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**LADY
POD**

THE LAST POST

Vol. 3, No. 1

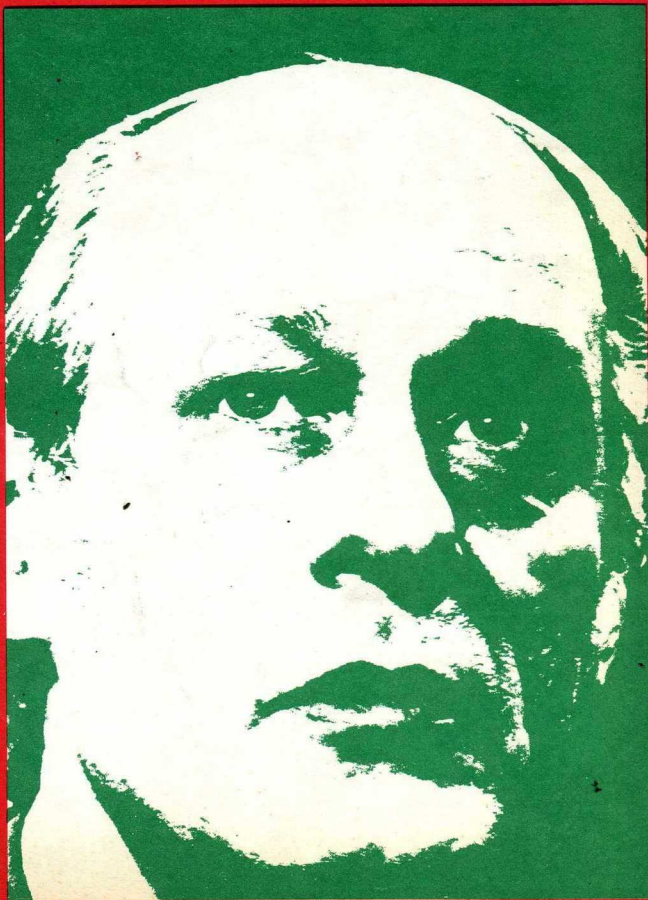
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report
on the
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Rene Levesque



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WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 8:30 P.M.

LAST POST

THE LAST POST VOL. 3 No. 1

CONTENTS

Letters	4
The Month	5
Post-election report	
Prairie resources	
Last Pssst	18
The Shape of Independence:	19-32
The making of the president	20
by <i>Nick Auf der Maur</i>	
Who would run the 'new Quebec'?	26
Choose . . . yes, but choose what?	28
by <i>Magnus Isacsson and Joan Gillies</i>	
The reports everyone ignores	33
by <i>Robert Chodos</i>	
Reviews	40
Attwood, by <i>Marni Jackson</i>	
Pearson, by <i>Douglas Fisher</i>	
The Last Page	50

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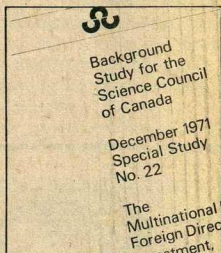
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Post-election report
page 5



The PQ's plans
page 19



Science reports
page 33

ADDRESS CHANGES

Don't miss an issue of Last Post. Send us your change of address as soon as you can. It helps us, and helps you.

LETTERS

Dear Last Post:

Keep up the fine reporting. My only criticism is a minor one — I would like at some time to find out more clearly where your editorial staff is at politically. Implicit in your articles is a certain stance, but I would appreciate seeing it more explicit.

Philip Zylberberg
Toronto

Dear Last Post:

When you talk about labour relations, the corporate rip-off, the Americanization of Canada, etc., you're right on. But when it comes to anything concerning Quebec and/or its relationship with the rest of Canada, you seem to have a mental block which distorts your assessment of what is really going on.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in your snap judgements on the federal elections. What facts do you use to support your contention that there were really two elections in Canada? Simply the seat distribution? In that case, what of B.C.? Was that also a separate election?

Why not say that there were eleven elections, one in each province and one

in the north? After all, issues did vary from area to area, as they always have, and probably always will. Of course there were local issues here in Quebec, as there were everywhere else, but I don't recall federalism as being one of them. Or should we consider that fiasco the Parti Québécois tried? It never even got off the ground.

Secondly, of all of the people in Canada who made statements after the election, why quote Jean Marchand? Hasn't he proved just how reliable his word is? Or is it more reliable right now because it happens to coincide with your preconceived notions about the election? The notion that English Canada voted against French Canada, which is the statement Marchand made election night, is so full of holes that it won't even hold frozen water.

As you of all people should know, there were plenty of concrete reasons for voting against Trudeau, and they were much more important to English Canadians than French power in Ottawa. And if English Canada turned so completely against the French, then how come the Liberals still got nearly half of the Ontario vote?

As for Trudeau's success in Quebec, what choice did the average Québécois have? No one was offering him a federalist-socialist choice, and that left only Wagner, Caouette, or a few quasi-separatist NDP'ers. Not much choice.

How long is it going to take for us to realize that the average French Canadian is not interested in separating? When we finally get this through our

thick skulls, maybe we can offer them a chance to join us in building a bilingual, bicultural Socialist Canada. Or is that too much of a challenge to you?

D. L. Western
Montreal

Dear Last Post:

You are the best thing to come along in Canadian journalism since *The Colonial Advocate*. I'd be lost down here without you. The consistent high quality of your reports is a real treat, as is the readability and enjoyability of all the articles you print. The "Prairie Command" cartoon by Randy Jones in the last issue was a gem, I can't stop looking at it. Will we get to see more of Randy Jones' work in future issues?

Michael Stainton
Indianapolis

ed. note: Yes, in this and future issues.

Dear Last Post:

I am renewing my subscription in the hope that *Last Post* can make real inroads in the area of providing news and analysis of the unfolding class struggles of our era, locally and abroad.

Becoming *less* a vehicle for the expression of the petty bourgeois nationalist ideology of the Movement for an Independent, Socialist Canada (MISC) is necessary to that end, as is the replacement of the *Post's* often sophist *journalese* with Marxist theory content.

Let's see it happen!

Barry Weisleder
Toronto



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LAST POST

THE MONTH

Philosopher King to Mackenzie King

On 2 November 1925, William Lyon Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister of Canada, met with his Cabinet to decide what to do. The election four days earlier hadn't turned out so well for the Liberals. In fact, they had won fewer seats than the Tories. An ordinary mortal might have decided to step down. But not Mackenzie King.

Neither of the two major parties held a majority. The balance of power was held by the Progressives, a western agrarian party. With the support of the Progressives, King reasoned, the Liberals could, well, just maybe, continue to govern.

The Governor-General of the time, Lord Byng de Vimy, urged King to resign. So did the Tories. But on 4 November King announced his decision. Parliament will decide, he declared, whether or not we stay in power.

On 2 November 1972, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister of Canada, met with his Cabinet to decide what to do. While the Liberals had not clearly lost the election three days earlier, they hadn't exactly won an overwhelming vote of confidence from the people. The Tories at this time held as many seats as the Liberals (a judicial recount later gave the Liberals a two-seat edge) and Opposition Leader Robert Stanfield was making menacing noises.

Trudeau's earlier visit to the Governor-General had been uneventful. Roland Michener, after consulting his Boy Scout manual, concluded that dis-

cretion is the better part of valour. The choice was up to Trudeau, and he announced it the evening of 2 November. "The continued existence of my government," he announced, "will depend upon the will of the House of Commons."

The will of the House of Commons will not be known until after the Throne Speech is read on 4 January. But one thing is evident: whether or not the opposition parties vote confidence in the Throne Speech hinges less on its content than on how they assess their chances in an early election. And the content of the Throne Speech is likely to reflect Liberal preparedness for the eventuality of an early election.

Do the Liberals want a quick election, say, early in the spring? Hardly. Some

Liberals' interpretation of the election results is that the Canadian people dealt Trudeau a harsher blow than they really intended to, but this is more than balanced by the fear that there really has been a swing to the Tories. It took John Diefenbaker two elections, 1957 and 1958, to finish the job of winning a majority. The Liberals don't want to give Stanfield the same opportunity.

Canadian voters have shown a lot of spunk these past three and a half years, throwing out eight of the ten provincial governments, sometimes, it seemed, simply for the sake of throwing them out. In 1970, for instance, Nova Scotia voters replaced a Conservative provincial government with a Liberal one; a few days later, voters in neighbouring New Brunswick replaced a Liberal pro-



KING



TRUDEAU

A trick from the old master

The new cabinet: a rightward shift

Bryce Mackasey's unexpected announcement that he planned to leave the Cabinet heralded a slight rightward shift in the composition of the Cabinet. As Minister of Manpower and Immigration, Mackasey defended liberalized unemployment insurance regulations against those who felt that unemployment insurance was a more serious problem than unemployment, and for this he was held a scapegoat.

"If I'm guilty, I'm guilty for respecting individuals, for respecting the little guy, and I'm not prepared to stay in a Cabinet in which there is no place for that," he is reported to have told a group of departmental officials the night before he announced his resignation. Other portfolios were offered him, but he apparently wasn't interested; he is tired of playing musical chairs.

Bryce was ousted from his Labour portfolio in the January 1971 Cabinet shuffle because his labour code amendments, which would have made the introduction of technological changes in industry negotiable, were considered too radical by some of the Liberal corporate supporters. The labour code amendments were again brought before Parliament, this time with the offensive passages removed, by his successor, Martin O'Connell, who was defeated in the election and is now comfortably ensconced as number-one mandarin in the Prime Minister's Office.

The new Minister of Manpower and Immigration is Robert Andras, a Ford dealer from Thunder Bay with a "tough, no-nonsense approach". He was the man sent in to Consumer and Corporate Affairs last January to appease those who were worried that Ron Basford's competition act was a threat to Liberal capitalism.

The competition act was sent back to the department to be redrafted, with instructions that there be additional consultation with "interested parties," but the new version prepared by department officials is not substantially changed in its import from the original act. However, the 29th Parliament is not ready for such heady legislation.

"Chick" Turner is back with us as Finance Minister, dashing any hopes of tax changes favouring anybody other than the beneficiaries of the generous corporate tax cuts announced in his budget last spring. The Carter Report stunned the financial world with its recommendation that for tax purposes a dollar be treated like a dollar, whether it be earned income or capital gains. Ben Benson's White Paper on Tax Reform suggested that a capital gains dollar be taxed as though it were only fifty cents. Turner also rejects the notion that a dollar is a dollar.

Meanwhile, Benson has gone to his rewards (\$40,000 a year) as President of the Canadian Transport Commission after serving a short term as Minister of National Defence. The new Defence Minister is Winnipeg millionaire James Richardson, who turns the Department of Supply and Services over to Jean-Pierre Goyer. As Solicitor-General, Goyer took the blame every time a convict escaped from prison or failed to return from temporary leave. From now on Montreal MP Warren Allmand will have to take the blame: he is the new Solicitor-General.

Trudeau has stated that Goyer could run into hot water even in Supply and Services. In that portfolio he could

well replace Jean Marchand as chief Liberal bagman for Quebec.

Alastair Gillespie, a Toronto businessman, replaces Jean-Luc Pepin as Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce. In this post he will be responsible for the delicate trade negotiations with the U.S. Despite Gillespie's mild nationalist background, there are doubts as to whether he intends to introduce measures for the control of the Canadian economy any more stringent than the joke of a foreign takeovers bill introduced by the Liberals last spring. Gillespie's Science and Technology portfolio is taken over by Jeanne Sauvé, the token woman in the Cabinet. She doesn't know all that much about science and technology, but then again, neither did Gillespie.

With Marchand out of DREE and Pepin out of Parliament, there are no longer any French-Canadians holding major economic posts in the Cabinet. Jean-Luc's future seems uncertain: rumour has it that he may be named Ambassador to the United States, but rumours are just rumours.

