

**LADY
POD**

THE LAST POST
Vol. 2, No. 5

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**LADY
POD**

**Vallieres:
the road to
Mont Laurier**



The Toronto Star

**the strange
deal behind
Canada's
largest paper**

Canada, exploited colony, by P. E. Trudeau



AISLIN 72.

LAST POST

THE LAST POST Vol 2, No 5

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Shuffling Ron Basford's big act

Prime Minister Trudeau's late-January cabinet shuffle was full of surprises — John Turner, the most credible potential challenger to Trudeau's leadership, dumped into the graveyard of Finance, and beleaguered ministers like Jean Marchand and Jean Chretien left exactly where they were.

But one aspect of the shuffle was no surprise: Edgar Benson, Bryce Mackasey and Ron Basford all got new portfolios. Each of them had been identified with a piece of highly controversial legislation, among the most controversial presented by the Trudeau government. And because all three bills had upset the same group — business — both the legislation and the ministers concerned had to go.

Benson's tax reform bill is now law, but in a form highly diluted from the original conception of the Carter Royal Commission report and Benson's own White Paper on tax reform.

For the other two bills the future is very much in doubt. Mackasey's labour code amendments, which would have made technological change an area to be negotiated between management and labour, died with the last session of Parliament after running into a storm of business opposition and are unlikely to resurface before the next election.

But the bulk of business venom was reserved for Ron Basford, the energetic British Columbian who occupied the consumer and corporate affairs portfolio for four eventful years. Like the labour code amendments, Basford's draft Competition Act, an effort to toughen up Canada's laws regarding trusts, monopolies, mergers and busi-

ness practices, has been withdrawn for further consideration. Like the labour code amendments, it is unlikely to be passed in anything like its original form.

Basford had a strong commitment to the Competition Act; his successor, Robert Andras, does not. Andras is known as a conciliator, a smoother of troubled waters. He even succeeded in endearing himself to the native peoples when he was a minister without portfolio with special responsibility for Indian Affairs; then, as minister responsible for housing, he had to heal provincial sensibilities wounded by the fractious Paul Hellyer.

When he was appointed to the housing portfolio, Andras said he was "well pleased with the assignment. It's people-oriented — as opposed to finance and trade and things like that." But now, like it or not, Bob Andras is going to have to practice his diplomatic talents on businessmen.

He will have a lot of diplomacy to perform. Business comments on the Competition Act ranged from the mildly critical to the hysterical. "This could destroy incentive in competition," said W. Arthur Johnson, president of the Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce. "There is the distinct impression that business is a bad thing."

Toronto *Globe and Mail* editorialists were reduced to talking in one-word sentences: "Uncertainty. Contempt. Turmoil . . . What the bill needs is not a review; it is a complete rethinking."

The *Globe's* incoherent rage reflected a virtually unanimous opinion in the daily press. The *Winnipeg Free Press*, which ran piece after lengthy, involved



Ron Basford: shuffled

piece attacking the bill in detail, differed from other papers only in degree. Papers from the *Montreal Gazette* to the *Edmonton Journal* conducted sustained campaigns against it; even the super-liberal *Toronto Star* joined in the chorus.

One thing the newspapers curiously failed to mention was that the Competition Act, if passed, could conceivably be used against the highly monopolistic newspaper industry.

The real estate dealers were also up in arms, afraid that the Act would interfere with their lucrative Multiple Listing Services. More generally, critics of the bill included large business and small business, companies domestic and companies foreign-owned. The two most important business organizations, the Canadian Manufacturers Association (representing the giant and mostly American industrial corporations) and the Canadian Chamber of Commerce

(representing a wider range of business interests) both submitted briefs attacking the bill and upholding traditional, conservative business principles.

If those principles include the idea that government should not interfere in the economy, then it is easy to understand why the Competition Act did not go down well. Its main departure from existing legislation is the creation of a Competitive Practices Tribunal that would have wide powers. Every merger of major significance, including every international merger, would have to be registered with the Tribunal, and it could prohibit or dissolve any merger that resulted in a substantial lessening of competition. It could issue orders of prohibition to prevent monopolies from entrenching their position.

The Tribunal would have the power to forbid interlocking directorates, and such trade practices as price discrimination and refusal to deal. It would be a quasi-judicial body, but would be less restricted than courts are by appeal procedures and rules of evidence.

The Act would take much of the

enforcement of competition policy out of the realm of criminal law and into much more flexible civil law procedures. "The courts have to decide things on the basis of beyond a reasonable doubt," says J. J. Quinlan, deputy director of the office responsible for the implementation of existing anti-combines legislation, "and in competition cases it's more often a question of a balance of probabilities. The courts have said on more than one occasion that they're not equipped to deal with economic analysis."

A number of practices, such as price-fixing, identical tenders, and restrictive arrangements, would still be prohibited outright. In fact, the prohibition would be strengthened, since practices that are now offences only if they "unduly" lessen competition would be *per se* offences under the new legislation.

Service industries as well as commodity industries would be regulated under the new Act. And a number of consumer protection measures, including a prohibition of misleading advertising, are included in the bill.

The major responsibility for implementation of competition policy would rest with the Tribunal, which would be in a position to direct the whole shape of the Canadian economy. The international mergers provision could take it squarely into the middle of any effort to limit foreign ownership. If it interpreted the Act strictly, the Tribunal could have a devastating effect on Canadian business.

Of course, it would be unlikely to do so. One Consumer and Corporate Affairs official says its powers would be applied "humanely", and many sections of the Act make it easy for the Tribunal to pursue a hands-off policy. For instance, section 19 starts out with what looks like a powerful swipe at the sports industry, making it illegal "to limit unduly the opportunity for any . . . person to negotiate with and, if agreement is reached, to play for the team or club of his choice in professional or amateur sport."

However, the next paragraph instructs the Tribunal to keep in mind "the desirability of maintaining a

They talk of competition, but they . . .

In the lengthy and not always polite debate over the Competition Act, both its government backers and its business opponents shared one basic assumption: that competition was a good thing, and could be enforced by legislation.

What gave the debate a slightly unreal air was that both of them may have been wrong.

The concentration of the economy in fewer and fewer hands — by 1964, one-third of Canadian manufacturing industries had eight or fewer firms accounting for 80 per cent or more of total shipments — has been caused less by ineffective legislation than by capitalist evolution, a process beyond the powers of a government committed to a market economy to control.

Legislation has sometimes been able to prevent outright monopolies; it has not, however, succeeded in stopping the widespread development of oligopolies, or markets characterized by the presence of a small number of sellers. Not surprisingly, oligopolists do not behave like the competitive entrepreneurs who inhabit the economics textbooks.

"Firms in the oligopoly market," said economist Donald Eldon in his background study to the Economic

Council of Canada's report on competition policy, "will subordinate individual goals such as maximization of profits of the firm to group goals that stress economic security of all sellers and a fair or stable allocation of shares of the market. These group goals may not be compatible with the announced aims of the competition laws which stress the independent action of sellers and which try to assure the public of the benefits of competition."

The shortcomings of competition legislation are particularly acute in a country whose economy is foreign-controlled to the extent that Canada's is. One effect of foreign ownership is that many Canadian industries are characterized not by insufficient competition, but by too much.

"While the Canadian domestic market is small, compared with many other countries," the Science Council of Canada said in its report on Canadian manufacturing, "it is intrinsically adequate for many kinds of industries . . . However, our markets are fragmented by too many suppliers. This fragmentation is brought about by the widespread presence in Canada of branch plants and subsidiaries of foreign com-

panies; particularly United States companies."

The Science Council took note of the draft Competition Act and warned the proposed Competitive Practices Tribunal to "beware of any actions tending to increase this fragmentation."

Foreign ownership also means that monopoly or oligopoly in Canada often occurs as a side-effect of monopoly or oligopoly in the United States.

The prospect of the government of any country introducing effective competition into a computer industry dominated by IBM is an improbable one. The prospect of the Canadian government's being able to do it is little short of absurd.

Administrators of existing anti-combines legislation are aware of the limitations of competition policy as an economic instrument. "I haven't seen an effective answer yet," says A. S. Whiteley, member of the Restrictive Trade Practices Commission, "unless you want to go over to the socialist side and say that industry is so big that it should all be controlled by the state.

"But," he adds quickly, "there's no evidence that the Canadian people are ready to accept that."

reasonable balance among the teams or clubs participating in the sport."

The loopholes and the promises of fair treatment did not mollify the businessmen. In the more than 200 briefs submitted to Basford, they attacked the "arbitrary" powers of the Tribunal, the move from criminal to civil law, the elimination of the 'undueness' principle.

Basford, meanwhile, carried on a one-man crusade for the bill. He has tended to jump with both feet into everything that has fallen under his jurisdiction, from consumer protection to the government's disastrous anti-inflation campaign (his enthusiasm for the latter is one indication of just how relative a term like 'left wing of the Liberal Party' is). The fight for the Competition Act that was to bring him down was undertaken with no less relish.

All through last fall, Basford went

to business group after business group — the CMA, the Chamber of Commerce, the Better Business Bureau — and denied that the Act was anti-business, laid strong stress on the flexibility of its provisions, and urged its passage.

His fight was a lonely one, and few others emerged to join the battle with business. It was not until late November, five months after the introduction of the Act, that the Canadian Labour Congress issued its only comment, a statement by president Donald MacDonald backing the bill and saying, "It is unfortunate that the government has allowed one section of Canadian society to hamper the passage of what is essentially an improved piece of legislation over the existing Combines Act."

The Consumers' Association of Canada was "deeply disturbed" by attacks against the bill and strongly

supported both the safeguards to consumers and the anti-monopoly provisions. But the opponents of the Act, with the media on their side, have swamped the efforts of consumer groups to provide support for it.

Andras has so far been non-committal on the bill. But Transport Minister Don Jamieson and External Affairs Secretary Mitchell Sharp assured the Board of Trade of St. John's, Nfld. February 26 that the final draft of the Competition Act would be "very different" from the original.

The outcome of the unequal struggle seems no longer in doubt. Trudeau's cabinet shuffle was widely interpreted as a pre-election manoeuvre, a move to mend the government's fences before entering the campaign. It was a good indication of which fences it had to mend — and which group a Liberal government considers it absolutely necessary to have on its side.

It's on the books, but not much more

The epic battle of the United States government against monopolies and trusts, culminating in the 1911 breakup of Standard Oil, has no real parallel in Canada.

Although anti-combines legislation has been on the books in this country since 1889, it has always been hamstrung by half-hearted enforcement and opposition from the courts.

It's not as if there was much anti-combines activity to worry about. From 1923 to 1940 only 20 reports were made covering mergers, trusts, monopolies and price-fixing in the whole of the Canadian economy. In 1940, the budget of the entire government anti-combines machinery (one commissioner, one or two assistants, and clerical help) amounted to only \$62,000.

With the inclusion of a plank opposing combines in the Liberal Party program, there was a spurt in investigations after the war. The Commissioner moved away from controlling small-time price-fixing into investigations of international cartels. But although many of the prosecutions in the area of price-fixing were successful, attempts to deal with mergers and monopolies were thrown out of the courts.

In 1949, Commissioner F. A. MacGregor resigned when the gov-

ernment refused to publish a report by his Commission on combines in the flour-milling industry, and the government was forced to appoint "A Committee to Study Combines Legislation." The Committee recommended increased activity by the Commission in several areas, but the government failed to implement all but one minor proposal.

The staff and budget of the Anti-combines Branch rose somewhat, so that by 1960 it was spending \$500,000 and had about 20 professional staff members. Its 1971 budget was \$2.6 million.

But its effectiveness remained limited to the area of price-fixing, where in the 1950s it undertook 15 successful investigations, while mergers and monopolies remained unchecked.

In 1959, the Diefenbaker government brought in amendments weakening the Act and they passed substantially unchanged the following year. Politically, the amendments were a retreat by the government, but they reflected some economic reality and constituted a more honest acknowledgement of the government's unwillingness to stop monopoly practices.

A 1964 case illustrates just how little could be done under the Act. A conspiracy among ten road-paving

companies cost the provincial and municipal government of Ontario an estimate \$30 million over the fair cost of the work done. Action was taken against the paving concerns, but was thrown out of court on technical grounds. The Ontario Court of Appeal called the actions of the companies "completely devoid of business ethics" and labelled their methods "reprehensible in the highest degree" — but upheld the court decision.

In 1966, the government undertook the re-examination of competition policy that led eventually to the Competition Act. The keystone of that re-examination was the Economic Council of Canada's 1969 Interim Report on Competition Policy, which contained a fair summary of 80 years of anti-combines activity:

"There appear to be few economic grounds for supposing that the total impact of the legislation on economic efficiency has been more than modest . . . The Act has mainly been effective in restraining only three kinds of business activity deemed to be detrimental to the public: collusive price-fixing, resale price maintenance, and misleading advertising . . . But in respect of corporate mergers, which are the most important means by which changes in industrial concentration take place, the act has been all but inoperative."

Chou, Dick, Leonid—what possibilities

He comes across as a rather sleazy individual. His facial expressions often remind one of the villain just after Nellie pays the mortgage on the farm, and when he stood up at the grand banquet in Shanghai to announce that "this was the week that changed the world", he sounded as convincing as if he had just gone through the ritual of asking the waiter for the check.

But he is the president of the United States, and he represents that country as it, and the world the U.S. so profoundly influences, go through one of the most convulsive changes in history. So it does seem rather simple-minded to put down his well-televised visit to the Great Wall as so much electioneering, and to see the whole exercise in China as a PR stunt.

Nixon's travels are not over. In a matter of weeks he will be the first U.S. president to visit the Soviet Union since Roosevelt attended the conference at Yalta. Again, we can expect to be subjected to the rolling platitudes while prime time will again be filled with the pundits plugged into satellites asking each other "what's it all about?"

Shortly after Nixon announced that he was going to China, a correspondent asked an official in the Chinese foreign ministry what subjects would be discussed during the visit.

The official answered simply: "Taiwan".

Such an undramatic reply, out of keeping with the wild speculations and flashes of insight that were filling the papers was, as any editor would suggest, quite deservedly buried in the back pages of the papers that even bothered to carry it.

But about Taiwan, something has radically changed. And perhaps by looking at that, one can put a number of pieces together.

While it will stubbornly hang on, the U.S. has suffered a gigantic military and political defeat in Asia. It exercised its power to the limit, but could not defeat or encircle China. Nor could it assume the mantle of empire left by the British, French or Dutch. With the rise of the financial and industrial power of Japan (and with it, potential military power) the U.S. could no longer afford the notion that Taiwan was China-in-exile. In that sense, Nixon was forced to go to China, simply because — as the mountaineers say — it was there.

In Europe, a roughly analogous situa-



Mao and Dick: far more than just electioneering

tion exists. The fiction that the Second World War is not over, that borders are still in flux, can no longer hold and, as Richard Nixon says, we are moving from confrontation to negotiation.

There seems little point in trying to extrapolate all kinds of secret meanings and potential deals from Nixon's visits. For example, it seems just as foolish to suggest that the Chinese and the Americans can form an anti-Soviet Axis today, as it was a few years ago to envisage a U.S.-Soviet alliance to curb the 'rude and very prolific Chinese Communists.'

The new theories of convergence are as phoney as the old ones.

The essential issue in Soviet-American relations is Europe. Reality dictates that the U.S. finally decide to stop obstructing the proposed conference on European security, which would set and establish secure borders, paving the way for the withdrawal of foreign troops and end both the Warsaw Pact and NATO. That is plenty to talk about in Moscow, just as Taiwan was a big enough bone for Nixon to swallow in Peking.

The Americans, of course, have a lot to gain by coming to some accord with China on Taiwan. Thus, it is rather interesting to see how this question is placed in the communique that resulted from Nixon's meetings with Chou.

Taiwan is, says the communique, "the most crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States." It goes on to establish that this question can only be solved by the Chinese themselves. A point China has been making since 1948.

In this connection, the U.S. has gone farther in accepting the Chinese position than Canada or any of the other Western countries who have opened diplomatic relations with Peking during the past year. The formula has usually been that the recognizing country merely takes note of China's claim to Taiwan, but the Americans accept China's rights to Taiwan. So much for anybody's 'Two Chinas' policy.

Catching the point right away, Prime Minister Sato of Japan announced the day after the communique that his government has always considered Taiwan as "part of the People's Republic of China", and perhaps more to the point announced that the official Japanese export-import bank will be permitted to give finance to China.

The effect of the American-Chinese communique was to clear the way for the future re-unification of China — after old Chiang dies, or even before. There have been many stories circulating about the Chinese holding open offers of governmental positions to

Chiang should he return — Vice-Chairman of China's military commission for example.

The reunification of China could turn out to be an economic boon to the U.S. Taiwan isn't just a smallish island off the coast, ruled by a clique of elderly carpetbaggers. It is also a highly industrialized part of Asia. There is over \$720 million in foreign investment in Taiwan, with \$300 million from such U.S. giants as Philco-Ford and RCA. These American plants will come with reunification, but the conditions under which they come provides the base for future negotiations between the U.S. and China. The Americans could just find themselves in a rather advantageous position in the Chinese market — with their factories right there — thus outflanking the Japanese and Germans who are crowding around trying to get licensed operations established.

Such things, of course, take time. The rapprochement between China and the U.S. did not develop overnight. Indeed, long before the first American ping-pong player warmed up to serve, the Chinese appeared ready to shelve temporarily the matter of Taiwan in favour of journalistic and cultural exchanges with the U.S. as stepping stones to wider relations.

This was back in the 1950s, during the period of the Bandung Conference and the 'five principles of peaceful co-existence'. The Americans would have none of it then, but as their whole Asia policy began to collapse — Korea, Vietnam, Pakistan and the rising power of Japan — it was obvious by the end of the 1960s that some changes had to be made.

The first signals came with Nixon's relaxation of travel and trade restrictions, then he quietly (but the Chinese must have noticed) withdrew the patrols of the 7th fleet in the Taiwan Strait in 1969 and the stage was set.

If it is not too difficult to imagine important trade and commercial possibilities arising from a detente between the U.S. and China, the same must be true, in spades, between the U.S. and the USSR. Beginning with a dribble in the middle '50s, East-West trade has grown spectacularly. But for the most part the Americans have been frozen out. Now with the possibilities of relations between China and the U.S., American industry gets into the picture in a big way. If a similar detente can be arranged in Europe, think of the possibilities. Hard-pressed American industry — the export of high-technology products from the U.S. has actually declined over the past six years

— may be able to make a come-back in Eastern Europe.

The U.S. may be in serious trouble, but it still has plenty of economic leverage.

The question arises: Why Nixon? He of the meanderthal right. To pose that question assumes a power in the American Presidency that could somehow transcend the interests of American capital. Nixon, of course, wants to be president and will do anything and use everything to get back in November. But whether he does or not can hardly be more than incidental concerns for, say, the Rockefeller interests who

expect to run U.S. foreign policy in any future administration just as they have run Nixon's policy through Henry Kissinger, as they ran Johnson and Kennedy through Dean Rusk, and as they ran Eisenhower through John Foster Dulles. Presidents may come and go but G.M. still has to sell cars, Chase Manhattan money, and Standard has to get its oil.

The U.S. has a lot of things to talk about with both the Soviet Union and China, and throughout all the hoopla and hooley, a lot of that noise in the background must be the sound of gigantic gears being shifted.

New Brunswick: North against south

You don't need a crystal ball to see that new political forces are emerging in New Brunswick. The silence of the two principal political leaders is deafening, and we might wonder why. Premier Hatfield did make an appearance in February at Bathurst's "Day of Concern", but he and the other political heavies were clearly upstaged by the fiery Mathilda Blanchard. When Le Parti Acadien emerged a few days later, Hatfield let his French-speaking lieutenant, Finance Minister Simard, make the predictable statement that the party had no future. Louis Robichaud said the same thing on a recent Montreal morning radio show, but back home his successor, Robert Higgins, has scarcely uttered a word.

Of course few politicians, whether at Ottawa or Fredericton, want to become enmeshed in language controversies. So their line has been that New Brunswick's two ethnic groups have always worked smoothly together. So they have: the English run the show with the quiet co-operation of a handful of 'establishment' francophones. Now the truth is out.

Look at the remarkable shift in two traditionally conservative Acadian organizations, La Societe nationale des Acadiens (SNA) and the French language daily, *L'Evangeline*. For years the SNA busied itself with endless conventions, cultural get-togethers with Louisiana Cajuns and annual meetings. Mind you, it was an important lobbying force for the creation of the French-speaking L'Universite de Moncton and L'Ecole Normale. And in 1968 the SNA



Hatfield: strange silence

sponsored a mildly controversial junket to Paris in the hopes of getting money and personnel to bolster the sagging fortunes of things Acadian.

But now the SNA has a new image in the person of its executive secretary, Hector Cormier. As a high school teacher, he led the fight for a francophone superintendent in Moncton's district 15. He also led another campaign that successfully blocked the construction of a super-bilingual high school for 5,000 students. When the school board fired him, Cormier was a cause celebre himself and the SNA's surprising decision to hire him represented a major

shift for that organization. In the past few weeks, Cormier has been a vocal supporter of Moncton's militant franco-phones.

L'Evangeline always has had financial troubles, despite the 200,000 potential readers. Its principal backer has been La Societe L'Assomption, now building a multi-million dollar office-hotel complex in downtown Moncton. Shortly after senior staff changes and long before last fall's appearance as a tabloid, *L'Evangeline* began giving prominent coverage to events that were either played down or ignored by the Irving media. It also carried hard-hitting press releases by CRAN (Le Conseil Regional d'aménagement du Nord Est), a federally-funded animation group that clearly was on the outs with the Liberal political establishment.

For the first time, Mathilda Blanchard's letters and critical statements about economic conditions in Gloucester county were carried in full. The controversial film "L'Acadie l'Acadie" was warmly praised weeks before it finally was shown last January in Moncton. It was the same with Leonard LaForest's "La Noce n'est pas fini", a semi-documentary set in the Lameque-Shippagan region. In short, regular *L'Evangeline* readers knew in 1971 that a real storm was brewing among the Acadians, especially those under 30.

New Brunswick's new political lines, which may become visible in the forthcoming federal election, are no longer between the Liberals (French) and the Conservatives (English). Both parties have been outflanked by the new forces at work and neither seems to be doing much about it. Admittedly, Hatfield's Tories were a surprising upset in the Kent County by-election, but that seemed to be due to very local conditions not directly related to the militant Acadians to the north and south. It was also before the confrontations in Moncton and Bathurst, as were his Acadian appointments to the offices of Lieutenant-Governor and Ombudsman. The Liberal party has been strangely silent under Robert Higging, a Saint John Irishman with sympathy for but little rapport with his francophone followers.

Meanwhile, Mathilda Blanchard plans to run as an independent in the federal campaign, which should provide a serious threat to Herb Breau, the Liberal incumbent who has been under a cloud ever since his family was implicated in an Opportunities for Youth expose of welfare housing con-

struction in Tracadie.

