whole epochs. It is not that easy. The world is not run by men alone unless you speak metaphorically. In this sense the book is an extended metaphor almost beyond criticism. You accept the metaphor or you do not; there is little middle ground.

In one sense Diefenbaker's and Creighton's problems are one. The rhetoric of the Canadian dream is present, but the dream is short on content. The content of a Canadian dream must deal with that particular brand of American imperialism, the multi-national corporation. The Canadian state which in 1867 was predicated on the possibility of a Canadian capitalism was in trouble by the 1920s when massive American direct investment moved into Canada. Since that time dreams about a viable Canadian state based on the presence of Canadian capital have been just that — dreams.

In *Canada's First Century*, this weakness is especially apparent when Creighton deals with Quebec. It is true that one way to handle the contradictions of Quebec is to assume them within a larger viable nation state. Such a nation state is impossible without a national centre of opposition to the branch plant. In the absence of such an opposition, disadvantaged regions have no choice but to go it alone. Separatism, regional development in the absence of a national plan, upstart provincial premiers and housing crises are in part manifestations of the imperialism that is the branch plant.

Canada as a nation-state owed its existence to British imperial protection and the hope that an independent Canadian capitalist class would develop. The particular form of Canadian democracy was a reaction to the American democracy which had collapsed in a civil war. The most important development in Canadian history after

Confederation, the erosion of statehood after 1920, was never decided in an election. The process of continentalism was furthered by private agreements between presidents and prime ministers or by orders-in-council. The forms of Canadian democracy are dying and neither the existing political parties nor Creighton is adept at proposing realistic alternatives.

However Donald Creighton, history professor, Companion of the Order of Canada, knows his country is in danger, which is why he has written a most important book. Which is reason enough that it should be read.

By David Black

Close the 49th Parallel: edited by Ian Lumsden. University of Toronto Press.

Gordon to Watkins to You: edited by Dave Godfrey and Mel Watkins. New Press.

These books are one sign that the United States and its Canadian allies in high places have gone too far, too fast, in their generally successful policy of integrating Canada in the American empire. Opposition there has always been, but not opposition as articulate as this.

The writers are not in positions of power, but neither are they negligible. Of the 21 authors who appear in *Close the 49th Parallel*, no fewer than 19 are clearly noted as academics; most are political scientists, historians or economists; half are at the University of Toronto or York University. The book itself is published by the prestigious University of Toronto Press. The three leading members of the Waffle group within the New Democratic Party — Mel Watkins, Cy Gonick and James Laxer — are among the contributors.

Considering that English Canadian intellectuals have generally been either propagandists for the American empire or indifferent to the country's fate, it is obviously significant that many of them, associated with prominent institutions, should now be working for an independent, socialist Canada.

One of the pre-conditions for revolution described by the historian Crane Brinton in his *Anatomy of Revolution* is a phenomenon he calls "the desertion of the intellectuals" (about which Marx also had a good deal to say). When Brinton looked at the pre-revolutionary situation in 17th century England, in 18th century America and France

and in 20th century Russia, he found that one common theme was a massive rejection by many intellectuals of the existing social order in favor of an alternative ideal. Much more was involved than the normal alienation of writers and scholars; there was a commitment to a new vision of society.

Something similar has been happening in English Canada during the past few years. Not that Canada is on the verge of revolution: that requires far more than a "desertion of the intellectuals" and in any event, the numbers involved are not that large. But the contradictions in Canadian society that could lead to a national liberation movement are present, and are having their logical result.

The ruling Canadian elites — businessmen, civil service mandarins, politicians — have been quite successful since the Second World War in maintaining the fiction of a liberal, capitalist, independent Canada on the one hand, while they progressively sold the country's industry and resources to the United States on the other.

There was no lack of excuses, picked up and pushed unconsciously or deliberately by the country's opinion makers — the "Cold War" that required a close alliance with the United States for the defence of freedom; the high standard of living that Canadians wanted and deserved, and could only get through importing American capital; those "basic economic institutions" that remained Canadian, and which were said to guarantee final Canadian control of the economy; the old laissez-faire myth that economics had nothing to do with political independence anyway.