Otto Lang remains Minister of Wheat and Justice. Before that he was Minister of Wheat, Manpower and Immigration, and before that just Minister of Wheat. The lone Liberal MP from Saskatchewan, Lang has always taken his responsibility for the Wheat Board more seriously than the other portfolios tacked on to that. Wheat shortages in the Soviet Union and China helped assure his re-election despite a strong NDP challenge.

The communicator

Another man with an interesting portfolio is John Munro, Minister of Labour, Information and Women. That's right: he is responsible for the Department of Labour, for Information Canada and for "co-ordinating government programs respecting the status of women". As for the first part, Munro considers his supposed popularity among Hamilton steelworkers to be an asset. As for the second, Trudeau said he has "always been impressed by John's insistence on the importance of communicating better with the people." Trudeau is easily impressed.

That takes care of the first two. But women? "I am not a feminist," said Trudeau when someone suggested that a woman might be better able to handle this area. That Trudeau is not a feminist has long been obvious.

Because he is so inarticulate, Munro has had a rough time in Cabinet. His proposals for a guaranteed annual income were savagely attacked by Treasury Board President Bud Drury and never made it as legislation.

Munro's National Health and Welfare portfolio has gone to rookie MP Marc Lalonde, who will have to defend the federal government's position on fiscal sharing against demands from his Quebec counterpart, Claude Castonguay. Until he ran for parliament, Lalonde was number one mandarin in Trudeau's office. Two years ago he quietly walked into a public meeting held to protest the War Measures Act; he was recognized, and not so quietly thrown out of the meeting.

E.H.

vincial government with a Conservative one.

The voters may now be transferring their whimsical ways to the federal scene. The Tories' differences with the Liberals are expressed more in style and emphasis than in actual policy; "We can do better," ran the Tory slogan, not "We can act differently." Stanfield and his crew are banking on the hypothesis that the pendulum has been caught in mid-swing and that a new election will complete the swing over to them.

In the ranks of the New Democratic Party, a common sentiment is that Trudeau got what he deserved in the election, but Stanfield didn't deserve what he got. Optimists in the NDP camp are predicting further gains if another election is held soon, but the general feeling is that with the exhaustion of party funds and the bitchiness of the electorate, the NDP may not fare so well.

Canadians have a morbid fear of minority government (although it has been the result of five of the last seven general elections), and since the NDP stands in the way of either of the larger parties forming a majority, it faces the risk of being bulldozed in what could turn out to be a Liberal-Tory runoff. Bitter memories remain of the crushing of the CCF in the 1958 Tory stampede.

At this point, Canadians also have a strong resistance to the idea of an early election, and would probably prefer to see a government, even a minority one, remain in office for a while. The long and often tedious campaign drained people's appetite for elections, and it cost a lot of money. In addition to public expenditures of \$19 million on the election bureaucracy, political parties and individual candidates spent a total of \$26-30 million.

Minority governments, despite their clumsiness and uncertainty, can get things done at least as well as majority ones. Lester Pearson, in five years of minority government, established a creditable record of social welfare reform; Trudeau, with the brute efficiency of majority government, blew his chance. His position now is a lot more rickety than Pearson's ever was. Pearson, at least, was always within a few seats of being able to form a majority.

The Tories will be pressing hard to push Trudeau out. NDP leader David Lewis, while shrugging off Otto Lang's suggestion of an "organic understanding" between the NDP and the Liberals, has indicated his intent of helping the



LEWIS
A tight bind

minority government function.

"The Parliament elected by the people has to be made to work to deal with the problems of the country," he said. "The Throne Speech will be supported if it deals with priority matters."

These "priority matters", outlined in a statement from the NDP, are fairly standard items like job creation, measures to contain the cost of living and tax cuts for those on lower income. If the Liberals can come up with such measures, they may stay in power a lot longer than some pundits are predicting.

The NDP is caught in a tight bind: if it votes against the government in a motion of confidence, it risks taking a large part of the public blame for the election which may result; if, on the other hand, it compromises too much with the Liberals, it compromises the reason for its very existence.

The parliamentary committees look a little more hopeful for the NDP MPs. There they can stand firm on their principles (NDP MPs are supposed to have principles, you know) without worrying about toppling the government. The composition of the committees has not yet been announced, but it is more than

likely that the NDP will hold the balance of power on most of them.

It may not take long, though, for the Tories to come up with a motion of confidence worded in such a way that the NDP could not easily avoid supporting it. We may then witness the spectacle of David Lewis feigning annoyance at the Tories' efforts to obstruct the operation of Parliament. Politically astute, but not wholly convincing.

If NDP support for a Conservative motion of confidence does bring down the government, will there be new elections, or will the Governor-General call upon Stanfield to try his hand at governing the country? In the latter eventuality Stanfield, for all his eagerness to move into 24 Sussex Drive, might think twice about accepting.

When Mackenzie King's minority government was defeated on a motion of confidence early in 1926, Lord Byng invited Tory leader Arthur Meighen to become prime minister, despite King's request for an election. Meighen's short but troubled period in office ended with an election in which King won a majority by directing his attack against the Governor-General who, he said, should have followed his advice and dissolved parliament after the Liberals were defeated in the House.

Never loathe to borrow a trick from Mackenzie King, Trudeau may try to pull off a similar stunt. He may appeal for the voters to return him in the name of stability. And anyone who doubts Trudeau's skill at making appeals to stability would do well to think back to October 1970.

Eric Hamovitch

The open back door slams shut

Ten days before the federal election Zavier Levine, an aide to then Immigration Minister Bryce Mackasey, was in Toronto at a forum on immigration policy arranged by the *Toronto Star*.

The main question upsetting the audience was the swelling flood of black "visitors" from the West Indies, who were taking at its word Ottawa's policy of allowing "visitors" to enter the country, then apply for landed immigrant status and take jobs, knowing that appeal

SCOOP OF THE MONTH:

**Christmas Day
Still Dec. 25**

—Headline in *Ottawa Citizen*,
24 November 1972



MACK CASEY
Backpeddled out

procedures made it unlikely they would ever be deported.

Levine's defence of the government's policy contained that mixture of pseudo-humanitarianism and business self-interest that is so characteristic of liberalism.

There would, he said, be no change in Canada's policy. New legislation after the election would tighten the laws a little, but people would still come as "visitors" and stay as landed immigrants. He denied that lax immigration laws were aggravating the unemployment problem: "Immigrants," he said, "take jobs Canadians don't want to take." Mines in Alberta, he pointed out, rely on immigrants to do work they can't find Canadians to do.

In other words, an open back door to provide cheap labour for Canadian business.

Two weeks later the election had come and gone, and the back door for "visitors" slammed shut. Prime Minister Trudeau announced he had found much unrest over Canada's immigration policy during the campaign. Immigration Minister Mackasey told a press conference no visitor could ask for landed immigrant status unless his application was in before noon on 3 November. Zavier Levine, for his part, explained that the sudden reversal had been done through an order-in-council, not through

any change in the law, indicating an extraordinary power to make changes without going through parliament.

By the end of the month the backpeddling was carried one step further when the relatively progressive Mackasey found himself out of the Cabinet and on the backbenches. His replacement: Robert Andras, whose role in the government has been clean-up man for troubled ministries.

What had happened during those two weeks to make the Trudeau government so sure that an anti-black backlash had played a significant part in its near-defeat?

* * *

The people of Toronto have seen successive waves of immigration since the Second World War. East Europeans, Italians, Portuguese have changed the tone of the city. Toward these Europeans the older, middle-class stock has shown toleration or, at worst, a stiff upper lip. Fears were voiced in private and suppressed in guilt.

But the latest wave of immigration has been black and brown, and very visible. Where not long ago Toronto was a sea of white, today white, black and brown jostle in equality on the subway and the street car.

In the two weeks before the election, for certain sections of Toronto, toleration came to an end, an end actively promoted, at considerable cost, by scare stories in the *Toronto Star*.

On the same day that the *Star* reported Levine's defence of government policy, its front-page headline said: "Immigration officials seize 121 passports in Malton protest". The officials at Toronto International Airport were, it seemed, taking the law into their own hands and telling the government it was out of touch with redneck opinion. Pleading they were understaffed, they had decided to "work-to-rule" in processing 121 "visitors" from Haiti and Ecuador, part of what a spokesman called a flood of "immigrants coming in the back door."

"The dam has burst," lamented an airport official, "and they're passing through by the thousands. They're coming now more than ever because word got around that thousands who came illegally before them had been forgiven . . ."

The same paper reported another speaker at that forum where Levine had said there would be no policy change. He was a spokesman for the Metro Toronto Police, Sergeant of Detectives James Noble.

Sergeant Noble let it all hang out, and got the loudest applause of the night.

"Pathetically inept immigration laws," he said, had turned Canada into a "haven for criminals and crime fugitives from all over the world." Policemen and immigration officers trying to use deportation laws found themselves in an "exercise of futility and frustration." If present trends continued, he warned, Toronto would lose its reputation as "one of the few cities in the world where it's safe to walk the streets at night . . ."

The *Star's* publisher evidently agreed, for the same issue carried a supporting editorial that included a photograph of Noble.

With this open expression of some Torontonians' secret fear that their city was on the way to becoming another Detroit, Newark, or New York, the *Star* (deserting the Liberals for the Tories for the first time in fifty years), kept up the attack. *The Globe and Mail*, in a more restrained way, did its bit too.

The campaign culminated on the Saturday before the election, and on Monday, election day.

On the Saturday, a bold red headline across the top of the *Star's* front page announced: "Jamaica appeals to Canada to take more of its unemployed." The story was an interview with Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley, who was reported as saying that when he came to power last spring, his island country had 25 per cent unemployed, and Canada should help take those people off his hands.

With its readers shivering from that news, two days later, on election day itself, the *Star* dropped the other shoe. Another bold red headline revealed: "Jamaicans buy back-door tickets to Metro jobs for \$650." The story began: "KINGSTON, Jamaica — For \$650, Rickson Fenton [employment agent] provides Jamaicans who can't meet Canada's immigration requirements with a back-door entry to jobs in Toronto." It went on to say that, according to the immigration department, there were 50,000 illegal immigrants in Canada, but that one official thought the real number was closer to 200,000.

With that information on their minds, Torontonians entered the polling booths.

* * *

There are today many voices in the country doubting that there was an immigration backlash, just as they deny there was an anti-French backlash.

But the Liberal government, licking the wounds of its election setback, has

no such doubts. It acted within days to uproot its policy, and the *Star* was able to reassure its readers on the front page that "Ottawa immigration curb means jets fly half-full".

Every country in the world, whatever its politics, insists on controlling its own immigration policy. But control in Ottawa is exercised in strange ways. And so the questions remain: Why did Ottawa choose a policy that encouraged blacks to enter this country through the back door, while making it almost impossible for them to come legally? Why was this done clandestinely, so as to invite an eventual backlash in Toronto, the main immigration centre? And do Canadians really want to force immigrants into badly paid, dirty jobs just because this is good for business?

Drummond Burgess

Omigod, what have we done

On election night, there was no doubt about what had happened. Jean Marchand said it had happened, Donald Macdonald said it had happened, the TV commentators said it had happened. There had been a backlash. English Canada had voted against bilingualism, 'French power', DREE grants and the other programs that made up the carrot end of the Trudeau Liberals' two-sided effort to keep Quebec in Confederation.

But then, a feeling of remorse set in. A reaction of "Omigod, what have we done." And so, with admirable alacrity, English Canadians set about telling themselves that they really hadn't done it at all.

On Wednesday, 1 November Eric Kierans, who had resigned from the cabinet in 1971 over the government's economic policies, said on the Montreal television program Hourglass that the government's poor showing was a result of those very policies. It was not a backlash against Quebec at all. In terms of economic reform, the Liberals "just didn't deliver the goods."

Kierans also said he was baffled by the Liberals' winning 56 of 74 seats in Quebec.

Well he might have been baffled, because it didn't quite fit in with his theory.

