

**LADY  
POD**

THE LAST POST Vol. 1 No. 8 Summer 1971 Price 50 cents

**LADY  
POD**

**The renegade  
report on poverty**

**'Telling the chairman of  
the Senate Committee  
on Poverty, David Croll,  
to get stuffed was only  
an incidental but  
necessary act....'**

- **John Munro: Super-spy**
- **Nova Scotia fishermen:  
the raids begin**
- **Invading China: dry run  
in the Arctic**

CONSIDERING THE 'SERIOUSNESS'  
OF THE MARIJUANA SITUATION,  
MR. SPEAKER, THE GOVERNMENT  
RECOMMENDS THAT IN FUTURE, THE  
HONORABLE MEMBERS REFRAIN  
FROM LEAVING 'ROACHES' ON THE  
CHAMBER FLOOR.



Cartoon by Aislin  
Courtesy The Montreal Star

HEALTH MINISTER JOHN MUNRO

# LAST POST

THE LAST POST Vol.1 No.8  
a radical Canadian newsmagazine

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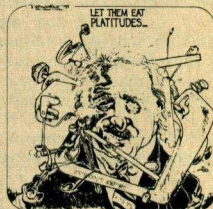
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**Fishermen**  
page 11

| FIELD                  | NOTES                | PAGE   | DATE |
|------------------------|----------------------|--------|------|
| Observation No:        | 005                  | John   |      |
| No. of Pages:          | 2                    | Mary   |      |
| Date:                  | 23/3/71              | Joseph |      |
| Time:                  | 4:45 a.m.            | Yanosh |      |
| Duration:              | 2 hours              |        |      |
| Location (Sp):         | Regina Park          |        |      |
| Participant Observers: | Mr. K.E. Dava-Gordon |        |      |
| City:                  | Regina               |        |      |
| Persons referred       |                      |        |      |
|                        |                      | Mary   |      |
|                        |                      | Louis  |      |

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special section



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# John Munro:

DEPARTMENT OF  
NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE

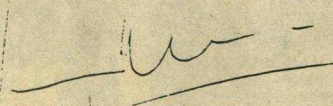


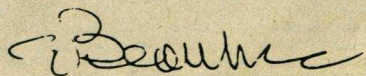
MINISTÈRE DE LA  
SANTÉ NATIONALE ET DU BIEN-ÊTRE SOCIAL

In order to guard against any possible abuse of the data on youth culture which will be collected by you and your team during this summer, the following conditions were agreed upon and guaranteed on our part:

1. For the duration of the project no data shall be released for analysis without the approval of the team or teams that have collected the data. This condition shall in no way prejudice the use of the data for analysis by the Welfare Research Division, Department of National Health and Welfare, with or without the aid of the regional coordinators.
2. At the conclusion of the study (whose duration will be no more than three years), all data held by persons and institutions other than the \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_

In order to process the data as smoothly and quickly as possible you will hand in the legible field notes of your team not less than once a week and prepare at the end of the summer (last two weeks of August) a report on your team's work and findings. It is this report which might become the basis of your M.A. thesis. Your signature on the copy of this document (which you will return to the Welfare Research Division) indicates your agreement and consent to the above.

  
E.J. van Goudoever  
Principal Research Officer  
Welfare Research Division  
Research and Statistics

  
A. Beaulnes, M.D.  
Co-ordinator of the Program  
on the Non-Medical Use of Drugs

# Super-spy

by Patrick MacFadden

In many ways the amiably fleshy and slightly overweight Minister of Health and Welfare, Mr. John Munro, is not an unattractive figure. His is no easy task. The sprawling bureaucracy in Tunney's Pasture, over which he is held to preside, is an unpleasant place: its glinting towers rise, like an abrupt rebuke, over Ottawa's beleaguered Green Belt, impartially dwarfing both the Imperial Cadillacs of the doctors and the Volkswagens of the typing pool.

Inside the Ministry's antiseptic corridors, the vibes, as one of the Minister's more hip assistants might put it, are not good. The medicine men slouch behind their desks, dreaming savagely of a return to the fleshpots of private practice, watching one another's manoeuvres with the baleful eye of a dingbat; public relations flacks sulk covering before the creeping advance of the hated bilingualism; gloomy secretaries kick against the pricks of the doomed chauvinist pecking order.

For Tunney's Pasture is a microcosm of the adversary model on which the larger society is formed. Honeycombed with the thin milk of small ambition, its well-lit passageways resound to the echo of the knife thinking between the shoulderblades, the sudden cry behind the arras, the muffled thud of a minor reputation found bleeding on the stairwell. While over all, like the ratch of gravel under a door, sounds the painful screech of one artery hardening.

The Ministry is not a place to be on a hot day.

Lesser men might have cracked sooner. It is a tribute to the spunky fortitude of John Munro that his crack-up did not come earlier, that he has stuck, grimly as a barnacle, to the bottom of this Babylonian heap. Perhaps some of the molten steel of his Hamilton constituency has mainlined its way into the vein and rendered him resolute. In any event, his portly mien may still be caught even today, playing Dr. Hippocrates on the teevee,

deftly parrying Smilin' Ron Collister's more tiresome sallies, shooting from the hip, telling it like it is, even on occasion getting it on, his sturnine wattles faintly reminiscent of the late John Garfield with goitre. "John", said a wistful admirer recently, "is a pretty ballsy guy".

Balls, alas, are not enough, especially when a man makes the fatal decision to reach for the top.

Initially, it should be said, the Minister had been immune from such ambition. The Munro doctrine had been a simple one: live and let live. Pleased, in an almost boyish way, to have been given lordship over the common weal — for tending the mental well-being, dental decay and athlete's foot of nearly 22 million of our citizenry is not to be sniffed at — the Minister took to his task with an energy and a verve that evoked the wonder, if not the admiration, of his Cabinet colleagues. John, it was whispered, was here to stay.

It couldn't last, of course. The atmosphere of the modern liberal cabinet in decaying private enterprise societies has much in common with riding the big jets across the Atlantic: it dissipates our earth-bound norms, gives rise to dreams of grandeur, turns Schweik into a sheriff, Babbitt into a braggadocio. It is no place for a man who dreams only of being Vice-President.

John Munro found the hectic in his blood: he started the long scramble to the top.

The Press, with its unerring penchant for the obvious, noted only the more up-front Pretenders: the Justice Minister, whose forte, however *faute de mieux*, lay in constitutional fiddling, the aging Mr. Hellyer seeing merit in a revival of General Boulanger. But nobody noticed the chain-smoking Minister of Health and Welfare, burrowing away on his own, an antic mole deep beneath the aspirants on the surface.

His first ploy was a traditional one. It was Friend of the Working Man. A clumsy effort, as it happened. Footling attempts to wean away the Hamilton steelworkers from the joys of social democracy came to a sad end. The Minister had simply not done his homework.

This lack of effort sometimes displayed itself in the most extraordinary way: in May of 1968, he appeared at a meeting

What are your attitudes towards the following institutions and their raison d'être (reason for existence)...

— Youth Culture Study Coding Format

† Stage I

Upon leaving 'The Field', immediately proceed to a private or semi-private location (e.g., park bench, restaurant) where you can transfer the essential items of the Observation to paper. (In the case of extended Observations it is recommended that this task be performed during, as well as after, the Observation by retiring to the bathroom for a few minutes.) Carry a pocket size notepad and pen with you at all times for this purpose. (But make certain you remove the previous day's notes from your pad before re-entering The Field: never return to The Field with your notes.)

Once secure in a relatively private location you should write down the 'code number'. All participants will be given a code number. It is based on your area, group and group member. Thus to deal with a hypothetical code - George Smith is the team captain of a group in Regina and is sending in his third report. His area code is 10, which identifies his area as Regina; his group number is 1 since his group is the first and only one in that area; his group member number is 1 since he is the team captain (all team captains will have a group member number of 1); and his interview number is 003 since this is his third interview. Thus the code for this person will look like this - 10-1-1-003. A sample sheet will be sent out to illustrate where on the "Field Observation Sheet" this code is to be placed. Each of you will receive your exact code number. It is written beside your name on the list of coordinators and team captains sent with this "manual". The number you receive is to accompany every report you send to Ottawa. It is imperative that all team captains send us the names of the members of their group so that we may assign a code number to these people.

Note that these are changes from previous instructions given to you. Read this carefully. We hope that this method will be more efficient for everyone involved in the study.



At this point we anticipate a possible shortage of sheets for your field notes. To avoid this, we ask you to conserve as much as possible by writing on both sides of these sheets (FN-O). As soon as our supply of these sheets comes in we can send them out and you may then write on one side only. But until that time, please co-operate by making use of both sides of the sheets.

### — Youth Culture Study instructions

in Toronto in order to boost the fortunes of the Liberal hopeful. After listening to a bitingly partisan speech from the Left candidate, the Minister leaned across the table and reproached him in wounded tones: "You're not a very impartial chairman, are you?"

"But I'm a candidate!" expostulated the man.

"Oh", replied the Minister, "that would explain it then."

\* \* \*

Having made no headway among the proletarians, John Munro went on to discover the elixir of Youth. Astute observers of the Tunney Pasture empire have noted over the past year increasing numbers of what appear to be mendicant monks, slapping along in open-toed sandals, playing with love-beads, stopping to adjust a headband outside the Brooke Claxton building. The forces of the counter-culture had invaded the Green Belt, chattering of Le Dain and MDA, knocking over superannuated civil servants in blue serge, blowing grass in the circumspect toilets, and sitting, my God!, on desks. While somewhere inside, squatting on the carpet with his newfound friends, was the Minister, idly tossing a frisbee out of the window, popping Vitamin C and rapping about the greening of practically everything.

The crack-up had finally come.

It was to have disastrous results.

\* \* \*

On the morning of June 7, 1971, the opening salvo of John Munro's battle for the Prime Ministerial slot began.

It's called **YOUTH CULTURE STUDY — 1971**. It is the brain-child of the Statistics and Research Branch of the Federal Department of Health and Welfare. It is costing half-a-million dollars. In practice, if not in intent, the project severely endangers the civil liberties of the people.

Two hundred young persons are given the job of reporting on the personal, social and political habits and beliefs of anyone between the ages of 18 and 25, in or around 13 cities this summer. Each will be paid \$87.50 a week for this information.

The knowledge thus collected will be sent off to Tunney's Pasture, there to be handed over to one Z. Gryz who inhabits the seventh floor of Vanier Towers at 333 River Road, Ottawa.

The program has been devised by a certain E.J. van Goudoever, described as the Principal Research Officer. The co-ordinator for Ontario is Mr. Mel Green, whose dedication to the over-the-counter culture is above question, indeed above answer.

Disturbing considerations abound with regard to **YOUTH CULTURE STUDY — 1971**. This journal (*Last Post*, vol. 1, no. 7) has already drawn attention to the data on citizens' groups being gathered by the Health and Welfare Department. This data is available to the RCMP. Since that time, a senior official of the Department has confirmed that the Mounties have access to H and W's bulging files.

As for **YOUTH CULTURE STUDY**, Mr. van Goudoever's format for snooping is the closest thing the country may wish to come in the way of institutionalized voyeurism.

"Find out", orders the van Goudoever **RECORDING PROCEDURE MANUAL**, "in the example of the bra-less female, why she is bra-less — is it a political reason...? Do they see their particular style of appearance as an invitation to some people to interact with them...?"

And further:

"Find out how a person provides for... elimination of body wastes — parks, stores, pool halls, home of parents, etc. (Find out) how a person provides for sexual needs — regular dating pattern, prostitutes, masturbation, hustling on street, etc."

Now it is one thing to suck the public teat to a wrinkle in order to ascertain the correct disposition of mammary glands, or even to pinpoint where the people pee. (Conceivably, somewhere loose in the bowels of Tunney's Pasture is a rogue Margaret Mead in drag.)

But it is quite a different matter when the Government feeds into the aforementioned Z. Gryz's chuntering seventh-floor computers bits of stuff such as the following:

"Find out what are their aspirations. Are they within traditional institutions... or are they non-institutional such as — my biggest aspiration is too (sic) be a nice guy, a revolutionary, etc."

Or again:

"Is there a leader in the group (under examination)?... Try to note the intensity of his control over others — e.g. what he says goes and no-one would ever dare question his decisions, etc."

"What sorts of literature do they read — comics, magazines... political books, etc."

Nor does the van Goudoever Project overlook the possibility

#### 4. Technical Elements in the Youth Culture

A. Under attitudes towards music, try to separate their attitudes toward music in general and their attitudes toward the type of music they favour. So, if they favour acid-rock, ask them what they think about folk, classical, western music, etc.

B. For forms of transportation find out whether they use cars, buses, bicycles, hitch hike, etc. In other words how do they get around. In transportation and its different uses — find out whether they use their form of transportation for any other means other than basic transportation. For instance, they might have a van in which they sleep, eat and socialize in. Or they might use the buses for 'panhandling' people for money. Under their attitudes try to find out why they prefer their form of transportation over others eg. cheapest, meet people, serves as home, etc.

C. Under Appearance remember that the lack of apparel may be significant and note this. For instance not wearing a bra, shoes, shirt, etc. may be significant — try to note these things.

Types of Clothing — note the style of clothing whether it is fashionable or practical (and oblivious to current fashion trends) etc.

With style of hair note the length - shoulder length or longer, brush cut, etc. Also note whether it is styled - ie. does the person get it styled or is just a natural - let it hang-where-it-will.

Note whether they have ornaments - beads, rings, bells, earrings, etc.

In their attitudes find out, in the example of the bra-less female, why she is bra-less — is it a political reason, consciousness of fashion trend, etc. Do they see their particular style of appearance as an invitation to some people to interact with them or as a



of bomb-making among what it calls "alienated youth". As in this artless directive:

"Mechanical devices — do they use mechanical devices such as electric shavers, can-openers, cigarette lighters... and then why or why not?"

But always, in that Teutonic tradition of thoroughness initiated on this continent by the social engineering pragmatist team of Masters and Johnson, the van Goudoever Project returns, with finger-lickin' relish, to below the belt:

"(Find out) for example, if those interviewed live in a commune, who does the cooking, the cleaning, etc., which sex predominates in hustling, etc..." (My emphasis.)

Again and again, like a cuckolded Minute Man, the Project displays its obsessional neurosis over sex and politics. At the same time, it betrays some distinctly odd notions of youthful behavior:

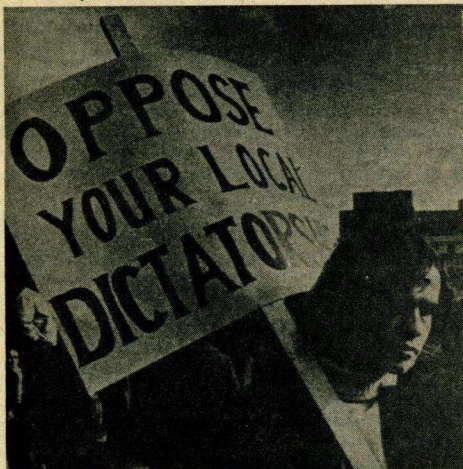
"Find out what's open — pool halls, boy scouts, restaurants... YMCA, YM-YWHA. Find out how they use these facilities — to sit and talk, make out, political meetings, etc."

The question of what constitutes an open boy scout aside, it is surely some time since randy Youth hot-footed it to the Y for relief.

Leaving aside the tired jargon of American behavioristic psychology that hangs like *Gottterdammerung* over the van Goudoever Project, with its mindless chatter of group interaction, role definition, perceived leaders and similar twaddle, what have we got?

And what mix of constituency-building and spiritual flatulence caused the unfortunate Mr. Munro to allow van Goudoever loose among the country's young?

And who gets their sticky fingers on this information? And what do they do with it?



... team leaders who have left the country or can no longer be traced are not considered team leaders for the purpose of this clause...

— Youth Culture Study agreement with employees

As far as the Minister goes — and that may be a long way — it is useless to speculate. The ways of God are not our ways. On the disposal of the information, however, we are on surer ground.

The individual "team captains", or snoopers, were hired by "groovy" young civil servants in the Public Service Commission.

There is no record of whether the appointees are just the young middle-class looking for a gig. Or whether they are members, part-time or full, of our multifarious intelligence agencies.

For the information being fed to the hungry computer of Z. Gryz is of great value to infiltrators: specifics on political interests, dope and sexual habits, who thinks what and who influences whom. It's all there. And it's all up for grabs.

The beauty of the Munro-van Goudoever-Gryz study lies in its ingenuousness. Just groovy people asking groovy questions about what books you read, whom you sleep with, and how often you do it. Very open.

Not entirely open, however. The **RECORDING PROCEDURE MANUAL** puts it this way:

"Upon leaving 'The Field' immediately proceed to a private or semi-private location... where you can transfer the essential items of the Observation to paper. (In the case of extended Observations, it is recommended that this task be performed during, as well as after, the Observation, by retiring to the bathroom for a few minutes.)"

It is impossible to overestimate the conditioning effect of this Army Manual piffle on the naive mind. Furthermore, the unwritten assumption is that it's an okay activity to spy on your neighbors. In this way, the disaffected young are used to institutionalize the shoddy world of John Le Carré; thus do we subsidize our own unfreedom.

What emerges from the grubby toilets of the nation to be handed to Z. Gryz will take the following form, according to the **RECORDING PROCEDURE MANUAL**:

Persons indigenous to the target city will be marked with an "I"; transients will be entitled to a "T". (Presumably, the Gryz computer is not yet programmed to handle Outside Agitators, or "OA".)

All "team captains" are ordered to send the names of the members of their group "so that we may assign a code number to these people".

They are further commanded: "Write down a list of the persons participating in the Observation (even those who just walk in and out of a room and, then, a list of the persons referred to by the participants." (Emphasis in van Goudoever.)

And a warning: "Make certain you remove the previous day's notes from your pad before re-entering The Field: never return to The Field with your notes". (Emphasis and capitalization as per van Goudoever.)

Finally, team captains are asked **not** to xerox their reports. For reasons of economy, of course.

\* \* \*

The duration of the Munro-van Goudoever-Gryz **YOUTH CULTURE STUDY** will be, we are promised, no more than three years.

At a hastily-convened editorial co-operative meeting of this journal, it was decided to insert a highly-trained agent into the Project. This agent will report back from time to time on the progress of this appalling example of public mischief, in order that the native and ancient liberties of our people may be preserved.

*This article was written by Patrick MacFadden of the Last Post editorial board.*



## Marginalia

Despite the creation of a special government agency to disseminate it, information in Canada's capital appears to be as rare a commodity as ever.

An employee of a government department called Information Canada to find out if the new delegation from the People's Republic of China could be reached by phone. "I'm sure they can," said the helpful voice at the other end of the line. "Why they've been here for about thirty years."

Perplexed, the employee suggested to the voice that perhaps it was confusing mainland China with nationalist China. The voice could be heard checking through some papers and then apologized profusely. "Do you know you're right," it gushed. "It is Nationalist China."

Well then, the employee asked, how would one contact the mainland Chinese delegation. The voice thought for a long moment. "I'm sure if you called the Nationalist Chinese," it finally replied, "they would be willing to help you."

**With their special tax privileges once again under heavy attack, Time and Readers Digest haven't lost any time mounting a counter-offensive behind the scenes. Delegates**

to the Liberal Party's policy convention a while back got letters pushing the Time point of view. Also, an attempt has been made to line up support from unions involved in printing the magazines in Canada, by warning that if the magazines lose their privileges they won't print here any more and many jobs will be lost. Senator Keith Davey, whose report on the Mass Media urged cancellation of the special favors, has been gathering evidence of the Time lobby's activities and plans to make it public in the Senate.

\* \* \*

The rapprochement between Canada and the Soviet Union during the Trudeau visit may not have been so unexpected in some quarters, because New York Times columnist James Reston blew into Ottawa and breathlessly wrote a column May 19 warning Washington it may have another Allende on its hands. Wishful thinking Dept.

After making the stunning revelation that "ironically, Canada seems to feel that the United States is playing too dominant a role in its commercial affairs..." he concludes with a paragraph that deserves full quote to savor:

"Looking to the rest of the seventies few things could cause Washington more trouble than a divided Canada or the spread of Communist-supported radical movements. As in Chile, Washington is concentrating now on Thieu and Ky in Saigon, and paying little attention to Trudeau in Ottawa or Allende in Santiago, but the struggles of the future may well lie closer to home, in Canada, Cuba and Central and South America." The phrase "the struggles of the future" is particularly intriguing.

Reston refused when approached by the CBC to elaborate his views. To what extent this column may reflect segments of official opinion in the State Department is a matter for speculation.

Two events in the past couple of months in the boondocks of Quebec were puzzling for the lack of coverage usually given to such affairs. In the town of Chandler on the Gaspé peninsula, a group of workers claiming affiliation with both of Quebec's rival labor organizations as well as the Catholic farmers' union, held a federal MP hostage in late April while they demanded the Unemployment Insurance office in the town be kept open.

The Common Front of Gaspé Workers, as they called themselves, said later they were satisfied by federal officials that the office would remain open, adding that they had held "a very amicable" conversation with the MP.

On June 2, at Rouyn-Noranda in North western Quebec, the district head of the ministry of lands and forests was held "at the disposition of the citizens" for six hours. Unemployed workers were dissatisfied at promises of jobs which later turned out to be non-existent. Instead, the men were employed to cut in nearby woodlots at wages that amounted to less than welfare.

The weekly Québec-Pressé says the claims of the unemployed were recognized as just by the civil servant involved, Arthur Bérubé.

\* \* \*

An indicative sidelight to the recent NDP convention: Saturday night, following the extravaganza of selecting a new leader, the Waffle caucus retired to the Quaker Hall to discuss its strategy for the upcoming year. Among the interested, peering from the back of the room, was one Jim Davey.

Not a Waffler, to say the least. Mr. Davey is best known as a stalwart worker in the Privy Council and the Prime Minister's Office.

# 'If we just lay down we don't know how many people we'll be dumpin''

Just before dawn on a Saturday morning in early June, fourteen men boarded the trawler *Acadia Gull*, tied up at the Acadia Fisheries Ltd. wharf in Canso, N.S. Three hours later, officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police came and ordered them to leave. They refused.

As the morning progressed, the manager of the Acadia fish plant, A.L. Cadegan, ordered some of his employees to hose the recalcitrant men down. Most of them refused, but two accepted the assignment. The men got a good soaking, but still would not budge.

When the Mounties came back to take the men away by force, they found that a pipe had been placed in the way of their car. Cadegan ordered a plant worker to remove it; he said no and was immediately suspended from his job. When they had finally got rid of the pipe they faced a line of women, wives of the men aboard the trawler. The women had to be physically pushed away. As the Mounties arrested the men and carried them off to jail, they followed shouting insults and slogans.

The men who had boarded the *Acadia Gull* were fishermen, some of the members of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union who had been fighting since last April to get their union recognized. In 1970, they had conducted a gruelling seven-month strike against the fish companies (*Last Post*, Vol. I no. 5) and won a partial victory. In 1971, they were struggling against the combined forces of the companies and a rival union that was willing to do the companies' bidding.

Later, the fourteen fishermen were charged with mischief; one of them, Stanley Cooper, was also charged with obstructing police, and another, UFAWU organizer Con Mills, was charged with resisting arrest. But they had fought the law before, just as they had fought the companies and, tragically, their own fellow members of the labor movement.

They had boarded the trawler because they wanted justice and, in the fifteenth month of their struggle, they were as determined as ever to get it.

by Robert Chodos



Jim Haggarty

When the first United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union organizers came into Nova Scotia in 1967, they were accepting a challenge that the trade union movement had shed away from for twenty years.

The obstacles they faced in trying to organize the province's fishermen were not to be underestimated. There were the powerful fish companies, determined to keep effective trade unionism out. There was an entrenched Tory government, influenced by the fish companies and wary of anything that would disturb the climate for foreign investment. There was the traditional Maritime conservatism, encouraged by a press that considered even mild criticism of the government a bit beyond the limits of what it would dare to do. There was Nova Scotia's archaic labor legislation that classified fishermen as 'co-adventurers', not employees but small entrepreneurs in partnership with the companies, and hence not eligible for the legal protection of union certification.

Among the fishermen themselves, the UFAWU organizers found a ready welcome mixed with a healthy measure of doubt that their efforts could ever be successful. The unique conditions under which the fishermen worked had fostered a fierce pride and individualism on the one hand, and on the other a despair of things ever getting better.

Those conditions were something that was not supposed to exist in the Canada of the 1960s. Fishermen's working hours while on board the trawlers ranged upward from sixteen; their incomes were as little as \$2,500 a year. They spent twelve days out of every fourteen at sea; with no other outlet, they often spent the other two drinking in the Legion hall while their families remained strangers to them. Accidents on board ship were frequent and medical services nonexistent. And if the men complained, the companies blacklisted them.

For the first time since the Canadian Fishermen's Union was smashed in 1947, the UFAWU offered them hope. Slowly, the fishermen responded, and locals began to appear all over the province. By early 1970, they felt that they were ready to challenge two of the most intransigent of the companies, British-owned Acadia Fisheries, with plants at Mulgrave and Canso, and American-owned Booth Fisheries, with a plant across the Straits of Canso at Petit de Grat.

The fishermen in the three villages approached the companies to try to discuss a collective agreement. The companies contemptuously refused to talk to them. When the fishermen tried again, the companies' answer was the same.

By late March, the fishermen were left with only one course of action. As each boat came in, its crew members were polled on whether they wanted to go on strike for their demands. Almost unanimously, they answered 'yes'. By mid-April, all the boats were tied up in the three ports.

The strike (*Last Post*, Vol. 1, No. 5) lasted seven months, and it tore Nova Scotia apart as had no other event in many years. The companies and their allies, aware that the importance of the strike extended far beyond the 235 fishermen directly involved, fought hard, alternating between trying to crush the fishermen and simply trying to wear them down.

The fishermen fought equally hard, and at crucial moments they discovered that they had powerful allies too. In June, the companies obtained an injunction against picketing at the three plants. When the fishermen decided to defy the injunction, forty-five of them were charged with contempt of court. Nova Scotia Chief Justice Gordon Cowan

handed out the jail sentences as they came to trial: twenty days; thirty days; for Everett Richardson of Canso, nine months.

But Judge Cowan's actions did not break the fishermen. In the industrial towns of Port Hawkesbury and Point Tupper, just across the Straits from Mulgrave, 2,500 construction workers walked off their jobs in sympathy with the imprisoned men. Three thousand miners in Cape Breton went out on strike. Construction workers in Halifax and Sydney walked out as well. Everyone from provincial New Democratic Party leader Jeremy Akerman to Anglican Bishop W.W. Davis condemned the jailings. The fishermen's wives and supporters kept up the picket lines.

The show of solidarity forced the release of Richardson and the other jailed fishermen, and for a while the mood in the three villages was one of jubilation. But it did not force the companies to the bargaining table, and the strike settled into a test of the fishermen's ability to hold out against the companies' grinding campaign of starvation and fear.

The villages split into two camps, as the companies tried to organize the workers in the plants, who had been living for months on unemployment insurance, and other townspeople against the fishermen.

The Halifax *Chronicle-Herald*, by far the most influential newspaper in the province, contributed its own peculiar mixture of redbaiting and xenophobia, attacking the UFAWU for everything from its British Columbia origins to president Homer Stevens' association with the Communist Party of Canada.

With contributions coming in from all over the country, the union was able to continue giving the fishermen their meagre strike pay. But as winter approached, things became increasingly difficult. Men whose situation was becoming desperate left the strike area to seek work elsewhere.

