

**LADY
POD**

THE LAST POST Dec.-Jan. 1971-72
Vol. 2. No. 3

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**LADY
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Quebec: labor turns left



Auto Pact: a bad deal, getting worse

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THE LAST POST Vol 2 No 3

a radical Canadian newsmagazine

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NE COMPTONS
QUE SUR NOS
PROPRES MOYENS



Le symbole "Ne comptons que sur nos propres moyens" a été proposé par le comité de concertation de la CSN et imprimé sur le 2^e de couverture de l'édition de Noël. Il est le résultat d'un processus de concertation qui a permis de définir un message commun à tous les membres de la CSN et de le faire connaître au public. Ce message est le résultat d'un processus de concertation qui a permis de définir un message commun à tous les membres de la CSN et de le faire connaître au public.

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NATIONAL NOTES

"Q: What now is your timetable on announcement of Canada's foreign ownership policy . . . ?

"A: Well, the timing is that we are closer to announcement than we ever were."

*—Prime Minister Trudeau's press conference,
November 17, 1971*

Time had come into play as a major factor in Ottawa, and the questions people were asking all began with 'when'. There was speculation on the timing of the upcoming Trudeau blessed event, now that The Ottawa Citizen had scooped the country by revealing its location: Ottawa's Civic Hospital. And, as is the way when a government is well into the fourth year of its term, people were seeing signs that pointed to a spring (or winter or fall) elections.

Time was working in another way too. It was now more than three months since August 15, SurchARGE Day; as time went on, there was more evidence on which to gauge American intentions and the effect of the Nixon measures on the Canadian economy, and increased demand for a long-term Canadian policy that would deal with the questions it raised.

Especially with an election coming up, an election in which the defeat of the government was entirely within the realm of possibility. The government continued for the moment to try to play both sides of the independence question, but it was clear that sooner or later it would have to come down on one side or the other. It was not yet clear which side that would be.

The question has existed long before August 15, but the surcharge was one of those periodic events that force it into sharp focus. In May, Trudeau had gone to Moscow and talked about the overpowering presence of the United States in Canada's national life and Canadians' desire to lessen it. There was a flurry of controversy over his remarks, but it quickly subsided; after the surcharge, what Trudeau had said seemed, if anything, grossly understated.

When Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin returned Trudeau's visit in October, the surcharge was two months old and people were much more sensitive to these things. While Kosygin limited himself mostly to statements about the benefits of Soviet-Canadian friendship during his tour, he did allow himself one departure from that pattern: in Ottawa's exclusive Rideau Club, he expressed displeasure with countries whose economic policies were directed against other nations—a clear reference to the United States.

Again there was a flurry; again it subsided; but the signs that something was up were mounting. Kosygin's visit was followed by that of Yugoslav President Tito; when was the last time Trudeau had met with President Nixon, continentalists wanted to know. And why had he toured the Soviet Union when he hadn't toured the United States?

Trudeau's offhand "I think so" in reply to an Opposition question about whether Canada was still a member of NATO and NORAD seemed to reflect the government's mood. A few weeks later came the revelation that the government was seriously considering a screening mechanism for foreign ownership—innocuous enough by world standards, but a distinct departure from Canada's previous history.

Probably the most persuasive argument pushing the government toward a nationalist policy was that other time factor—the approach of the election. No matter how long the government waited, the election was likely to be fought at a time of high unemployment, which meant that the government had to divert attention from the job question, or convince people that it was doing something about it, or both. A tough stand against the Americans would fulfil both requirements neatly.

But a nationalist course, or at least one with any substance, still seemed at best an outside chance. At his November 17 press conference, Trudeau said enigmatically that the timing of the government's decision on foreign ownership would be part of the decision itself: "I dare say if we had made a decision six months ago, it

might have been marginally different than a decision we might take in six weeks."

That could mean that the government is planning some bold move, but is just waiting to assure itself that it is absolutely necessary. And it could mean that the government will try to ride out the storm, and by inaction move Canada further into economic dependence on the United States.

At the press conference Trudeau said that the surcharge had not hurt Canada as badly as had been feared, and a week later a study was released showing that government estimates of jobs lost were now only half what they had been in September. A move toward a the-Americans-are-not-so-bad-after-all stance—or a show of strength directed at the United States for bargaining purposes?

At the end of November Trudeau requested a meeting with Nixon, which had been one of the major continentalist demands. But the important question was not whether a meeting would be held, but what Trudeau would say. And initial speculation was that he would come out with a policy on foreign ownership that was a substantial retreat from the screening procedure advocated in the Herb Gray Report.

There are portents that a major issue in the next federal election will be wage-price controls. Consumer and Corporate Affairs Minister Ron Basford told one journalist in a private conversation last September that "we will have wage-price controls in the near future in Canada", and there has been heavy speculation by corporation heads in the financial pages of the press that this not only should, but would happen. The Canadian Labor Congress has also been getting more and more jittery, as Donald Macdonald's speech strongly attacking any idea of such controls at the recent Ontario Federation of Labor convention indicated.

One of the major obstacles to controls in Canada has been overcome, since the AFL-CIO in the United States accepted to sit on the wage-price control board.

NATIONAL NOTES

Now the pressure on Canadian unions will be all the more intense and, in some people's view, irresistible.

If the American corporations can now control wages as a production cost, we will be pushed in the same direction because of the close integration of the two economies. Trudeau is likely to argue that wage-price controls are necessary to improve our competitive position vis-a-vis the U.S. which will now be able to produce goods more cheaply.

Trudeau could also claim he is fighting both inflation and unemployment, at the same time blaming a substantial part of it on the Americans. "Blame the Americans and the trade unions for the economy" is a likely Liberal strategy.

Trudeau has frequently taken the theme of "Big Companies and Big Unions" in speaking on inflation and unemployment. Given that two-thirds of the Canadian labor force is *not* unionized, a tactic of trying to drive a wedge between organized and unorganized workers, turning the unorganized against the trade unions, might get the Liberals large gains in urban centres, where the unorganized are concentrated.

The idea of wage-price controls has been rejected long ago by many economists as useless, if it's not accompanied with controls on profits. Wage-price controls are effectively an outright gift to the corporations, particularly since wages are much easier to control than consumer prices. The way a company benefits is frequently less in the saving of money they'd have to pay out in raises than in the fact that such controls make a union virtually superfluous for a period of time. If collective bargaining is effectively destroyed, there is little for a union to do, it becomes harder to fight grievances, and the company has carte blanche to speed up production, reorganize manufacturing, and cut corners while the union is in suspended animation.

A hint of such a strategy is found in Finance Minister Benson's most recent mini-budget, in which personal taxes were cut by three per cent, and corporate taxes by seven per cent. Wage

price controls would be the same thing on a massive scale—making the wage-earner pay for inflation, unemployment, and rising corporate profits.

The logic of how this is supposed to help the economy is tortuous: it helps profits rise, so the corporations have more incentive to invest, and so they expand and create more jobs. That is the strategy that Nixon expressed with his Phase Two plan.

It should be apparent within the next two months whether or not Trudeau plans a Canadian "Phase Two" to match the American. There may be no better time for him to do this, since he can simultaneously wrap himself in a Canadian flag. Blood, sweat and tears, and a national sacrifice, and all that....

While the Liberal government daddled, the Progressive Conservative opposition daddled.

In the past, from the time Sir John A. Macdonald insisted on an all-Canadian transcontinental railway to when John Diefenbaker went down to magnificent defeat shouting that nuclear weapons would never be placed on Canadian soil, the nationalist issue had been their issue.

But now that the Liberals had hesitantly moved away from their traditional position of unreconstructed continentalism, the Tories were in a quandary—should they attack the government for being too nationalistic, or for not being nationalistic enough? They did not know which to do.

So they did both.

The motion that Heath Macquarrie (PC—Hillsborough) presented to the House of Commons in early November called for the House to condemn the government "for failing to employ and improve firm and constructive economic and political relations with the United States, and, at the same time, for failing to develop a new economic policy which would strengthen our economic independence and fully employ our growing and highly-skilled human resources."

Remarkably, they succeeded in argu-

ing both halves of the motion, with Macquarrie saying that "we cannot for many reasons, hard reasons, such as geography, history, economics and all the rest, forsake our role as an important integrated ally of the United States," and Gordon Fairweather (PC—Fundy-Royal) accusing the government of failing "to provide any leadership which will restore Canadian confidence in (the economic) aspect of our national life."

It was a valiant attempt, but it could not cover up the lack of a coherent Tory policy on the question of economic independence. When the Cabinet started bearing a marked resemblance to a sieve, Opposition Leader Robert Stanfield vigorously attacked the government on the fact that the leaks had occurred, and discreetly avoided any comment on the substance of what had been leaked.

Some Tories saw the party's move toward continentalism as a betrayal of its principles, and hoped it was an aberration that would quickly be corrected. Other had been champing at the bit all through the Diefenbaker years and now were glad of the opportunity to express the free-trade ideas in which they had always believed.

The only thing they agreed on was that they did not want to fight an election on the issue. If Prime Minister Trudeau ran on a platform of blaming the Americans for the country's economic difficulties, there was little they could say in response. Their only hope was to try to shift the discussion to the government's management of the economy.

With the issue of wage-price controls, they faced similar difficulties. If Trudeau imposed controls, they feared, he would look decisive and strong, and Stanfield's opposition to them on laissez-faire capitalist grounds was unlikely to arouse much excitement.

They bravely kicked off their election campaign in early December with their annual meeting and policy conference, but neither the timing of the election nor the issues on which it would be contested had yet been determined. And, they realized ruefully, it was not for them to decide.

MARGINALIA

CURIOUS, RED

Police undercover work has expanded enormously in Montreal in the past year. Solicitor General Jean-Pierre Goyer's new security agency is expected to add yet a new dimension to the plethora of agents—federal, provincial, municipal, and, some say, American-sponsored—operating in the area. Most of the operations are by necessity highly invisible. Others are very open, although nobody will acknowledge responsibility.

One of the more colorful examples of the latter type of operation has been increasingly practised in the Montreal region. It involves vice squad raids on bars and restaurants, a fairly common occurrence in the province. The raids are usually designed to uncover bootleg liquor (Quebec is Canada's biggest producer of illicit booze) and underage imbibers. However, the police have been increasingly focussing on bars favored by students and possible left-wing sympathizers, such as the Nelson, le Chat Noir, le Bouvillon, le Casa Espagnol. In such raids, the vice squad is accompanied by members of the anti-terrorist squad, equipped with mobile video tape recorders. The entire clientele is filmed, at their tables, to see who is sitting with whom, who is talking to whom. Although the cameras and equipment are highly visible to everyone concerned, the police deny the practice. The police are curious, Red.

TALKING TRIVIA

Moscow could be forgiven if it were to have second thoughts about cultural agreements signed with Canada, in the wake of the recent visit to the Soviet Union by Vancouver's Mayor Tom Campbell.

In an interview recounting his impressions, Mr. Campbell assured Canadians that he knew his hotel room and car had been bugged and that "the chauffeur was certainly a lot more than a chauffeur." We could be forgiven for wondering what the KGB

could want to learn from Mr. Campbell that it couldn't just as easily uncover in a Reader's Digest condensed book or in Weekend Magazine. However, Mr. Campbell boasted that he had thwarted the Soviet intelligence apparatus by "just talking trivia all the time." Of this we have no doubt.

He also displayed a keen sense of diplomatic nuance by bringing along boxes of 25-cent ballpoint pens and 10 pounds of chewing gum. "But mothers didn't want us to give their kids the gum because it would ruin their teeth, and so we gave it all to the officials instead." He refused to name the brand of the gum in an interview because "I don't want to give Wrigley's a plug."

He said the main effect of his visit had been to give the Soviets "a better appreciation of what Canadians are like."

WORST SINCE '29

According to a study of plant shutdowns prepared by the Ontario Federation of Labor, the number of plant shutdowns and employment reductions in 1971 were more serious than in any other decade since the crash of 1929. Moreover, half the plant shut-downs in Ontario were branch plant operations of foreign-owned corporations.

PROPER POMP

It has come to our attention that Canadian diplomats are again flying first class all the way. When the civil service austerity move came in, diplomats were required to fly economy. If they had foreign hosts meeting them at the point of arrival, they were allowed to switch to first class on the very last leg of the trip, so they could deplane in proper pomp. While this was an unnecessarily cumbersome system, we admit, it is still to be deplored that taxpayers' money is squandered for lack of wit. The suggestion of one parliamentary correspondent should merit consideration—fly economy all the way, and slip the stewardess five bucks to let you out the front door.

SPRING DATE

Campaign planning at New Democratic Party headquarters in Ottawa has begun in earnest. The projected timing on which NDP strategists are working calls for a spring election date.

LONDON ASKED

A London source reveals that on his recent visit to England, Canada's Defence Minister Donald MacDonald was asked if Canada could increase its NATO manpower in Europe so as to relieve some British troops to go to Northern Ireland.

UP IN SMOKE

The business to be in these days if you want to make a mint off the government is manufacturing paper shredders. A department head's status is in part measured by whether or not he has merited a paper shredder. This little device behind his desk serves to demonstrate to his guest that he deals in highly confidential documents.

However, the old methods seem to be the best, and no one has drawn attention to the tiny nook in the bowels of the Parliament Buildings that contains some of the blackest secrets of this nation. It is the furnace room of the Parliamentary Library, a pleasant little rotunda ensconced behind the main Block. It is there that secret reports are shovelled in in bulk to warm the bottoms of the MPs upstairs.

If the Queen's Printer has printed too many copies of a secret report destined for the Cabinet only, it is fed into the flames of the furnace room. Also, reports which the government intended to circulate but then changed its mind are delivered in astounding truckloads to the closely-guarded basement. Several tens of thousands of copies of a report on Quebec culture for the B & B ended up there, and became wistful wisps of smoke gently drifting over the Ottawa river to blend with the effusions of the Eddy Match Company.

NATIONAL NOTES

'DEM DAT KNOWS . . .'

More than a month after Newfoundlanders went to the polls to rid themselves of Joey Smallwood's Liberal government, people are still not quite sure what happened on October 28.

Some say, for example, that the Progressive Conservatives, with 52 per cent of the popular vote (as opposed to 44 per cent for the Liberals), won a resounding victory.

Others say that when the New Labrador Party pledged support to the PCs, the Conservatives had formed, beyond the shadow of a doubt, a majority government and could get on with conducting the provincial legislature.

Insiders in the Liberal caucus felt that the Smallwood government was crushed, with several cabinet ministers and ex-cabinet ministers vying openly for the leadership of the Liberals. Factionalism and internal dissension prevailed.

The confusion continues and 'dem dat really knows, ain't tellin'.

Newfoundlanders went to bed election night thinking that the Liberals had won another election, although this time with a minority government. They were rudely awakened the next morning with the news that the university vote had swung one more crucial seat to the PCs and now it was the PCs who had a minority government.

Smallwood, however, still had his hand on the tiller of the provincial ship that he had piloted somewhat erratically for 22 years. And he wasn't about to take to the lifeboats before the vessel actually sank.

The immediate struggle was to woo New Labrador Party leader Tom Burgess, a former Liberal, back into the fold. To this task Joey assigned no less a figure than multimillionaire John C. Doyle, who stood to lose as much financially as Smallwood would lose politically if the Liberals were ousted.

Doyle, who started his lucrative career in the early 1950s with rich mineral and timber concessions in Labrador received from the Smallwood government, failed Joey for the first time in two decades. No attraction nor ministerial portfolio could win back the

stubborn Burgess, who vowed to support the Conservatives.

But there were documents to be destroyed, civil servants to be quieted and retired, loose ends to be wrapped up, so Joey had to stall for time some other way. At this point he looked to Magistrate Howard Strong, the chief returning officer.

Two weeks after election day, the official count was finished. No change: still PCs 21, Liberals 20, New Labrador Party 1. Now Joey announced a Liberal leadership convention in January, which he personally would not contest.

While his former supporters scrambled for support within the Liberal caucus, Smallwood kept on being Premier of Newfoundland. (Luckily, he had taken the precaution of passing a bill in the last legislature that empowered his government to stay in office and keep spending taxpayers' money until the fiscal year ends at the end of March 1972.)

In between official trips to Ottawa, he set the dates for official recounts sometime at the end of November. Then, on November 23, he finally got his break.

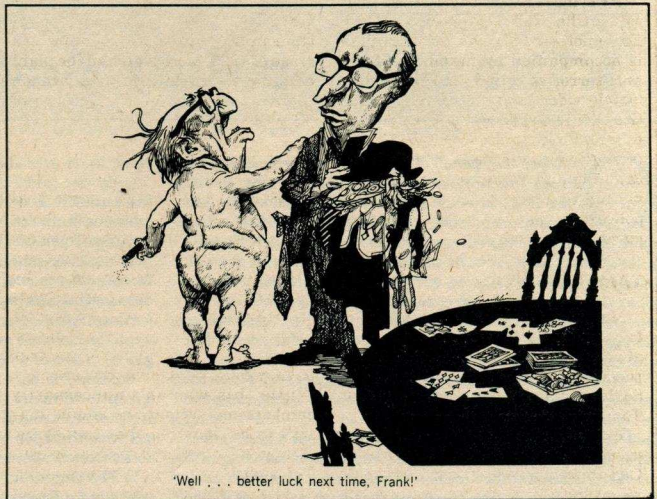
After losing the election, then losing his chance for Burgess's support, then losing the official count, Joey got his chance in Round Four. While the official recounts were being tabulated, it was discovered that one ballot box had been burned after the original election night count.

In a district that the PCs had won by four votes on election night, and by eight votes according to the official count, 105 votes were now missing. Although Justice H. G. Puddester declared the Tory elected, the Liberals are petitioning the Supreme Court to have the seat declared vacant. Meanwhile, they have used the incident as an excuse to retain power and say they won't resign unless they lose the seat in a byelection. And so Joey sails on, with enough money to last until spring rolls around, oblivious to the outrage of the majority of Newfoundlanders.

By spring, Joey will have his personal house in order, others will have spent themselves trying to fill his shoes, and the PCs will probably get their chance to form the government.

Maybe. Who knows? And remember, "dem dat knows . . ."

Franklin—Globe and Mail



by Nick Auf der Maur

The trigger was the 'La Presse' affair

I. The blue-collar October

October is a peculiar month in Quebec. It is perhaps the prettiest time of year. In the cities, the sun shines a good deal of the time, the air is cool and brisk while in the countryside, the magnificent autumn colors present the rolling hills and lanes at their best. Even in the farm fields, denuded of their crops, the exposed, plowed earth denotes richness and vitality, not death. Elsewhere, some people may think Spring represents the new year, the beginning of life. In Quebec, the beginning is the autumn. It's the preparation for the winter, and in Quebec, life revolves around winter.

October has also assumed an important place in Quebec's contemporary mythology. The very name conjures up images of revolution. Way back in 1837, the year of the Patriotes it was a bright October day when a local newspaper carried the headline: "The revolution has begun!" October visited another cold, wintry country along the way. Back in Quebec, during the early and mid-sixties, October peaked with separatist and nationalist agitation. In 1969, there was the October police strike and the battle of Murray Hill, followed by the mass protests against Bill 63. Last

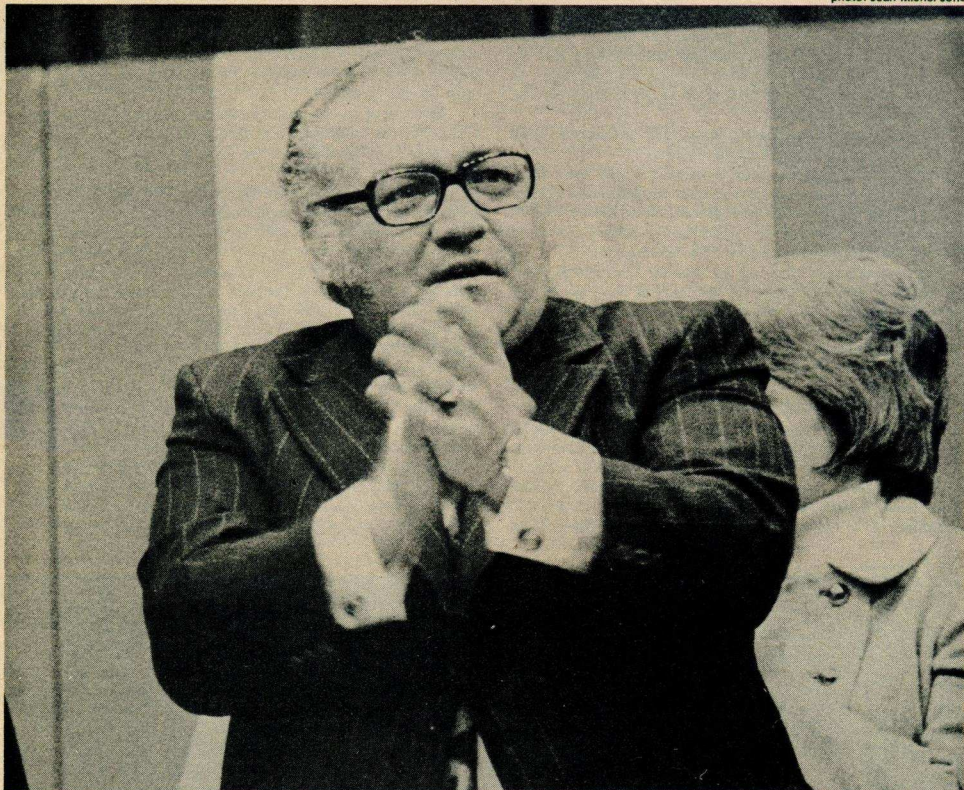
year, there was the "Crise d'Octobre."

By the time this October rolled along, the press and the authorities and the radicals had prepared the way with ominous hints of impending doom, violence or the second coming. Towards the end of the month, "Quebec watchers" had nothing much to report, except the usual persistent ferment that somehow refuses to go away. Strikes, lockouts, demonstrations, occupations, peculiar cases of exposed injustices, plant shut-downs and layoffs were regarded as vaguely isolated events, or at worst, or best, part of some global trend of economic malaise.

Like Octobers before, the new awareness came rather abruptly to many. It was there all the time, but like much of Quebec, needed something of the dramatic to bring it out into the open. And for those not expecting it, it came as a rude awakening.

The trigger for the new awakening (*prise de conscience*) was the *La Presse* affair (see following story). A seemingly innocuous labor dispute at the second biggest French daily newspaper in the world was allowed to deteriorate and develop into a symbol of many of the ills in Quebec society.

photo: Jean-Michel Joffe



'This is a sacred solidarity. Never again will we be divided,' — QFL President Louis Laberge

The climax came on October 29, when the great *La Presse* workers' demonstration took place. There was a lot of violence, hundreds of injuries and one death. This was followed by statements from all major Quebec labor leaders, sounding suspiciously revolutionary, saying that the workers were fed up. They vowed "to work for the overthrow of the regime." Worker militancy was discovered. The *Toronto Star* was moved to comment: "What happened in Montreal at the end of October was a manifest change in the political comportment of working men, something less traumatic than a kidnapping but nonetheless real."

October brings nothing new to Quebec. But it does seem to crystalize situations, focussing attention on ideas and events that are in constant movement. It also serves as a convenient, perhaps arbitrary date from which to mark developments in the Quebec historical process. From this point, it can be said that October 1971 represents one of the most profound and important contemporary turning points.

This will be remembered as the time when the "social question" assumed its proper place beside the "national

question"; when the bread and butter issues fused with basic ideals of social equality and justice. In the past the movement, or the political opposition forces in the province were largely based on nationalism. Today, it can be said that the major opposition forces are rooting in the left, incorporating nationalism rather than being based exclusively on it. But more importantly, it's developing as a working class movement, based on working class, as well as national aspirations.

"It doesn't shock me," said Labor Minister Jean Cournoyer, one of the more candid members of the Bourassa Cabinet. "This could have been predicted five years ago. The nationalist movement was due to become class conscious."

Organized labor in Quebec emerged from the *La Presse* affair united—in principal and action—as it had never been before. The two major trade union centrals, the Quebec Federation of Labor (QFL) and the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), have ended their perennial rivalry, which so often in the past sapped their energies. Together with the Quebec Teachers Corporation

(CÉQ—Corporation des Enseignants du Quebec), they have formed a Common Front. All progressive forces, political groups, unorganized workers, students, unemployed and social welfare recipients have been invited to join them in their basic aim—the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

"This is a sacred solidarity," says QFL president Louis Laberge. "Never again will we be divided."