Because if economic policy was the main factor, why would Quebec, which has been particularly hard hit by the effects of Liberal economic policy, continue to vote Liberal? Kierans had no answer, but the *Toronto Star*, in its bold way, came leaping to the rescue.

"The Liberals won a majority of the province's seats," it said in an editorial on 6 November, "but their margins were reduced even in supposedly safe constituencies. The Cr ditistes, who campaigned on economic issues, increased their percentage of the popular vote from 16.3 per cent in 1968 to almost 24 per cent. They captured most of the ridings in eastern Quebec where unemployment is high, and they made considerable inroads in the industrial suburbs of Montreal."

The *Star* failed to name any of the "supposedly safe constituencies" where Liberal majorities had been reduced (Prime Minister Trudeau's majority in Montreal-Mount Royal was 32,000, Marc Lalonde's in neighbouring Outremont 15,000 on a much smaller total vote). And they failed to point out in noting Cr ditiste gains that the Conservative vote had dropped from 21 to 18 per cent while that of the New Democratic Party had dropped from nine to six per cent, thus accounting, directly or indirectly, for most of the votes that had gone to the Cr ditistes.

On Saturday, 4 November Ramsay Cook, Toronto academic and commentator and an early supporter of Pierre Elliott Trudeau in 1968, was trotted out by a number of newspapers to say that 'it would be a tragedy if the 'racial backlash' theory of the 1972 election won any wide currency.'

He too ticked off the points of economic dissatisfaction: unemployment, inflation, "corporate, individual and youth welfare bumism," taxes. "Whether the opposition parties had workable solutions to these problems," said Cook, "is irrelevant. They sounded as if they did, while the government could only react defensively."

Sounded as if they did to whom? Obviously not to Ramsay Cook. Did people who voted Conservative really believe that Robert Stanfield was going to solve the unemployment problem?

Meanwhile, bilingualism couldn't have been an issue because if it had been, "more would have been made of it. And the opposition leaders might even have been tempted to use it for their own purposes." Ramsay Cook has practised the devious profession of history for too long to believe in such a straight-forward interpretation of how election campaigns work.

Perhaps the most notable exercise in missing the point, deliberately or otherwise, was the *Montreal Star's* front-page headline on a Gallup Poll: "Quebec was not an issue in election." How did the Gallup Poll find this out? It asked the voters. And only four per cent of them said "relations with Quebec, separatism" was the main issue facing the country, while 37 per cent named "economy, inflation, high prices" and 34 per cent said "unemployment."

Then the poll's interviewees were asked which parties could best handle the problems that people felt were important, and it was here that the theory that the economy had been the reason for the Liberal defeat began to come apart at the seams. For 29 per cent, according

LOOK FOR A BIG ENVELOPE



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Judge Parker delayed in mail

"Tonight we is honored to have a new candy-date!"

"Is you all right?"

"Yes'm! (I see... cough)"

"We got a dent in his bucket. Dukey! I think"



—Vancouver Province, 20 November 1972

to the Gallup Poll, thought that the *Liberals* were the best party to handle the economy and inflation, as compared to 13 per cent for the Conservatives and 11 per cent for the NDP (most of the rest were undecided). When it came to unemployment, the figures were Liberals 24 per cent, Conservatives 15 per cent, NDP 15 per cent.

But the most significant results came at the bottom of the poll. The interviewees were asked which was the best party to handle *all* the problems named. Twenty-seven per cent said the Liberals, 13 per cent said the Conservatives, 13 per cent said the NDP, six per cent said Social Credit or other parties, and the other 41 per cent couldn't say.

Now it is reasonable to suppose that someone who thought a party best able to handle all the problems named in the poll (which included a fairly wide range of problems) would probably vote for that party. This wouldn't be true in all cases, since people vote the way they do for a whole spectrum of reasons that aren't always so simple as a party's ability to solve problems, but it should be true in most. It is also reasonable to suppose that — again with exceptions — most of the 25 per cent or so of the population that didn't vote would have come from the group that "couldn't say" which was the best party to handle the country's problems.

And in fact, if we compare the Gallup Poll's figures with the way people actu-

ally voted, we find a fairly close correspondence — except for the Conservatives. Thirty-nine per cent of those who cast ballots voted for Liberal candidates; this means about 30 per cent of the *entire* electorate, including those who didn't vote, voted Liberal. This compares with 27 per cent who named the Liberals in the Gallup Poll as the best party to handle the country's problems. Similarly with the NDP: about 14 per cent of the electorate (including those who didn't vote) voted NDP, while 13 per cent named the NDP in the Gallup Poll. And Social Credit: six per cent of the vote of the entire electorate, six per cent in the Gallup Poll.

Not so the Conservatives. Thirty-five per cent of those voting, and thus a little less than 27 per cent of the entire electorate, voted Conservative, while only 13 per cent named the Conservatives as the best party to handle the country's problems in the Gallup Poll. In other words, about half the people who voted Conservative did so for some reason *other* than the Tories' ability to solve problems. A massive proportion of the Conservative vote was based on motives that do not get expressed to a pollster.

It would be unwarranted jumping to conclusions to say that anti-Quebec prejudice was the missing reason. The people in question no doubt voted Conservative for a wide variety of reasons, of which anti-Quebec prejudice was only one. Anti-welfare sentiment was surely

another. Immigration policy. Regional expansion grants. A general dislike of Pierre Elliott Trudeau and a desire to get rid of him (although the Gallup Poll included "the government, Trudeau" among its "problems" and attracted only a six-percent response).

But the poll, if at all accurate (and the Gallup Poll predicted the final election percentages with remarkable accuracy in a straight preference poll), should put to rest the smug interpretation that a government that had failed got what it deserved. Of course the Liberals got what they deserved. But people did not only vote against the Liberals, they voted for a party that offered few concrete policy alternatives to the Liberals (except for a more unadulterated pro-business economic policy) but set out to capitalize on the vague dissatisfaction in some areas of the population with the government's more innovative programs.

That lesson may have been lost on Ramsay Cook, but it was not lost on the Liberal government. And so when Trudeau said 27 November that "we're going to govern in such a way as to show that we *did* understand the message from the Canadian people," he was simply acknowledging that the swing to the right the election had signalled would be accomplished as surely as if two of those close seats had gone the other way.

Robert Chodos

Nova Scotia:

Fort Worth on the Canso Strait

At the mid-November press conference announcing a new \$223-million oil refinery at Mulgrave on the Canso Strait, Nova Scotia Premier Gerald Regan cheerfully turned to New York promoter John Shaheen and asked him to give the press some description of what the Strait might look like in 15 years.

"Well, have you ever seen the strip running along from New York to Pittsburgh and that area, or the development from Dallas to Fort Worth," Shaheen said to the gathering, his tone of voice suggesting that the streets in such cities were paved with gold.

"The Canso area offers a potential for development of up to 5,000 petroleum

products which could be produced through related industries. It can be just like those areas in the U.S. In 15 years from now, you could see \$15 billion of investment in the Strait area."

Quite aside from the fact that some Nova Scotians are horrified at the thought of a large chunk of the province being turned into a Dallas-Fort Worth, there are serious questions about whether the petrochemical industry will be stable enough in the foreseeable future to allow for the development of a small, let alone large, petrochemical complex at Canso.

But these questions went unasked as Regan and Shaheen got together to tell the press about their industrial visions.

Nova Scotia taxpayers, who were hit hard and often by the faulty industrial ventures undertaken during the Stanfield-Smith era, appear to be getting off pretty easy this time — provided there are no complications along the way.

The bulk of the \$223-million investment — \$148 million — will be guaranteed by the Export Credit Guarantee Department of the British government. Shaheen Natural Resources Co. of New York will contribute \$40 million of the total, and the Nova Scotia government will be called upon to guarantee the remaining \$35 million.

The motive for the British government's heavy involvement is a guarantee



REGAN
Getting off easy?

that a large portion of the equipment used in the plant will be built by and purchased from British companies. This means that only \$27 million of the construction cost will be spent in Canada, most of it going for basic materials such as wood and steel, which will be purchased in Nova Scotia.

Nova Scotia could benefit from a section of the draft agreement that says the province will receive five per cent of the company's profits after taxes beginning at the end of the seventh year of operation. This will continue for a period of 25 years. Both Regan and Shaheen were quick to say this would mean in excess of \$1 million a year for Nova Scotia.

But it's difficult to imagine a promoter who has the shrewd reputation of John Shaheen getting into a deal where he would have to turn over more than \$25 million to anyone, let alone a province that is usually in the business of giving away money to receive jobs.

Jobs. That's what Regan really wants, and the town of Mulgrave, with its fishing industry dead (the Acadia Fisheries Ltd. fish-processing plant closed after a fishermen's strike in 1970), will eagerly take what it can get. The Shaheen refinery is expected to provide about 2,000 short-term jobs over a two-year construction period. This will provide a boost to the currently depressed construction industry in the province, but the jobs will disappear after only a few

months' work and then the men in the construction trades will be hunting for new employment.

Over the long haul, there are expected to be 557 jobs created at the refinery but, according to Shaheen, many of them will require highly skilled technicians and management personnel, and it could be that fewer than 300 Nova Scotians will wind up with long-term employment at the refinery.

The Shaheen refinery, along with the docking terminal the provincial government will build at a cost of \$30 million (which it expects to recover in user fees over a 25-year period), will be of little benefit to Nova Scotia's economy, but, according to Regan and Shaheen, what's to come is much more important.

The refinery, the largest in Canada with a production of 200,000 barrels a day, is being established on the Canso Strait because the area has what is probably the best deep-water natural port along the Atlantic Coast. Like the Gulf Oil refinery across the Strait at Port Hawkesbury, the new refinery will receive giant, 350,000-ton tankers (which no American east-coast port can come near to handling) laden with crude oil from the Middle East and Africa. It will refine the oil into marketable products and export the products to markets outside the Maritime region.

At least two other giant international organizations — one of them the Olympic Refining subsidiary of Aristotle Onassis, the other possibly Gulf Oil or Continental Oil — are interested in negotiating to build another refinery next door to the Shaheen operation. They too would simply refine oil products at Canso and export them to the U.S. market.

The Shaheen firm will comply with all the regulations of the Nova Scotia and Canadian governments regarding pollution, but how well they will handle the disposal of huge amounts of sulphur the plant will produce is open to debate.

The other serious potential pollution problem is the movement of many giant oil tankers entering and leaving Chedabucto Bay. The same week that Premier Regan was announcing the new Canso Strait refinery, the Natural Resources Council of the state of Maine — a 2,500-member conservation group — adopted an eight-point resolution opposing any development of a petroleum complex in Machias, Me., and recommending such a development in Portland only with reservations. A state government task force report had recommended that heavy industry sites be

limited to Machias and Portland.

Regarding expansion of petroleum handling facilities anywhere on the Maine coast, the Natural Resources Council urged a moratorium until the legal, financial and technical problems such as those raised by an oil spill off Maine's coast earlier this year are resolved. The group also wants to establish "clear and complete responsibility for oil spills in the Gulf of Maine."

Nova Scotia has no clear approach to development, let alone a plan to limit certain kinds of industries to certain areas. No independent ecology group or citizens' group in Nova Scotia has carried out a thorough investigation to determine how adequate the pollution safeguards are in Nova Scotia. And there has been no assessment of what would happen if there were an oil spill in Chedabucto Bay much larger than that created by the sinking of the *Arrow* in 1970.

Shaheen should have no trouble obtaining markets because if he has anything going for him it is the important connections he has developed in the United States, Britain and the Middle East.

He has good relations with President Nixon, who told Prime Minister Trudeau in a 1969 White House reception that Shaheen is "the world's greatest salesman." His most important business connections apparently guarantee him a substantial supply of oil from the Middle

LET THEM EAT ROE

Hardly anyone has ever heard of Canadian caviar. Both M. Bardet, of Chez Bardet, one of Montreal's finest restaurants, and the chef of the Three Small Rooms in Toronto were astonished when I spoke of it. Too often the words "Canadian caviar" on a menu mean red salmon roe. Ironically enough, the wife of the United States ambassador to Canada found out about the real thing shortly after she came to Canada and served it to her Canadian guests. She used, when she could get it, at least twelve pounds a month, at a fraction of what the fresh caviar would cost if it came from Iran or the Soviet Union.