The language issue has been getting all the media's attention but the real division in New Brunswick these days is economic disparity between north and south. Clearly, no one has a solution for the depressed north shore, except some negative ones. The people have indicated repeatedly that they don't want to leave, and that they shouldn't have to. The governments continue to investigate while troping for answers.

If Le Parti Acadien centred in Bathurst could link up with the bilingual crusaders in Moncton, we could see an end to the worst system of pork-barrel politics in Canada. We might even see an economic approach that places people's needs before those of the corporations.

Just imagine: Instead of huge long-term timber concessions, the timber industry could be diversified under cooperatives. Instead of non-residents buying up old farms and the shore line, public funds could establish community pastures and land banks. Instead of make-work projects, our young people could be paid to recover the country-side from three generations of industrial

YES, BUT WILL IT CURE THE COMMON COLD?

"These anxieties do not hide the great potential of a Sino-U.S. detente. Maybe peace can be forced on Indochina. Maybe a Pacific community is in the making including Japan, Russia, Southeast Asia, Canada and Australia as well as China and the United States. Maybe the clear and present example of China will help reform non-Communist Asian societies, and even help solve the problems of pollution and women's lib in America."
— David Van Praagh, *Globe and Mail*

devastation. Instead of forcing the poor from the lands so the middle class can have their 'national' parks, we would have community rinks, golf courses, swimming pools, health clinics.

It's all been said before. And tomorrow we'll learn that more of our money is going to provide a cheap government loan so a Swedish factory can make semi-finished bowling balls at Quispamsis. Balls.

Saskatchewan:

Business' latest ploy

For more than two years, the National Farmers' Union and its president, Roy Atkinson, have been trying desperately to forge Canadian farmers into a strong national organization.

Now, in Saskatchewan at least, the NFU is being challenged by a new organization — the United Farmers of Saskatchewan. The new organization is being promoted by the Saskatchewan Federation of Agriculture (SFA), a group of about 20 community groups such as the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool and the Co-op Creameries, and the Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities (SARM), representative of local governments in rural Saskatchewan.

The United Farmers would bring the SFA and SARM together into one organization. Agricultural representatives, elected in each municipality, would meet delegates of the groups forming the SFA. It would be a wedding of farmers and agri-business in a "farmers parliament."

The NFU recognizes the proposed organization is a threat to its attempts to bring farmers together in one united organization, and are violently opposed. They argue that the municipalities should stick to local government and stay out of farm policy. The union also opposes any amalgamation between farmers and agri-business. They argue that farm policy should not be made by farmers; farmers and agri-business are incompatible bedfellows.

Impetus for the United Farmers has come mainly from executive members of SARM and SFA. There has been a growing polarization since the NFU withdrew from the SFA a couple of years ago. The Union claimed the Federation was inept without direct farmer representation, and that what was good for farm business was not necessarily good for the farmers.

The United Farmers is an attempt by the SFA to gain credibility by acquiring a direct membership base. For SARM, which will provide the base, it

means official entry into farm politics. SARM leaders say there is a vacuum to be filled since no organization now represents the majority of farmers. They also insist that farm policy formulation must unfold both farmer and business.

The provincial NDP government is in the middle of the battle. Historically, the CCF and the NDP have been partners of the farm union movement and the socialists have strong support among the union membership.

On the other hand, SARM speaks for all the rural municipalities. The SFA has not been too influential as a farm organization, but it contains the powerful Saskatchewan Wheat Pool.

So far the government has refused to

take sides. However, the provincial NDP convention last December instructed the Blakeney government not to allow the enabling legislation for the United Farmers. Legislation is necessary because those municipalities joining would have to tax their residents to support the new organization.

The SFA voted in January to accept the new organization. In their recent convention, farm delegates voted by a narrow margin to accept it as well. The NFU immediately discounted the close vote, in which only 41 per cent of the 532 delegates voted for the new organization.

The competition among organizations to represent farms is unfortunate at a time when the number of farmers

CUTE

"The book has interesting photographs, which highlight the peasant homeliness of Soviet space design — compared with the streamlined look of NASA."

—Sarah White reviewing book on Soviet Space program in *New Scientist*.

and their political strength is declining. SARM and SFA leaders are actively promoting the new organization. The NFU have vowed a fight to the finish. The provincial government is caught uncomfortably in the middle.

It should be an interesting summer in Saskatchewan.

Newfoundland:

Bowaters wins, the people lose

Some of the more important issues on which last October's Newfoundland election campaign was fought were absent from the province's second campaign in five months. One of these was Joey Smallwood, now without a House of Assembly seat for the first time since 1949. Another was the government's option to buy the giant Bowaters paper mill in Corner Brook.

New premier Frank Moores cancelled the option and the studies which had been ordered to test the feasibility of a government takeover of the plant soon after taking office in January, and dismissed the plan as nothing more than a "political gimmick." He said a PC government "would not go in and disrupt reputable companies with world-wide respected reputations."

This ended a controversy that had lasted since August, when Bowaters officials informed the provincial government that they were planning to close down their 100,000-ton-a-year Number Seven mill in November, putting 350 mill employees and about 800 loggers out of work.

The announcement shook Corner Brook, Newfoundland's second city, to its roots. For many workers and families, it meant that the security they had known since Bowaters — the city's only industrial employer — had first moved there in the twenties was gone.

Hit only slightly less hard was then Premier Smallwood, about to face a tough battle for re-election. Meeting company and public officials in Corner

Brook the next day, he lashed out at the multinational Bowater empire for favouring its other mills over its Newfoundland operation.

"I suspect that this mill is paying toll, tribute, cash to the international Bowaters Corporation," he said. He asked for, and later received, a three-month option from the company to purchase their Newfoundland assets, valued at near \$100 million.

Many shared Smallwood's suspicions that the Corner Brook mill was not keeping up with technological change, that Bowaters were giving priority to the other mills in the United States to supply the North American market, and that they were generally neglecting the Corner Brook operation. Paper makers charged that the company failed to keep up with changing technology, and that the Number Seven machine was obsolete from the day it was bought.

Both party leaders realized the seriousness of the Corner Brook situation, at least in political and election terms. Moores called on the Liberals to "end this approach (the proposed takeover) and handle Newfoundland's problems in a sensible way."

On October 2, a meeting between provincial cabinet ministers and Bowater brass solidified the deal. A nine-month option to purchase the Bowater assets was given the provincial government for \$200,000 (with 75 per cent of that returning to the Government if and when the purchase is made).

"We will not allow it to fold," said Smallwood during the crisis, echoing Newfoundlanders' fear of 'losing' industry at any cost. "We intend to keep it going if it is the last thing we do."

But nationalize? Not quite. The mill would be bought by the Government and run by a crown corporation. But, said the premier, "I don't think that a crown corporation would operate the mill indefinitely. It might be wise to wait for markets to improve, as they will, before turning it back to private enterprise."

What was termed 'nationalization' of the Bowater property was nothing more than a promised temporary takeover in the heat of an election. The Government bails out the failing industry when the profits are sinking, re-establishes it, and then hands it back to the capitalist to let him start making his profits again.

The reaction to the takeover by labour leaders, journalists and politicians was twofold. On the one hand they were rightly suspicious of Smallwood's motives in the matter. On the other, they were naive toward their economic benefactor.

"The announcement (of the proposed takeover) . . . raises many fears as it's always questionable whether the government can run industry as efficiently as private enterprise," wrote the head of the local pulp and paper union. His questioning was echoed by editorials in the largest provincial daily newspapers.

Bowaters was exonerated, the government solution itself was the target for the criticism. Perhaps it was because of the people's old attitude of fearing to bite the hand of the industry that meagrely feeds them.

The Bowater operation began in 1925, nineteen years after the first Newfoundland mill at Grand Falls started production. Bowaters had to be bailed out of bankruptcy in the thirties.

"The concessions granted the two companies were unique in North America," writes Gwyn. "They paid no stumpage fees on company-owned land, undertook no conservation or reforestation, and paid virtually no taxes to the provincial government."

Instead of taxes, Bowaters paid the province \$150,000 a year. By contrast, in the first year after Newfoundland entered Confederation, the company paid \$3.5 million in Canadian corporation tax to the federal government.

The Bowater operation in Newfoundland is worth \$100 million; it owns the Bowater power company and has timber rights to 11,000 square miles of Newfoundland — more than one quarter of the island.

Bowaters Newfoundland is part of a huge international England-based empire, established in a dozen countries, employing more than 28,000 people, and with its own fleet of ships. Its assets are in the neighbourhood of half a billion dollars. Its North American empire, started at Corner Brook, accounts for half those assets, including the largest newsprint mill in the United States, in Tennessee, opened in 1954 and producing 430,000 tons of newsprint a year.

Bowaters closed its machine on December 31, putting 350 men out of work. Though an upswing in markets this year is being predicted by the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association in its report released in January, Bowaters Newfoundland has no plans to restart and rehire.

And through it all, the company's image was hardly tarnished.

(*St. John's Alternate Press*)

SEXUAL REASSURANCE IN THE GLOBE

"Wiffen's a big, impressive fellow, with blondish hair and a full mustache, a real man's man folksinger. (Sadly, even the jacket picture on this album makes him look more effete than muscular.) And his voice fits into the same category: it's deep, strong and resonant, full of confidence and power."

—Jack Batten, *Globe and Mail*

James Bay: Predetermined whitewash

Although the report of the joint federal-provincial task force on the environmental impact of Quebec's James Bay development project emerged as a whitewash, the authors of the study left some broad hints that that was not entirely the result they wanted.

The report repeatedly acknowledges that there is not enough data on which to base firm conclusions (this is largely due to the fact that the environmental study was not undertaken until after Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa announced the project at a highly theatrical press conference last April).

It also includes, as an annex, what it calls an "impact matrix" — a graph which "lists, on the one hand, actions which can affect the environment, and on the other hand, the natural characteristics of it which will be susceptible to impact. The matrix thus provides an identification of all possible interactions between man and nature."

Then comes a caveat: "The careful reader may detect contradictions between the matrix and the text of this report; some of the hypotheses originally made have been modified or rejected after subsequent consideration." The careful reader may also wonder just what caused the "subsequent consideration."

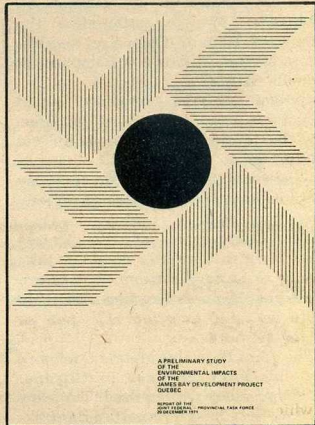
The matrix notes, for instance, that the generation of energy can have an "important impact" on the "extraordinary physical aspects" of the land, and on residential, commercial, industrial, and mineral utilization of the soil.

As results of the actions contemplated in the James Bay project, it foresees "important impacts" in — at least — the areas of bird, mammal and fish life, soil utilization, the recreational use of land, "cultural modes", and perhaps most important, human activities.

Most of these are touched on in the report proper, which however comes to the conclusion that "the Task Force can identify only one ecological impact of potentially alarming proportions and significance."

This is the impact on the native people of the area — also the most important impact pointed to by the matrix.

In other areas where there would be "smaller and/or less significant"



impacts, the report recommends "intelligent planning" . . . "prior consideration" . . . "the construction program must be sufficiently flexible."

Perhaps the chief limitation of the report is the way in which the Task Force interpreted — or rather did not interpret — its mandate:

"It has not been interpreted as answering the question 'From the environmental impact point of view, should this project proceed?'. It is understood that the decision to proceed has been taken. This report therefore does not reflect any personal or collective reservations held by the Task Force members as to whether society really needs the project, whether there are more economical and less environmentally disturbing ways of harnessing energy resources to meet Quebec's future electric power requirements, or whether society should strive to restrain its electrical demands rather than increase its supply. It was assumed that these fundamental questions had been adequately considered by the authorities prior to making their decision to proceed."

In other words, okay boys, you've made the decision, it's our job to come up with a justification for it.

Given that as a starting point, it is remarkable that the Task Force is as critical as it is.

Guyana: The Alcan caper

Not much of a fuss was raised in Canada when the Government of Guyana announced its decision in February 1971 to nationalize the Demarara Bauxite Company, a subsidiary of the Aluminum Company of Canada (Alcan).

Canadian public sympathy toward Alcan was not at its height at that time, and the government of Canada did not feel moved to take energetic action in the interests of a company the majority of whose shares were in foreign (chiefly American) hands.

The Government of the United States, which normally does not take kindly to nationalizations in western hemisphere countries, was strangely mute on the question. Or not so strangely mute.

The giant Reynolds Metals Company also has large holdings in Guyana. These were not nationalized. The New York-based Chase Manhattan Bank extended an \$8-million loan to Guyana for the first part of compensation payments to Alcan. And a U.S. trading company, Philipp Overseas Inc. of New York, a subsidiary of the Baltimore-based metals conglomerate Esasco Corp., was appointed a marketing agent for the newly-formed Guyana Bauxite Company (Guybau).

Guyana announced the nationalization of the Demarara Bauxite Company (Demba) in February 1971 after many months of discussion with Alcan, the parent company. In March the Guyanese Parliament agreed to pay \$160 million compensation over 20 years at 6 per cent interest. The agreement became effective July 15, 1971.

Opposition reaction was lively. Concern was expressed that Demba workers would have trouble repatriating their pension funds, which were held by the Royal Trust Company in Canada.

The government was attacked for paying compensation to a company which had already made enormous profits from the exploitation of Guyanese bauxite, although these profits (between 26 and 34 per cent) were reduced to nine per cent on paper through price manipulations between Demba and Alcan.

The opposition People's Progressive Party (PPP) repeatedly demanded that the Reynolds Metals Company assets in Guyana also be nationalized. They argued that it was necessary for Guyana to have full control of bauxite resources in order to set up a viable transformation industry to strengthen the country's economy. They also contended that in not nationalizing Reynolds, the ruling People's National Congress (PNC), far from confronting imperialism, was fighting "against small (Canadian) imperialist interests in favour of big (U.S.) imperialism". Evidence of this was the \$8-million Chase Manhattan Bank loan to Guybau, a \$10-million loan to Guyana from the U.S.-controlled World Bank, and an increase of Guyana's sugar quota in the U.S. Many suspicions were confirmed when the U.S. government remained silent on the nationalization of Demba, contrary to their general attitude elsewhere.

The Georgetown *Daily Mirror*, organ of the PPP, brought in a foreign parallel:

"We cannot forget the lesson of Iran when Mossadeq nationalized the Persian oil companies. When Mossadeq was deposed two years later, the Americans were able to get hold of 40% of the shares, thus muscling in on what was formerly under Britain's sole control. America manoeuvred itself into oil just as it is manoeuvring itself into a secure position in bauxite."

THE SILENT MAJORITY . . .

"In the most extreme — and most commonly held — form, the view is that the United States sponsored the military coup d'etat of April 21, 1967, or had advance knowledge but failed to warn the Canellopoulos Government.

"I don't believe the United States was responsible for the coup," Mr. Canellopoulos said, "but 99 per cent of Greeks do."

—*New York Times*, February 13.

* * *

"WASHINGTON (AP) — Vice-President Spiro Agnew strongly defended Greece's controversial regime yesterday against criticism which he said was spawned by 'the fiction built up by a few dissidents, most of whom have Communist leanings.'"

—*Associated Press*, March 10

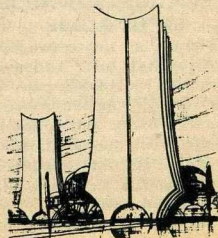
The PNC, led by Forbes Burnham, narrowly defeated the PPP, led by Dr. Cheddi Jagan, in the 1964 Guyanese elections. The country had been shaken by racial strife in 1962 and 1963, and there was a series of riots and strikes directed against the PPP. A report in the *New York Times* on February 22, 1967, commented that these troubles "undoubtedly played a major part in bringing about Dr. Jagan's downfall". This report also revealed that the American Central Intelligence Agency had undoubtedly played a major part in instigating these troubles.

Jagan, an avowed Marxist, was considered pro-Communist by the Kennedy administration, which feared another "Cuba" in the western hemisphere. The CIA, working under the cover of the Public Service International Inter-American Affairs Branch of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, helped organize strikes against Jagan in 1962 and 1963.

HAVENBROOK REALTY COMPANY

Residential Apartments

Toronto



Not only did CIA agents provide advice on organizing and sustaining the strikes, but the CIA also provided funds to unions hostile to the PPP and made food and medical supplies available to pro-Burnham workers.

Burnham, favoured by the U.S., was sworn in as Premier on December 14, 1964. Guyana achieved full independence from Britain in May 1966, and in December 1968, in an election fraught with irregularities, Burnham's PNC increased its parliamentary strength.

During a visit to Guyana last year, Chinese vice-minister of foreign trade Chow Hue-ming signed a \$15-million trade pact with his hosts, and agreed to purchase 50,000 tons of bauxite in 1972 alone. While Guyana's trade with China increases, her trade with Canada diminishes. Guyana maintains only

token trade with eastern Europe, to the chagrin of the pro-Soviet PPP. This appears to be a case, like Pakistan, where American and Chinese interests curiously converged.

Alcan's record in Guyana is not a glowing one (See *Last Post*, vol 1; no 3). Alcan resisted years of efforts to have an aluminum smelter installed in Guyana, which a United Nations study indicated could pay for itself out of profits after 10 years. The Alcan company town of Mackenzie is one where workers are effectively segregated from the technical and managerial staff. Company spokesman J. G. Campbell's tales of low profits during Demba's fifty years in Guyana are not very convincing: when Arthur Vining Davis, father of Alcan president Nathaniel Davis, died in 1962, he left a personal declared fortune of \$400 million.

Alcan's general picture, though, is not as bright as it has been. Profits are slumping because of a surplus of aluminum on the world market. A company report stated that "earnings were adversely affected by the nationalization of the Demarara Bauxite Company" (if Demba's profits were as low as some Guyanese had been lead to believe, the nationalization might not have had such adverse effects). Alcan will now have to rely more heavily on its bauxite deposits in Jamaica.

Alcan was a loser in the Demba nationalization, but victory did not go to the people of Guyana. What happened in Guyana is something that occurs with great frequency in Canada: U.S. capitalists acquired control over property formerly held by Canadian capitalists. Imperialism suffered no defeat.

Newfoundland's aid to Panama

"I have met very few men in my life who were so talented as John Doyle is," wrote former Newfoundland premier Joey Smallwood in his new column in the *St. John's Daily News* on January 26. "His name will go down in history as one of the great industrial promoters in North America, and perhaps the greatest Newfoundland has ever known."

Doyle and Smallwood are close personal friends, and Doyle was a leading political supporter of Smallwood. Smallwood, for his part, was a leading supporter of Canadian Javelin Ltd., which Doyle controls. (See *Last Post*, vol 2; no 1.)

The day the ex-premier praised his buddy the industrial promoter in his column, John Crosbie, Newfoundland's Tory minister of finance, gave Doyle an ultimatum: he must either repay the \$24 million the Newfoundland government advanced him for the construction of a linerboard mill in Stephenville, or he must withdraw from the project. Crosbie suggested that Doyle use the proceeds of a \$30-million loan from a West German bank to repay the Newfoundland government the money he owed.

The German loan was made to the Javelin Paper Corp., a subsidiary of Canadian Javelin, and was to be used to finance the linerboard mill project. The loan, taken out on December 22, was unconditionally guaranteed by the Smallwood government, but no formal back-up agreement detailing how the money was to be used was ever signed. Six days later Smallwood discovered that the \$30 million was in a Paris savings bank awaiting transfer to Panama.

Panama, where John C. Doyle lives most of the year, is described in the tourist brochures as an idyllic land of sun and water: "Gentle streams cut through the sand and disappear, splashing into the warm and gentle Pacific." But Doyle's affection for the country goes beyond the scenery and the warm climate.

In an advertising supplement in the *New York Times*, the Panamanian Ministry of Industry and Commerce proclaimed: "The new Panama stresses these fundamentals which are essential to our economic growth and to the flourishing of foreign investment, which we so warmly encourage:

"* An honest, stable government administered by professionals

"* A history and heritage of capitalism and private enterprise with international orientation

"* A profound respect for private property and contractual agreements

"* A policy of government encouragement of investments through generous incentives . . .

"* A dollar currency with no foreign exchange controls."

Naturally, this was all very attractive to a man like John C. Doyle, particularly since Pavonia, S.A., a wholly-owned subsidiary of Canadian Javelin, had had "encouraging drilling results from its copper discovery in Chiriqui province in western Panama."

Wyatt Hegler, vice-president of engineering of Canadian Javelin, announced that the company has established the existence of copper-molybdenum mineralization over an extensive area within the Cerro Colorado property of the Pavonia concession. In large areas the copper mineralization encountered in drilling was only a foot or two below the surface, permitting open-pit mining. Extensive additional drilling will be required before the total tonnage and grade can be accurately estimated, but it may be possible to extract as much as 200,000 tons of copper concentrate *per day* once the mine begins operation in 1975 or 1976. The deposit is 3500 feet wide, on the average, about 14,000 feet long, and up to 7,000 feet deep.

Investments of over \$500 million may be required to set up the exploitation of the Cerro Colorado deposits and the processing operations which Javelin hopes to carry out in Panama. The \$30-million German loan guaranteed by the Newfoundland government will come in handy. Much of the rest is expected to come from Japanese sources. Additional capital is also forthcoming from Europe and North America. Not all the money will be needed immediately. The world copper market is currently depressed, and the company feels it would be worthwhile to take its time.

This is not Doyle's first mining venture in Central America. Javelin also owns the San Cristobal silver mines

in El Salvador. Javelin's head office is in St. John's, its executive offices in Montreal, and its engineering offices in Ottawa, formerly in the building which now temporarily houses the Embassy of the People's Republic of China. Sarto Fournier, Jean Drapeau's predecessor on the throne of Montreal, is a Javelin director.

Doyle expects the attitude of the Panamanian government to be a co-operative one. Most of its leaders were educated in the United States. The Panamanian currency, the balboa, has an official exchange rate of one U.S. dollar, but this is negotiable. There is no central bank, and the tax laws are attractive.

The recent nationalizations of mining properties in Chile and Peru will no doubt be profitable to Javelin, which will be able to meet the demands of American companies such as Anaconda and Kennecott which have lost their major sources of supply. "How the misfortune of one makes the other happy!" remarked Denis Giroux, financial writer for Montreal's *Le Devoir*.

A Japanese consortium led by the Mitsui Mining and Smelting Company has been given the go-ahead to exploit copper deposits at Petaquilla, also in Panama, but these will probably not be adequate to meet future Japanese demands, so that Japanese companies including Sumitomo, are interested in Javelin's deposits.

Since Doyle is interested not only in mining the copper but in processing it as well, he will have to convince the Japanese and other firms interested to process the ore in Panama and not in Japan or other countries. The pollution factor may play in his favour, since Panama does not have very tough pollution laws.

The U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission has confirmed the veracity of the company's claims, so that Newfoundlanders can remain secure in the knowledge that a loan guaranteed by their government will probably help John C. Doyle multiply his fortune.