For political purposes, the Common Front was more or less formalized at a mass rally held at the Montreal Forum four days after the *La Presse* demonstration. Some 12,000 to 14,000 people showed up at 24 hours notice for what proved to be a remarkable show of solidarity.

The meeting was chaired by Michel Chartrand, who until recently was regarded as the 'enfant terrible' of the labor movement by its more sedate leadership. But Louis Laberge was up there with him, along with the president of 70,000 teachers, Yvon Charbonneau, radical lawyer Robert Lemieux and most of Quebec's trade union leadership.

Together, they all but declared class war.

Speaker after speaker excoriated the federal, provincial and municipal governments, headed by Trudeau, Bourassa and Drapeau. All vowed solidarity in the battle against "the wealthy, propertied capitalists" for "democracy, social and economic justice, liberty and equality."

Referring to the battle against police a few nights

earlier, Louis Laberge declared: "We give serious warning to the wealthy and to the established powers that this first victim (Michele Gauthier who died in the demonstration) might be followed by others, but in future the victims won't only be on our side."

Several of the union representatives, notably Norman Cherry of the International Machinists Union at Canadair, admitted that "in the past we have been naive petite bourgeoisie."

He explained that in the past three years, the work force in his plant has been reduced from 10,000 to 2,400. Before the peak of the layoffs, his union presented the federal government with a detailed study with recommendations to avert layoffs. "They congratulated us for the civilized manner in which we presented our problems . . . we weren't noisy like the 'gars de Lapalme.' But where the hell did that get us? We still haven't heard from them, and now there's 7,000 of us in the street."

When Frank Diterlizzi, the Italian head of 'les gars de Lapalme,' was introduced, he was greeted by the greatest standing ovation the Forum has witnessed since the days of Maurice "The Rocket" Richard. It lasted for ten minutes: "Ce-n'est-qu'un debut, continuons-le com-bat!"

Le Devoir political analyst Jean-Claude Leclerc commented: "the massive demonstration at the Forum marks a very significant if not decisive turning point in the evolution of the forces of opposition in Montreal and, to an extent

photo: Jean-Michel Joffe



The Common Front was formalized at a mass rally at the Forum, with Michel Chartrand as chairman

more difficult to judge, in Quebec as a whole. Under pressure from their members and from militant new generations, the trade union organizations have ostensibly buried their rivalries . . . the leaders, with encouragement from the base, have proclaimed their commitment toward inter-union unity.

"Even more fundamentally, although all the implications have not been understood, there has been an historic coming together of manual workers and other groups of workers, including intellectual workers like journalists and university employees. They no longer want to let themselves be divided for the profit of the rich minority."

Earlier in the month, the CNTU issued a manifesto entitled: *Ne Comptons que sur Nos Propres Moyens* (We can count only on ourselves). Its opening resume states succinctly: "American capitalist imperialism has a direct influence on the life of each Quebecois. To break out of it, we must first of all understand the function of capitalism which leads to imperialism. Once understood, it is not enough to replace American capitalism with a Quebec capitalism, but to look for something else which can meet the real needs of the population."

The unions in Quebec are becoming highly militant, and if this has been expected of the CNTU, the radicalization of the QFL appears as a surprise. Compared to the CNTU, the QFL—the Quebec arm of the Canadian Labor Congress—has always enjoyed the somewhat staid image befitting its ties to George Meany's AFL-CIO in the United States. Rightly or wrongly, international unions have been accused of being part of the American domination of Canada. But Louis Laberge, and the majority of the QFL leadership, are rapidly shattering this image.

Laberge, a short, stocky, burly man, came up from the rank and file. Unlike Marcel Pepin, his counterpart at the CNTU who is a university graduate, Laberge started off as a plant worker at Canadair.

Less than a year ago Laberge stated: "I'm a practical guy, not a dreamer. I believe in evolution not revolution . . . and while I don't agree with the present system, I don't want to destroy it."

At the annual QFL convention held in Montreal at the end of November, he delivered one of the most militant speeches ever made by a modern top-ranking North American trade union leader. In Laberge's eyes, Quebec is an oppressed, colonized and violent society based upon profit for the few. Those in power have no compunction about resorting to legitimized violence to crush any movement which threatens profit, power, or privilege.

"Whatever model of society we're looking for," he said, "we now know that the one we have in Quebec, generally in North America, is not made for us. We have examined the political and economic machine which is trying to demolish us, and we have come to the conclusion that there is nothing we can expect from its good will. We now have to fight with the ardour of the original trade union militants . . . the origins of our roots, when trade unionism's liberating goal was global.

"The worker is not composed of detached pieces. If he is a slum dweller, an exploited consumer, a citizen faced with antidemocratic powers or a tool of production exhausted by an employer and thrown out on to the pavement, he's still the same man; and it's he as a whole that must be liberated."

Laberge made it clear that socialism is the only road to that liberation, saying that in the past the trade union movement thought this could be accomplished through reforms. Like many other union men who have become radicalized in the past while in Quebec, he emphasized that the old-style, co-operative, so-called responsible approach has met a "dead-end."

He emphasized that while this could be considered a "great national battle," working class solidarity was the first consideration.

If in the past, part of the movement in Quebec sometimes exhibited narrow nationalist attitudes, the new coalition sees English-Canadian workers as being in the same boat they are.

While advocating socialism, the 47-year-old unionist said he couldn't define exactly what kind of socialism he meant, that it was up to the movement. "The definition of all the particulars of the society we want to build is less urgent than the development of a strategy for 'smashing' the present system, a system which does not permit and never will permit all the reforms needed to build a veritable 'just society.'"

In response to those who say "Just exactly what kind of society do you propose, do you want?" Laberge said: "When you're a victim of aggression, you don't delay things by planning the menu for your victory banquet."

In many ways, Laberge typifies the current radicaliza-

photo: CNTU



There are thousands of workers broken by machines in the employer's violent society

tion of working class Quebecois. The unrelenting unemployment rate, the continuing poverty and the squelching of natural aspirations has resulted in an unprecedented feeling of unrest and frustration in the province.

At the same time, the average Quebecois has gained new awareness that the region's fantastic natural resources only provide profit for foreign corporations. The constant harping and preaching by successive governments about the need for foreign investments has finally backfired. Liberal administrations, and the Union Nationale before them, constantly extolled the immense benefits of foreign investment, promising, in Laberge's words "the great earthly, Yankee paradise." It hasn't worked.

Robert Bourassa's well publicized trips to New York hunting for investment once provoked hope. Now, 100,000 lost jobs later, they simply evoke humiliation.

The unrest is by no means limited to Montreal, traditional hotbed of radical ferment. Increasingly throughout the province in the past year-and-a-half, small towns have been rising in revolt, like Cabano in the summer of 1970 (the townsfolk there blew up bridges and blocked roads leading into a forestry concession owned by K. C. Irving. When the latter failed to provide a promised plant and jobs, they stopped operations by burning his buildings and threatened to do the same to the forest. "The people feel the forest, the natural resources belong to the people," explained the local priest.)

In Cadillac, a small town between Val d'Or and Rouyn, three-quarters of the population participated in a week-long highway blockade to stave off the shutdown of "their" Molybdenite mine. In Mont Laurier, the whole town and region has spent most of the past year agitating against wood-plant shutdowns.

In Manneville, 400 miles Northwest of Montreal in Abitibi-Temiscamingue, Creditiste country, the townspeople fought with riot police brought in this October to put down a protest over wood-cutting rights.

In Shawinigan (population: 42,000), where unemployment is set variously at 10 per cent, 13 per cent and 20 per cent depending on whether one talks to the federal or provincial governments or the unions, there have been numerous demonstrations. Other towns and regions which lay claim to jobless rates of 15, 25 and even 40 and 50 per cent have also manifested their unhappiness. The feeling is prevalent throughout Quebec—from Montreal to the Gaspé, from the Eastern Townships to Chibougamau.

The authorities' attempts to stave off crisis, especially Jean Marchand's Regional Economic Expansion plan, have proved to be dismal failures. Nothing is changing, at least for the better.

At their annual convention, the QFL released a devastating study of the Regional Expansion program in Quebec. It shows the federal government handing out millions of dollars hand-over-fist in a frenzied and futile effort to create jobs. It demonstrates how some companies can actually shut down operations in one plant, throwing people out of jobs, only to take advantage of free government money to open up a similar plant in another location; how Chemcell Ltd. can get \$497,888 to create a total of 15 jobs, while at the same time laying off 421 workers.

The study reveals how the government has in some cases provided firms with 40, 50 and 80 per cent (in one case, 100.4 per cent) of investments without retaining any control or ownership. For example, the government provided

CIP-Systems Homemakers with \$1,749,200 or 74.6 per cent of the \$2,346,000 cost to launch a new product. It shows how companies with the greatest access to capital elsewhere get the biggest subsidies. In one 18-month period that was studied, involving \$57,655,513 and 213 projects, ten companies—all of them American, Anglo-Canadian or Belgian—got more than half (\$30,542,604).

The results of all this have been less than impressive, the study says. In fact, they say, it is simply social welfare for corporations, fat and powerful corporations. "It is difficult," write the authors, "if not impossible to discern the least semblance of co-ordinated and planned industrial development." The report wonders why private enterprise "needs gifts of public capital" to make a profit when its existence is supposedly justified by the risks it takes.

"This is an example of how the federal government, through only one of its economic policies—subsidies to private enterprise—happily disposes of public funds to support an ideology (liberalism) and an institution (private enterprise) which only accentuate our social and economic problems rather than reduce them," concludes the report.

This harsh attitude to capitalism comes easily in a province where the populace has traditionally been suspicious, even hostile to "la haute finance."

At a recent conference of the Canadian Institute of Public Affairs held at the Laurentian resort of Mont Gabriel (in October, of course), even a semi-establishment type like Pierre Harvey of L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales (School for Advanced Commercial Studies) could dismiss capitalism without raising an eyebrow.

"The capitalist system as we know it is a moment in history," he said, "That boat is gone. We shouldn't even try to catch it, we should take the next boat."

According to the *Montreal Star*, the businessmen, academics, professionals and trade unionists in the audience greeted the remarks with friendly applause.

One of the "poor people" invited to participate in such conferences, Jacques Couture, of St. Henri, showed the growing sentiment of the province.

"Why don't we try something new?" he asked, "We always blame others for unemployment—the U.S., world conditions, outside pressures. We're in a system which we don't control. Trying to patch up the old system is just tricking the people. Why don't we give ourselves the tools to become the masters? Why not make our government the motor of the economy, and as for me, that government would be the one in Quebec."

The antagonism towards the present economic system is even creeping into the Liberal Party. (A resolution to nationalize all foreign mining concerns in the province somehow surfaced at the Liberal convention in November.)

Jean-Paul Lefebvre, who recently resigned as the Federal Liberal Party's Quebec director (and whose left-wing missionary brother was killed in the right-wing coup in Bolivia) praised the CNTU's manifesto. "The left in Quebec," he said, "seems to be off on the road to glory."

But before the left in Quebec goes "off on the road to glory," it requires a political vehicle to carry it. This it does not have.

Just as Rene Levesque and the reformist elements of the Parti Quebecois are wary of the new radicalism, the left, to a large degree, regards the PQ with distrust. The CNTU manifesto describes it, although not directly, as representative of "a professional and technocratic petite

photo: Quebec-Press



Clubs flailed away, at times sadistically, at most times indiscriminately.

bourgeoisie whose ambition is to replace the anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie in Quebec (notably through state institutions)."

In fact, Levesque went on record as saying he'd "rather live in a South American banana republic" than in a Quebec dominated by the "ranting and raving of labor leaders." His rather blunt statement was prompted by the Parti Quebecois' phobia of being associated (in the voters' minds) with anything that smacks of being revolutionary.

This provoked a public split in PQ ranks. Robert Burns, a PQ member of the National Assembly representing a working class riding, rebuked Levesque for failing to support the unions, saying that the "PQ is sometimes little more than a progressive wing of the Liberal Party."

Although Levesque denies it, there appears to be a deepening split between left wing and centrist elements in the party. Nevertheless, there is sufficiently large conciliatory faction within the party which wishes neither to lose Levesque's leadership nor the dynamism of the more militant group.

The labor movement and the new left-wing coalition realizes that if it seriously intends to pursue its political and social goals, it requires a political organization. And if no suitable organization exists, it will have to create its own.

Just prior to the QFL convention, the Parti Quebecois' National Council issued a sort of conciliatory "mini-manifesto," pledging solidarity with labor's goals—the democratic restructuring of the social and economic system. However, the statement claims that the party and

organizations such as trade unions should be regarded as different and separate but complementary tools needed to pursue this goal. Consequently, they have to go about their tasks in a different manner.

Of course, the entire mass membership and individual unions are not united 100 per cent behind the new mood of militancy. But there is sufficient solidarity to carry it beyond the rhetorical stage. Last October, for example, the Machinists Union was bitterly against the QFL's militant opposition to the War Measures Act. Today, it is solidly behind Laberge.

Michel Chartrand and Marcel Pepin are often portrayed (not always factually) as being the respective leaders of the CNTU's minority radical wing and the moderate mass. Yet both have endorsed the CNTU manifesto, one that is much more strident than, say, the NDP's Waffle position. Both advocated a general strike to support the *La Presse* workers.

Although union membership is dissatisfied with the current economic situation, it will still take some doing to dislodge politically conservative sentiments. The organizers realize this.

"It would be illusory to dream of some revolutionary cataclysm," said Laberge. "Some people believe in effect that the collective consciousness of exploitation will unleash an irresistible liberation movement and all we have to do is to let ourselves be carried along with it. I don't believe miracles happen by themselves. We have to organize efficiently, starting with often humble and discreet tasks."

II. Power corrupts, absolutely

On November 2, 1971, two thousand people, fists raised silently in the air, crowded inside and outside the church in Ste. Rosalie, a little village near St. Hyacinthe, 45 miles southeast of Montreal.

They had come to bury Michele Gauthier, a young student at CEGEP Vieux-Montreal who fell in the previous Friday night's demonstration. Her pall bearers were Marcel Pepin, president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, Louis Laberge of the Quebec Federation of Labor, Yvon Charbonneau of the Corporation des Enseignants du Quebec, a student from CEGEP Vieux-Montreal, a member of the Front de Liberation des Femmes and a pressman representing the locked-out employees of *La Presse*.

To all of them, and most of the people they represented, Michele Gauthier was a martyr. She was remembered as an activist in left-wing politics and women's liberation. In a full page IN MEMORIAM in the *Quotidien Populaire*, the locked-out *La Presse* employees' daily paper, her husband Michel declared:

"A victim of violence jointly and deliberately planned by the economic powers and the political powers, this frail young woman lost her life because she dared protest peacefully against those who treat workers like cattle. I dare to hope that this terrible event will help us understand the necessity of uniting in the face of a more and more oppressive power, and to fight for the ideal which animated Michele: a Quebec where liberty, justice and equality reigns."

When the question of her death was brought up in Quebec's National Assembly, the Liberal caucus greeted it with laughs and hoots of derision and a demand by Party Whip Louis-Philippe Lacroix for an investigation of labor leadership.

For his part, Mayor Jean Drapeau declared: "It's dishonest to say somebody died because of the events Friday night. Nobody died at the demonstration. Madame Gauthier could just as well have lost her life at the Santa Claus parade."

Therein lies the conflict in Quebec.

It is one of the reasons why the *La Presse* dispute has become a "cause celebre", a bitter symbol to the Quebecois. It is one of those confrontations, ranking with the Asbestos and Murdochville struggles during *La Grande Noirceur* (The Great Darkness), that is due to earn its place in Quebec history. The latter two strikes helped to combine opposition forces to the Duplessis regime and pave the way for the Quiet Revolution.

Today, the opposition forces are coalescing around 'l'affaire de *La Presse*.' It pits all of Quebec's organized labor, supported by the progressive movement, against Power Corporation of Canada, one of the greatest financial empires

in the country, which is supported by the established political powers in Montreal and Quebec City.

The confrontation is having, and will continue to have profound consequences.

On the surface, the root of the *La Presse* dispute can be traced to something fairly common in North America: the issue of automation and technological change versus job security.

Management wanted to introduce a highly-sophisticated, computerized, cathode-ray printing process, one which, among other things, involved "scanning" of copy and translation into type, virtually eliminating a good proportion of present-day newspaper printing.

Nevertheless, the major unions involved entered negotiations fairly confident. After all, they had had little trouble negotiating their previous *La Presse* contract, and they were also in the process of reasonable agreement with the *Montreal Star*, where similar issues were involved. Talks at the *Montreal Gazette* and *Montreal-Matin*, where a lesser degree of change was involved, were close to settlement.

But this year, *La Presse* decided to play tough.

As the legally required negotiation period for each union expired, the newspaper simply locked them out. In July, 321 pressmen, stereotypers, photo-engravers and typographers found themselves on the street.

The unions were bewildered. Management refused to negotiate jointly with them, refused to budge from its original positions after six months of fruitless talks. "We couldn't figure the company out," says Dan Gilligan of the pressmen's union. "They didn't seem to want a settlement."

Management's goals soon became apparent. They were out to provoke a strike by the other *La Presse* unions, most of whose contracts weren't due to expire until the new year.

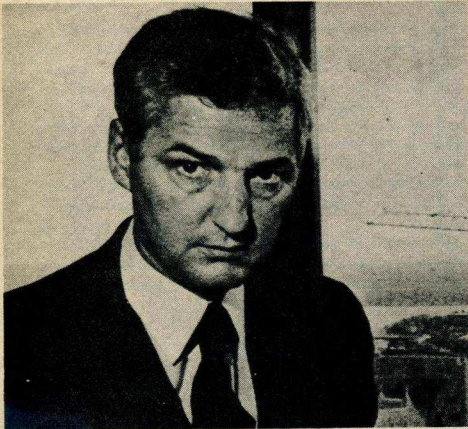
"I don't think they were after us," explained Alan Heritage of the International Typographers Union, "they wanted the journalists. If we had put up a picket line, we would have been dead because the journalists would have respected it and lost their jobs."

According to one former *La Presse* reporter, Jean de Guise, there was a very conscious feeling among the editorial staff that management "felt it was time *La Presse* returned to being a sedate family newspaper, avoiding controversial subjects." This is reflective of the thinking in certain circles where there exists a yearning to put a lid on the Quiet Revolution, and the accompanying attacks on the status quo.

The unions started to eye the company suspiciously, especially because of its links to Power Corporation.

They had dealt with Power before. It was known as a ruthless bargainer, totally devoted to increased performance (i.e. profits) and prone to union-busting.

The paper was built up around the turn of the century



Paul Desmarais

by Trefle Berthiaume, and remained in family hands until 1967. In that year it was purchased by Paul Desmarais' Trans-Canada Corporation Fund, with the approval of the National Assembly (because it is considered a vital cultural and information organ of the Quebec community, *La Presse* is protected by special legislation).

Less than a year later, Trans-Canada merged with Power Corporation, the holding corporation of the Peter Nesbitt Thompson group. Under the chairmanship of Desmarais, Power grew rapidly. Today it is one of the largest, if not the largest financial conglomerate in the country. (Power holds a 10 per cent share in Argus Corporation, the E. P. Taylor holding company, in addition to having intimate financial connections with the CPR, the two other big Canadian conglomerates.)

The Desmarais group, through various companies they control, went on a buying spree of various newspaper, publishing, film, TV and radio companies.

In addition to *La Presse*, the group controls three other important Quebec dailies—*La Tribune* in Sherbrooke, *La Voix de l'Est* in Granby and *Le Nouvelliste* in Trois Rivieres; the Montreal region's three largest weeklies, *Le Petit Journal* (208,000), *La Patrie* (130,000) and *Photo-Journal* (131,000); two Sunday papers, *Dimanche-Matin* and *Derniere-Heure*. A total of 12 other regional weeklies; and 10 radio and television stations. The group also controls movie houses, one of Montreal's most important film companies, Onyx Films, (formerly big in feature films, Onyx today boasts interesting contracts to make films for the Post Office and the RCMP), plus a new publishing company. It is still dicker- ing for control of anything else available in the media and information industry.

This gives the Power group perhaps the biggest audience in Quebec, certainly one rivaling that of Radio-Canada, the CBC's French arm.

During a period when "the hearts and minds" of the people are at stake, control of information in Quebec is an extremely important matter. (In the rest of Canada for example, the CBC enjoys a considerable degree of independence. The same is not true for Radio-Canada, where

many of the staff feel it is no better than France's ORTF during de Gaulle's heyday when overt censorship was the rule.)

Power Corporation is believed to be one of the Liberal Party's main financial backers. Secretary Claude Frenette of Power Corp. was, until recently, president of the Quebec federal Liberals, maintaining a cosy relationship that has not diminished. The relationship with the provincial Liberals is also very close. Several key executives, for example, are always on loan to various ministries and departments, including Power assistant vice-president Michel de Grandpre with the Dept. of Industry and Commerce. No fewer than 10 members of the government's General Council of industry are tied in with the corporation. Arthur Simard, scion of the pro-Liberal shipbuilding family—Premier Bourassa's marriage to a Simard is thought to have been to his big political advantage—and Paul Martin Jr., son of the federal Liberal Senate leader, are both Power directors.

Keeping in the best tradition of Tory-Grit balance, Desmarais also has good connections within the Union Nationale (now called Unite-Quebec), having been a close personal friend of Daniel Johnson (the latter used the corporation's plane while he was Premier). Connections with the Tories are facilitated through former Quebec leader Marcel Faribault, president of Trust General du Canada, which has links to Power.

Explaining why Paul Desmarais is a generally unpopular man among certain segments of the Quebec population, the *Financial Post* commented: "It may (...) be due to the widely believed and resented notion that, as one observer put it, 'Desmarais as a prince, deals only with princes,' that is, his dealings with governments are handled directly through Premier Bourassa or Prime Minister Trudeau, depending on the situation, rather than through normal channels."

None of this escaped the attention of the unions.

As the lockout dragged on, *La Presse* managed at first to keep up production of a slimmed-down one edition a day through use of managerial personnel and imported scabs, some of them loaned by the *Toronto Globe and Mail*.

Then, often during the cover of night, the company started moving in new equipment. Gradually, the paper beefed up its efficiency and size (under normal conditions, ad-laden mid-week editions often ran to 200 or more pages).

The locked out men could see their jobs disappearing. They were frustrated and powerless. Tempers began to flare.

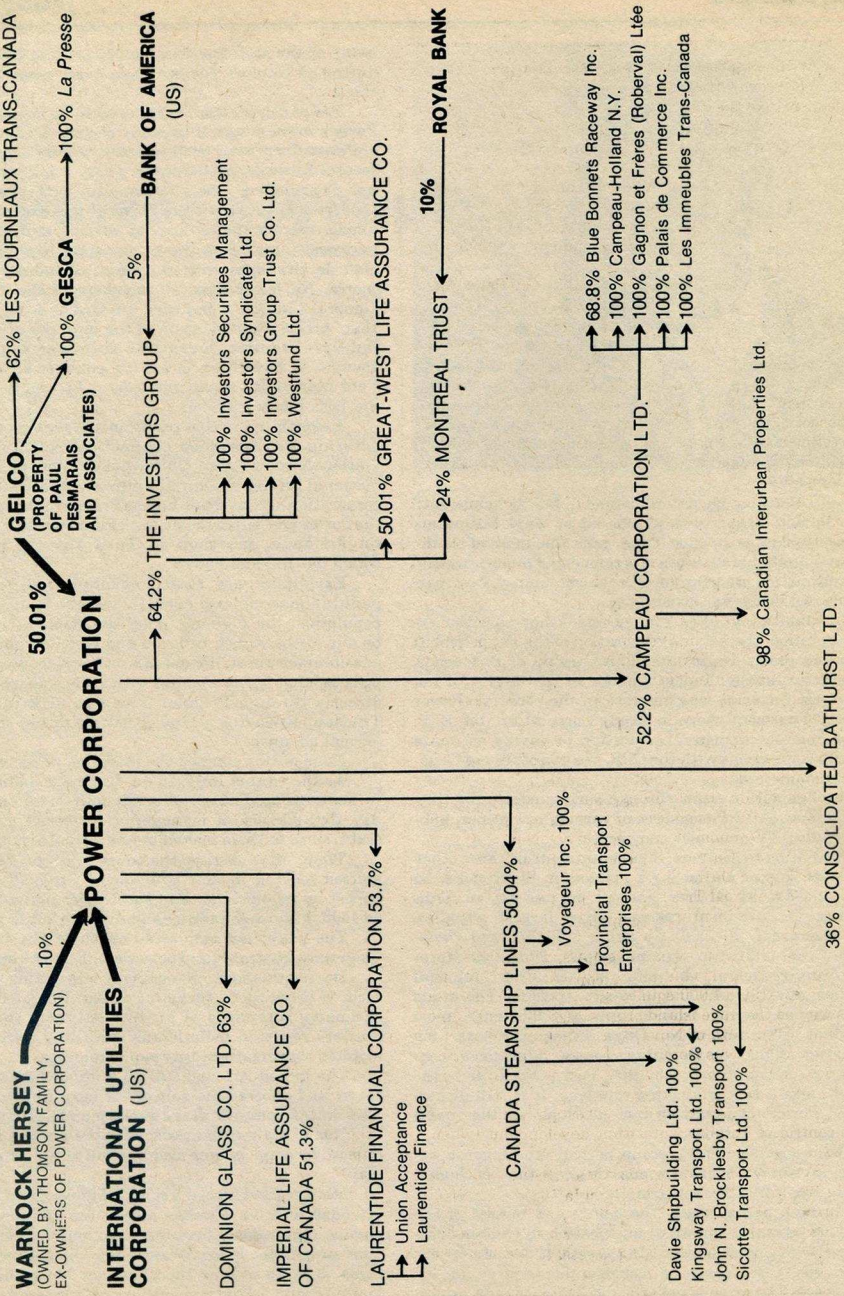
During this time, the company was setting up elaborate security precautions, including closed-circuit television, and extensive screening of anyone entering the building. Staffers reported technicians installing microphones to monitor conversations between employees.