—Sondra Gottlieb, Saturday Night, Sept. 1972

East, and it may have been because of this that he was made a Commissioner of the U.S. National Petroleum Council.

Despite his important connections, Shaheen has often been portrayed as something of a "promoter-wheeler-dealer" because of the controversial deal (he described it as "the sweetest deal") he made with Joey Smallwood to build a \$155-million oil refinery at Come-by-Chance, Nfld. Sources high in the Nova Scotia government suggested recently that Shaheen had a bad image painted of him simply

because he was able to get the best of Smallwood.

However, there is something about Shaheen that is reminiscent of another New York businessman who came to Nova Scotia during the 1960s. His name was Jerome Spevack and he too had visions of great things.

He was going to build a heavy water plant at Glace Bay that would be the salvation of Cape Breton.

Nick Fillmore

(Nick Fillmore is editor of the 4th Estate, Halifax.)

urban ghetto.

Gulf Oil closed its Saskatoon refinery in 1970, and later closed refineries in Regina, Winnipeg and Calgary. Imperial Oil is leaving Saskatoon as well.

Although these, and many similar actions, have reduced the labour force in Saskatchewan since 1970, Regina's mayor thanked the refineries for providing jobs in his city over the years.

The potash industry was the hope of the "new Saskatchewan" during the 1960s. One Canadian-controlled and nine foreign companies drilled holes worth about \$800 million in the prairie.

However, optimism for markets proved to have been hasty. Price competition for limited markets began to drive prices down. Noranda, the one Canadian controlled company, began to sell to a large American farmer co-operative which was tired of paying high, fixed prices for U.S. fertilizer.

With Noranda challenging their cartel, American companies began to lobby with Washington for an import duty on potash. The Saskatchewan Liberal government reacted by introducing a quota system on provincial production. All the mines shared the available markets, and the price was pegged.

While Saskatchewan mines run at full capacity and provide scant tax revenues to the province, American mines in New Mexico are going full tilt and American farmers are paying dearly for fertilizer.

In the face of corporate policies of exploitation and centralization, is the NDP hard line just so much rhetoric? The record is not good.

Manitoba has established a crown corporation which may enter new resource developments as partners with private enterprise. But mostly Messrs. Green and Schreyer make speeches.

British Columbian socialism is still an unknown quantity, but *Maclean's* magazine, that nationalist organ, says

Prairies: Puppies with loud barks

The annual meeting of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy in Saskatoon was proceeding as expected. Industry spokesmen spent their time in the pulpit warning governments and the public that any stringent anti-combines or corporate taxation policies would destroy the fiercely competitive spirit existing in the extraction industries.

Cigar smoke still hung thick in the room when resource ministers from the NDP provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia rose to speak. Unfortunately for the industry, the Conservative minister from Alberta was unable to attend.

Flushed by recent provincial electoral successes and buoyed by their unprecedented western caucus, the NDP ministers promptly informed the industry that days of western governments playing Santa Claus were over.

Sid Green, the always outspoken Manitoba mines minister, led the assault. The provinces should unite in asking Ottawa for higher taxation on the extraction industries, said Sid.

No more competition between the provinces to lure prospective developers. No more renewals of those vast northern areas that companies keep, unexplored, for the inevitable rainy days.

Green said the corporations should understand, because his government's new policy was just good business. Less the nasty industry threaten to boycott his province, he used the bludgeon of public development.

Leo Nimsick, new minister of mines and resources in British Columbia's fledgling government, criticized the

resource giveaways of the Bennett era, and spoke vaguely of resources belonging to the people.

Kim Thorson, Saskatchewan's industry minister, spoke of a "mix" of public and private enterprise, and publicly asked Saskatchewan's disgruntled potash industry whether there were any mines for sale.

Perhaps decades of cynical corporate policies in the west have created a new position, committed, if not to public control of resources, at least to returning a better dollar to the provinces.

Saskatchewan's oil industry is an example of good corporate citizenship.

After serving Saskatchewan and other markets for years, provincial refineries began closing in the late 1960s. The industry intends to consolidate its refining in Edmonton, serving the whole Prairie area.

Moose Jaw, a city heavily dependent upon the industry, lost several refineries and is on its way to becoming a stagnant

A PROBLEM TO BAFFLE MEDICAL SCIENCE

Because of his poor health and heart condition, Harold Ballard, president of Maple Leaf Gardens, is being kept in the hospital at the Kingston Penitentiary. James Phelps, director of the penitentiary's reception unit, said last night that after one day "in the normal population . . . in the cells . . . the stress was so great for Mr. Ballard, he was moved back to the hospital." . . . "The other prisoners loaded him with questions and it was very stressful for a man his age and condition," Mr. Phelps said. "They were very natural questions. You must realize for 24 hours nothing really happens for these men and then there is a man like Mr. Ballard who is in sports. Then they're filled with questions on sports."

—*Toronto Globe and Mail*, 3 November 1972

business is B.C. is not too worried.

Saskatchewan is perhaps the best example of chicken socialism. The New Democrats, who spoke so harshly against the Liberals' quota system on potash while in the opposition, have entered into a new pro-rationing arrangement. Ironically, the government is before the courts in an attempt to stop Canadian-controlled Noranda from producing enough to fill its American farmer co-operative mar-

ket.

Now that it is the government, the NDP is deftly parrying any mention of their campaign promises to nationalize potash and oil.

Our NDP governments are like Schultz's Snoopy pretending he is a polar bear. He becomes a puppy again at the sight of the first snowball thrown his way.

Dennis Gruending



DRAPEAU
Visions of Olympus

Quebec:

What's a billion dollars?

Steeled with a nerve and buzzing with a hallucinatory vision suited more to some demonic hijacker than to the mayor of Montreal, Jean Drapeau has locked himself away on the flight deck of his Olympiad.

With little cash to fuel his plans and the promise of even less to come, and with even his traditional business and newspaper support bursting like punctured tires, the mayor is still vehemently insisting that the summer games scheduled for 1976 will somehow be airborne on time.

Shortly after the good people of Colorado, in a November referendum, rejected the 1976 winter games earlier awarded to their state officials and tourist entrepreneurs, the Montreal press began booting around the idea of a similar vote. The mayor thought the idea perniciously foolish.

"It is clear from the letters we are receiving," said the mayor, "that there is unanimous approval of the games. There is no doubt about that."

Begging to disagree, *La Presse*, the largest newspaper in the city, and CJAD, the English-language radio station with the biggest audience, asked their audiences to mail in their opinions. Preliminary results show 3,212 still with the mayor, but 9,194 dead against the games.

But the bark of the media has never troubled the mayor. He values their opinion alongside that of Duc, his bullmastiff guard dog — with the edge going to Duc.

Besides, with nothing in the city charter to provide for a referendum, the mayor feels he's home free on that score.

The million-dollar question (some say

billion) is not so easily disposed of. Montreal homeowners already pay among the highest taxes on the continent. (Taxes on a \$15,000 one-family house in Montreal are \$478 a year; in Toronto, \$164 for a comparable house.)

The mayor assured incredulous Montrealers that the Olympics would not cost them "one cent." But that was a year ago. Now he says the Olympics will cost \$124 million, not counting \$200 million for a subway extension, \$200 million for an Olympic village and \$100 million for a stadium.

The original estimate for the Munich Olympics was \$144 million. The latest total stands at \$657 million — all of which conjures up fear of a billion-dollar Olympics for Montreal.

The federal government in West Germany paid three-quarters of the cost. When Drapeau told reporters last spring that no money would be required from Ottawa beyond what is available from existing programs, Prime Minister Trudeau said he "smelled a rat." Shortly afterward, he appointed Power Corporation magnate Philippe de Gaspé Beaubien to prepare a realistic cost estimate. (Beaubien was appointed secretly and there is no indication the study will ever be released.)

But there is no doubt that Ottawa regards the Olympics as a dynamite issue. A secret government document leaked to George Bain of the Toronto *Globe and Mail* showed that the Liberals discovered that present programs are vastly insufficient to finance the games covertly (for example paying for the Olympic village via money available for low-income housing).

The document recommended that

Ottawa either recant its earlier pledge not to subsidize the games directly and suffer the political consequences in the rest of the country, or take steps to counter the pressure Drapeau will turn on once the contracts are signed and the bulldozers are at work on the site.

In the years preceding Expo 67, Prime Minister Pearson got a taste of what Draponian pressure is all about. As the cost of Expo escalated, Drapeau made regular trips to see the prime minister. Pearson aides recall how any intimation of reluctance from Pearson would stir Drapeau into an apoplectic rage. At one such meeting he banged his two fists on Pearson's desk, bellowing that the Vision must not be sabotaged in a voice that put the Fuehrer to shame.

The next time Drapeau arrived Pearson demonstrated his legendary reputa-

WHERE SEX IS SEX

Your paper carried a Canadian Press press release Oct. 12 in which I was quoted as saying that "theatre is the sexiest institution in the world." What I actually said is that "theatre is the most sexist institution in the world." . . .

— Isabelle Foord, artistic director, Edmonton Experimental Theatre, Calgary Herald, 4 November 1972.

tion as a peacemaker: "Give that man Drapeau anything he wants. Just keep him away from me," the PM is reported to have said.

But the Trudeau administration, especially a minority Trudeau administration, is not so easily cowed. As October 1970 demonstrated, Trudeau has ways of dealing with pressure. As well, the *Globe's* Bain also reports that Trudeau faces a cabinet revolt if he agrees to subsidize the Olympics.

It's difficult to scandalize Liberal ministers, but apparently even they could not swallow Drapeau's scheme in the light of his city's record of dealing with

the poor: 120,000 people below the poverty line; one in five ghetto children so ill as to need immediate hospitalization; 44 per cent of slum families suffering from serious malnutrition; less low income housing in the last decade than Calgary has constructed in the last year; the list goes on.

Add to this the murmuring tensions of Quebec, if not world society — and another murderous Munich, or Mexico, where students were machine-gunned like My Lai peasants, is palpably possible.

Despite this, many Canadians obviously long ago made the leap of faith

Drapeau demands. Once again, they believe, this man's wizardry for figures and diplomacy will pull the hijack off.

If justified five years ago, this kind of credulity is no longer. In the icy light of a winter morning in 1971, Montrealers were treated to the sight of a restaurateur, his dreams as bankrupt as his restaurant, his face tintured red with rage, physically attempting to beat off the creditors come to seize the restaurant's furniture. That day even Duc was amazed at his master's voice.

And now this bankrupt restaurateur envisions himself on Olympus.

Brian McKenna

Vietnam:

When finished, recycle this war

The war in Southeast Asia, like Swinburne's weariest river, will one day wind "somewhere safe to sea."

But not yet. At least not out of the current negotiations between Le Duc Tho and Henry Kissinger. Their Paris meetings, which began as the least secret of all secret meetings will probably end — if indeed they ever do — as the least peaceful of all peace settlements.

Rather than ending the war, the ceasefire currently being argued about will recycle it: place it on a more manageable level for everybody — including the Vietnamese. Everybody, that is, except Canada. Big Brother has plans for us.

As I. F. Stone suggests, the pending ceasefire agreement between Hanoi and Washington is designed like a delicate watch, "intricately fashioned to make sure it won't work." Stone goes on to show that the present 'agreements' (which, strictly speaking, are not agreements yet) are even more flimsy than the ill-starred Geneva Accords of the 1950s.

One does not have to analyse the various clauses and interpretations of these clauses that have seeped into public to be skeptical of the whole exercise. To start with, the purported cease-fire settlement omits any political settlement to this most political of wars — an omission that practically guarantees the continuation of fighting. Moreover, even if the agreements were iron-clad, enough has happened since 26 October when Henry

Kissinger lied to the American people that "peace was at hand" to nullify any treaty.