The companies were also feeling the pressure of the long strike, and the government, facing an election in October, wanted to be able to announce a settlement. Finally, Booth and Acadia sat down to bargain seriously with the fishermen.

When the strike ended on November 1, neither side could claim a clear victory. The fishermen gave in on many of their key demands, including the demand for recognition of the UFAWU — the agreement was signed with an ad hoc committee instead.

But the settlement was, as Homer Stevens described it, a "toehold for the future." It was the first collective agreement most of the men had ever had. It provided for minimum fish prices, protection against some of the worst abuses the fishermen had endured, and a general grievance procedure.

Meanwhile, the defeat of the Tory government in the October election was a sign of the changes in Nova Scotia that the fishermen's strike had helped bring about. The victorious Liberals seemed more open, and they had pledged to change the Labor Relations Act to give fishermen the legal right to organize. Len Pace, who had been the fishermen's lawyer, was in the new cabinet as labor minister and attorney-general. And holding the balance of power were two New Democrats who had strongly supported the strike.

Most important, the fishermen had not allowed their strike to be crushed. They had learned how to work together, and had found that working together brought results. They were now equipped to pursue the demands they had not been able to win in the first strike.

Much remained to be done, but the way ahead seemed clear.



EVERETT RICHARDSON Jim Haggarty

As through this world I ramble  
I see lots of funny men  
Some will rob you with a six-gun  
Some with a fountain pen.

— Woody Guthrie

After the strike, life in Canso, Mulgrave, and Petit de Grat slowly returned to normal. Friendships that had been ripped apart by the lengthy conflict began to mend. The men went back out on the boats under the collective agreement, and the ad hoc committee started functioning as a voice for the fishermen.

The fish plants in Canso and Petit de Grat reopened. Acadia hedged for a time about reopening the older Mulgrave plant while it dickered for a government grant, but eventually put that plant into partial operation as well.

The government prepared its new legislation that would put fishermen under the Trade Union Act, make them employees in law as well as in fact, and make their unions eligible for certification so that the companies would be legally required to bargain with them.

In Canso, the fishermen's wives decided to try to make up to the children for the long months of deprivation. The women's auxiliary Christmas party was a smashing success. A hundred and seventy children packed into the Catholic church hall, and they all got presents: \$2,000 in contributions had come in from UFAWU locals on the west coast and from the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in Sudbury.

For Ron Parsons, the peppery Anglican priest whose staunch support of the fishermen had earned him the enmity of his church officers, it was a time of reconciliation. In February, the Bishop came to Canso and met with the rector and his estranged

flock to try to work out their differences. The Bishop's visit was helpful, and it seemed possible that the wounds might heal.

Over in Petit de Grat, the outlook for the fishermen was not quite as bright. The strikers had faced opposition everywhere, but nowhere as strongly as in Petit de Grat. Albert Martell, local president of the Canadian Seafood Workers Union, which groups the plant workers, had repeatedly made virulent anti-UFAWU statements to the press, although since he refused to call a meeting of his local the amount of support he had from the membership was suspect. He had been joined by Father George Arsenault of Petit de Grat and Father A.P. Poirier of Arichat, a few miles up the road, and many of the townspeople, Acadian, Catholic and Conservative, had gone along with them.

Booth Fisheries added to the difficulties. At the beginning of the strike, they had removed three of their trawlers from Petit de Grat to their plant at Fortune, Nfld. Now they took their time about bringing the boats back, making jobs scarce.

As well, the fishermen in Petit de Grat were divided from the men in Canso and Mulgrave by the fact that they worked for different companies. In any case, as the strike ended the Petit de Grat local was the weakest of the three.

It was perhaps for this reason that a rival union, the Canadian Food and Allied Workers, moved into Petit de Grat first.

The CFAW, the Canadian branch of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, had been given jurisdiction over the fishing industry on the Atlantic coast by the Canadian Labor Congress, to which it is affiliated. It counts among its members several thousand fishermen and fish plant workers in Newfoundland.

In Nova Scotia, however, workers in the fishing industry had been organized in three unions: the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers (CBRT) and the Canadian Seafood Workers Union, which are both affiliates of the CLC; and the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, which is not.

This lack of CLC affiliation had been used by the fish companies and their allies against the UFAWU during the strike. "B.C. UNION LACKS TOP CLC BLESSING," the Chronicle-Herald had trumpeted in August.

During the negotiations, the companies had insisted on a clause saying that the ad hoc agreement would give way if they granted voluntary recognition to a union affiliated to the CLC. The fishermen had protested on the grounds that such a clause would allow the companies to grant recognition to a union without the men being consulted at all. The companies finally agreed to add the stipulation that recognition would have to be granted "upon the request of a majority of the crew members."

The companies made no secret of the fact that if they had to accept a trade union, they would vastly prefer that that union not be the UFAWU. At the beginning of the strike A.L. Cadegan, manager of Acadia Fisheries' Canso plant, approached Roy Keefe, president of the Seafood Workers, and promised to sign a contract with his union if the Seafood Workers would take over the UFAWU's membership.

"I refused," Keefe says. "I got trade union principles."

Cadegan also phoned J.K. Bell, president of the Halifax-based Marine Workers Federation and secretary-treasurer of the Nova Scotia Federation of Labor, and suggested that the Marine Workers come in and organize the fishermen. "I told him we didn't have any support there or cards signed up," Bell later said. "He said 'that's all right. We can arrange that.'" But the Marine Workers, like the Seafood Workers, were distinctly not interested in Cadegan's proposal.

The only union that would touch the Canso Straits fishermen was the CFAW.

Homer Stevens charges that a deal was made at the highest level, between the Chicago head office of Consolidated Foods, which owns Booth Fisheries, and Amalgamated Meat Cutters secretary-treasurer Pat Gorman. The directive filtered down from Gorman through Canadian leaders Fred Dowling and Roméo Mathieu, and then to organizers James Bury and James Coles.

Stevens says he is "thoroughly convinced" that Joe Morris, executive vice-president of the CLC, knew that the Meat Cutters were going to raid the UFAWU when he gave his assurance during the strike that no CLC affiliate would interfere.

In Petit de Grat, much of the actual legwork was done by Father Arsenault. He called a meeting of fishermen on December 23 after a previous attempt by Bury and Coles to get a meeting together had failed. Later, he made repeated visits to the Booth plant.

"On December 28," reported the UFAWU newspaper *The Fisherman*, "the company held one trawler in port a day beyond its regular layup. This was the day the UFAWU provincial council met in Antigonish. When Petit de Grat delegates returned home they were told that all but two of the crew had signed up in the Food and Allied Workers before the vessel finally sailed."

Lloyd Power, a trawler mate who had been active in the strike in its first four months before leaving to sail on the Great Lakes, emerged as the new spokesman for the fishermen. Before leaving the strike area he had held an unauthorized meeting with Booth Fisheries plant manager Earl Lewis.

The CLC office in Ottawa said nothing about the Petit de Grat raid. But Earl Lewis showed no such reticence. He said he was "delighted" with the new developments, and added that "the future of Booth Fisheries is much brighter." The company quickly granted voluntary recognition to the Meat Cutters, and proceeded to sign a contract with them in mid-February.

By this time, the fishermen's will to resist had been broken, and they all signed CFAW membership cards.

Except for three who, with everybody against them, stuck to the UFAWU. With no prospect of work in their home town, two of them later went to look for jobs on the west coast.

**Members of unions cannot just be taken out of one union and put into another like cattle taken out of one stall and moved into the next.**

—Percy Bengough, president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (forerunner of the CLC), 1948.

**T**he Meat Cutters' next move was to raid the Seafood Workers local in Petit de Grat. Here too, Father Arsenault was a key man, as was Albert Martell. The two met with Bury and Coles and then a "meeting of concern" was called and the plant workers voted to move over into the Meat Cutters.

According to Roy Keefe and young Eddie Dort, president of the Canso local of the Seafood Workers, the Petit de Grat plant workers never signed CFAW cards. No cards were ever offered, although dues were collected. When the Meat Cutters tried to negotiate a contract with Booth Fisheries on behalf of the plant workers (the previous Seafood Workers contract had run out in October), they were told that the workers were still members of the CSWU. By May, no new contract had been signed.

From the point of view of the CLC, this was not as clear-cut a case as the raid on the UFAWU, since both the Meat Cutters and the Seafood Workers were affiliates. But the Seafood Work-

ers leadership was out of favor because of its continuing support of the UFAWU, and the CLC still remained silent.

The Cape Breton Labor Council, which groups CLC-affiliated locals in the Cape Breton area, denounced the Meat Cutters as a "pack of jackals".

Meanwhile, the Meat Cutters had begun to move into Mulgrave and Canso as well. They began with house-to-house visits, then sent a letter to all crew members. Signed by Coles, the letter came with a CFAW application card and a stamped envelope, addressed to a post-office box in Mulgrave. It was low-key and emphasized the importance of obtaining an agreement with the company:

"You have after seven long months of strike been out fishing for several trips. You now know that the trawler fishermen of Petit de Grat have signed up in our union, the Canadian Food and Allied Workers. They did this to make sure of a signed agreement with the Company and to get into a union that is growing in this industry."

But the response was disappointing. Only two fishermen signed up. The men had fought for the UFAWU, retained their confidence in it, and the pitch had little appeal.

It was necessary to work fast. The government's new labor legislation was before the House of Assembly and would soon be passed. Under the new legislation, the UFAWU would apply for certification, and since it represented a majority of the fishermen, the Labor Relations Board would have no choice but to accept the application.

On March 8, Acadia Fisheries granted voluntary recognition to the Meat Cutters. On March 11 and 12, it signed agreements with the union.

At first, these moves were widely misinterpreted in the press. It seemed as if the Meat Cutters' tactics had been successful in Mulgrave and Canso as in Petit de Grat and that the men, motivated by weariness and fear for their jobs, had abandoned the UFAWU. Even the weekly Cape Breton *Highlander*, which had consistently been sympathetic to the fishermen, reported that the CFAW had "completed its rout of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers from the Eastern Nova Scotia Fisheries."

In fact, nothing of the sort had happened, and the UFAWU was far from dead. But the Acadia-Meat Cutters agreement called for a closed shop — no trawlerman could work for the company unless he belonged to the Meat Cutters.

As each trawler landed at Canso, it was greeted by Adrian Armsworthy, the shore skipper who does Acadia's hiring and firing. Armsworthy told the crews that if they did not join the Meat Cutters they would not sail when the boats went out again. A vast majority of the fishermen chose not to sail.

When the Acadia Condor landed, all regular crew members, including Mulgrave UFAWU local president Jim Collins, were fired. When crew members of the Acadia Thunderbird refused to join the Meat Cutters, Armsworthy told them to "pack your bags and get ashore". All except the captain were fired.

The Acadia Crest called in at the Canso Causeway with a man needing medical attention, and was greeted by Armsworthy and James Coles. Armsworthy went aboard carrying CFAW application cards and threatening the men with dismissal. Two thirds of the crew were fired after refusing to sign the cards.

A majority of the crew members of the Acadia Gull were fired when it landed at Canso on March 22. Two days later, the Acadia Albatross came in. Most of its crew were fired, including Everett Richardson, who during the strike had been sentenced to nine months in jail for illegal picketing, and his son-in-law Russell Gurney. The process was now complete.

On March 18, the government's labor bill became law. The UFAWU applied to be certified as bargaining agent for the Acadia Fisheries trawlermen.

But there was a hole in the new legislation, a hole later described by Russell Gurney's wife Linda, secretary of the UFAWU's Canso local, as being "wide enough for a herd of buffalo to walk through."

It did not specify that a union that signed a voluntary agreement with a company had to represent a majority of the men on whose behalf the agreement was being signed. Under the legislation, the Acadia-Meat Cutters agreement was legal.

The government moved to plug the loophole while the Labor Relations Board considered the UFAWU application.

The situation in Canso and Mulgrave was back to where it had been a year earlier. The men were out of jobs until the company accepted the union of their choice or until they gave in to the company. In the meantime, Acadia Fisheries went looking for new trawl crews.

After the firings, Acadia sent its boats to Harbor Breton, Nfld., site of a major B.C. Packers Ltd. fish plant, and other points in Newfoundland. They returned to sea manned by Newfoundlanders. But when the boats landed in Canso, Acadia's plans began to go awry.

"Some of them have signed with our union," Jim Collins told the Cape Breton Highlander late in March, "and a lot more are packing up and going back to Newfoundland. They tell us that the CFAW recruited them for Acadia by telling them that the Meat Cutters were accepted up here and there was no trouble. When they get here and find the truth they want no part of scabbin' on us".

One Newfoundlanders arrived in Canso and walked into the town's only hotel, owned by a strong supporter of the fishermen — Seaford Workers president Roy Keefe. He found he could not get a room or even get served a meal, and concluded he was doing something wrong. He quickly discovered what it was and went back to Newfoundland.

It became more and more difficult for Acadia to get experienced crews. "Some of the new fellows look about fourteen of fifteen," Collins said. "I hear they're seasick most of the time and you can't run a fishing boat like that". Eventually boats began

coming back from Newfoundland with no crews at all. By mid-April Acadia had decided that the Newfoundlanders were more trouble than they were worth.

Now, attention focussed on the Labor Relations Board. The Board had begun to hear the UFAWU application for certification. The UFAWU presented signed cards from 89 of the 107 Acadia trawlermen. It said that it would be willing to have the question of which union should represent the fishermen decided by a secret ballot of the men themselves.

"During last week's session of the Labor Relations Board," reported the Halifax weekly 4th Estate on April 6, "the fishermen who were called on to give information were so strongly behind the UFAWU that the Board caught the CFAW completely by surprise and asked them to prove their claim that they represented the men." The paper said that the UFAWU certification bid had a good chance of succeeding.

On April 8, the government's Bill 127 was passed by the Nova Scotia legislature. It stipulated that a union granted voluntary recognition might be required to document its claim to represent a majority of the workers involved. It was directed against future deals like the one between Acadia and the Meat Cutters, but it was not made retroactive.

On April 13, the Labor Relations Board ruled on the UFAWU application for certification. The answer was no. The Board turned down the application on the grounds that a valid collective agreement already existed between Acadia and the Meat Cutters. It cited subsection 4 of section 7 of the Trade Union Act, which states that ten months of a collective agreement must elapse before an application for certification can be made. It said it was "not satisfied that there was some reasonable basis for consenting to the application for certification to be made before the time prescribed."

James Bury of the Meat Cutters praised the decision: "I think the important thing now is the men will be able to go back fishing... and the industry will have some stability. The Board



Canso: April 1971

Jim Haggarty

# Help for those who need it least

**W**hen Jean Marchand, then the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, introduced the Adult Occupational Training Act to the House of Commons, March 3, 1967, he said:

We want to provide a second chance to the people who need it most. These are the men and women who missed the chance to acquire a skill during their youth or whose skill has been made obsolete by technological change.

During the 1969-70 fiscal year, some 300,000 adults received training in various programs that were supposed to upgrade their skills so they could seek better and higher-paying jobs. The total cost was about \$250,000,000. Many of those who completed training did increase their income somewhat. But, as is the case with most programs, certainly very few of those who received Manpower training were among those who needed it most. There were just too many barriers; three are especially effective.

First, the Occupational Training for Adults Act and the Order in Council stating the regulations for that program both declare that no manpower course shall be longer than 52 weeks in duration. Manpower officials have gratuitously declared that this means that no individual shall be permitted more than 52 weeks of basic academic upgrading.

Second, to be eligible for training, applicants must also have a specific occupational goal. This provision weeds out those who are demoralized and confused by the labor market. The lower the levels of education and skills the more difficult it is to state a specific occupational goal. These people are unable to state their aims in a manner which would satisfy a manpower counsellor holding the middle class views of his bureaucratic institution. Moreover the lack of detailed data on job vacancies prevents the counsellor from assigning any particular significance to an applicant's choice.

And thirdly, before a person can receive an allowance for manpower training, he must have been in the labor force at least three years prior to the application. This means working or actively seeking work for the past three years. This rule was explicitly designed to exclude the young from the program, even though they make up an enormous part of the total unemployed.

Through an arrangement with the provincial departments of education, Manpower buys seats in various educational institutions or private colleges. In many cases it also pays the person taking the retraining course an allowance ranging from \$40 to \$103. These arrangements subtly place another barrier to access by the poor. For there is no doubt that in the eyes of Manpower counsellors the poor are a "high-risk population." And because the competition for Manpower retraining is high — only one in ten of all applicants is accepted — the inevitable "skimming" process takes place. Successful applicants are those with a level of skills and education high enough to guarantee success. The Frontier College brief to the Senate Committee stated:

No person requiring more than one year's academic upgrading (computational and written-language skills) is eligible for occupational training.

Because almost all vocational skills programs in Canada today require a Grade Ten prerequisite education (such as welding, carpentry, electrical trades, plumbing), and, because most academic upgrading centres (known as Basic Training for Skills Development, or B.T.S.D. centres in Manpower terminology) can raise a student's functioning equivalent Grade level by about three grades in fifty two weeks, very few persons with educational attainments below Grade-Seven level can gain entry into B.T.S.D. occupational training courses. Moreover, our experience suggests that very many adults who have attained only seven or eight years' education as children function at a much lower level in their adult years. Such persons make up a very large element in our population. The vast majority of "poor" Canadians able to work would fall into this category. Some persons in this category do gain entrance to Manpower programs but usually this happens "in error" or because of a "sympathetic" Manpower counsellor.

But behind the obstacles that put manpower retraining programs beyond the reach of the poor is a larger problem. It is that a high unemployment rate, produced by the federal government's indiscriminate attack on inflation, makes manpower policies a largely futile effort. People are being trained for non-existent jobs, the best-skilled people are skimmed from among the unemployed to fill the relatively scarce vacancies, and the unskilled get left behind (with all the resultant bitterness expressed many times in the Committee proceedings).

The problems of manpower policies, however, cannot be attributed to the Finance Department. The Department of Manpower and Immigration is not able either to produce information on current vacancies, or to predict the future trend of vacancies, let alone the wages that are likely to be paid in them. This means that they counsel people on career opportunities and buy training "seats" on the basis of little more than hunches.

More fundamentally, there is a distinct lack of concern for workers who are having a hard time in the labour market.

Again, from the brief by the United Community Services of the Greater Vancouver area:

## In the eyes of Manpower counsellors, the poor are a 'high-risk population'



In the basic conflict within the Manpower Department between their two "clients" — the employer and the employee, the B.C. Regional Office has opted to serve the employer. This philosophy was clearly expressed by a Manpower representative on an open-line show on December 2, 1969; he repeatedly told callers: "We have no responsibility to you; our responsibility is to the labor market." Asked by the interviewer if Manpower didn't sometimes assign a counsellor to help a person find a job, the response was "We'd love to, but we don't have enough staff."

Of the male trainees in the retraining program in the fiscal year 1969, 53 per cent had grade eight or less though a staggering 40 per cent of all male workers in Canada are in that category. Obviously they should have much greater representation in the training programs because they need help the most. For these are the men who have the greatest difficulty adjusting to the labor market and in finding decent jobs. Furthermore, we suspect that within this low-education group (for which no further statistical detail is given by the Department) there is considerable "skimming" with little assistance given to those with only a few years of formal education.

As Frontier College noted,

We suggest that a large number of Canadians who "most need" the occupational training services of the Manpower Policy are denied access to occupational training by certain provisions in the present policy... Of course, there are many "poor" Canadians whom the Manpower Policy cannot assist. But there are large numbers of "poor" Canadians who are able and anxious to work: those unemployed, underemployed, or seasonally employed, who lack the prerequisite education and jobs skills for secure employment. It is this group that the Manpower Policy fails in large measure to assist...

The Department's Manpower Mobility Program, for example, which pays people to move from areas of low labor-demand, into areas of higher demand is an application of this same philosophy. The candidates for transfer are pre-selected on the same basis as the candidates for retraining, and just as the people retrained are the people most likely to succeed without retraining, the people selected to move are the people who are most likely to move in any case. The brief of the federal Department of Manpower and Immigration notes: "In general, the flow of assisted moves follows normal mobility patterns. The majority are under 35 years of age."

The emphasis, as always, is on helping men with skills, not on helping men with-

out them — swapping trained men around in response to labor-demand, not in creating new training programs for unskilled men before or after moving them.

The emphasis on supplying the needs of the employer, rather than the employee, has led to considerable suspicion and resentment on the part of the unskilled and unemployed. A survey of the situation in Ottawa by researcher Michael Posluns of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association turned up reports of administrative truculence, arbitrariness, and general lack of insight on the part of Manpower counsellors. A brief to the Committee by United Community Services in Vancouver reported:

During the past months, United Community Services has interviewed numbers of those receiving social assistance in regard to "hang-ups" in the welfare system; their comments about Manpower have been devastatingly critical. These criticisms are not without support; indeed, one social service administrator bitterly stated: "It is as though they had the brand of Cain on their forehead when Manpower finds out they are on welfare." The Director of the John Howard Society states: "Our referrals are quickly categorized by Manpower as 'untrainable' and therefore not adaptable to their procedures."

Dr. Eric Robinson, Principal of Frontier College, told the Committee:

In our experience in conducting adult basic education programs and community-education programs, we have on occasion been in confrontation, you might say, with the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Although we have discovered the splendid good-will that many manpower officers show, we have also encountered arbitrariness and rigid adherence to certain policies and practices which unarguably leave out large segments of the population of Canada who can benefit from basic training for skills development.

Those "policies and practices", in themselves unreasonable, are rooted once again in the original premise of the Manpower Department — that the employer and the "requirements" of technology are to be served first.

Granted, it is difficult, frustrating, and expensive to train the unskilled and illiterate up to market standards, particularly in a period of high unemployment. But it is not good enough merely to blame weakness of manpower policy on an obviously mistaken stabilization policy. Assisting and training merely those whose skills are closest to the scarce job opportunities available is the easy way

## Manpower funnels immigrants into low-paying jobs...

out, but it has serious long-term consequences. The unskilled become demoralized and lose those skills that they do have, but cannot apply.

An army of people without skills accumulates. When the economy returns to normal employment conditions, these people will not be well equipped to fill the new jobs. A long-sighted policy would be to try to make the unskilled competitive in the labor market, even during high unemployment conditions. It would serve not only equality, but also the economy's overall efficiency. But that policy is not generally adopted by the Manpower Department.

There have been exceptions. In 1967, the federal Manpower Department set up a number of experiments in depressed regions — the NewStart programs, which were to try a developmental approach towards manpower retraining where it was toughest. The NewStart programs, however, were soon starved of funds, and got caught between two government departments, each of which was concerned with various specific aspects of unemployment and regional depression. New Start was regarded rather uneasily by administrators in the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, where it finally came to rest; and the programs are now in the process of termination.

NewStart, originally, was a bright and sensible idea. But it didn't fit in with that basic premise of the Manpower Department: that the requirements of employers are supreme and workers are mere instruments to force them. Until that premise is discarded, Manpower programs will do little beyond training those who need it least, helping those who require it least, moving those who would have moved anyway, and tailoring its payoffs for employers, and not for the poor.

The immigration programs of the Department of Manpower and Immigration also tend to exacerbate income inequalities. While the department has tried to bring in immigrants only in occupations which are in high demand (apart from sponsored immigrants), the method it has chosen of doing so reinforces income inequality. A job which is unpleasant and low paid will usually have a high turn-

## ...holding down wages for the corporations

over rate as people move out of it. This will register in the Department's point-rating system as high demand for that job. Immigrants who want to come here can acquire as many as thirty of the fifty required points by having an occupation in one of these high-demand industries. The department does not look at wages, simply at vacancies.

This process of funnelling immigrants into such low-wage jobs has occurred on a large scale in the mining, fruit and vegetable processing industries. The Manpower department has even assisted growers and packers by flying in temporary help from the West Indies. Without the explicit recruiting help of the Manpower Department both here and abroad, these industries would be forced to pay higher wages.

The subservience of the government

to corporate requirements is also evident in the type of training subsidiary. Millions of public dollars are spent each year in training workers in skills which are of use only to specific industries. And, which in the absence of the Occupational Training program, would have been provided by those industries themselves. There is evidence too, that since the start of the training program what little training industry used to do has decreased, with costs being shifted to the public.

More evidence of the Department's unwillingness to do anything except find people for jobs on terms dictated by corporations is its refusal to seek out those in the labor market who need special help. Manpower Centres are austere and imposing premises, usually located in areas far from concentrations of people with known employment problems. They have nine-

to-five hours and are centrally directed, without reference to the needs of the community. The only exception to this comment is the Halifax Canada Manpower Centre's Gottingen Street Outreach Project, where a special Manpower office was set up in a Halifax slum and staffed by specially trained residents. The project attempted to bring the usual manpower services to the attention of the residents of the area, and to provide them with the special help they might need to become employed. Despite the enthusiasm of the residents for the project and its apparent success, the Manpower department has not repeated the experiment elsewhere or created additional projects in other slums.

Perhaps it is significant that the department has refused to make public its evaluation of the project.



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# Unemployment insurance for the good times

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The pogy — or “unemployment insurance”, as it’s officially known — is commonly thought of as the first line of defence for the worker. And it is true that during periods of low unemployment the plan works relatively well — because workers are not likely to be unemployed for long periods of time. In periods of high unemployment, however, the plan fails — because workers run into long periods without work, which reach past the maximum time covered by their insurance. And for many of the working poor who are underemployed, the pogy is either out of reach or just one more way-station on the spiral down into poverty; even the bureaucrats who are responsible for managing the fund recognize that fact.

J.M. DesRoches, Chief Commissioner of the Unemployment Insurance Commission, told the Senate Committee on Poverty that at best, “the program can only have an indirect impact on poverty.”

Since its beginning in 1940, the basic concept underlying unemployment insurance has been the provision of a national, compulsory insurance plan for all workers in specified jobs. And, on the average, about one million workers each year have drawn upon the fund for an average of about twelve to fourteen weeks.

It is quite clear that the plan was never set up to help the poor. But it is obvious that it could do so simply by paying benefits to meet need.

Beginning July 1, urgently needed changes to the plan will somewhat belatedly put into effect. Primarily, the plan will be expanded to cover 96.3 percent of all Canadian workers, leaving only the self-employed to fend for themselves. It will take in about 170,000 Canadians who enjoy incomes above the old cut-off line of \$7,800 a year; and, more significantly,

another 1,040,000 workers, nurses, civil servants, teachers, and some 100,000 people employed by the Canadian Armed Forces: all of whom were previously thought to have total job security. However, the new Act will allow provincial governments to opt out of coverage for their civil servants — and many may do so.

Under the new plan an unemployed person on full benefit — a regular, highly-paid, married worker — will receive up to two thirds of his previous salary up to a maximum of \$100 a week.

Eligibility requirements will be changed. Until now, a worker had to be employed for 30 weeks out of the past two years. Under the new scheme a worker must have worked 20 weeks out of the past year to qualify for full benefits, and a minimum of eight to qualify for partial benefits.

Women will now receive 12 weeks of benefit for pregnancy, and certain illnesses will be covered. The government has also taken a tentative step in the direction of overall economic responsibility: if unemployment goes over four per cent, it will pay the increase in benefits over what was needed at 4% out of general expenditures instead of draining the insurance fund.