The locked out men started a minor harassment campaign, and enlisted the help of the labor centrals to launch a boycott campaign of the newspaper and its advertisers.

Scabs and management kept the presses rolling. The other *La Presse* unions didn't want to fall into the strike trap.

Management issued a series of provocative statements, intended to drive a wedge among the various unions, including innuendoes about the "domination of American unions" on Quebec labor. When a few windows were broken, signs went up placing the blame on "union bosses in the United States." The company was hoping to cut off national-

ORGANIZATION OF POWER CORPORATION



In the past few years, Power Corporation of Canada has proved itself to be the fastest growing conglomerate in the country.

But the biggest boost involved in its growth was the 1963 nationalization of Quebec's hydro-electric industry. This gave various companies a huge pool of cash reserves and provided the impetus for growth.

Along with Shawinigan Water and Power, with which it was involved, Power Corporation controlled most of the province's electric industry outside the Montreal region.

At that time, it was controlled by the Peter Nesbitt Thompson group, which was linked to Ames & Co., the brokers, the Bank of Montreal and the Royal Bank. It controlled Jean-Louis Levesque's FIC investments and Warnock Hersey International.

Parallel to Power's development, Paul Desmarais and Jean Parisien were building up Trans-Canada Corporation Fund and Gelco Enterprises (an investment company set up by Gatineau Power) which controlled such things as Imperial Life Insurance Company.

Desmarais had inherited a near-bankrupt bus line from his father in Sudbury, Ont., built it up and acquired other lines. His big leap came in 1960 when for \$6 million he took over Provincial Transport from C.M. "Bud" Drury, now President of, the Treasury Board, widely regarded as Bay and St. James Street's big man in the Trudeau Cabinet.

The two groups, aided by a very generous compensation of electric nationalization, grew at a steady pace until they merged in 1967.

An attempt was made soon after the take-over to go for control of Argus Corporation, which controls, among other things, Domtar, B. C. Forest, Hollinger Mines, Massey-Ferguson and Dominion Stores. The merger was never completed, although Power came through with a sizable 10 per cent ownership.

Today, the Power empire extends into almost every phase of economic activity: its transportation complex includes Canada Steamship Lines, Kingsway Transport and Davie Shipbuilding. Its financial wing includes Montreal Trust, Laurentide Finance, mutual funds and two insurance companies, including Great West Life.

Industrially, it owns Consolidated-Bathurst, the third largest pulp and paper company in Canada, which controls 14,000 square miles of Quebec forests as well as the huge island of Anticosti. The total area is almost the size of Nova Scotia. It has holdings in construction, owns Dominion Glass and International Envelope, a Brampton shopping centre and Blue Bonnets, a Montreal race track.

Power's construction and real estate holdings give it control of Toronto waterfront development (when, and if it gets going.)

Power has enormous political and economic clout.

Ironically, the word now circulating in Montreal financial circles is that, like many American conglomerates which have failed, Power is over-extended and having trouble arranging necessary financing for its deals.

ist support for the locked out men, and to divide the employees, many of whom, including the journalists, belong to the CNTU, rival of the international unions.

Pent-up frustration exploded in September when a group of men invaded a private golf and country club and broke up a golf tournament banquet for lower echelon *La Presse* management.

On another occasion, the locked out men held a chapel meeting at nearby Notre Dame Church, leaving about 150 locked cars parked around the *La Presse* building and entrances, blocking delivery trucks.

The company got an injunction, forbidding more than eight men (two from each locked out union) from gathering near the building.

As the conflict continued into its third month, there was still no sign of renewed negotiations, as a labor department investigator tried to figure out what the supposed dispute was all about.

In October, the journalists' union issued a statement to the public saying it was being poorly informed. Censorship had become institutionalized at *La Presse*. Events were not covered, reports were amputated, important stories relegated to the back pages, controversial developments were ignored, and the news budget had been cut drastically in order to pay for the ever increasing security measures. In addition, a new regular feature in the paper called *SonoPresse*, an elaborate public opinion poll, was denounced as a cheap tool to manipulate the public, with results that were falsified and distorted.

In Quebec City, according to one civil servant, all that was required among various ministry staffs to remove a displeasing first edition story from the front to the back pages was a phone call to Andre Bureau, *La Presse* vice-president and head of news services. The same influence, including prominent placing of official statements, applies to other Power media holdings.

By this time, the *La Presse* dispute had become a major issue in the province. Citizens' groups, the Parti Quebecois, all of organized labor, nationalist and left-wing movements had all declared support for what were becoming known as "les gars de *La Presse*." Even the struggling "gars de Lapalme," the out-of-work mail truck drivers, took up a collection for them.

There seemed little the unions could do. The company held all the cards. (Later, Labor Minister Jean Cournoyer admitted he really couldn't figure out the basis of the conflict, according to the *Financial Post*, but he was fairly sure it wasn't over technology replacing jobs.)

Finally, they unions called for a mass demonstration to show their solidarity. There was little else for them to do.

Abruptly, a few days before the planned demonstration, *La Presse* announced it was "temporarily ceasing publication." It immediately began turning its downtown building into a fortress. Huge newspaper rolls were placed at the top of stairways in case of invasion. Lead ingots were placed by windows guarded by Phillips security guards (one *La Presse* director, Jacques Francoeur, also happens to be a director of Phillips.)

The company issued ominous hints of impending violence, blaming the unions for numerous outrages and a "wave of violence" which few people had heard about until then. There had been incidents, true, but hardly anything on the scale described. Journalists from other media could

**EMBATTLED UNIONS
SEND OUT EMERGENCY APPEAL**

MONTREAL IS TESTING GROUND FOR "AUTOMATION GRAB" PATTERN THAT COULD KILL NEWSPAPER TRADES UNIONS

What started out as a casual contract dispute at "La Presse," large newspaper Montreal daily, has become a bitter, vicious, protracted, newspaper and photographer wars — in that order, from May 1976 to August 1977 — has now clearly emerged as a direct threat to a campaign, backed by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, to wipe out newspaper trades unions by using a "robotic automation" attitude regarding production equipment's rights and monitoring in short, by declaring all work an **job security**.

WHY MONTREAL?

All kinds of factors have combined to make Montreal an ideal "testing ground" for the most advanced technology tactics. Among these is the severe unemployment now hitting the city, resulting in a swollen "black labor" market.

**MONOPOLY USES AUTOMATION
AS "BIG STICK"**

In fact, management has plainly shown it intends to combine all advantages with facilities available to it, to reach the greatest possible gains — and the taxpayers be damned! They already farm out work, including whole newspaper advertising sections, to non-union, cheap-labor shops. They send out sales girls, plant, non-unionized financial reporters and the least sensitive jobs. And as you read this, which are being made by automation with limited plans being drafted — under the pretense of the plant itself — computerized work is being performed by "robotic" means. The use of office typists and other people displaced from various departments, both the same greater extent in the newspaper and photography departments while the pressing substitution former are badly helped by day laborers!

**A DISEASE THAT COULD BECOME
AN EPIDEMIC**

Power Corporation, battle-ravaged "La Presse," also controls several daily and weekly newspapers, the Sun Line, with titles across North America, radio and TV stations, a glass works, a smeltering line and a host of other enterprises. But it is very different from the other

**You are included in ANPA's plans
Help make 'em stall — in Montreal!**



monopolies now controlling newspaper publishing all over the North American continent? It is obvious that if this "grab" is successful in Montreal all newspaper trades unions would be wise to prepare fighting for their lives — their very survival will be at stake! The battle is imminent as it already looks like money and fringe benefits suppose basic principles and business rights newspaper workers have fought for have the very moment they were supposed to be safe.

**THE LORD HELPS THOSE
WHO HELP THEMSELVES...**

How have the Montreal unions been helping themselves? From the very beginning the unions have unity and more unity. The "hot lines" have organized into a single fighting committee. They have united — and won — the active support of Quebec's three main other labor organizations, but a solid organized network. They have organized their demonstrations into a professional front at "La Presse" including a subscription and advertising cancellation campaign, public relations in schools, universities and advertising executive meetings, pickets, legal battles, etc.

WILL THEY GET AWAY WITH IT?

The answer is simple — they must not get away with it! And they won't if unions across North America realize in time there is being a highly sophisticated, carefully planned attack in the three strengths and all kinds of newspaper workers, and as an answer is clearly being established, the Montreal unions must be prepared to discuss the attack should be carried here and now — in Montreal!

MONEY IS AMMUNITION

The Newspaper Unions Unity Committee has already received several notices and general opposition to financial support from several unions and bodies. But a lot more will be needed if this crucial battle is to be won and if other unions are to be spared greater, more expensive battles in the near future! All money received will go into a common fund to be used for the common but no purpose other than that intended — to win the biggest battles in the history of newspaper trades unions.

**PLEASE FORWARD ALL ORDERS TO:
Newspaper Unions
Unity Committee
(167, RUE DU PARC LAFONTAINE,
MONTREAL 17, QUEBEC, CANADA**

human and profit-hungry monolith.
(3) the feeling there is a power-grab to control information in Quebec to stifle the voices of change.

(4) political intervention via Jean Drapeau to provoke a bloody confrontation to discredit the unions.

Still, the demonstration leaders hoped to avoid violence by marching down St. Denis Street and turning right along Dorchester, the broad boulevard that was the dividing line between the "free city" and the "forbidden city." There, the crowd could be kept moving and any serious confrontation avoided.

The more than 15,000 people who gathered at St. Louis Square that night were quite different from the crowd usually associated with Montreal demonstrations. The face of the crowd was predominately worker. Most had never attended any of the big nationalist demonstrations. Many, of course, had.

Aside from the numerous red-white-and-green Patriote flags, nationalist slogans and placards were noticeable only by their scarceness. More typical placards stated (in French): Capitalism equals unemployment, socialism equals work.

When the long march reached Dorchester, the leaders found their way blocked by several city buses and hundreds of riot police. They had no choice but to continue down St. Denis towards Viger Square and a sort of two edged cul-de-sac formed by police barricades on Craig and Gosford streets, right in front of police headquarters. It was a perfect site for a confrontation, and the demonstration hadn't intended to go there.

The trade union leaders offered themselves for arrest, the police refused. The rear of the crowd pressed forward... tension was high... placards started to fly through the air... small rocks were thrown at the police... the police threw them back. People tried to force through the barricades... a Patriote truck tried to push through, but stopped after a few feet.

The crowd had been there about 15 minutes when the police charged. It was one of the biggest displays of police power in memory. Clubs flailed away, at times very sadistically, and at most times indiscriminately as the panic-stricken crowd fled. Street battles flared. Hundreds were injured and local hospitals filled to overflowing. At one hospital, injured demonstrators brawled with injured policemen.

When it was over, a girl was dead and the union leaders declared their illusions shattered. The police behaved as inhuman savages, they said the next day at a press conference. They called them "Drapeau's Gestapo" and "two-legged dogs." They proceeded to read the Montreal Policeman's Brotherhood out of the trade union movement.

The teachers' leader Yvon Charbonneau saw it as clear proof of the "collusion of the political and economic powers" directed against the working man.

"The population," he said, "had received an accelerated lesson in history."

Laberge said "the dictatorship of Drapeau has created a sacred solidarity between students and workers, between the QFL, the CNTU and the CEQ."

Never before had the gap between so-called radicals and so-called moderates vanished so quickly in Quebec. Drapeau, Power and the Police had made it possible.

Nick Auf der Maur is a member of the Last Post editorial board.

only interpret this as a provocation. The stage was being set.

The following day, Mayor Jean Drapeau completed theatrical arrangements when he re-introduced his discredited anti-demonstration by-law—declared illegal (ultra vires) by the Quebec Superior Court. After a huddle with Premier Bourassa, it was announced that the by-law was still legal since the decision was under appeal.

The Mayor declared the area around the *La Presse* building, about 50 square blocks, to be a forbidden zone. (When the benevolent mayor read his statement to the press, several reporters attempted to question him on other matters since it was the first opportunity they had to talk to him in months. He refused to discuss anything, saying he was the "sole, competent authority" to decide what areas of information the public needed. He cited some sort of mystical alliance between himself and the people.)

The ensuing public controversy focussed province-wide attention on the forthcoming march. Labor leaders said they considered the Mayor's ban contained no moral authority and offered themselves for symbolic arrest when the time came.

By the time the demonstration day had arrived, the *La Presse* affair had become a hated symbol for four main reasons:

- (1) management's seemingly provocative policy of lockouts to break the back of the unions and fire employees.
- (2) the presence of Power Corporation, a seemingly in-

Come over, we have a message for you on our telex

by Robert Chodos

With Pierre Elliott Trudeau in charge it was going to be different. Especially the French thing. After all he was one of them. But he was one of us too—deep down he was really one of us.

It wasn't terribly clear what was going to happen, it was just that in some vague undefined way things would be better. Indeed, a start had already been made—Canada had just come through a highly successful centennial year, crowned by the quintessence of biculturalism in action, Expo 67. The B&B Commission had released the first two volumes of its report, and there was broad approval for its aims.

And now Canadians had had the imagination and good judgment to choose as their new prime minister a man whom John Saywell of York University could describe—with the agreement of most of the electorate—as “an experiment in Canadian public life, a refreshing combination of intellectual capacity and common sense, forthrightness and diplomacy, and a man who combines a quiet independence of mind with a strong socially oriented sense of purpose.”

Gone would be the fumbblings of a Pearson, the crudeness of a Diefenbaker. This man would be tough, and there was no doubt where he stood, on this issue at least. For while the Tories tripped over two nations and the socialists struggled with special status, Pierre Elliott Trudeau came flat out for federalism. One nation indivisible, from sea to sea. There were no promises: none were necessary. His being there would be enough. He knew how to keep them content—he was one of them—and he would not let them get out of hand.

It was a variation on the *roi-negre* theme that even the British, with all their cleverness, had never put into practice: take a tribal chief—a tame one, of course, who had been to good schools—and put him in office in London as it were; let him be subject to all the proper sorts of influences and let the natives see that our hearts are in the right place.

He could be particularly useful right at this point, in early 1968, for if a new start had been made there were new dangers now too. The previous summer that dreadful old man from France had briefly marred the Expo glitter by shouting “Vive le Quebec libre!” from the balcony of the Montreal city hall to separatist cheers. And then in October the formidable Rene Levesque had quit the Liberal party and gone separatist, giving the movement a new respectability and making it a potential electoral threat. The bombs were quiet, but who knew for how long?

There was a feeling that a crucial period was being entered, that an important test of strength was about to be played out. It was the same game as before, only the stakes were much, much higher.

The day after Robert Bourassa's Liberal party took power in the April 1970 Quebec election, officials of the Quebec pavilion at Expo 70 in Osaka, Japan received a telephone call from the nearby Canadian pavilion: “Come over, we have a message from Quebec for you on our telex.”

They were a little surprised, since previously important messages between Quebec and Osaka had been communicated by telegraph directly to the Quebec pavilion, which did not have its own telex link.

The message said that from then on the Canadian telex would be used for all important communications, and ordered the Quebec officials to fly the Canadian flag beside the Quebec flag outside their pavilion.

It was Trudeau's policy of *fini les folies* in action. And it showed not only that the policy would be carried out down to the smallest detail, but also that the Bourassa government occupied a central role in the strategy for its implementation.

Only a few weeks earlier a dangerous climate of opinion had begun to develop in Quebec. Rene Levesque's Parti Quebecois, participating in its first election campaign, had emerged as a force that could not be discounted. A poll in Montreal's *La Presse* showed the PQ with twenty-five per cent of the vote, only one per cent less than the front-running Liberals.

Countervailing influences quickly made themselves felt. *The Montreal Star* said in an editorial that Levesque, while himself an honorable man, would emerge as Quebec's Kerensky, and be quickly replaced by a latter-day Lenin if he came to power. The Royal Trust Company staged the Brinks Show, loading stacks of securities onto Toronto-bound armored trucks in front of their downtown Montreal offices while newspaper cameras clicked.

The federal Liberal party contributed a booklet 'proving' that Quebec got more out of Confederation than it put in, that *le federalisme*, as Bourassa claimed, was indeed *rentable* (profitable). The PQ pointed out a few discrepancies in the figures: salaries paid by the Canadian National Railways to Quebecers were included, for instance, while fares paid by Quebecers to CN were not.

But the damage had been done. The PQ held its share of the vote, but the undecideds of the *La Presse* poll went overwhelmingly Liberal and Bourassa was elected with a solid majority. He remained on top of the world until... October. Six months after the election, the dangerous climate showed signs of returning.

The catalyst was not an election campaign but a kidnapping, or rather, two kidnappings. The manifesto of the Front de Liberation du Quebec, read on television and printed in newspapers at the kidnapers' command, had struck a shockingly responsive chord, even while people disagreed with the FLQ's methods. The Bourassa government was in evident disarray. The suggestion was seriously being made that Bourassa open his cabinet to include trade union leaders, important nationalist figures, even members of the Parti Quebecois, so that the Quebec government could act effectively in a critical situation. Again, Ottawa felt the need to do something.

This time the instruments were the army and the War Measures Act. What will they be next time? On November 8, 1971, a student at the CEGEP Levis-Lauzon near Quebec City asked Trudeau what he would do if in 1974 he was still prime minister and the PQ won a Quebec election—what would be his policy toward the eventual independence of Quebec?

Before answering that a PQ victory was not equatable with independence, that there would have to be a referendum, perhaps in Quebec alone, perhaps in Canada as a whole, before the issue was resolved, Trudeau said "you are asking what is called in parliamentary language a hypothetical question; you are posing a hypothesis in which I do not believe; you are asking me to speculate on something

that for me is not real... It's as if you asked an atheist to tell you what would happen if he went to hell."

Not only would a PQ victory not mean immediate independence, but Trudeau was sure it wasn't going to happen. He was sure—or he would make sure.

The federal policy shows up most dramatically in times of crisis, but it has its more mundane side as well. In 1969, Trudeau vigorously denounced Radio-Canada, the French section of the CBC, as a haven for separatists. Since then, the situation at Radio-Canada has changed.

Robert Mackay was fired from his job in the news department on August 14, 1970 for writing an article in the separatist magazine *Point de Mire*. The article was about Brazil. To keep potentially unco-operative reporters from getting out of hand, supervisors have been hired—at a ratio of one supervisor for every two reporters.

At the same time, Trudeau has set up his own channels of persuasion. One of his very early acts as prime minister was to appoint a Task Force on Government Information, which reported in November 1969 and recommended the setting up of a new federal information agency called Information Canada. Information Canada was duly formed in April 1970, amid Opposition accusations that it would be a Liberal propaganda organ. Trudeau's old friend Jean-Louis Gagnon was named to head it.

Information Canada claims to be strictly impartial in terms of partisan politics, and there is little reason to doubt that it is, but it admits to—no, is proud of—one political bias: federalism. It carries the message of One Canada both inside and outside Quebec through films, pamphlets, exhibits. In co-operates with the anti-separatist, business-based Canada Committee, and encourages the 'Stand together—understand together' advertising campaign.

Not all efforts at persuasion are on such a high philosophical plane. The low road is largely left to Jean Marchand, minister of regional economic expansion and member of parliament for the Quebec City riding of Langelier. On the day of Trudeau's recent visit to the Quebec capital, local Liberals published a booklet (50,000 was the projected circulation) explaining how the federal government had spent \$270 million in the area since Trudeau took office. It was *le federalisme rentable* carried to extremes (or, as one observer put it, *le federalisme rentable en criss!*).

That is Liberal federalism as viewed from Quebec—heavy-handed, insensitive, and rather distant. A public works project with a big red maple leaf sign in front of it to show where the money came from. Les gars de Lapalme being manoeuvred out of their jobs.

Liberal federalism as viewed from English Canada is another matter entirely.

The Ottawa Language Centre is a complex of seven buildings of assorted shapes and sizes stuck out in the nowheresville of the capital's eastern edge. Appropriately, it is a converted seminary. It has been in operation since 1969.

Through it pass a thousand civil servants a year, with time off from their jobs, some of them unilingual French Canadians learning to speak English, a great many more of them unilingual English Canadians learning to speak French.

There are others like it in Hull, Montreal, Toronto,



Quebec City and Winnipeg; in all, there are nine thousand federal employees enrolled in government language courses. The complete course, from ground zero to functional bilingualism (which is the operative phrase in the civil service) lasts four years, with three intensive three-week stretches each year.

Federal language training was inaugurated in 1964, when forty-two students gathered in a Hull classroom; it was instituted on a large scale for the first time in 1968. From the beginning, the French program was based on a course designed to teach the language to immigrants coming from France, and featured a mythical Parisian family called the Thibauts; now, that has been replaced by a course (called, inevitably, Dialogue Canada) aimed specifically at Canadian civil servants.

Meanwhile, the recruitment of civil servants from Quebec is being stepped up. The civil service is still only 18 per cent Francophone, but according to John J. Carson, chairman of Public Service Canada, that is changing: "We're going after students at Laval and Sherbrooke and saying 'come even if you don't know English. We'll teach you.'"

The changes are particularly marked at the higher levels. In 1963 five federal departments had French Canadian deputy ministers: veterans' affairs, northern affairs, forestry, the secretary of state's department (which had not yet assumed its present status as Canada's ministry of culture), and the patronage empire of public works. A few more French Canadians were appointed to senior civil service positions during the Pearson years, but after Trudeau took

power the trickle of Quebecers to Ottawa became a modest torrent.

Many of them were former bureaucrats of the Lesage Liberal government in Quebec City, who found Ottawa more inviting territory once the Quiet Revolution had run its course and the Union Nationale had returned to power. One of the chief Quiet Revolutionaries, former education minister Paul Gerin-Lajoie, now heads the Canadian International Development Agency. Andre Saulnier, who headed the Quebec government's development office for the depressed area of eastern Quebec, is now deputy to Robert Andras, minister of state for urban affairs.

The accession of French Canadians to senior positions has occurred throughout the government. L. E. Couillard was appointed deputy minister at manpower and immigration, Jean Boucher at supply and services, J. Maurice LeClair at health and welfare, Aurele Beaulne at the new ministry of state for science and technology. Sylvain Cloutier was appointed deputy minister of national revenue and then deputy minister of national defence. The current chairman of the board of Air Canada is a French Canadian, Yves Pratte. Marcel Cadieux is ambassador to the United States. Just this fall, French Canadians have been appointed to head the Economic Council of Canada and the agency administering government aid to industries hurt by the U.S. surcharge.

The intent of the increasing French presence is twofold. The federal government has long perceived that its overwhelmingly English face was a sticking point for French Canadians; as Trudeau wrote in 1964, "only blind men could

expect a consensus to be lasting if the national flag or the national image is merely the reflection of one part of the nation, if the sum of values to be protected is not defined so as to include the language of some very large and tightly-knit minority."