Even as Richard Nixon had Kissinger put the finishing touches on the presidential election and tidings of peace rang from every steeple in middle America, an unprecedented air-lift of arms and matériel was shuttling across the Pacific. President Thieu now has enough planes to claim the third largest airforce in the world, and enough advisers — remember the advisers of the late fifties and early sixties — to put the planes together and keep them flying. The bombings have intensified, and action on the field has ceased.

Meanwhile Thieu has buttressed his huge private police force with a roaming

vigilante gang with orders to dispose of anybody and everybody suspected of holding "neutralist" sentiments. Saigon's jails have long been filled with thousands of political opponents of General Thieu, including poor old Truong Dinh Dzu who foolishly ran against Thieu in the last "election." The jails are still full, but now they are also reported to be mined. Thieu, it would appear, is reluctant to negotiate. Somebody has turned off the light at the end of the tunnel again.

If the war is not going to end with a cease-fire between Hanoi and Washington and a withdrawal of American military men, at least those in uniform, is it desirable — and if desirable possible — to pretend it has?

Any answer to this question requires an examination not only of the duality of the war, as both a civil conflict within Vietnam and a manifestation of the world contest between the two centres of power, but also its results as it has ground on into its third decade.

Conventional wisdom now has it that American involvement in Vietnam was a mistake — even a tragic one, we are told for emphasis. This theory gains currency even though U.S. strategy in Southeast Asia has been consistent since the almost simultaneous deaths of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the policy of co-operation between East and West that was supposed to reshape the new world from the ashes of the Second World War.

The policy of containment of Com-

SHAKES A LOT

Kierans, the controversial former federal cabinet minister, who broke with the Trudeau government and left the government on the issue of its economic policies, has returned to McGill University and the teaching of economics, but that only occupies a fraction of the formidable energy that pulses behind his smoky blue eyes and flickers out in restless movements of his square and capable hands.

— Walter Stewart, Toronto Star, 11 November 1972.



CANADIAN TROOPS IN KOREA For nostalgia buffs, the ultimate trip

munism (in the heady days of early Eisenhower it was phrased in ringing slogans of rolling back the frontiers of you-know-what) was always coupled with the resolve to enforce it. It was always nice if others could be enlisted to do the actual fighting. If others couldn't, then the U.S. moved with vigour and determination.

The policy has not always worked. In Vietnam, containment was mired in the complexity of the internal struggle against foreign rule which enabled the Communist leadership to forge a coalition with neutralists and nationalists, leaving the United States with only the dregs of junior officers, civil servants and politicians of the former French colonial regime.

Regardless of any tactical errors — and no doubt the David Halberstams and Frances FitzGerald will be able to grind out many interesting and effective studies — Vietnam was and is no aberration in American policy, but rather a manifestation of its essence. All the arguments about whether or not the U.S. has national interests involved in Vietnam are as irrelevant as the domino theories. Once aspiring to be policeman of the world one cannot easily accept “no-go areas”.

Unable to win a military victory, even with the tremendous expenditure of force, nor capable of establishing a viable political front, the U.S. has still proved it was something more than the proverbial paper tiger. Indeed, with its fantastic technology the U.S. has now brought the level of American casualties

down to a level apparently acceptable to the American people. Richard Nixon even seems to have discovered Milo Minderbinder's principle of making the war conform to good, solid free-enterprise dictates — since bombs have to be made to keep the economy going, they might just as well be dropped on somebody as stockpiled.

Thus the war, at least that phase of the war which has directly and openly involved the American military, has reached an impasse. An impasse which is not only inherently dangerous but also an obstacle to the development of responses to changing international relations. In other words, a stand-off has to be organized that will allow a political de-escalation of the war in Vietnam.

A stand-off is needed to enable the U.S., China and the Soviet Union to develop relations without the embarrassment, indeed danger, of a direct confrontation. The U.S. saves the shreds of its containment policy by organizing the continuation of the war by proxy. (The hope apparently is that Thieu with his

air force and police can keep the war going as long as he controls enough space for an air field and a flag pole). For the Soviet Union and China, the apparent withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam enables the slow process of a detente with the U.S. to continue in other spheres.

The point was perceived by the American people during the last election. Daniel Yankelovich, a pollster for the *New York Times*, describes how the issue of the war turned into a plus instead of a minus for Nixon.

“Slowly, almost imperceptibly, the message got through to the American public: Nixon had faced the Russians down, and the danger to the U.S. from the war — the danger of a big power confrontation — had been defused. The war in Vietnam would now soon be over. Or, even if it did not end right away, it would no longer be seen as a military threat to Americans. Soviet/Chinese acquiescence in the Haiphong mining had handed Mr. Nixon an overwhelming diplomatic victory, containing the seeds of his subsequent political victory at home. Vietnam, we found, is the issue of greatest concern to the American public, and in the public mind it was almost as if the war had ended at the Moscow Summit.”

War, like any other political question, when it cannot be resolved is referred to a committee. It won't be resolved in committee but at least it won't hold up the plenary.

There is, however, one complication for Canada. We are to be delegated onto the committee. If it was a genuine supervision of a cease-fire, or if it was even a broader body which would enable some viable peace to be structured, nobody would be too concerned and the more naive might even be flattered. But peace in Vietnam is not in the cards, nor is Canada's role envisioned to be that of a neutral. We are slated to be the American nominees and will be expected to serve their interests.

JUST THOUGHT HE'D ASK

[Justice Minister Otto] Lang confirmed the conversation with Lewis last night, but said “it had nothing to do with the current political situation.”

“I have a very strong belief in the general desirability of having two democratic parties in our parliamentary system,” Lang said.

“It's an old view of mine and I was wondering in a sense if Mr. Lewis had the same view. It just occurred to me that I had never heard his views on that, and so I called him.

“He told me he had a different view, and seemed to think it was good to have minor parties.”

—Toronto Star, 16 November 1972

The implications of our role have not been lost on Mitchell Sharp who, to thunderous silence from Hanoi, suggested that Canada would be happier to serve if we were invited by both sides. It would seem that the Vietnamese have not forgotten Canada's messenger role for the U.S. before in Vietnam. Nor should we.

Our political and military complicity with the United States in Vietnam is well documented. As American delegates on the committee to supervise the recycling of the war in Vietnam we will be enmeshed even more closely with the State Department and Pentagon.

For nostalgia buffs, however, a Canadian contingent on another peacekeeping force in Vietnam is the ultimate trip. Here we go again back to the innocent 1950s where, to spite all logic and evidence, there was the inspired notion abroad in the land that Canada could — Bomarcas, NATO and NORAD notwithstanding — pretend to play honest broker and world peace-keeper. But this time everyone is older and wiser and old K. Marx's historical cycle has been compressed. The tragedy isn't over before the farce begins.

Rae Murphy

Department of Political Science, McGill University, Montreal) is not complete. But even the "absolute minimum" figures the report cites are enough to give an idea of the scope of the Canadian contribution to the maintenance of the *pax Americana* in Vietnam.

With the new list provided by the department of industry, trade and commerce, the total number of Canadian companies receiving contracts from the Pentagon rose to at least 348 for the 1966-1972 period. The total value of awards granted to industry in Canada by the U.S. Defense Department was \$540 million, according to the department's own publication, "Prime Contracts".

Eighty-seven per cent of the money granted to companies whose ownership the group was able to trace went to American-owned companies. And almost half of these received financial aid from the Canadian government.

The federal government plays a multi-faceted role in supporting war production. Through the Canadian Commercial Corporation and the Canada-U.S. Defense Sharing Agreement it acts as an intermediary between the Pentagon and Canadian companies. Through the department of industry, trade and commerce it gives financial support for selected development programs, for acquisition of new equipment for plant modernization and for the establishment of increased production capacity.

Of 154 companies whose ownership was identified, 30 per cent of those receiving federal grants were American. They received 47 per cent of the \$458 million granted by the government from

War production:

'Commercial Confidential'

Accusations of Canadian complicity in the U.S. war effort in Vietnam, through made-in-Canada war materials and war research at Canadian universities, have been around for years. Because of the understandably secret nature of many of these activities, however, precise data have been, at best, sketchy.

If you happen to be a friendly free-world defence department, you can request one of two catalogues produced by the Canadian government: "Canadian Defence Products" and "Canadian Defence Commodities." Buy Canadian, take your choice. How about a Canadair CL'41G Tactical Trainer? "Various mixes of stores can be mounted, including 250 and 500 lb. bombs, G.E. Minigun six-barrel machine gun pods, 500 and 750 lb. napalm bombs, and a variety of air-to-surface rockets." But such information is not available to the public, or even to members of parliament.

Project Anti-War, a research group at Montreal's McGill University led by political science professor Sam Noumoff, recently took a stab at lifting the official veil of silence. Their first step was to request from the department of industry, trade and commerce a list of Canadian companies contracting with the Pentagon. Through the office of MP Max Saltzman (NDP — Waterloo), the request was forwarded to the then minister, Jean-Luc Pepin. Pepin replied on 6 July:

"The Canadian government gathers

information on defence export sales to the U.S. from approximately 200 Canadian companies. This information is obtained as "Commercial Confidential" information with the assurance that it will be used for statistical purposes only. Disclosure of this information could affect the competitive position of the companies involved. My Department is therefore not at liberty to release the details requested."

After Project Anti-War held a press conference and caught the attention of the media, the department changed its policy. The names of 211 Canadian companies receiving Pentagon contracts through the Canadian Commercial Corporation were released. But the government still does not give out information gathered as "Commercial Confidential" — concerning, for example, companies receiving contracts directly from the United States.

The Pentagon turned out to be a better source of information than the Canadian government. Project Anti-War's report, entitled "How to make a killing," states: "It is somewhat ironic that information which a minister of the Crown denies to a Member of Parliament is available to a substantial degree through an examination of the public record in the United States."

Project Anti-War received an equal lack of co-operation from many of the 778 companies to which they sent questionnaires. And so inevitably, its 230-page report (available for \$1 from Project Anti-War, c/o Prof. Sam Noumoff,



photo: Jean-Michel Joffe

NOUMOFF
Lifting the veil

1966 to 1971.

During that same period, universities and other non-profit institutions in 41 countries received a total of \$65 million worth of "defense-related" research contracts from the Pentagon. Canada got more than half that total. The research was well distributed across the country and ranged from openly war-related subjects to less conspicuous ones such as "Military Performance Enhancement by Drugs" (McGill University, 1969).

The introduction to the report contains the argument that researchers who have Pentagon contracts don't know how their research is being used. "We reject the argument," it says, "that responsibility ends with the delivery of goods and ser-

vices and the receipt of payment. If the government of Canada supports a war material industry and facilitates contact with the Pentagon, then that government is responsible for providing aid to the Pentagon in pursuing its policy. If a Canadian company signs a contract with the knowledge that its products are being supplied to the Pentagon then it too is aiding the Pentagon in pursuing its policy."

Project Anti-War is backed up in its reasoning by no less an authority than the United States Congress. All grants, Congress has clearly stated, should serve the ultimate goal of strengthening the U.S. armed forces.

Magnus Isacson

nationalization of basic resources, including copper, an essential source of foreign currency. Wage increases brought about a disproportionate leap in consumption, which in turn brought about an unprecedented intensification of production: the factories were working at full capacity, unemployment was down to four per cent. It was euphoria.

It was at this time, however — was it just by chance? — that the price of copper collapsed on the international market: foreign currency returns fell and some food products became scarce. The last thing they needed in December 1971 (during Fidel Castro's long visit to Chile) was for the combined opposition to launch its first serious offensive, the "march of the empty pots." For 24 hours, the streets belonged to the opposition, confidence came back to them.