These ideas are no longer having the same success. The extension of American control has gone too far, and the facts have become too well-known, for the fiction to live much longer. The left-hand can no longer get along without knowing what the right-hand is selling.

For example, intellectuals with any degree of honesty are increasingly being placed in a position where they must make a decision — admit that Canada is the leading colony within the American empire and approve it on that basis, or else get involved in a struggle to liberate the country by writing or speaking of the situation, and by advocating the only solution, a socialist Canada.

This is precisely what the authors of these books are doing. *49th Parallel*, for example, contains studies of such things as the branch plant economy,

the political decay that accompanies Americanization, the country's satellite role in the American defence network, foreign domination of the mass media, the sell-out of resources, the fate of Canada's "national" sport, and others.

Gordon to Watkins to You chronicles some of the events that have taken many along the road from supporting an independent capitalist Canada to seeking an independent socialist country.

These essays show convincingly that a socialist Canada is not possible without independence; and conversely, for those whose traditional pre-occupation has been nationalism, that an independent Canada is not possible without socialism. A country that was both capitalist and in control of its own destiny might, at one time, have been possible, if the English Canadian elites had been made of sterner stuff. They were not, and their day is almost over. With the exception of the few large Canadian corporations that continue to exist — often on American suzerainty and with American financial backing — the Canadian elites have reduced themselves to a role of managers within the American empire. The foundations for an independent, capitalist Canada no longer exist. Socialism today requires the liberation of the country; and the liberation of the country requires socialism. The movement that has resulted is perfectly natural, and only what had to be expected in a country reduced to a colony.

Needless to say, the country's ruling elites are not ignoring what is happening. They know that their propaganda defence of Americanization is failing to convince, and is meeting growing opposition.

Some of them are trying to meet their socialist opponents by doing the only thing they can: attempting to shore up the idea that, even if the American take-over has gone far, it hasn't gone so far that a socialist Canada is the only (let alone the desirable) solution, and that an independent capitalist Canada can still be built.

It is, of course, farcical to suppose that the men who sold out the country will want, or be able, to buy it back. But they have to do something to head off the supporters of socialism, and some of them are now trying to do so.

The Commons external affairs committee has done its thing by recommending in principle 51 per cent Canadian ownership of Canadian indus-

tries; the Cabinet is forever declared to be preparing guidelines on foreign ownership; after a very hesitant start, the government realized it could make propaganda mileage by proclaiming Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic waters; a uranium company has been prevented from selling out to the Yanks; and at least one major newspaper, the *Toronto Daily Star*, flaunts Canadian nationalism day after day while continuing to support the Liberal Party, the main agency of the American take-over.

The bankruptcy of what remains of the national capitalist approach to Canadian independence is well shown by what the ruling elites did to former Finance Minister Walter Gordon in the early 1960s when he mounted his campaign against the American economic take-over. The battle is discussed in *Gordon to Watkins to You*. Gordon was unquestionably sincere. The measures he advocated were not very radical. But at that time the socialist, and hence the nationalist, movement was weak. There was no need to humor Gordon or his few followers. And he was not humored. Combining ruthlessness and hysteria, the elites cornered him and drove him from power.

Today they would act differently. They would throw him a few concessions and try to use him as a front man to hide the immense give-aways taking place in most areas of the economy. The attitude those people showed to Gordon at a time when they felt no need to co-opt nationalism shows up the insincerity of the few nationalist noises being made in Ottawa today.

None of these jousts after an independent capitalist Canada is going to work; the most that will be done will be equivalent to removing two or three bricks from the top floor of a 60-story building. But then none of them is really meant to work. They are meant to be propaganda to head off the signs that a Canadian national liberation movement may be in the offing.

No such movement can, or should be built by intellectuals alone. But scholars can provide an important service by documenting the Canadian situation and developing the alternatives. This is what is now happening, and these two books are important illustrations of the extent to which the old, official line on Canada is running into a dead end.