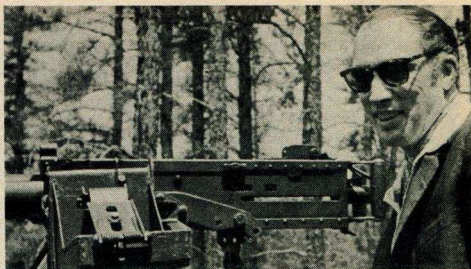
The effort to change that began in the early sixties with the introduction of bilingual cheques by the Diefenbaker government, was continued by Pearson with the B&B Commission, and has grown to maturity under Trudeau. There is no evidence that bilingual cheques or the appointment of B&B were responsible for any faltering in the advance of separatist sentiment; whether Trudeau's somewhat more substantial attempts to deal with the problem will have any effect remains to be seen.

The other goal is increased federal knowledge of what is going on in Quebec. The Pearson government was repeatedly caught with its pants down when it had to deal with any sector of Quebec society, from the government on down; particularly memorable was the debate over the Canada Pension Plan, when the Quebec government ultimately succeeded in getting its own plan accepted in the whole of Canada. The Trudeau government hopes that the presence of more French Canadians will mean that such things will no longer happen. "More preparation goes into federal-provincial relations," said one federal spokesman. "We have good briefing books now."

One interesting manifestation of this has occurred in the area of government security and intelligence. The government was clearly appalled by the quality of the information it got from the RCMP in October 1970. Soon after that, 71-year-old George McIlraith retired as solicitor-general — the cabinet minister responsible for the police — and was replaced by one of Trudeau's bushy-tailed young Montreal MPs, Jean-Pierre Goyer. In the months since we have had the creation of a civilian security force and federal research teams going into Quebec.

But the most evident effect of federal language programs has been English-Canadian anger.

Particularly resented is the Official Languages Act, the legislation giving formally equal status to French and English, which is interpreted by many English Canadians as a move to force French down their throats. Columnist Dennis Braithwaite gleefully reported in the late *Toronto Telegram* in March that the letters he was receiving "are unanimously fed up with the government's pandering to Quebec and crave an end to the madness of bilingualism." Eighty-two-year-old retired Exchequer Court justice Joseph T. Thorson, with a substantial reputation as a civil libertarian, organized the 'Single Canada League', warned that Quebec could win a second, and bloodless, battle of the Plains of Abraham,



and set about challenging the Official Languages Act in the courts.

It is in western Canada that rejection of Trudeau's language policies is most complete. Westerners — who even initially did not go for Trudeau to the extent that Ontarians did — associate federal efforts to placate Quebec with their own legitimate grievances against the federal government. The western image of the federal government heeling to Quebec's command and the eastern image of Saskatchewan wheat farmers with Cadillacs have the same roots, and are equally hard to eradicate.

There have been some hopeful signs. In 1969 Premier Walter Weir of Manitoba took a particularly intransigent anti-Quebec stance at a federal-provincial conference, and was subsequently rejected at the polls in favor of a more moderate government. Harry Strom of Alberta tried the same strategy in 1971, and met the same fate. But even federal officials admit that such signs are few.

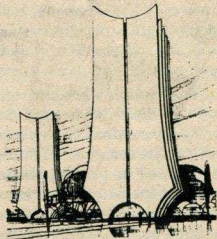
The failure of the Victoria charter illustrated the dangers of trying to please everybody. Premier Bourassa decided that losing brownie points in Ottawa was preferable to looking out over massed thousand of nationalists on the steps of the National Assembly, and rejected the elaborately-worked-out compromise. English Canadians immediately interpreted it as one more instance of Quebec's imposing its will on the rest of the country.

It was fashionable around the time Trudeau came to power to be seen reading a book called *Federalism and the French Canadians*, a collection of Trudeau's essays on the constitutional question. The book stayed at the top of the best-seller list for months, and libraries could not keep up with the demand. In 1971 the same libraries have more copies of *Federalism and the*

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French Canadians than they know what to do with, and everyone is asking instead for Walter Stewart's *Shrug*.

What has now become the official line on the earlier book was expressed by Peter Reilly in a review of *Shrug* in *Saturday Night*: "(The essays) are distinguished chiefly by the borrowed quotations used as chapter-headings; the banality of the articles themselves is breath-taking. They are commonplace and timid, except when they are pouring scorn on the Liberal Party (federal branch), Lester Pearson, then its leader, and an assorted clutch of so-called nationalists who appeared to share the crime of being younger than Trudeau — even with his carefully-doctored age."

How easily forgotten is the adoring prose poured out three years ago on the same man by the same publications.

At the very least, *Federalism and the French Canadians* reveals a much more sophisticated understanding of French Canada on Trudeau's part than most of his Anglo-Canadian critics give him credit for, or in all likelihood have themselves. The remarkable thing about the book, read in 1971, is not Trudeau's attitude toward nationalism, of which almost everyone is aware by now, but his attitude toward centralization.

In most of the essays, and particularly those written in the 1950s, he defends federalism not against excessive nationalism or provincial autonomy, but against excessive concentration of power in Ottawa. In his essay on federal grants to universities, for instance, he says that Ottawa has no business in this area (a stand on which he found himself in agreement with the hated Duplessis) and opposed to most of his fellow libertarian intellectuals; if Quebecers want university grants it is the responsibility of an enlightened provincial government to provide them.

Part of the reason for this is that centralization was, in fact, the main obstacle to federalism in the 1950s, as history, helped along by the Liberal government in Ottawa, seemed to be dictating a minor role for the provincial governments. But even after 1960, when the pendulum swung toward the provinces, when governments in Quebec City, Queen's Park and Victoria appeared much more powerful and self-confident than the government in Ottawa, and when Trudeau turned his attention toward attacking the new generation of Quebec nationalists, this theme was not totally lost.

"We must separate once and for all the concepts of state and nation," Trudeau wrote in April 1962, "and make Canada a truly pluralistic and polyethnic society. Now in order for this to come about, the different regions within the country must be assured of a wide range of local autonomy,

such that each national group, with an increasing background of experience in self-government, may be able to develop the body of laws and institutions essential to the fullest expression and development of their national characteristics."

Running through the book is a sense that French Canadians must take their destiny into their own hands. The English may be largely responsible for the traditional authoritarianism of Quebec society, but it is French Canadians who will have to change it. The power to make Quebec a free, liberal society (within Canadian confederation) is in your hands, Trudeau says; it is up to you to use it.

To you — not to him: he seems to stand outside the process, especially after 1960. Perhaps it is only the usual alienation of the intellectual; Trudeau himself certainly regards it as such: he ends "Some obstacles to democracy in Quebec" by saying, "this essay has run its course; further thoughts would lead me towards ground where men of action take over."

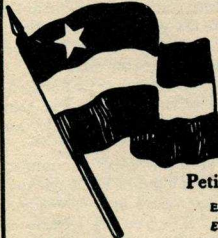
But it is an alienation that continued after he, in his own way, became a 'man of action', and the suspicion exists that it has more deeply-rooted causes. Perhaps the most significant incident related by Walter Stewart in his chapter on Trudeau's life up to 1968 is that young Pierre rejected the Frenchified spelling 'Elliott' of his middle name in favor of 'Elliott'. He was elected in 1968 as someone who was part of both Canadian cultures; now it appears he was really part of neither.

He is equally fluent in French and English; his French, like his English, gives the impression of not being entirely natural, of having been learned. His appearances in the province of Quebec have been few and, unlike Robert Stanfield in Nova Scotia, he always has the air more of a visiting foreign dignitary than of a native son returning home. His November 26 visit to Montreal was his first public appearance in the city since well before the crisis of October 1970.

His aloofness is one clear point of continuity between Pierre Elliott Trudeau the rebellious intellectual and Pierre Elliott Trudeau the Liberal prime minister. Whether there is any continuity in more concrete policy questions is a matter for debate; there are some who claim to see the roots of the War Measures Act in the anti-Duplessis writings of the 1950s. He says in the foreword to *Federalism and the French Canadians*, written in 1967, that "the only constant factor to be found in my thinking over the years has been opposition to accepted opinions," which may lend some consistency to actions that otherwise have none; but even that sounds hollow coming from the man who was able to obtain the first electoral majority in Canada in six years.

In any case, the Trudeau years are unlikely to be remembered primarily as a time of great advance for the cause of provincial autonomy. Perhaps through historical necessity, the attempt to create a united Canada has taken a different course, and it has come up against the fact that the country is divided by much more serious cleavages than the absence of bilingual cheques or even of a bilingual civil service. The irony is that it may end by creating one tenuous reason for unity: opposition to the federal government.

Robert Chodos is a member of the Last Post editorial board, and heads the magazine's Ottawa bureau



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"No minority group is treated better"

No minority group in the world is treated better than Quebec's English minority. Or, if there is one, you will have to go all the way to South Africa to find it."

Claude Charron, 25-year-old Parti Quebecois member for the poverty-stricken riding of Montreal-St. Jacques, continued for a few minutes, looked around at fellow members of the Quebec National Assembly education committee, and let his words trail off.

The atmosphere was tense.

At the railing before the mahogany committee table stood representatives of Montreal's Protestant education establishment, down in Quebec City to tell the government why they oppose Bill 28, a bill designed to rationalize Montreal's anarchic school system.

This is the second government to try and bring in the long overdue reform. The island's school geography is a patchwork of 33 Catholic (mostly French) and Protestant (English) boards, some flourishing, some not, some tiny, some enormous, and each living very much unto its own. The idea is to abolish these boards, replace them with 11 neutral ones—each charged with dispensing French and English education—and set up a co-ordinating island council.

For some, this scheme is nothing short of an outrage. One such group had just presented its position to the committee:

"There is as yet little evidence that any other (educational) organization in Quebec has shown comparative initiative and leadership," Bernard Coolon, president of the Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards, had said. Quebec's English Protestants had been innovators in every imaginable realm of education. He ran down a list that included shops, typing, cooking, you name it. French was even taught before the turn of the century. (Coolon managed to get the last statement out without batting an eye, although he appeared incapable of understanding or replying in French to questions posed in that language.)

"... Show me the evidence on the Catholic side and this is without any disrespect for the Roman Catholic people nor the French Canadians," Coolon had said.

Charron continued his bitter reply:

"You have been free for 200 years, with the power you had, through your social and economic situation, to cleverly confuse rights and privileges. It is your right — and this is written into our party program — to have schools with instruction in your own language. But it is a privilege to give a minority... its own, parallel school system."

A little later Coolon got his chance to speak again:

"... These privileges and rights are a lot of garbage as far as I am concerned," he blurted, voice and color rising.

One or two English-speaking people in the audience cringed with embarrassment. A pained look of *deja-vu* spread over the faces of the French Quebecers present.

They were probably thinking back a couple of years to when the Union Nationale government made the first attempt to unify Montreal Island boards. Its Bill 62 was shelved when the government called elections, but not before

English Quebec displayed its fear and mistrust of the French majority. "Our culture will be destroyed; our fine schools threatened," were the cries and implications.

Or maybe they were thinking of the hostile English reaction to a regulation brought in last year aimed at increasing the content of French in English schools. (A bilingual English Canadian is still not the rule here.)

One or two probably remembered how McGill University hollers every year that it is being short-changed by provincial government grants, while sitting snugly on its prize piece of downtown property with \$90,000,000 in endowments tucked safely away.

Ever since the 'quiet revolution' spawned the education department, succeeding governments have brought in ruling after ruling aimed at spreading the wealth and bringing Quebec education, in one short decade, from the philosophical pondering of the classical college era to the cold realities of the technological age.

This was the aim of the rattrapage (catching-up) university financing program of the last few years, designed to create adequate university space for French-language students. (At one point there was one French-language university in Montreal and two English-language institutions) And this is the aim of Bill 28.

These reforms have met a wall of resistance from the English community, located mostly west of the Mount Royal landmark, some in the slums crammed between the tracks and the south-shore of the island, but most in the suburbs reaching westward from the posh slopes of Westmount.

East and north is immigrant and Quebecois territory: flat blocks of outside staircases and low red-brick stretching out towards the industrial parks on the fringe of the city. Apart from a small elite, this part of the city is peopled by white-collar workers, wage-earners and welfare recipients.

Their school board, La Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montreal (CECM), supports unification.

The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, which operates what it proudly considers one of the finest systems in North America, has most of its clientele in the west end: it opposes unification.

Le Devoir gives us one reason why the island's two biggest boards find themselves opposed on this matter:

"In 1969-70 \$690 was spent per pupil at the predominantly French-language board compared to \$799 at the PSBGM." In other words, despite the government equalization tax of recent years, the wealthier Protestant tax base gives school children in that system a better deal.

The other reason is the English-Protestant fear of being in a minority position on eight of the 11 projected local school boards, when they have always run separate, autonomous boards in the past.

But those representatives of the English community who have harped on this theme during public hearings have received little sympathy from members of the National Assembly education committee. "Now you are getting an idea of what is like to be a French Canadian in the rest of Canada," remarked one committee member. The gov-

ernment insists there is nothing implicit in Bill 28 to deprive the English minority of their schools or the services needed to run them.

Of course, a great many English Montrealers are truly troubled by the apartheid approach of the Protestant leaders. Down at the grass roots, a brave minority of home-and-schoolers rallied to support unification. So did one Protestant school board and isolated board members from other, anti Bill-28 boards. And Protestant teachers claim they do want to see resources shared. But they want the new boards to be divided along language lines to avoid being in a minority position on the unified boards. And to avoid the obvious administrative problems bound to arise from dispensing education in two languages.

English-Catholics, i.e. a minority of Anglo-Irish and a majority of immigrants assimilated into the English stream, generally go for the reform. They have been attending French-dominated school boards all along (because education has traditionally been divided along religious lines) and, as one teacher put it: "We haven't suffered too many heartaches so far."

Other opposition to the bill has come from those devout Catholics who want to maintain the Catholic school, such as Claude Ryan, publisher of *Le Devoir*, and from others, such as Parti Quebecois leader Rene Levesque, who has dissented from his party's position because he thinks the new system would be impossible to administer.

For a description of the student scene, we have only to turn to *The Gazette*, Montreal's English-language morning paper.

A headline in late September assured us there would be peace on the campuses this year because students were busy hustling high marks in hopes of avoiding later unemployment.

A week later about 1,000 supporting staff at the Universite de Montreal went on strike and the entire student body and faculty refused to cross the picket lines. U. de M. was closed for a month.

The Gazette wasn't all wrong though. A little later when library workers at Sir George Williams University went on strike, most students continued to wander absent-mindedly through picketers on the way to class each morning. The paper had merely neglected to take note of the French sector.

Last year at community colleges here, things followed the same pattern.

While French-language St. Laurent College rocked with descent and finally closed down completely as students struggled to get a say in school government, students next door at English-language Vanier went prudently to classes.

A Vanier student said the college's forward-looking administration was only part of the explanation for the quiet English-language campus.

"Kids here don't want to get involved," she complained after a fruitless attempt to whip up some support for their French-language neighbours. "Kids over there are politicized by their whole need for Quebec independence. Here, they lack a cause."

Yvon Charbonneau, leader of the militant, 70,000-strong teachers' union, the Corporation des Enseignants du Quebec, said recently this whole school reform question is an acid test for English Quebecers.

"This is a challenge for Quebec's anglophone community. We will see if they are going to espouse the cause of Quebec, if they are going to let their privileged standard of life go a little and accept that the others get a little more."

Charbonneau's group has joined Quebec's two big unions in a common front calling for early implementation of Bill 28, which is scheduled to be law by Christmas and a fait accompli by 1973. But the front is also insisting that certain concessions to the English be removed to assure that administration of the new boards is predominantly French. They also want immigrants to go to French schools.

It isn't a clear case of unilingualism, but rather a well-based apprehension that the high rate of assimilation of immigrants into the English culture will eventually result in the Englishing of Montreal.

"And once Montreal assimilates, the rural culture will be reduced to folklore subsidized by the federal government in the name of multi-culturalism, just like Polish and Ukrainian dances," said the nationalist St-Jean-Baptiste Society in its brief to the public hearings.

This fear was given added impetus recently when the CECM released figures showing 2,200 transferred from French to English schools last year, while only 150 did the reverse — despite government promotion of French instruction. Furthermore, more than 50 per cent of the students in the board's English sector are of Italian origin.

The language battle, the government inquiry during the October crisis into whether teachers were spreading dangerous propaganda in classrooms, and a back-to-work order ending a bitter teacher strike in 1967 have all contributed to radicalizing French-language teachers here.

Charbonneau says this year the CEQ's 64 locals are studying a white paper, which could become policy calling for radical changes in Quebec society.

The CEQ took a decided turn to the left last summer when teachers at the annual congress decided to work out a "social and political ideology which takes into account the interests of the Quebec people, as well as the teachers' natural solidarity with workers."

Since then, it has supported several labor causes. Charbonneau walked arm in arm with Louis Laberge of the Quebec Federation of Labor and Marcel Pepin of the Confederation of National Trade Unions at the head of the October 29 *La Presse* demonstration.

As with most things in Quebec, however, English and French teachers don't see things the same way, even though they usually present an image of solidarity to the public.

For example, after Albert Shanker, teachers' union leader from New York, told Protestant teachers here a worker-teacher alliance is in their own best interests, English teacher leader Wendell Sparkes said:

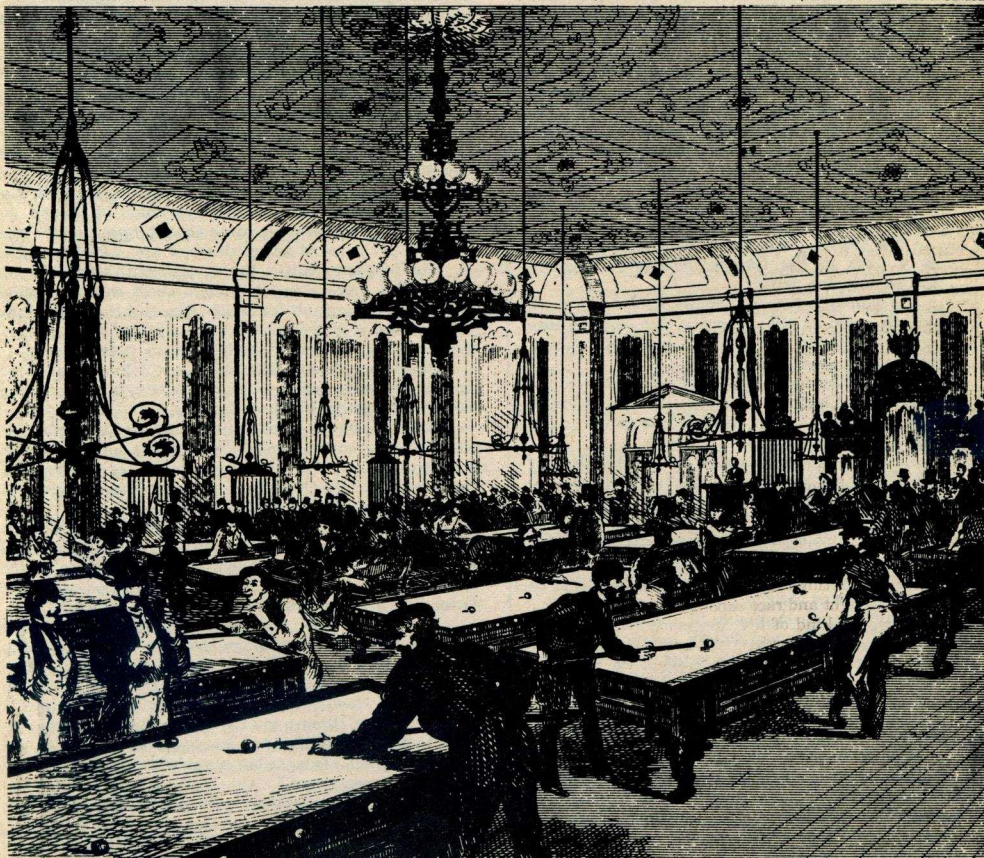
"I agree. But I fear the big, bureaucratic unions as much as I do the government."

This article was written by the Montreal staff of the Last Post

by Malcolm Reid

LA SCOUTINE: SMUGGLED UP FROM UNDERGROUND

photo: Public Archives of Canada



He drifted into a Bohemian life with turn-of-the-century French-Canadian hell-raisers

La Scouine, by Albert Laberge. No date, no publisher, no place given. 110 pp. I paid \$2.

There is something, though, stamped slightly askew on the title page of this stapled-together book with the blank gray cover:

ANATOLE BROCHU
 Librairie—Boutique
 Téléphone: 537-0926
 662 5e RUE SHAWINIGAN

It is rubber-stamped in blue ink, so I can't assure you that it will also appear on another copy you might pick up in another student co-op in another university or CEGEP than Laval, where I found my copy. And thereby hangs this tale of young Quebec's scraping-off of old rebels.

The old rebel in this story was crusted over by clergy and colonialism in a particularly thorough way.

Albert Laberge was the son of a peasant family from Melocheville, a village in that little piece of Quebec wedged between the U.S. border and the St. Lawrence River, or from Beauharnois, a neighboring city. It's a bit blurred, but Laberge's farming relatives carried on, on a part of the family land that's in Melocheville. He would be a hundred years old if he were alive now; he was born in 1871. He did in fact live to a mighty age, to 89, to the year 1960, a month before they say the Quiet Revolution began, with the Liberals, and in fact until well after it had begun in such books as Laporte's *True Face of Duplessis* and Hebert's *Scandale a Bordeaux*.

His 90 years he divided in a strange way. He grew up on his father's farm not liking the work. He was sent to Montreal's Jesuit College Ste. Marie, and hated that, too. He became an atheist. He was expelled for "bad readings," perhaps Voltaire's *Candide* and Dumas' *Three Musketeers*, two books he describes in a story as getting a blacksmith's son sent down from college.

He drifted into a bohemian life in Montreal's south-central streets: McGill College, Dorchester, Belmont. He took up with such turn-of-the-century French-Canadian hell-raisers as Charles Gill, the drawing teacher who was devoted to the St. Lawrence Street bar girls and literature. Something called the Ecole Littéraire de Montreal was important then, and he belonged to it.

But it was all hovered over by a job he found before the start of the century in 1896, at the age of 25, and hacked until he was an old man in the depression. He was a sportswriter who didn't like sports, at *La Presse*.

The paper used a dodge that has not yet been retired: it cooled him by letting him write art criticism on the side.

The young fight and race reporter was saving up pages of a novel on the kind of life his family had lived along Lake St. Louis, "a work which the need to earn his daily bread was executed in very difficult conditions, the author overloaded with tasks and almost without leisure," he wrote in a not entirely uncharacteristic more-or-less-French sentence dedicating the copy of the novel that is in the legislative library in Quebec. The novel would be called *La scouine*, a name with no meaning in French or joul. But its tone would emerge over the first years of the century, as a bit was read aloud here, a bit published there. Including Chapter XX, which ended:

Stumbling through the hay towards the voice in the loft, the Irishwoman reached Charlot. She collapsed beside him, skirts wet and muddy, breath alcoholic. Lit by the

gin, she was burning inside, and Charlot felt strange ardors too. His 35 continent years and his long lone nights on the yellow sofa lit pulsing and lustful desires in his guts. This man who had not known woman felt the creaming appetites command. The hounds of bad dreams and sensuous visions invaded . . .

So Charlot charged.

The act of the races was accomplished.

It was his sole love affair.

The Ecole Littéraire was, if not a sustained anticlerical movement, a shelter for outcasts in the Catholic, Anglophile French Canada of the time. The chapter appeared in one of the papers around it, *La Semaine*. The publication of Archbishop Bruchesi of Montreal pounced: "A tale, announced and recommended in this paper, unworthy outrages all morality. It is ignoble pornography, and we wonder what is sought by putting such gibberish before readers. Enough, let us cut the evil at its root."

But pornography was not the real trouble with *La scouine*. The real trouble would not become clear until the novel was finally put together in 1918. And then the effect was largely destroyed by the curious lifelong habit of Albert Laberge: he published the book at his own expense in 60 copies, and wouldn't sell you one if you asked for it. I first heard of *La scouine* around 1965, and asked after it in every Montreal used book shop I found myself in. It is not surprising that I never stumbled on it. Those 60 copies, with their neat green covers and red initial letters were the full extent of the circulation of this Zola-dark reversal of the French-Canadian idyll.

The darkness was the real trouble. *La scouine* is the story of Urgele Deschamps, nineteenth-century farmer in a region much like Melocheville, and his children, the Charlot of the sex scene, whose broken life earned him the name *le Casse*, and Paulima, whose bed-wetting somehow suggested *la Scouine*.

In order to know how it hit, you must have some idea of the idealization of peasant life that has run through French Canada right up to a few years ago. New France was founded by a pre-industrial imperialism, the Catholic church was a pre-industrial church. The conquest reinforced this by taking commerce away from the French and placing them before capitalist-oriented Protestant rulers.