But because the plan is based on the principle of eliminating the worst risks, it systematically excludes a whole cross section of the poor — for example, self-employed, part-time workers, and many casual workers in the primary industries. The plan has also been designed without reference to the unemployed. It is of least assistance to the young worker, new to the labor force, who has not had time to build up insurance benefits. Males between the age of 14 and 25, and females from 14 to 19, are the highest unemployed group. Of the more than 600,000 workers unemployed during the winter of 1970-71,

about 40 per cent were between the ages of 14 and 24.

Even for those who do qualify, the insurance plan has a built-in bias against those who probably need it most. The bias is simple: payment of benefits is related directly to earnings, and not to need — if you don't earn much, you don't get much. Nor is the plan adjusted for family size; one dependent is as good as five. The plan could easily be changed to meet both needs. One laudable change in the new amendments is the proposal to charge employers higher rates in those industries which have unnecessarily high lay-off rates — the construction industry, for example.

But this change will do nothing to eliminate the social by-products of inadequate benefit levels; there is some evidence that many workers who become unemployed have to drain their savings, sell their car, house, and other personal assets because unemployment benefits are too low.

Unfortunately, aside from a few documented case histories there is no record kept of this social disintegration. But from the evidence given by many poor people, and the existence of some unco-ordinated data, it must be recognized that this fall from affluence takes place frequently during long periods of unemployment. For example, evictions in the Toronto area have more than doubled in the past year, and as the consequences of the 1969-70 recession take their cumulative effect it has been estimated that there will be another large increase in the coming year. As these workers and their families drop out of the labor force, and lose the homes and possessions for which they have worked hard and long, it is no wonder they become bewildered and bitter at government economic policies for which they are forced to pay the price.

# Workmen's Compensation — forget it

The Workmen's Compensation Board has a reputation around the world for the efficiency and extent of coverage that it provides. It seems to me, however, that such a reputation has been built on the opinions of politicians and Workmen's Compensation Board administrators and certainly not by consulting those workers in Ontario who have had the misfortune of doing business with the board. (John Neveu, Chairman, Welfare and Workmen's Compensation Committee, Just Society, Toronto, March 12, 1970. 28:7.)

One afternoon in the fall of 1970, a member of the Committee's Staff happened to look out of the window, his glance following the figure of a young man walking by. A second later the man lay dying on the sidewalk, killed by planks thrown from the roof of an adjoining building under construction. This man, a business-machine serviceman, left a wife and child.

At the time of his death he was earning about \$750 a month.

Today, his wife and her child are receiving \$175 a month from the Workmen's Compensation Board. There is no escalator clause, so the pension will in no way be tied to rising costs and advances in the standard of living.

If she remarries, the pension will be stopped and she will be given a lump-sum payment equivalent to two years of compensation. The child will be allowed \$50 per month payment until he is eighteen.

The reason the future is bleak for her and her family is that both her husband's employer and the employer of the workman who threw the planks off the roof were covered by the same insurer: the Workmen's Compensation Board, a bureaucracy which operates what in fact is an immense fund for a "mutual association of employers." Under the Workmen's Compensation Act, the widow had no right to sue the construction worker's employer — even though the worker had been found negligent.

There are other serious flaws in the Workmen's Compensation Act, but this is the major one: under the Act, the worker or his family has no right to sue for adequate and substantial compensation, but must instead accept a scheme of subsistence benefits which automatically places a family below the poverty line. It is only in rare and unusual circumstances that the Board moves aside and allows personal suit of an employer. But, even in doing so, the person seeking compensation must waive his right to seek any compensation from the Board if he loses his suit.

The Workmen's Compensation Act came into effect in Ontario on January 1, 1915, and established a precedent for financial protection of employees soon taken up by Nova Scotia, British Columbia, Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Québec. By 1951, all provinces had passed acts similar in principle to that of Ontario. Amendments have been made from time to time — amendments which have tended to increase the uniformity of legislation all across Canada.

The major purpose of workmen's compensation legislation is to provide that "in any industry to which the Act or the main part of it applies, workers who sustain personal injury by accident arising out of and in the course of their employment or who are disabled by specified industrial diseases are entitled to compensation." Exceptions are made when the workman is disabled for a shorter time than the legal waiting period (usually one day), and also when the injury is "attributable solely to his serious and willful misconduct and does not result in death or serious disablement". In Ontario, passage of the legislation was preceded by a five-year investigation headed by Sir William Ralph Meredith. There is no doubt that originally the legislation was intended as a meaningful form of compensation, but it is impossible to believe that today it could possibly keep a worker and his family out of poverty.

Under the provisions of the Act, Ontario employers, and subsequently those in other provinces (except Prince Edward Island), were relieved of individual responsibility in paying compensation to their employees or dependents for injury, illness, or death as a result of their work. This no-tort insurance means compensation is payable by employers collectively. Industries covered by the act are divided into groups, and employers in each group are collectively liable for claims made by workmen of all industries in any one group.

Schedule 1 of the Workmen's Compensation Act lists industries under the collective liability system, and includes the majority of those in existence. The Board collects an assessment to form an accident fund, out of which claims are paid. The relatively small numbers of employers covered by Schedule 2 are individually liable, at the Direction of the Board, to pay compensation to workmen in case of accident or death. (Contributions to the fund come from an assessment of the industries, cal-

culated on risk and on percentage of every \$100 of payroll).

Men who have worked for a lifetime to earn a living, provided for their families, and generously paid their way through society, suddenly become suspect once they have been injured. (John Neveu, 28:8)

— this indeed seems to be the general assumption behind the compensation awards given by the Board. The compensation payments seem to reveal a fear that the work ethic will be destroyed if a worker is given 100 per cent of his earnings during the period of his partial or permanent disability. There is a clause which states that a worker is entitled to 75 per cent of his earnings, but a very tight lid is clamped on that by stating earnings cannot be set above \$7,800 a year, which means a maximum compensation of \$100.97 a week. This means that a worker earning more than \$200 a week in the construction industry will receive less than 50 per cent of his income as compensation.

In case of death, there is a maximum payment of \$400 for funeral expenses and a lump sum payment of \$500 to the widow, followed by a pension of \$125 per month and \$50 per month for each child. But the total monthly payments must not exceed the man's average earnings, except in the case of a widow with three children who receives an automatic minimum of \$275 in total payments.

There also appears to be a bureaucratic stranglehold on the machinery through which the workers must go if they wish to appeal decisions or apply for whatever Manpower retraining programs that may be available to a disabled worker. John Neveu told the senators that his committee, a branch of the Just Society, had by dint of working hard and producing solid documentation succeeded in 90 per cent of the appeals made on behalf of workers. Even so, said Neveu, the Board has never admitted that there might be something wrong in the manner in which it reaches decisions. He also pointed out that it was extremely difficult for a worker to obtain information on why the Board made certain decisions. "It is," he said, "this type of silent wall of bureaucracy that faces not only the injured workman, but all the poor of Canada in their relations with the government, and the government agencies of Canada". Perhaps even more unjust is the underlying attitude the Board appears to have toward workers, that every claimant, is, if not an actual, then at least a potential fraud.

# Taxes: A little help for our friends...

The transfer system is the web of government programs which transfer money from one individual to another. It includes programs which pay money to people, and programs which raise that money from people. The most important of the latter is the taxation system, which carries a double responsibility: the first is to provide revenues for general government spending, and the second, of reducing income inequality.

Reducing income inequality means two things: increasing the income of the poor and decreasing the income of the very rich. The Gini ratio is the standard measure by which economists determine how successful governments have been in narrowing inequality between the poor and the rich. The formula shows how much redistribution of income has taken place through the transfer and taxation systems. A Gini ratio of zero represents complete income equality; a ratio of one represents complete income inequality. A decrease in the Gini ratio therefore shows a move toward income equality. Over the past 20 years, the Canadian Gini ratio before taxes has been .42, while after taxes it has dropped to .38 — an extremely small change.

This indicates failure on the part of the Canadian governments over that time to use the instruments of transfer and taxation to do anything significant about closing the gap between the rich and the poor.

The surprising fact in the data is that before the 1940s there was some indication that an equalizing trend

was taking place in the total amount of income shared before transfers. The same inequality is true of income distribution in the United States, but in the western European countries there has been a move toward greater equality.

A closer examination of the tax structure reveals how heavily Canadian governments rely on a regressive tax structure as a source of public revenue. Regressive taxes are those which take away a higher proportion of income from the low-income groups than from the high-income groups.

An examination of table 5 shows that an incredible 54 per cent of the income of poor people goes in payment of taxes, direct and indirect. If social security contributions are included, this becomes 60 per cent of their income. By comparison, those with incomes over \$10,000 pay only between 37 to 38 per cent of their income in those same taxes.

We really have only one form of wealth tax, the property tax. However, it does not tax the wealthy, but has the opposite effect. Wealthy landlords, either corporations or individuals, are supposed to pay the tax on their property, but instead simply passed then on to tenants in the form of higher rents. The property tax also becomes highly regressive — taking money from those least able to pay — when it is levied against aged home-owners with low incomes.

All taxes, except personal income tax and estate taxes, are at least partly regressive. The property tax, import duties, sales tax and excises, are all completely regressive. This is because they are all direct taxes, not only on consumption but on basic needs.

These taxes especially discriminate against large families, because although tax deductions are granted per child, these deductions do not cover the realities of the total increased cost of supporting a family of seven as compared to a family of three.

And even more important, the tax structure does not take into account the assets of an individual before taxation. A man who has an income of \$10,000 a year is taxed at exactly the same rate as a man whose investment, say from \$200,000, gives him an income of \$10,000 a year — even though the economic distance between the two is enormous. When the first man loses his

job his economic base is wiped out. Not so the second man, who can use his assets in a multiplicity of ways to give him access to capital.

The Carter Commission on Taxation summarized the present injustices of the tax system by pointing out that:

1. Individuals are not taxed in proportion to their ability to pay.

2. The system does not recognize the difference between an individual member of a family's ability to pay taxes and the burden that it places on the family as a unit.

3. The first two points, and the government's willingness to use the tax system to provide tax concessions to particular kinds of industry and business, place an unjust burden — through the combined effect of sales taxes, corporate incomes taxes, property taxes, and the present personal income tax rates and bases — on the poor, when compared to middle — and upper-income individuals.

How the present income tax system contributes to poverty is quite clear. A man with four children, all under sixteen, and who earns a poverty-line income of \$6,100 pays \$540 in income tax.

The basic exemptions have remained unchanged since 1919. In fact when Canada first introduced an income tax (1917), the basic exemptions were \$2,000 for a single individual. In 1919, the government reduced the exemption to \$1,000, where it has remained ever since. Meanwhile the average income has increased enormously and consequently increased the size of the taxable income base and, in turn, government revenues. The government has frozen the exemption levels simply because that represents a way of increasing effective tax rates without recourse to Parliament and without public awareness.

The attitude of the present government toward basic tax exemptions is very clearly revealed in two recent white papers. The white paper on taxation (Proposals for Tax Reform) says that the exemption for children should be changed, but states that a recommendation will be made in the white paper on income security. That latter document says nothing about the matter, and one can only conclude the government is not interested in giving the large families of the poor a better break.

## ...from the boys at the bottom

Table 5:

## Effective total tax incidence for the total tax structure, 1961\*

| Family Money Income Class          | Under<br>\$2,000 | \$2,000-<br>2,999 | \$3,000-<br>3,999 | \$4,000-<br>4,999 | \$5,000-<br>6,999 | \$7,000-<br>9,999 | \$10,000-<br>and Over | Total |
|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------|
|                                    | Percentages      |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                       |       |
| 1. Federal Taxes, total            | 27.3             | 16.9              | 18.0              | 17.3              | 19.3              | 20.7              | 23.8                  | 20.2  |
| 2. Individual Income Tax           | 1.1              | 1.9               | 3.3               | 4.5               | 7.2               | 8.8               | 10.4                  | 6.9   |
| 3. Corporation Income Tax          | 6.5              | 3.4               | 2.8               | 2.3               | 2.4               | 2.7               | 6.1                   | 3.4   |
| 4. Sales Tax                       | 8.0              | 4.2               | 4.2               | 3.7               | 4.0               | 4.1               | 2.7                   | 3.9   |
| 5. Selective Excises               | 4.3              | 2.6               | 2.6               | 2.3               | 2.5               | 2.4               | 1.5                   | 2.3   |
| 6. Import Duties                   | 4.7              | 2.3               | 2.2               | 1.9               | 2.0               | 2.0               | 1.3                   | 2.0   |
| 7. Estate Duties                   | —                | —                 | —                 | —                 | —                 | —                 | 1.4                   | 3     |
| 8. Social Security Contributions   | 2.7              | 2.5               | 2.9               | 2.6               | 1.2               | .7                | .5                    | 1.5   |
| 9. Provincial & Local Taxes, total | 32.7             | 16.0              | 14.2              | 13.1              | 13.5              | 13.5              | 14.6                  | 14.5  |
| 10. Individual Income Tax          | 1                | 3                 | 5                 | 7                 | 1.1               | 1.4               | 1.6                   | 1.1   |
| 11. Corporation Income Tax         | 2.0              | 1.1               | .9                | .7                | .7                | .8                | 1.9                   | 1.0   |
| 12. Sales & Excises                | 8.2              | 4.5               | 4.6               | 4.3               | 4.7               | 4.5               | 3.0                   | 4.4   |
| 13. Succession Duties              | —                | —                 | —                 | —                 | —                 | —                 | 1.5                   | 3     |
| 14. Hospital Insurance Premiums    | 2.6              | .9                | —                 | —                 | —                 | —                 | 1                     | 5     |
| 15. Property Tax                   | 16.3             | 6.8               | 3.4               | 4.8               | 4.3               | 4.0               | 3.8                   | 4.8   |
| 16. Other Taxes                    | 2.7              | 1.6               | 1.4               | 1.3               | 1.4               | 1.5               | 2.2                   | 1.6   |
| 17. Social Security Contributions  | .8               | .7                | .8                | .8                | .9                | .9                | .5                    | .8    |
| 18. Total Taxes, All Levels        | 60.0             | 32.9              | 32.2              | 30.5              | 32.8              | 34.2              | 38.4                  | 34.7  |

\* Using the "broad income" base.

Note: Details may not add to totals due to rounding.

Source: Gillespie, work cited, p. 65

Table 6:

## The Incidence of All Public Expenditures, 1961\*

| Family Money Income Class                    | Under<br>\$2,000 | \$2,000-<br>2,999 | \$3,000-<br>3,999 | \$4,000-<br>4,999 | \$5,000-<br>6,999 | \$7,000-<br>9,999 | \$10,000<br>and over | Total |
|--|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------|
|  | Percentages**    |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                      |       |
| 1. Federal Expenditures, total               | 99.3             | 41.6              | 27.0              | 22.2              | 20.1              | 18.9              | 17.7                 | 24.2  |
| 2. Highways                                  | .5               | .3                | .3                | .3                | .3                | .3                | .2                   | .3    |
| 3. Other Transportation                      | 2.7              | 1.3               | 1.2               | 1.0               | 1.1               | 1.3               | .9                   | 1.2   |
| 4. Education                                 | .7               | .5                | .4                | .4                | .3                | .3                | .3                   | .3    |
| 5. Public Health and Sanitation              | 7.0              | 2.6               | 2.0               | 1.5               | 1.2               | .8                | .4                   | 1.4   |
| 6. Agriculture                               | 3.4              | 3.1               | 1.8               | 1.0               | .7                | .6                | .8                   | 1.1   |
| 7. Social Welfare and Veterans' Payments     | 70.4             | 21.7              | 10.2              | 7.2               | 5.7               | 4.6               | 2.1                  | 8.4   |
| 8. Interest Payments on the Public Debt      | 4.9              | 2.2               | 1.3               | 1.0               | .9                | 1.2               | 3.1                  | 1.7   |
| 9. "General" Expenditures                    | 9.7              | 9.9               | 9.8               | 9.9               | 9.8               | 9.8               | 9.8                  | 9.8   |
| 10. Provincial and local expenditures, total | 63.6             | 31.2              | 24.4              | 20.5              | 18.6              | 15.3              | 11.5                 | 19.6  |
| 11. Highways                                 | 5.6              | 3.2               | 3.3               | 3.4               | 3.7               | 3.6               | 2.7                  | 3.4   |
| 12. Education                                | 18.3             | 11.4              | 9.5               | 7.7               | 6.5               | 4.3               | 2.5                  | 6.4   |
| 13. Public Health and Sanitation             | 17.8             | 6.2               | 4.5               | 3.4               | 2.7               | 1.8               | .8                   | 3.1   |
| 14. Agriculture                              | 3.8              | .9                | .4                | .2                | .1                | .1                | .0                   | .3    |
| 15. Social Welfare and Veterans' Benefits    | 13.0             | 4.8               | 2.1               | 1.4               | 1.1               | 1.1               | .5                   | 1.7   |
| 16. Interest Payments on the Public Debt     | 1.0              | .5                | .3                | .2                | .2                | .3                | .7                   | .4    |
| 17. "General" Expenditures                   | 4.1              | 4.2               | 4.2               | 4.3               | 4.3               | 4.2               | 4.3                  | 4.2   |
| 18. Total expenditures, all levels           | 162.9            | 72.8              | 51.4              | 42.7              | 38.7              | 34.2              | 29.2                 | 43.8  |

\* Using the "broad income" concept, and assumption B for "general" expenditures.

\*\* The cost of providing public expenditures for each income bracket is expressed as a percentage of "broad income" in that bracket.

Note: Details may not add to totals due to rounding.

Source: Gillespie, work cited, p. 143.

# The useless machine

A ny nation which chooses to live with a drastic inequality of income, which regularly places the interests of the corporation above the interests of the citizen, and which balances its books by throwing hundreds of thousands out of work, must live with the fact that a lot of its citizens are poor.

Four and a half million people is a lot of people. A government cannot entirely ignore a section of its population which is that large. And the Canadian government has not: it has created a vast and expensive

bureaucracy — the welfare machine — which is supposed to ensure a minimally decent life for all Canadian citizens.

In this it fails. And it fails in the most vicious and unintelligent way; for the welfare machine seems to be built to create and sustain poverty, and not to eliminate it. The machine produces dependency, penalizes initiative, and treats the poor as stupid and somewhat malicious children.

The sections that follow explain just how the machine works — who pays for it, what it does, and the effect it has on people. It is not a pleasant picture.

The days of this particular welfare bureaucracy are numbered. No one in Canada will defend it — not the bureaucrats, not the poor, not even the members of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty. It will be replaced; it is unlikely to be replaced with anything much better.

But even as a dying phenomenon, the welfare machine is worth examination; for it contains a concrete representation of the attitudes of the powerful towards the powerless. Its very existence, doomed or not, is an indictment of the social priorities of this country.

The Canadian federal government handles its transfers of money to the poor in two quite distinct ways: directly, through straight cash subsidies like the Old Age Security program and Children's and Youth Allowances, and indirectly, through federal contributions to provincial and municipal welfare schemes. These last payments, which form the underpinnings of Canada's welfare system, are made through the Canada Assistance Plan.

The Canada Assistance Plan was set up in 1966. It was intended to replace several combinations of confused, contradictory, sloppy programs which were creating more problems than they solved, and to extend the whole idea of welfare beyond subsistence payments to the flat broke.

Essentially, the federal government promised to pick up fifty per cent of any provincial or municipal payment to the poor that could be called "assistance". And "assistance" was defined in a fairly broad way: "aid to in any form to or in respect of persons in need for the purpose of providing... food, shelter, clothing, fuel, utilities, household supplies and personal requirements." This assistance was to be extended not only to those who were actually in need, but to those "about to become in need".

There were, of course, exceptions; the federal government would not apply the provisions of the Plan to payments for education or correctional institutions. But, theoretically, the Plan seemed to make sense.

The improvements remained theoretical. Control of the welfare systems stayed right where it had been. The theory behind

## The bureaucrats of poverty: Mandarins

CAP tinkered with the mechanics of the welfare systems, but shied away from effecting any real change in the power structure.

For example, one basic fault of the welfare structures CAP was intended to reform was that provincial and municipal welfare administrations, and the politicians who ran them, were, both literally and figuratively, laws unto themselves. Politicians and administrators arbitrarily decided how much they could afford to pay in welfare allowances, and how much they wanted to pay, and how much they were going to pay, and then paid just that, and no more; and the federal government had nothing at all to say about it. This, of course, meant that welfare rates in some

provinces — Quebec, for example — wound up far below welfare rates in some other provinces, like Alberta; and that welfare rates in some cities were considerably out of line with the rates in rural areas ten miles away. In some provinces, medical care, drugs and other goods and services were provided free of charge to welfare recipients as a matter of course. In others, they were emphatically denied.

CAP did nothing to eliminate these injustices, and may, in fact, have made them worse. For the Canada Assistance Plan was just that: a Plan. CAP was a kind of shopping-list for provincial and municipal welfare administrators, a schedule of approved expenditures for which they could get Ottawa to pick up half the bill. There was nothing in the Plan that required provincial and municipal administrators to pay reasonable welfare rates, or, really, to do anything at all; the only concession was that the federal government would pay for half of what they did do.

So if a provincial welfare scheme decided, as a matter of public policy, not to give welfare cheques to anybody who had a job but extremely low wages, the provincial welfare administrators were quite free to do just that — and most of them did. (Alberta remains the only province in Canada which publicly helps working poor people in any systematic way.) The Canada Assistance Plan states, quite specifically, that the federal government will pick up half the bill for welfare payments to the working poor; but if the provinces decide that they are not going to pick up the other half, nobody can force them to do it. The initiative — and the power — remains at the local political level.

# CAP: A crutch for political prejudice

There were, in fact, only two real requirements built into the Canada Assistance Plan. First, the provinces and cities were not to insist that people applying for welfare pass any kind of residence requirement before they got their benefits — and, by and large, they did not, although single transient males still run into occasional trouble, and although many provinces and municipalities are still beefing about this restriction on their freedom. Second, the welfare systems were required to set up provincial appeal boards. After five years, the last of these appeal boards is now creaking into action; and the overall performance of welfare appeal boards has not been stunning.

The Canada Assistance Plan, then, has done little to overcome the disparities between various provincial and municipal welfare schemes, simply because it extended the same cost-sharing split to the rich provinces as to the poor ones. How can a policy overcome regional disparities if that policy doesn't realize they exist?

This mistake is compounded by a second one: CAP requires that provinces pay the entire tab for their own welfare programs in advance, and then submit an accounting to Ottawa, which will, after due examination, reimburse the provincial treasury for half its expenditure. This procedure, the "first dollar" approach, means one thing to a rich province, like Ontario, which can set up a reasonably adequate welfare system out of its own treasury — and quite another to a poorer province, like Newfoundland, which has difficulty raising even its eventual 50 per cent share of the final bill. In other words, rich provinces are given, under CAP, liberal assistance to set up relatively rich welfare schemes. Poor provinces are given very little help of any kind. In poor provinces, then, there is less money to go around for more people. And the gap between provincial welfare rates widens. The table below, which is approximately correct for December 1970, makes the point.

So, finally, the Canada Assistance Plan, turned out to be merely a new accounting procedure — improved book-keeping, but not improved performance, for Canada's welfare systems. This is all it ever can be: for welfare systems themselves cannot, by their very nature, meet the needs of the poor or eradicate poverty.

**Direct Federal Programs:** CAP money is shuffled through provincial and municipal welfare systems before it gets to the people it's intended for. Other government payments go out direct — not to the poor as poor people, but to people in certain categories, some of whom are poor. A few of these payments are benefits from social-insurance programs, like the Canada Pension Plan and Unemployment Insurance; others are not based on an insurance principle, but are fairly straight-forward subsidies — Family and Youth Allowances, and Old Age Security payments (which include Guaranteed Income Supplement for old people with no other source of income).

**1) Old Age Security:** Just about half of all Canadians over 65 are living on about \$50 per week, maximum, and a lot of them are getting by on less than that.

OAS payments — the old age pension — are now worth \$80 per month. This cheque goes out to all old people, including some members of the Senate; anybody over 65 years of age is entitled to it. This kind of universalism makes no sense when it collides with Canada's inequitable tax system.

Old people with no other sources of income are also entitled to the Guaranteed Income Supplement, an extra \$55 per month, for a total package of \$135 per month; these GIS payments decrease at the rate of \$1 for each \$2 of outside income the pensioner reports.

The Department of Health and Welfare's brief to the Senate Committee explained that Old Age Security is not intended to be adequate; instead, it is meant "to provide a basic pension as a floor on which Canadians could build a retirement income". In fact, however, a lot of elderly Can-

**Table 7: Monthly and Annual Budget Standards for items of Basic Welfare need, by Province, December 1970 (For a family of 4 i.e., 2 parents and 2 children (a girl of 8 years and a boy of 13 years).**

|                          | Monthly  | Annually |
|--------------------------|----------|----------|
| Newfoundland (1)         | \$230.00 | \$2,760  |
| Prince Edward Island (2) | 244.00   | 2,928    |
| Nova Scotia (3)          | 263.00   | 3,156    |
| New Brunswick (4)        | 187.56   | 2,251    |
| Quebec (5)               | 218.00   | 2,616    |
| Ontario (6)              | 271.00   | 3,252    |
| Manitoba (7)             | 246.10   | 2,953    |
| Saskatchewan (8)         | 215.15   | 2,581    |
| Alberta (9)              | 335.00   | 4,020    |
| British Columbia (10)    | 211.00   | 2,532    |

**Source: Monthly Budgets for items of Basic Need under Provincial Assistance Programs (Revised December, 1970).** Welfare Research Division, Department National Health and Welfare, December 1970.

Note: Actual allowances granted may be subject to ceilings (see footnotes) and do not necessarily correspond to the budget standards. Municipalities which administer assistance may supplement provincial allowances.

Basic needs are defined as food, clothing, and shelter. Extra allowances for special diets, extra fuel or rent which may be given under special circumstances are not shown.

- (1) Urban rent, including fuel allowance.
- (2) Exclusive of fuel allowance, which may be paid on basis of actual cost, includes urban rent.
- (3) Including allowances for fuel, rent, and utilities, which together may not exceed \$115. However, provincial maximum monthly allowances are set as follows: \$75 for women 60-65 years who are single, widowed, deserted, divorced or unemployed; \$100 for disabled persons and persons 65 or over; \$175 for families.
- (4) Exclusive of fuel allowance which may be paid on the basis of actual cost. Amounts specified for the various items of basic need are maximum amounts and the total allowance may not exceed an amount considered to be a reasonable standard in the community. Rent at \$60 per month for urban accommodation is included in the \$188 shown on Table. However, rent is usually paid at cost and \$60 per month is only used as a guide.
- (5) Includes fuel and rent for Zone III (Montreal). Zones II and I are \$5 and \$15 less respectively.
- (6) Rent for heated premises.
- (7) Exclusive of fuel and utilities which are paid on the basis of actual cost.
- (8) Exclusive of fuel allowance which may be granted according to provincial schedule or on the basis of actual cost. Rent may also be paid on actual cost.
- (9) Amounts for provincial allowances are specified for food, and clothing only; other rates are set at community standards. Rates are not specified for Municipal allowances. However, amounts shown are fair approximations, according to telephone conversation with the Department of Social Development Province of Alberta.
- (10) Includes fuel.



nadians are living right at that income floor — 475,110 (28 per cent) of them in August, 1970. Another 21 per cent were receiving part of the Guaranteed Income Supplement — or, in other words, had an outside income of less than \$110 per month.

Canadian governments have consistently refused to consider building an escalator clause into the Old Age Security program. Instead, pensions are raised whenever the government feels like it. Recent raises have been miserly; and the relative position of the old-age pensioner in the Canadian economy has been slipping badly.