By D. Burgess

The Mackenzie — Papineau Battalion: by Victor Hoar. Research Associate: Mac Reynolds. Copp-Clark.

*All the world is like this valley called Jarama
So green and so bright and so fair
No fascists can dwell in our valley
Nor breathe in our freedom's air.*

Spanish Civil War song

There is no Canadian city of any size that does not have a monument to the men who went to Europe to fight Hitler or the Kaiser and never came back. But for another group of Canadian war dead, there is no monument, and, until the publication of Victor Hoar's book, no memorial of any kind. In the year since the book came out, they have still not received the attention they deserve.

The Canadians who fought for the Spanish Republic had to endure not only the inestimable hardships of war in Spain but opposition and hostility in Canada as well. On April 10, 1937, just as the campaign to recruit Canadian volunteers for Spain was at its height, Parliament passed the Foreign Enlistment Act, making it an offence to accept or agree to accept "any commission of engagement in the armed forces of any foreign state at war with a friendly state." Three months later, the Act was applied to service in Spain. When the volunteers returned at the end of 1938, the RCMP wanted to deny them entry to Canada. Cooler heads in the immigration department overruled them.

Unlike the American contingent, which contained a large proportion of teachers and students (although there were many truck drivers and seamen as well), the Canadian volunteers were recruited almost entirely from the working class. Many came out of Canada's vast army of unemployed, and were veterans of the relief camps, the On-to-Ottawa Trek, and the battle of Regina. A large number were immigrants — Finns from Northern Ontario, Ukrainians from the prairies, Hungarians, Poles, Czechs. In all, more than 1200 Canadians went to Spain — the largest contribution per capita of any country except France.

They fought in some of the most terrible battles that had ever been waged — Jarama, Teruel, the Retreats. At first they fought as part of the American Lincoln and Washington Battalions — and suffered from "the tendency on the part of a certain section of the American political and intellectual coterie to regard the Canadian cousins as

poor relations," as Canadian volunteer Ronald Liversedge described it. It was only as a result of rivalry between American and British volunteers that the Canadians eventually got their own battalion — the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion of the XVth International Brigade. American military and political leadership of the Battalion continued to the end.

Some of the names in Hoar's straightforward narrative are familiar — Dr. Norman Bethune, who set up a blood transfusion unit in Spain before going on to China; architect Hazen Zise, who assisted Bethune; Graham Spry, the editor of Canadian Forum, one of the leaders of the Spanish Aid Committee in Canada; another of the members of the Committee, Tim Buck of the Canadian Communist Party, which was the main organizational force behind the volunteer effort.

Most of the others have been forgotten. Forgotten too, in these days when Spain is a popular vacation spot for Canadian tourists and Gen. Franco is our friend and ally, is the passion and sense of commitment to a struggle that the war in Spain aroused.

It is worth remembering that more than three hundred Canadians died in that struggle.

By Robert Chodos

Sanity, Madness and the Family: by R.D. Laing and A. Esterton. Penguin Books.

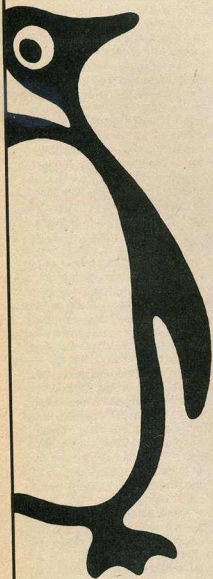
Few people today — faced with the evidence of ongoing war, poverty, injustice — would dare to say that we live in a happy and peaceful world. Useless to deny, the story goes, that some "tragic mistakes" have been made. But, praise God, mistakes can be corrected (for they are only mistakes, after all). Before long, if we trust our leaders, life will return to normal.

For those who are still not convinced, we have some forceful arguments. How can we be wrong about our vision of society when we look at all the people who are really crazy — the schizophrenics, the paranoiacs, the psychotics?