The defeat of the hint of native capitalism in the 1837 Rebellion made it definitive by giving the colony to the anti-urban ideology of the clerical right, an ideology which survived to the 1960s and perhaps survives still in the readiness of French-Canadian workers, even when they are very conservative, to see the business elite as essentially corrupt. The myth that was proposed in replacement of the bourgeois myth of enterprise was the Return to the Soil: it suffused everything from the Ministry of Agriculture and Colonization to Felix Leclerc's songs; a thousand novels preached it.

Yet before the great strikes of the 30s, before *Thirty Acres'* polite break with the myth in the Depression and *The Tin Flute's* in the war, long before the modest dissents that were starting to be voiced when Albert Laberge died, Albert Laberge had looked back on his childhood in Melocheville and found inhabitants whose lives were drained for God, and God did not reward them. They cut a cross in their bread, but the bread was sour. Life in this land was like the castration of the bull calves to make them steers that is another major image of the book. The notables

photo: Public Archives of Canada



The myth proposed in replacement of bourgeois enterprise was the return to the soil

and the priest were the cutters. French Canada was the calf. And perhaps I have not suggested enough that Laberge is a funny guy too, and often his outrage was a laugh.

Laberge never published another book until 1932, when he quit *La Presse*, retired to his Hutchison Street house and his Chateauguay (near Melocheville) cottage. Now he began turning out, one after another in those limited editions until 1956, the books he had been saving up through the toil at the race tracks. All along he had lived with painters and writers, and half his work is memorabilia of the constricted bohemia of turn-of-the-century Montreal. Charles Gill, he tells us, saw the first proofs of *La scouine*, liked the peasant byline ("by Albert Laberge, Pierre's son") and the dedication to his brother Alfred (Ti-Fred in Melocheville), but was dead of Spanish gripe the day the book was delivered. There were painters like Charles de Belle, who drew what now strike as rather goey illustrations for a Laberge story collection, and others like Maurice Cullen, not including the Group of Seven but perhaps roughly situating Laberge in that tree-and-lake Canadian sensibility. There was even, I fear, poet William Henry Drummond, the anti-Laberge par excellence.

The rest is short stories. Laberge had a long and dismal marriage, a couple of bohemian love affairs, a bit of travel. The bald-headed man who always wore a tie to dinner did not have an adventurous life, but the stories draw on rural Melocheville and downtown Montreal for a tight range of naturalistic shots. I have not read much other Laberge than *La scouine*, and I confess that flipping through the pile of volumes in the Legislature Library, happening upon the one that begins, "Simeon Rabeau was born of poor parents. He was the last of a family of 12. The thirteenth was stillborn," I wonder if much other Laberge would not be a bit much. But here are 14 books by a man who did things that had never been done before in French-Canadian letters. How could it come about that not one of them was in print

until the edition I am reviewing now?

First, Laberge's part. It is said that he spent \$9,000 of his hard track-earned bread printing his works. Why do such a thing? Why endure 30 years' misuse of your humanity to put your sharpest comprehensions of your life in books, and then see to it that they cannot be widely read? There is Laberge's 1953 explanation in the preface to that year's book:

"I do not write to instruct my compatriots, to edify good souls; I do not write to amuse the frivolous, to win a literary prize, to please this or that critic (for I send my books to no paper); I do not write to earn a buck, for my books are not for sale. I do not write for literary glory. I write to say what I feel, to express what is in me, and in my tales to reproduce facets of life."

And there is the appreciation of the New Labergians. They came into existence after his death, as Quebec literature announced revolution. They were helped along by Gerard Bessette, a dark novelist himself, who, from his professor's office outside Quebec life at Queen's, put together an *Anthologie d'Albert Laberge* in 1962 which is still the only above-ground, on-the-stands source of Laberge writing in existence. He included chapters from *La scouine* and wrote a preface protesting the injustice done Laberge by French-Canadian literary scholarship. One Father Camille Roy of Quebec dashed off a postcard to a critic asking his impression of Laberge: "The father of French-Canadian pornography." Claude-Henri Grignon, another peasant novelist, gave importance to *La scouine*, but somehow missed its revolutionary implication: he himself became one of the most grotesque perpetuators of French-Canadian ruralism in his reactionary television soap opera, *Les Belles histoires du pays d'en haut*.

The year after Bessette's anthology came the FLQ and *parti pris*. It became clear that some of the young writers had been reading Laberge somewhere. Jacques Renaud

wrote a *parti pris* article on his *parti pris* novel *Le Casse*: "It is possible here to create a literary work that is strong and valid: Laberge, Gauvreau, Richard, others . . ."

"It is possible"—that is to say, not easy. And that was because of colonialism, the oppression which gets into the oppressed's head and teaches him to keep himself down better than any external police could keep him down. That was what the young ones saw in Laberge—a writer *maudit*, cursed by a dominated society into *deciding himself* to fail. To fail to get his truth to his countrymen, to stop short of even that one copulation with the national personality he was examining. Here was a radical literary vision whole in 1918, a year of revolution in Russia, of anti-conscriptionists dead in the streets of Quebec, which had still not found an audience in 1949, the year of Asbestos, in 1959, the year of the death of Duplessis.

Parti pris initiated this simultaneous look backward and forward, I think. It was its perception of independence, atheism and socialism in the future which enabled it to pull out the sparks of revolt from the resigned past. It has gone on steadily since. 1837 rediscovered, Vallieres learning his past even if he has to go to Mason Wade to do it, Bergeron making his scrappy history a bestseller, the pop music stations giving us the stainless-steel reels of Philippe Gagnon and Dominique Tremblay. And Reedition-Quebec, the young house that publishes old books. They had 1837, they had the folklore of the soil. They had *Marie Calumet*, a rude 1906 novel by Laberge's friend Rodolphe Girard. Naturally they wanted *La scouine*.

Here is where the Laberge family's part came in. If you knew about *La scouine*, it was not impossible to read it, at least if you lived in a big city. It was even fairly easy to photocopy it as Reedition-Quebec was in the habit of doing. What was difficult was knowing about it. Libraries had it; in a time of Canadiana boom they were paying \$100 a copy for it. I read *La scouine*, finally, in the Gagnon Room of the Montreal Public Library, where they have everything French-Canadian you've ever heard of. They wouldn't let me take it out.

But why was there no reprint? Louis Dantin's novel of an atheist French-Canadian in the black ghetto of Boston, *The Childhoods of Fanny*, was revived; Charles Gill's caustic, sexy letters were assembled by *parti pris*; Jean-Jules Richard's war novel *Nine Days of Hate* returned. If Reedition-Quebec did not know what was holding *La scouine* back, they learned when they made their photo copies available. The rights to the work were still in the hands of surviving Laberges who had never swallowed Albert's atheism, never forgiven his gaze on their life and their soil, never been able to come to grips with his cremation without religious ceremony and scattering of ashes in his garden at Chateauguay.

Or so the rumor in the literary world had it. The Laberge relatives deny this. Anna Laberge, Albert's 88-year-old sister, says the refusal to permit publication is respect for the wishes of Albert himself, that religion has nothing to do with it, that Albert was very well regarded in Chateauguay despite his atheism. She does allow: "There are some things I would rather had not been said."

Pierre Laberge, the author's one son, is the man who has actually done the refusing. He is angry at Reedition-Quebec for their "mediocre" work, and took legal steps to halt them. But mostly, "I've got to earn my living, I haven't got time to take all these requests that come in. I've given

my father's books to people, and then people have sold them. I don't know anything about these things—books, contracts. Let's say I haven't made any decision yet."

Mr. Laberge is a Montreal travelling salesman who speaks English as well as French. He doubts that his father's books are all that saleable anyway, notes that his father's refusal was tied to his heartbreak when he saw his friends' books remaindered in the shops, and doesn't quite know what to make of your talk about the kids in the colleges being crazy about *La scouine*. But because Gerard Bessette has favorably impressed him, he is now in the position of being the only one who can bring out Laberge legit, and is, Pierre says, planning another anthology.

He does make one revealing remark: "I often tell my wife, it's a shame Albert didn't live to see all the drastic changes taking place, especially in French-Canadians. They were just starting when he passed away."

Official Labergianism goes on, in Bessette and in Jacques Brunet, a University of Ottawa professor whose *Life and Work I* did consult a lot in writing this, but who speaks of Laberge with such Catholic distaste you wonder why he chose the subject. But so does New Labergianism, hard though it may be for Pierre Laberge to believe. Or for me. I go into a CEGEP, and sit down with a group of the active ones. They tell me that my copy of *Le Quotidien populaire*, newspaper of the *La Presse* lockout victims, reminds them that striking newspaper employees in Quebec in 1868 put out a paper called *L'Artisan*. They talk of 1918 in Quebec—there is a book out, *Quebec Under War Measures, 1918—* and 1936 in Spain. They debate the Bergeron *Petit Manuel*: is it good history, or a forcing of history's virtue. They tackle a professor whose line is the Trudeauesque "Beware of the French, for they oppose progress." And they talk of *La scouine*.

At the Laval co-op, the clerk told me the books had been dropped off not by their regular book-and-magazine man, but by "Mr. Brochu." I am afraid I must reproach the work with mediocrity, too, for it is not only rough-and-ready in print and binding, but pages are shuffled, and five are missing.

But I wanted to know who the sympathetic pirate was, so I called the number stamped in my *Scouine* and asked for Anatole Brochu. A girl referred me to a guy—a young voice, and "Anatole" had somehow said middle-aged bibliophile to me. No, he's not Anatole. "Anatole Brochu was one of the Patriots." Now he's four young dropouts from Shawinigan who run a bookstore, publish a few poets, put out a nut paper called *The Hair*, which talks about Henry Miller and Aldous Huxley and "Is it really all over between Gerry Ouellette and Loulou Grondin?" A freak friend is just back from Shawinigan, and he assures you they are cool people.

This is happening in Shawinigan. The chemical town—nowhere near Melocheville, by the way, but rather in the Three Rivers area—where in 1971 the U.S. plants are technically behind and they have 20 per cent unemployment. A grim, plain town where they have a fancy Centennial culture centre, a town like a lot of Quebec towns, is the place where they decided to smuggle Albert Laberge up from underground. Shawinigan!

Malcolm Reid is the author of a book on revolutionary Quebec writers to be published this spring by McClelland and Stewart.

by Jean-Pierre Fournier

Drapeau-phrenia

Tars and taints will not resist Jean Drapeau, Montreal's answer to Mr. Clean.

After he had wiped his own Civic Party and City Hall clean of all opposition and scared the Cinema Supervisory Board into removing Henry Miller's pornography from the screens, the Mayor might have been expected to lay down his mop and take a well-deserved rest abroad, perhaps launch another quest for fun (there seems to be nothing on the program following the 1976 Olympics). But no.

He proceeded to tackle still bigger fish—newspaper

moguls, Bell Canada and the Post Office Dept.—and rid city streets, in swift order, of newspaper and mail boxes and antique telephone booths.

In the meantime, he made the downtown area safe for Power Corporation by prohibiting public demonstrations around *La Presse* and managed to attend a bit of personal business, relieving the Windsor Hotel—his lessor in his short-lived restaurant venture *Le Vaisseau d'Or*—of all the junk they had neglected to remove from his unpaid premises (according to the hotel, a 70-year-old painting, cutlery, dishes, tablecloths, etc.).

The days are far gone when publishers like the late John McConnell, of *The Montreal Star*, could pick up the phone and order the Mayor of Montreal around. Now, the Mayor gives the orders no matter who may be at the other end of the line. Months of negotiations to preserve some form of newspaper distribution in the areas where there are no newsstands failed to move him. As a result, it has become more difficult to secure the latest editions of local newspapers and a great many Montreal citizens will be spared the trouble of reading bad news about City Hall—however little newspapers dared to print.

If the Mayor has his way with Bell Canada and the Post Office Dept., only modern plastic-phone booths will be permitted to grace the streets of Montreal (which means there will be a lot fewer public phones) and we may have to hop on a 35-cent-a-ride bus to mail a letter.

Since garbage cans, like phone booths, have a tendency to be used by the FLQ to channel its communiques through to the public, the Mayor might also have them removed and force tailors, through by-law, to affix garbage can-size pockets to all coats and trousers.

Unfortunately, the mayor's campaign may now be forced to a lull. Snow has begun to fall over the city and, from here until April, it will be more and more difficult to move in the streets. In the Spring, when the Mayor will resume his fight against "dirt and grime and grease", here are some of the things he could go after:

1. The Sanguinet garage which, through an inexplicable oversight (some say it's because the owner happens to be a friend and supporter of Mr. Drapeau), was the only commercial building to escape demolition when the entrance to Jacques Cartier Bridge was re-designed prior to Expo '67;
2. The line-ups of job seekers and welfare recipients;
3. The corpse-a-week abandoned in the streets by Montreal's crime gangs in 1971;
4. The powerful extortion racket which has so far prevented a major Western Canada steak house chain from opening a place in Montreal;
5. Club-swinging helmeted cops.

(The latter need not be given priority, however. Like the slums of Montreal, they could very nicely be fenced in rather than removed.)

Then, his job well done, Mr. Drapeau might think of sweeping himself out of the Mayor's seat.

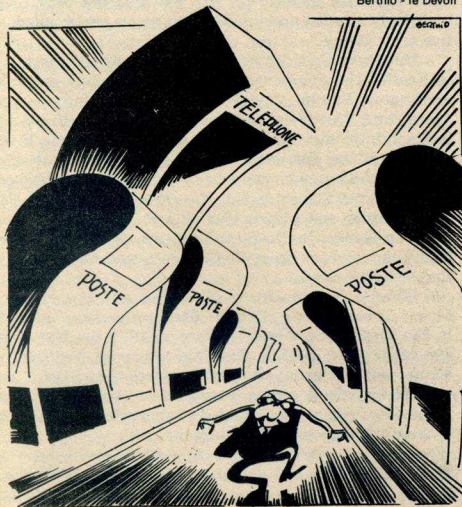
from the Montreal Star

Drapeau tilts at mail boxes

By RICHARD LEVESQUE

Mayor Jean Drapeau, armed with a council decision to ban newspaper vending machines from city streets, announced last night that he is taking dead aim at those "ugly" red and green post office boxes on city sidewalks.

Berthio - le Devoir

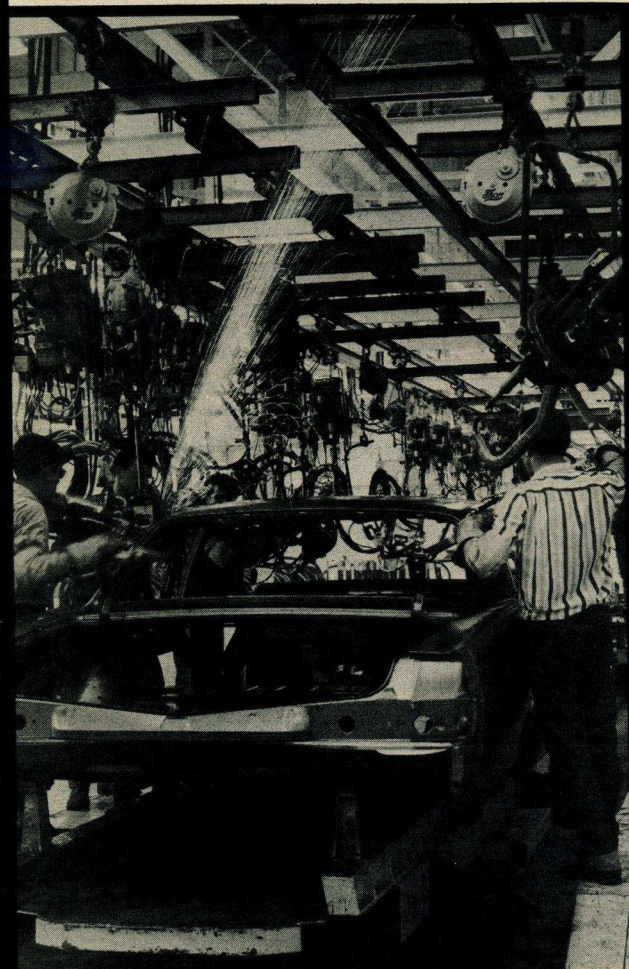


La drapophrénie

LAMENT FOR AN INDUSTRY

by Jim Laxer

In this article,
Jim Laxer shows
why the Auto Pact is
at the centre of the
current American
economic assault
on Canada



I

The 'de-industrialization' of Canada

Since the Nixon economic offensive began on August 15, 1971, even Prime Minister Trudeau has publicly expressed fear (in his Encounter appearance on TV) that this country's American-designed future is to serve merely as a resource base for the U.S.

Today, Canada is being haunted by *de-industrialization*. In early October of 1971, the Science Council of Canada produced a report which showed that in the past two years the proportion of Canada's work force involved in manufacturing *dropped* from 21 per cent to 19 per cent.

The report pointed to the ominous fact that in the past two years 120,000 new jobs projected for creation in manufacturing have not materialized.

The conclusion of the report is heavy with meaning for the future of Canada: Unless the present trend is reversed, Canada will become increasingly dependent on the resource and service industries.

"We will become, once again, mainly suppliers of raw materials to the North American continent," the report warns.

From June 1970 to June 1971, 138 plants in Ontario, the centre of Canadian manufacturing, either closed down, had extensive employment terminations or large layoffs. During this period in Ontario alone (where the most complete statistics have been compiled) 16,224 workers had their employment terminated or were laid off. Two-thirds of the lay-offs and terminations, 10,297, occurred in plants that were foreign-owned.

The prospect of de-industrialization is a new one, and a difficult one for Canadians to grasp. After all, the common wisdom has been that Canada is a young country, perhaps too dependent at present, but some day destined to grow to economic maturity. According to this government pamphlet idyl, Canada has come a long way in its first century and can be expected to do better in future.

The myths about Canada's national future are the opposite of the truth. In reality, the country is rapidly becoming less, not more, industrialized. It is becoming progressively less capable of managing its economy and of carrying out product development.

The trend toward de-industrialization has been going on for a long time. Since August 15, it has acquired a clear agenda. The American ten per cent surcharge affected the Canadian economy in a highly selective fashion, making it more difficult for Canadians to export manufactured goods to the United States, while keeping the door wide open to the flow of raw materials from Canada to the U.S.

Since August 15, the American program for bringing Canada into line with U.S. economic objectives has acquired two specific elements: the completion of the continental energy resources deal with Canada and the removal of the Cana-

dian safeguards in the Canada-U.S. Auto Pact. American negotiators see the two as a package. They are the opposite sides of the same coin for Canada.

The refusal of Canada's National Energy Board on Nov. 19, 1971 to allow the export of an additional 2.7 trillion cubic feet of natural gas to the U.S. has temporarily slowed the progress of the energy deal. This government decision not to add a further billion dollar sale to the two billion dollar sale of September 1970 came after political pressure had been building up on the issue for 18 months. The NEB decision is almost certainly a bargaining counter on behalf of the federal government in dealing with the U.S. surcharge. It does not mean the abandonment of a continental energy policy.

U.S. Secretary of the Treasury John Connally, the man who has come to symbolize the post-August 15 epoch, has been very blunt about American objectives:

"We want our balance of payments improved. The only way they can be improved, in a sense, is to the detriment of other nations. Other nations have to give up something in order that we might gain something."

As its share of the Connally package, Canada has been assigned the loss of growth in its auto industry and related industries.

The U.S. has suffered a balance of payments deficit with other countries for the past 21 years and Canada must do its share to end this, according to the Nixon administration.

Significantly, for only two of those 21 years has Canada had a surplus in its trade with the Americans. From 1950 to 1969 Canada ran a wopping deficit of \$13.9 billion with the United States; since the beginning of 1970 there has been a surplus of \$1.7 billion. In spite of the fact that the United States is still \$12.2 billion ahead in balance of payments since 1950, it is determined to eliminate the temporary Canadian surplus which has appeared in the last two years.

The removal of the safeguards for Canada in the Canada-U.S. Auto Pact has headed the list of U.S. demands since the announcement of the ten per cent surcharge. Connally told Finance Minister Edgar Benson and Trade Minister Jean-Luc Pepin that this was the case when they arrived on bended knee in Washington to beg for exemptions four days after Nixon's surcharge speech.

Since that time the issue of the Auto Pact has come up at every stage of discussion on the economic crisis between Ottawa and Washington.

The Americans like to pass off the issue of the safeguards in the Auto Pact as "symbolic". U.S. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs John Petty gave voice to this reassuring view in Washington when he said: "I don't think removal of the safeguards would have any material effect on the automotive industry in either country. It would be more of a symbol in demonstrating a willingness to achieve balanced relations."

In a speech in Toronto on Sept. 13, Trade Minister Pepin helped get this theory off the ground when he hinted that the safeguards might be removed and that he too regarded this as a "symbolic" issue.

The Prime Minister made his distinctive contribution to the debate when he told the House of Commons that he would not guarantee that the safeguards in the Auto Pact would not be bargained away.

Perhaps some will find it odd that in the midst of a world economic crisis, Canada and the U.S. have taken up a "symbolic" issue as the chief problem in their bilateral relations.



II

The 'safeguards'

What are the Auto Pact safeguards?

In 1965 the Canada-U.S. Auto Pact was started as a means of rationalizing the North American automobile industry. It sought ultimate free trade in assembled autos and in auto parts. One continental auto market, serviced by giant American producers, was the vision. It meant that Canadian auto plants would not be geared to producing for the Canadian market. Instead they would produce for segments of the entire North American market. The pact was rightly condemned by many Canadians as a step toward a fully integrated continental economy.

Had the Auto Pact not emerged, Canada would have been forced to take protective steps to guarantee the reservation of Canada's market for the sale of cars produced in this country. Considering that Canada's auto industry is entirely foreign owned, there would have been long term pressure in favor of producing a Canadian car, either with government assistance or public ownership. The Auto Pact had the effect of preventing such pressure to follow the Swedes and other Europeans who have produced their own cars.

The condition of the Canadian auto industry in 1964 is striking proof, for those who need it, that foreign ownership does not bring efficiency and competitiveness with it. After all, the Canadian auto industry was 100 per cent foreign owned, and yet it was so uncompetitive that it couldn't maintain control of its own domestic market, let alone export its products.

The Auto Pact contained the following safeguards for Canadian auto production:

(1) The provision of a base level of production in Canada below which Canadian production could not go. This level was calculated in terms of 1964 as the base year. It provided that production could not fall below the dollar value of autos and auto parts produced in Canada in 1964. Nor could it fall below the ratio of production in the auto industry to the sale of North American cars sold in Canada in 1964. In that year Canada's share of North American automotive production and sales was roughly 5.3 per cent and 9.1 per cent, respectively. Whichever figure was higher from these two methods of determining the Canadian production floor would be the one to apply.

(2) An undertaking that, as the sales of North American cars in Canada increased, so too would auto production in Canada. Increases in sales of cars were to be matched by at least an amount of production equivalent to 60 per cent of that increase. For commercial vehicles the increase was to be at least 50 per cent.

(3) A third safeguard came in the form of an agreement, not between the two governments but between Canada and the four U.S. auto corporations. The U.S. auto firms, in letters of commitment, agreed to increase Canadian production over and above the pact's safeguards by the following additional amounts by the end of 1968: General Motors \$121 million, Ford \$74.2 million, Chrysler \$33 million and American Motors \$11.2 million. The commitment of the auto producers was achieved by the end of 1968, after which it expired.

The pact allows free admission into Canada only of assembled automobiles and auto parts produced by firms achieving the commitments set down in the safeguards.

What significance do the safeguards have and what would their removal mean to the future of the auto industry in Canada? This question can be answered only by looking at the long term development of the auto industry in Canada.

III

How an industry dies

Many with short memories might imagine that the growth of the Canadian auto industry since the signing of the auto pact has been the most dramatic chapter in the history of the industry in this country.

But far from being a recent industry just getting off the ground here, Canada has been firmly established in the auto industry from the first decade in this century. The early history of the industry in Canada is so striking that it reveals clearly what is meant by de-industrialization.

The auto industry is perhaps the best example of an industry where Canadian businessmen who were in at the start failed to maintain control of their firms. Canada's best known auto magnate was R. S. McLaughlin of Oshawa, Ontario. In 1907 he signed a contract with the Buick Motor Company of Flint, Michigan for the importation of Buick engines to his Oshawa plant where they were installed in McLaughlin's assembled cars. In 1915, McLaughlin organized the Chevrolet Motor Company of Canada to produce Chevrolets under agreement with American Chevrolet.