Attention Radio Stations

Daily radio reports available from the
Angela Davis & Harrisburg trials

Dispatch News Service, the organization that exposed the Mylai and Tiger Cage atrocities, offers daily radio reports direct from Harrisburg and L.A. on the Berrigan and Angela Davis trials.

Dispatch correspondents Ed Zuckerman and Karen McConnell give 1-to-3 minute radio reports every day the trials are in session. (Ed also provides a Friday wrap-up from Harrisburg.)

Mr. Zuckerman is former Editor of the Cornell Daily Sun and has worked for the N.Y. Times and Wall Street Journal. Ms. McConnell has been covering the Angela Davis trial for Pacifica Radio Network and now also reports daily for Dispatch's radio service.

For a free trial report from Ed and Karen, phone (202) 232-4612 between 5:30 PM and 7 pm (EST). The daily Harrisburg reports cost only \$2.50 per week, and the Angela Davis coverage costs only \$3.50. Your station can receive both for only \$5.00 weekly.

WAD
PSSD

Election shells:

The Progressive Conservatives completed a survey poll on March 16 that shows them how to win a substantial portion of Quebec in the next Federal election. The extremely elaborate poll — there are two copies of it, one in Stanfield's office safe, the other in Montreal — demonstrates that Claude Wagner, Quebec's former strongman justice minister and now a criminal court judge, substantially beats Pierre Elliott Trudeau in a straight two-man popularity race. In a more elaborate, multi-choice contest among possible Federal entrants, Wagner wins out, four per cent ahead of Trudeau. The poll claims that 31 per cent of the Liberal vote in the last election can be considered a "floating vote," and that 56 per cent of it would opt for Wagner . . .

If Wagner was pitted against Gerard Pelletier, in his Montreal riding of Hochelaga, the Secretary of State would lose his deposit. The poll indicates that now, even without the benefit of a campaign, Wagner could deliver 30 seats to the Tories if Stanfield picks him as his Quebec "lieutenant" . . . The problem is, the Liberals have also taken soundings. And this is one of the reasons there has been no firm decision to launch an election right now. (In the last election, over 50 per cent of Quebec voters went Liberal; only 70 per cent cast ballots, compared to 82 per cent in the provincial election.

About the Liberal hacks dep:

That mysterious list of 20 Quebec backbenchers the Federal Liberals want to get rid of isn't simply due to a desire to improve the quality of the people's representatives. Jean Marchand is running scared in his home riding of Langelier (Quebec City) where he won narrowly against strong Creditiste and Conservative challengers who evenly split the vote. Predictions are the Creditistes will easily take it next time. Mr. Marchand, who is in charge of that hack list, wants a safer seat. His choice: rich, bourgeois Louis-Hebert in Quebec City, currently occupied by Liberal non-entity Jean-Charles Cantin. Would you believe Senator Cantin?

* * *

The heaviest pressure on the U.S. government to retain the safeguards for Canada in the auto pact is coming neither from Canadian workers nor from the Trudeau government, but from the Big Three auto companies. The Big Three are happy with the way the pact has "rationalized" the industry and are opposed to switching production to the U.S. as Washington wants . . . Prime Minister Trudeau's enthusiasm for giving interviews to reporters in controlled situations has reached mania proportions: one Ottawa reporter had submitted a request for an interview in 1968 and heard nothing about it — until early March, when the P.M.'s office called to tell him they had received his request and the prime minister



by Claude Balloune

LAST
PRESS

could be made available . . .

The right-wing Toronto tabloid paper, the *Toronto Sun*, comprising the dregs of the defunct *Toronto Telegram*, led by Commie-hunter Peter Worthington, has been lambasting the government's Local Initiatives Program for their policy of giving grants to "Satanists" (The Process Church), to freak haven Rochdale College, and to "underground" papers, charging the government is funding revolutionaries . . . The *Toronto Sun* received \$15,000 in LLP grants this winter.

In an effort to polish up its tarnished image in business circles, the Liberal government approached several leading businessmen to fill the vacant position of deputy minister of consumer and corporate affairs. The businessmen told them, sometimes abusively, that they would not. The position finally went to Gordon Osbaldeston, a career civil servant.

Quote of the month:

"The degeneration of an empire begins with the degeneration of womanhood" — Phil Gagliardi, B.C. Rehabilitation Minister . . . Why does the Security and Intelligence Branch of the RCMP have such a huge file on Monique Leyrac? She's one of the few Quebec singers who is non-political . . . It seems two of Quebec Premier Bourassa's bodyguards have been fired — for security reasons . . . Two former executives of the Quebec City Press Gallery suggested to Bourassa that it would be a nice gesture to donate a colour TV to the news boys as a Christmas gift. He did . . .

The Bourassa government's belated Christmas gift to the Parti Quebecois was an electoral reform plan to change riding boundaries to eliminate some of the more flagrant injustices demonstrated in the last election when the PQ won only seven seats out of 108, despite garnering 24 per cent of the vote. A *La Presse* poll by poll recount shows that the reform would add three Montreal seats to the PQ representation, giving it ten seats in the proposed new 110-seat National Assembly. The Liberals, who got 45 per cent of the vote, would have gotten 81 seats, up from 72 . . .

* * *

On the federal scene in Quebec, the Conservatives are pondering the demands of one of the contenders for the right to lead Quebec Tories in the next Federal election. Seems the fellow, who now has a secure position which he would lose, wants a guarantee on future earnings to make it worthwhile to him and his family. Figure mentioned is in six brackets. Tories are pondering his political worth.

* * *

Phil Sykes, the *Toronto Star* man who broke the story about CLC president Donald MacDonald's threats to start a purge of Quebec unionists because of the QFL's alleged

drift to Marxism, got an enormous amount of flak from the paper. The *Toronto Star*, it seems, was pressured by CLC and NDP friends who didn't want the story out. The CLC denied the story's veracity, but it has since been confirmed unquestionably.

Heavy journalism dept:

The *Straus Editor's Report*, a tip sheet distributed out of Washington to editors at papers and broadcasting outfits, suggests this tack on covering China: "Although talk show hosts and dee-jays trying to call Chairman Mao or Premier Chou En-lai in person have not yet succeeded, there's no charge for the intriguing conversation with the Shanghai operator, who generally asks the name, race, rank in company and nature of business of the caller." . . . CBC executives are getting nervous about their morning radio editorial program 'Commentary' since the British government office complained about one commentary that opposed the psychological torture of internees in Northern Ireland. An investigation was ordered into how that commentary got on the air . . .

Cabinet Minister Martin O'Connell is in charge of Information Canada, and has been feverishly defending the battered department in recent weeks. He admitted in a private gathering in Toronto last fall that "I don't understand what the hell is happening in that outfit." . . . The very first person to respond favourably to newspaper ads prepared anonymously by a "group of concerned businessmen" calling for the elimination of the right to strike in the public sector was Royal Bank chairman Earle MacLaughlin.

* * *

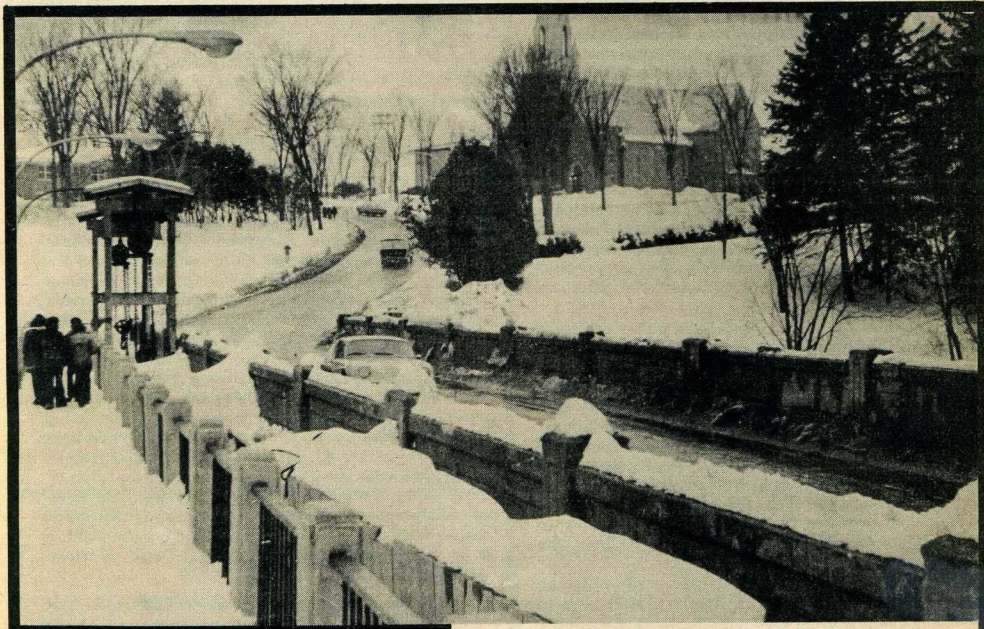
Canada Month, the far-right magazine of U.S.-style John Birch opinion, refused to participate in the Alternate Press Symposium organized in Ottawa by Gerard Pelletier's department. Reason — it was being subsidized by government. The editor of *Canada Month* claimed its refusal was based on principle, adding he would have participated if it was subsidized by business. Less principled alternate pressers from across the country, including some Last Posters, did go. Despite queasy feelings by some, delegates got a taste of "the good life", living free, high off the hog, signing food and bar chits in the hotel while the taxpayers picked up the tab.

* * *

Until very recently, the general wisdom of Ottawa wags held that Trudeau would call a late June election, while unemployment statistics were on the rise, and the memory of the Liberal winter faded. Last minute information reaches us from excellent sources that seven out of the eight chief advisory group of the Liberal Party are now against a spring election. Thinking is aimed at the fall, when the Canadian economy, in their opinion, would benefit from the Nixon heat-up of the American economy as he heads into his own November vote.

Pierre Vallieres ...

The long road to Mont Laurier



Photos: David Crandall

by
**Nick
Auf der Maur**

Pierre Vallieres sat quietly in the basement bar in Mont Laurier discussing his seeming about-face as outlined in his latest book, *l'Urgence de Choisir*. It was Saturday night and only a few people, three of them visitors from Montreal, were watching the hockey game on TV. The rest of the bar was bare, with only a scattering of people.

"A year ago," explained a young unemployed man, "all the bars were packed on Saturday night. Now there isn't much happening."

Mont Laurier, 140 miles northwest of Montreal, used to be a bustling town of 10,000, the hub of Labelle county, serving a regional population of about 30,000. There used to be a lot of work in the wood mills and in the forests. Big companies moved in after the war and the population doubled in a decade. The biggest employer was Canadian International Paper, which had cutting rights on a swath of land 270 miles long by 105 miles wide.

Today, CIP and the other companies have closed down operations. Close to 65 per cent of the population is either

unemployed or on welfare. Today, the only industries left are Bellerive Veneer Plywood (which has an accredited apprentice program, so it only has to pay the Quebec minimum wage of \$1.35 an hour) worth 105 jobs, and SOGEFOR, worth 200 jobs. SOGEFOR, a subsidiary of the state Societe Generale de Financement, closed down for a while, but demonstrations forced the government to reopen the operations. Today, SOGEFOR is operating fairly successfully with experimental worker participation in management, while the government casts about for a buyer.

Mont Laurier is where the Parti Quebecois' latest member recruit is trying to put his theory into practice. The theory is that independence is the first step towards liberating the Quebecois working class.

"Independence is a detonator, a revealer," he explains. "I see it as bringing, at the same time, a political and cultural revolution."

The original goal of a revolutionary, egalitarian socialist workers' state remains the same. Only the tactics have changed, he says. Not everyone agrees.

Bourgeois nationalism, as represented by the PQ, his leftist opponents claim, can only abort and smother the increasing development of working class consciousness necessary to bring about those original aims. It subverts the profound meaning of the independence movement. Traditional left critics claim he has moved from one bankruptcy to another — from terrorism to the politics of an ambitious, but colonized middle class.

But Pierre Vallieres has a sharp, keen mind. The dedication is there. And as he sips his beer in a small town bar, he listens dispassionately to the arguments against him. He seems slightly tired of the arguments, answers politely, but without apparent zeal.

Mont Laurier is Pierre Vallieres' new home, geographically and politically.

For almost seven years, Vallieres has been identified as the ideological backbone of the Front de Liberation du Quebec. But last December, in articles published in *Le Devoir*, he dramatically announced his break from FLQ terrorism, or 'armed agitation' as he called it, and urged fellow revolutionaries to work within the electoral system, at least for the time being.

After he renounced the FLQ and came out of clandestinity, a young woman responsible for a local initiatives program saw him interviewed on TV and decided to invite him to Mont Laurier to work on a welfare project. He accepted.

"It's what I wanted to do," he says, "doing concrete organizing work with ordinary people. What I'm doing in Mont Laurier is what I dreamed about. You can't liberate Quebec by concentrating on the island of Montreal."

The road to Mont Laurier was a long and tortuous journey for Pierre Vallieres. It parallels the long, twisty road of the radical Quebec left in the past decade as it evolved from a faction-ridden coterie of activists with no base into a significant, working-class-based movement.

Whether Vallieres is still on the same road, or whether he has veered off in confusion is a matter of intense debate in Quebec left-wing circles. Nevertheless, his decision to abandon advocacy of 'armed agitation' and the dream of a mass revolutionary group in favour of the Parti Quebecois shouldn't have come as much of a surprise.

It is just the latest chapter in the often confused, sometimes aberrant, and occasionally rational history of the recent growth of the radical left in Quebec in the past decade. The left has followed a contorted path punctuated by explosions of violence, schisms and about-faces as it groped along

in the Quebec ferment.

Although its history contains elements of tragi-comic buffoonery, along with selfless devotion, there can be no doubt it made an impact, an effective one.

The radical left acted as a sparkplug, its strength provided mostly by students and intellectuals. Today its roots are much more widespread. This is not to suggest that the growth of the independence movement and the Parti Quebecois, the radicalization of the trade unions and the surge of worker-citizen activity is due entirely to the efforts of the radicals. But they were there, pushing, pulling, agitating. And, of course, the conditions and contradictions were there too.

In the 'forties and 'fifties, the main left thrust was provided by the Communist or Labour Progressive Party. Popular movements, especially during the Bloc Populaire era, were based in nationalism, often encompassing pronounced corporatist tendencies.

In the opening years of the 'sixties, the struggle against *le Duplessisme* triumphed—facilitated by Duplessis' death — and the Quiet Revolution was on. So was the newly regenerated independence movement. Veteran warriors against Duplessis were regrouping, reappraising their goals while a new generation of activists were entering the scene.

Pierre Vallieres was involved with the liberal group around the magazine *Cite Libre*, headed by Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Gerard Pelletier. Nationalists of various hues started to group in the Alliance Laurentienne and, later, the Rassemblement pour l'Independance Nationale (RIN).

One of the first socialist independence groups was known as "Action Socialiste pour l'Independance du Quebec", composed partly of a group which split off from the Communist Party in the 'fifties over the national question. (Its founder, Raoul Roy, is chiefly remembered for his efforts in convincing radicals to adopt the 1837 Patriotes' red-white-and-green flag over the official Quebec Fleur-de-Lys, which was denounced as being Bourbon monarchist in inspiration.)

The ASIQ and a succeeding group known as the Mouvement Ouvrier pour la Liberation Nationale (MOLN) dissolved, with much of the membership going over to the RIN, a party which politically never progressed much beyond the centre.

In the early part of 1963, Vallieres was writing for *Cite Libre*, drawing increasing praise from Trudeau and Pelletier. Before long, Trudeau was persuaded that Vallieres was a logical choice to take over co-editorship of the magazine. However, they had a falling out over their approach to the independence question and Vallieres left after about a year.

At the same time, a new party was formed called Parti Socialiste du Quebec (PSQ), the result of a schism over Quebec nationalism at the founding of the NDP in 1961. Neither the PSQ nor the NDP ever got off the ground as a result of the split. However, various PSQ leaders such as Michel Chartrand and Jean-Marie Bedard were distinct influences of the left movement.

Meanwhile, the FLQ burst out in the summer of 1963. Its original members had disparate political views, sharing only a penchant for extremist action.

In 1964, after securing a job as a reporter at *La Presse* through its then editor-in-chief, Gerard Pelletier, Vallieres helped to form the Mouvement de Liberation Populaire (MLP). The MLP, along with the earlier Parti Pris group, produced most of the new wave of left-wing thinkers in the province. Intellectually, the Parti Pris group was to

have the most serious influence on the development of the left.

Factionalism crept into the MLP and it too disbanded. Some went over to the PSQ, some — notably the group surrounding Mme. Andree Feretti — joined the RIN, while Pierre Vallieres and Charles Gagnon restarted the FLQ. A year later, both wound up in jail, their home for the next four years or so.

It was a heady period for Quebec radicals. There were abundant issues, demonstrations and bombings. There was a plethora of political groups, some serious, some filled with crazies, others simply amusing. The Quebec student union, UGEQ, was at its peak. But the student movement crumbled under a wave of anarcho-syndicalist sentiment which was the imported rage at the time.

The radical activists at that time were for the most part young students or dropouts, with an equal mixture of working and middle class backgrounds. Their political views and formation (or lack of them) varied from romantic Guevarism to tough Algerian revolutionism; their most consistent common denominator was inflamed passion and nationalism. One of the more colourful activists at the time was Francois "Mario" Bachand. He had been involved in the 1963 FLQ and was released from jail in 1966, when he helped found the Jeunesses Socialistes du Quebec (JSQ), a PSQ youth group.

While not a brilliant political thinker, Bachand was something of an organizational genius when it came to demon-

strations. He was actively involved in some of the more violent and flamboyant newspaper-headline events in the 'sixties, including the McGill Francais march. (he was arrested at the time in connection with an incident involving the seizure of police spy equipment at a political meeting, but jumped bail and went to Cuba. Two years later, he was found executed with a bullet in the back of his head in Paris.)

In late 1967, after Rene Levesque broke with the Liberals to form the Mouvement Souverainete-Association, the left wingers tried to take over the RIN. Pierre Bourgeault fought them off and then took most of the RIN into the newly formed Parti Quebecois. The far left formed something called the Comite Independance-Socialisme (CIS) and the Front de Liberation Populaire (FLP), the latter meant vaguely to be the above-ground version of the FLQ.

By this time, Pierre Vallieres' book, *Les Negres Blancs d'Amerique*, written in jail, had gained wide currency. He was acclaimed as the ideologue and theoretician of the Quebec 'revolutionary' movement.

Numerous groups and movements sprang up, and disappeared in a mire of political wrangling and discussion about the 'correct political line', the proper attitude towards nationalism, etc.

Various FLQ groups continued their agitating activities.

Meanwhile, the various forces of nationalism—both progressive and reactionary — were consolidating. The consolidation culminated with the establishment in 1969 of the Parti Quebecois, along social democratic lines.

The PQ is not a mass party



by Charles Gagnon

The historic role of mass parties everywhere has been to unify the working classes and to advance the revolutionary struggle. Wherever the masses have not organized autonomously, and have accepted the leadership of "their" national or nationalist bourgeoisie in its struggle for independence, as in many African countries, for example, the revolution is yet to come. Not only has imperialism, that "common enemy" of the national bourgeoisies and the working classes, not lost an inch of ground but the capitalist social relations, far from being destroyed, have been consolidated.

The anti-imperialist struggle is in the end only one aspect of the anti-capitalist struggle even if at certain moments it is the principal aspect. An anti-imperialist struggle in North America in 1972, which was not at the same time anti-capitalist would not solve anything, especially not "the national question" or "national independence." The history of Quebec shows that the specific contradictions of Quebec society, those of language, culture and social and political discrimination tied up with these, cannot be resolved within the capitalist system, especially if one takes into

account the geographic and demographic situation of the Quebecois. The nationalist ideology of the petit bourgeoisie is demagogic in the sense that it misunderstands and at the same time covers up the very contradictions for which it claims to have a solution.

The PQ is precisely not a mass party. It is the party of the nationalist faction of the Quebecois middle and small bourgeoisie."

That the PQ vote in the last election was mostly workers proves first one thing: workers make up the vast majority of the voters. It also proves that their interests are thwarted most by the present system. But that doesn't change the fact that the PQ has an essentially bourgeois strategy: electoral politics combined with an extremely fastidious legalism; that this party takes more and more anti-union, anti-popular movement stands, going even so far as to openly condemn those of its members who dare to become involved with working people in street demonstrations or even to officially disassociate itself from the popular struggles in which its militants were engaged.

—from *Le Devoir*

Nationalist forces gained appreciably in strength as they demonstrated their ability to capitalize on increasing frustration and disenchantment within the province. But also inevitably, the years added a certain maturity to the left opposition.

Marginal fringe-group politics were increasingly being replaced by the activities of citizens groups, the development of FRAP and trade union politicization. Larger and larger portions of the population started to become involved; bus drivers and miners, construction workers, teachers and nurses.

And then came the October crisis and repression.

Some say it was a step forward, some a step backwards. What it did do was cause a change in political thinking by almost everyone; liberals, nationalists and leftists.

The growing political awareness focussed more and more attention on economic problems and flagrant social injustices. Nationalist sentiment no longer sufficed as the principle motor force of the independence movement.

By the fall of 1971, the political situation had changed so much that the people involved in the FLQ and other similar groups had to re-evaluate their position. The left was no longer isolated, the 'prise de conscience' everybody was hoping for was starting to take effect.

It was in this context that Pierre Vallières produced his essay, published in *Le Devoir*, announcing his decision to throw in his lot with the Parti Quebecois, a party which would like to count David Rockefeller as its friend.

After their arrest in 1966, Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon spent almost four and a half years in prison facing various charges. "When I got out," says Vallières, "I found the (political) situation had radicalized. People spoke out much more; the fear, the colonized mentality, wasn't as strong . . ."

Still, he didn't really have much contact with what was going on. He was out on bail and the police were watching. People, "not only my friends and acquaintances but journalists and others," treated him as a sort of celebrity. Everybody was asking his opinion on matters — "it prevented me from thinking, taking a position properly."

He was determined to do an 'autocritique', an examination of his political position. But the October Crisis intervened and he once more was locked up.

Released on June 23 last year, he went through the same thing again late in the summer. Some people in the FLQ (he won't elaborate beyond this) asked him to go underground.

The intention was to examine the consequences of the October Crisis, do an 'autocritique' and plot the future of the FLQ.

Vallières now seems very relaxed, talks easily and is less studied and intense than he used to be. He appears to be well-integrated into the local Mont Laurier atmosphere; the people seem oblivious to his notoriety and accept him on friendly terms.