Mind you, we do everything in our power to prevent people from reaching this miserable state (or from becoming nuts — we're not quite sure whether to cry or laugh).

We oblige our children to go to school (for they have some crazy ideas at first). We don't encourage our mothers or our wives to have a life of their own

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Wherever good books are sold

outside the home (that's unnatural — it's unfortunate that the money does come in handy). And finally, we are doing our best to hang on to the traditional family structure (for it provides security, prosperity, uncraziness for one and all).

Sanity, Madness and the Family by Ronald D. Laing and A. Esterton was first published six years ago. Now available in paperback, it is accessible to more people. Its relevance to modern society is even clearer in 1970 in the light of the women's liberation movement of the last few years. For it is women and their families whom Laing and Esterton discuss.

Despite the strength of the prevailing myths of the society, a growing number of women, like other oppressed groups, are questioning the premises on which those myths rest. The book speaks to those people, and indeed to anyone who will listen. For it challenges the notion that we are sane people living in a sane world where occasional things go wrong.

The book suggests that "fact" is not fact, that conventional "wisdom" is not wisdom, that our perceptions of reality form part of that reality. For the authors "each person has his own centre with his own point of view." At this moment in history, women are becoming aware

of the realities of a male-dominated society.

Yet a person's view of the world does not arise from a vacuum. We respond and react to the views of those around us. For Laing and Esterton, "our interest is in persons always in relation either with us, or with each other, and always in the light of their group context, which in this work is primarily the family..."

We are asked to read the histories of women who have been deemed crazy or "schizophrenic" by society. We can decide for ourselves what legitimacy these judgements have.

To Laing and Esterton, it is meaningless to say that a person suffers "delusions of persecution", "withdrawal from external reality", "thought disorder", or in short "schizophrenia". For what is under discussion is the centre and the point of view of the "patient".

It is equally meaningless, then, to rely on the opinions of people around the "patient" (family, employer, psychiatrist). An essential part of the methodology used by the authors — one which underlines the radical difference from the clinical perspective — is the direct observation of "the members of the family 'together' as they actually interact with each other."

The task of the psychiatrist, suggest the authors, is not to accept schizophrenia as a fact, seeking to treat the causes (biochemical, neurophysiological, psychological) of the "illness". Instead, the psychiatrist can assist the "patient" in understanding the relationship of his or her experience and behavior towards the world, as it in turn relates to the experience and behavior of those around them. As Laing remarks elsewhere "the true field is inter-experience".

Using the concepts of Sartre, the authors seek to make evident ("socially intelligible") who is doing what in the group ("praxis") through finding out what is going on ("process").

In this book we meet eleven women, who along with their families were interviewed by the authors in England. Each chapter deals with a different family. One thread keeps reappearing: the mother's perception that her daughter's changed behavior signifies illness is equivalent to the daughter's perception that she is trying to achieve independence. This is illustrated in the following comment on one of the eleven: Mary says that what she is trying to do is *establish herself as a person*, especially towards her mother. She feels that her mother is killing her "personality" or "mind". She resents her

mother for this, but feels unable to get the better of her.

It is evident that the daughter's wish for autonomy from her mother (parallel to that of the son from his father) is heightened by the contradictions inherent in the position of women in today's world. To understate the case, the women in this book have been "overprotected" by their families. One had "never been so much as allowed out in the street unaccompanied in her whole life". The "protection" to which she was subjected, to which most women in our society are subjected to some degree, is of course an effective tool in the repression of sexuality.

Again, a circumstance such as an unwanted pregnancy can take on the proportions of a major disaster in a woman's already complex existence. One woman, for example, learns that she herself is illegitimate at the moment she announces her pregnancy. Aunt and mother inform her of this as they try "to pump hot soapy water into her uterus", stopping only to accuse her of being a slut and a fool. When we bear in mind the restrictive abortion laws of most western countries, yet another dimension is added to the situation a woman confronts.