2) **Family Allowances:** The "baby bonus" is worth \$6 for every child between the ages of eight and ten, and \$8 per month for each child between ten and sixteen. (In 1946, the rates were \$5 and \$6, respectively.) It is inadequate, and the government admits it's inadequate. The Department of National Health and Welfare's brief to the Senate Committee noted that the "family allowances have not kept pace with the growth in national income and the purchasing power of Canadian families."

The government's White Paper on Income Security proposes that the Allowances be taken away from families that don't need them, and slightly increased for families that do. In principle, this makes sense. But the reforms have been a long time coming.

3) **Youth Allowances:** These are intended to keep children of sixteen and seventeen in school; they're worth \$10 per month, and they stop when the child drops his education. \$10 per month, of course, does not really cover the needs of the poor, or the difference between staying in school and dropping out to take a job even at the minimum age. As a subsidy, it's insubstantial.

By and large, then, the government's direct-payment programs do not help the poor as much as they're supposed to, and there has been no new commitment of funds or resolve (not even in the government White Paper) to improve the situation. At the same time, the federal indirect-payment program — the Canada Assistance Plan — maintains regional discrepancies in welfare levels, and does nothing at all to improve the workings of the welfare machinery, or to change the attitudes of the politicians who control it.

## The bureaucrats of poverty: Enforcers

**A**s far as welfare is concerned, then, the provinces call the shots, according to their resources and the political convictions of the politicians in control. In some provinces, municipal politicians and administrators are given considerable leeway in determining welfare levels in their own bailiwicks; in other provinces, the provincial system has replaced municipal welfare completely.

This, of course, leads to striking differences in the way the poor are treated from one province to the next; and so there's no point in talking about "Canada's welfare system" as though it were all of a piece. Instead, we have chosen to examine Ontario's welfare system — primarily because there's a lot on record about it. In many ways, however, a welfare system is a welfare system, and works according to common prejudices and assumptions. Many at those we found in Ontario are no doubt at work in other provinces.

Ontario is rich. And it has a lot of poor people; the 1970 welfare budget amounted to some \$250,000,000.

The money was paid out through two different structures: Family Benefits, which is a provincial operation, and designed to help people with permanent, long-term needs, and General Welfare Assistance, which is — in theory — an emergency fund for people in temporary trouble, and is run by the municipalities.

The rates are set by provincial authorities, and are roughly the same, although municipal authorities have a little leeway in setting their own levels for General Welfare Assistance. This is how the two programs break down:

**Family Benefits:** There are quite a few categories of eligibility for Family Benefits; but, generally, they're given to the aged, the blind and disabled, mothers with children living alone, foster mothers, or other people in long-term difficulty. They're not very generous; in fact, they're not even close to any reasonable living standard.

The people who receive Family Benefits — the elderly, blind, disabled, and so

on — are generally not in a position to find or hold a job. If they do find one, however, they are allowed to keep some of the income from it.

But that exemption, broken down, doesn't really amount to much. A deserted mother with a child below the age of nine receives a basic Family Benefits allowance of \$2,234 (\$43 a week) and can earn an extra \$432 (\$8.30 a week) and keep all of it, which brings her income up to \$2,666 (\$51.30 per week). Anything she earns above that, she gets to keep a quarter of; her Family Benefits cheque is reduced by \$.75 for every extra \$1 she brings in. Of course, jobs that pay exactly \$8.30 per week are difficult to come by.

The picture improves just a little with the addition of Family and Youth Allowances, the exemption from income tax, and free medical care and prescriptions. Recipients of Family Benefits are considerably better off than those working at the federal or provincial minimum wage but only by comparison. Both are still well below the poverty line.

(All this varies considerably from province to province. Manitoba has a ceiling on outside income of \$20 per month, as does New Brunswick. Of course, if a Manitoban earns \$21, the province takes \$1 from his cheque; if a resident of New Brunswick earns \$21, the province takes all \$21, a \$20 penalty for that extra one dollar's work of effort.)

**General Welfare Assistance:** GWA is run by the Ontario municipalities, or regions, and is aimed at people in need who are not eligible for Family Benefits, or people who are waiting for their Family Benefits eligibility to come through. The costs are covered by the municipalities, which later pick up 80 per cent of their expenditures from the provincial government (which is fine for the more affluent cities, but disastrous for rural areas on starvation budgets).

The municipalities are required to pay a certain minimum benefit level, and are then given the option of providing certain other payments — supplements to Family

## Upward mobility on \$8.30 a week

Benefits or Old Age Security recipients, and money for drugs, medical services, prosthetic appliances, and so on. The province picks up the usual 80 per cent of the bill for supplementary payments to Family Benefits and Old Age Security recipients, but only 50 per cent of the bill for the "extras" — a fairly explicit disincentive to provide eyeglasses and false teeth for people on municipal welfare.

If these extras are provided, of course, they're likely to be cut short without notice when the money is needed for high ways, or traffic lights, or ceremonial dinners. Mrs. Audrey Burger, Welfare Committee Chairman of the Toronto Association of Women Electors, told the Senate Committee on Poverty:

I happen to know, observing the Metro Housing and Welfare Committee, that there was an allocation made for blankets. In, I think, October of last year (1969) suddenly there were no more blankets, and even though the Commissioner of Welfare would very much like to have given people blankets, he just had no more money left for blankets.

Recipients of General Welfare Assistance are usually more likely than Family Benefits recipients to be able to hold a job, at least part-time. But the earnings exemptions, which are mandatory for Family Benefits recipients, is available to them only at the discretion of the municipality; and since earnings exemptions chop money out of welfare budgets, the municipalities are usually reluctant to let welfare recipients earn a nickel. R.S. Godfrey, the Commissioner of the Social

Welfare Department of Ottawa Carleton, told the Senate Committee on Poverty:

Applicants have to declare earnings, and if they do not and we find out, the result is a reduction of their allowance. It destroys any incentive that is likely to be there or that might be developed, because they will say what is the point of getting a job if the moment I do so you are going to take away what little I might earn?

In other words, welfare systems — at least this one — discourage any impulse a recipient might have to go out and make a living, or even half a living. (It's worth noting as well, that an unemployed man in Ontario who wants to provide for his wife and children can do it best by leaving them. An intact family might be eligible for General Welfare Assistance; a deserted mother and children are eligible for Family Benefits. As a result, families on welfare break up fast.)

Without that earnings exemption, the basic General Welfare Assistance payments add up to bare-bones subsistence. Welfare recipients are expected to get by on it. They are not, however, told how they are to get by on it; the benefit schedules do not specify how much money is allotted to food, clothing, or personal requirements, for example, but, instead, lump the schedule into a "pre-added budget", which is not open to analysis, but is quite simply all the provincial officials are prepared to pay.

They're not prepared to pay very much. The rates were increased in May, 1970, which helped a bit, but not enough; before that, welfare rates were abysmal. Commissioner Godfrey told the Committee before the rate increase:

Our home economist took a family, a so-called typical family of four children plus a husband and wife, and determined what, in her professional opinion, was needed to feed that family for a month. In 1966, it would have cost \$132 to buy the items that are listed... these are basic necessities. In 1969, it takes \$157, approximately a 19 per cent loss in purchasing power... With a given amount of money you could buy 22 quarts of milk in 1966, but only 18 quarts of milk today (1969), and similarly down the line... there has been no offsetting increase in the rates.

A little analysis of those 1969 rates shows that, in a family of six, about \$1 per week is available for clothes and other personal items for each member of the family — assuming that everything else stays in line. A pack of cigarettes and a small tube of toothpaste.

Of course, those other costs do not stay in line. This is from a social worker's report, submitted to the Senate Committee on Poverty by Commissioner Godfrey:

Description of living accommodation. Woman deserted — five children. Living conditions — rented property. Three room row house. Exterior well painted, interior in very poor condition.

Basement. Holes in walls dividing unit from others which allowed rats entrance from other units. Holes in floor and front and back walls which allowed rats entry to unit from outside. No door on basement and holes around pipes and in corners which allowed rats access to living quarters.

Holes in upstairs walls (corners) allowed rats access to bedroom. Defective electrical switch in hall with semi-exposed and exposed wires. Glass in front door out for over a month without replacement. Windows and doors uninsulated. Repairs of some holes substandard. Wall broken around kitchen light switch.

Comment on tenant: This woman kept the house well in spite of its poor condition. Her floors were always as neat as could be expected with five children in the house. She complained often to landlord's agent but had trouble contacting him and received only empty promises when contact was established.

On December 5, 1969, woman reported to the social worker that rats had been driven in by snow. She reported food spoiled and rats acting very boldly in living quarters. At 100 per cent municipal aid holes were patched and an exterminator was engaged.

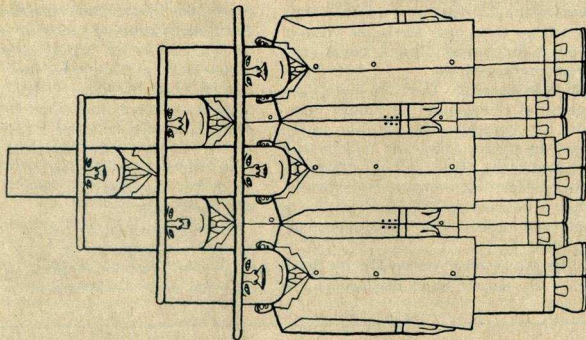
Rent allowance: \$95.00 Heat allowance: \$27.20 Total: \$122.20.

Difference between actual rent and rental allowance: \$80.00.

Pre-added budget: \$164.00.

This woman is therefore obliged to take \$80.00 from the pre-added budget figure of \$164.00 (food, clothing, etc.) to meet this excess rent figure every month.

Food, clothing, and personal care for one mother and five children: 50 cents each, per day.



The housing shortage, and the stock of sub-standard housing in Canada, will be examined in a section later on.

The point here is that the Ontario welfare system, with its rigid pre-added budget, combines with the housing shortage to keep welfare recipients in god-awful living conditions — and makes them cut corners to do it.

The economics of the welfare system make no sense at all — at least to those who have to live on it. But a simple infusion of cash would eliminate only the superficial failings. Welfare systems are, quite simply, demoralizing to administer and disastrous to deal with. Intentionally or inadvertently, they inflict a deep injury on the poor, destroy hope and choice, remove liberty and substitute resentment or, finally, sullen acquiescence. Commissioner Godfrey, in his brief to the Senate Committee, said

The investigatory processes which are required by law, and that must be carried out, are in themselves humiliating. The persistent inquiry into a person's circumstances, the inquiry over and over again into: How much do you earn? What have you done? When did you last work? Why have you not worked? Why have you not done this? — all tend to humiliate people. This checking up process does nothing, in our opinion, to enhance the inherent dignity of the individual. There is at all times a very delicate situation and a matter of acute embarrassment and discomfort for people and yet these are areas in which we have to probe...

The Manitoba brief to the Senate Committee described:

The feeling of recipients that they have no rights of their own and no control over their own lives. Their well-being depends on others. There develops a state of helplessness, powerlessness, alienation, and cynicism...

The process is circular. Welfare systems penalize initiative and produce dependence — a dependence on the welfare systems themselves. It is difficult to imagine a less satisfactory way of dealing with a shortage of money.

The system is itself a direct physical reflection of its mean-spiritedness. The Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton reported to the Senate Committee on Poverty:

On occasion an applicant waits all morning to be seen at the Public Welfare Department of Hamilton, only to learn that he should have gone to the Social Services Department of Wentworth County... The Hamilton Public Welfare Department takes automobile licence plates from recipients, making these licence plates available to them again on the basis of specified needs which are approved by the Department...

## The welfare system: charity and contempt

Alphonse Nadeau, Moderator of the Assemblée Générale de l'Île de Hull, described the welfare setup in that city:

...first of all, when you try to reach the Welfare by telephone, it does not work: if you wish to speak to a mister so and so, who would be in charge, you cannot reach him: the calls are screened by a receptionist who transfers your call to another gentleman, who asks you to which subject you are referring, and so on; you are unable to reach the persons in charge. Then you are received by the accounting people; you enter a large room... there are no chairs, and you must remain standing, and when it is your turn, you go to the counter, where there are three or four persons in charge, with reports — the public statement that can be heard by everybody in the room; they can hear what you say. Then, you wait for months, you do not receive an answer, it drags on, and you just come back — what happens is that the people end up by being discouraged, and when they have to return to the Welfare three or four times, they return home and say: there is nothing we can do, and I will endure my misery and crawl in my hole. It is like that.

This sounds more like a police station than a headquarters for public service. It is, in fact, typical of procedures at a large proportion of Canadian welfare offices. And there is more than a suspicion that this is deliberate, a matter of public choice and policy by the administrators concerned; for if welfare is made difficult and dis-

tasteful to get, and information impossible to get, fewer people will be likely to drain the public purse.

The proceedings of the Senate Committee on Poverty are filled with grievances like this one. They produce a portrait of a welfare system that falls halfway between charity and contempt, a machine organized to remove humanity from human beings.

And if the machine is brutal towards the people it serves, it is brutally expensive for the people who have to pay for it; for there is no way to make a bureaucracy which is based on a distrust for people operate responsibly or efficiently. The lack of organization in Ontario's welfare offices is startling. Commissioner Godfrey, in his evidence before the Senate Committee, drew the threads together:

It is very difficult for people not used to the complexities of government to understand why they have to go to one government for this and another government for that. It is confusing; it is discouraging; it is time consuming; it tends to shunt people back and forth. Needs may not be met promptly, and sometimes not at all, if the municipal budget is strained...

Theoretically, the poor have one weapon in dealing with this juggernaut: the appeal board. The Canada Assistance Plan, which is the life's-blood of both provincial and municipal welfare systems, requires that each province set up such a board. But the federal administrators have been publicly unhappy with the performance of these boards, and the poor are inclined to dismiss them with a shrug. They have good reason. In Ontario, a solid percentage of the board is composed of former welfare administrators, who are in a position to pass judgement on rules they made themselves. In New Brunswick, an appeal board which the provincial administrator describes as "pretty broad" contains no representatives of the poor. In Saskatchewan, appeals from the appeal board are heard in Regina, and it is up to the complainant to get there under his own steam — and at his own expense.

Given the existence of a welfare system, an appeals board is a necessity. But the appeals boards that have evolved in Canada are, by and large, administrative decorations of the larger welfare systems — minor annoyances to welfare administrators, perhaps, but in no danger of producing rational and basic change.

In reality, then, the poor have no real power over the welfare system. The power goes in one direction, and one direction only: from the top down.

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# Good advice from nice people

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**T**he conventional wisdom in this nation holds that the poor are poor because they are in some way personally inadequate: lazy, stupid, licentious, or — to put it in a professionally gentle way — maladjusted.

The welfare systems translate this assumption into concrete reality; welfare administrators must give the poor, along with meagre transfusions of money, generous transfusions of good advice, exhortation, and professional assistance, that they may take their place, some day, as full human beings in the pleasant pastures of the market economy.

There is, of course, a strong and clearcut need for social workers and social service agencies, for the poor as well as for everybody else; for some of the problems of poverty are not cured, even theoretically, by a sudden flood of cash. At this stage, however, a great part of Canada's social work structure is so closely and incestuously married to the welfare structure that it is compromised beyond real usefulness. The poor will not accept good advice and counsel when it is jammed down their throats.

And still, in every city in Canada, there is a sizeable battery of social service agencies, employing small armies of sincere and competent people in a vain attempt to resolve the contradiction between professional counsel and economic blackmail. There are agencies to treat alcoholism, deliver psychiatric help, handle used clothing, bring meals to the aged, protect children, and fix teeth. Many are performing splendidly. Almost all are performing in austere isolation, guarding information and refusing to communicate with each other. The result is confusion for the poor, the public, and the agencies themselves.

Only one real stock-taking has been made of the social service situation in a major Canadian city: the Social Service Audit, in Winnipeg, which came up with a number of rather startling discoveries. For example:

There is not, in Metropolitan Winnipeg at the present time, comprehensive social-welfare planning; neither is there provincial-wide comprehensive planning. Planning has been undertaken up to the present time by all the agencies within their own sphere of operation... The basic limitation at present is that what planning is taking place is unilateral; it lacks comprehensiveness. There are no commonly-agreed-upon goals, and the information and analysis upon which sound decision-making depends are not presently available. There is not sufficient cooperation in social planning with planning in other related fields, such as education and employment.

In other words, nobody quite knew what anybody else was doing, or what they were supposed to be doing, or, in fact, whether there was any real point to what any of them were doing. This, not surprisingly, was not working out well for the customers.

With a total of 278 health, welfare and recreation agencies and departments in Metropolitan Winnipeg, it is to be expected that people in need of help are baffled as to where to go. Agencies... confirmed the fact that clients are often frustrated and demoralized by going from door to door, office to office, trying to find their way through the labyrinth...

The effect of this lack of follow-up and continuity mean that clients get lost in the gaps between agencies, miss services where connections break down, and never do get their problems resolved. As an example, a counselling agency may refer an individual to a public welfare agency for financial assistance, and not check back to see that the needed help was given.

The potential for chaos in this situation is obvious, and fully realized. The Audit reported that the agencies often became as confused as their clients:

One family, or even one individual, may, and often does, receive help from three, four, or even six agencies at one time. Apart from the confusion and fragmentation that can result from this for the family, it means costly duplication of records and administrative structures. Time and money are wasted in the intricacies of referral, repetition of records, and reports.

This conclusion was echoed in many of the professional briefs to the Senate Committee on Poverty. The Premier's Task Force on Extended Care and Alcoholism Treatment Facilities in Prince Edward Island concluded:

The historical traditions in the development of our helping services have resulted in these services becoming fragmented into isolated professional and administrative empires which communicate badly with each other and collaborate hardly at all in their efforts.

The Audit noted that this kind of organizational snarl made it difficult for the social service network in Winnipeg to react to new problems, and, in fact, that there were quite a few problems that weren't really being handled at all —

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## Social Workers end up as policemen

day-care centres, diagnostic services for emotionally-disturbed children, services for the mentally retarded, and services for transients. The emphasis, instead, was on dealing with problems after they had become serious, rather than on preventing them from becoming problems at all:

Remedial action is designed and taken for precisely that purpose, and usually fails to diminish or eliminate the source of the problem. It also fails to prevent a repetition of the problem. The bulk of the time spent by health and welfare agencies is on the urgencies of remedial services.

In other words, the social service systems, like the welfare systems, are involved in relieving the symptoms of poverty, and not in attacking its root causes.

This report leans heavily on the Winnipeg Social Service Audit simply because it is the only thorough public examination of the premisses and performance of the Canadian social services, as they perform on the spot. It would be a mistake to conclude that other Canadian cities are in better shape than Winnipeg; more likely, they haven't yet realized that they have a problem.

There is one fairly straightforward reason for this; and that is that the defects of the social service system are masked by the defects of the welfare system that contains it. In the eyes of the poor, social workers are welfare workers. That is, cops. The government of Manitoba pointed out the problem in its brief to the Senate Committee:

At the present time, we submit an applicant for public assistance to a long, degrading application and interview process before granting financial assistance. The purpose of this procedure, in addition to establishing need, is to determine what social services such as personal or family counselling, health services, employment assistance, vocational retraining or other rehabilitative services are required by the applicant. The acceptance of these services is then established as a pre- or co-requisite to the receipt of financial assistance.

This approach fails to recognize two important facts. First, not all persons who require financial assistance also require social services. This point follows directly from a recognition of the societal causes of poverty. Second, social services are of minimal benefit if entered into under compulsion. Voluntarily accepted social services are much more likely to assist the individual person.

In other words, social services are now provided as a kind of subtle moral blackmail. And nothing, really, can be done about the organizational defects of the social service system until that hint of threat is removed.

## Education-swimming pools for the suburbs

Statistics are available to confirm what everybody knows already: education means money. If you have one, your income is secure. If you haven't, you're in trouble.

The knife cuts both ways. Lack of education causes poverty, certainly; and, at the same time, poverty causes lack of education. The Economic Council of Canada has pointed out:

...the educational levels of family heads were very likely influenced by the income and related circumstances of their parents; and their circumstances in turn are likely to influence the education levels achieved by their children.

Education is, in fact, the traditional common-sense recipe for the elimination of poverty. But the recipe has not really been applied across the board to the educational systems in Canada. Poor provinces, poor regions, and poor neighborhoods still have a distinctly lower level of education than their affluent neighbors. In his appearance before the Senate Committee, John Sewell, a Toronto alderman from a low-income area, pointed out: "...In our ward there are 17 elementary schools. There is not one five-year high school. That is what education is about for the poor."

1965 figures from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics indicate that a boy in Prince

Edward Island is about twice as likely to drop out of school as a boy in Alberta; other statistics indicate that, while the levels of education achieved by the children of the poor have risen over the last 20 years, they have risen by just about the same amount that everyone else's has. In other words, a child born in poverty is likely to wind up in the same place on the educational ladder as he was 20 years ago: at the bottom. Relatively and absolutely.

There are, of course, fairly straightforward reasons for this. Education, in Canada, is designed for and designed by members of the middle class, and is aimed quite specifically at the "average" — that is, middle-class, middle-intelligence, middle-personality — child or adolescent. Poor children are not, however, average, in any sense of the word. In a brief to the Senate Committee, staff members of the Duke of York public school in Toronto stated:

These children come to school sorely equipped to benefit from what could be called a standard educational program. They tend not to trust adults. They fear new experiences. They are not motivated towards academic learning. They settle differences by physical rather than verbal means. They are explosive in behaviour. They are not adequately rested or fed. Their language and intellectual experience is retarded. Their experiences have been narrow and few.



In other words, children born in poverty do not grow up suburban. And a suburban school system, or a school system based on suburban premises about education, is not equipped to deal with them — or they with it. In Canada, very little attempt is made to change either of them. Impasse.

This kind of built-in failure is helped along a bit with the transference of real, live, adult prejudices about the poor, and a general lack of common sense and humanity. Stories like the following, taken from the brief of the Catholic Womens' League of Canada, are fairly common:

Young people from grade seven up must use large (about 10" by 14") triplicate forms to purchase their books and other needed supplies for school. It is not uncommon for their social status to be clearly announced over the P.A. system. All welfare students are reminded to come to the office for their vouchers at 3.30. The average young student will not get up and be humiliated in front of his friends and teachers, but if he does, he is not yet finished. He must have this large voucher filled in and signed by the teacher or principal, then go to the department manager. This creates extra paper work and time, and often the harried teachers and clerks take out their anger by insulting the young student.

At the moment, in Canada, a great deal of publicity is being given to the spectacle of Ph.D.'s driving taxicabs, hosing down bars, and otherwise leading lives below their expectations. This is, of course, disconcerting for the Ph.D.'s. It is also disconcerting for the poor; for these redundant academics have been trained, at massive costs, at the expense of investment in public schools — and, in particular, of schools in low-income areas, which typically do not have suburban trimmings, and as often as not don't have enough classrooms to go around. Or teachers. Or much of anything.

For Indian children, or black children, or other visibly "non-standard" children, the economic discrimination is intensified with a little extra stupidity. George Munroe, executive director of the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre in Winnipeg, told the Senate Committee:

They have always transported the Indian people from God knows where to somewhere 500 or 600 miles from their own home communities and this hasn't worked for the simple reason that the type of education these people get is completely unsuited to their special needs.

Harold Cardinal — who was born in 1945 — describes his own education in his book *The Unjust Society*:

...in grade eight I found myself taking over the class because my teacher, a misfit, has-been or never-was sent out by his superiors from Quebec to teach savages in a wilderness school because he had failed utterly in civilization couldn't speak English well enough to make himself understood. Naturally, he knew no Cree. When we protested... we were silenced as "ungrateful little savages who don't appreciate what is being done for you."

Black children, in the Maritimes, experience in school a microcosm of the adult world of prejudice they're headed for, Joseph Drummond, executive advisor of the New Brunswick Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, told the Committee:

...the school is all geared to the white majority. We have been neglected, sadly neglected in the schools. It has been a calculated neglect. We have never learned anything about ourselves. When I came through the school system, the only thing you saw concerning black people was *Little Black Sambo*. After we reacted and they took that out, it left three lines in the history book: black people are slaves. They could sing and dance. They were happy.

The situations are parallel; and the results are the same. So are the reactions, or non-reactions, of the educational establishments in Canada. The brief of the Indian Friendship Society pointed out:

...equality is not so easily conferred on an Indian child, with handicaps imposed by poverty,

isolation, language difficulty, limited aspirations — above all, the feeling that he is inferior to the white children. And provincial departments of education offer no special help for Indian students; the education system makes no adjustment to their presence. Textbooks, goals, subject-matter, all are quite irrelevant to the situation of most Indian children, and most of them drop out in the early teens at the grade 6 or 7 level.

Twenty per cent of the adult population of the northern Prairies is functionally illiterate. Which means, in English, that 20 per cent of that population has less than a grade-four education.

It can be demonstrated fairly easily that that statistic is the result of the Canadian education system, and of its failure. It can also be stated, with some certainty, that not much is being done for the casualties. The 1961 Census indicated that some 1,024,785 persons over 15 had either no schooling or less than four years of it; the Canadian Association for Adult Education figures that the proportion hasn't changed much.

Education, for the children of the poor, is expensive and difficult; for the adult poor, it is damn well impossible to come by. In most cities, there are catalogues of bridge courses and gardening courses and even, God save us, courses in black magic. There are very few courses which will teach adults, poor adults, to read.



Magnus Isaacson

# How to subsidize slum landlords

**T**he 1968 Task Force on Housing and Urban Development reported that there were 5,500,000 housing units in Canada, of which about 500,000 are substandard. There are 5,700,000 family and non-family users who need housing. And it's as simple as that.

There are a number of reasons, if not justifications, for this shortage; basically, the supply of housing has been left to the private market to fulfil, and the performance of the private market in this regard has been questionable. The conventional criticisms of the failure of the housing, on the supply side, in Canada are summarized in economist N.H. Lithwick's **Urban Canada**:

the increasing concentration in the house-building industry, the scarcity of land, the backwardness of housing technology, high interest rates and taxes. Indeed, there exists much evidence on all the aspects in Canada... 32 large firms, constituting less than 2 per cent of this regionally segregated industry, built just under one-third of all the new dwelling units financed under National Housing Act loans to builders in 1968. As for land, most indexes show substantial price increases relative to most other commodities. Compared to best practices elsewhere, including modular and industrialized construction, we appear to lag significantly. Finally, the trend to higher world interest rates and the 11 per cent sales tax on building materials, combined with a rapidly growing demand for publicly supplied urban services, largely financed through the real property tax, have added substantially to the cost of home provision.

The major factor in the steep rise in housing costs is related, not to the cost of building a house, but to the cost of financing it, and paying the taxes on it. Interest rates have jumped because the government wanted it that way (inflation-fighting); taxes have risen because of the senseless method of paying for education through property assessment. In each case, the housing market is the victim of unrelated economic pressures — and the poor pay for it.

The government's role in this disaster is clear; for when government planners tinker with the interest-rate level in order to stabilize the Canadian economy, the economy gets stabilized at the expense of the housing supply. This is a bit like

reaching for a cleaver because there isn't a scalpel just handy; but, in any case, the housing market suffers badly.

The Economic Council of Canada's **Fourth Report** stated in 1967 that one million Canadians were living in substandard housing; the figure can only have risen since then. Housing is becoming substandard more quickly than it is being replaced with new, low-income housing; families add children, but do not get richer. There are not enough housing units to go round, and the poor, inevitably, have the last and the smallest choice.