Error to underestimate the PQ



by Pierre Vallières

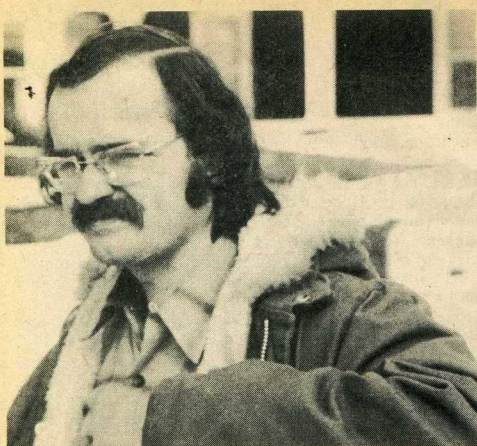
In *Revolutionary warfare: a method* (1961), Che Guevara stresses that it should never be excluded *a priori* that a revolutionary change in a given society can be started by an electoral process. All the better, it should be added, if this change can be achieved totally by this process. Armed struggle as a revolutionary strategy and mode of mass political action cannot be initiated or developed if the masses think they can achieve their aspirations by a given electoral process. The revolutionary is he who can find a strategy and tactics adequate for the existing objective situation and who is capable of foreseeing those that will be appropriate when a change in the objective situation radically modifies the balance of forces facing each other and, at the same time, imposes new modes of action upon the masses, be it to take hold of political power or to defend what they have already conquered.

In the present situation it would be an unpardonable error for the partisans of a real social revolution in Quebec to underestimate or, worse, to deny what the Quebec people can gain by the strategy which has been defined by the Parti Quebecois and which, for

the first time in Quebec, allowed broad sectors of the population to participate directly in a process aiming for the conquest of power and by this collective practice to understand the mechanisms, implications, limits, dangers and possibilities of it; briefly, to become aware of the strengths and weaknesses of their means of action, and of the importance of their unity and solidarity in the face of what threatens them indistinctly and seeks to divide them to better dominate and exploit them.

Who will deny the merit of Rene Levesque's assertion that in Quebec 'the struggle for national emancipation must be carried on in the classic disorder of a social revolution' and that we must consequently find the means of leading the national liberation struggle and the social liberation struggle 'while not forgetting that without national freedom we shall have neither the maturity nor the instruments needed to carry through any social, economic or cultural renovation which is not illusory or truncated'?

—from *Le Devoir*



Pierre Vallières in Mont Laurier

Physically, the 35-year-old former Felquiste is in the best shape he's been in years.

"When I started (the *autocritique*)," he says, "I wasn't convinced that armed agitation was not a good thing. We discussed the whole thing for days on end. Quebec, imperialism, capitalism, Canada, independence, tactics, strategy."

"In prison, we talked about the PQ a lot, with guys like Chartrand, Gagnon . . . we felt it was more or less a progressive force; that if it got power it would modify the situation. But I had refused to see the PQ clearly . . .

"I refused to see anything except what I was defending.

"When we went into the '*autocritique*' we hadn't thought of supporting the PQ. But after days and days and weeks of discussions, one guy said: 'well, if we carry this thing to the logical conclusion, we should be supporting the PQ.'

"I had thought of that, but never expressed it. And when he said it, I said, automatically . . . whoa! wait a minute . . . sentimentally, I wasn't for it . . . but in the end . . . I didn't think it would go so far."

Vallières says that after the '*autocritique*' was over there was unanimity on the question of 'armed agitation' but not on the PQ.

It is, of course, on this point that many of his old colleagues, particularly Charles Gagnon, disagree vehemently with Vallières.

Vallières defends his thesis that independence is a prerequisite for socialism — "independence requires the unity of all those who want it."

"Socialism," he says in answer to his critics, "they want socialism. But in China, for example, it would have been illogical to call for socialism without calling for the unity of all Chinese to repel the Japanese.

"Ho Chi Minh dissolved the Communist Party to form the coalition National Liberation Front. He did it in alliance with the Vietnamese petit bourgeoisie. Lenin made an alliance of intellectuals and workers.

"The PQ is a popular party, the only party of the masses."

While some radicals have accepted his new position with equanimity, others have reacted quite bitterly. Reaction from this latter group ranged from calling him a "confused dolt" or "a naive petit bourgeois" to "an enemy of the working class."

There was little argument, from Charles Gagnon or anyone else, about the fact the FLQ was no longer of any use. The main point of contention is that the Parti Quebecois is considered simply the party of the Quebec petit bourgeoisie seeking to replace the English managerial elite in the province; that its interests can in no way be seen as coinciding with the interests of the Quebec working class.

Vallières says that he "got really tired of leftism. Of all those *groupuscules* with the correct line, the correct analysis. I lost too much time fighting with guys who were only interested in intellectual games. I don't refuse theoretical debate, but I only want to do it with people who have done concrete things for a while and have been able to draw conclusions.

"The left — the so-called official left — in Montreal is too ideological. The real left are the people who are making a concrete effort, who are working with immediate problems, who are transforming reality.

"Some people call me a petit bourgeois opportunist, but these are guys who are blinded by a myth."

The myth may have come tarnished somewhat, but the radicals keep ploughing on.

Except for imported dogmatism, such as the Trotskyists, or the Western-styled Maoists with exotic names such as the *Intellectuels et Ouvriers Patriotiques de Quebec* (IOPQ), there no longer is a proliferation of political groups claiming to have the Word. Most radicals have integrated themselves into more conventional institutions such as the unions, citizens' committees or their places of work.

A few of the *Comités d'Action Politique* in Montreal, the local units of the city-wide opposition party FRAP, such as CAP *Maisonnette* and CAP *St. Jacques*, carry on the more flamboyant revolutionary style of the 'sixties, but most are simply neighbourhood citizens' groups, albeit politically sophisticated, such as the ones in *St. Louis*, *St. Edouard*, *Papineau* and *Cote-des-Neiges*. In the unions, it is increasingly the rank-and-file who are taking radical positions. In the small towns, like *Cabano* and *Mont Laurier*, the ordinary workers, prodded by unemployment frustration, are the ones taking to the streets. The new radicalism is at the grass roots.

In the 'sixties, the portrait of a Quebec radical was long hair and revolutionary rhetoric. In the 'seventies, he is just as apt to wear a hard hat and speak in simple down-to-earth terms.

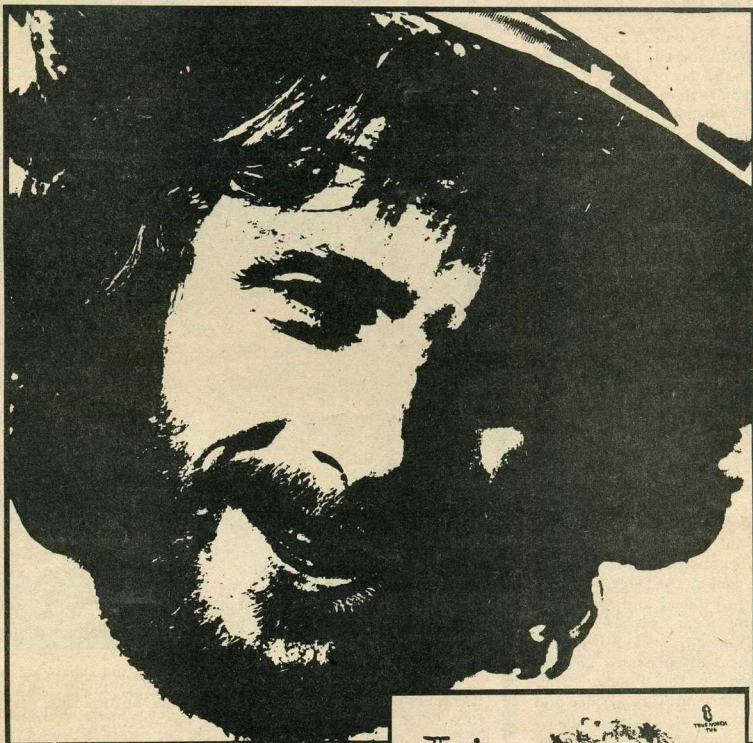
As Pierre Vallières pondered the current situation, he exuded a restrained optimism. His feeling seems to be that everything is developing swimmingly, the natural historical evolution is taking care of itself and that what is required above all is unity. Anything that works against the PQ, including ultra-left activity or the channelling of working class support to a fifth Quebec party, causes needless division and weakens the possibility of a socialist republic.

"You know," he says, "my little period of clandestinity changed my thinking a lot, my personal position. For instance, I lived together with others, with women. It opened my eyes to my male chauvinism. It was very frank and brutal, but I got a lot out of it. It was the most extraordinary experience I ever lived."

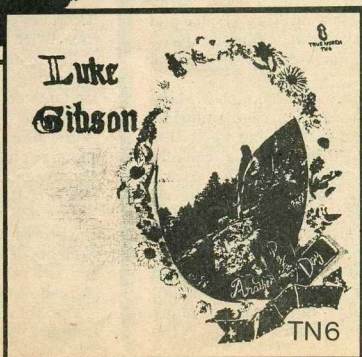
The experience led him to *Mont Laurier*. It may be, as they say, the glory road. Or it may be a dead end.

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

When people talk about great Canadian music, invariably they turn to the early days of Toronto's Yorkville district and one name constantly comes up, Luke Gibson. Now he's made his first album, and it contains all the things that makes music exciting. He's called it, "Another Perfect Day," and it is.



ANOTHER PERFECT DAY
Luke Gibson's First Album



on **TRUE NORTH** records and tape
distributed by Columbia Records of Canada, Ltd.

Puerto Rico: Where does Canada stand?

by Humberto Pagan

In response to a request from the Last Post, Humberto Pagan wrote two letters in Carleton County jail on February 21 and 22, outlining the historical, economic and social roots of the current conflict in Puerto Rico. This is an edited version of those letters.

* * *

Puerto Rico has one of the greatest histories of suffering and heroism in the Americas. The people of Puerto Rico can look back on more than a hundred years of struggle for freedom: first against the Spanish Empire and now against American imperialism.

After 375 years of Spanish colonialism and various insurrections for independence, the Puerto Rican people rose in arms and on September 23, 1868 established the Republic of Puerto Rico. The Spanish troops answered with blood and violence. After many battles the Puerto Rican patriots were defeated by the Spanish colonialists, but the fight of the people continued. In 1897 Spain was forced to recognize Puerto Rico as an autonomous nation.

Almost immediately, in 1898, Puerto Rico was invaded by the American Army during the Spanish-American war. Despite the great resistance of the Puerto Ricans, the troops imposed their way and Puerto Rico became a colony of the United States. The first thing the Americans did was to destroy the national government and abolish all of the liberties won by the Puerto Ricans, liberties won by blood and great sacrifice. The Americans imposed military government under General Milles.

In 1917 the United States government imposed on the Puerto Rican people compulsory military service and American citizenship. This produced large protest movements in Puerto Rico.

In 1934 a general strike of workers and peasants took place, commanded by a Puerto Rican martyr and hero, Don Pedro Alibu Campos. The colonial police, commanded by an American, Colonel Riggs, took harsh measures: they conducted hideous massacres as at Rio Piedros (four dead, hundreds wounded) and murdered political prisoners. The end of that year's repression left hundreds of Puerto Ricans in jail or dead. In 1937, during one of many independence demonstrations, the

by Robert Chodos

When the U.S. Army brought Puerto Rico under the Stars and Stripes in 1898, an American living on the island remarked that no American had ever heard of Puerto Rico unless a friend had got a job there.

The remark could well apply to Canadians three quarters of a century later. But when a twenty-year-old Puerto Rican named Humberto Pagan Hernandez crossed the border from New York State into Quebec on August 31, 1971, the two countries — one a formal American colony in the midst of an intense struggle for its independence, the other a formally independent country in the early stages of awareness — became inextricably linked.

Pagan had fled a country where he was wanted on a first-degree murder charge and where there had been several attempts on his life by right-wing Vigilantes. From Puerto Rico he had come to New York, where he got in touch with a Mennonite Church organization that helped draft resisters. Then he entered Canada illegally under the name Ramon Nenadich and came to Ottawa.

He was housed there by some people who often put up draft resisters and deserters. They found him different from their usual guests — more politically conscious, more self-assured. No one got to know him well because his precarious position made him reluctant to make friends.

It is now known that, for much of the time he was living free in Ottawa, he was being followed by the RCMP. A month after his arrival he was surrounded by four police cars, arrested, taken to Carleton County jail, and charged with illegal entry into Canada.

* * *

"If you want a comparison," says Roberto Maldonado, Pagan's Puerto Rican lawyer, "the eleventh of March was the Moncada attack of Puerto Rico. With this one difference — it was a military victory."

The incident Maldonado was comparing to the raid that marked the beginning of the Cuban revolution was a battle between police and students on the campus of the University of Puerto Rico in San Juan on March 11, 1971. Such clashes had occurred frequently in recent years, since 1959 when the Puerto Rican independence movement had begun to pick up the pieces left after the crushing of the 1950 Nationalist revolution and the repression that had followed the attack on the U.S. House of Representatives in 1954.

This one ended, as such battles often did, with several people dead and scores wounded. But this time the dead were not independentista students or workers. One was a Regular Officers Training Corps cadet, and the other two were policemen. One of them was Lt.-Col. Juan Mercado Vega, chief of the Puerto Rican riot squad.

The police began a mass roundup of independentista leaders and students. One of those arrested was Humberto Pagan, who had been



active in the independence movement for several years, had been a member of the student council at the University, had — along with many of his fellow students — burned his U.S. draft card, and had been arrested several times for political activities. The police seized him in his home town of Aguadilla, where he had fled from San Juan in fear for his safety, and took him to police headquarters. There he was offered his freedom and a reward to turn state's evidence, beaten and tortured when he refused, and finally singled out to be charged with the murder of Mercado and released on \$30,000 bail.

Ramon Nenadich, whose name Pagan used to enter Canada, is a longtime friend of Pagan's, a fellow native of Aguadilla, and a veteran of many of the same demonstrations. Now he heads the Puerto Rican committee to free Humberto Pagan. He too emphasizes the importance of the eleventh of March, which he calls "one of the biggest victories for the independence movement. And for many Puerto Ricans, Humberto Pagan symbolizes the eleventh of March."

If Pagan's case has brought Puerto Rico to many Canadians' attention for the first time, it has also caused Puerto Ricans to pay unaccustomed attention to Canada. They have seen regular reports from Ottawa,

police fired on the people with grapeshot murdering 21 and leaving more than 200 wounded. All the independentista leaders were jailed.

On October 30, 1950, the people of Puerto Rico arose and proclaimed the Republic of Puerto Rico for the second time. The American government sent 26,000 soldiers and police to stamp out the rebellion. There were battles throughout the country. The American Air Force strafed and bombed the occupied Puerto Rican cities. More than 10,000 people were sent to concentration camps, and dead and wounded were counted by the thousands as the Yankee army crushed the rebellion. Four years later, Puerto Rican patriots attacked the U.S. House of Representatives, wounding 17 Congressmen with gunfire, to protest the repression and subjugation under which the people were held.

Don Pedro Albizu Campos was assassinated in prison in 1965, touching off great demonstrations throughout the country. In 1967 the colonial police opened fire against a student-worker demonstration in San Juan, killing one worker and wounding about eighty people. The same year a student leader, Rafael Varona, was assassinated by the Yankee army.

In 1968 the extreme right achieved political power. The government took off its 'liberal' mask and began a savage repression. The last few years have been characterized by large worker-patriot demonstrations, campaigns against the draft, massive jailings of independentistas, assassinations, and battles between students and police. In 1968 the clandestine Revolutionary Army was organized in Puerto Rico; the next year the CIA and the government, through the police, organized a group of clandestine fascists known as "los Vigilantes", dedicated to attacking and trying to assassinate independentista leaders and destroying the property of Puerto Rican patriots.

As this article is written, Puerto Rican workers have paralyzed the communication, transportation and port systems of the country. It is expected that in 1972 repression of patriots will be extremely severe, because the Puerto Rican Independence Party is prepared to join with other patriotic groups to contest the elections — using these elections as another front. Meanwhile, the workers and patriots of Puerto Rico are prepared to continue their day-to-day fight for the independence and national liberation of their country.

The population of Puerto Rico is 4,500,000, of whom 1,500,000 are exiled

in the ghettos of New York and other American cities. The root of its situation is that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States.

This means that Puerto Rico is a nation in which imperialism has intervened militarily, economically, politically, socially and culturally.

The problem for Puerto Rico now is the survival or extinction of the Puerto Rican nationality on the one hand, and on the other, the liberation or slavery of the workers of the country.

Puerto Rico has lost control of its economic base. When the American army invaded Puerto Rico and the nation was turned into a colony of the United States, the Puerto Rican bourgeoisie betrayed the people and sided with imperialism. Being more powerful than the Puerto Rican bourgeoisie, the Americans absorbed the country economically: they now control 87.5 per cent of the Puerto Rican economy.

This has converted Puerto Rico into a nation exploited in the extreme. The system the United States has created in the country shows very profitable results for the Yankee monopolies but has made Puerto Rico one of the poorest nations in the world.

The colonial exploitation of Puerto Rico is exercised in the following ways:

(1) Military and political control of the country directly from Washington: 13 per cent of the total territory of Puerto Rico is occupied by American bases, two of them atomic — Ramey Air Force Base and Roosevelt Road Naval and Air Force Base. That 13 per cent of the national territory was occupied by the American government without paying one cent to the Puerto Ricans.

(2) Control of all means of communication by government and Yankee monopolies.

(3) Exploitation of the natural resources of the country, including mineral beds (copper, tungsten, nickel, gold, manganese, etc.) and the land.

(4) Exploitation of Puerto Rican workers (a Puerto Rican worker receives only 30 per cent of an American worker's wages).

(5) Monopoly control of the economy — the means of production and the distribution of wealth.

(6) The application of "special" laws which provide favourable conditions for American investors (American factories don't pay taxes in Puerto Rico nor do they pay for light, water, etc.).

These and other conditions have caused the following hardships for Puerto Ricans:

(1) Destruction of the country's agriculture, forcing Puerto Ricans to

a city of whose existence most Puerto Ricans previously had no reason to be aware. Except that Pagan's deportation hearing, at which Puerto Ricans have testified that if he were sent back he would almost certainly be killed before he was able to stand trial, has understandably been given only cursory coverage in the island's controlled press.

* * *

The deportation hearing began March 8 in a functional second-floor courtroom in one of Ottawa's innumerable new office buildings. The everyday inhabitants of the building were a bit taken aback by the scene; by the second day people in the elevator were saying "I suppose you want to go to the second floor. That's where everybody seems to want to go."

Observers and reporters, far too many for the small courtroom (which was occupied largely by witnesses and police), massed in the waiting room outside. Television cameras tried to capture any but the most routine actions. During a break in the hearing, friends who had come up from New York and Puerto Rico greeted Pagan and embraced him vigorously.

Pagan's lawyers — Clayton Ruby, who is representing him in Canada, and Maldonado, who acted as an advisor to Ruby — directed their efforts toward showing that if the tribunal of three judges decided to deport him to Puerto Rico they would effectively be condemning him to death at the hands of the Vigilantes. Professors at the university, lawyers, a Roman Catholic bishop, Pagan's father testified about conditions on the troubled island. The judges did not seem particularly sympathetic, but they listened.

When the witnesses for Pagan had completed their testimony on the third day, John Edward Smith, counsel for the government, pulled a surprise move. Prodded by Thomas Gill, an immigration department official, Smith asked for an adjournment so that he could bring some witnesses from Puerto Rico. He did not know who the witnesses were, what they would say, or why it was important that they testify.

Ruby and Maldonado were enraged. Maldonado suspected a plot involving the FBI (FBI agents are known to have questioned Pagan in the Ottawa jail). The judges listened to Ruby's objections and refused Smith's request for an adjournment, then adjourned the hearing anyway, but only to hear argument.

Si he de morir, que muera desde ahora,
LIBERTAD
si he de caer, caeré como soldado.
PARA
Que cuando lleguen las manos vengadoras
HUMBERTO
Me encuentren sonriendo, con los puños cerrados!
PAGAN
cárcel de Ottawa



The government would close its case without calling a single witness. But they had brought one witness up from Puerto Rico, Professor Marcus Rigaud of the University of Puerto Rico law school, housed and fed him at public expense, and then never called him to the stand.

"We're pretty sure we know why they didn't call him," Maldonado said later. "It's because he would have said the same things our witnesses said."

* * *

The deportation hearing is scheduled to resume March 27. On the same day, another hearing is scheduled to decide on a request by the United States for Pagan's extradition.

One or the other will have to be put off. If the deportation order is heard first, it will give the judges a chance to make a decision based on the testimony they heard from March 8 to 10. If they agree that Pagan's life would be in serious danger in Puerto Rico, that his chances of getting a fair trial are virtually nonexistent, that will stand as a strong statement to the court that hears the extradition request.

If that request is heard first, however, it will most likely be granted as a routine matter. Canada has never refused an extradition request from the United States — although the United States has refused Canadian extradition requests, notably in the case of Hal Banks, the discredited Seafarers International Union leader.

The final decision will be made by Justice Minister Otto Lang. He can decide to allow Pagan to go to the country of his choice: both Cuba and Chile have offered him political asylum. Or he can decide to turn him over to American authorities.

In Carleton County jail in February, Humberto Pagan noted that "Canada signed the 1960 United Nations resolution condemning colonialism, but now it is co-operating with colonialism in Puerto Rico."

The case has long since ceased to be a merely legal one for Canada. The wide publicity it has received is somewhat embarrassing to government officials. In hearing the testimony of the Puerto Rican witnesses, Clayton Ruby was struck by the extent to which the Puerto Rican independence movement could be compared with that of Quebec, the Puerto Rican position vis-a-vis the United States with that of Canada.

Humberto Pagan's fight is now not only part of Puerto Rico's struggle for independence, but Canada's as well.

buy their basic groceries from the United States.

(2) Accelerated inflation (the cost of living is 25 per cent higher than in the United States or Canada but wages are only half as great).

(3) A much greater level of poverty (the annual per capita income in Puerto Rico is about \$500 for 75 per cent of the population and \$100 for 25 per cent of the population). If we use the levels of poverty established in the United States 90 per cent of the Puerto Rican people live in conditions of extreme poverty.

(4) A very unequal distribution of wealth (in Puerto Rico eight per cent of the population receives 51 per cent of the national income).

(5) Chronic unemployment — 31 per cent of the working class is unemployed and 35 per cent of the workers are underemployed.

(6) Lack of housing and medical services: 35 per cent of the population lives in slums; for the entire country only 12,000 hospital beds are available — one bed for every 250 inhabitants. Forty-five per cent of the hospitals are private and there are towns and villages with neither doctor nor pharmacist. A great proportion of deaths occur from curable ailments.

Meanwhile the American monopolies extract from Puerto Rico about \$1.8 billion in annual profits. The national debt of Puerto Rico in 1970 was around \$7.3 billion. This money is owed to the United States government, because of loans to pay the expenses of the American companies! The level of profits of the American companies in Puerto Rico is about 400 per cent greater than in the United States.

On the other hand, the colonial education that the United States supports in Puerto Rico is so alien and unequal that 17 per cent of the people are illiterate. English is the compulsory language in the schools even though the mother tongue of Puerto Ricans is Spanish. Puerto Ricans are compelled to give allegiance to the American flag and to serve in America's armies, yet they are not accorded the basic human dignities an American citizen expects.

The people of Puerto Rico have stood to demand their liberation and they will not stop until Puerto Rico becomes a socialist, independent republic.