We learn that the brothers in the families were generally more successful than their sisters in their efforts to achieve independence. The parents of one woman "had accommodated themselves to some extent to the brother's 'artistic' pursuits, but they could not see any validity whatever in Ruth's propensities in that direction." Once more we see the chains placed on a woman living in a "man's world."

If this book enhances our understanding of ourselves and our families, we must be aware that the process is not an end in itself. We cannot use it as an instrument in negating our backgrounds or accusing our families. As the authors remark, "we must remember that the parents are struggling desperately within the limitations set them in turn by their families."

Instead we must use our insights in sharing our experiences in building lives of our own, in creating a world which reflects our perception.

In *Sanity, Madness and the Family*, we meet and hear some of the people who helped Laing to develop the concepts explored in such books as *The Divided Self*, *The Politics of Experience* and *The Politics of the Family*. It is a worthwhile project.

By Margaret Davidson

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LAST POST

LETTERS

Dear Last Post:

The case of the 114 arrested at Simon Fraser University in November of 1968 is over as far as the courts are concerned. The arrests were the administration's response to an occupation which took place around questions of universal accessibility. The effect of SFU admissions policy has been to discriminate against non-whites and students from lower-income homes.

Of the seven who pleaded not guilty, four were found guilty and fined \$250.00 each. Charges against the other three were dropped. Although small, this is nevertheless a victory for the student movement.

Of the \$1,000 needed to pay the fines of the four, over \$350.00 has already been raised. We ask your help in raising the rest. Please send contributions to the office of our lawyer, Mr. J. Macey, 382 Main St., Vancouver 4

Ken Hiebert
Vancouver

Dear Last Post:

Permit me the pleasure of having some fun with Juan Rodriguez's Essay on Hype in your last ish.

There seem to be two kinds of pop writers — the Ritchie Yorke type and the Juan Rodriguez type. There are probably many other kinds, but let's compare these two.

The Rodriguez type is first an intellectual, second a rock fan. Since being a rock fan these days is essential to any young intellectual, the two qualities can be seen to exist in a kind of

uneasy harmony. But usually the intellectual in the Rodriguez writer gets the best of the rock fan, giving his writing a feeling that the two elements have not been satisfactorily resolved. The Rodriguez writer questions the validity of rock constantly, just as he questions the validity of the System, activist politics, revolution and other 'emotional' causes.

Thus the Rodriguez writer, uncertain whether he really **LIKES** rock anyway, attempts to throw in the occasional negative comment as a measure of his 'detachment' or objectivity. Mr. Rodriguez himself succumbs frequently to the temptation of being negative, suggesting that he questions his own love of rock to a high degree. Maybe he should be writing about electronic music or something he feels is more in proportion with his mental prowess.

And he still attempts to apply the traditional standards of excellence in art to rock, a form which professes to be iconoclastic and committed to openness and change.

The Yorke writer loves rock first, and is almost loath to criticize it. Yorke himself has carried off some brilliant exploits, getting in there and getting out with the goods to feed first-hand to a mass audience hungry for vicaries. His reportage is topnotch, but sometimes his opinions seem to come from another planet, as if there is some behind-the-scenes reason why he does not like this or that performer or promoter, which undoubtedly there is. Unfortunately this tends to qualify his credibility. This is a defect of a writer who is totally involved in the scene.

A rock writer is a perfect mark for promoters looking for free newspaper publicity. He is deluged with free albums, free tickets, free trips. Promoters will do anything to inveigle a writer out of his disinterestedness to get him obligated to write something about the latest smash sensation. The Rodriguez writer is more likely to scorn these attempts on his integrity than the Yorke writer, who just adds them to his own list of wheels and deals, and uses them to his own advantage.

But it's well known that the music business is rife with bullshit. Payoffs, ripoffs, hype, the whole schmeer. Morality? Ignored. This is one of the most Machiavellian realpolitical games you can play. The façade of aesthetic purity covers a quagmire infested with black conniving.