The Chilean bourgeoisie, not the most stupid in the world, made effective use of the weapon they still held, the Congress, where they have a majority. They passed a law requiring that any nationalization be submitted to the houses of Congress. Moreover, they successfully mobilized public opinion against various aspects of Popular Unity policy: they control more radio stations and more newspapers than the government, and they are much better able to use them skillfully because of their long experience.

If any political segment is taking liberties with liberty in Chile, it is the right. The right is conducting its campaign against the Popular Unity without constraint, and with a vehemence that surprises visitors. Political life, always hectic, becomes frenzied at times. Public opinion is becoming polarized. One is either for or against the Popular Unity, and often the dividing line cuts through families.

The Christian Democrats, once reformist, have moved resolutely to the right, beside the Nationalist Party, to form a confederacy for the elections. What they want, they say, is to "*derrotar, no derrocar*", to fight the government legally, not to overthrow it violently. But is this still true? The recent events are such as to make one fear the worst: everyone knows that Allende's violent overthrow would mean civil war in Chile.

Pierre Laffonques

(This article originally appeared in *Le Nouvel Observateur, Paris*)

Chile: Strike of the bosses

As the American-owned Kennecott copper company carried out its seizures of Chilean copper exports in retaliation for the nationalization of its holdings, a strike of Chilean truck owners and merchants raised the question of whether the country will make it through to its elections, scheduled for March, without violence.

Using this strike movement as a pretext, the entire Chilean right, the bourgeoisie, the middle class and even some sectors of the working class, were challenging the legality of the Popular Unity government's program. In the name of "civil resistance", they sought to paralyse the country, to spread chaos, to keep public opinion on the alert, so as to demonstrate that the government is incapable of maintaining order and that the country has to release itself from the "Marxist hold" without delay. The government was forced to call upon the army — which has remained faithful to it — to restore order, and also to proclaim a state of emergency in Santiago and Valparaiso.

Why this *blitzkrieg*? First of all, because Salvador Allende is reaping the bitter fruit of his own errors and shilly-shallying. In forming his policy from the top, without giving the mass of little people who had confidence in him any concrete tasks to carry out, Allende disappointed not only his party workers but also his numerous independent supporters who belong to no party. The Popular Unity could have mobilized them; but

now they are ready to listen to the arguments of the opposition.

The second reason for the crisis was the impatience of the right. The opposition felt very clearly that the moment was critical for the Popular Unity. Inflation this year reached a record 99.8 per cent, while the government failed to make good on its promise of a 100 per cent hike in wages. Problems of supply — especially of food — became more and more acute. Hence the ill humour of the housewives and a lowering of the president's popularity.

The situation is further aggravated by the fact that the rivalry within the opposition between the Christian Democratic Party and the Nationalist Party over who can fight the most noisily to take over the leadership of the coalition has never been as lively.

How did this paradox come about, a strike called by the bosses and fought by the workers? In the past two years in Chile traditional political schemes have been inverted inasmuch as the march toward socialism is being accomplished by taking advantage of all the means offered by the laws of the former regime.

During the first year, although the United States had begun progressive cuts of supplies and credit, the Popular Unity was able to achieve some of the most important points of its program: division of the *latifundia* (large agricultural estates), control over credit, banking and textile monopolies, and above all



by Claude Balloune

Another Canadian military mission is currently wining with the generals of Brazil and studying that country's unique military structure. Before going to the South American military dictatorship, the 38-man Canadian mission, led by Rear-Admiral S. Mathwin, were treated to an edifying visit with the military in Bogota, Colombia. They were given an economic treatise by right-wing economist Mario Laserna, followed by a conference with Col. Carlos Nardaez, who explained the details of the anti-guerrilla campaign in Colombia. No doubt Brazilian-Colombian military experience will prove invaluable to the Canadian armed forces

Now that Marc Lalonde is comfortably ensconced in his new office as minister of health and welfare, he may find something for his expert on transcendental meditation to do. It seems that the program on the non-medical use of drugs hired a young man by the name of Gerry Steinberg to do transcendental meditation at the going rate of \$20,000 a year. He's been located in Ottawa's Place Vanier for the past four months but, aside from the meditation bit, is still not sure of his duties

The Quebec government is extremely sensitive about its James Bay power project. Boyce Richardson's book *James Bay: The Drowning of the North Woods* was launched at Montreal's Bibliothèque Nationale, the Quebec-government-owned library. When the publisher and his party arrived to prepare for the launching, they found barred doors and an official who said the Ministry of Cultural Affairs (headed by Claire Kirkland-Casgrain) was displeased with the book and government property couldn't be used to promote it.

After several long-distance calls and negotiations, Richardson et al said they'd just hold the launching outside on the steps. Aware that the ensuing publicity would be unflattering, Ministry officials allowed the launching to be held inside as scheduled — on condition no mention was made to the press about the efforts to stop it. Mum's the word

Meanwhile, the Liberals finally found a job for trusty old warhorse Lionel Chevrier, who was at various times Transport Minister, Justice Minister and Canadian High Commissioner to London. The Quebec government has put him in charge of negotiations with Indians affected by the James Bay project. Several of the Indians want to boycott the talks until he's removed from the position. Chevrier was president of the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority when they stole land from the Indians

Don't believe the Post Office propaganda about the new, six-letter-and-number postal code, which is supposed to speed mail (and which postal workers urge people to

boycott). Letters intended for the *Last Post's* Ottawa post office box, sorted with the aid of the code, have taken up to ten days to reach us. The reason, it turns out, is that we share a code with (among others) the Unemployment Insurance Commission. Business has been brisk for the UIC these last few months, and the volume of mail has been so huge that the post office has not bothered to carry out the final sorting operation on mail bearing its code, sending it all to the UIC instead.

Over at the National Film Board, Commissioner Sydney Newman decided that he must have a limousine with a chauffeur (after all, everybody has one at the BBC in London, where Newman spent some time). Treasury Board advised him that because of the way things are these days, it had been decided that only people at the ministerial level were entitled to limousines and drivers. Undeterred, Newman ordered one anyway and now there's a flap on over who's going to pay

Among the people receiving invitations to a ringside seat for the recent Apollo launch at Cape Kennedy were Premier Frank Moores of Newfoundland and Premier Gerry Regan of Nova Scotia. The invitations came from oil promoter John Sheheen, who has maintained a long-standing friendship with Richard Nixon. Sheheen is building oil refineries in both premiers' provinces

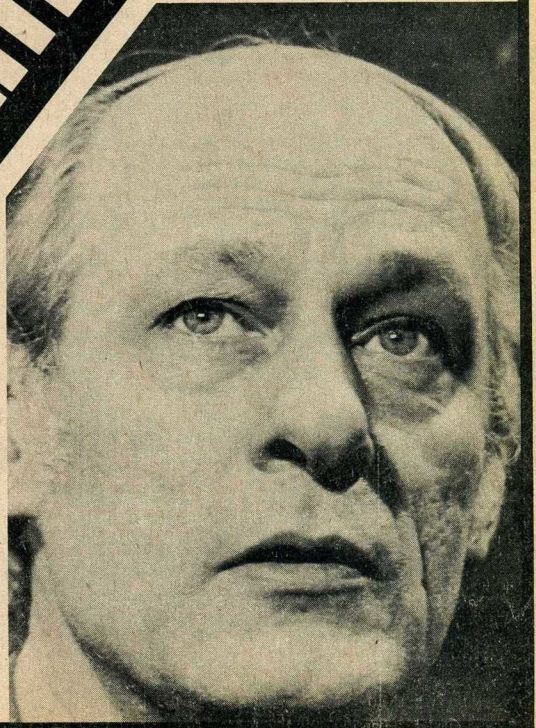
Despite denials from high officials in the Department of Agriculture, rumours persist that the Central Experimental Farm is to be moved from Ottawa, possibly to Winnipeg. Several developers are understood to be interested in the site for high-rise construction. Security at the farm had to be increased a couple of years back when poachers began sampling several of the varieties of cannabis being tested there

The Montreal daily *La Presse*, which used to be the second largest paper in the country, still hasn't recovered from its rather nasty lockout a year ago. Before the lockout, the paper's circulation was about 230,000, down from 310,000 in its early sixties heyday when Gérard Pelletier and Jean-Louis Gagnon were there. Now it stands at a miserable 158,989

The federal Tories reneged on a promise to one of their newest recruits, Ottawa West MP Peter Reilly. Reilly, a former TV broadcaster, was promised a gig writing speeches for Bob Stanfield so that he could have an income after leaving his TV job. He didn't get it. Reilly, once reputed to be an NDP sympathizer (although he spurned an approach from Stephen Lewis to run provincially in Ottawa West in 1971) is not likely to be the most loyal member of the Tory caucus, and may leave its ranks when the time is ripe .

**THE
SHAPE
OF
INDEPENDENCE**

SCIS
PARTI QUER



THE MAKING OF

It is not a question of whether we'll be rich or poor, big or small: it's a question of whether we'll be.

— Abbe Lionel Groulx

by Nick Auf der Maur

Mme G. is an industrious, hard-working dedicated Québécoise. She's vice-president of the Parti Québécois riding association in Montreal-St-Jacques and lives in a basement flat on Carré St. Louis, a mildly fashionable square in the basically working-class district.

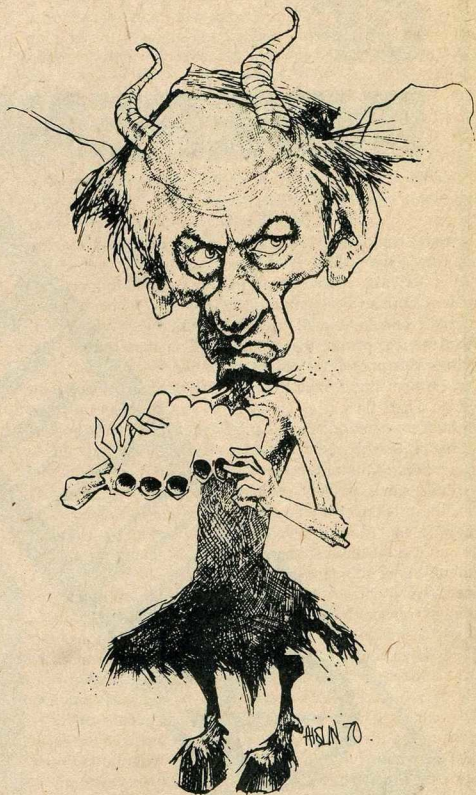
The photos and flags that adorn her flat bespeak her political inclinations. First off, the flags. She has both the blue and white Quebec Fleur-de-Lys, given to the province by Maurice Duplessis, and the red, white and green colours of the 1837 Patriote rebels.

The prominent photos are of John F. Kennedy, Fidel Castro, Charles de Gaulle and René Lévesque — the Kennedy image, a youthful reformer, a Catholic martyr; Castro, the little guy standing up to the big guy, doing something for his people; de Gaulle, who oversaw the liberation of his own nation and gave official sanction to the liberation of another; Lévesque, who encompasses all these virtues. If there is such a thing, Mme G. is a typical Péquiste militant.

* * *

Recently in Washington, a high-powered team of Canadian negotiators showed up at an international economic conference. As they walked into the conference room, they recognized a man who had been a familiar figure at Ottawa-Quebec negotiations. "What are you doing here?" they inquired. "I'm here as a consultant to look after the interests of Switzerland and a few other countries," Jacques Parizeau replied smiling.

Jacques Parizeau may not be typical, but he's a good example of the PQ leadership, — competent, thorough, strong — and supremely confident.



Aislin sees Lévesque as Pan, who "delighted in frightening travellers, with help from creatures somewhat like him, called satyrs. From the sudden fear he caused comes the word 'panic'".