We appeal to the honour and dignity of the government and people of Canada to understand the colonial situation of Puerto Rico and the fight for liberation by its people.

Robert Chodos is a member of the Last Post editorial board.

The deals that made
the Toronto Star
the uncontested
giant of
Canadian
publishing



Béland Honderich

'THE FIRST'

by Last Post staff

I A great day

"Did the government issue an accommodative tax interpretation with the *Star* in mind? The Liberal government may have found it in its heart to be generous to Canada's most powerful paper, which after all, did support the Liberals in the last election."

Christ, here it was — history in the making, Robarts trying to hold the sheets of his speech from blowing off in the wind, Honderich grinning like the grill of a Mercedes, four *Star* photographers popping cameras like Gatling guns, and this crazy old bat was going to screw the whole thing up.

"You can't excavate here," she was shouting, "my father is buried here."

Star PR men (neat young men like those who follow heads of state glancing around nervously) swarm over her and try to hush her up, but it's no go.

Hell, she's just staring into that gray hole dug out of the clay there, a crane poised to scoop out the first ceremonial ground for the opening, and crying like some lost widow that they were going to dig up her father.

She's obviously a fruitcake, but suppose some *Telegram* reporter or photographer picks this up. Bassett would kill himself laughing.

* * *

WIDOW DISRUPTS GROUND-BREAKING AT NEW TORONTO STAR BUILDING; CLAIMS FATHER BURIED IN SITE

* * *

You could just see it . . .

"Get her the hell out of here, for Chrissake . . ." shouts one of the *Star* functionaries as hardhatted site workers and PR men escort her off the site, holding her by the elbows.

Under the blue-and-white-striped (*Star* colors) canopy, flapping in the stiff wind from the lake, support poles creaking, the Premier of the Province of Ontario, and leader of the party that once tried to destroy the *Toronto Star*, finishes his polite remarks about growth and progress, and the greatness of Canada's largest newspaper. The hundred or so lethargic guests applaud politely; the reporters are eating canapes off the tables in the back.

From the row of chairs where the contractors, the mayor of Toronto, and the *Star* Board of Directors are sitting erectly, rises Beland Honderich. Severe in manner, unemotional, hair combed back sternly, and oblivious of the drama being played out at the slushy hole a couple of hundred feet away, he declares in his flat voice that this is indeed a great day.

It is. The new *Star* building is started. More than 40 million dollars it's going to cost. Right on the waterfront. Huge skyscraper. Massive presses. Will change the face of the city.

It will attract more business to the waterfront area, and thus help develop a new downtown sector, "just like the old *Star* building helped open up the King and Bay area to commerce."

Just like the old "B". A nice, sound, financial argument. Perfectly true of course . . .

I don't think anyone that morning mentioned anything about journalism or the content of the paper.

Still, a big day for Beland, the kid who started out earning \$4 a yard at the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* and rose to be the most powerful publisher in the country.

A big day for the *Star*.

"Do you suppose anyone is really buried in that hole?" a reporter asks another.

"Maybe the ghost of Joe Atkinson."

Joe Atkinson. The austere man who gave birth to the *Toronto Star* as we know it in 1899, out of a struggling little rag. The man who dreamed of "a paper for the people."

Nobody ever heard from the little old lady again, and there were even bigger days ahead for the *Star*, for Beland Honderich, for "Canada's largest newspaper."

When the building was completed in October of 1971, the men who moved into it were powerful enough to affect every person in Canada, and make any government think twice about earning the wrath of "The First: The *Star*."

II The *Star* and the Liberal Party

"Reach for a *Star*, most people do."

—*Star* motto

"Today, money in newspapers is made not by competition, but by avoiding competition."

—A. J. Liebling, "The Press"

It is not commonly known that Beland Honderich once spent some time trying to persuade David Lewis that the New Democratic Party and the Liberal Party should merge. Mr. Lewis demurred.

In Toronto, it's a cliché to say that the *Star* is NDP between elections, and Liberal during elections. Actually, it's Liberal between elections too.

As an assistant managing editor at the *Star* put it once: "*Star* policy is Liberal policy. Or will be Liberal policy within two years."

The *Star* straddles the centre and "reform" sections of the Liberal Party, and this has given rise to the misconception that the *Star* smacks of NDP between elections. The *Star* supports the Committee for an Independent Canada, and a guaranteed annual income. This policy is represented best in Walter Gordon, former Liberal finance minister and a founder of the CIC as well as a member of the *Star*'s board of directors. It was also reflected in another CIC founder, Peter C. Newman, now editor of *Maclean's Magazine*, but editor-in-chief of the *Star* from 1969 to 1971 (and its longtime Ottawa columnist before that.)

The *Star* is a pressure group within the Liberal Party. It pressures for mild reforms in social legislation and for screening agencies for foreign investment, but jumps on the party bandwagon wholeheartedly in everything else.

During the War Measures Act crisis, it was the *Star* that launched the "provisional government" plot rumour which cast Claude Ryan as a leader of a latter day beer-ha! putsch. It was the *Star*, without batting an eyelash, that carried

the rumour that a high government official might be the leader of the FLQ.

The *Star* shares the spotlight only with the CBC and the *Globe and Mail* for primary attention by the Prime Minister's Office. The CBC makes it because of its massive audience, the *Globe* because it tends to get snarky about the Liberals, and the *Star* because it will float government trial balloons and give the most sympathetic coverage. The *Star* almost invariably finds itself on the inside of most major stories coming out of Ottawa, because the *Star* is an ally. Thus, when Joe Greene was winging to Denver a couple of years ago to deliver a speech to American oilmen that he hoped would make him out to look like a big nationalist back home, sitting beside him on the plane was *Star* Ottawa bureau chief Jack Cahill, writing adulatory copy. The *Star* was Greene's public relations agency.

Jack Cahill, incidentally, proudly boasts that "the job of a journalist is to do what he's told by the editors. Period." That's probably why he's bureau chief.

The *Star* has the power to make any story a national story of primary interest. The headline of the *Star* is gospel to the other media.

The Canadian Press wire service consists basically of shorter versions of the stories of its member papers. The *Star* is the largest and most powerful member of the CP co-operative, has the most reporters, and produces the most news columns. The front page of the *Regina Leader-Post* on a Tuesday is likely to be 20 per cent what the *Star* carried on Monday (received via Canadian Press), 10 per cent *Globe*, two per cent *Vancouver Sun* and *Montreal Star*, and the rest local or foreign from AP and UPI.

While Martin Goodman was managing editor of the *Star* (he has gone to his reward as editor-in-chief now and patiently waits for Beland to go to his), all stories fed by the Ottawa bureau were channelled through him in Toronto, and he would rewrite the major ones most of the time.

The *Star* played a large part in generating the Trudeau-omania campaign of 1968, originating many of the Trudeau-kissing photographs and much of the awe-struck prose. And in 1972 it will chastise the Prime Minister for his "arrogant style", welcome his shift toward a more nationalist position, and express the hope that he'll do better in the second term the electorate should give him because of lack of an apparent alternative (while hoping, however, for a vigorous opposition party which is the lifeblood of the parliamentary system hard times ahead)



Oh what a lovely war!

"A newspaper's duty is to make money."

—John Ross Robertson, founder,
Toronto Telegram

It's always been an annointed precept of journalism to observe that the stiffer the competition between newspapers, the more truth the public will get.

But the great circulation war in Toronto proved that although competition may increase the *volume* of news, it doesn't necessarily increase its *quality*.

The Saturday editions of the *Toronto Star* and the *Telegram* were massive, but relatively poor.

Competition tends less to uncover corruption in government than to produce exhaustive TV listings, better comics, and more encompassing restaurant guides.

But the commandment of Toronto journalism was that competition made us great. That's what Beland Honderich and *Tely* publisher John Basset always said.

So let the men be judged even according to their own myths.

* * *

One of the favourite stories of *Star-Tely* competition told to young cub reporters is what would happen when the two papers sent their large teams into small Ontario towns.

Now, there seems to have been a spate of axe-murders and Farmer-Shoots-Wife-Five-Kids-Then-Stabs-Self-With-Pitchfork stories out in the Ontario countryside in the 'twenties and 'thirties.

The *Tely* would send a team of fedora-topped reporters in a black limousine, and the *Star* sometimes a fleet of reporter-crammed limousines to some little village near Orillia. The trick, of course, was to arrive first.

Because when the *Star* got there, the men would leap out of the cars and head in different directions on their appointed tasks.

One would have a hammer and icepick and destroy all pay phones. Two or three others would go to whatever private phone outlets there were in town and commence interminable conversations with their mothers. Another would saunter into the telegraph office, and ask to send a telegram to Toronto. And then hand the stunned telegraphist the "A" volume of the Encyclopedia Britannica, and growl "Start sending."

Thus having tied up all communications out of the town, the other men in the team could go and cover the story without fears that a *Tely* team could scoop them.

The competition in 1970-71 was of a different order.

The *Globe and Mail* had 250,000 readers, the *Tely* a few thousand less, and the *Star* swaggered up around 400,000.

The phrase "to have a reader" is taken literally in the Toronto market. It is said that the papers spent an average of \$50 to get each new subscriber — the figure being arrived at by spreading out the cost of commercials, billboards, personal contact selling, delivery costs. It's also said that it used to cost each paper more than ten cents to get each paper to each reader — the papers were being distributed at a loss, and held to a dime each to get the most readers.

So in the Toronto market, a subscriber is worth more than \$50 to the newspaper, because he's worth at least five times that to the advertiser.

The physical manifestation of this was saturation advertising by all three papers: "The *Globe and Mail*: Canada's National Newspaper". Billboards, full-page display ads, *Star* Ski Trips, *Star* Citizens' Forums, *Star* Readers' Insurance, *Tely* Pollution Fighters, *Tely* car races at Mosport. Wide-eyed delivery boys would appear on the TV screen time after time each night, looking like they walked off a Kellogg's Corn Flakes box, pleading "Take the *Star* from me." *Tely* columnists would dress up as women to do the inside story on mugging on the streets, or camp out on the CNE grounds to become "Tely Man First Visitor into CNE".

Hundreds would be spent to find a lost puppy, while a farmers' convention ended up on page 68 culled off the Canadian Press wire.

News was a commodity. Toronto got covered to death, down to the last horticultural club, while Honderich balked at running a three-part series on turmoil in Mexico written by a staff reporter because "What does it mean to Metro?"

The *Tely* ran a doctored "colour" photo of the moon taken by a U.S. space flight crew, although no colour photographs were available at the time.

The *Star* was the better paper, by far. To Honderich's credit, he devoted a lot of space to political coverage, to trying to make federal-provincial conferences intelligible, and economic stories accessible to the reader.

The *Tely* was livelier, and often carried more news copy, but was usually quite tacky.

Bassett personally scuttled a story by columnist Ron Haggart on how Eaton's was laying off 200 maintenance workers in an economy move. Haggart was allowed to write on anything but Eaton's. It was Eaton's money that kept the *Tely* afloat, and the Eaton sons were joint heirs of the paper with Bassett's sons.

A rabbi covered the Middle East.

A rock-music festival promoter was hired for a time as the paper's rock critic.

One columnist was simultaneously the *Tely*'s "Action Line" ombudsman, a consultant on the government payroll, and a Tory candidate in the provincial election.

Former labour reporter Norman Simon told the Davey Committee he had been ordered to play up violence in his strike stories and down grade "the egghead stuff."

The *Star* and the *Tely* raided each other's staffs incessantly, and copied each other's best features and gimmicks.

And the war for the reader, which was the war for the advertiser, continued unabated. (The *Globe* for the most part sat on the sidelines like a distinguished old owl, secure with its morning monopoly, its heavy national circulation and national advertisers, and preserved what ruffled dignity it could in the cockfight.)

But there was no doubt who was winning. The *Star* was making profits handsomely. The *Tely* was losing a million dollars a year since 1969, and gained only 3,000 readers in the 20 years of John Bassett's rule. Bassett, besides his interests in the Argonauts football team and Maple Leaf Gardens, had Toronto's private TV outlet, CTV's channel 9, a license to print money. And the *Tely* had begun to bore him.



Walter Gordon

IV Room at the top

"We believe that the freedom of the press rightly belongs to the people and not the publishers."

—Beland Honderich, to Davey committee on Mass Media, Jan. 1970

It's been a long road for Beland Honderich. From an ordinary financial reporter at the *Star* he rose to financial editor and finally, in 1955, to editor-in-chief. Some time after that, Leslie Frost, Conservative Premier of Ontario, tried to crush the *Star* by passing a piece of legislation aimed patently against the paper.

When Joe Atkinson died he left the *Star* to a charitable foundation — the Atkinson Charitable Foundation.

Leslie Frost passed legislation in effect forbidding a charitable foundation from owning a newspaper. The only one in the province in such a position was the *Star*. The Foundation was required to sell off more than 90 per cent of its *Star* stock.

This is where Walter Gordon, accountant and management analyst, entered the picture. His firm had been hired to find a way out of this mess for the *Star*, and this they did. The members of the board of directors of the Charitable Foundation in effect sold the paper to themselves. A \$25 million business was "sold" for a down payment of only \$1 million cash. The lawyer who handled the deal was Alex MacIntosh.

Beland Honderich needed \$150,000 as his share of the \$1 million in cash the board had to put up, and it can be assumed that MacIntosh arranged the loan for Honderich through the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, where MacIntosh was well known.

Honderich's gratitude for the Bank of Commerce's help in the purchase of the *Star* might explain why reporters at the *Star* don't get pay cheques. Their pay is automatically deposited in the Bank of Commerce, from which they can withdraw it if they want.

MacIntosh went on to become president of the Davenport riding Liberal Association. Their candidate for election was Walter Gordon.

Then Walter Gordon, after his brief career as Finance Minister, was named to the board of directors of the *Star*. MacIntosh (who was now a director of the Bank of Commerce) also became a director of the *Star* (and just recently, the Steel Company of Canada). When John Bassett wanted to fold the *Tely*, Honderich turned to financial wizard Walter Gordon to negotiate the deal.

Dizzying. But now Beland Honderich is the most powerful publisher in the country, thanks to the skills of men like Walter Gordon and Alex MacIntosh, but largely because of his own astuteness.

On the morning of Friday, January 30, 1970, as Honderich sat before the Senate Committee on Mass Media in Ottawa, warning against the death of independent voices in the Canadian press, his own boys were working against him.

A Xeroxed document, entitled "The Hack Manifesto" in

...than 200...
 ...month, Toyota...
 ...month, Canada's un...
 ...employment rate rose to...
 ...standard-sized Chevrolts.
 ...market...
 ...Toyota is sold in Canada...
 ...through Canadian Motor In...
 ...dustries, which is headed by...
 ...Spokesmen for the Ford...
 ...Motor Co. of Canada Ltd...
 ...and Chrysler Canada Ltd...
 ...month this year...
 ...GM products were down 3.19...
 ...per cent compared to the...
 ...quently, the imports in...

METRO WEATHER

Tuesday rainy periods.
 Low 8. High 63. Pollution
 index 2 at 2 p.m. Details
 page 2.

Toronto Daily Star

ESTABLISHED 1892 August paid circulation 379,155 copies per day Monday, September 20, 1971—68 pages Monday to Friday 10c; Saturday 25c; Home delivery 75c

all star
 ★★★★★
 closing
 markets



parody of New Left style, was circulating the newsroom of the *Star* in Toronto.

Within two weeks, it had more than 40 signatures — from general reporters, financial and entertainment writers, even the old foamies on the police desk.

It attacked the *Star's* new policies, its factory-like conditions, its authoritarian management. It demanded, among other things, a say in editorial policy, a say in appointment of editors, representation by reporters on the editorial board, control by the writer of what eventually happened to his copy.

It was backed up by a threat: grant these demands or we go to the Davey Committee and tell them what the *Star* is really like, not what the perfumed brief Honderich and Peter C. Newman were presenting said it was like.

Star management sweated many a night, as the prospect loomed of the paper's liberal image foundering on a public reef.

But the "revolt" got bogged down in weeks of waffling with management, and eventually lost steam.

So Beland Honderich didn't have to worry about anybody calling him a liar in front of the Davey Committee, and his noble words could stand.

He attacked the growth of newspaper chains and the decrease in competition in Canada in eloquent terms:

"Why is the growth of newspaper chains dangerous? It is dangerous because it gives a few people the power to determine what many newspapers will print. . . . they have the power of effective control, and if they do not use it now, they or their successors could decide to use it at some time in the future . . .

"The publication of a newspaper is an exercise in arbitrary power. To say this is not to deny that most publishers try to do a fair and conscientious job: we acknowledge that. But arbitrary power is an inescapable fact of the business. By the things it emphasizes in gathering the news, by its priorities in presenting the news, and by its editorials and interpretive stories, a newspaper can advance certain people, causes and ideas while obscuring or discrediting others. Used with prejudice or poor judgment, the publishing power can make mountains out of molehills or molehills out of mountains, to the confusion and detriment of the public."

He said "...your committee cannot ignore the trends which limit the number of effective voices in the news media . . . to maintain the maximum feasible number of independent voices in the Canadian press, we have proposed that all future takeovers of newspapers by other newspapers or chains should require prior approval of some public body such as the Restrictive Trade Practices Commission."

Those words look even stranger today in the Committee's transcripts than they sounded to *Star* men back in 1970.

Nothing we can do: Davis

'The Tely is dead' Bassett tells unions trying to save it

By ROSEMARY SPEIRS
 Star staff writer

Union leaders met Telegram publisher John Bassett today in a last-ditch attempt to persuade him to keep the paper going, and save the jobs of 1,200 employees.

But, in an interview last night, Bassett said there is "not the slightest possibility" he will reconsider the decision he announced Saturday to close the 95-year-old newspaper.

"The Tely is dead," Bassett said. He added that anyone who hopes he may yet sell to a prospective publisher is "dreaming."
 "All I want now is to be left in peace to arrange the most decent burial with all the dignity and grace I can."

Star pays \$10 million for Tely's lists



BRUCE MACKASEY
 Analyzes job statistics

FUTURE BLEAK

After today's one hour and 15-minute conference, union spokesmen had

Beland H. Honderich, president and publisher of the Telegram

V The scuttling of the Tely

"My ambitions are boundless. I'm only bound by two things. Money and the CRTC. If I had unlimited wealth and the CRTC would let me have all the electronic media I wanted, I'd be a real pig. I like it. And if you're in business, you want more, you want to be a pig."

—John Bassett, in interview with *Windsor Star*, 1970

On the night of September 16 last year, John Bassett was having dinner at *Mr. Tony's*, along with *Telegram* political editor Fraser Kelly and his wife Joan. That same night the *Tely's* reporters and other Newspaper Guild members were voting to strike to get a wage settlement out of Bassett.

Toronto writer Hartley Steward has this story about the dinner at *Mr. Tony's* from Fraser Kelly:

"I turned to Bassett and I said: 'I want to ask you three questions. First, people are saying you don't give a shit about the newspaper anymore. Second, they're saying you've already sold it. And finally, they say the *Telegram* is dead. Is that true?'"

"He looked me straight in the eye and said: 'You're right on every count.'" Joan Kelly blanched and Fraser Kelly picked up his martini.

John Bassett and Beland Honderich had just concluded one of the most massive media deals in the country. Both walked away after the deal richer by millions. The *Star* became the undisputed giant of Canadian publishing. The country was minus one newspaper. It remains one of the more intriguing business transactions of the last few years.

Much debate surrounds the question of when Bassett decided to shut down the *Tely*, and when negotiations with Honderich began.

Marc Zwelling of the Toronto Newspaper Guild suspects that "it may have been as early as spring" of 1971, rather than July, as Bassett claims.

This is of more than historical interest, since it would mean that the deal to fold the *Tely* and give Honderich an afternoon monopoly, was what Bassett had in mind from the beginning, and his professed attempts to find a buyer and keep the *Tely* alive was just a charade.

But even allowing Bassett's version of the events, this impression seems inescapable.

The Newspaper Guild was negotiating a contract with Bassett, and in July, Bassett demanded a one-year moratorium on wage increases from the Guild and the two craft unions. Bassett argued the paper was in terrible financial shape, and opened his books to the Guild's auditors. The auditors concluded Bassett was "fair" in depicting the paper's woes. Since 1968, the last profitable year, the *Telegram* lost \$2 million and anticipated another \$1 million loss in 1971.

The union offered to take a one-year wage freeze on an IOU promise from Bassett to pay retroactively when the *Tely* was in the black again — by everyone's estimate, in 1973. Bassett was to reject the IOU idea.

The losses of the last three years are not fatal for a paper generating circulation and advertising revenue approaching \$20 million a year.

The *Tely* could almost certainly have returned to financial health by 1973 if Bassett had wanted it to. It seems clear that Bassett didn't want it to. Events would prove the *Tely* was worth more dead to Bassett than it was alive.

So by Bassett's own account, it was in July, after continually denying the paper was for sale, that Bassett began looking for a way out.

The *Tely* alive, "as a going concern" as the jargon has it, was worth \$11 million.

Was Bassett really interested in trying to sell the *Tely* for \$11 million?

On August 1, say broadcaster Charles Templeton and author Pierre Berton, Bassett offered them the *Tely* for \$11 million. Later he discouraged them from buying. They could have raised the money, says Templeton, but couldn't afford the commitment of time.

Was this a serious offer? Or was Bassett already negotiating with Honderich, and was this offer just a way of pressuring Honderich to come across faster? The answer is inaccessible.

Bassett claimed that "attempts have been made to sell the newspaper as a 'going concern.'" But they don't seem to have been too vigorous.



John Bassett

According to St. Clair Balfour of the Southam chain, Bassett never approached them with an offer.

The FP chain, which owns the *Globe*, was not approached either, according to Brigadier R. S. Malone.

Neither was Lord Thomson approached, even though he spoke with Bassett. "When he (Bassett) was going to close his newspaper, he didn't even ask if I was interested. He knew that I was not."

Sure, Thomson, FP and Southam weren't interested. But perhaps if Bassett had tried he could have interested them — after all, there was a union prepared to take a wage freeze, staff cuts, and buy shares in the paper. John Bassett did not try too hard. He didn't even ask.

Toronto discount retailer "Honest Ed" Mirvish said he might be interested, but later declined. Uranium king Stephen Roman offered \$12 million over three years, with a small deposit at the start, but the offer looked poor compared with Honderich's \$10 million on the spot. Pulp and paper company interests are said to have tried to organize an offer, but couldn't come up with the cash. For the paper business, the death of a big newspaper would be a sizeable blow.

Bassett could make more out of a dead *Tely* than a live one.

The negotiations between Bassett and Honderich had been carried out (since July or spring, no one is certain) by Walter Gordon.

On September 14, the negotiations culminated in a peculiar deal.

The *Star* purchased the *Telegram*'s subscription list of about 84,000 names for \$10 million. Just the list.

The *Star* leased the *Tely*'s presses for two years for \$1 million a year. Add \$2 million.

The *Globe* and *Mail*, in search of a new printing plant and office, agreed to purchase the *Tely* building for a reported minimum of \$7 million (one account has it as \$12 million). Add a minimum of \$7 million.