During these years McLaughlin owned these two firms in Canada and made use of U.S. technology by contracts with U.S. firms. His weakness as an independent capitalist was his dependence on the higher level of U.S. technology and mass production techniques in the production of engines. In 1918 the McLaughlin enterprises met a familiar fate. The two companies were sold to General Motors and were reorganized as General Motors of Canada.

The Canadian auto industry had now moved into phase two of its history. The American industry now owned the Canadian firms. The Canadian tariff forced them to manufacture in Canada if they wanted this country's market. They were further enticed to do so because their plants in Canada were located not only behind the Canadian tariff wall but also that of the British empire. Autos produced here could be sold directly in other British empire countries.

The decade of the 1920s was one of rapid growth in auto production in Canada. By 1929 the industry produced 263,000 vehicles, of which 102,000 were exported. A nation of under ten million people outproduced all the great nations of Europe including the United Kingdom, France and Germany. In world terms 1929 was the high point of the Canadian car industry.

During the depression of the 1930s and the war years Canadian auto production was cut back sharply (although Canada's production of war vehicles was mammoth during the Second World War). By the time the industry found itself in a situation of "normalcy" again in the late 1940s, it faced competition from the exporting nations of western Europe. Auto production in Canada slowly grew to a high of 481,000 vehicles in 1953 and then slumped by 1960 to 396,000 vehicles. In that same year Canada imported 180,000 cars, mainly from the U.K. and Europe, while its exports were a mere 20,000.

In a period of three decades the Canadian auto industry had plummeted in world terms compared to countries like

Germany which produced 2 million cars in 1960. Furthermore, since 1929 the Canadian industry had experienced a clear decline in the number of jobs it provided relative to the growth of the work force.

By the beginning of the 1960s, it was clear to all that the Canadian auto industry was in grave trouble. In response to this situation, the federal government established the Royal Commission on the Automotive Industry under economist Vincent Bladen to investigate.

Bladen in those days of bliss before the debate about Canadian survival had become serious reflected the happy assumptions of most liberal economists about the world.

He wrote: "I believe that the maintenance of our national identity is of prime importance, but I do not believe that the interdependence which stems from trade is a threat to national independence."

IV

The birth of the Pact

Looked at from the perspective of the early sixties, the issue was whether Canada's auto industry would be integrated into the American industry or whether it would be rationalized to produce for the Canadian market. While the Bladen Commission came down in favor of an approach, never implemented, that attempted to avoid this choice, some of the briefs to the Commission did advocate one or the other alternative. Some of these briefs are of interest today.

Naturally the U.S. auto manufacturers favored increased integration of the Canadian with the American auto industry. And not surprisingly, the Canadian parts producers, generally small firms, many of which were Canadian owned, opposed integration, advocating greater protection for themselves.

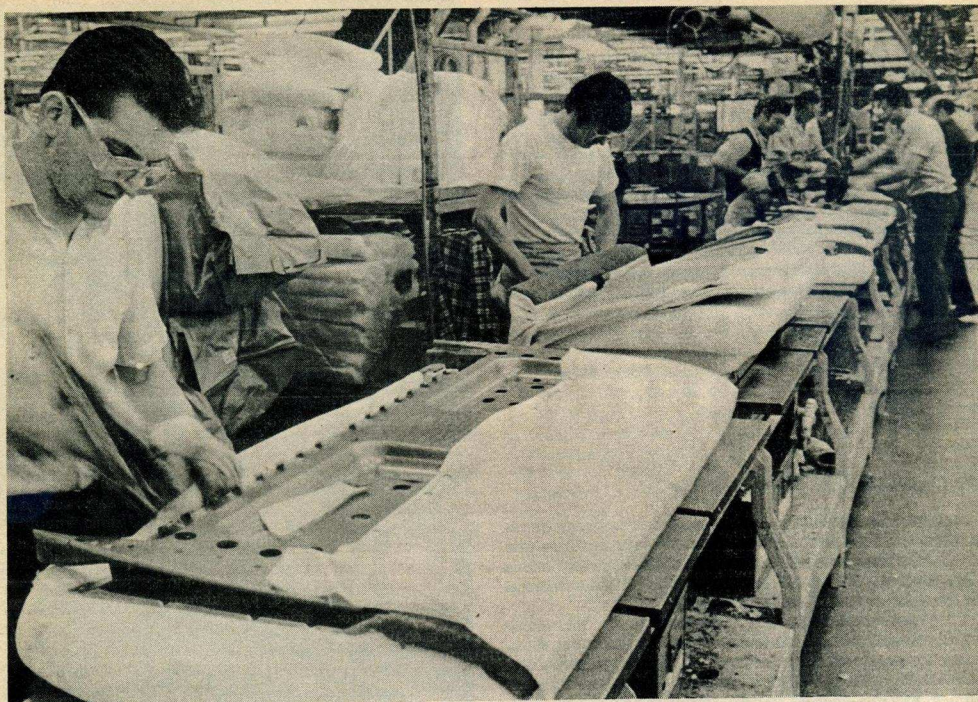
The United Auto Workers were clearly split internally on the issue. The Canadian district of the U.A.W. with its brief endorsed by the Canadian Labor Congress, favored integration. The U.A.W. brief stated:

"In essence, we suggest that the Commission examine the feasibility of an international agreement which would permit free trade in the products of any motor vehicle manufacturing company provided that the company produced in Canada or had produced for it in Canada, a quantity of motor vehicles and parts, sufficient to assure maintenance of current levels of employment at current production volume and future increases in employment parallel with the growth of the company's Canadian market."

This approach was precisely the kind adopted by the Auto Pact a few years later, a fact which led the U.A.W. to claim credit for the pact once it had been achieved.

Local 444 of the U.A.W. (Chrysler, Windsor) and the General Motors council of the U.A.W., however, did not agree with the national office or the CLC. They struck out against a continentalist approach, advocating instead an immediate increase in Canadian content in cars produced in Canada as a "step in the direction of an All-Canadian car."

Interestingly enough, the Saskatchewan CCF gov-



ernment presented a brief that wavered between the Canadian and the continental approach. On the Canadian side it urged that "the industry give consideration to the production of a Canadian automobile, an automobile that would be more utilitarian, less subject to model changes, easier to repair and less expensive than recent American models." But the brief went on to advocate "arrangements to enable both the Canadian and the United States plants to share in all the North American market."

The condition of the auto industry in the early 1960s was so desperate that the choice between a continental or a Canadian auto industry had to be made quickly. Canadians in those years were watching the growth of a vast balance of payments deficit with the U.S. in auto trade. In 1965 the United States enjoyed a \$768 million surplus in its auto trade with Canada.

In 1965 the Pearson government opted for continental integration with the United States in the car industry when it signed the Auto Pact.

Under the Auto Pact the Canadian industry was rationalized to produce fewer lines of cars for the entire North American market. With this rationalization there has been a marked increase in productivity in the Canadian industry and transfer of management functions from Canada to the United States. Since the commencement of the pact, Canada has increased its share of North American auto production, but the proportion of auto workers in Canada to auto workers in the U.S. has remained the same (increased productivity is the cause). The U.S. surplus in its auto trade with Canada has disappeared. In 1970, for the

first time, Canada enjoyed a small surplus in its auto trade with the U.S. although as a publication of the Canadian-American committee (a great friend of the pact and continentalism, by the way) pointed out, the Canadian surplus would disappear if you counted in the sending of profits to the U.S. from their subsidiaries in this country.

It is not possible to state the figures on Canadian auto imports with complete accuracy. Astonishing as it may seem, the Auditor General in making his report to parliament has accused the Department of National Revenue of incompetence in administering the Auto Pact. Every year since 1966 the Auditor General's report has included the remarkable assertion that the government of Canada cannot state the volume of auto imports with complete accuracy. In 1969 the Auditor General stated in his report:

"There are still no records available showing the amount of customs duty involved or even the total value of the imports for which the manufacturer must account.

"The Department does not always receive adequate information on which to assess the manufacturer's progress in meeting the conditions of the programs."

The growth in the Canadian auto industry under the pact has been, in part, accidental. The American auto manufacturers tended to concentrate in their Canadian plants the models that happened to be most successful in the market-place.

Growth in the industry in Canada tended to be concentrated in the first years of the agreement. By the end of 1968 vehicle-producers in Canada had over-fulfilled their commitments by \$396 million.

The present extent of integration can be learned from the following figures: by 1968 imports of autos from the U.S. supplied more than 40 per cent of the Canadian market compared with three per cent in 1964; about 60 per cent of vehicles produced in Canada in 1968 were exported compared with seven per cent in 1964. One third of all trade between Canada and the U.S. now takes place in the field of assembled autos and auto parts.

The early benefits of the Auto Pact for Canada appeared to confound the critics. The industry had grown and had become more productive. It was a shining success story for the Liberal Party.

But what was not immediately clear was that the pact meant long term Canadian vulnerability in its auto industry and an increasing incapacity of the Canadian government to affect the growth rates of the Canadian industry.

V

Removing the safeguards

By the end of 1968 the special agreement between Canada and the auto producers for heightened growth targets had lapsed. One safeguard was already out of the way. Since then pressure has been mounting steadily for the removal of the formal safeguards in the pact.

In the fall of 1970, the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives recommended that President Nixon terminate the auto pact unless progress was made toward eliminating the protective clauses for Canada. In a report to Congress on the subject in the fall of 1970, Nixon heightened the pressure for removal of the protective clauses:

"The continued existence of the transitional measures . . . represents an unnecessary burden on the automotive industry and is an obstacle to full realization of the agreement objectives."

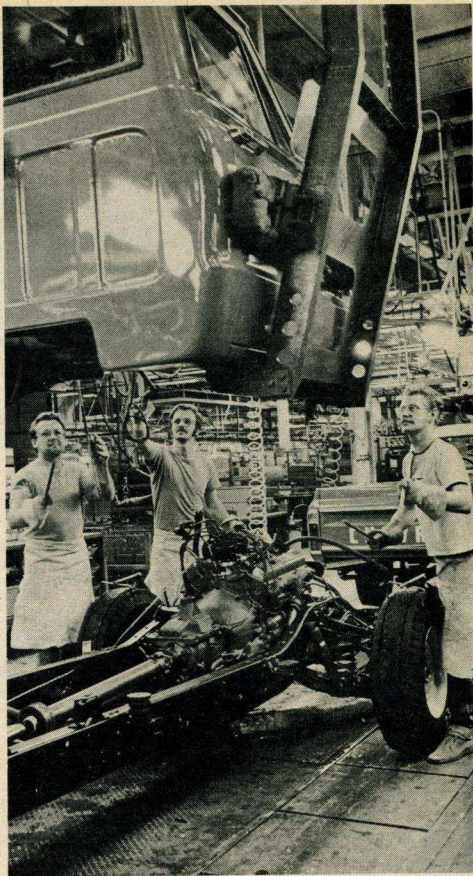
Canada's External Affairs Minister, Mitchell Sharp, helpfully admitted at the same time that "eventually" cars produced in Canada and the United States would have completely unrestricted access to the entire North American market. He showed how well he could fit into the American agenda when he suggested that if the U.S. opened up the oil market for Canada in the United States, we would consider scrapping the protective clauses in the Auto Pact. (This is precisely what the Canadian and American governments are now talking about.)

What would it matter if the safeguards were removed?

After all, Canadian and American officials have described the safeguard issue as "symbolic".

The removal of the safeguards would allow American auto producers completely free access to the Canadian market, no matter what the level of their production here. It means they could shift production out of this country, and even more important, locate future growth in the industry on the American side of the border. Without the safeguards there is no guaranteed future for the industry in Canada.

Convinced free traders will, of course, reply "So what?". Now that our auto industry has become more productive, why shouldn't the auto producers locate future growth here



as much as in the U.S.?

Even the continentalist Liberal government knows the answer to that question. In the fall of 1970 in talks with the U.S. the Canadian government insisted that it must obtain a new five year production level commitment from the auto industry. Its reason was simple: "free market" forces simply do not exist in the auto industry. A monopoly American owned industry, closely integrated with the American government, will be influenced by many factors that have nothing to do with whether a Canadian plant could theoretically produce as efficiently as an American plant.

The removal of the safeguards means the placing of a ceiling on the growth of the Canadian auto industry. It means total U.S. access to our market and control of our production, with future growth concentrated in the U.S. Such a development will contribute to growing Canadian unemployment and to a return to a steep deficit in our auto trade with the U.S. Anyone who doubts this has only to study the current pressures on Canada from the American government and the beginnings of new trends in auto production in Canada.

VI

The big stick

After the announcement of the new Nixon economic program on August 15, the U.S. government made it clear that it would use the "big stick" to deal with Canada on the Auto Pact safeguards. The unequal engagement between the Canadian and American governments on the safeguards has proceeded on a number of levels. There have been exchanges of views in public by ministers in both countries and meetings of trade officials between the two countries.

The diplomatic encounter has been marked by clarity and determination on the American side and vacillation on the Canadian side. Since Connally's tough line in his initial encounter with Benson and Pepin in Washington on August 19, the Americans have held fast to their position that the safeguards must go. In Canada, we have been served by the many moods and voices of the Liberal government. A shrug this week, a tough statement the next. Dismissal of the issue as "symbolic".

The Americans have made use of tough statements by Canadian ministers to step up their own offensive. When Herb Gray told an audience in Toronto on October 7 that discussions on the Auto Pact should not be related to the removal of the U.S. surcharge, the U.S. seized on this opportunity to reply a few days later with their list of grievances against Canada, published in the *Chicago Tribune*.

The American grievance list placed the Auto Pact as the highest U.S. concern. It made it clear that one purpose of the Americans is to gain duty free access to the Canadian market for U.S. used cars. This amounts to a proposal for dumping of awesome proportions. While such an action would enjoy a shortlived popularity among Canadian consumers, it would have a devastating effect on the used car business in Canada and on the resale value of automobiles to their Canadian owners.

The grievance list also highlighted the American intention to remove snowmobiles from the Auto Pact. This is for the understandable reason that in snowmobiles, it is the Canadian giant Bombardier that dominates the market. Naturally, the Americans don't want foreign ownership and are taking steps to protect their "infant" snowmobile industry.

Along with diplomatic pressures on Canada to back down, there have also been initiatives by private groups in Canada who favor continentalism. The President of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Neil V. German, advocated free trade between Canada and the United States on October 4.

Following a two-day meeting in Montreal in early October, the Canadian-American Committee made up of business, labor and professional figures from both countries concluded that Canada should announce its willingness to re-examine the safeguards as a step toward having the U.S. surcharge removed. The Canadian-American Committee has long favored continental economic integration. In spite

of his expressions of concern about American economic policies at the Ontario Federation of Labor Convention in early November, Donald MacDonald, President of the CLC, is a member of the Canadian-American Committee, along with Bill Dodge, the CLC's Secretary Treasurer and William Mahoney, the Canadian Director of the United Steelworkers of America.

These diplomatic and private pressures have been topped off by a series of moves by the U.S. Congress to toughen the American position. On November 3 the Senate Finance Committee voted to empower the President to impose a seven per cent excise tax on Canadian made cars—in contravention of the Auto Pact.

The next day the committee voted to give Nixon power to raise the surcharge to fifteen per cent. A few days later the same committee approved a revised version of the Domestic International Sales Corporation (DISC), which would offer tax incentives to American corporations to shift production from branch plant operations abroad to the U.S., thereby causing layoffs in countries like Canada.

Finally, the U.S. Revenue Act for 1971 may include a seven per cent job development tax credit, by which U.S. companies could claim an income tax credit of up to seven per cent on new equipment. This measure would encourage American auto firms to locate future development in the United States.

Nothing is more noteworthy than the way in which the Americans have made use of a series of safeguards in the pact, little discussed in Canada, that operate to protect the U.S. market from Canadian exports. In spite of all the talk about the American desire for continental free trade in autos and auto parts, the U.S. has its own set of safeguards.

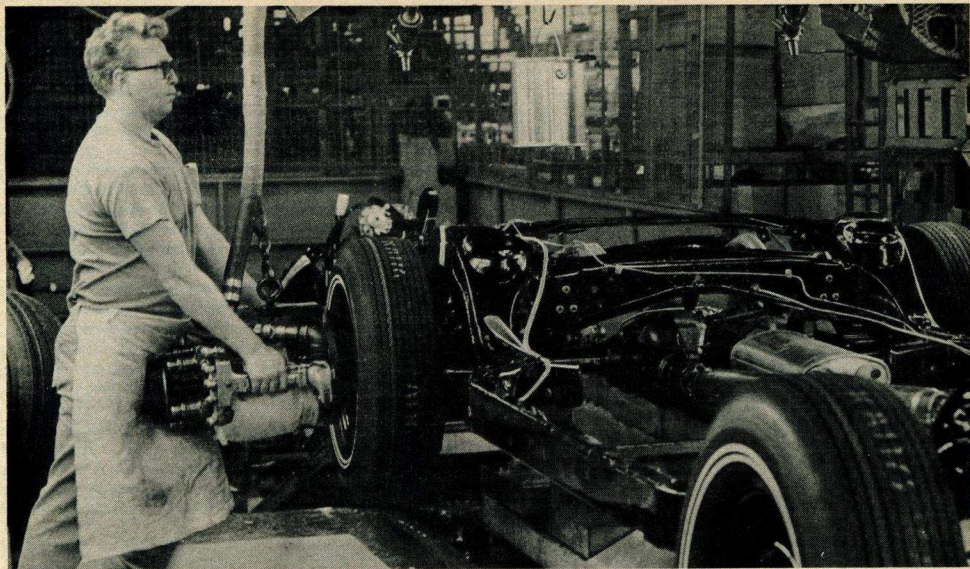
The first U.S. safeguard implies a measure of extra-territorial extension of American law into Canada. As adopted in the United States, the pact requires that the U.S. President inform Congress and the Senate of any undertakings made by the Canadian industry to the Canadian government which would increase the value-added conditions of vehicles produced in Canada. It is evident that unless Canada volunteered the information, the President would have to get the information from the parent firms in the United States.

A second safeguard involves the "Buy America" Act which is given precedence over the Auto Pact in U.S. law. Under the "Buy America" Act, U.S. government departments or agencies supported by government funds must give domestic producers a six per cent price advantage over Canadian car producers. If the buyer were in a designated depressed area in the U.S., the domestic bidder would have a 12 per cent advantage.

VII

Shifting production to the U.S.

The most interesting U.S. safeguard concerns the provisions regulating the entry of duty-free auto parts into the United States. Canadian regulation, in this regard, specifies the "end use" for which the part is intended and allows the free entry on any part designed for such use



that is manufactured by a producer that qualifies under the pact. The American regulation, however, requires that each individual part be specifically enumerated for duty free entry. When new parts come on to the market they can only be added to the duty free list through Proclamations at the Cabinet level for changes in the tariff schedule.

This, of course, takes time. What it means is that in the interim, a U.S. parts producer is likely to get the contract, before the part has been added to the list so that a Canadian producer could compete.

Naturally, this system of executive proclamations lends itself to arm twisting. Now that the Americans are pressuring Canada for a change in the Auto Pact, they have taken to holding up the proclamation of new parts to be added to the duty free list. This has the effect of threatened lost sales to the most vulnerable section of the auto industry in Canada—the auto parts industry. Donald Wood, the executive vice-president of the Auto Parts Makers Association of Canada, stated in the Spring of 1971 that such tactics had already resulted in a shift of orders from Canada to the U.S. Such lost sales affect the Canadian steel industry as well as the auto parts industry.

The Canadian auto parts industry has been in serious trouble for some time. Nearly 800 firms in Canada (mostly in Ontario) produce parts, and 300 of these are dependent entirely on the production of auto parts. The auto parts industry in Canada employs about 35,000 people compared with the 50,000 employed in car assembly. Since the Auto Pact came into effect, the Canadian auto parts industry has fallen increasingly under American control. Today, while half these firms remain Canadian owned, the Americans have acquired the larger ones and 80 per cent of the production of the industry is under American control.

Even before the new "America First" policies of the Nixon administration, auto parts plants in Canada have been closing down and shifting production to the U.S. The

closing of Eaton Automotive (a producer of truck axles and screw and washer assemblies) in London, Ontario in April 1971 is an example of this process. The plant, owned by the American corporation, Eaton, Yale and Towne was closed not because it was not profitable, but because the corporation felt it would do better by shifting the entire operation to a new plant in Kentucky. The decision for this shutdown was made in Cleveland, in spite of spirited local opposition by the union, the people of London and the London city council.

A year-and-a-half before the closing of Eaton Automotive the company blamed the lay-off of 110 workers on the loss of business caused by the operation of the Auto Pact. When the plant was closed, the company explained its action by claiming that it had been unable to acquire or design new products for the London division. Al Campbell, an employee of the company and president of local 27 U.A.W. disputed this explanation. He said designs were created at the local plant for safety devices and bucket seats for automobiles. These plans were taken up by American plants for manufacture, he said.

The closing of Eaton Automotive was the third closing carried out by Eaton, Yale and Towne in Ontario in the last few years. Perhaps the Chairman of the Board at Eaton, Yale and Towne in Cleveland, Ohio, E. M. deWindt, finds it difficult to understand the insecurity that results from layoffs when he contemplates the \$84,000 a year he will receive in retirement benefits.

Phillips Electronics Industries Ltd. in Toronto has phased out the production of car radios due to Chrysler's decision to purchase its radios from Motorola in the United States.

Marquette Equipment Canada Ltd. in Toronto ceased production of electrical test equipment late in 1970.

Canadian Acme Screw and Gear Ltd. in Toronto and Dunlop in Whitby negotiated wage freeze contracts with

their workers on the grounds that they were in bad economic shape.

The shift in production from Canada to the U.S. is taking place in the field of assembled cars as well as auto parts. After steady growth in Canadian auto output until 1968, the industry has stagnated for the last three years. In 1968 our total output of vehicles amounted to 1,180,000; in 1970 it had advanced scarcely at all to 1,191,000. By mid September 1971, production of both Ford and Chrysler vehicles in Canada had fallen below production in 1970; GM was up somewhat in production over 1970—this was because of the GM strike in 1970.

This current, relative downturn in production has taken place at the same time as sales of North American cars in Canada have increased by 11.3 per cent from July 1970 to July 1971.

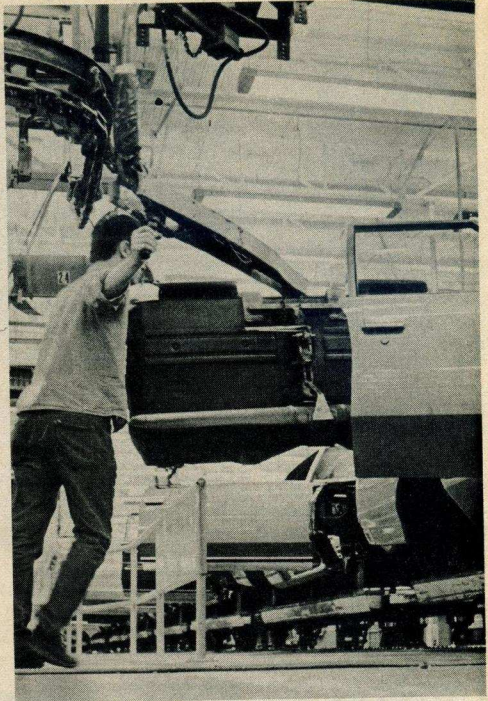
In September 1971 General Motors announced the layoff of 2,000 workers at its five plants in Ontario and at Ste. Therese, Quebec. General Motors blamed the layoff on the increased competition of European and Asian cars. W. J. Marshall, U.A.W. International representative in St. Catharines, said he wanted to know whether lowered production on Canadian lines meant increased production at U.S. plants. Considering the higher volume of sales in Canada in 1971 of North American cars along with falling production, this, indeed, appears to be the case. But Trade Minister Pepin gave GM a clean bill of health when he approved the layoffs after a meeting with GM executives. Pepin was merely miffed that he hadn't been given more notice of the layoffs in accordance with Quebec and Ontario law.

While sales of Asian and European cars in Canada cannot be used as an explanation for current layoffs, they are undoubtedly making steep inroads into the Canadian market. About 27.9 per cent of the cars now bought in Canada are overseas imports compared to 17 per cent in the United States. For many years, it has been pointed out to the car manufacturers that the Canadian population with a standard of living one third lower than in the U.S., is significantly more attracted than Americans to low cost models that have a longer life expectancy than most U.S. makes. The U.A.W. recently made this point when it called on GM to produce a stripped down small car that could compete with overseas imports in the Canadian market.

VIII

What now for Canada's industry?