So why is Rodriguez so startled about it? Has he just peeled off a corner of the façade and peeked into the can of worms for the first time? More than likely, his intentions are of the best, and he wants to wake people up to

their own exploitation.

It IS discouraging; the rock scene began in the belief that human beings contained some kind of discretion by which they could separate the bullshit from the real stuff. Marijuana was supposed to be able to give you this ability; whether it does or not is debatable.

It doesn't seem to be working. So-called enlightened people get sucked into the rock dream simply to perpetuate the feeling of involvement in the music they used to feel; the quality of the music doesn't matter much. Hype feeds on this ready-made desire to participate, to be where and what is happening. For example, Butterfield played here to two almost empty houses. Chicago played to two soldout audiences at the O'Keefe centre. Chicago had been hyped for months on CHUM-FM; Chicago was made out to be what's happening. Butterfield is no longer what's happening, apparently. He's old hat, they say.

But Rodriguez sees Sergeant Pepper as Hype. Was it? Surely its success was as much due to quality, the sensibility of that time which accepted it, as it was to hype. Goldstein attempted to stand up against it; he lost. Liberal intellectuals can be off base, can't they? Or perhaps the liberal intellectual stance is wrong for rock, since a liberal intellectual sensibility attempts to select the good parts from the bad parts, and rock is more an expression of the undiluted life force.

Rodriguez questions the fact that rock has ever had the quality that has been attributed to it. Was it ever really as good as we all thought it was? Or was it all hype? This may be a false question. Rock simply happened; good and bad, it got us, defined us and still does. It is a phenomenon shared by millions and millions of people. It is an aggressively defensive form — it is loud, evokes images of romantic heroism and the rugged non-existent frontier — but it has liberated millions of kids, and it's beautiful. It likely contains, along with all the eclectic references it has gathered up along its way, many of the traditional things people value, and the vulgarity and crudeness that have been traditionally repressed, but its wholeness is its force. It is reassuring; it says, 'everything you are is okay, kid. Don't let them mess with your head.'

If it weren't for some measure of hype, likely the word would not have spread as fast as it has. Is word of mouth recommendation from a friend a hype? Hype has a place, as long as it's legitimate promotion. But it gets bad when it makes a bad group sound

like the greatest, or when it denies us the choice of being curious. Which turns most of us off anyway, since records become something thrust on you, and not something you want to hear.

It is unlikely that hype is as much of a one-way street as Rodriguez makes out. Hype types can only gear their promotion to what they think is going to grab the consumer. If the consumer has decided he can't afford to consume, his head is not in the same place, and he's not likely to be grabbed. The promotion man is usually far enough removed from the counter-culture, in his regulation sideburns, pink shirts and Peter Fonda glasses that he picks up on what's happening secondhand. He processes it, and feeds it back hopelessly, by which time things have shifted a bit and it is not completely successful.

Take the Festival Express Rip-off, for example. After John Lennon's peace festival fell through, Toronto kids began to be aware that promoters were making a big profit off them. At the Festival Express, 2,500 of them attempted to crash the festival. They succeeded in disrupting it enough to get a free festival in a park, but not enough to get the prices lowered. The music at the festival was almost incidental to the general scene in the stadium. The promoters of Festival Express geared their hype to a Woodstock peace-love-groovy ambience, which has since evolved into a political awareness. The Hype missed its audience's heads almost completely.

Rodriguez is dead on, though, when he says that Hype feeds on people's susceptibility to increasing their status

and prestige. Anything that does this is really deadly; it is likely that Hitler knew this, and gave his countrymen stylish uniforms to wear to make them feel self-important, and when the American government gives its newsmen little gold badges that make them into deputy sheriffs, and enable them to carry guns. Wow! The trouble is no one is immune to this; those who claim immunity are uninitiated, or are kidding themselves. Everyone is vulnerable to being co-opted by being given some valuable distinction or reward that compromises their own consciences. The degree to which an individual can counteract this urge in himself to accept an offer of increased prestige can be seen to be a measure of the effort he is willing to put out to Hype values which support freedom. Awareness alone is not enough.