That phrase "substandard housing" means a lot more than loose shingles and leaky faucets. Anne Ross, executive director of the Mount Carmel Clinic in Winnipeg, told the Committee:

The grandfather is an Indian coming in with three small children. These children are covered with these epigenous lesions. We gave them medicine and three days later they came back and were worse. Do you wonder why? You go down and see the house where they live. You go in and there is a small garage-like affair — I believe it was a converted garage, behind the house — and you see these three children with sores all over them playing in mud. Not sand; it looks like this sort of thin sand, but it is mud. You walk into the house — and what do you find? You find a grandmother who has a heart condition and can hardly move around. You find no furniture, just apple boxes. You find one bed with no sheets on the bed. You find one tap in the sink which means "no hot water."

In the brief of the Hamilton and District Social Planning and Research Council, a teacher in a low-income neighborhood reported:

One mother brought her children in to school late because the pipes had frozen and she had to take the children to a restaurant to eat. They paid (1966) eighty-five dollars a month for a house through the walls of which you could see by daylight. It cost them about one hundred dollars a month to heat it by space heater. They couldn't find anything better where they could take six children. One child was often late for school because they had to share the bathroom with a neighbour. There was none in their house and a family of eight. In another home, there were three rooms for eight people. One was the kitchen-dining-living-laundry combined. They had two babies. There was a hot plate, and no evidence of a refrigerator. There was a radio, record player, washing machine, and a sink, with a few cup-

boards. Walking room was about three square feet. One room was a bedroom with a double bed and a dresser. The other room was empty except for some odd items. Where did six children and two adults sleep? Total walking room for eight people would be about eighty-four square feet. It was a second-floor apartment with stairs that seemed about ready to collapse. There was no backyard. The children played on the streets...

Rats and mice are very common, creating all kinds of problems from soiling food to biting the small children. We had a conversation-time at school where the children compared rats as other children might compare pets. "We had a rat at our house and my mother threw her shoe at it, but it wouldn't go away." "How big was it?" "Oh, about so big," indicating about eight inches. "That's nothing! I have one this big," — indicating about ten inches. The conversation continued, and almost every one had a rat, rats, or mice. One parent excused her son from class about four times one year because the Board of Health was fumigating the house.

This is exploitation. And there is no point in hoping that it will stop all by itself; the housing market is not even keeping up with the demand for new middle-income homes, and is doing next to nothing to provide new housing for the poor. (The federal government has pumped some 75,000 new low-income units into the market in 1969-70, and another 35,000 are expected this year.) The Task Force noted that 200,000 new housing starts would be required, at a minimum, in each year between 1969 and 1973. In 1969, total housing starts added up to 195,826.

The rotten housing, moreover, is staying that way. In 1968, only 9,142 government loans were extended to people who wanted to renovate or extend their houses, and the vast bulk of these were for basement rumpus-rooms. Federal government housing policy has concentrated on the provision of new housing; and new housing does not benefit poor people. Public housing officials could, if they wished, rent or buy existing housing stock, and renovate if they had to, rather than build skyscrapers for the poor; except in Ontario, which is proudly embarking on a token program, this approach has been rejected, although it might help to maintain the quality and integrity of urban neighborhoods. As a result, the poor are being squeezed out of the housing market, and the kind of housing available to them is deteriorating.

But they have no option. In large urban centres (and 70 percent of all Canadians live in urban centres) the recent vacancy rate has been running, at an average, at about 2.5 per cent. If Montreal is knocked out of the sample, that vacancy rate goes down to 1.8 per cent. Most economists estimate that 4 per cent vacancy rate is tolerable; a 3 per cent rate means bad trouble for low-income people. And, of course, this shortage was entirely predictable: in 1965, the Economic Council of Canada forecast a bad housing squeeze, and Canadian governments in general sat on their hands.

The Canadian Welfare Council has estimated that people on welfare pay, on the average, some 47 per cent of their income on housing. As the section above on welfare schedules shows, this amount is not likely to be covered by their welfare payments. And as the numbers above demonstrate, the housing they're paying for is likely to be "substandard" — or worse.

There have been some attempts by government in the last 25 years to provide decent, low-cost housing for the poor. Some governments have done more than others, of course; Father R.S.H. Greene, a Calgary alderman, pointed out in his brief to the Committee:

The fact that there was more public housing built in Prince Edward Island from 1950-65 than there was in all of Alberta is due to the fact that in this 1960-65 period there was not a single unit constructed in this province... because of those long years of neglect, if not downright dereliction of duty, we in Alberta now have a tremendous backlog in the paucity of public housing.

Even where public housing has been built on a large scale, it has not come close to meeting the demand.

There are real problems, moreover, with the kind of public-housing units that have been built. The Task Force has pointed out that large scale ghettos for users of public housing create as many problems as they solve.

This is not to say that because large-scale housing projects haven't worked perfectly, public housing should be eliminated as a bad idea. As Alderman Greene pointed out to the Committee:

I think it is only comparatively recently that we have done anything about public housing because we have felt that this was something that was beneath our dignity and despite the fact that sub-divisions in Toronto like Regent Park south have had their problems... the truancy rate dropped down, the children got better marks in school, they were better clothed, the fire protection rate went down and the garbage costs went down on all of these things despite the fact that there are many sour aspects to it...

In other words, even large-scale public-housing projects have paid off to some extent. But because they are massive concentrations of poor people — and because some public-housing authorities have adopted attitudes ranging from the paternal to the dictatorial — unpleasant social side-effects have been created as well. The solution, obviously, is not to cut off funds for public housing, but to find ways in which housing can be built without creating new difficulties for their inhabitants.

At the moment, however, only minimum amounts of money are being spent on any kind of public housing — large-scale or small. The total number of public-housing units in Canada is 40,000; if even part of the existing housing shortage is to be met through public housing, something will have to be done, and fast.

Meanwhile, the vast majority of the poor are locked into deteriorating houses and shabby apartments, and, because of the low vacancy rate, are paying through the nose for them. The landlord, in this

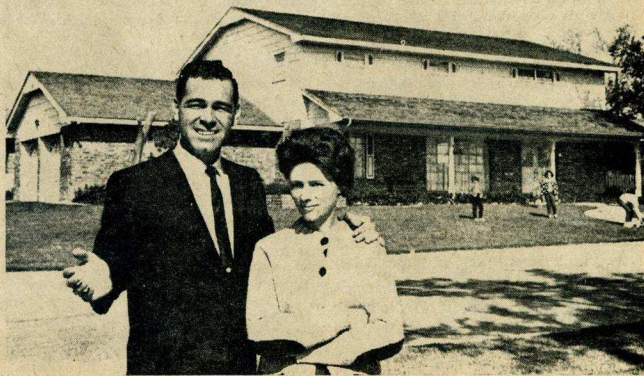
kind of situation, has the whip hand; and, in most provinces, the law gives the tenant very little protection against him. The Task Force on Housing noted: many tenants and tenant groups expressed dissatisfaction to the Task Force in regard to their relationship with their landlord. Their complaint, in a word, was that the relationship in most cases was heavily unbalanced in favour of the landlord. He could raise the rents without being required even to explain much less to justify the amount of the increase. He could set rigid rules as to pets and social activities without regard to what the majority of tenants might wish. He could demand advance deposits against possible damage to rental units while, in many cases, showing an extreme reluctance to refund them where no damage was caused. The tenant, for his part, seemed to have little alternative in these issues except to pay up, abide by the rules — or move out.

The Ontario government recently passed a **Landlord and Tenants Act** which remedied some of these arbitrary powers: in Ontario, landlords must now give notice of their intention to enter the premises, may not evict tenants without a court order, and may not demand a security deposit. In most other provinces, no such legislation exists; and the abuses continue.

In Canada, the poor are restricted to bad housing, at exorbitant rents, under the power of arbitrary landlords. Their chances of getting into public housing are slim; and even when they do get into public housing, they still pay a large slice of their small income for the privilege.

At the end of the century, the demand for housing in Canada will have doubled. We will need about twice the number of houses we have now. If things go on the way they are, the poor will get into very few of them; and the slums they live in now will only get worse.

## Deteriorating houses... shabby apartments





# The charity ward

The following is taken from the testimony of Anne Ross, executive director of the Mount Carmel Clinic in Winnipeg, to the Senate Committee on Poverty. It says a lot about the health of the poor in Canada.

A phone call: "I can't come to the clinic because I have no money. My husband has been fired from his job..." We go down to the home — rickety old staircase and we walk up. There is darkness — it's winter — in fact it was Christmas, and I remember it so well. There are six children, five pre-schoolers. Father was a taxi-driver and he had a bad accident and he was suspended. There is some question as to whether he should get it or not.

Meanwhile, once again, there are no sheets on the two beds. There are two burners, and that's all. We wanted to get a turkey for them, and it was very funny. We got some volunteers to bring them a turkey and suddenly we looked at each other: How are they going to cook that turkey? On what? There were no globes in the lights. We wondered why. Well, they just didn't have any money to buy them. They just sat in total darkness. I walked up to the crib and there was the child lying there wrapped in an old overcoat, right on the mattress. No bedding, no sheets. The temperature of 104, and one ear was running, and there was incrustation right down which was beginning to irritate the skin. We had a blanket with us and we wrapped up the child and we took three other children who were coughing to the clinic.

Mother was pale and apathetic. We examined the child who had an infected ear — it had a hole in the ear already, and we kept the child down in our day hospital. The other children were coughing and had a bronchial condition. We kept them in the day hospital as well. The mother had high blood pressure, was anemic, and needed medication.

The facts are simple: people who do not have money, who live in bad houses, who eat bad food, get sick. And the statistics get worse where poverty gets more intense. The brief of the federal Department of Health and Welfare to the Senate Committee noted that infant-mortality for 1968 rates run at an average of 21 per 1,000 births for all Canadians; 49 per 1,000 births for Indians; and 89 per 1,000 births for Eskimos.

The brief of the National Indian Brotherhood added:

The average life span for Indians in 1965 was 36 years; for Eskimos 20 years; for all Canadians a little over 62 years. The death rate for Indian children of pre-school age is three times the national average.

In the northern regions of the country, the Department of Health and Welfare brief adds, 56 per cent of all Eskimo deaths and 35 per cent of all Indian deaths were of children under the age of five. The brief continues:

The causes of low health-status are complex. In addition to serious financial deprivation, many Indians and Eskimos are affected adversely by cultural and educational deprivation, racial prejudice, and, often, geographic isolation in undeveloped regions lacking natural resources or undeveloped for lack of capital and knowledge. The underlying condition is a deep-rooted social malaise.

In other words, the health — or the lack of it — of the native people (and, at least in part, of the rest of Canada's poor) is

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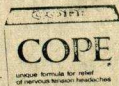
In the typical nervous tension headache, emotional strain leads to pulsing pain, which in itself is likely to increase the "jitters". And this, in turn, can cause even more intense pain.

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Think about the pain reliever you're using now. If it's one of the old, established, leading brands, it can't say what Cope says. More important, it can't do what Cope does. Because Cope is different. Cope combines a proven relaxer with the pain reliever doctors recommend, so two tablets work on both parts of your tension headache: the tension and the pain. In fact, Cope helps ease tension throughout your body, so you can relax and feel like yourself again. If you get nervous tension headaches... and most people do... try Cope and see how much better complete relief can be.



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## Two-thirds of the poor are malnourished

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bound up with the rest of the ugly mess of poverty. The health of Canada's poor cannot be expected to improve until their living conditions have been made human.

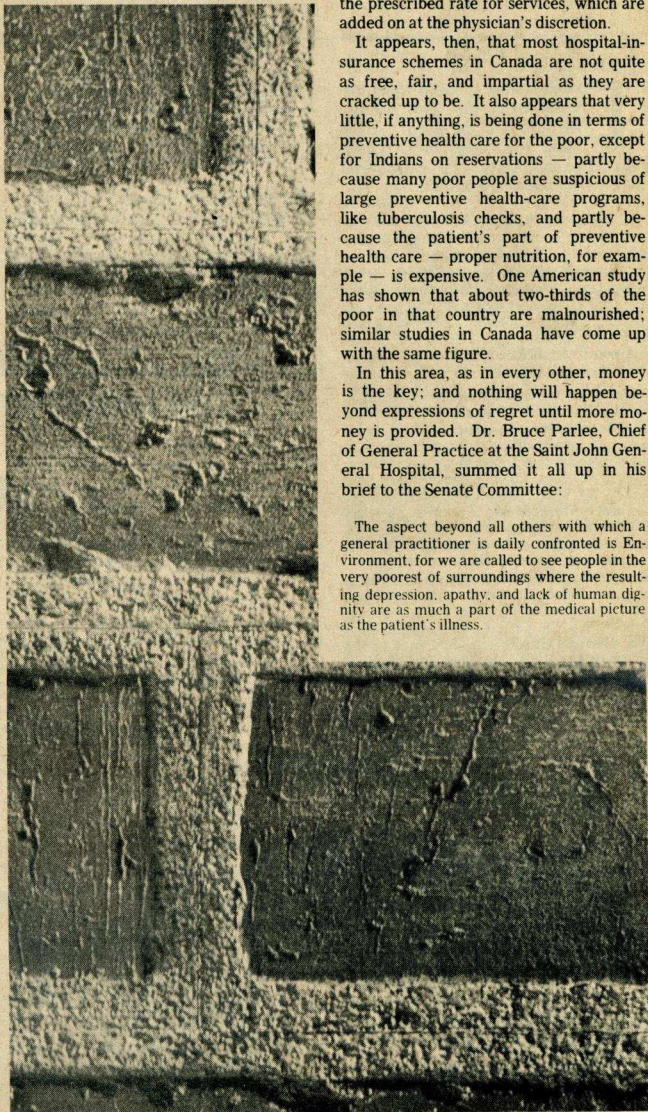
It is fairly clear, moreover, that when the poor get sick, they do not get the same treatment at the hands of the medical professionals as other Canadians do. This is not, for the most part, entirely the fault of the doctors, although cases of simple brutality on the part of some Canadian doctors were brought before the Senate Committee. Claire St. Aubin, of the Pointe Claire Community Clinic, gave this example:

There are many doctors in Verdun, which is a town right beside Pointe Claire and many of those doctors refuse the card from people on welfare. I know this to be a fact, because I know a woman who died of that. She was refused by a doctor, and then she was so shy she did not ask for anyone else to come. They had to get her to the hospital at the last minute, and she died two days later.

Each province and territory in Canada now has public health insurance schemes; and those schemes are supposed to protect the poor, and everybody else, against sickness. But, as the department of Health and Welfare brief points out, there are a few catches in that protection. For example, each province provides the services of physicians free-of-charge to welfare recipients, but only five provide dental services, and only four, optical services. The rates in some provinces, furthermore, impose a real hardship on low-income people. In Ontario and British Columbia, the rates are high enough to make it difficult for low wage earners to participate in the scheme (although some official provision is made for reduction of rates for families with little or no income). In Alberta, premium costs are high, and participation is mandatory, and so money has to be diverted from other needs to pay the shot for health insurance.

In some provinces, moreover, users of the health services are subject to "co-charges" — token, or more-than-token, fees for seeing the doctor, insurance or no insurance.

In Saskatchewan, these co-charges can range up to 50 per cent of the bill, enough, as the Health and Welfare brief point out, to impose a "significant burden" on low-income families. Under most plans, doc-



tors can demand cash down for their services, leaving the patient to bill the government for his fee — which can be extremely difficult to scrape together on a low budget. And there still remains a fair amount of "extra-billing", charges over and above the prescribed rate for services, which are added on at the physician's discretion.

It appears, then, that most hospital-insurance schemes in Canada are not quite as free, fair, and impartial as they are cracked up to be. It also appears that very little, if anything, is being done in terms of preventive health care for the poor, except for Indians on reservations — partly because many poor people are suspicious of large preventive health-care programs, like tuberculosis checks, and partly because the patient's part of preventive health care — proper nutrition, for example — is expensive. One American study has shown that about two-thirds of the poor in that country are malnourished; similar studies in Canada have come up with the same figure.

In this area, as in every other, money is the key; and nothing will happen beyond expressions of regret until more money is provided. Dr. Bruce Parlee, Chief of General Practice at the Saint John General Hospital, summed it all up in his brief to the Senate Committee:

The aspect beyond all others with which a general practitioner is daily confronted is Environment, for we are called to see people in the very poorest of surroundings where the resulting depression, apathy, and lack of human dignity are as much a part of the medical picture as the patient's illness.

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# Justice - if you can afford it

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**I**n theory, the law is blind; no statute in Canada makes any explicit distinction between the rich and the poor. In practice, the procedures of the Canadian police and the Canadian judicial system turn the theory into a joke.

A poor man, once arrested, is less likely than a rich man to see the outside of a jail before his trial.

A poor man, offered the choice between a jail term and a fine, is more likely than a rich man to go to jail.

A poor man, having served a term in prison, is less likely than a rich man to be treated with common decency when he gets out.

And there is at least one area of law, welfare law, which only a poor man experiences.

**Bail:** A bail bond is a sum of money or property posted by an accused man as a guarantee that he will show up for his trial. If you can't raise it, you stay in jail. It's as simple as that.

And it happens that way more often than it should. The Bar Association of Quebec pointed out in its brief to the Senate Committee on Poverty, "Police authorities all too frequently have the habit of proceeding by way of warrant instead of by way of summons." In short, police authorities all too often prefer the inequitable system to the equitable one, because — as far as the police are concerned — it has the advantage of being absolutely certain.

The results of this preference fill the jails. The brief of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association to the Senate Committee documented the case:

At almost any time, we could walk into a Canadian prison and find a number of people who are suffering forced confinement without ever having been found guilty of a criminal offence. Sometimes the incarceration under such circumstances has gone on for days, sometimes for weeks, and sometimes even months.

In a great number of these situations, the imposition of the penalty is attributable more to poverty than to any other factor. Many of these people are languishing in jail because they lack the financial means to pay the bail. Great number of those charged with criminal offences whose trials have been delayed must purchase their freedom with money during the interim period. Thus, the liberty of the subject often depends less on the nature of the impugned conduct than the size of the accused's wallet...

Often, the wealthy accused who are able to purchase their freedom until trial pose a greater threat to society than many of the impoverished accused whose financial insolvency keeps them locked up until trial. In the greatest numbers of cases, we achieve virtually nothing with financial bail except incarceration of the poor.

This kind of inequity affects the innocent as much as the provably guilty. The Civil Liberties Association brief summed up the results of a hard look at the record:

When our organization examined a Toronto court calendar for August, 1968, we found that an aggregate total of 232 days were spent in jail by approximately six people against whom all charges were withdrawn during the month of August. A 68-year-old man was arrested and charged with making a false statement on July 3rd. He sat in custody until August 1 when his charge was withdrawn. The prosecution withdrew charges against other people who had already been in custody for 19 days, 16 days, 33 days, 3 days, and 2 days. A charge of possession of narcotics was withdrawn against a man who had been arrested for this offence on March 23. He had been deprived of his freedom for 131 days and in the final result, the prosecution decided it lacked sufficient evidence to go to trial.

The same court calendar discloses an aggregate total of 235 days of jail time which were served by four people whose ultimate penalty was either probation or suspended sentence...

Either the Toronto police are handing out jail terms without benefit of appearance in court, and withdrawing charges when they consider that sentence has been served, or the Toronto police are making a lot of stupid arrests. In either case, the accused loses — and loses only because he can't afford bail.

This kind of discrimination does not stop when the trial starts; it may, in fact, get worse. The 1965 report, Legal Aid in Ontario, pointed out that

The indigent accused is not only at an initial disadvantage regarding pre-trial release, but may also, as a result of the discomforts of unnecessary confinement, be deterred from exercising his right to contest his case. The consequence, where this is the case, can only be for the accused to adopt a somewhat cynical view of an apparently discriminatory law.

**Fines:** Any judgment which assesses a monetary penalty for breaking a law is not only exacting a fine in absolute terms; it is also confiscating a certain part of a man's income. For a rich man, a \$500 fine for drunken driving is a nuisance. For a poor man, it is a catastrophe.

When a fine is offered as an alternative to a jail term (\$30 or 10 days) the inequality becomes more pointed; in that kind of case, a fine becomes a licence to get out of jail not quite free. The United States Supreme Court recently ruled that kind of penalty discriminatory. In Canada, as the brief of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association pointed out to the Senate Committee on Poverty, it is still accepted procedure:

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## The accused loses - and loses only because he can't afford bail

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# In theory, the law treats rich and poor alike...

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Another inequity in the criminal law concerns the imposition of monetary penalties for criminal conduct. Obviously, this punishes the poor man more severely than the rich man. Moreover, when the fine is demanded immediately more poor men than rich men will be forced into prison. Again incarceration is more attributable to financial limitation than to criminal behaviour.

Frank Sigsworth, general counsel for the Grey Knights in Prince Edward Island, drove the point home to the Senate Committee:

On conviction, there are many offences for which the penalty is a fine, or jail in default of payment. When there is no money to pay the fine the result is frequently loss of employment, with additional difficulties for the family. Where there are dependents there will be a need to turn to welfare departments for relief, and the system takes so long to release a cheque that the family can suffer hardship. This is indirectly a result of the offence; directly, it is a result of being poor and unable to pay the fine.

Theoretically, the law treats rich and poor alike; in practice, it treats the two very differently indeed. Should the two extremes ever show any unpleasant signs of converging, the rich man can hire a high-priced legal talent to get him off the hook. The poor man takes what he can get; and, in many areas of the country, he can get nothing at all.

The Canadian Civil Liberties Association recently chose the court calendars of three cities — Montreal, Halifax and Winnipeg — on random days, and outlined the results of their examination to the Senate Committee:

Of 37 accused persons whose cases were disposed of on the court calendars of five randomly-chosen days in Winnipeg, only six were represented by counsel. The magistrates' court disposed of criminal charges against 31 persons who had no legal representation. 36 persons were convicted; in fact, all 36 pleaded guilty as charged. Ten of them were sentenced to various terms of penal incarceration. Yet the \$160,000 currently allocated for the year ending March 31, 1970, represents a substantial increase in Manitoba's public commitment to legal aid. In the year ending March 31, 1969, there was an allocation of only \$40,000 of public funds.

Three randomly chosen court calendars from Halifax during the month of January, 1970, depict something of the Nova Scotia pattern. Of 59 disposed-of accused, only seven were

represented by counsel; 52 were unrepresented. During this time, 51 persons were convicted on the basis of 47 pleas of guilty and four findings of guilty. Six persons went to jail. The Nova Scotia government is currently spending about \$25,000 per year on legal aid.

Of 26 disposed-of accused in three randomly chosen court calendars from early February in Montreal, only four were represented by counsel and 22 were unrepresented. Although as high a number as 13 went free because of withdrawals of the charges or acquittals, eight were convicted and five were committed for trial.

There is an evil little syllogism to be extracted from this report. The poor are likely to be guilty; the guilty will not benefit from a lawyer's counsel; therefore, the poor will not likely benefit from a lawyer's counsel. Neither premise is necessarily correct, but the conclusion is acted upon. And lawyers are not provided.

According to the brief of the Ontario Department of Social and Family Services, the federal government has refused to consider sharing costs of legal-aid programs under the Canada Assistance Plan. (Either justice, like education and penitentiaries, is not considered to be a federal constitutional responsibility, which would be odd, or legal aid is not considered to be a "personal requirement", which would be even more strange.)

The Ontario government has instituted a legal aid program which it is publicly proud of; and, indeed, there is a good deal there to be proud about. In the year ending March 31, 1969 Ontario spent about \$7 million on it, which is over \$6 million more than most other provincial schemes.

There are, however, a number of holes. Larry Taman, Chairman of the Osgoode Hall Legal Aid program, pointed out to the Senate Committee that almost the entire area of civil law is "discretionary" that is, that certificates of eligibility for legal assistance may be granted or not, as the area legal aid supervisor thinks necessary:

The discretionary ones are mostly on the civil side, which would be the common problems of the poor... Any summary conviction is discretionary, any proceeding in a Juvenile or Family Court, in a Division Court, which is a small-claims court, under \$400 in Ontario, is discretionary, before a quasi - or judicial board such

as the Ontario Housing Board, that is discretionary. A bankruptcy is discretionary. A contempt of court is discretionary. The drawing of legal documents, negotiating settlements, or giving of legal advice is all discretionary...

When we have a client, for example, who comes into our office claiming to have been done out of six weeks' wages by a company in the city, wages amounting to \$360 for six weeks, the area director has chosen not to grant a certificate because it is a division-court matter. Well, that is a rather serious matter, it would seem to me... Divorce is also discretionary.

As far as free legal advice is concerned, then, a poor man will do better to hit his wife over the head with a brick than to sue for divorce. Or sue his employer for back wages. There is one final irony. The decisions of the area administrator may be appealed to an area committee or to the Provincial Director; but the appellants may not be represented by counsel. Free or paid.

**Preventive Law:** The social-service and welfare schemes concentrate largely, as noted above, on eliminating the symptoms of poverty rather than going after its true causes. According to the Osgoode Hall brief, even Ontario legal aid falls into the same trap:

The indigent citizen... rarely comes into contact with the law except after the fact of being charged, or after his wages have been garnished, or after the bailiff has repossessed his property. In large measure, most legal-aid schemes are remedial or litigation-oriented and do not afford the preventive advisory services that are readily available to the higher-income levels.

**Welfare Law:** Larry Taman, chairman of the Osgoode Hall legal aid program, told the Special Senate Committee on Poverty:

Those of you who are lawyers and those of you who are students look at the Canadian Income Tax Act and see thousands of cases where points in dispute in that Act have been clarified by the Courts and the Tax Appeal Board. If you look at the General Welfare Assistance Act, there is not a single case that has ever been litigated under that Act...

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## ...In practice, the poor man takes what he can get

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That mass of rules, regulations, and administrative precedents which is called welfare law touches the poor more closely, and more often, than any other part of the legal process. And, as Taman's observation points out, it is curiously one-sided law: or, perhaps, non-law, as far as the poor are concerned. For welfare law exists almost entirely to protect the welfare system, and not the welfare recipient — to justify the procedures of the welfare system, and not to judge them.

In welfare law, all civil-liberties bets are off. The brief of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association to the Senate Committee on Poverty pointed out:

An investigation of provincial welfare practices will disclose the violation of some of the most fundamental canons of procedural fairness known to the law. On most of these issues, the Canada Assistance Plan maintains a resonant silence.

For example:

In most jurisdictions, welfare officials may enter a welfare recipient's home without warning, without notice, and without observing the procedural detail of securing a judicial warrant — because in most cases, they have extracted a document from the welfare recipient allowing them to do it;

Welfare benefits may be revoked at any time, without hearing, without proof, even without explanation of cause;

Recipients are routinely refused permission to be represented by counsel at welfare board hearings.

Welfare systems, then, make — and administer — their own brand of law. Appeals boards, which are in the difficult position of bridging the gap between this peculiar brand of quasi-judiciary and the principles of civil liberties, ordinarily resolve the contradiction in favour of the welfare systems. The Canadian Civil Liberties Association brief continued:

... a number of review judgments in the province of Ontario have dismissed welfare claims without the slightest attempt to analyse anew or even examine the statute or regulation. These judgments have upheld the policy of the Family Benefits Branch by simply proclaiming that the disputed policy has been the practice of the Family Benefits Branch.