Currently, talks are taking place between the Canadian and American governments on the Auto Pact and the continental energy deal. The American bargaining position is roughly as follows: in return for the removal of the safeguards on the Auto Pact, Canada will gain access to the U.S. market for its energy resources. In plain English, this means that at the same time as a ceiling is placed on the growth of the Canadian auto industry, U.S. oil and gas companies will ship Canadian fuels from this country to the United States and will also remove profits from this country to boot. It is a macabre comment on Canadian-



American relations that the prospect of Canada becoming the resource hinterland of the United States is regarded as a gain for Canada, in compensation for the losses we will suffer in the auto industry.

Given the current confusion in the federal government on the question of our relations with the U.S. and the clarity and drive revealed in the U.S. offensive to finish us as an industrial nation, the prospects for the Canadian car industry are dim. The Liberal Party is reaping the fruits of its decades of continentalism.

This brings us back to the Science Council Report on Canadian manufacturing. The Report warns that reliance on resource exports will result in permanent high unemployment in Canada. The service industries are, in the long run, dependent on the growth of manufacturing, according to the Report. In particular, we can expect the loss of jobs for highly skilled people in Canada. In the past two years, of the 25,000 Canadians graduated in science and engineering, only 2,000 found jobs in manufacturing. This compares to roughly half the equivalent group during the early sixties.

In Canada today, research and development is decreasing both in private industry and in the government,

When Canadians contemplate the future of manufacturing in this country, particularly in the auto industry, one clear need becomes apparent: to gain control of the large corporations that operate in this country. In the car industry, a two-stage process suggests itself.

As a first step, even a Liberal government, in bargaining with Washington, should have enough regard for Canadian



interests to demand an upward revision of the growth targets for the Canadian industry, so that this country is guaranteed that 100 per cent of the growth in sales of North American cars in Canada will be matched by growth of Canadian production. The government should further set guidelines on the models to be produced in Canada, so that a low-cost, compact model with a reasonable life expectancy can be produced here.

It would be completely inadequate for the government merely to defend the safeguards in the Auto Pact as they now stand. The present safeguards were based on production in 1964, a year when Canadian sales far exceeded Canadian production of North American cars. With the present safeguards, the car producers can already undertake a massive redirection of future growth in the industry from Canada to the U.S. In a period of some five years, even with the safeguards, Canada could once again have a deficit in its auto trade with the U.S. of close to a billion dollars. The fact that the U.S. wants even the present safeguards removed amounts to a dramatic announcement of American intent to limit drastically the future growth of Canadian manufacturing—unless, of course, you believe the Americans are going to all this trouble to achieve 'symbolic' ends.

A second step becomes necessary if the U.S. refuses—as it is likely to do—much tougher safeguards for Canada. If the Auto Pact is abrogated, the Canadian government should rationalize the industry in this country to produce for the Canadian market. This would require public ownership of the auto industry.

With all the talk about the great benefits of trade with the U.S. in automobiles, Canadian auto production has not outgrown the size of the Canadian market. And, according to the estimates of the experts regarding efficient production, the Canadian market is large enough for us to produce several models in this country at peak efficiency. Public ownership and production of an all-Canadian car would allow us to retain the profits from the industry in Canada. In addition to a sufficient market, the technology is readily available to us and Canada has a work force highly skilled in auto production.

When Canadian workers in auto and other industries contemplate action to protect their jobs, they will necessarily be faced with the need to come to terms with the relationship of the Canadian to the American trade union movement. American unions want to maximize employment in the United States, whether or not it means the loss of jobs abroad.

To state this is not to be critical of the American working class, which itself is facing unemployment and the loss of jobs to satellite countries of the United States such as Taiwan. The leadership of the American labor movement though, must take responsibility for failing to work for international unity among working people in opposition to exploitation by multi-national corporations. The leadership of the AFL-CIO, far from opposing American imperialism, is its ally.

This creates a severe dilemma for Canadian trade unionists. At the Ontario Federation of Labor Convention in November, Donald MacDonald, president of the CLC, chose to deal with this subject by misleading his audience. MacDonald, in speaking out against the proposed DISC program, tried to make it appear that there is unity between Canadian working people and the American labor brass on this issue. MacDonald stated at the OFL convention: "I am glad to be able to tell you that not only do we oppose such measures, but the AFL-CIO is strongly on record as being opposed to DISC."

The truth is that the AFL-CIO opposes DISC not because it opposes the Nixon administration's policy of increasing American exports at the expense of industrial production abroad, but because it doesn't think DISC will go far enough in achieving that result.

A recent publication of the AFL-CIO congratulated Nixon for the ten per cent surcharge against the import of foreign goods into the U.S. The AFL-CIO saw this as only a first step, though, and urged measures which would involve "removal of present incentives to establish production and assembly facilities abroad."

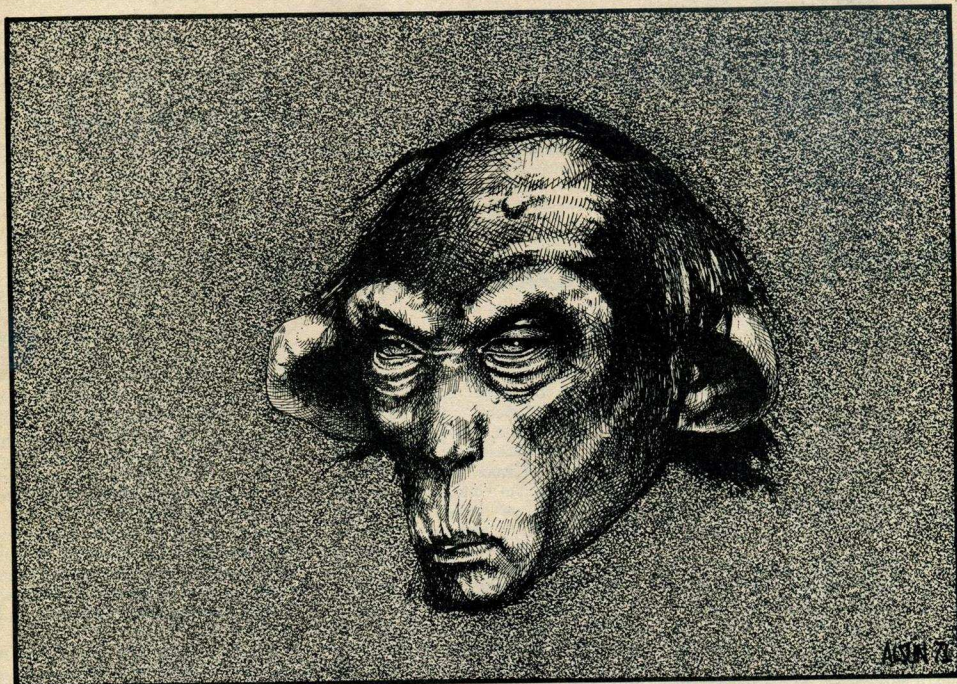
This position of the American labor leadership threatens Canadian jobs in an obvious way. Although the American A.W.W. is not a member of the AFL-CIO, the Canadian district, as a member of the CLC, is indirectly affiliated to the AFL-CIO. The key question in this: can Canadian auto workers expect the U.A.W. across the line to defend the jobs of Canadian workers when the trend is to shift production from this country to the United States?

Should a fundamental alternative for the Canadian auto industry not be attempted, the process of de-industrialization will be dangerously furthered. Recent statements by Cabinet ministers in Ottawa, including one by the Prime Minister, indicate that even the Liberal Party has been forced to admit that Canada is heading for a future as a resource extracting nation.

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LPI

WHERE IN
HELL IS THAT
ELECTRICIAN?



Marshall McLuhan

Moving on from Orwell

Orwell, by Raymond Williams. Fontana, 95 pp. \$1.25

Raymond Williams is the perfect person to write about George Orwell. In *Culture and Society* and *The Long Revolution* he has written the same kind of moral criticism as Orwell wrote, and in *Communications* he has examined, as Orwell examined, the institutions of popular culture and their relation to society.

Many of the other people who have written about Orwell—Christopher Hollis, Cyril Connolly, Sir Richard Rees—were fellow Etonians who never thought there was anything unusual about Orwell's growing up. They, like Orwell, were part of a cultural and political elite educated in private residential schools which controlled, and which continue to control, most British institutions. Raymond Williams has a different point of view. He is the son of a Welsh railway signalman and finds Orwell's background "in important ways strange and even alien." He believes that Orwell's social position—born in India, educated at Eton, for five years a member of the Imperial Police in Burma—was the primary factor determining both the form and content of all of his writings. Throughout the book Williams applies his once-a-bourgeois-always-a-bourgeois analysis with dogged persistence.

He first of all applies it to Orwell's general view of English society. Orwell called England 'a family with the wrong members in control.' He imagined a single unified England—friendly, decent, secure of its civil liberties—which

had by some accident come to be ruled by its 'irresponsible uncles and bedridden aunts.' Once this top layer was replaced by the proper members of the family, by new blood, everything would be all right again. Williams considers this to be an excessively simplistic interpretation of social change and calls it the viewpoint of a disaffected member of the ruling class who believes his class has lost its ability, and its justification, for ruling, as if it ever had any ability or any justification.

The ending of *The Road to Wigan Pier*, where Orwell tells his fellow members of the middle class that if they united politically with the workers they would have nothing to lose but their aitches, is more than a limp joke; it reveals the method and the extent of his social analyses. He describes class in terms of snobberies and external differences such as accents. But as Raymond Williams says:

"By keeping the definition of class to these characteristics, which any prosperous industrial society will in any case erode, another set of facts, in which class is a powerful and continuing economic relationship—as between the owners of property and capital and the owners only of labor and skill—is effectively masked.

"For what is it, after all, which puts the 'wrong members of the family' in control? Is it only a deference to their accents, their clothes, their styles of eating and furnishing? It is strange to have to make this point about an Orwell whose emphasis on the determining fact of money is so intense and even at times (in the thirties)

extreme. But there's money in the pocket, and more money in more pockets will mean precisely the classlessness he refers to. There's also, however, that quite different 'money' which is capital, which is the ownership and creation of the means of social life itself. Here any question about control is inevitably a question about this ownership, which can indeed remain unaltered in any major way during a period in which the visible signs of 'class', the small change of the system, have been if not wiped out at least modified, moderated, and evolved."

Orwell's political naivete is a weakness, but it is a weakness he shares with almost everyone else and it is unfair of Williams to cast on him the sole blame for fostering this classless interpretation of social change. We can be thankful, however, for Williams' warning of the dangers of such an interpretation. For Canada, as for Britain, it is not an analysis or a theory. It is "a version, a story, a dream. And when it breaks under pressure, it will become a nightmare."

Williams also finds fault with *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and again attributes the faults to Orwell's social background. Orwell's intention in writing *Animal Farm* was to expose and destroy the myth that Russia was a socialist country and that democratic socialists in the West were somehow obliged to excuse or justify Stalin. Unfortunately in translating an actual historical situation into an animal fable Orwell seemed to destroy not only the Soviet myth but the myth of revolution,

of any revolution, with the result that others have used the book for purposes very different from what he intended. However, Williams finds the interior consciousness of *Animal Farm* far more interesting than its external history as propaganda. He sees Orwell as making an almost complete identification "between the laboring and exploited animals and the laboring and exploited poor". Both are less than human and both will continue to be ruled by an elite of real humans which may be either capitalistic or revolutionary. In Williams' opinion "Orwell is opposing here more than the Soviet or Stalinist experience. In a profound way, both the consciousness of the workers and the possibility of authentic revolution are denied."

He makes the same criticism of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. He claims that Orwell saw the great mass of working people as almost sub-human in just the same way as they would be seen by a prep-school boy before 1914. He sees Orwell as creating "the conditions for defeat and despair" by viewing political struggle as taking place between opposing factions of an elite over the heads of an undifferentiated, unthinking, apathetic mass of workers:

"It needs to be said, however bitterly, that if the tyranny of 1984 ever finally comes, one of the major elements of the ideological preparation will have been just this way of seeing 'the masses', 'the human beings passing you on the pavement', the eighty-five per cent who are *proles*. And nobody who belongs to this majority or who knows them as people will give a damn whether the figure on the other side of the street sees them as animals to be subjected or as unthinking creatures out of whose

"He was, and remained, a left-wing democratic socialist, what would come to be called ... in the Canadian context, a Waffler."

mighty loins the future will come. The incomplete humanity will be too clearly visible in the gesticulating observer himself."

These criticisms are similar to, but much harsher than, the criticisms he makes in the chapter on Orwell in *Culture and Society*. He seems to have forgotten his earlier dictum: "A man cannot be interpreted in terms of some original sin of class; he is where he is, and with the feelings he has; his life has to be lived with his own experience,

not with someone else's." In the present book Williams *does* attribute Orwell's failures to an "original sin of class". In the earlier essay they were attributed to Orwell's position as an exile within society. Deprived of a settled way of life, rejecting earlier relationships and loyalties, asserting his independence, Orwell inevitably felt a lack of community and a sense of social impotence. And when faced, as he always was, with the problem of how to preserve liberty he was forced by his personal situation to dismiss the guarantees provided by a political community and fall back on the liberal notion of an atomistic society where individuals are left alone.

In *Culture and Society* Williams made some very telling criticisms of Orwell's use of prose, but in this book he does not even mention the subject. Even stranger—when one considers the principal concerns of much of Williams's writings and when one remembers that Orwell's essay "Writers and Leviathan" first appeared in Williams's short-lived journal *Politics and Letters*—is the absence of any extended discussion of Orwell's views on the relationship between literature and politics. But this may just be the result of a page limitation imposed on all books in the Fontana Modern Masters series, and Williams's frequent failure to back up his generalisations with textual evidence could possibly be excused for the same reason.

For many people who have read him, and for all who have not, Orwell's is the voice of political disillusion, of the inevitable failure of socialism. It is not the least of the achievements of Williams's study that he explodes that idea. If Orwell was to be disillusioned he would have been by his experiences in Spain. "Yet," Williams points out, "in none of his writing about Spain does Orwell draw what can later be seen as the right-wing conclusion. Though the revolutionary movement to which he belonged had been suppressed, he returned from Spain a convinced revolutionary socialist."

He was, and remained, a left-wing democratic socialist, what would come to be called a Bevanite, or later, in the Canadian context, a Waffler. Discouraged by his inability to find an effective organisational home for the brand of socialism he had envisaged in *Homage to Catalonia*, worn down by poverty and tuberculosis, it is significant that, far from turning against socialism, he continued to advocate it. He never lost faith in the revolution, though he did lose hope that it would come soon enough to prevent a future

of power politics, authoritarianism, and permanent war.

Williams points out the obvious—that Orwell was wrong in predicting that a militarist economy would be shabby and short of consumer goods; we have, in fact, an economy based on permanent war that provides for a controlled consumer affluence. Williams also points out a few things that are perhaps not so obvious—that in projecting a world that is in so many ways so recognisable Orwell has confused us

"... it would be very wrong for us, in working out *our* responses to the situation we face, to come to the same conclusions as he came to."

about the actual structures of our world and how best to resist them. For example: in the West we do not have an omniscient and omnipotent Party such as he envisaged, but we have multinational corporations which function, internally and externally, in much the same way. For example: by attributing all the modern instruments of authoritarian control to one political tendency he has hindered us from recognising those instruments when they appear under different names, masked by a different ideology. For example: the projection of a campaign against sex in order to prevent uncontrollable loyalties has hindered us from seeing the dangers of what has actually happened under the name of progress: the widespread emergence of pleasure without loyalty as a marketable commodity.

While we may question the lengths to which Williams carries his biographical interpretation of Orwell, it constitutes a much-needed reminder that each one of us is living out a biography. Orwell's work was a specific response to a particular historical and social situation; but we have now moved beyond the Cold War and it would be very wrong for us, in working out *our* responses to the situations *we* face, to come to the same conclusions as he came to. We should, however, ask the same questions and continue the same struggle for a libertarian and egalitarian society. In doing so, we should remember and respect Orwell for "his frankness, his energy, his willingness to join in." But his work is not something merely to imitate; it is something to move on from.

DONALD LIVINGSTONE

A Christmas Garland, plucked from the publishers' blurbs

BY PATRICK MACFADDEN

The Last Spick

A stirring account of the building of the great teeter-totter at the Canadian National Exhibition by the deft utilization of imported Mexican laborers. Seen through the eyes of Malcolm McVickers, later President of Overseas Trust and Realty and the project's first overseer, *The Last Spick* relates how McVickers was forced to press mercilessly on in order to complete the fabulous erection before a certain date.

Inevitably, deaths occurred. But something was born too.

Halitosis Speaks

A resident of Ikluvik for 89 years, Halitosis looks back. These memoirs, spoken haltingly into a tape recorder and later translated at Dalhousie University's Centre for Translation, provide a record of a way of life that is gone.

Not for the squeamish, Halitosis' diary details his day-to-day existence over a near-century: the coming of the snow, ("Big White Stuff" in the original), followed by more snow, followed by much more snow. Humorous incidents abound, as when Halitosis (mistakenly) harpoons one of his many relatives.

Here in Ikluvik, one feels, is a life that was lived. Bleak and uncompromising, *Halitosis Speaks* is a major statement about many, many things. The photographs, by Benny Runoff, are worth the price in themselves, catching as they do the peculiar white-black quality of much of the landscape up there.

The Knell of Parting Day

Nell Thomson, the lovable publisher of the outspoken *Parting Day Landing Intelligencer*, reminisces wryly about early days. Best known for her unflinching sense of individuality—her beating-off of namesake Sir Roy has become legendary—on this outing, Miss Thomson displays a sentimental side to her nature that heretofore could only be guessed at: her loving recreation of great-uncle Angus, with his rambling jokes about Chinamen and Micks; the Rev. Micklethwaite with his wry and unfortunately misunderstood affection for little girls; above all, the taciturn Mr. Olaf and his beloved huskie. All this is grist to the Thomson mill.

The Knell of Parting Day evokes a way of life that is, of course, gone. Yet it is a way of life that has a good deal to say to us even today, especially in view of the ecology and the problem of the cities and everything.

Bide-A-Wee: The Great Canadian Gas Stations

Few have realized that the building of the Trans-Canada Highway brought in its trail thousands of white-washed stop-offs that down through the years have helped to make us what we are.

The authors, husband-and-wife team Frank and Ilse Gribble, themselves proprietors (Gord's Body Shop in the Crow's Nest Pass), have produced a handbook that no motorist or snowmobiler should be without. Which comfort stations have keys and which have not, the fastest car wash in Manitoba, humorous legends surrounding the old hand-operated pumps, and finally a plea for a radical re-evaluation of the architectural merits of these friendly drop-ins—none of this should be missed.

Inevitably in such collections, readers will find their own favorites missing. However, the Gribbles have thoughtfully left the last one hundred pages blank for individual additions and comments. This book fills a gap.

Three Balls

A first novel from the pen of Arthur Flash of the Cobourg, Ont. School. Painful and uncompromising, as well as hilarious, *Three Balls* is an account of a young man's growing awareness of his true condition and what he must do about it. Played out, in an existential way, against a backdrop of the Events of Last October or thereabouts, this weighty and important *tour de force* recalls *The Sorrows of Young Werther* by the well-known German freelancer, Goethe. (Both writers know how to handle words awfully well.)

A welcome change from the ordinary, *Three Balls* is not a book for everyone.

The Smith Era:

Nova Scotia Politics in Transition, 1967-70

For the first time, the real story of the most turbulent epoch in the history of Nova Scotia. Now in retirement, ex-Premier Smith tells how he filled the gap left by Bob Stanfield's departure for the federal scene. (He simply moved in and took over!)

Smith's tragedy was that of a man who, seeing that things needed to be done, nevertheless felt that he should not be the first to do them. At a time when change is introduced for the sake of change, however, this stance is refreshing.

Not for the faint-hearted, this unbuttoned account allows the reader to peek into the heart of the Nova Scotia political debate. What's found there may not always be pleasant: but as the author himself puts it in a vivid aside, "We can't always bury our heads in the sand like sheep." Illustrated.

We Stand On Guard For Thee

Fifteen goal-keepers speak out. About playing conditions, ("not always very good"), about coaches, (a painful plea for "more dialogue" here), about fans, ("best in the world"), about their personal philosophies, ("live and let live").

Frank and extremely unbuttoned, sometimes uninhibited, these fifteen essays add up to a no-holds-barred appraisal of what is still the Fastest Game in the World—by the men who keep the puck out.

It wasn't always a dirty game

Politics in Newfoundland, by S. J. R. Noel. University of Toronto Press. 328 pp.

Newfoundland's union with Canada in 1949 was the end result of a century of tumultuous politics that saw the island fall from proud independence to political corruption and financial collapse. Present-day provincial politics are firmly rooted in this history, which has too often been ignored both on and off the island, as if Newfoundland history somehow mysteriously began with Confederation and Joey Smallwood.

Most of the ignorance about the pre-confederation period is due to the lack of well-researched and readable histories. S. J. R. Noel, a Newfoundlander currently teaching at the University of Western Ontario, has now written the first comprehensive primer on Newfoundland's political history.

Politics in Newfoundland traces the island's political development from the first colonization in the 18th century (when the 10,000 settlers had no right of habitation) to 1968 when the signs of Smallwood's subsequent political defeat were becoming evident. But the main value of Noel's book lies in his treatment of the years from the early part of the twentieth century to 1933 when Newfoundland had, like Canada, Dominion status in the British Commonwealth.

Although dealing in large part with personalities, since Newfoundland politics have always been dominated by individuals, Noel's book also traces two major influences on the political life of the island: religion and economic class. The primary division between the people was religious—the Irish Catholic and English Protestant settlers carried with them the prejudices and loyalties of the old world.

But political loyalties were also affected by economic class: there were merchants, who dominated, and there were fishermen, who suffered. This fundamental class rift was recognized by the Fishermen's Protective Union, which gained temporary political power before the First World War.

But there were many factors in the Newfoundland political structure

which kept—and still keep—the producing class from fully realizing its power. Noel points out that Newfoundland politics suffered from a grave weakness at the base of governmental structures, since few of Newfoundland's small and isolated communities could support local governments. Power was concentrated at the top, in the cabinet, and more particularly in the prime minister who had the power to choose his ministers. Another weakness of the system was that since the elected members were the main channel through which public money flowed back to the districts, "politics" and "patronage" were virtually synonymous at the local level.

This top-heavy political structure, combined with the inability of the politicians to use their power wisely, was a major factor in the eventual failure of democratic institutions in Newfoundland. The emphasis in Noel's book is necessarily on politics, since this is his area of research, but he is quick to point out that perhaps no government could have dealt with the economic problems of a small fisheries-based country in a century of world economic instability. Unfortunately, the full economic story of pre-Confederation Newfoundland has not yet been written.

Thus Noel must tell the tale of Newfoundland's decline through her politics—and an unsettling story, it is, acted out in many cases by unscrupulous politicians, out for their own gain and guided by no coherent political philosophy.

However there are exceptions to this, and one of the most significant is William Coaker, a self-educated farmer who single-handedly organized the Fisherman's Protective Union and used it as a political force against the political power of Newfoundland's upper class. Noel spends two central chapters of his book examining the rise and political activities of the FPU. "...nowhere, in North America in particular, has there even been a labour movement that is so little known or so fascinating in its evolution."

Coaker's union aimed to free the fishermen from an exploitive and corrupt financial structure in which they depended absolutely on the merchant's

credit. The union also attempted to make Newfoundland fishermen conscious of their own economic importance and power as the country's productive class—an attempt that is still going on today, as once again the Fishermen's Union (this time under the name of the Newfoundland Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers) is becoming an important political force.

But Coaker's union ultimately failed, largely because the First World War broke out just as it seemed in a position to take power. The Union house members eventually joined an all-party National government during the war years, and Coaker opted for conscription, which many unionists saw as a betrayal of the principles of the FPU. After the war, Coaker was no longer an idol to the fishermen of Newfoundland.

The most serious failure of the Union was its inability to give the Newfound-

Reservations are for Indians

Heather Robertson

A triumph of the reporter's art; a factual, revealing and profoundly infuriating account of life as most native peoples of Canada are forced to live it.

—Robert Fulford, *Saturday Night*

... the most comprehensive and instructive book on the Indians of Canada to date ...

—Dr. Howard Adams, past president, Saskatchewan Métis Federation, *Canadian Dimension*

Forced Growth

Philip Mathias

introduction by Abraham Rotstein

The hit-and-miss character of regional development in Canada ... dramatically illustrated. —*Financial Post*

If Canadians are interested in finding out how desperately stupid their premiers and cabinet ministers are, they should make this book an all-time Canadian bestseller. —*Toronto Telegram*

JAMES LEWIS & SAMUEL, Publishers
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land fisheries a sound economic basis through planned development and modernization. Coaker introduced his fisheries reforms in the unstable atmosphere following the war, when fish exporters were unwilling to support government fixed prices.