Along with Mme G. and Parizeau, the Parti Québécois is made up of about 70,000 paid-up members and a million and more sympathizers in the province. They hope to bring about the independence of Quebec by 1974 at the earliest, or the election after next at the latest. Already, after just four years of existence, the PQ lays claim to speaking for 24 per cent of the electorate. It has every possibility of increasing that figure, if not in one fell swoop, at least slowly but surely. Almost everything since 1970, from the October federal elections which underscored Quebec's isolation from

THE PRESIDENT

the rest of Canada to Premier Robert Bourassa's bumbling inability to produce the 100,000 jobs and economic security he promised in his election campaign, seems to be helping the PQ down what it sees as the inexorable road to independence.

René Lévesque himself is optimistic, although not recklessly overconfident.

"We expect to increase our vote substantially in 1974," (the expected date of the next provincial elections), he said over lunch in late November. "We'll form the official opposition, which is what we really are right now." He mentioned that there's a chance the PQ might "accidentally" win power in the next election, but the main PQ objective was to secure a majority in the following election.

"In either case, if we win or get to be official opposition, there will have to be some adjustments [in Quebec-Ottawa relations]. You know, all this talk about the New World, North America, people forget that the Canadian regime, the constitution is one of the oldest in the world.

"In Europe, there have been renewals, changes not only in words. There have been about 70 new countries born since the war, a lot of them smaller than Quebec. But in Canada, the same regime persists, the tensions are the same; there's been no renewal, no basic changes, the same flaws are there. The whole story of Quebec and Canada has not changed, the institutions haven't changed. I remember after the war, there were the same demands. Even the Americans have made more adjustments; there's a certain changing equilibrium and more suppleness in their regime."

The drive to bring about the changes, the complete re-shaping of Canada, has been on for about a decade in Quebec. True, as Lévesque says, the pressures, the tensions and demands were always there before in one form or another. But the modern independence movement was born in the minds of a few people in the late fifties and early sixties. Movements and formal political parties dedicated to independence were founded. The Quebec government of the early sixties, of which Lévesque was the most dynamic member and driving force, sought to reform some of the institutions governing federal-provincial relations and political life and create the flexibility they felt was required.

A poll taken in 1962 revealed that less than 3 per cent of the Quebec people wanted to see an independent Quebec. They were mostly students, intellectuals and a smattering of old-style nationalists. By 1966, two independence parties, the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN) and the Ralliement National, had polled nine per cent in the elections. They didn't elect any members, but their share of the vote allowed Daniel Johnson's Union Nationale to gain power with 41 per cent of the vote compared to the Liberals' 47 per cent. The independence movement had become a significant factor in Quebec politics.

And then in 1967, while Canada was celebrating the 100th anniversary of Confederation, General de Gaulle intoned his

"Vive le Québec Libre" from the Montreal City Hall balcony. Shortly after, a former Liberal Party president and a member of the Quebec legislature, François Aquin, declared himself an *indépendantiste*. René Lévesque and several others in the Liberal Party were in the process of examining their political positions and what they thought would be the best course for the party and the people.

They decided upon something called "*Souveraineté-Association*," a sovereign Quebec within a Canadian economic union. It was presented to the annual Liberal convention at the Château Frontenac in Quebec City on 14 October 1967. Under the strong hand of its president, Eric Kierans, the party rejected it. That night, René Lévesque walked out of the Liberal Party.

On 6 January 1968, his book *Option-Québec* was published. Independence, or sovereignty as Lévesque and his associates preferred to put it, had become a respectable and quite valid option to thousands of people. In April, they formed the Movement Souveraineté-Association (MSA) which projected a moderate image of a group of enthusiastic but fair-minded people. The MSA upheld English-language education rights and differed sharply from the supposedly radical mob in charge of the RIN who were ready to take to the streets at any opportunity.

On 14 October 1968, exactly one year after Lévesque was drummed out of the Liberals, the MSA became the Parti Québécois, a name that the leader himself did not favour. He had been pushing for something like le Parti Souverainiste, something that conformed to his platform and did not smack of chauvinism or hot-headiness. Within a short space of time, the other independence parties disappeared, their members either absorbed into the PQ, or, in the case of the radicals, scattered into the usual left-wing groups.

A year and a half later, the PQ ran its very successful election campaign. The party projected an image of being young, dynamic and, most crucially, positive. Instead of the somewhat negative "Ottawa non" slogans of past independentist groups, the bright young men of the PQ centred their campaign on the positive theme of "Let's build Quebec together." The main slogan was simply "OUI," Yes. The thousands of red and blue OUI buttons and stickers became the most visible symbol of the whole campaign.

The PQ even made an effort to woo English-language voters, and Lévesque insisted on running in his old riding of Montreal Laurier which had a 30 per cent Anglo-immigrant vote, usually a solid Liberal bloc. He lost.

As expected, the most difficult problem in gaining public acceptance lay in the economic question. What would happen if Quebec were to secede? The Bourassa Liberals hammered on this theme, saying business would pull out, investments would vanish, the province would virtually collapse into stagnation, there'd be an economic depression. By contrast, they said, the Liberals would provide economic security and 100,000 new jobs.

This was the issue that put the PQ on the defensive, and it still is. The PQ countered by stressing its moderation, the good sense of its leaders like Lévesque and Parizeau. Their election literature constantly quoted people like David Rockefeller of the Chase Manhattan Bank who had said in a TV interview that investors really didn't care whether Quebec was independent or not, whether it spoke French or English, so long as there was money to be made. "I do not think that outside investors should be the ones to decide what form of government you should have," Rockefeller had said.

They quoted Harvard's Karl Deutsch, a State Department adviser, who said "if 3,000,000 Danes can make a good living, there is no reason in the world why 6,000,000 Quebecers couldn't make it as a sovereign state."

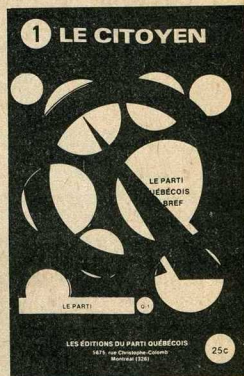
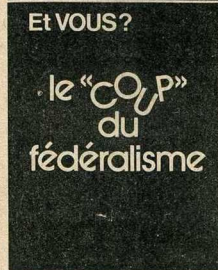
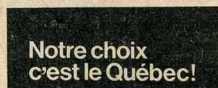
It was easy to get Europeans and Americans to offer such comments, but difficult to counteract the effects of statements emanating from English Canadians and the French-speaking Liberal establishment. Even so, a short time before the 29 April elections, polls showed the PQ and Liberals running almost neck and neck, 26 per cent to 29 per cent, with a very large bloc of undecideds.

Then, just a few days before the election there occurred an incident which still rankles very deeply in the PQ. It later came to be called the 'Brinks coup'. The Royal Trust Company arranged for several Brinks trucks loaded down with securities to be shipped secretly out of Montreal to Ontario. Photographers and TV crews were thoughtfully tipped off.

It was an example of the "economic terrorism" that so embitters Lévesque. (It was used to a lesser extent during the recent byelection in North Shore riding of Duplessis. Two days before the election, Marc Carrière, the Liberal president of Quebec's large Dupuis Frères retailing firm, held a press conference in Sept-Îles, the largest town in the isolated riding, and announced that he would not be able to build a promised store in that community if the riding returned a Péquiste deputy. Financing would be difficult, he explained.)

Nevertheless, the PQ picked up almost a quarter of the vote in 1970 — more like a third of the French vote, since the 20 per cent of Quebecers who speak English are solidly Liberal. However, because of the gross inequities of the electoral system, it won only seven seats — six in the predominantly working-class East End of Montreal and one in Saguenay. Premier Bourassa has promised a new electoral map before the next election.

Since the election, the PQ has been extremely active, certainly the most active party on the provincial scene. The PQ has consolidated its existing strength and expanded its grass-roots organization. It has a democratic structure comparable to that of the NDP, which permits a maximum number of people to become involved in the ordinary administration of the party. Numerous local associations maintain full-time propaganda offices, while the central organization operates out of headquarters on Christophe Colomb street in north-central Montreal. The party's own publishing house, Les Éditions du Parti Québécois, produces a continuous stream of books, pamphlets, programs and manifestos which are sold commercially in most newsstands and bookstores. Books like the PQ's economic manifesto "Quand Nous Serons Vraiment Chez Nous" (When we will truly be at home) often crop up on the bestseller lists.



The PQ publishes a stream of books, pamphlets, programs. Some crop up on the bestseller lists.

The seven-man Péquiste delegation in the National Assembly acts and sounds as if it were the official opposition and contributes more to the quality of debate than either the Créditiste or Unité-Québec parties. However, the Péquiste presence is not felt only in parliamentary debate. Because of the nature of the party and its militants, it has a pervasive effect on all social institutions. Péquistes tend to be active in community organizations, unions, Caisses Populaires, citizens' committees, student organizations, even sports and leisure groups.

About twice a year, the PQ organizes slick membership or fundraising campaigns, which, in addition to raising funds, keep up actual participation. Last spring for example, Operation March was organized to raise \$300,000 to finance day-to-day activities and pay the salaries and administrative costs of the party's full-time staff. The campaign raised \$632,154 and some 22,000 people showed up for a mammoth party at the Montreal Forum to celebrate its success. Quebec's biggest-name entertainers contributed their talents for the party.

This fall, they conducted an "anti-campaign" during the federal election. The anti-campaign, designed to underscore the cost of federalism to Quebecers, enjoyed a somewhat mixed success, but the party did manage to sign up 30,357

new members, 5,000 more than the objective.

At the moment, the PQ is already gearing up for the next provincial election and expects to be operating a more or less full-blown campaign by the beginning of 1973. (Although it is expected in '74, no one is discounting the possibility of Bourassa's calling the election next spring or fall.) Nominating conventions are being set in the 110 ridings on the Liberals' promised new electoral map.

A new series of weekly paid telecasts is being prepared to explain the party's new economic manifesto, which stresses public ownership, co-operatives and safeguards against foreign economic control. Instead of blanketing the province, the party will concentrate on about 70 ridings in areas where it feels it has a realistic chance of winning seats. (In the last election, more or less the same tactics were used, and they backfired. The PQ won ridings it expected to lose and lost in areas, like Ahuntsic where Jacques Parizeau ran, where it expected to win.)

The leadership

The unquestioned leader of the party is René Lévesque, a 50-year-old former war correspondent who in the late fifties was French Canada's most popular television commentator. He left TV to become the Minister of Natural Resources in the Liberal cabinet of the Quiet Revolution. While in office, he built himself a reputation as a reformer and friend of the "gars ordinaire," the average guy. He also earned a reputation as a friend of labour. Trade unionists still remember that, during a Quebec Liquor Board strike, he was invited to speak to a strike meeting to outline the government position. Lévesque, a cabinet minister, told the men: "Ne lachez-pas! (Don't give up)" and offered his support for the strike against the government.

His performance while in power — he helped teachers, hospital workers and civil servants gain the right to organize and strike — gained him lasting sympathy in the trade union movement. Even after the bitter *La Presse* lockout and demonstration last October (Lévesque and the PQ refused to support the demonstration), Quebec Federation of Labour leader Louis Laberge proclaimed Lévesque "the best friend labour has."

One odd, unhappy incident during the early sixties still hurts Lévesque and the PQ in some rural areas like the Eastern Townships. The Natural Resources department experimented briefly with artificial rainmaking to help prevent forest fires and improve agriculture. Unfortunately, that year there were unseasonably heavy rainfalls and the farmers angrily blamed Lévesque and demonstrated against the government. Even today, there are several areas in Quebec where the mention of Lévesque's name causes farmers to say they'd never vote for a man who tampers with nature.

But on the whole, Lévesque is a popular individual in Quebec and consistently polls in first or second place in political popularity contests. He is a very amiable person and a very effective public speaker. His dress and speech are unaffected, and he conveys an egalitarian sympathy to the average citizen. This is something that neither Trudeau nor Bourassa, neither the Unité-Québec's Gabriel Loubier nor the Conservatives' Wagner can hope to achieve. Aside from Lévesque, only the Créditistes can manage it.