This is peculiar reasoning: whatever is, is just. But there are more complications: for when welfare practices come into contact with the legal proceedings of ordinary courts, the results can be lethal. A deserted mother, for example, must ordinarily sue her husband for non-support before she becomes eligible for welfare benefits. If she manages to obtain a court order requiring him to support her or her children, however, the result is routinely deducted from her welfare cheque — whether or not she can collect it (if her husband has taken the routine precaution of crossing a provincial boundary, she usually can't). Stuart Godfrey, the Ottawa-Carleton welfare commissioner, told the Committee:

The court may make an order regarding the disposition of the case. Then the court says to

the mother, in effect, 'We have done our job'. But the mother is waiting for the cheque that never comes. Sometimes she has to turn to us; but when the order is made, we have to take into account the amount of the order and reduce the allowance which she would otherwise get, so she gets that much less from us — and she may never get the cheque from the husband or through the court.

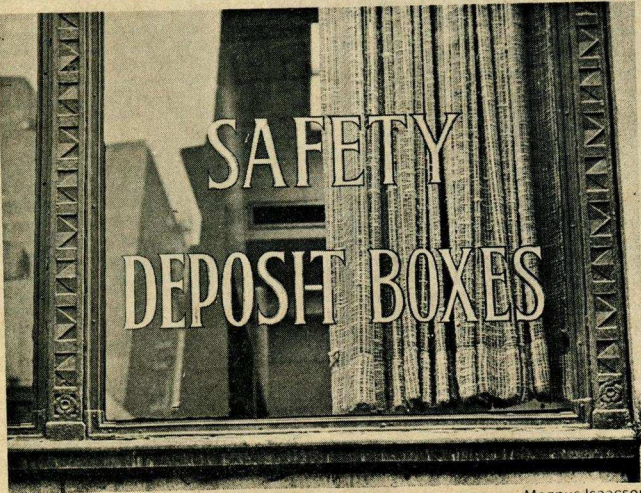
**Civil Law:** If welfare law is routinely inhumane to the poor, civil law is routinely inaccessible. There are, in fact, whole areas of the law from which the poor are excluded — not because they are luxuries, but because they are expensive necessities.

Even in Ontario, which has a legal aid system at least half-adequate, legal-aid certificates are given in divorce cases only as a last resort — and after a considerable stretch of time. In most areas of Canada, even the ones which have rudimentary legal-aid programs, divorce is flatly excluded. A woman in Winnipeg told the Committee:

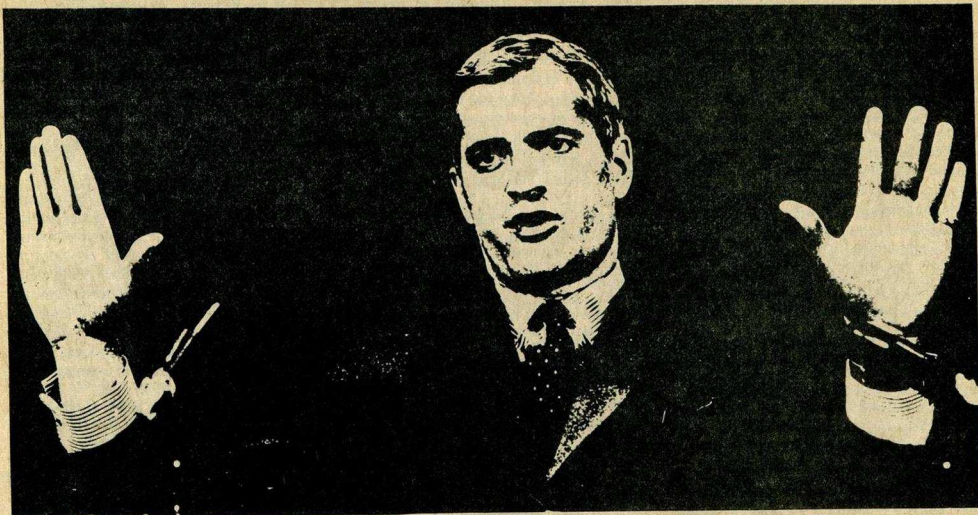
Well, as far as I understand about free legal aid, people that have a limited income or are on welfare can come down and get legal advice or get a separation through a given lawyer, because this has happened to me to get a separation. This is all it has covered.

Now why should I after three-and-a-half years of separation have to live alone or else live common-law, which is very distasteful to me?

**Welfare benefits may be revoked at any time, without hearing, without proof, even without cause**



Magnus Isaacson



Why cannot I go to free legal aid and say, 'Look, I have got reasons. My husband deserted me. I would like to have a divorce so that maybe — just maybe — I might be able to find somebody else rather than go out and live common law'...

They said they just will not accept a divorce through free legal aid because the first time the divorce laws came, they found there was about 50 million people down there the first day trying to apply for a divorce through legal aid.

When a commonly-felt need emerges, then, it is not met — simply because it is commonly felt. Or, perhaps there is a deeper assumption: that sexual morality is the exclusive prerogative of the wealthy.

Certainly, consumer protection is almost entirely the prerogative of the wealthy, and a lot of hucksters make a lot of money because of it. A corporation, with the help of a battery of lawyers, can go bankrupt with impunity, and as often as not make a profit out of it. A personal bankruptcy is priced far above the reach of the poor.

In fact, a lot of people make a lot of fast money from the poor simply because the poor are poor. Finance companies still lend money to people who can't pay it back, and then slap them with penalty interest charges; respectable financial institutions still buy contracts from fly-by-night salesmen and enforce payment even if the salesman's product has proven worthless and the salesman himself has vanished; creditors still slap garnishees on debtors, forcing them out of jobs and

effectively preventing them from finding other ones; collection agencies are still using gangster tactics in most provinces; and courts of consumer law, in most jurisdictions, are still casual, hectic, and minimally organized.

If the poor never see the areas of civil law, they are quite familiar with another area of law: the police.

There are as many decent, intelligent, nice guys in the police forces of Canada as there are in any other occupation in the country; given the particularly grinding nature of police work, there are probably more. The difference is simple — if a bad cop wants to make your life difficult, he can do it, and do it more effectively than anybody else. And if you're on the bottom end of the society, without respectability and without money, you're probably in for a lot of trouble.

The Gardenside Society of Edmonton, which works with alcoholic and drug addicts, described the following little tricks to the Senate Committee:

We receive continuous complaints about some policemen, particularly the new recruits, who do not really understand the problems of the "skid-row" derelict. Complaints made include: pouring wine on the head of the individual; pouring wine over the front of his trousers to make it appear as though he had urinated; and seizing bottles from transients as they emerge from the liquor store, opening the bottles, and then charging the transients with illegal possession. We also hear of many allegations against intoxicated individuals both on the street

and in the police stations. Whilst these acts are as abhorrent to the majority of police as to ourselves, we feel there may be some substance to these allegations.

But the majority of complaints about the police are centred not around what the police do, but what they do not do. Anne Ross, executive director of Winnipeg's Mount Carmel Clinic, told the Committee that Winnipeg police ordinarily ignored domestic quarrels:

... all I know is that the stories we get, day in and day out, and the medical evidence, has led us to believe that the woman is not protected. There is a complete non-concern on the part of the police... they come and say that the man is in his own home. If you want to, lay action in the Family Court.

Jean Séguin, the Montreal welfare and social services director, noted that he got no co-operation from the police in locating delinquent husbands:

... there are too many. The police say they have too many other things to do besides looking for missing husbands. Of course, the police have the name, and if by any chance the man gets involved with the police, and is arrested, they will notify us; but they will not otherwise be looking for him.

At the end, the police, or many of them, simply do not care. The legal system, or a vast majority of it, cares a lot less. Justice in this country is for sale to those who can afford it, and denied to those who cannot.



# Ammunition for journalists

There are certain tough questions which most past government proposals and programs have avoided. And which most government inquiries duck.

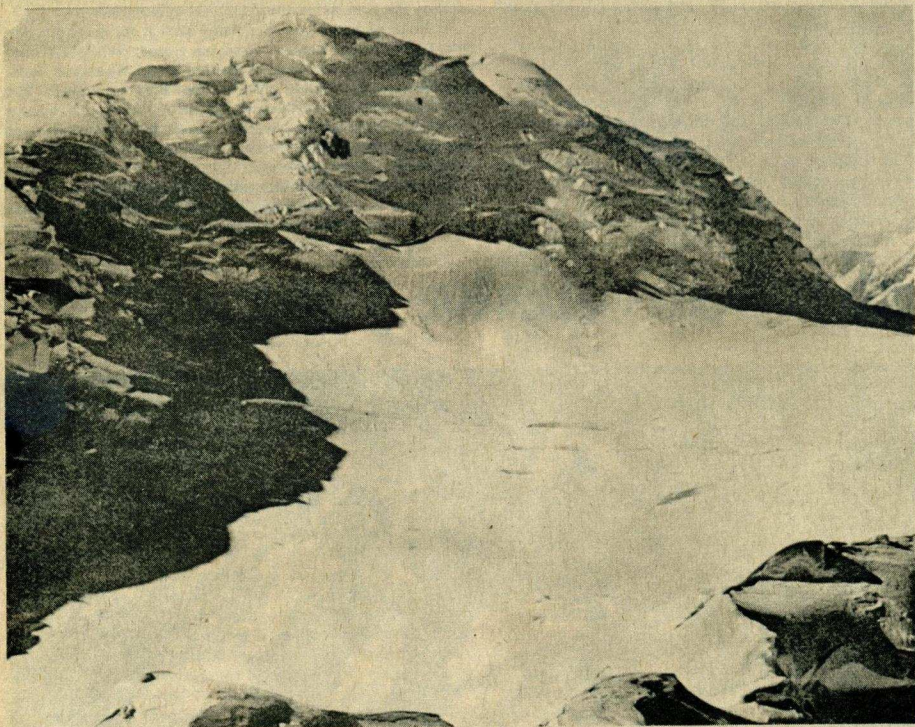
But any government inquiry which does **not** address itself to these problems is a cop-out.

Here are twelve of them. Questions which any government investigation of poverty, and any sponsor of such an investigation, should be happy to answer:

1. Will your proposals have any impact in the distribution of wealth and income in Canada?
2. Do your proposals deal with the consequences of federal anti-inflation policy as we see them now?
3. How do your proposals deal with low-paying jobs and the minimum wage?
4. Does your report consider, and make recommendations to change, the relative tax burdens on the poor and the wealthy in Canada?
5. Have you any proposals that would affect the exclusion of low-wage workers from unions and collective bargaining?
6. Does your report examine the responsibilities of corporations in employment, earnings, and price policies?
7. Will your proposals provide an adequate income floor for all Canadians — with an escalator to keep that floor in line with the average standard of living?
8. How does your report answer the problems of poor tenants, and what do you suggest should be done about Canada's housing shortage?
9. What measures do you propose to deal with the fragmentation and confusion of Canada's social services?
10. Does your report suggest techniques that will make government agencies dealing with the poor responsible, in both planning and operation, to their clients?
11. Do you suggest measures to increase the access of the poor to political power?
12. Does your report reflect the unique problems of Canada's Indians and Eskimos, and does it acknowledge their aspirations?



# And the Arctic trails



Canada's St. Elias mountains

## have their secret tales

**T**he St. Elias Mountains and the Sharkwak Valley just to the east, form some of the most breathtaking scenery of the Canadian North. Titans that rank with the Alps huddle in the range that stretches through the southwest tip of the Yukon Territory, in the corner formed by the northern border of British Columbia and the eastern border of Alaska.

In 1961, planeloads of scientists, sophisticated instruments, military equipment and personnel began landing on the icefields of the St. Elias mountains and camps began springing up in the wilderness, particularly on Mt. Logan, in the southern part of the range.

These activities were grouped under the title of The Icefield Ranges Research Program (IRRP), or more informally, "The Mt. Logan Project". Anybody inclined to wonder what the sudden interest in this wilderness was could plainly see that it was some esoteric meteorological team, or some study of mountain plants and growths.

At any rate, nobody ever asked any questions about the Mt. Logan Project.

One of the things the Vietnam war taught us is that an awareness of the type of research being conducted in military-industrial-university sectors enables one to anticipate some of the Pentagon's incursions into new areas. If we had known in 1962 what kinds of studies were being undertaken at the U.S. Army Tropic Test Centre in the Panama Canal Zone and at the Thai-U. S. Military Research and Development Center in Bangkok (for instance engineering studies of vehicle movement in the 'swamp forest environment') the subsequent mass American intervention in Vietnam would have been somewhat less than surprising.

It's been known for some time that the Arctic regions have become a priority for military planners, as some of the essential interests of the United States are obviously shifting in that direction. To furnish the kind of research needed to design and modify weapons and equipment to function in Arctic regions, the U.S.

began to create a sprawling Arctic research establishment peppered through various institutes, began funding university research, and of course, looked up the ally who knew most about the North. The research that has been conducted in Arctic climates over the last five years has ranged from the psychological to chemical and biological warfare.

It will probably take years to follow the intricate paths and begin to gain a full picture of the nature of work being done, but for Canadians particularly, it becomes crucial to begin this unravelling process. For that reason, it's useful to present what sketchy picture already exists of the institutions involved, and the nature of work that has been and is being done.

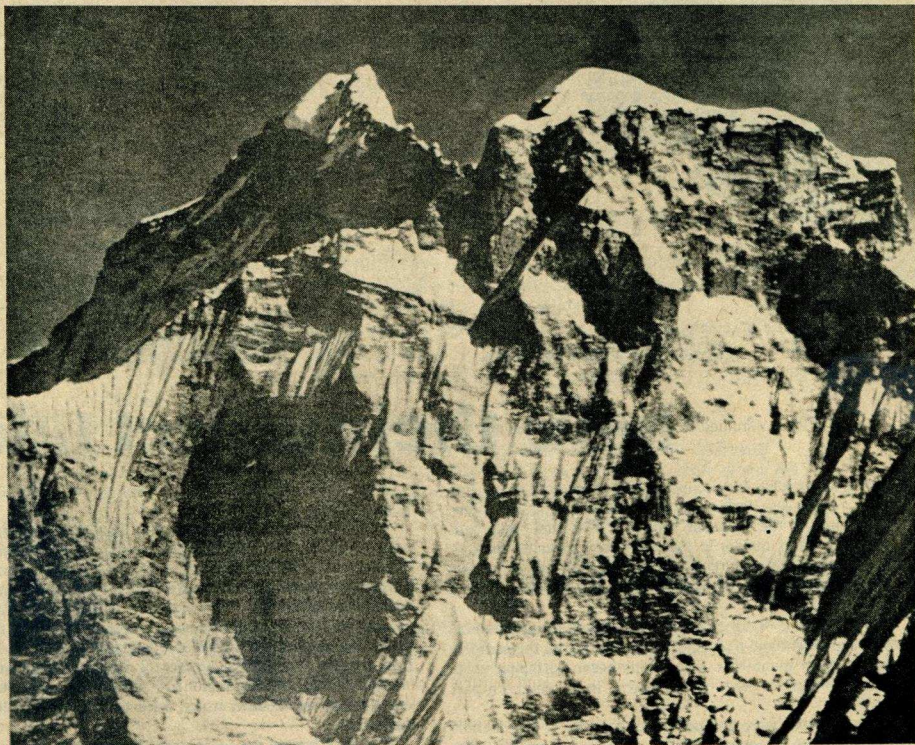
One of the first steps of the U.S. military was to establish the Cold Regions Research and Engineering Laboratory (CRREL — an arm of the Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency) CRREL is located in Hanover, New Hampshire, where it draws

on the personnel of Dartmouth College and the Stefansson Arctic Library. The physiological factor also being key to military research, the U.S. Army Institute of Environmental Medicine and the U.S. Air Force Arctic Aeromedical Laboratory have been active in this area, as has the U.S. Office of Naval Research.

Their projects are very frequently carried out in conjunction with the Canadian Defence Research Board, with whom classified information is freely exchanged (See: "Chemical Biological Warfare Research in Canada", *Last Post* Vol. 1 No 1). The Canadian DRB is one of the world's leading arctic research agencies as well as maintaining its other military interests, and is tied in to the American military research establishment by an Ottawa-Washington defence agreement.

But perhaps the most interesting institution is the Arctic Institute of North America. AINA was incorporated in both Canada and the United States; its Canadian headquarters are in Mont-

## that would make your



A view of the Himalayas

## blood run cold

real. American in Washington. AINA is dedicated to the gathering and storing of information about the North which it shares "indiscriminately" with governments and industries of both the United States and Canada. It employs or holds on its board of governors some of the most prestigious scientists on both sides of the border. It is a testament to the unique relationship between the two countries.

It furnishes, among other things, translations of Russian technical literature on Arctic affairs to the American and Canadian defence establishments, and does a variety of contract work for the military from U.S. Navy petroleum studies to NATO Polar Manuals. It is also a handy tool for industry, doing a variety of scientific projects of benefit chiefly to mining and oil industries. Although technically the head office is in Montreal, and AINA tries to present a 50-50 Canadian-American image, a look at the most recently available budget reveals that in 1969, 61.7 per cent of its funds came from the United States government, 26 per cent from the Canadian government, and the rest from private sources, dues, sales and investment. Its board of directors is drawn from university department heads (such as geography and geology) and presidents of corporations involved in the Arctic. Among its governors, alongside respectable academics, are to be found such luminaries as Howard M. Wiedemann, known to be connected with the Central Intelligence Agency since 1963, and former special adviser in the office of Research and Analysis for the Sino-Soviet Bloc of the U.S. State Department.

AINA is to the Arctic what a university business administration faculty is to business, or a geology department is to the mining industry. It is part of the essential advance research and study force that is critical to the era of northern exploitation that is upon us. And it is an institution that will figure in unravelling the pattern of that incursion as frequently as the Rand Corporation figures in the Third World.

\* \* \*

Finding out what kind of military research is being conducted in the Arctic is almost impossible because of its classified nature. However, it's possible to make some educated guesses on the basis of the unclassified or declassified reading, which usually forms the basis of the more specialized and classified military research. The literature is dramatically listed under titles that recall lab-operas like **The Andromeda Strain**: Project Franklin, Project Husky, Project Ice Way, Project Longshot, Project Early Rise, Project Mint Julep...

Project Mint Julep studied ice obliteration or how it could be melted, how snow drifts under varying conditions, and was particularly related to the U.S. Air Force's desire to try to use natural Arctic areas for landing craft; conducted in Greenland, this type of work has obvious peacetime applications as well as providing essential data for landing troops in an Arctic combat zone.

Project Tirc, undertaken by the Canadian Defence Research Board, studied how to differentiate cloud from snow in satellite photos — essential to meteorology, and also satellite spying on Soviet regions.

Project Nord by AINA involved surveying and mapping the north coast of Greenland, using satellites to fix positions, and was published by the Control Data Corporation Space and Defence Systems Group, suggesting more accurate land-spotting might have been required in designing ballistic systems.

The U.S. Air Force Arctic Aeromedical Laboratory was kind enough to engage in research about diseases of the North and how they are propagated — in order to protect civilians and young soldiers from the grippie, no doubt. The Lab got sort of hung up on studying northern bugs and their potential as virus and bacterium carriers.



A study was published under the sober heading of: "Alaskan Hematophagous Insects: Their Feeding Habits and Potential as Vectors of Pathogenic Organisms." It seems this study concludes that the particular mosquito they were checking out probably couldn't be a carrier of tularemia because it only bites one victim. Tularemia is one of the most terrifying biological warfare weapons ever studied by CBW scientists. Outdoor field tests have been conducted with tularemia in Fort Greely, Alaska, about 80 miles from Fairbanks, unleashing the virus in the fragile Arctic environment.

These are some of the known projects — the cleanest ones. Hundreds are classified. The most interesting project to have surfaced so far is the one that brought the men and equipment to the St. Elias range in the Canadian Yukon in 1961.

The trail that leads to unravelling the purpose of the Mt. Logan project begins in the May, 1967 issue of **Army Research and Development**, where one finds a paper entitled "The Military Significance of Mountain Environment Studies." A Pentagon scientist explains that mountainous terrain "occupies the whole southern frontier of Communist power from Central Europe to Vietnam." Since "... mountains in many strategic areas will be barred to us for study purposes... it will often be necessary to find an accessible mountain range in which the environment seems quite similar, and study the nature of such (physiological) stresses there".

With this advice in mind, one is told that the Mt. Logan project was intended to investigate "factors generally associated with activities in similar high altitudes in other parts of the world, such as the **Himalayan Mountains in India**" (emphasis added).

The Himalayan Mountains constitute the western flank of the Asian defence perimeter, now being vacated by Great Britain. As Michael Klare pointed out in **The Nation**, since the only "enemy" likely to be acclimatized to 10,000 foot-plus altitudes are the inhabitants of the Himalayan region: "... it is becoming ominously clear that the U.S. counterinsurgency intervention in South Asia may some day stretch from the beaches of Danang to the furthest reaches of Nepal and Tibet." Also, any intervention into China might require being able to bring in troops through China's "soft underbelly" in the southwest.

Although, of course, material on the Mt. Logan Project is classified, some information is available. An IRRP report enti-

tled "A Reconnaissance of a High Mountain Region", by Robert C. Faylor, Walter A. Wood and Barry C. Bishop was a final report for the U.S. Army Research Office by the Arctic Institute under grant number DA-ARO-D-31-124-G836, 1967. It states:

It has been postulated that within the St. Elias Mountains and the neighboring Wrangel and Chugach Mountains, regions could be identified that would be analogous in many ways to the Himalaya. In November 1965 the Arctic Institute requested financial support from the Chief of Research and Development, Department of the Army, to conduct a long-term comprehensive study of the environment of the high mountain glacial region of the St. Elias, Wrangel and Chugach Mountains in Alaska and the Yukon Territory. The study was to be directed toward environmental problems that would affect the ability of men to live, to work, and to travel in a high mountain environment.

The Army Research and Development article did not reveal the full scope of the planned exercises. Planning conferences were attended by the following: Dr. Walter A. Wood, Director, Icefield Ranges Research Project and President, American Geographical Society; Dr. E. Lovell Becker, the New York Hospital Cornell Medical Center; Mr. Barry C. Bishop, National Geographic Society; Mr. Phillip P. Upton, AINA; Mr. Richard H. Ragle, AINA; Dr. Melvin G. Marcus, Department of Geography, University of Michigan; Dr. Terris Moore, Cambridge, Mass.; Brigadier H.W. Love, Director, Montreal Office AINA; Dr. Carlos Monge, Department of Medicine, Universidad Peruana de Ciencias Medicas y Biologicas, Lima, Peru. From these conferences came the following major field objectives:

- (a) Identify general topographic similarities between the two mountain systems.
- (b) Identify physiographic details that appear to be similar in the two mountain systems.
- (c) Observe the climatic effect on surface features and identify possible analogies.
- (d) Observe the distribution of physical features and their inter-relations, especially stream and valley morphology, the relationship of glaciers and snow line to passes, and the character and distribution of glaciers.
- (e) Make biographical observations of vegetation zones and their relations to the total mountain environment.
- (f) Evaluate logistic problems and their solutions in terms of future research, testing and training programs.
- (g) Select sites as high as 18,000 feet at which studies in human physiology could be carried out and logistically supported.

Apparently everyone was satisfied that the analogies between the St. Elias Mountains and the Himalaya were close enough. Much was made of the fact that in all areas a 10,000 foot differential had to be maintained:

In the Skolar Pass and the Chitistone Pass, and in the zone of drainage of the upper Chitistone River through the Chitistone Gorge, there is a definite elevational relationship between the soil, vegetation glaciation, tree line, and snow line and the analogous situation in much of the Himalaya and the Tibetan Plateau. If we subtract 10,000 feet from an ice-free pass in the Himalaya, such as the Natu La in Sikkim, we have the situation of the Chitistone Pass. The Chitistone Pass at 5,800 feet above sea level appears analogous to many situations in the Himalaya at 15,800 feet. What we find in the Chitistone Gorge at 3,000 feet, we find to be similar to the upper reaches of the Richi Gorge in the Garwal Himalaya at 13,000 to 14,000 feet. Reconnaissance in the summer of 1966 in Alaska indicated that this 10,000 feet difference is manifest in all three study areas selected.

The reference to the Tibetan Plateau is particularly disquieting in view of the fact that it is in Chinese territory. The 16,000 foot Mt. Logan station is the approximate elevation of the Tibetan Plateau. The whole area of the IRRP study does indeed resemble the topography of the India-Tibet border — a steep climb up the India side over the high Himalaya onto the high plateau. Most of the manoeuvres were planned for the high plateau.

In the report's section on "Opportunities for Defense-Oriented Activities in the Study Areas", the need is described for research on air turbulence for light aircraft carrying logistical support for mountain troops, low power portable communications equipment, mountain sickness, aircraft landings, field stations and physiological studies.

It is believed that the Chitistone, Mt. Bona, and Glacier Creek areas could be used for testing and evaluation of appropriate Army supplies and equipment that are not affected by the reduced air pressure of high elevations. Specialists could be trained in these areas at elevations where they are capable of receiving instruction without suffering from altitude stress. At the conclusion of the training period, they could be flown to the 16,000 foot or higher level of Mt. Logan to experience the effect of high elevation and to be tested for ability to acclimatize.

The proposed test area is convenient to reach by air from Fort Greely and from Anchorage in Alaska and from Whitehorse in Canada. Participation in the above-suggested programs by the Army Arctic Test Center and the Arctic Indoctration School at Fort Greely and the Combat Development Agency at Fort Richardson could be relatively easy.

The extent of Canadian participation, above and beyond the involvement of AINA and probably the Defence Research Board, is unknown. It should be added that the references to Fort Greely and the care taken to match biological environments of the Himalayas and the St. Elias range suggest the possibility that some of these manoeuvres involved biological warfare.

It is a tragic commentary that the Canadian government permitted the American military to carry out, on Canadian soil, a mock-up of yet another Asian adventure, and that Canada is involved, at least through AINA, is furthering this research. If the mock-ups of jungle war in Vietnam had been taking place in Canada instead of the Panama Canal zone, the furor that would have been raised in this country can be imagined. Yet the fact is that projects of a similar nature and scale are in fact being carried out on Canadian territory, with the public totally ignorant of these goings-on.

How plausible are these scenarios for military activity in the Himalaya? It's known that United States intelligence operations have included the sending of armed Laotian and Kuomintang reconnaissance teams into China from Northern Laos; that tribesmen have been equipped with radios and telephone tap equipment to enter China and conduct intelligence gathering on a large scale. It's probable that the kind of research being done in the Mt. Logan project is immediately useful in the training of infiltration agents into China. As for mass military intervention through the high plateau regions into China — that's as likely or unlikely as the idea of an invasion of China being carried out some day.

However likely it is, should it ever occur, Canada will have helped make it possible, and perhaps successful.

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*This story was written by Bob Davis, Mark Zannis, Ted Preston, Chris Thompson and by members of Last Post staff.*



Canada Wide Photo by Dave Rooney

# Onward Hellyer Soldiers

by Brian McKenna

## OPENING FLASH FROM MISSION IMPOSSIBLE

"The freedom-loving nation of Canada has fallen into the hands of a clique of men weaving a clever plot which will destroy it. The French-Canadian prime minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau (eight-by-ten glossy picture of Pierre appears on screen) is slowly leading the country down the slippery road to socialism.

"Surrounded by a handful of other French-speaking ministers (eight-by-ten glossys of Jean Marchand and Gerard Pelletier) Trudeau is plotting with his minister of Finance (eight-by-ten glossy of a cloud of smoke) to destroy Private Enterprise.