"Economically, the failure of the export regulations—and more important still, the failure to implement any of the other farsighted provisions of Coaker's plan—marked the end of Newfoundland's pre-eminence as a fishing country," says Noel.

As Coaker's star declined, that of Sir Richard Squires rose. These two historical figures are of particular relevance to the recent Newfoundland political scene, since it has been said of Smallwood that in him the spirits of Coaker and Richard Squires struggled for control—and that of Squires came out on top.

Squires was one of the most corrupt and unadmirable politicians who ever held power in Newfoundland—and his story is both a frightening and useful lesson in understanding Newfoundland politics.

He was a major force during the 1920s, a critical period in Newfoundland's history as her meagre resources were squandered and the government amassed unpayable debts. Squires was not responsible for the beginning of Newfoundland's financial problems—but in 1921 he found himself head of a country in dire economic trouble, and instead of solving the island's problems he contributed only more corruption. In 1923 he was removed from the premiership by a cabinet revolt, and a British investigation proved Squires to be as corrupt as had been expected. "Politics had long been regarded as 'a dirty game'; now it was proved," says Noel.

In the eyes of Britain, Newfoundland was proving herself unable to deal with democracy. The investigation was a warning that drastic reforms were necessary in the conduct of Newfoundland's public affairs, but the warning was not heeded and by the time of the depression Newfoundland was unable to cope with her massive debt. (The debt was nearly \$100 million by 1931, and interest payments alone were eating up about 65 per cent of the government's revenue).

As a member of the Commonwealth, Newfoundland did not have the freedom to default on interest payments, for this would have been detrimental to Canada's credit and Britain's status.

The end result was that in 1933 a

royal commission composed of a British peer and two Canadian bankers recommended "the suspension of Newfoundland's broken-down system of democracy and its replacement by an essentially dictatorial form of government."

While Noel agrees that the old Newfoundland political order was certainly corrupt, and that the weaknesses of the political system were largely responsible for this, he also points out that the immediate problem in the early thirties was caused not by corrupt politics but by a severe depression in world trade. It was the fears of Britain and Canada that forced Newfoundland to give up her independence: "Though such an extreme remedy may have been a cure for political corruption, in the eyes of those who cherished democracy it was to cure the disease by killing the patient," says Noel.

During the Second World War, Newfoundland's economy recovered, and soon the once financially strapped island was in fact helping to support Mother England. But independence was never given another chance: the Canadian financial backers of Confederation, using Joe Smallwood as a popular front, proved more powerful than the local merchants and lawyers, and Confederation was pushed through.

Noel tells the story of the decline and fall of democracy in Newfoundland in an interesting and perceptive way, and his book is an invaluable contribution to understanding Newfoundland politics. Although he is careful not to speculate about the future, his book is particularly relevant at a time when this fall's election saw the end of 22 years of one-man rule.

But Newfoundland's political history, as interpreted by Noel, indicates that no real change can be expected from a Conservative government, "Sharp electoral swings were common occurrences in the past," he says, and resulted in no fundamental change but only "rancorous political instability."

Will there ever be a political movement in Newfoundland that will bring about a democratic order holding and fulfilling the trust of the people? Noel does not attempt to answer this, but certainly his insight into the little-known union movement during the early part of the century holds forth hope that politics in Newfoundland need not forever be "a dirty game".

SHARON GRAY

Where are the bosses and the strikes?

Minetown, Milltown, Railtown; Life in Canadian Communities of a Single Industry, by Rex A. Lucas. University of Toronto Press, 433 pp. \$5.00.

Over six hundred small (under 30,000) towns dominated by a single industry dot the rural, and particularly northern, regions of Canada. Lucas presents us with a composite picture of life in these communities and of their development. It is a well done, though very conventional sociological study.

Lucas' communities come across as very dull places to live. In fact, many of their residents prefer to think of themselves as just visiting, amassing money until they return to the south. There are few pioneers in these pages, but quite ordinary people thrust into new and isolated towns where a single large company is the only coherent force. There is a small town closeness, characterized more by a prying proximity than by a bond of sympathy.

While some individual sections deal with "minetown," "milltown," and "railtown," using the results of Lucas' own observation in these three communities, questionnaires gathered from other one-industry towns and material from other community studies are blended to create a unified picture of

the typical such town. The book's strength lies in its analysis of the growth and development of one-industry communities, and especially in its description of the everyday lives of town inhabitants—how people react to the isolation, kinds of recreation, the role of doctors, etc. What emerges is a kind of overwhelming neuroticism among the prisoners of these dreary towns. This is the strength of the historical tradition out of which the Lucas book comes, and at once its weakness.

Minetown, Milltown, Railtown decisively fails to deal with politics and power. It is a study of the lives of the ordinary people that are the building blocks of these towns. The executives, the men who run the show, in these towns where a single company often pays all the taxes and owns all the housing and provides all the community services, lurk indistinctly and discreetly in the background. The ultimate owners of these communities, back in Montreal or Toronto or in the States are not once mentioned. In choosing to concentrate on everyday life, Lucas frames the direction of his inquiry in a way that cannot conceive of larger questions. Nor does he successfully link the structure of power to the personal anguish town inhabitants feel.

We catch occasional glimpses of community conflict, but nothing to help us understand the Murdochville strike or the one at Asbestos. Lucas is right, the average one-industry town is too alienating to produce any kind of political coherence, except that of the company. It is here that his politics and method come together. By creating a composite view showing how these towns are similar, he obscures the differences between them. In the shuffle, the most interesting part of the problem goes away.

"In communities of single industry unions are *seldom* militant" (my emphasis). A vaguely guilty footnote explains that he "does not brush aside seemingly notable exceptions." But of course struggles in mining communities in Quebec are "far too complex to comment on here," he says, deftly avoiding these offensively atypical cases.

Many of these communities are in the far north, yet native peoples are scarcely mentioned. Except to note that "Few Indian families urge their children to continue to go to school, or to set a goal for them to strive far beyond school." To say only this is cavalier and simplistic, better not to mention Indians

at all.

Almost 40 pages are given to analysis of the "healing arts" in one-industry towns. It is purely descriptive, notes in passing that many of these communities have no doctors (including four of them with a population of over 5,000), and then goes on to a discussion of training nurses to take their places. Why are there no doctors in these towns, yet lots of them in our large cities?

While advertised as "free of jargon" and for the "layman", Lucas does sprinkle us with a little sociologese, though of a benign variety. So a school becomes a "complex of interaction and

role playing." The book is easy to read, it is constructed in large part around notes and short anecdotes from individual case studies.

It's hard to know. Does Lucas' focus on the commonplace, on the workers and not the bosses, on the similarities and not the differences among these towns, obscure reality? How does he explain strikes, and where is the power? Do these towns consist entirely of people trying to make a fast buck in the north while barely hanging on to their sanity in the isolation? Maybe it is all homogenized and Lucas is right. But his book won't tell us.

MICHAEL D. ORNSTEIN

AN ESSAY BY ROBIN MATTHEWS:

Bush league, "Bush Garden"

Northrop Fry is high priest of one of the most disreputable ideologies in Canadian history: the ideology of sell-out and destruction of the Canadian fact.

That ideology is represented by more than the Energy and Economics giveaways from C. D. Howe to Joe Greene, more than the Norads and Bomarcs and so-called Defence Sharing Agreements, more than the limp Liberal leaderlessness on all issues relating to cultural integrity and sovereignty, from education to electronic geology. It is also represented, in the so-called intellectual realm, by the denial of the very existence of the Canadian community and imagination. The denial of Canadian existence. Except in a global village, Made in U.S.A.

Frye lovers will leap to his defence. They will say he chose to remain in Canada instead of being lured away. They will say he has done Canadian criticism for years. I maintain he will be seen by history as a tragic figure. His tragedy will have been to have been born into an age in which the best minds found themselves devoted to a phony cosmopolitanism, and crippled by a devouring colonialism. It has made him "pure colonial". In his recent book, *The Bush Garden*, he says that Canada is "practically the only country left in the world which is pure colony, colonial in psychology as well as in mercantile economics." (p. iii)

He ought to know. He helped make

it that way. By hard, diligent work.

I've said he is "pure colonial". That is someone who is perfectly happy in a "pure colony", to use Frye's own phrase. Except for dabbling around in the back yard, the "pure colonial" rejects his own society. Or worse, he doesn't really believe it can be significant at any serious point. And he refuses to engage in any consideration that really accepts the implications of the colonial condition. Frye makes the statement about Canada being pure colony without relating it in any way to the imagination in Canada. Impossible. But he does it.

And the pure colonial looks outwards, always, to find importance. Achievement, genuine achievement, happens somewhere else. Greatness is a quality possessed by foreigners in foreign lands. In Canada that colonialism is masked by a fake internationalism, which is expressed by a desire to be "human" rather than "Canadian". But Canadian literary colonials don't become human (globally wise) rather than Canadian (narrowly nationalistic). They become narrowly partisan on behalf of alien literature, and they become inhumanly destructive about Canadian literature. Northrop Frye, for instance, spends a good part of his essay, "Conclusion to a *Literary History of Canada*", arguing that there has never been a great work of Canadian literature. But he is wrong. Canadians have produced—just as other communities have pro-

“...the pure colonial always gravitates to imperial power and supports its position. Imperial powers always deny national cultures and *nationalism* because they are forces which obstruct imperial control.”

duced—great work of literature. And if he is wrong, then there is an essential flaw in his Canadian criticism. A tragic flaw of the pure colonial. Exactly.

The pure colonial looks outward to find importance. Fry does that. He does it with his whole theory of literature. But even disregarding that, in 1962 or '63 he gave a series of six talks about literature, in the Massey Lectures series, on the CBC, to the Canadian people. CBC then published the talks, called *The Educated Imagination*. In that series of lectures delivered to the Canadian people Fry does not once mention a Canadian literary artist or the title of a Canadian work. Not once. He speaks of writers from Aristotle to St. John Perse across the world from Russia to the Riviera to the Mississippi river. But he doesn't mention a Canadian literary artist or a Canadian work. Not one. Where the lectures cry out for an obvious Canadian example in literature, Fry mentions something else. The educated imagination has nothing to do with the Canadian imagination. Fry acted in that series as if there were no Canadian literature. That is "pure colonialism". That is the denial of Canadian existence, without saying a word about it.

And so when he looks at Canada, he can find almost nothing that describes unique Canadian experience. There is almost nothing in Canada, for him, that connects Canadian and Canadian. "What", he asks, "can there be in common between an imagination nurtured on the prairies, where it is a centre of consciousness diffusing itself over a vast flat expanse stretching to the remote horizon, and one nurtured in British Columbia, where it is in the midst of gigantic trees and mountains leaping into the sky all around it, and obliterating the horizon everywhere?" (p. ii, *Bush Garden*). What indeed?

The answer is, of course, that what they can have in common is *Canada*. The two imaginations he speaks of can have in common the social, constitutional, jurisprudential, economic, political, historical, legislative, and imaginative acts and choices and events that all Canadians share as Canadians. They can have their *culture* in common. Simple isn't it? But he denies a cultural tradition in Canada. The culture cannot

provide "distinctively Canadian themes". Because the "forms of literature are autonomous; they exist within literature itself, and cannot be derived from any experience outside of literature". Canadians are in individual regions reading other peoples' literature because it is great.

What, he asks, can someone of the flat prairie have in common with someone surrounded by mountains? Nothing. And so he sees no culture. There is geographical region, the individual, and someone else's literature (read "culture").

What he sees is a confederated assortment of individualist and culturally unrelated groups. Denying a cultural tradition for the Canadian writer, denying major developing themes, denying community in the largest sense for Canadians, Fry comes up with what he calls "the garrison mentality." Canada he says has been "small and isolated communities surrounded with a physical or psychological 'frontier' separated from their American and British (cultural) sources . . ." (p. 225, *Bush Garden*)

The description is false. But it allows him to turn Canadians into unrelated individualists, cultureless, and without great literature. In fact, the story of Canadian settlement (for good or ill) is the story of carrying distinct cultural sources westward, especially British cultural sources. Canada, we remember, didn't have a lawless, individualist, gun-toting Western expansion because a view of social order arising out of distinct "cultural sources" went with settlement. One of the problems with Canadian settlement was a too heavy hand from cultural sources. The fact is that Fry perverts the historical experience of Canada in order to speak of Canadians as individuals and small groups of individuals. It is an amazing piece of sleight-of-hand.

But by postulating a phony garrison mentality and experience Fry can deal with the Canadian as unrooted individualist and ignore all major communal Canadian themes. And he does. His theory is simple. Canadians began in small, isolated communities. They clung together and defended unthinkingly. As a result, he says, they argued, they didn't sing. As cities grew,

he says the garrison (the isolated individual or group) became the metropolis which produced a herd instinct or "revolutionary garrison within a metropolitan society" (p. 231, *Bush Garden*) But with the same result, according to Fry. People argued, they didn't sing. They were rhetoricians, not artists.

But Fry makes clear that rhetoric is not serious literature, and so Canadians have never had a genuine literature.

We will, however, be able to make literature he says, sometime. When we have become alienated individualists instead of community building, culturally engaged members of society. For "as the twentieth century advances and Canadian society takes a firmer grip of its environment, it becomes easier to assume the role of an individual separated in standards and attitudes from the community. When this happens, an ironic or realistic literature becomes fully possible".

Will we, then, finally make Canadian literature, serious Canadian literature? Don't be parochial. Of course we won't. We will make world literature. As Fry says: "The writers of the last decade, at least, have begun to write in a world which is post-Canadian, as it is post-American, post-British, and post everything except the world itself. There are no provinces in the empire of the aeroplane and television, and no physical separation from the centres of culture, such as they are." (p. 249, *Bush Garden*)

But what will the post-Canadian world be like? It is a world becoming homogenized. And: "Because the United States is the most powerful centre of this civilization, we often say, when referring to its uniformity, that the world is becoming Americanized."

So that's it. There's the pure colonial. For the pure colonial always gravitates to imperial power and supports its position. Imperial powers always deny national cultures and *nationalism* because they are forces which obstruct imperial control. It's an old game. And the pure colonials of history have always supported it.

The ideal, for Frye, then, is the individual alienated in a world becoming increasingly taken over by the U.S.A. Though Frye sees Canada as "pure colony", and the world being "Americanized", he sees no meaningful imaginative or real conflict at that level. *Because he believes it is all happening for the good.*

The individual denies all history, all the past, all culture, all place, all politi-

cal boundaries, all legal jurisdictions. He becomes a world citizen in a "pure colony", in a world in which the United States is "gradually imposing a uniformity of culture and habits of life all over the globe." Having dwelled in a kind of Canadian Bush League, we can now enter the Big League by writing world literature in a U.S. civilization.

But there is a fly in Frye's Universal Ointment. And it is called Quebec. Quebec will not behave. He has drawn a picture of a confederated assortment of individualist and culturally unrelated groups moving quietly forward by liberal social legislation into U.S. civilization (the U.S. empire). But the separatists say No.

And here is where Frye really connects to the sell-out generation. Here is where the banner of his loyalty goes up. For he reacts precisely as Pierre Trudeau does and as the continental integrationist economist Harry Johnson does, Harry Johnson has attacked the Canadians who want to make Canada master in its own house as merely disguising their real desire for "white Canadian Anglo-Saxon supremacy". For Harry Johnson, people are simply racists who disagree with his theory that the (U.S.) multi-national corporation is more efficient and desirable than the nation state. Frye tries to be a little more elaborate.

But essentially, for him, the only common denominator in the confederated assortment of individualist and culturally unrelated groups is the fact of Confederation. To break that is to break down the movement to world (U.S.) unity. And so without being in

any way serious about separatism or about the differences among major political movements in the modern world, he in fact dismisses everything but the status quo. "Since the rise of the great ideological revolutionary movements of our time, whether communist, fascist, imperialist, Islamic or what not, separatism has been an almost wholly destructive force." That is precisely what Pierre Trudeau says about nationalism in *Federalism and the French Canadians*.

Frye vulgarizes the aspirations of reasonable Quebecois separatists exactly as Pierre Trudeau does. Separatism is the reactionary side of the "exhilarating and, for the most part, emancipating social revolution" in Quebec, says Frye. Trudeau writes that "around 1960 it seemed that freedom was going to triumph in the end". But it didn't, Trudeau says: "in Quebec today you have to speak of the separatist counter-revolution". Frye writes of the "squalid neo-fascism of the FLQ terrorists". (p. v, *Bush Garden*) Pierre Trudeau writes: "Separatism a revolution? My eye. A counter-revolution; the national-socialist counter-revolution." (*Canadian Forum*, July, 1964)

Both men vulgarize the forces that bring and have brought about movements of Quebec separatism. Frye insists that Canada doesn't exist as a culture except as individualist garrisons, but it must stay together as a political unity. Because separatisms are messy and increase prejudice. Trudeau rejects "the 'national state' as obsolete" (*Canadian Forum*, May, 1964), but he rejects separatism, viciously and

stridently. If the nation state is obsolete, however, people must exist in pocket regions or centralized empires. The pure colonials, Frye, Trudeau, and Harry Johnson choose the latter. They opt for empire.

Of Trudeau, Denis Smith says he has a "persistent tendency to identify his opponents as extremists and absolutists: they are never granted the respect of being reasonable, moderate, informed practical men. They must always be pushed to the extreme so that their claims are made to appear absurd, ignorant, irrational, frenzied, or mad." (*Canadian Forum*, Sept., 1971) When Frye says that in the modern world "separatism has been an almost wholly destructive force", he is engaging in the same tendency.

What appeared to be radical ideas in both Frye and Trudeau have fallen away. Their central place in the trend of sell-out history becomes clearer day by day. And it does so because something is happening in the country. The times are shifting. Canadians are seeing with different eyes. And as they see what has really been happening to the country, to their culture, to their simple human desire for self-respect, they go to the people who are supposed to know. Like Northrop Frye. He stands up before them, not as a prophet anymore, because they can see he is advocating their annihilation. He stands up before them as a scare-crow. As the high priest of one of the most disreputable ideologies in Canadian history: the ideology of sell-out and destruction of the Canadian fact.

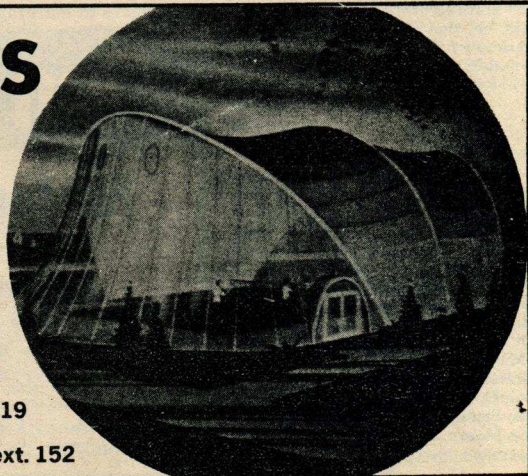
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LAST POST

LETTERS

Dear Last Post:

I found your article on "les gars de Lapalme" very interesting. But there are two points I feel were not clearly stated. First of all you give the impression that the other postal unions did all they could to support them. This isn't quite accurate, since Noel Decarie's Letter Carrier's union, after what they probably felt was a decent delay, signed up the scabs hired to replace the Lapalme drivers. This surely is a poor display of union solidarity.

Secondly, you give the impression that the Federal Cabinet was and is united against the Lapalme boys. This isn't quite accurate, since the Lapalme boys feel that (Labor Minister) Bryce Mackasey has been at least decent and honest in dealing with them. The same can't be said for the rest of the cabinet.

L. P. Lacroix
Quebec City

Dear Last Post:

I don't mind Rae Murphy's not liking *Shrug: Trudeau in Power* by Walter Stewart (November), even though he distorts Stewart's views on many points. A lead review is a lead review and can't help but increase sales. As a ripoff bourgeois capitalist publisher, I am of course interested in nothing else.

It is necessary, though, to expose one of Murphy's mistakes. He detects a conspiratorial chain of command from Peter C. Newman to Walter Stewart to New Press: Newman, having declared open season on Trudeau in *Maclean's* apparently instructed Stewart to write

Shrug and New Press to publish it, since New Press is "Maclean's own publishing house."

This is bullshit. New Press is controlled and managed by three independent editors, Jim Bacque, Dave Godfrey and Roy MacSkimming, and Maclean-Hunter Ltd. owns a minority interest in it. Our relationship to *Maclean's* staff writers is not a privileged one; we compete for their talents in the same way as any other publisher. As for Water Stewart, anyone who reads *Shrug* intelligently can tell that he's his own man; he treads no party line. Perhaps that is why his book has been attacked from every foxhole in the political battleground.

Roy MacSkimming
New Press

Dear Last Post:

There is only one word for Isaac Scott's review of Paulo Friere's work: *Pedagogy of the oppressed* and that is insipid.

It is not that the reviewer really has falsified any particular aspect of Friere's work, it is just that he fails to capture and convey the freshness of his approach. An approach that has been the inspiration of many in Latin America who are involved in the liberation process.

Furthermore, according to several sources in Latin America, Friere's work in Chile had a great deal to do with the fact that Allende is now in power and is able to move ahead with his political program. Thus his theories have been tried and tested; they do work.

Conscientization, the term which epitomizes Friere's approach, was never even mentioned by the reviewer. This term refers to learning to perceive

social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality. (cf. chapter 3)

This is an important notion to keep in mind because even to suggest a similarity between progressive kindergartens and Friere's method is to create a misunderstanding. There is no progressive kindergarten that I know of that creates a critical consciousness in the Friirian sense.

On the other hand, we must be wary of making this valuable work into a Bible. Friere himself is very much committed to learning as a self-correcting process.

Consequently, while Friere is concerned with a pedagogy of the oppressed, perhaps we in North America in adopting and adapting his ideas should concern ourselves as well with a pedagogy of the oppressor.

Michael J. Stogre

Dear Last Post:

The article by Ralph Surette on the disembowelment of ARDA and the plight of the farmers was interesting enough, but it did not devote enough attention to what is possibly one of the most important, developing, progressive groups in Canada today, the National Farmers Union. They combine a flair for militant and imaginative action with exhaustive research and an impressive, left-wing, indigenous political-economic analysis. Articles about and/or by them would be welcome as they receive all too little attention in the radical press, as does the struggle within the Canadian labor movement for militant, democratic, Canadian unions.

Tom Fuller
Taymouth, N.B.

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During the past year, many friends of the Last Post have made financial contributions to the magazine. Taken one by one, these donations have usually been small, rarely more than ten dollars. Taken together, they have played a vital role in the stability of the magazine, and in its ability to publish more often. Since it has not been possible to thank these many supporters individually, the Last Post would like to take this opportunity to thank them as a group for having done so much to ensure the magazine's survival.

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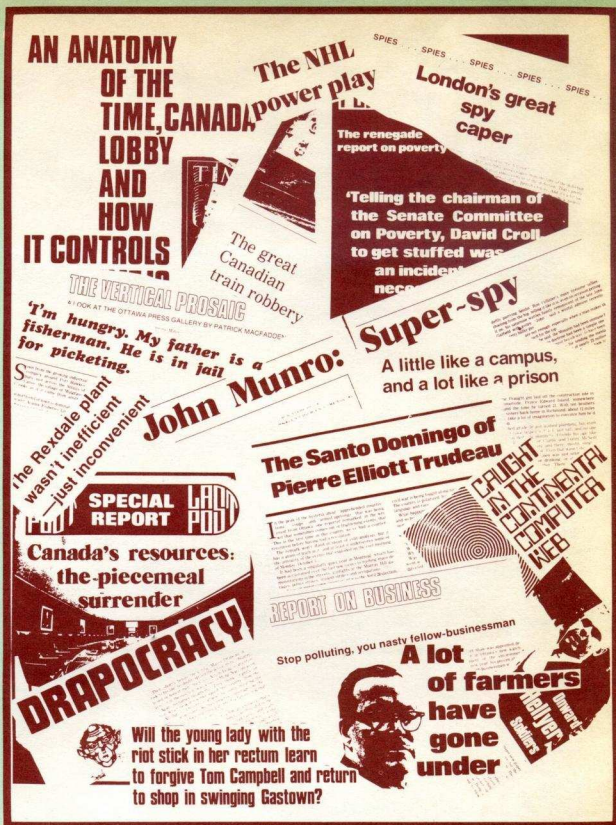
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