Total value of the *Tely* dead: \$19 million at least.

Total value the *Tely* alive, if sold, \$11 million. †

For Bassett, the decision was clear.

HIGH
64LOW
TONIGHT
46

A sunny weekend. Details, Page 2.

The Toronto Telegram

FINAL

192 PAGES

TORONTO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 18, 1971

25 CENTS

LifeStyle

Toronto Week

Weekend Magazine

Color Comics

The Toronto Telegram
to cease publication

The decision has been taken to cease publication of The Toronto Telegram. Many details must be completed and, accordingly, the newspaper will continue to appear for a time, but the decision has been taken.

In the next two years The Toronto Telegram has lost about \$2,000,000 and a loss of a further \$1,000,000 is estimated for 1971.

In recent years a total of \$5,300,000 has been made available from other sources to the newspaper in order to keep it alive.

Most recently \$5,000,000 was acquired through the sale of shares held in the Maple Leaf Gardens and the Toronto Argonauts. The entire amount was used to reduce the corporate debt of The Toronto Telegram.

Attempts have been made to sell the newspaper as a "zooic concern." For obvious financial reasons no buyer was prepared to accept the responsibility of continuing to publish.

I have negotiated an agreement with a purchaser to sell certain of the assets of the Toronto Telegram and an agreement to sell other assets.

The purchase price will be used to liquidate the newspaper's commitments to employees, suppliers and financial

institutions who have extended credit. All commitments will, of course, be met.

This newspaper was founded in 1876 and is the oldest of the three Toronto dailies. I have been publisher since November, 1952. During that period I have worked with some of the outstanding newspaper people in Canada and I believe there is not a better daily paper in the country.

Rising costs of production and a shrinking share of the advertising dollar have, sadly, forced the closure of many outstanding publications in North America and the United Kingdom in the last 20 years. Unhappily I believe more will follow, but those hard, even tragic, decisions will have to be made by others.

This decision I have made. It goes without saying that it is the saddest I have ever had to make in my life, in war or peace.

Finally, I must thank the readers of The Toronto Telegram for their loyalty and support of the paper. I must thank all the Telegram staff, past and present, for the assistance of over 20 years. If of them as publisher, I'm sorry, I couldn't do better.

John Bassett,
Publisher
The Toronto Telegram

Davis 'no comment' on
possible aid to paper

Premier William Davis refused to comment on the possibility of extending Provincial aid, similar to that

The Telegram is not simply another large business paper, but has been in fact an institution in Toronto

for more than 100 years. It has been one of the two independently owned newspapers

his last negotiating session with the unions, and rejected their IOU proposal.

The next day, the sixteenth, the unions met, unaware of the deals that had been made, and took a strike vote.

And on the night of the seventeenth, he handed the short typewritten notice "The Toronto Telegram to cease Publication" to the assistant managing editor for appearance on the next day's, Saturday's, front page.

The unions raised a furor. Some 1,200 jobs were going to go down the drain.

Zwelling called the \$10 million deal for the subscription list "a payoff from the Star to Bassett to abandon the afternoon list."

Probably shaken by this kind of reaction, Honderich said that the deal would be cancelled if a buyer came along that would keep the Star for expenses incurred since making its offer. But this post-facto offer had a hollow ring — why should Bassett back off a very profitable deal?

A circulation official at the Star laughed at the mention of buying the Tely's subscription list — "we threw it in the garbage the moment we got it. It was worthless." Of course it was, since the Star picked up the Tely's newsboys anyway, it could have easily traced the Tely subscribers. Any Star reporter could have come up with the list in a week anyway. It was worth nowhere near \$10 million.

But Honderich faced the unfavorable publicity by claiming otherwise.

He sent a memo to all Star employees saying that the Star was "justified" in making the offer, because "it seemed to us it was in the interests of the Star to have the subscription lists for our own rather than have them go to the Globe." He said he assumed the Globe would want to acquire the list.

To make it even more awkward for Honderich, Globe executives denied they had any interest in the list.

Honderich's memo said "competition is far from dead and no one has a monopoly position." He pointed to the Globe, two television stations and six radio stations, and several magazines, as the competition. "In my view," he wrote, "we will have to work harder than ever to make sure the Star remains number one."

But the key point in all this is that through that memo, and through laying out \$10 million, Beland Honderich was implying (a conservative word under these circumstances) that the Tely's subscription list was actually worth something.

That was very important to Honderich, to be able to justify spending so much money.

In March of this year, he is telling a different, contradictory story.

In an interview with Toronto writer Ken Lefolli of Toronto Life, he called the subscription list worthless.

Here's how Lefolli reported the interview: "With the Telegram gone, he (Honderich) said, the Star

"A circulation official at the Star laughed . . . 'we threw it in the garbage the moment we got it. It was worthless.'"

On September 13, he contacted the trustees of the Telegram Publishing company and formally asked permission to close down the paper and sell the assets.

The same day, Bassett's close friend, Mrs. John David Eaton, a member of the three-person board of trustees, summoned together the company's main shareholders: the three Bassett sons (Johnny, Douglas and David), and the four Eaton sons (John Craig, Thor, George and Frederick). Word has it that the Eaton family were no longer interested in providing the money to keep the Tely going anyway, so the vote was no surprise. It was five to one for folding (David Bassett was absent, and Johnny Bassett voted to make a go for another 18 months). They phoned the publisher and told him to go ahead.

The next day, September 14, the deal with the Star was concluded.

On the fifteenth, with the deal still secret, Bassett had



Marty Goodman

could sell 100,000 more papers right away, but it couldn't print them.

"We made the deal for the list to get access to the Telegram's plant. The subscription list alone was worth nothing."

What's behind the big switch?

Lefolii has probably found the answer in an Interpretation Bulletin put out by the National Revenue Department about the new tax regulations:

"Where it is clear that the taxpayer purchased nothing more than ... a list of customers ... the cost of such list can be allowed as an expense of the year ... where the list is useful only in providing 'leads' to prospective customers which will be valueless unless followed up by the normal selling techniques of the purchaser."

This interpretation was put out since the time of the deal last September. And it's a very accommodating interpretation. It means the *Star* would be able to deduct the \$10 million as an expense. The *Star* would save \$5,200,000. For that kind of money, why should Beland Honderich stick to his story about wanting to keep the list out of the *Globe's* hands? Why not pronounce the list "worth nothing?"

Did the government issue an accommodating interpretation with the *Star* in mind?

The *Star* would not have tried to press for such an interpretation. Beland Honderich doesn't operate that way. But the government may have found it in its heart to be generous to Canada's most powerful newspaper, which after all, does support the Liberals.

But even if the *Star* eventually doesn't get the \$10 million listed as an expense, it was money well spent.

On December 1 of last year, the *Star* increased its advertising rate by nine per cent. Later, it announced an additional increase of 22 per cent. With no afternoon competition, and with its circulation climbing over 515,000, it could confidently introduce such a massive rate increase.

The first increase of nine per cent alone was calculated to produce an estimated \$3 million in additional revenue in the first year. The additional 22 per cent increase should pay the *Star* back its \$10 million in about three years. Not a bad investment.

And if the *Star* does save \$5 million on its taxes, it will probably make its money back in 18 months.

The death of the *Tely* did wonders to *Star* stock on the market.

Several years ago, Beland Honderich was listed as holding more than 200,000 shares in the *Toronto Star*. "Assuming he has kept them since," Lefolii writes, "they were worth \$5,000,000 on the morning he wrote his story about buying the *Telegram's* subscription list, and the day this is written (March) they are worth \$10,000,000. The other ... shareholders have profited accordingly."

"It seems nobody lost in the deal. Except the employees of the *Telegram*, and the public.

Those who know Honderich say that he has always believed that the stronger the *Star*, the more it could do for its readers. The more powerful the newspaper, the better it served the public interest. And no doubt he thinks all that has happened has been to the public benefit.

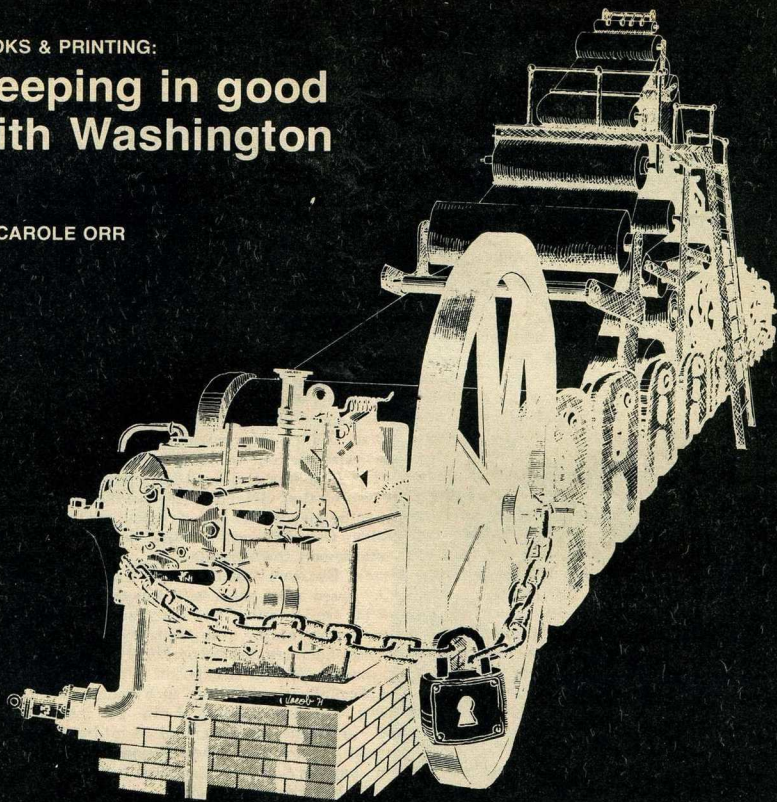
But one should be suspicious of a profession that disappears as it improves.

This article was written in conjunction with Toronto Star and former Telegram staffers.

BOOKS & PRINTING:

Keeping in good with Washington

By CAROLE ORR



On February 11, 1972, the Department of the Secretary of State unveiled the latest in a continuing series of schemes to rescue Canadian industries from the now-familiar disasters of Insolvency and American Takeover. This time, Gerard Pelletier and his army of assistants have rallied to the aid of the Canadian Publisher.

In his announcement, Pelletier revealed a gift of \$1.7 million to the publishing industry, in the belief that this increase in aid would enable the publishers "to exercise their profession more dynamically".

The events leading up to this are by now familiar: the sale of the W.J. Gage Textbook Division to the American-owned Scott-Foresman Co., in September 1970, followed by the sale of Ryerson Press to McGraw-Hill in October. An Emergency Committee of Canadian Publishers was formed immediately, comprising 14 Canadian-owned book publishers from coast-to-coast. Meetings followed with Gerard Pelletier, Revenue Minister Herb Gray, Trade Minister Jean-Luc Pepin, Robert Stanbury of Information Canada, and officials of the provincial governments. One result of all this was the setting up of the Ontario Royal Commission

on Book Publishing.

In March of 1971, Jack McClelland of McClelland and Stewart announced the possible sale of his company to American interests, a result of lack of sufficient capital to continue operation. On advice from the Royal Commission, the Ontario government saved M & S with a \$1 million loan. That an established firm like M & S could be in serious trouble indicated to those who had not believed, that the crisis was real.

By the end of April 1971, the Emergency Committee had become the Independent Publishers' Association, now with 39 members. The previously existing association, The Canadian Book Publishers' Council, was felt to be inappropriate to the situation, as it is dominated by American branch houses, including McGraw-Hill. McClelland and Stewart is about to join the IPA, bringing the membership to 40.

The Pelletier announcement appears to be loosely based on the recommendations submitted to the Federal Cabinet in December of 1970 by the Emergency Committee. A similar brief was later submitted to the Ontario Royal Commission by the IPA.

On closer examination, it appears to be based on nothing

whatever, except perhaps the pure-hearted generosity peculiar to election year.

"Canada does not take issue with the decision of the United States to grapple with its economic problems ... our message to the United States is quite simple: we understand your problem, we sympathize wholeheartedly with your goal of a healthy economy; we suggest only that the application of your surcharge to Canadian exports contributes in no way to the attainment of that goal."

This rubbish was spoken to Secretary of the Treasury John Connally, and to the American nation in general, by External Affairs Secretary Mitchell Sharp on August 19, 1971. Connally and his deputies were appropriately impressed. It was the strongest language since Joe Greene went to Denver.

Now Sharp and Pelletier have an opportunity to take on the giants of American corporate economy once again: publishing firms in the U.S. which are owned by conglomerates include Van Nostrand (Litton Industries), Holt, Rinehart, Winston (Columbia Broadcasting System), Ginn & Co. (Xerox), and Simon and Schuster (a recent merger of Hunt Foods, Canada Dry, and McCaul Publishing).

Pelletier's announcements contain nothing to raise the hackles of these corporations, or even the branch plant managers here. Mr. Wally Matheson, president of Prentice-Hall (Canada), in a friendly conversation with some Canadian competitors, allowed as how he thought there was nothing wrong at all in having the Canada Council give money only to Canadian publishers, to publish novels and poetry and things.

The basic vacuity of the measures adopted can be demonstrated by an analysis of one fundamental area, and the solutions proposed for it: the book and periodical manufacturing industry.

One of the reasons given in the Emergency Committee/ IPA brief as justification of federal aid to the publishers is the fact that publishing is intimately related to three other specialized industries: the printing, binding and graphic design industries. As American domination of the market increases, there is a corresponding loss of jobs in Canada in these industries. When Gage and Ryerson were bought out, 100 bookbinders and 60 typographers lost their jobs. From 1961 to 1970, the number of workers in the publishing and printing industries in Ontario, for example, declined from 6,924 to 6,392. The United States for the same period has shown an increase in employment.

The reasons are simple. For an American publisher, it is less risky and more profitable to market in Canada books published and manufactured in the United States, as the books for the Canadian market are simply tacked on to the original printing run. It is a fairly straightforward case of economies of scale.

In 1969, Canadians consumed \$222 million worth of books. Of these, 65 per cent were supplied by imports, and of these imports 80 per cent or \$115 millions were from the United States. Canadian made books accounted for \$77.2 millions or 35 per cent. This represents a loss of potential revenue for the Canadian book manufacturing industry of \$57.9 million, the cost of manufacturing our imports. This in turn meant a loss of 4,338 potential jobs in the industry. The situation had not improved by 1971.

While Canadian industries have been left virtually defenceless against the economic advantages of the American firms, the Americans have armed themselves with a highly effective weapon: the U.S. Copyright Act. The manufacturing clause of that Act prohibits the importation into

the U.S. of more than 1500 copies of any printed matter manufactured in another country if that printed matter is in English and is authored or illustrated by an American citizen, regardless of whether he lives in the U.S., or by any resident of the U.S. regardless of nationality, under penalty of losing their copyright protection.

The Act also specifies that all stages of the manufacture, typesetting, platemaking, engraving, printing and binding must be carried out in the U.S. These requirements virtually assure the use of American materials as well.

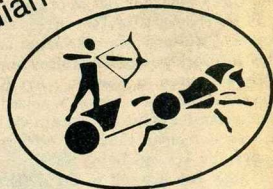
The Toronto Graphic Arts Labour Council suggested, in a brief to the Ontario Royal Commission on March 26, 1971, that the provinces should request the federal government to provide the same protection to the Canadian printing and publishing industry until and unless that clause is revoked.

"As long as Canada is denied this access to the American market", the Council wrote, "we feel it is only just that some limitation (up to 1500 copies) be placed on the present unrestricted importation of American books into Canada."

Casualties of the manufacturing clause include Bobby Hull's *How to Play Hockey*, published by Longman Canada, and Peter Regenstrief's *The Diefenbaker Interlude*, also a Longman book. Because these authors, both Canadians, were living in the U.S., these books were manufactured in the U.S.

Previously, the clause also limited imports into the U.S. of any foreign-manufactured books and periodicals, regardless of author, but this restriction was changed to the present

McClelland and Stewart
The Canadian Publishers



form in 1963. So for Canadian authors living in Canada, the American market is theoretically open.

In 1971, New Press, a Toronto member of the IPA, concluded a deal with Outerbridge and Dietsfey of New York (now Outerbridge and Lazard) to act as mutual distributors of each other's publications in the U.S. and Canada. All New Press books for the American market were to be manufactured here. This was the first such arrangement in Canadian publishing, where it has always been the case that the Canadians acted as agents for American houses, but never the reverse. (In recent years, though, rising overheads and unfavourable international licensing arrangements have made the agency role less profitable for the Canadians.)

Few American houses have been interested in Canadian material for the home market. This may be changing, as some have been showing signs of life in this direction. New Press was also able to sell editions of four other titles such as *Rumours of War*, an analysis of the War Measures Act crisis, to Follett Publishing in Chicago, bringing their total

dollar volume of sales to the U.S. for 1971 to \$35,000, about eight per cent of their total sales volume that year.

On the other hand, consumer sales in the U.S. of these books has been moderate at best.

Follett failed to support any of the titles with adequate promotion, and Outerbridge and Lazard, though more enthusiastic, has had only moderate success.

The American market is a valuable one, but Canadians, needless to say, will never be the threat to the U.S. houses that American houses are here.

Publishers have discussed the possibilities of imposing an import quota of 1500 copies on any foreign title with the following qualifications: If the book in question looks likely to become a bestseller, more copies can be stocked in Canadian stores but all copies over the 1500 limit must be (a) manufactured in Canada and (b) distributed through a Canadian-owned house, which thereby earns a percentage of the gross.

The Canadian government is unlikely to show any enthusiasm for such a bold plan.

There are further consequences to the manufacturing clause. When forced to print for the American market in the U.S., a Canadian house usually must also then print the Canadian market copies there as well, simply because it is economically unfeasible to have two separate print runs. The cost will be higher than if the entire run were done in Canada, but lower than two separate runs.

It is usually more expensive to print in the U.S. because American printers are generally geared to longer print runs than the Canadian, so for shorter runs such as demanded by the smaller Canadian market (even with U.S. sales) the unit cost increases. In the U.S. an entire plant may be geared to print only a certain size of book, drastically reducing the unit cost for the size on a long run. Faced with a choice, American houses often choose to manufacture books for the Canadian market in the U.S. plants, whenever it offers an advantage.

There is nothing in Canadian legislation comparable to the U.S. Copyright Act to prevent this.

In October of 1971, New Press shipped to New York 3500 copies of Walter Stewart's *Shrug: Trudeau in Power*, bearing the Outerbridge and Dientsfey imprint and the notification "Manufactured in Canada". Art Kochums, senior imports specialist for U.S. Customs, seized the books at the Peace Bridge border point and detained them on the grounds that it was not clear that the author was a Canadian. The Copyright Act was being put to the test.

It took Art a week to decide that a study of the Prime Minister of Canada by a former Ottawa correspondent for *Maclean's Magazine* was the genuine Canadian article, an unlikely brainchild for even the most enterprising American house. The books were released. He never did demand Stewart's birth certificate.

The editors at New Press feel that this was purely a harassing technique, evidence of American vigilance in protecting its industry.

The Canadian government, on the other hand, assures us there is really nothing to be concerned about. A neighbourly U.S. Senate, apparently, will revoke the clause in good time.

The manufacturing clause, in fact, seems more likely to last forever. Since 1963, the Graphic Arts Unions in Canada, as sections of the U.S.-based International Allied Printing Trades Association, and the CLC have been working to move the U.S. Senate to revoke the clause. In 1966 after a series of meetings between the Canadian and Ameri-

can officials of the unions involved, the U.S. Graphic Arts lobby was persuaded to seek Canadian exemptions from the restrictions.

This was the time of "quiet diplomacy", and Senator McLellan's commission agreed to Canadian exemption S-644, against State Department wishes, but it was never acted upon. Senators Hart and Scott reintroduced the bill in 1969, again without results.

Harvest House

The U.S. Senate apparently feels the import restrictions are important enough to risk the displeasure of its native sons. Since it is unlikely the U.S. lobby will apply intolerable pressure to the Senate — revoking the clause does after all mean loss of income for the American manufacturing industry — it seems the Canadian Brothers are on their own.

The alternative, once again, is similar, if not more stringent, restrictions on American imports by the Canadian government.

Nothing in Mr. Pelletier's February announcement deals with this key issue.

We are not likely to see it dealt with under the present government in Ottawa.

A further look at Mr. Pelletier's progressive measures is an invaluable lesson in the politics of evasion and incompetence. The main items are as follows:

(1) *Increased grants to publishers:* Federal aid to publishing houses in the form of direct grants to publishers will be doubled, increasing from \$500,000 in 1971-72 to one million dollars in 1972-73. The Canada Council will be responsible for applying this measure, as before, but will extend its assistance to all categories of works, with the exception of school manuals.

(2) *Increased grants for the translation of Canadian books:* In 1972-73 a grant of \$215,000 in federal aid for the translation of Canadian works will be given, as compared with only \$115,000 this year. This increase is expected to make it possible for almost all requests from publishers to be granted. The Canada Council will likewise administer this program.

(3) *Purchases of books:* Half a million dollars will be devoted in 1972-73 to the purchase of very large quantities of Canadian works for free distribution in Canada and abroad. Implementation of this measure will be assured through close co-operation between the Department of External Affairs, the Canada Council and the Secretary of State Department.

(4) *Aid in exporting Canadian books:* The objective is to quadruple the number of books exported over the next five years. A credit of \$500,000 has been allocated for the first year, to ensure a Canadian display of books at book fairs and exhibitions and to foster the establishment and effective operation of centres for the dissemination of Canadian books in the United States, the British Isles and continental Europe.

(5) *Publication of federal works by the private sector:* Private companies will publish, on the government's behalf, collections and works of an unofficial nature for regular sale on the book market. A study of the catalogue of federal government publications sold by Information Canada indicates that quite a few of the titles are intended for a wide public and could well be placed in the hands of private publishers or published in co-operation with them. The government has therefore assigned Information Canada's Publishing Division the role of ensuring liaison between federal agencies and private publishers.

(6) *Co-ordinating federal action:* through the creation of a standing committee on publishing. The terms of reference of this committee are extensive, and include a study of the measures to be taken to ensure Canadian publishing houses access to low interest loans guaranteed by the government, a study of the recommendations of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media and a study of the implications which the Cabinet's decisions on foreign ownership will have for the publishing sector.

The grants referred to in section 1 are under the jurisdiction of the Canada Council. On February 25 of this year, representatives of the IPA met with Naim Kattan, Literary Arts Officer of the Canada Council, and with other officers of the Council at Carleton University in Ottawa. Members of the Conseil Supérieur du Livre were also present.

As the discussion progressed, it became rapidly apparent that Kattan hadn't the slightest idea what he was supposed to do with all this money. When asked whether or not this meant that no foreign-owned house would be eligible for grants, Kattan replied after some thought that no, he didn't think the Minister meant that.

The Minister in question, Mr. Pelletier, appeared the next day and offered the explanation that the details hadn't been worked out and besides the Canada Council was very jealous of its autonomy.