"Behind the scene is a troika of dangerous Marxists. There is Marc Lalonde, principal secretary to the prime minister, Jean Louis Gagnon, director of the propaganda agency, Information Canada, and the hand behind the finance minister, Robert Bryce (red-bordered eight-by-ten glossys).

"Your mission, Paul if you accept it, is to bring down this government, stop Socialism restore Free Enterprise and bring

about the triumph of Truth, Goodness and Purity for the Little People.

"Naturally in the event you fail to complete your mission, the Secretary will disallow all knowledge of your actions. This tape will self-destruct in ten seconds..."

\* \* \*

The big silver-haired man in the polished grey suit had a peculiar look to his face as he strode to the House of Commons chamber. Tourists in the hall glanced up with hazy recognition as he passed. A man on his way to do something important. At the entrance to the lobby he bumped into the newspaperman who had shared the agony in his garden. Putting a big hand on the newsman's shoulder he said softly "pray for me".

Friday, May 21, and a few minutes later Paul Theodore Hellyer told a startled Parliament that he was quitting the Liberal party to sit as independent. That afternoon, journalists journeyed up to his office for "exclusive" interviews. (Those who didn't come on their own initiative were called by his secretary and invited). The Saturday papers were alive with speculation that he was planning a "movement".

\* \* \*

On Bronson Avenue, a few blocks from Parliament, the former owner of the Montreal Alouettes, Ted Workman, was

dictating letters to every major newspaper in the country, reserving space for the full-page ads which ran on May 29. The ads were for Action Canada, a new "movement" with Paul Hellyer as its leader.

In the dismal days of the old Alouettes Workman used to gather football players together for prayer meetings, preaching the saving — and winning — powers of faith, Moral Re-Armament style. Being a heathen lot, the AIs continued to blow football games.

\* \* \*

Paul Hellyer was clearly embarrassed. At a Billy Graham style press conference, complete with testimonials from "little people" who had been converted, Hellyer was asked if the man running his Ottawa office was indeed the same Mr. Workman. Hellyer flushed and mumbled "yes".

"Mr. Hellyer, is Action Canada the Moral Re-Armament of Canadian politics?" Asked a Radio-Canada reporter.

"Not exactly" replied the former minister of defence.

Although it has been learned from a man who quit after ten years as an MRA organizer that the movement has been planning a political wing for some years, there is probably no direct connection between Action Canada and MRA. No direct connection. But the philosophies and style are parallel.

And it came to pass that it fell upon a few chosen men who had seen the light to spread the gospel and lead others out of the darkness to the valley of sweetness and light.

Onward Hellyer soldiers.

\* \* \*

Up With People, the serendipity shock troops of MRA, were performing at the Chateau Laurier a few years back.

Choir boy boys and apple pie girls singing out. (The same kind of kids who clogged the Hellyer machine at the Liberal leadership campaign.)

One of the songs wailed about the architect who designed the Tower of Pisa, which eventually took to leaning. It seems the architect had a mistress.

"What's all this!" yelled someone from the audience, shortly before he was ejected.

You can't live crooked and think straight. It's crooked to have a mistress.

\* \* \*

He still sings in the Westmoreland United Church choir in Toronto — from Paul Hellyer's official biography.

\* \* \*

"It is important to state what Moral

Re-Armament is for and what it is against".

For intelligent national security.

Against sexual deviants in high places who protect potential spies — from a full page ad for MRA, Ottawa Journal, April 23, 1963.

\* \* \*

"Before breaking away from the Liberal Party... Paul Hellyer told fellow MPs he was concerned about Marxist influence in Prime Minister Trudeau's office and key government branches... security risks... nothing specific..." The Toronto Star, May 1971.

\* \* \*

MRA has lots of money. The London Observer reported their 1969 budget exceeded \$18 million — and they were paying their bills.

At the moment it is unlikely Action Canada is drawing money directly from those coffers. Those full-page newspaper ads are financed by a sizable loan from an Ottawa branch of the Toronto-Dominion Bank where Hellyer brings his business.

The movement, insists Hellyer, sincerely believes that it can fund itself from \$10 membership subscriptions. As well it

would not be unexpected to see big contributions from disgruntled self-made millionaires like Ted Workman. Things are out of joint in this country, Workman said when asked about Action Canada. "The money's flowing the wrong way".

"When you see your country not running the way it should", he says, "you decide you have a responsibility to do something about it".

"A national peoples' force to attain and use power to change national political policies" — from the newspaper ad describing the aims of Action Canada. (Emphasis our own).

Watch this page — if it doesn't self-destruct — for the next episode of Mission Impossible.

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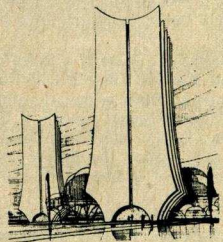
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# THE FISHERMEN

**'I'd encourage Russell to stay ashore even if it meant begging for nickels on the street corner to feed the baby.'**

**(continued from p. 18)**

Amalgamated tactics," says Harvard professor David Brody in his 1964 book *The Butcher Workmen: A Study of Unionization*, "could be seen at the Kingan plant at Indianapolis. The CIO was already active there... when contact was made with the Kingan management.

"The talks having gone well, the Amalgamated dispatched vice-president J.P. McCoy to direct an organizing drive. In June 1937 a contract was signed. The CIO at Indianapolis, of course, vehemently protested this sudden turn of events and lodged charges with the National Labor Relations Board. The outcome was a consent election scheduled for April 15, 1938.

"By then, Amalgamated Local 165 had entrenched its position. The Amalgamated had the concrete advantage of a signed contract which, although not changing wages, provided gains in paid vacations, seniority, and overtime. (The PWOC local in the nearby Armour plant, on the other hand, still lacked a negotiated agreement.) The company attitude also had intangible benefits for the Amalgamated. Among other things a rumor persisted that Kingan would close the plant if the CIO won the election.

"The result was a resounding victory for the Amalgamated, 1198 to 420 for the PWOC. A union shop in the next contract gave the union the apparent final safeguard for permanent control."

By the 1950s, the battle no longer raged as fiercely, although the undercutting tactics were still used. The Meat Cutters signed up ten thousand unorganized clerks at the A&P food stores in 1952 through a deal with the company in which they agreed to a 45-hour week for the next five years, while a CIO union at the rival Safeway chain had just signed a contract calling for a 40-hour week.

The Meat Cutters' expansion in this period mostly took the form of mergers with other unions. One of these was the International Fur and Leather Workers Union, which was finding it difficult to survive in the McCarthy era as a result of its Communist connections. The merger agreement provided that the IFLWU's most prominent Communist leaders would never again be permitted to hold union office, and that all officials would have to sign non-Communist affidavits. This satisfied the Meat Cutters, but not AFL president George Meany.

"The Amalgamated refused to reverse its course," reports Brody. "But it did seek to answer the objections of the federation leaders by a thorough purge of the Fur and Leather Workers." Abe Feinglass, a non-Communist IFLWU official who became head of the Meat Cutters' fur and leather division, said that the purge involved "some sacrifices which might well be described as ruthless."

When the AFL and CIO merged in 1955, and old proposal for merger between the Meat Cutters and the rival Packinghouse Workers was revived, but the initial attempt ran aground on the

lingering mistrust between the two groups (Pat Gorman, the Meat Cutters' longtime secretary-treasurer, said it was time for Packinghouse to leave "its period of adolescence and growing pains" when "it believed in militancy and more militancy to accomplish its ends").

The merger was finally consummated only in 1968. It had a particular effect on workers in Canada, where Packinghouse had been by far the stronger of the two unions. Fred Dowling, Canadian head of Packinghouse, now became head of the Canadian Food and Allied Workers, as the Canadian section of the merged union was to be called. But his relationship with the international changed.

Jack Williams of the CLC says that the CFAW is "a pretty autonomous group." But Isaac Turner, who was public relations director of Packinghouse and until 1969 of the CFAW, says that "autonomy is usually based on personal relations. Packinghouse's autonomy in Canada was based on the mutual respect between Fred Dowling and Ralph Helstein in the international office. I'm not sure he has the same kind of relationship with Gorman."

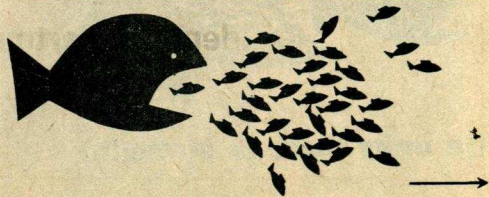
In 1969, the Meat Cutters dropped the Canadian newspaper that had been published by the CFAW and by Packinghouse before it. The reason given was the federal government's new postal regulations, but Turner suspects "they were looking for an excuse."

At the same convention that decided not to admit the UFAWU, the CLC passed overwhelmingly a resolution to "adopt a firm policy supporting minimum standards of self-government of the Canadian sections of international unions." The guidelines proposed were election of Canadian officers by the Canadian membership, and their investment with the authority to make policy on Canadian affairs and to speak for the union in Canada.

The CLC passed the guidelines to head off a much stronger code put forward by the reform caucus at the convention. "But the mere fact," wrote Ed Finn, research director of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, in the federal labor department's *Labor Gazette*, "that the Congress, with close to three quarters of its members in the international fold, would even acknowledge the need for greater Canadian autonomy is in itself significant. It reflects an awareness of the growing nationalist sentiment among Canadian unionists, and the potential hazards involved in trying to resist it."

Fear of losing its Canadian identity was one of the reasons the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union trod warily when the CLC said the only way it could come into the Congress was through merger with the Canadian Food and Allied Workers. "There was a real resentment in our membership," says Homer Stevens, "of the very idea of our talking to an international union." It went beyond a simple question of Canadian autonomy: the fishermen feared that their cherished independence would be submerged in the Meat Cutters' structure. But they also felt that ultimately, the future of the union could only lie within the CLC, and so merger talks with the Meat Cutters were undertaken in April 1970.

The main difficulty was the unacceptability of certain terms



in the Meat Cutters' constitution to the UFAWU. The Meat Cutters were willing to pledge that clauses such as the one giving wide powers to the international or the one directed against "the undermining efforts of Communistic agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and democratic unionism" would not be applied.

"But it's been demonstrated before that a constitution supercedes any merger agreement," Stevens says. And the proposed merger terms said flatly that "the constitution of the Merged Organization shall be the Constitution of the Amalgamated."

"The talks broke off on a friendly note," Stevens says. "We posed a whole number of questions and they never answered them." Then came the raids at Petit de Grat and Canso, which he compares to "someone proposing marriage to you and then trying to rape you almost before you can answer."

At the moment, all considerations of merger with the Meat Cutters are off. Nevertheless, the officers' report to the UFAWU convention in March recommended that the possibility of merger with the Meat Cutters "should be explored further." Also being considered seriously is merger with the CBRT, which is an all-Canadian union and which scrupulously kept its hands off the Canso straits fishermen.

The relationship of the UFAWU to the rest of the labor movement is only one of the questions that the outcome of the Canso Straits struggle will help determine. Many people in the labor movement are beginning to see it as a test case for the movement itself. "It's just too raw," says one veteran trade unionist. "It's going to be hard for them to get away with this."

Nova Scotia's largest union local, United Steel Workers Local 1064 at Sydney, has consistently given the UFAWU strong backing. So has J.K. Bell, secretary-treasurer of the Nova Scotia Federation of Labor, despite the position in favor of the Meat Cutters taken by Federation president John Lynk. The Cape Breton Labor Council, in which Local 1064 has a large voice, supports the UFAWU, while the Truro and District Labor Council, influenced by the CLC's Ed Johnston, on May 4 passed a resolution backing the Meat Cutters. "What business do they have criticizing the fishermen," asked Father Parsons, "when they still haven't organized the Stanfield's plant there?"

Outside the province, support for the fishermen has been slower to materialize, hampered by lack of communication and the lingering attitude that nothing that happens in the Maritimes can possibly be important. But there have been rumblings of discontent, reaching even into the leadership of large international unions.

When the matter came before the Vancouver Labor Council, delegate Jack Lawrence stood up to call for a free vote so that the

Canso fishermen themselves could choose which union would represent them.

He was on the Council as a representative of the Canadian Food and Allied Workers.

This struggle strikes at the root of what the labor movement is all about. It's not just about how much wages you get, or bettering working conditions. It's about man's right to stand up and be a man and woman's right to stand up and be a woman, and about whether you're going to go out and help your fellow-man and fellow-woman, your brother and sister.

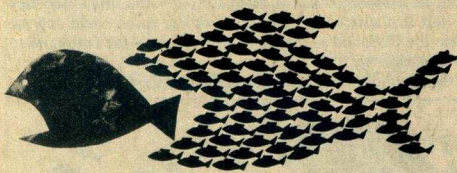
— Homer Stevens

Like Ron Parsons, Homer Stevens remained optimistic, even when reasons for optimism were a bit hard to see. He continued to commute between the east and west coasts, with stops in central Canada, ferreting out support for the fishermen wherever he could find it.

When the NDP met in convention in Ottawa he was there, taking people aside and trying to get them to propose a resolution demanding a free vote for the fishermen. But the dominant faction of the NDP, the one surrounding leader-elect David Lewis, was tied up with the CLC bureaucracy, and even delegates who agreed with Stevens could not be persuaded to share his sense of urgency about the fishermen's struggle. He left Ottawa with a message of support and \$110 in contributions from the left-wing Waffle group.

The campaign for a free vote now became the main focus of the UFAWU's strategy. There was absolutely no doubt in the fishermen's minds that their union would easily win such a vote, and it seemed the best way to show up the Meat Cutters' claim to represent a majority of the crew members.

The authority to call a vote rested with the Labor Relations Board, and groups and individuals sympathetic to the fishermen — trade union locals, weekly newspapers, clergymen, radical groups, and others — began to put pressure on that body. They formed the Committee for a Free Vote for Fishermen to coordinate their efforts, and when the Board would not act, they decided to organize a vote themselves.



(In unity there is strength)



Contributions may be sent to  
Edison Lumsden,  
UFAWU,  
Canso, N.S.



The Committee went looking for citizens of unimpeachable respectability and fairness to supervise the ballot, and found them: three college presidents, the president of the Catholic Social Services Commission, and a member of the executive of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. The best find was Edmund Morris, a well-known Nova Scotia broadcaster and acting president of St. Mary's University, who made statements to the press that the vote was being conducted "more scrupulously than even a provincial or federal election."

May 3 was designated voting day, and the 114 fishermen who had been employed by Acadia on March 9, just before the firings began, were deemed eligible to vote. There was some doubt whether 60 per cent of those — according to Labor Relations Board rules, a 60 per cent turnout is necessary for a vote to be valid — would cast ballots, since mounting debts had forced many of the fishermen to go look for work elsewhere. But on May 3, sixty-nine fishermen — 60.5 per cent — voted, some coming from as far away as Ontario for the election. Sixty-six of those voted UFAWU.

"Usually around here votes were sold for a pint of rum," said one member of the East Coast Socialist Movement, a Halifax-based radical group that has been doing support work for the fishermen. "But you couldn't have bought one of those votes for a million dollars."

The Meat Cutters' James Bury accused the UFAWU of following the old tradition and buying votes with liquor. "I'd have to have Bury's kind of money to do that," coolly replied UFAWU organizer Con Mills.

Despite efforts by the Meat Cutters, the CLC, and Acadia to discredit the vote, it stood as a clear indication of the fishermen's continuing strength of will. Even the *Chronicle-Herald*, devoid of answers, was reduced to asking questions: "How significant is the result of the 'free vote' of Canso trawlermen?... Ought the Labor Relations Board... reconsider its earlier decision to allow its recognition of the CFAW to stand?... Was the vote, indeed, free?"

But because the company and its allies were not forced to accept the result, and because they were still against the idea of an official vote, the UFAWU victory solved no problems. In the early days of May, tension in Canso only increased. It was not overt; visitors to the town who had heard the stories of intimidation were taken aback that it was quite safe to walk the streets. There was surprisingly little violence; nothing more than the odd adolescent fist-fight.

Still, for people who lived in Canso, the tension was very real. Anne Parsons described it as a "wall of hate". Linda Gurney said that "the tension during the strike was nothing compared to what it's like now... You go down the road, you see a bunch of people you've knew all your lives and they don't even say 'hi' or anything." Canso is a town where under normal circumstances people will greet even strangers on the street.

The local elite of storekeepers and other small businessmen was split off from the fishermen and many of the townspeople who sympathized with them. Jim Hanlon, mayor of the town and owner of the small yellow Jim's Store, supported a free vote. So did old Eddie Dort, father of the Seaford Workers local president and the fishermen's only strong backer on the town council. But the rest of the town leaders resolutely supported Acadia Fisheries. Welfare officer Frank Frazier denied welfare to Linda Gurney and several other fishermen's wives, although provincial authorities had indicated that they were entitled to it. ("There's food in the stores," Everett Richardson's wife Jean told him, "and the men don't plan to go hungry.")

The position of Acadia Fisheries in the town was perhaps the central question for the people of Canso, and Acadia's standing threat to leave if the UFAWU won was one source of fear



**CON  
MILLS**



**EDISON  
LUMSDEN**



**JIM  
COLLINS**

and tension. The information somehow leaked out that Acadia owed the town \$53,000 in back taxes, and the UFAWU made much of this. The large figure was one indication of the amount of property Acadia owned in Canso, and the kind of power it possessed. Another indication was a letter received by trawlerman Jack Noble. Signed by Acadia office manager R.D. Manthorne, the letter informed him that he and his wife would have to vacate their quarters, half of a trailer located on Acadia property, by May 31.

When Noble and his wife approached Manthorne, who lives in the other half of the trailer, he was apologetic and protested that it was all a mistake, and there the matter rested, temporarily at least.

This kind of petty harassment was only one of the problems the fishermen faced, and a relatively minor one. The primary pressure on them was economic. With welfare and unemployment insurance both denied them by red tape, they lived on what the UFAWU could scrape together from contributions. For many of them the only choice was to go to work. Only a handful (five was UFAWU Canso local president Edison Lumsden's estimate) agreed to work for Acadia, but a larger number went to Prince Edward Island or Newfoundland to fish. In Canso most of them managed to hold out — there had always been a particular tenacity about Canso fishermen — but in Mulgrave, where things were quieter, more than half the fishermen had left by mid-May.

Jim Collins laughed as he jingled a handful of change. "That's all the money I got," he said, "and I got \$450 in debts that have to be paid right away." As a mate, he had made a bit more than most fishermen and he and his family had become accustomed to a slightly higher standard of living, and the debts had piled up. The next morning he and four other Mulgrave fishermen were leaving to go fishing out of Georgetown, PEI. He figured that with one trip out of PEI and the unemployment insurance he hoped to collect, he would be able to pay off the debts and then he would be clear for a while. As the president of the Mulgrave local he did not make the decision lightly, but he could not see any other way out.

Some of the men who were wavering left because their wives were finding it hard to hold out, but according to Linda Gurney most of the women were stronger than the men. She said that she herself would "encourage Russell to stay ashore even if it meant begging for nickels on the street corner to feed the baby," and she meant it. Unless a large number of the fishermen stayed in the Straits area, it would be impossible to organize any effective opposition to Acadia.

With its international corporate connections and the backing of other fish-packing companies, Acadia was not subject to the same kind of pressure the fishermen were. But its operations in the Straits area were being hurt by the loss of the fishermen's services. The Mulgrave plant had been closed at the time of the firings, perhaps for good. As a ploy, the company had closed the Canso plant as well for a few days. When it reopened, the amounts of fish coming in were far below capacity.

Acadia was still having difficulty getting experienced crews. After they got their fingers burned with the Newfoundlanders, they went to the Gaspé region of Quebec to hire French-speaking crew members who would not be able to communicate with the Nova Scotians. They also sent plant workers, farmers, and lumberjacks out on the boats and took the precaution of spiriting them away in taxis as soon as they came ashore.

They could keep these men isolated, but they could not make fishermen out of them. When the Acadia Thunderbird came in on May 5, it carried only 230,000 pounds of fish — Linda Gurney said it would have had well over 300,000 with a crew that knew what it was doing. And much of what was brought in was rotten

because it had not been iced properly. When the Acadia Gull came in the next day, it was the same story. Harry Casey, a worker in the Canso plant and regional vice-president of the Seafood Workers, reported that the stench in the plant was too much to bear.

"It's the same with a carpenter or a hockey player or anything else," Casey said. "You can't expect someone who's never done it before to do a good job."

In late April and early May, the fishermen held rallies in Canso, Port Hawkesbury, and Sydney to prevent the issue from just quietly fading away. There seemed no way to avoid a long struggle. And the more it dragged on, the surer it became that the struggle would have victims.

On May 15, Bishop Davis announced that Father Parsons was being removed from the Canso parish because of "an evident breakdown in the pastoral relationship." The decision was to take effect August 31. The Bishop said he would find Father Parsons another parish, but none was named. In Canso, the fishermen began to organize a petition to keep Father Parsons right where he was. Edison Lumsden said, "he likes it here, and we like to have him here, so we don't think a minority should be able to pressure him out."

Father Parsons took the decision with his characteristic good cheer, perhaps because he had been expecting it for so long, although he was worried about his future. The uncertainty of his situation helped enliven the provincial Synod in Halifax, where Father Parsons and other priests who shared his beliefs succeeded in getting some social-service motions passed, and motions in favor of the fishermen sent to committee, with the hope that the church would eventually take a strong stand.

The wearing effects of time had now begun to tell. The last week in May, the union could not give the fishermen any pay at all; there just wasn't any money. Lumsden wondered how much longer the men could hold out.

On May 28, the Labor Relations Board met to consider the UFAWU's second application for certification, which the union had submitted immediately after the first one was rejected. Now the Board took the position that since the Meat Cutters' claim to represent a majority of the crew members had been challenged they would have to back up the claim with evidence. They would have to produce the 57 cards they said had been signed by trawlermen before the voluntary agreement with Acadia. Neither the Board nor the UFAWU had ever seen the cards, and Lumsden was confident that they would prove to be invalid. It was the first official questioning of the Meat Cutters' position. There was no indication of when the Board would make its decision.

It seemed like a glimmer of hope, but the fishermen dared not put too much stock in it. There had been other glimmers, and they had vanished as easily as they had appeared. To believe that an end to the struggle might be in sight was a bit premature.

In its fourteen months it had taken its place among the classic labor struggles of recent times; like the Newfoundland loggers' strike of 1959 and the Asbestos strike of 1949, it had torn a society apart so thoroughly that that society could never quite be the same again. Inevitably, the seeds the fishermen had sown would grow and bear fruit.

Whether the fishermen would share in that fruit still remained to be seen. But Wayne MacIntyre, a former fisherman who now drives a cab in Port Hawkesbury, expressed what seemed to be a consensus among their supporters:

"I think they're going to do it. It may take them a year or more but I think they're going to do it."

*This article was written by Robert Chodos of the Last Post editorial board.*

LAST  
POST

REVIEWS

## Waiting for Gerard: what's wrong with Canadian theatre?

by Carole Anderson

**"There is only one theme in Macbeth: Murder. See Macbeth at Stratford this year."**

Madison Avenue-on-Avon sweeps away three hundred years of academic anguish to reveal the simple, unadorned truth. Granville-Barker moans. Why didn't we think of it before?? So pithy. Ever so much better than the old routines on The Significance of Time and the Metaphorical Use of Thunder Bolts in Romeo and Juliet. Nonsense.

**There is only one theme in Romeo and Juliet: Lust. Leer at Stratford this year.**

We can do a whole series!

The publicity department at the Festival Theatre in Stratford, Ontario knows better. It also knows that its audience doesn't particularly care, and, true to the adman's science of 'psychographics', is retailing the Bard with the slogan at the top. The same audience that inspired various and sundry theses on Blood, Thunder and You in the Reader's Digest will attend this Macbeth, be entertained and horrified, and go home, none the wiser.

After that, there are any number of productions being offered in the country's major theatres to satisfy similar tastes: *Jane Eyre* is now a smash musical at the O'Keefe Centre in Toronto, Shaw Festival touts *The Philanderer*, perhaps not a crucial work in G.B.S.'s repertoire, as a drama of the 'perils of sexual equality,

love, marriage and other battlefields"; *Last of the Red Hot Lovers*, Neil Simon's latest contribution to modern social criticism, is followed at the Royal Alex by another smash musical, *1776*.

There is a reason for all this. Mathematics. Alan Harris, Secretary-Treasurer of the O'Keefe Centre, put it this way: "How are we going to entice 25,000 people a week into the theatre? When we put a pre-Broadway show, the star is the important thing. The story is secondary. People will come when famous names in music and production are involved."

The size of a theatre is crucial to the kind of drama it can present. In a barn such as the O'Keefe, filling the stalls is of overwhelming importance, not only for the box office, but for the city as well, which picks up the tab for the year's losses. Last year the O'Keefe's stars cost Torontonians \$850,000. Canadian plays, by untied authors, don't fill stalls.

The Vancouver Playhouse met similar problems with a similar philosophy. Artistic Director David Gardiner commissioned playwright George Ryga to write a play for the 1970-71 season, to be based on the Manson trial in California. While the play was in the writing, the October crisis, as we all know it, assumed a greater importance for the country than spectacular murders south of the border, and Ryga accordingly switched his theme.

After the play was finished, the Board of Directors at the Playhouse decided that it

was, after all, too great a risk financially to mount a production of an unknown work by a relatively new Canadian playwright, and replaced it with Neil Simon's *Plaza Suite*. Gardiner fought the decision, then left the theatre to become head of the drama section of the Canada Council. The play, *Captives of the Faceless Drummer*, was finally performed, in some defiance, at the Art Gallery Theatre in Vancouver. It may eventually be done by one of Toronto's smaller theatres. It may not.

While the large theatres have trouble paying for their buildings, the smaller theatres have trouble merely paying their actors. One of the sources of those two very basic problems is the distribution of public money. It is a question of priorities.

The Canada Council set itself on a policy of creating "centres of professionalism" in the Arts in the early stages of its existence, thinking that those centres would then spawn new developments in the surrounding area. The result is that relatively few organizations receive the bulk of the money that the Council has to offer: Stratford and Shaw both are awarded grants in the vicinity of \$500,000 each year; Vancouver Playhouse, Manitoba Theatre Centre, the National Arts Centre, are some of the others in this echelon.

They have become the flagships of Canadian theatre and as such must be, at the very least, fit for the Queen, who occasionally drops in. Or for Lynda Bird Johnson, who did nothing at all for Canadian-American relations on her junket to Stratford a few years ago. But these "centres of professionalism" are not causing any Canadian plays to be written.

It is true that these companies are often excellent at what they do, and that they have a rightful place in the general scheme of things, that somebody must do Shakespeare and Shaw and Marlowe, Molière, Ibsen — the classics. But it is also true that a small company the size of the Factory Lab in Toronto for example, could go a long way into its season on the money that went into Desmond Heeley's costumes for *The Duchess of Malfi* at Stratford this year. Just as the small theatres can't afford the classics, the major theatres cannot afford to do the kind of play that is being done at the Factory Labs in the country: *Creeps* by David Freeman, *Branch Plant* by Harvey Markowitz, and now *Esker Mike and his Wife Agiluk*, by Hershel Hardin. All are by Canadian playwrights unknown to the customary audiences. *Branch Plant* for instance, is a dramatization of the struggle over the dismissal of 600 workers from one of the British-owned Dunlop Corp factories here last spring.

**Branch Plant** is interesting as a foray into what is for this country a new style of theatre with a new basis: the class society. Markowicz's play is for the working class, the one group that will never see it. Theatre as it is encouraged in the "centres of professionalism" is simply not a part of the working-class culture.