Rodriguez's article on Jesse Winchester appears regularly in Rolling Stone to promote Winchester's first album. I wonder how he feels about that, if he did it originally to help an artist on his way. Maybe a lot of people 'helped' artists, and the 'help' turned into 'hype'. Which is which seems to depend on whether you're at the receiving end or the giving end.

As much as what Rodriguez says is true, it's too bad he doesn't go further in examining it, instead of making statements that imply his moral and intellectual superiority over his readers, and coming on sour grapes. That approach is a very effective way of turning people off.

Come on, Juan, you're not alone in your crusade against the Evil Elements! If you think all us guys out here are suckers, forget it. Have a little faith...

**Yours for more native awareness,
Jacqueline Jumpsuit**

Dear Last Post -

Your magazine proves to be most refreshing beside the enormous amount of trash which falls on our ears and eyes every day. While the bourgeois press will not die for a while, the **Last Post** at least provides a beginning at freer information. English Canadians will at last have a chance to understand certain realities of the American way of life carefully neglected by the "other" media.

For this reason I wish the **Last Post** much success.

Vive la lutte nationale du peuple Québécois.

**Paul Wood,
Millbrook, Ont.**

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to which Canadian "flag" do the railways owe their first allegiance?



The notion that business' first and only obligation is to make a buck has happily disappeared with the horse and buggy.

Or has it?

To listen to the Railways, you'd think they were still living in the 19th century—when wheeler-dealers trampled over people's rights in order to make profits.

Most industries are required to shoulder social responsibilities.

Food processors must protect public health.

Auto manufacturers are required to maintain safety standards.



Reduced passenger service
clogs highways, increases accident rate.

And industry in general is finally being made to stop polluting our air and water.

Only the railways seem on the verge of getting away with avoiding their public responsibilities.

"We must abandon our passenger services," they cry. "We're losing money."

And the Government soberly nods its head in agreement, never stopping to ask of the railways two simple questions:

- 1-Are you losing money on ALL your operations?
- 2-Don't you think you have a responsibility to provide passenger services to Canadians?

If the Government bothered to ask these questions, here are the answers they'd get:

First—the railways are earning enormous revenues on all their other operations—hotels, mineral rights, telecommunications, freight, and others— which more than make up the relatively minor

"loss" which they incur on their passenger routes.

And secondly—the railways DO have a responsibility to the Canadian public—no less than any other industry, and a lot more than others, because of two simple facts:

—one of them, in return for vast grants of free land, pledged itself to maintain passenger service in perpetuity;

—the other because it's owned by the Canadian people.

Abandonment of passenger services will put an unbearable strain on our already overcrowded roads and highways.

It will further pollute the air, and increase the automobile accident rate.

It will cut many communities off from vital transportation links, and in some cases spell the death warrant for towns and villages.

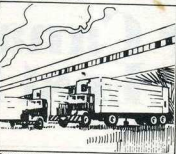
And consider the Government's short-sighted transportation policy:

Tax money is used very liberally to support all other forms of transportation.

Airlines get airports.

Shipping companies get port facilities.

Truckers get highways.



Government supports trucking, why not railways?

It just doesn't make sense to continue to build more and more highways which move very few people by comparison with what high speed railways can do more efficiently. If the Government allows passenger abandonment, in the end it will cost the taxpayer much more. Because of increased

road congestion, increased pollution, and more accidents. Not to mention the grossly inefficient use of public funds.

So when are the railways and the government going to acknowledge the facts of life?

Maybe never, unless they're made to. Unless the public keeps up the pressure.



Railways have definite obligations to public!

Unless you do something to prevent it—by writing to your MP and MLA, by contacting your municipal authorities, by appearing at Transportation Commission hearings, and by making yourself heard in every way possible.

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For a free booklet containing some very revealing facts about the sad state of Canada's transportation policy, write to: S.I.D.P., P.O. Box 4339, Station "E", Ottawa.

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