Section four is to be administered by the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, under Jean-Luc Pepin, which last year organized through the Canadian Book Publishers Council a display of books at the American Library Association in Dallas, Texas, donating \$50,000 to the project.

Since the CBPC is composed primarily of American-owned branch plants, many of the books the Department was so eagerly marketing were American books which could just as easily have been marketed by the parent firm. Some were Canadian.

Pelletier cautioned that this is only a beginning, "and does not exclude any of the other solutions which may be applied in the future, some of which may require special legislation, with all the delays such a step would entail."

The government, gentlemen, is looking into the matter. The delay is apparently due to lack of information. "We are aware that our knowledge of the situation is still fragmentary . . . that too many problems remain ill-defined . . ." advised Pelletier.

Glance at any of the myriad briefs submitted to the Department of the Secretary of State, to the Ontario Royal Commission, to other government agencies; or read such

documents as the Ernst and Ernst Report on Canadian Book Publishing and Manufacturing (October 1970), the Gray Report on Domestic Control of the National Economic Environment (May 1971). Government archives contain copies of Walter Gordon's Royal Commission Report on Canada's Economic Prospects (1957), the Watkins Task Force Report, or the Wahn Commission Report.

These do nothing if not define problems.

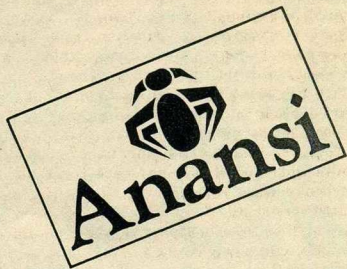
Section four of the Gray Report deals with "The Impact of Foreign Control of Canadian Business on Canadian Culture and Society":

"J.K. Galbraith has argued that Canadians should not worry about the concentrated U.S. ownership of Canadian business, but about maintaining a cultural integrity of the broadcasting system and making sure that Canada has an active, independent theatre, book publishing industry, newspapers, magazines, and schools of poets and painters. This reflects a rather naive view of culture and nationhood. There is no way of leaving the "economic" area to others, so that we can get on with the political, social and cultural concerns in our own way." The aforementioned John Kenneth Galbraith is, not surprisingly, well-received in the United States, where he now lives, and apparently by the Canadian government as well.

And nowhere is the truth of the Gray report statement, and the corresponding inadequacy of our government's efforts, more obvious than in the publishing industry. The cultural end product exists only as part of a web of inter-related industries.

The needs of the Canadian manufacturing industry require more daring measures than the government's present Santa Claus tactics. The same is true of almost every aspect of the problem.

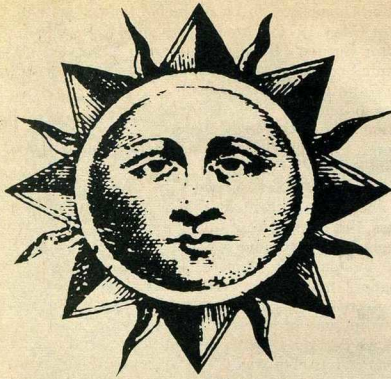
Even within its limits, the Pelletier plan is lacking. Compare \$1.7 million to an entire industry to, for example, the promotion budget of a single American title: Lyle Stuart last year advertised a budget of \$50,000 for advance promotion of *The Sensuous Man* by 'M'. In the IPA houses, a major book is lucky to get \$500. It is no mystery then that



the Canadian public eagerly awaits Jacqueline Susann's next collection of anatomical trivia while one of our country's greatest poets, A.M. Klein, is out of print. A.M. Who?

With free rein for advertising in Canada, a well-financed American house can, and usually does, sell anything. The Love Machine. The Sensuous Toad. Anything.

Another glaring example of irrationality is our distribution system.



new press

For example, here is how the IPA brief describes the problem of paperback distribution:

"All but one of the national paperback distributors, through which the publishers must work to obtain countrywide news-stand exposure, are foreign-owned. These distributors are geared to dealing with the large American and British paperback companies — Signet, Bantam, Ballantine, Pocket Books, Penguin, etc. — which buy the paperback rights to hardcover books published in their own countries, and which issue many new titles each month. This constant flow of new titles from the big paperback concerns through the national distributors to the local wholesalers and retailers occupies virtually all the news-stand space in Canadian outlets. There is no comparable paperback concern reprinting Canadian trade books on a mass scale. And it has so far proved impossible for a single Canadian trade publisher to mount a successful operation of this kind on its own. Once again, economies of scale are difficult to achieve in the small Canadian market."

Hunter-Rose, a Toronto printing firm, has introduced a Publishers Plan, which offers a number of pre-designed formats for paperback books and hardcover. The advantage of the plan is lower unit costs over short printing runs. House of Anansi in Toronto for instance, has been able to publish several books which otherwise would not have been feasible: *Bartelby* by Chris Scott, *Civil Elegies and Other Poems* by Dennis Lee, and others. The net result is the creation of manufacturing work that otherwise would not exist. Other companies are expected to follow suit.

The IPA proposed the establishment of a Canadian paperback reprint house, perhaps owned jointly by existing publishers. This would be useless without other measures controlling American imports, manufacturing and distribution.

An earlier proposal by the IPA included the idea of a Book Publishing Development Corporation, similar to the Film Development Corporation. Both Pelletier and Pepin, whose department would administer part of such a plan, supported the idea and eventually put it on Cabinet agenda

for discussion.

When it came up in Cabinet, Pelletier was in Vancouver giving speeches, and the idea faded into the realm of vague future possibility.

The Ontario government, the only one to have applied even a Royal Commission to the matter, has an interesting record. It has granted forgiveable loans to Ontario publishers, a move much applauded by the publishers.

The Toronto Graphic Arts Council, however, takes another view:

"The loss of business to imports has left the industry with a serious problem of over capacity. Because of this situation we viewed with dismay the granting of forgiveable loans by the provincial government to expand capacity in the industry as a part of a program to create jobs. The use of the taxpayers money to create wasteful excess capacity in any industry is deplorable. If the desire was to produce jobs it could be viewed with some favour. In this case, however, the result can only be the creation of some low wage jobs in Kingston and Owen Sound and the probable loss of a similar number of high wage jobs in Toronto. It also strikes us as another example of the Government's apparent desire to finance the movement of jobs, from the union to non-union centres of Ontario."

The Ontario government has also moved to enforce its own "Circular 14", the approved list of textbooks, which is made up mainly of books authored, published and manufactured in Canada. Since it had not previously been enforced, only about 41 per cent of the books purchased for our schools were Canadian. But to be approved and placed on Circular 14, a textbook must be given to the Department of Education in finished form. This means for a Canadian text that all the development work must be completed before a single sale is achieved. For an American text, it is a simple matter to submit books already approved and sold in the U.S.

Textbooks account for 50 per cent of Canadian book consumption. Of these, imports each year account for 51 per cent. Wally Matheson at Prentice-Hall is not worried about Canada Council grants for novels and poetry. He is far too busy supplying Canadian schools in the more lucrative textbook field.

The Canadian government has shown itself to be willing enough to spend money when it can no longer avoid an issue. LIP grants, OFY grants, and now grants to publishers, are prime examples of the federal government's patchy efforts to placate an increasingly vociferous and dissatisfied middle class. They have failed even in that. The publishers are encouraged but not fooled or satisfied.

Further, these measures ignore the working class that the middle-class industry is built upon. To deal effectively with the fundamental problems of the industry means risking the ire of Washington and almost certainly means higher prices to the Canadian consumer: The Graphic Arts unions are aware of this, but advise that "the higher costs should be a cost to all of us as a sort of down payment on our perpetual goal of maintaining a Canadian identity and a viable Canadian economy."

The Canadian Government instead continues to buy its meat from a renownedly disreputable butcher, in the interests of economy, and then spends its time and money on endless diagnoses of stomach pains.

Carole Orr is a frequent contributor to the Last Post.

Politicians must lead Canada to economic independence

by Pierre Elliott Trudeau

■

Prime Minister Trudeau has repeatedly promised that his government would soon be making its policy on foreign ownership known to the public. However, he has just as repeatedly broken these promises.

In reply to a question by NDP leader David Lewis in the House of Commons on February 22 as to when the government would be issuing a statement with regard to foreign investment, the prime minister said: "Precisely because there have been innumerable delays, and because the government has not been able to come forward as quickly as it had hoped, I would prefer not to go on record now as setting any date."

It appears, then, that we shall have to wait some time before finding out where Trudeau stands on the question of foreign economic domination in 1972. We do, however, know where he stood in 1958. Following are extracts from an essay which appeared in the radical intellectual magazine *Cite Libre* in May 1958.

■

The election campaign which has just ended has been very prolific in promises of every kind. But, strange to say, not one was offered which might allow us to hope that the elected government would pull Canada a little out of its heavily foreign-dominated economic position.

Certainly the Liberals were scandalized when the American State Department was recently able to prevent the Canadian subsidiary of Ford from filling an order coming from Communist China, at a time when so much unemployment was weighing down the Canadian automobile industry. But under the Liberals this was also practised, and Mr. Pearson, then minister of external affairs, had been powerless to reduce the hold of the U.S.A. government on American capital invested in Canada. Besides, even if this government had been well disposed toward our industries, that would change nothing in the decisions taken abroad by mother-companies, in accordance with their own profits and not with the welfare of the Canadian worker. For example, there was a time under the Liberals when C.I.L. could not look for any market outside Canada, because that was forbidden by the mother-companies. Another example, brought up by



Eugene Forsey: in 1952, Latin America made purchases of \$46 million from our automobile industry, but in 1954 these purchases reached only \$248,000: the American companies had simply taken orders filled — during the Korean War — by their Canadian subsidiaries back for themselves.

Likewise the Conservatives, during the recent election campaign, deplored the fact that the Liberal governments had encouraged Canadian producers to depend greatly upon American markets. But that did not prevent the Americans, from the first days of the Conservative reign, from practising dumping and then bilateralism to the detriment of our wheat producers, and that did not prevent the American oil lobby from cutting our western producers' throats . . .

Finally, the test of impotence, Liberal as much as Conservative, was — in the course of the campaign — the absolute silence of the two big parties on the pipe-line scandal. When the extent to which this scandal contributed to upsetting the Liberals and putting the Conservatives in power in June 1957 is remembered, when it is seen that under the Conservatives this international financial combine continued to create fabulous profits for some at the detriment of the general interest, the silence of the old parties is singularly enlightening as to their chances of acting . . .

But the electors are frivolous and inattentive. They would like for things to improve and for their country to head toward economic independence, but they are careful not to ask what price they will have to pay for it, and the politicians are careful not to tell them . . .

* * * *

By the mid-war period, Canada could glorify (?) herself in being — of all the countries in the world — the most heavily indebted toward foreign countries, and since, with the possible exception of Venezuela, no country has been able to dispute this title of glory! And besides, it's continuing more and more. If you consider the total capital investment here each year in every field (houses, factories, equipment,

In the Commons on Mar. 2, Prime Minister Trudeau said there is no contradiction between the government's planned policy on foreign investment and a statement in the U.S. by Industry Minister Jean-Luc Pepin that Canada "will remain one of the most open and secure locations in the world" for investment by outsiders.

— Canadian Press report

roads, etc.), you may notice that the net portion of *foreign* capital passed from less than 3% in 1945 to more than 10% in 1956. In 1956, the assets in the books of Canada's foreign creditors were twice as high as in 1945, establishing themselves at \$15.4 billion, \$11.6 billion of which was in the United States and \$2.7 billion in Britain. And it is worth noting that foreign capital was concentrated in the most dynamic sectors, where it could have a great influence on the rest of our economy. Thus in 1953, 47% of the Canadian manufacturing industry belonged to non-residents; in mining, processing and oil, this percentage was 56%.

And it is again worth noticing that the skillful investment of their capital assets often allowed non-residents to exercise an influence even more vast than their property rights. So it was that in 1953 they already held control of 70% of the oil, 55% of the mining and 47% of the rest of the manufacturing industry.

Let us add that, in the very great majority of cases, foreign dependence means American dependence. In 1954, 3,361



Canadian enterprises were under American dependence. And if we limit ourselves to only the manufacturing industry, we see that the American influence tends to be concentrated in a small number of giant enterprises; of the 60 Canadian companies capitalized at \$25 million or more, American capital commands 42% in number and 60% in value

The significance of these data is obvious: in the key sectors of the Canadian economy, non-residents are in a position to take decisions contrary to the well-being of Canadians. And that has in fact come about in industries as important as automobiles, optical products, titanium, radios, chemical products and many others. Foreigners will decide if our oil wells are to be worked or closed, if our ore is to be transformed here or elsewhere, if our factories are to be automated or not, if our products are to be put on the world market or not, or if our workers are to be free to exercise their right of association or not. Foreigners will decide, . . . and will collect the profits: in the post-war years, for example, 55% of the dividends paid by the sum total of Canadian companies were distributed to non-residents; at the same time these people automatically became owners of two-fifths of the accumulated and undistributed profits, strengthening their hold on our economy all the more.

This leads us to the following question: can Canada free herself from the domination exercised by foreigners, particularly Americans, on our economy? . . .

The relative slowing down of the American economy, currently characterized by an unemployment crisis, has in no way allowed Canada to take an advance over its "impoverished" neighbour, far from winning markets at the expense of our neighbours, our own economy has been rendered decrepit as a result of their sickness, as currently witnessed by unemployment here. The reason for it is obvious: not only is the United States our main furnisher of capital, but it also constitutes our principal buyer, having bought, in 1955 for example, 60% of all our exports. Consequently, an American crisis constricts a good part of our investments and of our outlets at the same time

* * *

Apart from the exclusion, pure and simple, of American capital, a perfectly reactionary solution which would assume a vigorous braking of our economic expansion and a radical reduction of our standard of living, two attitudes remain possible: Either we shall passively suffer our situation of economic domination, and then it would be better to be annexed outright to the United States, rather than be a colony exploited without limit. Or else we shall intervene vigorously in the game of economic forces by adopting economic policies which take account of the following factors:

- (1) The gradual exhaustion of American resources, as stated by the Paley report.
- (2) The monopoly held in Canada on certain resources.
- (3) The pressing need that the Americans have of finding markets for their surpluses of production and capital.
- (4) The existence of such markets in Canada, which unite conditions of economic profitability and political security with rare good fortune.

These facts give Canada a bargaining power which would allow her to direct capital according to the following priorities:

- (1) Social profitability must take precedence over economic profitability: houses, schools and hospitals must come before factories and mills
- (2) The resources which cannot be preserved, before those which can wait until we need them without dwindling: for

In 1958, Pierre Elliott Trudeau wrote:

"Shall we suffer passively our situation of economic domination? It would be better to be annexed outright to the United States rather than be a colony exploited without limit."

* * *

In 1972, Pierre Elliott Trudeau said:

"Personally, I am not an economic nationalist . . ."

example, waterfalls and forests before oil and mines

Finally, instead of harming the development of trade unionism, our governments ought to encourage it. For in the end, when all the capital transactions have been concluded, when the government has obtained the best possible price for natural resources, the workers' unions can still do something: by obtaining maximum salaries for our workers, they leave minimum surpluses abroad.

One may doubtless object here that in negotiating too toughly, Canada may sometimes succeed in banishing foreign capital. Obviously, any agreement between equals is negotiated at this risk, and the parties must read just their conditions and their demands according to their successes and failures. — I add only this: it would not always be a misfortune if we turned foreign capital away from time to time toward countries less demanding and less fortunate than ours. We might thus contribute (where the automatic functioning of capitalist laws is so unsuccessful) to the eventual setting up of the "civitas maxima", where the good of the international community will have priority over the good of a national state

In one way or another, Canadian capital must be brought to enter the speculative sector more, where returns are higher; public corporations and private enterprises would thus be pushed into seeking their loan capital, rather than their stock, on foreign markets

* * *

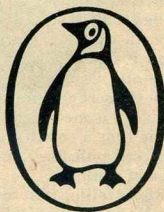
Canada will not automatically get out of its situation of economic domination. To get out, it first has to want to. Now it is not at all certain that Canadians really want to, since the politicians have never exposed the alternatives to them. Hence nobody really knows if the Canadian people would be ready to slow down the rhythm of their progress slightly, in case it were necessary to conquer a relative economic independence.

Above all, no one knows if Canadians would be ready to accept the sort of planned economy that all these reforms assume. Now if one thing comes out of the present examination, it is that a country under the thumb of a dominant economy can pull itself out from under only if it practises a degree of planning.

But who is telling that to Canadians, apart from the social democratic party? Ironically, the most nationalistic parties . . . are the same ones that are most opposed to economic interventionism. These politicians would well like an economic system which would have all the advantages of planning, but they will fight to the death against economic planning! For, isn't it so, the fund-providers must always preserve their rights

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'Jake was a liberal'

by RALPH SURETTE

St. Urbain's Horseman, by Mordecai Richler. McClelland and Stewart, 467 pp. \$6.95.

A book with a punchline like "Jake was a liberal" seems to speak for itself.

Yet there's more. The liberal dilemma is a many-shlored thing.

According to the hieroglyphics on the liberal stone (*New York Times*, *Saturday Night*, etc. Rave reviews all) Jake Hersh in *St. Urbain's Horseman* is Mordecai Richler himself.

St. Urbain's Horseman is important on two counts.

First, insofar as it is a Canadian novel, its publication has been an event of considerable significance. It was the first Canadian novel ever to be widely awaited before it appeared. Once it appeared it became the biggest immediate seller of all. Thus implying the development of a Canadian audience for home grown novels, as long as they're good. A cheering sign. Canadian culture is in, as they say.

(All this is being said while consciously ignoring the perplexing debate that has been raging among certain literati, and in which Richler himself has participated, on what is really a Canadian novel and whether a Canadian novelist should strive to attain jingo purity).

Second, it has been hailed internationally in the English-speaking world as the ultimate statement of a timorous liberal generation, now around 40, which Jake Hersh feels "was unjustly squeezed between two raging and carnivorous ones. The old establishment and the young hipsters."

Here, throbbing, is the *New York Times*:

"To one of Jake Hersh's generation, travelling with him on his journey to accommodation is an exercise in self-discovery. Mordecai Richler has caught, with much the accuracy of Renata Adler's brilliant introduction to 'Towards a Radical Middle,' our generation's uneasy sense that it is left out of the swim, yet possesses and remains faithful to the most important truths." (What's a radical middle?)

Jake, like Mordecai, a boy from Montreal's former St. Urbain Street Jewish ghetto, makes it big in the swinging world of London's celluloid jungle. He is approaching 40 and, sitting in his puddle of liberal befuddlement, worrying about the great movies he never made and about his talent

going to pot. He also has hangups about the starving millions (a left liberal) while he wallows in decadent luxury.

He compensates by (a) trying to escape into the seamy side of life, befriending an embittered blacksheep child of the working class called Harry Stein, who leads him into a sexual adventure that lands him in court and on the gossip sheets, and (b) daydreaming about his long-lost cousin Joey Hersh, also from St. Urbain Street, who is supposed to be riding stallions across the earth in pursuit of Nazi war criminals.

And he has generational hangups: "Young too late, old too soon was, as Jake had come to understand it, the plaintive story of his American generation. Conceived in the depression, but never to taste its bitterness firsthand, they had actually contrived to sail through the Spanish Civil War, World War II, the holocaust, Hiroshima, the Israeli War of Independence, McCarthyism, Korea, and, latterly, Vietnam and the drug culture, with impunity. Always the wrong age. Ever observers, never participants. The whirlwind elsewhere."

Now here's the link between the author and his creation. For the past two or three years, in his journalism, Richler has been whining about that approaching cataclysmic tragedy — which he has now passed — in his life: turning 40, becoming "middle aged" and, in his view, losing the possibility of fulfilling his true potential as a writer.

True, one expects an artist to be more aware of impending decay than the nine-to-five guys, and except for a handful of superstars in this century, every writer has possibly worried about unfulfilled potential. But when you consider that Graham Greene, that Catholic Commie of sorts, pushing 70, has only now irrevocably conceded that age is upon him, and that Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, in his fifties (who was over 40 when he got his first novel published), has just embarked on a massive trilogy of historical novels meant to crown off his career ("career?" He's not even being published in his own country!), the grievings of Richler's "American generation" ring hollow.

For Mordecai is not alone in his agony. American writers, John Updike in particular, but a host of others as well who were the bright hope of American literature in 1960, have

"If Richler got his claws out he could be as effective a satirist as Evelyn Waugh . . . let him take on any of a million things screaming to be torn to shreds."

ended up lamenting their plight similarly, their literary wheels spinning hopelessly in escapist liberal-sexual chic (albeit, superbly written).

If there is indeed a tragedy among these liberals, it is that they evoke no pity. They know liberalism is poisoning them (Jake Hersh faces the fact that he is a liberal quite bluntly) but they won't stop drinking its soothing, numbing liquid which is eroding their hard edges. And a writer, if anything, needs hard edges. Having used their talents to satirize liberal chic, they in turn became its victims (for to satirize liberal chic, especially with claws already dulled by liberalism, is merely to reinforce it).

What they seem to fear most about the onslaught of middle life is not merely the imminence of physical decay and intimations of death (after all, who's in love with that?) but the dawning of "chiciness." Chic is escaping them.

In the Americanized society which defines people by generations, to be 40 is to have had it in terms of "relevance", just as surely as to be 65 is to be technologically obsolete. The flower children and hipsters of which Jake Hersh complains have been no less trapped by this. ("Never trust anyone over 30" etc. By now, for anyone still following that stuff, it's probably "never trust anyone over 15.")

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That these writers haven't had the courage to wrest themselves from these artificial categories is also part of their little tragedy.

Here's Robert Fulford: "As Richler in his journalism has confessed to concern about growing old while simultaneously noticing the *familiarily comic spectacle he thus represents*, so Jake ruefully recognizes . . ." (italics mine).

Fulford may have been trying to be existentialist. But the remark still comes out as a very obscene piece of American style liberalism: irrelevance over 40.

It seems to me (being under 30) that there can be a great deal of strength and beauty in age — reserved for those who don't throw in the towel at 40. Surely, in the human plan, the sluggishness of the body is compensated for by certain qualities of the mind (Picasso's still doing his thing in his nineties, Bertrand Russell kept thinking until age 100, to name a few examples).

Besides, 40 is hardly the pinnacle of old age. Here is Richler, his attainment of the peak of his literary powers being celebrated as a comic spectacle by his Boswell. But of course Fulford is probably accurately interpreting what Richler, in his liberal funk, thinks of himself. And to some extent it's true. These writers of the American generation do represent a somewhat comic paradox. As soon as they have honed their writing skills to perfection they have nothing left to say.

Let none of this sound like backbiting. Old man Richler can indeed write, and in terms of sheer craft can probably hold a candle to anyone writing in English anywhere. Although the plot droops here and there in *St. Urbain's Horseman*, Richler's racing style and porno humour keep dullness far away. And although Jake is a dud, the subsidiary characters live, particularly Hanna, the Nazi-hunting Horseman's mother, a withered but tough old crone. Even if the ideology is going nowhere, it's a hard book to put down. It is truly a statement for the "American generation." On top of that Richler fuses poetry and philosophy in the skilful manner of many a great work of art.