Attempts have been made in other countries to establish a theatre in this tradition, with interesting results. The Littlewood Theatre established by Joan Littlewood in Stratford East, a working class district of London, did splendidly because everyone came in on the buses from Knightsbridge to have a look. Jean-Louis Barreault, one of France's most prominent actors, lost his theatre after publicly declaring his support for the students in the Paris revolt of 1968. Another effort in France, Jean Villars's Theatre Nationale Populaire, was unsuccessful in bringing Marxism to the stage. The Living Newspaper, started in the U.S. during the Depression, was another failure. More successful are similar groups performing now in both Italy and Guatemala though they tend to extremes: a performance one day, a strike the next.

The poor theatres, as many call themselves, do not have ambitions to become guerrilla training camps any more than they want to create O'Keefe II. Their primary aim is the development of the Canadian artist. They believe that he will not develop growing dusty in the wings. This means producing new plays, using new directors and taking chances on promising actors, but ideally not all at the same time.

This is where the unions come in. In order to cast **Branch Plant**, director William Glasco had to personally root out actors who were experienced and mature enough to handle the roles, and who were non-union. The stage actors' union is Actors Equity, based in New York; the corresponding union for technical staff and stage managers is IATSE (International Alliance of Television & Stage Employees.)

Poor theatres cannot afford Equity fees, and so must either find non-Equity people, or try to arrange to use an Equity member by special permission. So far, members of ACTRA (Association of Canadian Television and Radio Artists) have been able to work on the legitimate stage without joining Equity and without demanding ACTRA fees.

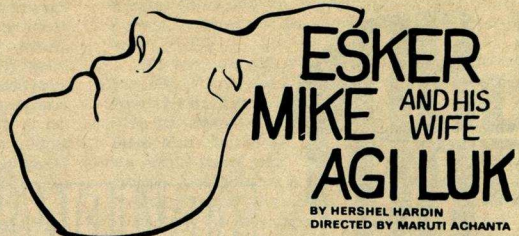
This at least leaves one pool of professional talent for the small theatres to draw on. On the other hand, it leaves Equity members at a severe disadvantage. New rulings now being considered by the

directors of both unions may make this impossible in the future. However, representatives of Equity refused to comment on either the present or the future rules when questioned for this article. The situation is confused at best — none of the directors, playwrights, or actors interviewed felt competent to describe exactly what the rules are, or will be.

One inevitable result however is clear: unless the unions can be flexible, it is improbable that a new play by a new playwright, however promising, will get the professional treatment it needs. To point the accusing finger at Equity, however, is to ask it to become a charitable organization instead of a union, with its members subsidizing the business.

In fact, this is precisely the situation at the moment. More young actors, faced with the choice of working for a few Equity houses at good pay or working for the many poorer theatres, decide not to join the union. Steven Smith, currently at the Factory Lab in Toronto, is one of these. In his view, Equity membership is more of a hindrance than a help to his career at this point, simply because of the economic realities of Canadian theatre. But should Actors Equity subsidize theatre, or should the government?

It remains to be seen how flexible the unions can afford to be, and how strong the influence of the Broadway-oriented Actors Equity in New York is. More important is the policy of the government and government agencies such as the Canada Council and the Province of Ontario Council for the Arts (POCA). Stratford of course should continue. Few question that. On the other hand, it would take relatively little to build and strengthen the many more experimental theatres currently living on little more than dedication. Ken Gass, artistic director of the Factory Lab, estimates that his theatre could run quite happily on \$10,000 of the \$500,000 that some of the larger theatres receive from the Canada Council. As it is, the Lab has just received a \$3,000 grant



from POCA while the Stratford Shakespearean Festival was awarded \$115,000. Factory Lab gets Canadian plays written, Stratford does not.

The philosophy of our arts-sponsorship agencies can be best compared to the policy of building museums and funding the purchase of Rodins or Utrillos. Through Stratford we are presenting Shakespeare, and keeping theatrical masterpieces before the Canadian public. But museums do not support the artists — they do not really encourage new painters or help support them. The "centres of professionalism" philosophy is a museum philosophy. Art for the bourgeoisie; but we're not interested in developing new art. It's the smaller experimental theatres that encourage a playwright to create a play; Stratford doesn't encourage a new playwright.

In addition to feeding the actors, grant money could be used in a much different way to relieve another of the problems facing the fledgling theatres. Business administration has always posed a serious threat to those who are not trained in the ways of business, an art in which trial-and-error has never been a very satisfactory procedure. A good many of those directly involved have been suggesting for some time that either the Canada Council or POCA or some similar organization create a pool of administrative personnel on which the new theatres could draw when necessary. Otherwise they cannot afford a full-time fully-trained business staff.

There are endless opportunities for the government to make a positive contribution. In the meantime, most of the country's summer stock theatres are dark, which is no surprise to anyone who had anything to do with them last year. At least one artistic director, who will not be named, said goodbye to \$2000 of his own money for the sake of a summer theatre. Those who venture to present a summer program now have a certain fanatical der-

ring-do that really must be admired. Again, it is a question of providing as many opportunities as possible for the infant to grow, preferably out of the shadow of Broadway. To this end, there are a number of developments that justify, at this point, in the gloom, a bit of hesitant optimism.

One which will no doubt cause gasps of disbelief is the St. Lawrence Centre, Toronto's and Mavor Moore's centennial project, squatting rather uncomfortably beside the O'Keefe on Front Street. Granting that the \$5,000,000 cost was somewhat over-indulgent, it is now more useful to examine what is being done with what we've got. The theatre company which operates in the Centre, The Toronto Arts Foundation Theatre Centre, is not run by the Board of Directors of the St. Lawrence Centre. It has its own Board of Governors and rents the theatre for each production from the St. Lawrence Centre. The Toronto Arts Foundation is a separate organization operating on its own budget with its own Council grants.

While the Theatre has made some major errors in its program — the directors are the first to admit that some productions were appalling — it has been doing considerably better than smash musicals by the Bronte sisters. One of last season's most successful presentations was Brecht's *Puntilla and Matti*, his *Hired Hand*, a long walk from drawing-room comedy. Next season Henry Tarvainen, resident director at the theatre, is directing a new play by Canadian playwright John Palmer, *Memories for My Brother, part II*. At least one other Canadian play will be on the program.

The St. Lawrence is freer to experiment in this way partly because of its size, a seating capacity of 800 as opposed to 1500 to 2000 for the largest in the country.

It is also freer because of its people, many of whom have, in spite of everything, developed in the poor theatres. John Palmer is dramaturge at the Factory Lab; Tarvainen arrived at St. Lawrence via the poverty-stricken Theatre Passe-Muraille; Martin Kinch, who joins the staff next season, is also from Passe-Muraille. They will inevitably bring to the theatre a far different character from the one brought by for example Paxton Whitehead, artistic director of Shaw Festival, who just as inevitably brings with him his British traditions. (Screams for international culture. The point is made positively for Canadian traditions, not negatively against John Bull).

The St. Lawrence has been criticized for a lack of interest in fostering the growth of new talent, particularly in its neglect of workshops for practical experience. Both

Leon Major, artistic director of the theatre, and Henry Tarvainen argue that they simply haven't the money to spread around, to do both professional quality plays and adequate workshops. In the end, they are obliged to work with the finished products, and forgo the role of teacher. That must apparently be left to the smaller groups, which would not be an entirely undesirable state of affairs if these groups did not have such a high mortality rate.

Again because of derring-do on the part of some, new projects along this line are now in the planning stages. William Glassco and Steven Smith, of Factory Lab will be starting a new theatre, Tarragon, with two colleagues, James Douglas and Brian Meeson. Tarragon will in effect be a working school, where new playwrights could work with the director to develop a play and a writer. Tarragon will open whether or not it receives financial aid; beyond that is anybody's guess.

Oddly enough, the Opportunities for Youth program has come through with some fairly substantial support for struggling theatre. Proto/Theatre, the brainchild of three members of Theatre Passe-Muraille, is an experimental actors' workshop that is being backed this summer by a youth grant of \$16,700. Those who are in the business of supporting theatre in this country might take their lead here: if the St. Lawrence Centres cannot fill this role themselves, something along the lines of Proto/Theatre is clearly necessary.

David Gardiner's appointment to the Canada Council is a hopeful sign. But the Liberal government's panicky throwing around of funds to pretend it is tackling the unemployment problem is hardly a sturdy basis on which to foster theatre.

Leon Major says that the St. Lawrence Centre believes in Canadian plays, but that "we must judge plays by international standards." He claims that "there is no Canadian play on our hands on the level of *Marigolds*." (The Effect of Gam-

ma Rays on *Man-in-the-Moon Marigolds*, by American Paul Zindel, produced in the '70-'71 season). Major said this in an interview with playwright Norman Williams who was at the time preparing a submission to POCA on Theatre in Toronto. In that report alone there is a great deal of evidence that there are numerous Canadian plays which can talk to *Marigolds* on its own turf, but which are in other hands than Major's.

Creeps by David Freeman was mentioned earlier. Though it was good enough to merit glowing reviews from Nathan Cohen and others, it still has not been accepted at any of the major theatres, nor was it considered economically feasible to rent the Town Hall at St. Lawrence for the production. Various New York producers are currently dickering for it.

Another outstanding production was Theatre Passe-Muraille's *Doukhobors*, tracing the Doukhobor movement from Russia to Canada, their hardships under persecution, the emergence of the radical Sons of Freedom. Others are doing comparable work: Studio Lab Theatre, Théâtre du Nouveau Monde in Montreal, The Global Village in Toronto, the Art Gallery Theatre in Vancouver — the list is much longer, for the time being. They exist in spite of all odds and in spite of the opinions of entrepreneurs like Honest Ed Mirvish.

Mirvish, the man who brought us *Hair* and *1776* at the Royal Alex, advises that the first thing he looks at "is whether a play has quality and mass appeal. If these qualities can be found in a Canadian play, I would rather use a Canadian play." Sadly and reluctantly he adds, "But if the quality is not there, I have to settle for quantity." Poor Ed.

As the workers march out of the Dunlop plant to the strains of the bagpipes, the British overseer of *Branch Plant* snorts and remarks that "it looks like the workers have settled for dignity." Canadian theatres may have to settle for a lot less.

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# CHOC

Back in 1960, an obscure Catholic brother brought out a book in Quebec called **Les Insolences du Frère Untel**. It was a phenomenal success and sold 127,000 copies (in Canada, if a book sells 5,000 copies, it is regarded as an extremely successful bestseller).

Frère Untel, or Brother Anonymous, helped kill Quebec's traditional, clerical educational system and, it is said, fanned the flames of what is tediously called the Quiet Revolution.

Today, Frère Untel, Jean-Paul Desbiens, is comfortably ensconced behind the editor-in-chief's desk of *La Presse* where he has deservedly earned himself a reputation as Quebec's answer to Lubor J. Zink. (*La Presse* is Quebec's largest paper and happens, along with several other papers, to be owned by Power Corp., the Liberal Party's best friend in the province.)

Daily he thunders his disapprobation at what his early call for reforms has wrought...a taste for more.

Today, there's a new book in Quebec that is approaching the success of **Les Insolences**. Just as the book of a decade ago typified the growing awareness of the need for liberal reform, some **Québécois** argue that Léandre Bergeron's **Petit Manuel d'histoire du Québec** reflects an expanding anti-capitalist mood in the province. The argument is not that the masses of people are about to hoist red flags all over the place, but that the proponents of such things are being increasingly heard and having some effect.

The **Petit Manuel** has been on the Quebec bestseller lists for almost eight months now. Ten years ago, its very strident Marxist tone, even in popular language, would have ensured it a readership of about 500 assorted students, intellectuals and crackpots. Now it is being serialized in a pulp weekly called **Photo Police**, a paper hitherto devoted to crime, sex and horoscopes. In addition, a slick comic-book version is being prepared.

(New Canada Press is coming out with a translation, once it solves its copyright fight with Imperial Oil, owner of some historical drawings.)

Another comic-book history has come out which, when coupled with Bergeron's book, is presumably intended to point **Québécois** in the right direction. It's call-

ed **Cuba: en bande dessinée** and was done by Guy Lamontagne and Audette Lacasse.

The odd thing about it is that in the past this would have caused the priests and bishops to rail from the pulpits. Now, there's a whole new class of priests, and some bishops, who are encouraging their flocks to read this stuff.

Radical ideas and solutions are getting an increasingly popular hearing. And when they appear in print, they are no longer automatically dismissed as Communist claptrap and propaganda.

When the FLQ manifesto was disseminated in the province last October, people didn't get all worked up about it. Instead, a startlingly large proportion of the populace, while disapproving of kidnapping, agreed with the manifesto, or parts of it.

Another small example of this popular phenomenon is provided by another pulp weekly, **Choc**. It sells for 20 cents and has a modest circulation across the province. Inside, you'll find the usual movie magazine cheesecake photos and stories alongside something like a photo-feature on education in Cuba, describing the terrific popular benefits of the revolution.

During the October crisis, the FLQ kidnappers of James Cross sent **Choc** a 90-minute tape outlining their views. The paper printed the entire transcription, bannerizing it on its front page. The only other story mentioned on the front was "The Bizarre Love Life of Adolf Hitler."

An English North American equivalent of this would be **Midnight** or the **Police Gazette** printing the speeches of Fidel Castro.

But perhaps the most dramatic example of this new attitude was provided recently by, of all people, Montreal's French-language hockey writers.

In the middle of the Stanley Cup finals against Chicago, Montreal Canadiens star centre Henri Richard called Al MacNeil the worst coach he ever played for. In the ensuing furor, the French writers seized the opportunity to attack the Canadiens front office and owners, particularly over the issue of French as the working language. Repressed animosities exploded.

Earlier in the playoffs, owner David Molson had been quoted in *Life Magazine* as saying: "Of all the old WASP families in Quebec, ours has always been the closest to the natives." He added that he had a French maid and encouraged his children to speak to her.

In a sports editorial in *La Presse*, André Trudelle demanded that the next Canadiens coach be bilingual.

"The Canadian organization had better be on guard," he wrote. "The sporting press is no longer a brigade of PR men.

Here, I am not throwing stones at the generation that preceded me to the detriment of the one following me. The generation which preceded me was of its time, just as the one that follows me is in its time. But the present team of hockey reporters (and here he listed most French NHL writers in the city), today's team of reporters is **contestataire**, frank to excess, and even revolutionary. It will not shut up."

Following the Canadiens' Stanley Cup victory, Maurice Desjardins of the popular **Journal de Montréal**, was moved to write: "The Canadiens do not belong to the Molson family, nor to Sam Pollock nor to Al MacNeil. They belong to me. They belong to you. They belong to the millions of TV viewers. When they lose, it is French Canada that loses. When they win, like yesterday, the entire nation taps itself on its shoulder and congratulates itself for a victory, a commodity more and more rare in the nation these days."

Another non-sport columnist in the morning paper, André Rufiange, wrote: "The Canadian Arena Company (owners of the Forum and the Canadiens) has always enjoyed preferential treatment in Quebec newspapers. Why? I don't know. It was always like that. And that's what I say, 'It was' ... because now, c'est fini. A new generation of journalists is born, one that refuses to let Quebec be had. And which says NON to the Canadian Arena Company, at the risk of seeing the brewery withdraw its newspaper ads."

The *La Presse* writer, André Trudelle, celebrated the Stanley Cup triumph with the suggestion that the team be nationalized, with profits going to recreation and youth sports. He advised David Molson to "get off this galley where the fan has been reduced to being a passenger. Where the captain is criticized by the sailors. Where the people spot any deviation from the charted course."

In Quebec, as David Molson might say, the natives are getting restless.

Nick Auf der Maur

## FREE STUFF

**Forced Growth**, by Philip Matthias. James, Lewis & Samuel, 180 pp. \$3.50.

Standing in the presence of the Wizard of Oz, young Dorothy and her companions are suitably impressed until her faithful dog gets behind the façade to expose the mighty wizard as a kindly little man push-

ing levers and playing with amplifiers. Although the kindly little man may be somewhat inappropriate, the **Wizard of Oz** is as good a guide as any to what is happening in Canada, under the guise of regional economic development, as we take our trip down the yellow brick road.

For a number of years Canadians have been given visions of the land over the rainbow. The vistas are usually reported to us by our political leaders who see past the undefended border to a land where great men dwell with money, know-how and hyper-active entrepreneurial glands. The idea is to join our wilderness with the world of those who have the options on the pot of gold. Then industries will bloom, affluent cities will settle where now only the black-flies buzz.

Of course there are usually a few strings, but who reads the small print? Because, like the Land of Oz, the world of high finance is a mysterious kingdom with language and customs all its own. It also has its own elite guard of trained economists and assorted experts whose apparent function is to explain what is happening and to project what should take place along the path. However, more often than not, our experts rally to guard the mysteries of the system, even when criticizing the gaps, by expounding and extolling all the myths and rituals. A case in point is Philip Mathias's **Forced Growth**.

Mathias, an assistant editor of the **Financial Post**, has been covering (according to the blurb on the jacket) "the field of government-assisted development efforts" for several years. He has pieced five of his studies into one volume. It is quite a story, although it does not end as happily as **The Wizard of Oz**. For as the reader winds his way through the saga of Jens Moe, who appears to have conned the government of Prince Edward Island out of \$10 million, to the unknown wheeler-dealers who took Manitoba to the cleaners, every myth and shibboleth which make such rip-offs possible remains intact.

The problem of the book lies not so much in the data presented, although, with all the meticulous research, the reader is left with the impression that there are many skeletons rattling in closets that Mathias has left unopened. And in every instance, the men responsible for the fiascos are allowed to cop a plea of unmalicious stupidity. Moreover, they are often given high marks for good intentions. However, the reader can draw his own conclusion whether the officials involved were either stupid or evil — or both.

The essential weaknesses of the book are the implications contained in the title which suggests that there is something wrong with economic development, and in

Abraham Rotstein's introduction which, while being an excellent exercise in economic beside-the-point-manship, suffers from the same logical fallacy as the compulsive gambler who returns every day to the fixed game because it is the only one in town.

The introduction is a rather important part of the book, for it is here that Mathias' investigations are mixed with myth and ground into pap. For example, Rotstein speaks about the "rules of the game" of regional development but there is nothing in the data to indicate there are any rules, much less a game. It is simply a racket.

Rotstein cites Mathias's investigations as being "unencumbered by a prejudice of the issues or any set conclusion which the author forces on his data." This is not true. The title is a prejudice: forced growth implies there is something artificial in a society mobilizing its resources to ensure economic development. The subtitle — "Five Studies of Government Involvement in the Development of Canada" — implies a rather wild "set conclusion which the author forces on his data." Economic development is at best a peripheral question in the data presented. It is the cover, or, as the Godfather would say, "da front". The stories revolve around vanity, stupidity, fraud, corruption and greed — all the things that endear governments to the people. A far more appropriate title would be "Larceny and Old Keynes."

Taken together, the projects under investigation cost the Canadian people \$400 million.

Rather than using this fact to put away — once again — the myth that there is no capital in Canada that can be used to develop our own resources, Abraham Rotstein is mildly surprised and goes on to suggest that the problem is "the absence of expertise."

Although the question of expertise, or lack of same, is mentioned quite often in Mathias's book, especially in the post-mortems of Royal Commissions, it is hard to find within the body of the evidence presented. Could no one in Nova Scotia figure out that salt water corrodes metal? Could no one be found to design a fish packing plant on P.E.I., so that they needed a Jens Moe to design an inefficient plant and bring it into bankruptcy? Even when Mathias turns to the projects in Saskatchewan and Manitoba which involved a maze of financial manipulations voices in Canada were raised from the beginning questioning the sell-outs, even when the critics had to cut through the maze of misinformation and manipulation that comes with all these grandiose deals. The ar-

gument of lack of expertise in Canada simply does not wash.

The issue no matter how it is evaded is that regional development in the hands of our politicians and the promoters is a cynical racket which plays upon the aspirations and needs of the Canadian people for decent living standards and security, which can only be achieved through economic growth, while robbing us blind.

The essential nature of this racket is obscured in high-sounding catch phrases like "free-enterprise" and baddies such as "government control and ownership". The supreme bad-word now is "doctrinaire socialism" which we must avoid at all costs because the answers are always too "simplistic".

As Mathias states: "The shunning of 'socialism' has driven several provincial governments into arrangements in which they have paid all or most of the expense of establishing a plant, using a promoter or a company as a 'private enterprise' front that gave the project political respectability."

This is also an interesting rationale which has great promise for the defenders of doctrinaire capitalism. Reluctant governments are forced into these swindles by popular demand. As in most instances these days the fault ultimately lies with the victim.

Meanwhile, over to Abraham Rotstein who has some "classic questions" to raise. "...Is Canadian business too conservative? Is there some inherent attitude that shuns more speculative ventures? Is it a matter of indifference to an urgent national task, some lack of patriotism, some ideological barrier to involvement with government at any level? Are Americans, in turn, inherently more venturesome?"

Poor Canada cursed with the burden of a class of cowardly capitalists. What can we do about it? Obviously nothing, although there have been some classic answers developed to Rotstein's "classic questions." But let us not look for simple answers — every question must be rendered more profound.

And the game goes on.

May 22, 1971: two random headlines from the Toronto press.

"Quebec votes \$26 million for Hydro Plan."

"Nova Scotia and U.S. Company Thought Near Accord On Big New Industry."

One can only hope that some of this works out. As Pierre Elliott Trudeau once said at a different time in different circumstances (he was talking about social welfare schemes) Canada can't afford all this free stuff.

Rae Murphy

# LAST POST LETTERS

## Dear Last Post:

Mr. Dufresne's review of L. Bergeron's *Le Petit Manuel d'Histoire du Québec* was startling. The late Chanoine Lionel Groulx looked upon history as a major weapon in the arsenal of "la survivance". Bergeron has picked up on the theme and fashioned a blunt instrument, a clumsy marxist interpretation that rests, almost in total, on a foundation of "history as conspiracy". Having arrived at that conclusion, history becomes a useless investigation. If our past is full of idiots and traitors at every turn, why should the next bag of tricks, the future, be any different regardless of who is in power? According to Dufresne, the book was aimed at the workers but instead, the "students and teachers ... really went for it." So what else is new? Bergeron must be disappointed. To aim at the masses and to hit "radical chic" is hardly a breakthrough for the revolution.

But Dufresne sees great merit in that the book "contains nothing but facts and Bergeron's interpretation of these." Well that is a new approach! I suppose it was only a matter of time before someone got around to covering that angle. We hope he is clearer in his interpretation of facts than Dufresne was in some of his comments. For instance, he refers to Bergeron's university, Sir George Williams, as "... one of the youngest and richest English universities of Montreal..." What is that meant to convey? There are only two English universities in Montreal, and Sir George is the younger and McGill is the richer. So what! But the "fact and Dufresne's interpretation of it" suggests a brilliant Québécois radical at the heart of "rich WASP academia". Ho-hum.

Dufresne admits the manual is a bit "naive". But, after all, "... it must be remembered that youth, French and English, is still subjected now to a most hypocritical definition of Quebec and Canadian history in schools and colleges today." No doubt that is true in many places, even the majority, but the idea of breaking through hypocrisy with naivety is highly questionable. In fact, just the opposite is more likely. The book preaches to the converted and snickers at everyone else. Congratulations.

Lorne Ste. Croix.  
Montreal

## Dear Last Post:

I was delighted to see two fine articles on hockey in your last issue, though I'm afraid the Doug Harvey story seemed to suffer either from hasty writing or sloppy editing. There have been far too few unstarry-eyed approaches to contemporary athletics. Even the best sports writers — and there are some very good ones — deal with professional sport in its own context only; while individual myths are sometimes exploded, the general myth of sports, of all leisure activity, as somehow separate from the "real world" persists, as is evidenced by the autonomous Sports Sections of our newspapers. Perhaps this is not surprising in a society which believes that just the unexamined life is worth leading.

I think that this attitude, and too the radical notion that athletics are some shared neurosis of less fortunate spirits, is changing. Dave Meggycs has learned more from football than his coaches taught him; Jack Scott's Institute for the Study of Sport in Society is working away in Oakland — a good place to show that lousy society makes for lousy sport. Your stories were the first good hockey stories I've read along these lines.

Mark Golden  
King, Ont.

## Dear Last Post:

After getting so much valuable stuff from *Last Post* since your first issue — particularly necessary now that I've escaped from the big city — I suppose it's only human nature that my first letter is a complaint.

In 13 pages on David Lewis, surely you could have given me one new fact? I agree it's useful to reprint great chunks of Horowitz — I've done it myself, though with more attribution — but what happened to you shit-diggers down there?

Could you try and do a bit more research in your own backyard — Lewis and Québec? Like, I have heard vague stories about a Québec CCF convention around '43 or '44 when Lewis supposedly delivered a mes-

sage from the national executive — i.e. himself — that "the party would rather have no Québec CCF at all than one opposed to conscription." Following which speech, over half the delegates walked out of the convention and the party, presumably heading for the Bloc Populaire. This story may be exaggerated; I doubt if it's baseless, and bears such a resemblance to the current situation as to be worth a story in itself.

There must be other such stories available. Your grasp of the history of the Québec question in the NDP in the 60's is pretty weak, too, if you think that the 71 convention is "the first at which Québec will emerge as a major issue". What about 1961 — the first "two nations" debate; '63, a replay again featuring Chartrand where the party solidified its position on the French-Canadian nation and began to fight the Fulton-Favreau formula in alliance with Jacques-Yvan Morin. What about the fact that special constitutional status for Quebec was first proposed, not by the Quebec government, but by the Sask. CCF government at the constitutional conference around '59? (You'll find the details in the McGill Law Review, if nowhere else.) (That sort of background is invaluable in showing people that the NDP has always been avant-garde on the issue and had better move ahead again.)

Wilf Day  
Port Hope

## Dear Last Post:

The article in the last issue by a "former close associate of the Lewis camp" tells something about the weaknesses of your journalistic technique. The tone of the article was the same as that of earlier articles condemning giant corporations and right wing politicians. I would suggest that your magazine establish at least enough subtlety to distinguish between the right of the NDP and the "right". The article does nothing to place Stephen Lewis in the context of Ontario politics but only in relation to the Waffle. The Waffle is a welcome addition to the political scene but the universe does not, as yet, revolve around it. And while no one will mistake Lewis for a socialist, neither is he indistinguishable from the "Bay Street tychoons".

W. Burgess  
Ottawa

## Dear Last Post:

As a new subscriber, I can only say that after reading the last two issues, our country cannot do without such realistic coverage of the major problems we face as Canadians.

Gilbert Mignot  
Winnipeg



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# Passenger trains may join dodo birds among ranks of extinct

## -newspaper headline

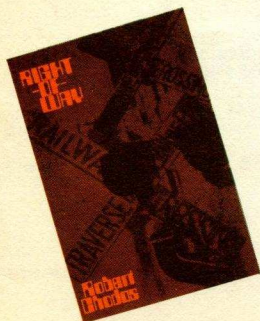
Surprising? The passenger train is not dead yet, but its hold on life in this country is shaky. The Canadian Pacific Railway has applied to the Canadian Transport Commission, the government body that administers transportation policy, for permission to abandon its **entire** passenger service with the exception of its Montreal commuter routes. Canadian National has applied to abandon thirteen of its passenger runs. Several of these abandonments have already been granted by the commission, and the only thing that seems to be delaying across-the-board suspensions is public opposition.

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