Yet all this said, the novel — far from thumping with timeless greatness — comes out with the taste of one that has been merely "saved."

It is saved, for one thing, by its Jewishness. If Jake Hersh were a WASP liberal daydreaming about, say, the adventures of his Harvard-trained archeologist cousin, Richler would have done as well to rewrite the Etobicoke telephone book in Canadian Press style.

Its Jewishness is its one fundamental spice. And although the Jewish condition will probably continue to be an important theme for literature, one must admit that even Jewish liberals risk becoming a bit of a bore.

For Richler has given up even his hard Jewish edges. Following publication of some of his earlier novels he was often called an "anti-Jewish Jew", "self-hating Jew", etc. because of his blunt portrayals, warts and all (with a certain leeway for literary exaggeration), of the St. Urbain Street ghetto. But on the contrary, he was the most faithful Jew of them all. He was faithful to his roots — he dared love and celebrate his people when they were poor. And every time he did the chief priests squirmed. The chief priests probably didn't squirm much at *St. Urbain's Horseman* — unless it was at the four-letter words.

If people are reading Mordecai Richler 100 years from now — that is, based on his present output — it is probably the *Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* they will be reading, and not *St. Urbain's Horseman* or *Cocksure* (a shorter and somewhat more biting satire of liberal chic that preceded *St. Urbain's Horseman*).

I read *Duddy Kravitz* — a much less polished work stylistically — five years ago and it's still much more with me than *St. Urbain's Horseman*, which I read only a short while ago. *Duddy Kravitz* had edge.

Had Richler kept his teeth sharp after writing *Duddy Kravitz*, this time around he would have given us Joey Hersh the Nazi hunter instead of Joey Hersh the escapist daydream of cousin Jake the liberal.

In fact, everything in the book that touches Joey the Horseman sizzles. The descriptions of Baruch, his father, the dirty Jew renegade, circus strongman, slot-machine peddler, sailor of the South China Seas, etc. whom we never meet. The speech and antics of Hanna. Here is the passage that has struck most tenaciously to the roof of my mind. It is Hanna speaking:

"In Yellowknife (where we are told Joey was born) you couldn't bury people in the winter. The ground freezes hard as rock. And so every autumn, the undertaker, Formaldehyde Smith, used to size us up before he figured out how many graves to dig in advance. He looked at my Joey, my four-year-old Joey, nobody expected him to live, he was so sickly, and he dug a pint-size grave for him . . . Mr. Smith, I said, you fill that hole in immediately or I'll cut your balls off and fry them for dog food."

So Joey the Nazi hunter, whom we see only briefly, manages to give the book its elan. But to think how far he could have gone without a fat liberal on his back. A mere shift in perspective and *St. Urbain's Horseman* might have been one of the memorable books of the century.

What Richler needs now is to rediscover his hard edges and cease this self-flagellation. Here's some gratuitous advice for him from the left wing. He can do what many

other writers have done and either (a) leave kith and kin and run around the world in a creative frenzy, or, preferably (b) stay home and become a Bolshevik (okay, okay you bourgeois nationalists, a *Canadian* Bolshevik. As Canadian as Fred Rose.)

If Richler got his claws out he could be as effective a satirist as Evelyn Waugh. Now that he's going to be teaching in Ottawa let him take on the Northern Affairs department, higher education, any of a million things screaming to be torn to shreds. One can only hope that his next novel will not be about a middle-aged writer living on a lonely isle, escaping urban ennui and mooning about never having really made it.

Some are saying that Richler is of late becoming more inward-looking and searching in his Jewishness. That may be a good thing. So is Bob Dylan. A lot of people — and not just, or even primarily, Jews — have taken to searching for their roots of late. This does not preclude a radical consciousness. In fact it can join up with it, as more and more people become aware that it is the liberal mainstream that is destroying everybody's traditions by trading them on the marketplace for so many pieces of silver. As such, a search for roots melts into the ecological movement and the fight of ethnic and native minorities for their cultural rights.

Richler's return to Canada from England will please a lot of people, but that alone will please only the right wing of his fan club.

Now all he has to do is come home to his real talent from that land of psychic mush known as North American liberalism and he'll give the rest of us a thrill.

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There's better Grant to read

Time as History, by George Parkin Grant. CBC Learning Systems, 52 pp. \$1.50.

Who is George Parkin Grant?

He is the head of the department of religion at McMaster University, and author of *Philosophy in the Mass Age, Technology and Empire*, and the famous patriotic pamphlet *Lament for a Nation*. He has six children and is himself the grandson of both George Monro Grant and Sir George Parkin, Canada's two best-known Tory thinkers of the nineteenth century. But Grant would consider any biographical data totally irrelevant. Let's just say, George Grant is a man.

What is his new book about?

History.

Do you mean the study of the past, or the past that is studied?

Neither. What Grant is concerned with is "what it means to conceive the world as an historical process, to conceive time as history and man as an historical being."

Like when Castro says, "History will absolve me"? That use of the word 'history'?

Precisely. And when Castro says 'history' he is thinking of the future. The most distinctive thing about this conception of history is that it is oriented towards the future.

Isn't this a lot of useless pedantry? What does it matter how we use a certain word?

It matters a lot, if that word is the name of an idea which did not exist in any other civilizations "including those from which ours sprang." It matters, if that idea has enormous practical implications.

What are those practical implications?

First, when men think of time as history they are turned toward the future and want to master that future. Second, that mastery requires determination; it does not require either contemplation or nobility of purpose. Third, since the future of a collective is more predictable than the future of an individual, an age which thinks of time as history will pursue collective aims rather than individual ones. Fourth, the mastery of the future requires that man think of himself as something separate and distinct from nature whose purpose is to control nature.

That sounds like the ideology of corporate capitalism: progress is our most important product - whatever the cost.

True. But Grant does not think that the existing alternatives are really any different. The most famous statement of man's duty to conquer the future was Marx's eleventh thesis on Feuerbach: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it." Admittedly, as Grant points out, Marx thought of revolution only as a means to an end. But his modern followers seem to have concluded that revolution — that changing the world — is an end in itself. *Did Grant think all this up on his own?*

Not entirely. He has read the writings of Leo Strauss and Jacques Ellul, and has also been influenced by Friedrich Nietzsche. He says that Nietzsche "thought through the conception of time as history more comprehensively than any other modern thinker before or since."

What did Nietzsche think?

Nietzsche thought that since man

was constantly changing, i.e. since he had a history, therefore all of his values were relative. There is nothing permanent to believe in because there is nothing permanent but change, or, in Nietzsche's phrase, "the finality of becoming". The absence of any purpose in life leads to a society composed of "last men", who seek only comfort and trivial happiness, and, for variety, a few "nihilists" who "would rather will nothing than have nothing to will." Nietzsche's mature writings are a search for an alternative that transcends that dilemma.

What alternative does he find?

It would take too long to explain. After all, there is a word limit on this review. The important point is that Grant does not go along with him. Grant asserts that there is something permanent, that "the absurdities of time — its joys as well as its dirempments — are to be taken not simply as history, but as enfolded in an unchanging meaning, which is untouched by potentiality or change." In short, Grant is a Christian. He believes that "the core of our lives is the desire for perfection, and only that desire can make us less imperfect." Grant's position is derived from the ancients, but since we live within the cognitive universe of modernity, ancient thought makes no sense to us. Nonetheless, if we want to provide an alternative to modern liberalism, our only possible course of action is to try to reach to the roots of classical Greek and Christian thought and remember other ways of thinking and living.

'Remembering' might be okay for Grant. He's a philosophy professor. But what am I supposed to do?

He doesn't say. But there seems to be implicit in his call to 'remembering' a definite programme for practical action:

(1) If our thoughts shape our institutions, our institutions also shape our thoughts. Our first job must be to preserve (or obtain) enough freedom to be able to think and remember. B.F. Skinner suggests that we have to get rid of freedom and human dignity so that we can all be properly conditioned. Today the idea is considered shocking by even such a prominent liberal as Spiro Agnew. But tomorrow it will be a platitude, unless we resist those who

new from progress . . .

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would control our lives, unless we weaken and decentralize all power. At the lowest level this might mean building parallel social structures; it also means trying to regain Canadian independence.

(2) Grant paints too black a picture when he says that our society is totally liberal. We are, on the contrary, surrounded by the vestigial remnants of pre-modern times. These vestiges should be preserved and strengthened so that they can serve as springboards to remembering.

Now many people in the resistance movement are already doing these things, but their actions are not sustained by any ultimate purpose. Without such a sustaining purpose we will

be motivated only by hatred of the present rather than by a positive love of the earth and the process of life.

Should we recommend this book to people?

No, the prose is far too obfuscating. What we could do is recommend that everybody read *Philosophy in the Mass Age* and *Lament for a Nation*. Neither probes the issues as deeply as does *Time as History*, but they are far more gracefully written. After that, people can decide for themselves whether or not they want to read more of Grant. They might even decide they want to read more of Nietzsche.

DONALD LIVINGSTONE

Cries of Anguish

The Wretched of Canada, Letters to R. B. Bennett, 1930-1935,
by L. M. Grayson and Michael Bliss,
University of Toronto Press, Cloth \$12.50,
Paper \$3.95.

Of all Canadian prime ministers, none suffers from anonymity more than

Richard Bedford Bennett. Biographies abound on such figures as John A. Macdonald, Laurier and Mackenzie King. Even Arthur Meighen, prime minister for a little over one year, has a three volume work written about him. No such thing exists for Bennett. We know very little of the man and, consequently, very little of the period in Canadian history that he was connected with. Secondary source material on Bennett is relegated to reminiscent type works by such people as Lord Beaverbrook, a close friend of his, and Andrew Maclean, his personal secretary. Neither is very good, nor very penetrating in its analysis of the man and the period.

Reasons for this neglect are many. First, Bennett's personal papers have only recently become available to the Canadian public; previously, they were closed. Secondly, the long dominance of the Liberal Party in Canadian politics has spilled over into historical scholarship. For too long, our historians have focused only on such questions as "national unity" and the "evolution towards full responsible government". Who had better exemplified these matters than the Liberal Party? Hence, all that was connected with that party became worthy of study. The corollary is somewhat obvious. 'One party politics' has transcended itself into 'one party scholarship'.

Thirdly, and somewhat related to the above, the continual 'Toronto' base of the Conservative Party, for the years 1935-1957, generated little interest in studying the party. It was not until the advent of Diefenbaker that we saw any kind of resurgence in that interest.

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"The 'dust bowl' of the prairies, the soup lines of the cities ... have long since passed into the recesses of our minds."

Fourthly, the 1930s gave birth to numerous 'aberrations' within the Canadian political system as witnessed by the birth of the CCF and Social Credit Parties. The fascination scholars have had with them is obvious from the literature on them. Finally, and perhaps most important, the 'dirty thirties' was a period to forget in the minds of most Canadians who lived through it. The 'dust bowl' of the prairies, the soup lines of the cities, were all events that have long since passed into the recesses of our minds. Postwar affluence has seen to that.

The Wretched of Canada, edited by Grayson and Bliss, is an attempt to give us an overall impression of what the downtrodden, the poor and the destitute were saying in reaction to the events of the Depression. We are exposed to their accounts as they appeared before the prime minister:

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more affectively than any source we know."

Upon reading the letters certain recurring themes do manifest themselves. The resentment towards foreigners, the stressing of military service, the belief in a 'Christian ethic', the plea for patronage, to name but a few. It quickly becomes apparent that Canada was not geared to handle the crisis as it developed. No policy of social welfare beyond the 'dole' stage was enunciated. Moreover, the government's handling of the 'welfare issue' smacked of heavy paternalism and puritanism. One was not allowed to drink beer, attend a film and the like, or one was cut off from the relief rolls. Nineteenth century individualism and *laissez faire* still pervaded the Canadian scene. Finding a job was the responsibility of the unemployed. Government intervention was kept to a minimum. One is struck by the despair and destitution of these 'letter writers' on the one hand, and by the inability of leaders such as Bennett to offer any meaningful, constructive solutions to alleviate that feeling. Private donations of five to one hundred dollars, a particularistic quirk of Bennett and his personal staff does not constitute a meaningful solution to this great social problem.

The collection of 168 letters assembled chronologically by Grayson and Bliss, while quite moving, does contain certain gaps. Why, for instance, do they stop in 1935? Granted that Bennett's government was overthrown in the fall of that year, it would still have been quite interesting to be able to compare King's attitudes and reactions to this mail in relation to Bennett's. Surely the Depression was by no means over. The editors themselves, make the point in their introduction that 1937-38 was another low ebb in the decade, due in part to the failure of Rooseveltian reforms. Is this then just another form of 'bias' built into our studying of Canadian history, as mentioned at the outset?

Although outside the parameters of the study, it would be of some value to analyze the different intensities with which the Depression hit the various regions of the country. Just as everyone in Canada was not affected the same way by the Depression, so too the regions felt its brunt differently. The Depression was far from monolithic in impact or intensity.

Still, the book is quite worthwhile reading. Social history is a relatively new field in Canada. We know a lot about 'politics' and 'leaders' but very little about the 'mass'. Unlike James

Gray's *The Winter Years*, this book does not rely on personal anecdotes and reminiscences — but rather on the hard, cold, bitter bleak truth, as was experienced by those directly involved. Their cries of anguish will not let us forget this period of our history.

BRIAN SCHECTER

Some trivia from Toronto journalists

Canadian Perspectives, ed. Brian V. McCarthy. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 96 pp. \$2.95

A Media Mosaic, ed. Walt McDayter. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 335 pp. \$5.95

Here are two books on Canadian journalism from those great Canadian publishers "Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited".

A Media Mosaic is subtitled "Canadian Communications through a Critical Eye", contains original essays and appears to be aimed at journalism students in community colleges. *Canadian Perspectives* is in magazine format, is subtitled "Goin' down the road to the seventies", and contains reprints of various short articles. Both books give a depressing picture of the quality of journalism in this country.

According to its foreword, *Canadian Perspectives*

"is designed to acquaint the reader with a variety of views on various aspects of contemporary Canadian life. The different points of view have been included for two basic reasons: to indicate the diversity and complexity of the attitudes surrounding particular issues, and to assist the reader in arriving at his own informed opinion on these issues."

Seven "particular issues" are dealt with under such headings as "Drugs", "Education" and "Black October: The FLQ Crisis". As to "the diversity and complexity of the attitudes" presented, virtually all of the articles were first published in Toronto in an establishment periodical. Of 46 articles in the book, no less than 18 were originally published by the *Toronto Star*. Most of the rest are from *MacLean's*, *Saturday*

Night and the *Toronto Telegram*. As might be expected, though the writers included do disagree on some points, in general their supposed diverse views have more in common with each other than they would with those of any number of journalists whom the editor didn't deem fit to include in his "variety of views". There are no articles from the underground press, from the left or from French Canadian periodicals. In fact there is only one article not from an Ontario based publication — and it's from the *New York Times*. (To be fair I should point out that there are two articles from a student newspaper in the "Pollution" section and a translation (from *MacLean's*) of a piece by Charles Gagnon in the "FLQ" section. On the other hand, there are no selections from the student press in the "Education" section and the article by Gagnon is the only article of ten on the FLQ by a Quebecois — unless you want to count Peter Desbarats.

As to the reader's "arriving at his own informed opinion", one is struck by just how little information there is in most of these articles. Only a year or so after their original publication, these pieces are useless as research material — unless you're doing research into the "diversity and complexity of the attitudes" of Toronto establishment journalists. In that case you'll find out that they're against pollution, hard drugs and the FLQ, are in favour of "an independent Canada" and haven't made their minds up about women's lib.

Most of these articles now seem at worst trivial, but some of them manage to retain their original odiousness. For example, Gustav Morf's "Pierre Valieres: Professional Revolutionary" exclaims that "*White Negroes of America* in more than one way resembles Hitler's autobiography *Mein Kampf*." Or Peter Gzowski's "My Five Marijuana Problems" which exploits the death of a Toronto journalist (whose identity is only thinly disguised with a name change) in order to suggest that marijuana may lead to hard drugs.

The journalistic attitudes that result in the kind of crap found in *Canadian Perspectives* are articulated in *A Media Mosaic*. (Amongst the contributors to this book there are no French Canadians, no women, and no one who hasn't worked in Toronto.) Here we find, for instance, the head of the journalism department at Ryerson explaining that no newspaper story should be more than 500 words long, and ex-foreign correspondent Peter Worthington stating that "Hong Kong is the great China-

watching headquarters where U.S. State Department experts provide excellent and commendably impartial assessments for correspondents."

Actually Worthington's piece on foreign correspondents, along with Frank Jones's essay on the Parliamentary Press Gallery, is the most informative in the book. Both pieces go into some detail explaining why the news we get from these two sources is so often inadequate. Worthington puts most of the blame on editors' lack of interest in foreign news and his piece has already been attacked in print by the editor of *The Montreal Star*. Ironically Worthington himself is now editor of *The Toronto Sun*, a tabloid rag with no foreign correspondents at all.

Perhaps the article that says most about standards of journalism is a piece by Jon Ruddy on magazines. Ruddy begins by giving the background on *Time* and *Reader's Digest's* exemption from the 1966 law disallowing as tax deductible business expenses the cost of advertising for the Canadian market in publications that were more than 25 per cent foreign-owned. He then goes on to discuss the large consumer magazines — without mentioning *TV Guide* which has one of the highest paid

circulations of any magazine in the country. During the Ontario Royal Commission on Book Publishing's discussion on distribution, it became apparent that *TV Guide* is considered one of the most important magazines by retailers, and control of its distribution gives a lot of clout to foreign-owned distributors.

TV Guide would appear to exemplify the kind of dumping the 1966 law was meant to terminate. Not only is the colour editorial section written in the US but it's printed there.

But Ruddy never once mentions *TV Guide*, though he must be aware of its existence since in each issue, *TV Guide* devotes a grand total of one page to Canadian news, and that page is written by Jon Ruddy.

If these two books give a disturbing picture of journalism it is not because they are about standards of journalism, but because they may be a reflection of those standards. But I don't think they are; rather I suspect that they merely reflect the standards of their editors, the Toronto journalists who contributed to them, and Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Limited.

JOE MEDJUCK

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LETTERS

Dear Last Post:

As a new subscriber, just finished reading my first issue (Dec. — Jan.), I find it impossible not to respond to one essay which deals with something I know about, Robin Mathews' review of Northrop Frye's *The Bush Garden*. Mathews twice says that Frye is wrong about Canadians having failed to produce great literature — but the closest thing to evidence Matthews produces is assertion. "Canadians have produced — just as other communities have produced — great works of literature." To be very blunt, this is sloppy nonsense, as well as being demonstrably false.

Canada is not cultureless; no culture, by definition, is cultureless. But Canada (and especially the greater part of Canada, the English-speaking part) has produced no great poet or poetry, no great novel or novelist, no great drama or dramatist. (And I could add, no great painter, no great sculptor, no great composer — though Harry Somers is a very good composer and deserves to be far better known.) This is not an immutable fact; neither is it inevitable that Canadians, any more than any other people, will produce great literature. Nationhood *per se* is no guarantor of artistic greatness, nor is it an indispensable requirement for artistic greatness. The Hebrew poets of medieval Spain, some of whom were great poets, worked in a literary tradition which had been divorced from nationhood for a thousand years and more. And the composers of nineteenth century America had a well-established nationhood, but wrote no great music.

Canada is not the USA. Canada has a culture. But to turn one's back on reality and assert, blindly, that (say) Leonard Cohen is a great poet, or Irving Layton, or A. J. M. Smith... well, that

doesn't really advance the cause. Assert, instead, that Layton has written some good stuff and is worth reading, well worth reading; assert that David Wevill, Canada's best English-language poet, is growing with every book and is very worth reading (and worth, too, bringing back to Canada). Nothing is good simply because it is Canadian. It's either Canadian or it isn't; it's either good or it isn't. Don't mix the two.

Canadians, like other communities (to paraphrase Mathews' rather frothy prose), should try as hard as they can to keep their eyes on reality, to see it steadily and see it whole. Thinking and feeling underlie great art; failure to think, and an almost desperate need to shout about how intensely one feels, undercuts all art.

Burton Raffel
Toronto

Dear Last Post:

Re Ronald Livingstone's review of Lorimer's *Working People* (Vol 2, No 4) did you see Vol 1, No 3 of *Transformation* (ed. Marjaleena Repo)? It contains a critique which chastizes him for his lack of class analysis, among other things.

Also, re "Until Friday at 4:30":

(a) we don't all work; even those who work without wages, e.g. housewives, do not consider their work in terms of its contribution to the economy, nor do they consider themselves to be 'workers'.

(b) we don't all shave! Please remember that over 33 per cent of the Canadian work force is female.

To go on in general, some sections of the women's course that I teach at the University of Toronto are using the Verrall et al article on women workers. It was a very fine article; naturally I am looking forward to more like it. There's a swell interview with two women done by Myrna Wood which was reprinted in *Leviathan* (Vol 2, No 1, May 1970) which you might be interested in reprinting. Students in the women's course are doing some very good research as well. I'm sure that

Canadian women are getting more familiar with the new interest in women's studies. It would be well worth your while to investigate possibilities for future articles in these fertile fields.

Forgive me for being so pushy (up-pity?) but the dearth of Canadian feminist material is embarrassing. Give us a hand.

Lyba Spring
Toronto

Dear Last Post:

The careless review of "The Whiteoaks of Jalna" carried in your February/March issue requires an answer. It seems the reviewer was expecting something different (about Indians or Manitoba rebels, perhaps), and when exposed to this particular series, lost sight of a few of the fundamental tenets of criticism, such as the need for accuracy (Renny does *not* say "Never mind her, she's French") and for focusing the critique on the context given, not what the reviewer may have wished to be given. For such failures a reviewer deserves to lose his audience.

While one may well not hold or sympathise with the class values portrayed in "Jalna", this does not automatically invalidate the series. Mazo de la Roche is certainly no Chekhov, but nevertheless her characters are not cardboard, and in this CBC production they are consistently and convincingly portrayed. The Whiteoak family nexus is even interesting, if not likeable. But derision is no weapon: strategically one may despise the Whiteoaks and what they stand for; tactically one must take them seriously (to borrow a phrase). "False consciousness" must be understood in order to be combatted.

If the reviewer considers the Whiteoak family problems to be irrelevant to modern Canada, then at issue is not the quality of this particular production, but the politics of CBC programing and spending. If so, then this subject deserves a separate article; not hints and rumours in what is supposed to be a review of a TV series.

Ellen Adams,
a freelance sound editor
on "Jalna".

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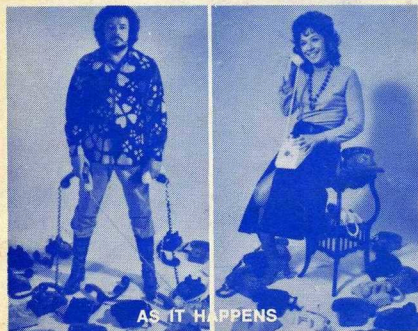
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