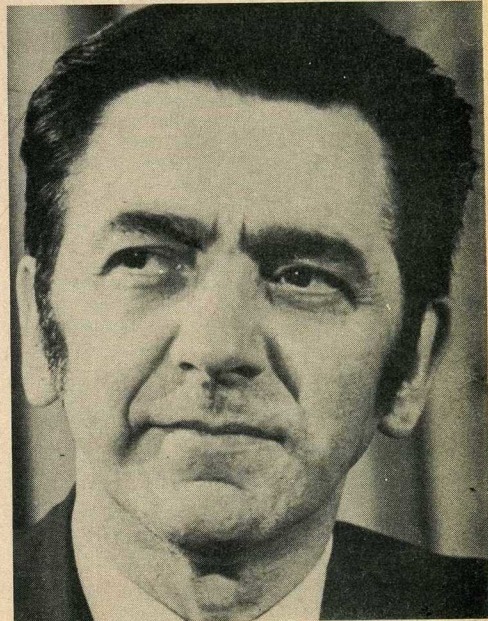
However, because of his personal appeal, there is always the impression that the Parti Québécois success is due largely to one figure. Part of the same assumption is that the PQ is a coalition of diverse elements, a coalition that would break apart if not for the glue of Lévesque's personal magnetism.

Although it is true that the PQ is not a homogeneous party and contains distinct left, right and centrist tendencies within, it has proved over and over again to be a remarkably cohesive, democratically run organization. During local and regional meetings, and at the regular conventions, there is often heated debate and widely disparate views and opinions, just as in any open party. But it holds together as well as the NDP, for example, if not better. On the whole, the party has become solidly rooted in social democracy, a position it would not be likely to abandon for some time, even if Lévesque were to depart immediately.

(On one occasion, during the initial debate on English-language education rights, Lévesque did indulge in a bit of undemocratic manoeuvring. The majority of the delegates would likely have opted for a straight unilingual educational system, but Lévesque threatened to quit and leave the movement if that policy were adopted. Unhappy opponents called it "imperialism of prestige." He hasn't used the tactic since.)

However, segments of the PQ left accuse the party of a "triple naïvete — social, political and moral which involves a series of gross simplifications of reality."

In a constructive critique of the party two Levis, Que. members, Richard Dubois and Yves de Delleval, wrote that the seeming general acceptance of the official policy is accomplished through a facade of internal democracy and a kind of "blackmail of urgency". The party doesn't indulge in



Dr. Camille Laurin is the PQ's parliamentary leader.

actual open dialogue, they claim, because too many members accept the argument that "all that is inopportune; we are only 18 months away from an election, we have to work hard and we have to postpone discussions until after and demonstrate our cohesion and determination in the face of the adversary."

Dubois and Delleval add "we cannot build solidarity, let alone victorious solidarity on the silence of dissidence." They further state that Péquistes too often sacrifice principle for electoralism and that in actual fact this electoral stance seriously underestimates the obstacles towards independence.

Laval University's Vincent Lemieux, the acknowledged expert on Quebec's voter trends, has found in his studies that "Lévesque is not more popular than his party among the people. Another surprising thing: those who liked Lévesque liked him for his stand on independence. He was not identified as a reformer."

Shortly after analysing the 1970 vote, Lemieux concluded: "I don't think his resignation would have major consequences for the party. A year ago [during the founding of the PQ], of course, it would have been different."

This has been a fundamental goal of the independence movement from the outset, that it never become "a one-man show." The PQ has made a conscientious effort to recruit capable men and women to share the leadership role.

One of these is Dr. Camille Laurin, a psychiatrist who is currently the PQ's parliamentary leader. A soft spoken, somewhat academic man, he spent a decade working and studying in Europe and the United States. In 1947, he was editor of the student paper at the Université de Montréal where some of his editorials, unearthed by *Last Post* National Assembly correspondent Malcolm Reid, demonstrate the beginning of his political formation, a political formation typical of many of the progressive people of his generation now active in the PQ.

His nationalism was more prone to be Canadian than Québécois: "For me . . . the great French-Catholic tradition is like oxygen. But if as well as defending our rights, we developed our genius? A great future awaits Canada, and our group is still caught in economic and political inferiority."

Like many of the Catholic activists of his time — Pierre Trudeau, Michel Chartrand and others — he was concerned with social justice. He wrote in 1947: "Behind many anti-Communist or pro-autonomy speeches hides pettiness, or even a shamefaced capitalist. We are for anti-Communism, if that means opposing a materialist conception of life, which leaves out the spiritual. But we confess to liking some Marxist economic laws and some attitudes of Communist union leaders, and we will fight alongside them in any cause where justice is served."

After a visit to Eastern Europe, he added: "In Yugoslavia, in Albania, youth has no more vacations, or vacations go to building with enthusiasm the railways needed to renew the country. Poland sees its students go singing to the mines to prepare tomorrows that sing, and in almost all the [Nazi-] occupied countries, young people have been cuffed, or slowly killed in places like Dachau and Belsen, because they preferred freedom to egotism . . . Student, don't you see that in Canada too the coals are hot, that all it would take is a wind?"

Today, Dr. Laurin would probably ascribe much of this to youthful impetuosity, but would not reject the social sentiment.

The two other big names in the PQ, Jacques Parizeau and Claude Morin, have rather more sedate, establishment backgrounds. Parizeau has impeccable economic credentials (London School of Economics) and laboured as chief economic adviser to Premiers Lesage, Johnson and Bertrand before breaking to join the PQ as its prize catch just before the April 29 elections.

Internationally, he has a high-powered reputation as an economic expert and would be a key figure in any relations between an independent Quebec and United States business interests. He is on friendly terms with many big Wall Street names, including the Rockefellers.

Claude Morin, for years the Quebec government's chief constitutional adviser, has the necessary connections in Europe, particularly in what is known as the Quebec lobby there. The lobby includes Philippe de Rossignol, the French diplomat identified by Trudeau as a Gaullist agent operating in Canada some years ago, Yves Deniault, a Gaullist deputy in the French National Assembly, Gaston Palewesky, René Charbonal, and Lucien Outers, a Belgian parliamentarian. The lobby is the independence movement's unofficial diplomatic contact with the French-speaking world and would prove useful in promoting an independent Quebec's interests.

Labour's interests in the PQ leadership are represented principally by MNA Robert Burns, a former lawyer with the Confederation of National Trade Unions. A spokesman for the party's left wing, Burns has remained on good terms with labour organizers and the various left-wing leaders in Quebec.

Burns once complained that "Sometimes I feel that the PQ is only the left wing of the Liberal Party." Lévesque invited him to quit the party if he felt like it. Burns, of course, didn't.

Jacques Yvan Morin, head of the Mouvement Québec Français, and an international law expert, represents the more traditional nationalist movement, centred around the St. Jean Baptiste Society. Pierre Marois is the PQ's consumer advocate. There's a long list of others (see pages 26-27).

All in all, the PQ has the wherewithal to form at least as good a cabinet as any other Canadian party, federal or provincial — probably better.

The PQ projects the image of a social democratic party, and refuses to become known as a workers' party although it claims it could best represent the interests of the workers. It is a nationalist party and claims to represent a people rather than a class.

"Other people have the right to choose Marxism, to play Marxist games. But not us," says Lévesque. He, and the rest of the party, are extremely wary of becoming identified with any of the more revolutionary currents prevalent in Quebec. Lévesque is very short with radicals and regards them as infantile at best. He and many others in the party are convinced that its poor showing in the recent provincial byelections, especially in Duplessis, was due to a backlash against labour's Common Front strike and demonstrations last spring. The PQ, they feel, can only achieve power by keeping at arm's length from labour and by broadening its appeal, especially towards the 70 per cent of the work force that is not unionized.

One of the areas that offers the PQ the greatest opportunity is the language issue, the most emotional and, some say, one of the most crucial issues facing Quebec today. Demographic studies show that according to the current trend,

Montreal will be a minority French-speaking city within 25 years. Nine out of ten immigrants in Quebec assimilate into the English-language group. If Montreal is lost, then Quebec will become another Louisiana where French is mere folklore.

Many Quebec workers are still obliged to work in English and there is increasing demand that French be made the language of work in the province. Almost all predominantly French-speaking organizations — from the unions to the provincial Liberal party — are in favour of making French the working language. Most groups and a large segment of the population are in favour of French schooling for immigrant children. (Quebec must be one of the few places in the world where the majority has to demonstrate to get the minority to come to their schools. Usually it's the majority that tries to keep the minority out.)

The PQ last month introduced a bill to require the children of non-Anglophone immigrants to attend French schools. The government allowed it to die on the order paper, preferring to sit it out until it receives the long-awaited report of the Gendron Commission on Language which was set up by the Union Nationale government in 1969. If the Liberals fail to act decisively on the language question, the PQ expects it will be an important election issue that will work to their advantage.

Independence and Canada

The Parti Québécois is very well prepared for independence.

For the past two years, various Péquiste committees have been at work ironing out policies — monetary, customs, tariffs, treaty obligations, constitution, debt, etc. — which would enable a smooth transition from provincial status to nationhood once they take power.

Lévesque and his colleagues feel that independence will be achieved once the party forms a government, whether or not it has more than 50 per cent of the vote. The explanation is included in a PQ booklet entitled "Comment se fera l'Indépendance," a compilation of articles by Robert McKenzie of the *Toronto Star*. "I saw Pierre Elliott Trudeau conduct himself like a totalitarian wartime government and rule by decree before Parliament had even been consulted, and he hadn't even 45 per cent of the Canadian vote," Lévesque explained. "He was in strict conformity with the British parliamentary tradition of our ancestors which is 'If you have control of parliament, you're the government.' The day we're the government, elected to apply a program that everyone knows, that's it, we'll apply it."

Parizeau points out that Quebec entered Confederation without a referendum despite repeated appeals for a popular vote on the British North America Act.

There are two tendencies in the PQ regarding independence. One group, including Parizeau, speaks of "a long period of negotiations, lasting perhaps 18 months or two years and leading naturally to the declaration of independence." The other, including Jacques Yvan Morin, favors an immediate declaration of independence with the details to be settled afterwards through peaceful negotiations.

Lévesque feels that "after the initial trauma," there woul-

dn't be much problem in negotiations with Canada.

Speaking calmly, and without any hostility towards English Canada, he explained that "Canada can't resist the inevitable decision of Quebec. There won't be any civil war or any such stupidity. Oh, sure, they'll say no until the last minute ... but if Canada wants to resist, everybody will be 'fucké.' How do you hold onto a reluctant one-third of a country?"

The PQ points out that it's in Ontario's interest to carry on the negotiations in a civilized manner since almost a third of its manufactured goods are sold in Quebec and it couldn't afford to lose that market.

"Ontario probably sells Quebec \$2 or \$3 of goods for every \$1 or \$1.50 Quebec sells Ontario," adds Lévesque, "And don't forget that Ontario's prices are not always competitive internationally. We live to a great extent in an artificial economy. Our prices for finished products are higher than in the United States and, on international markets, the Japanese and the Germans are a damn sight more efficient."

According to the leaders, the main crux of the negotiations would be (1) the calculation of Quebec's share of Canada's assets and debts, and (2) the formation of common institutions, such as a customs union or joint currency, which the two countries might agree to share.

The PQ has explored the entire scope of such possible negotiations, including the fate of civil servants and pensioners, division of the CNR, Air Canada, government bond obligations, penitentiaries etc. As far as assets and debts are concerned, economist Parizeau feels that "if the division were based on population, Quebec's share could be 29 per cent. On the basis of personal income, it would be around 25 per cent. I imagine there will be a margin of discussion between these two figures and we'll end up with between 26 and seven-eighths and 27 and one-eighth."

The question of whether these negotiations would be between Quebec and the federal government or whether the other provincial governments would join in is left open. However, Lévesque believes it could be beneficial to the other provinces, especially the Maritimes.

"We have not only a sentiment towards the Maritimes," he says, "but a solidarity with them. There's the question of the protection of markets. We could negotiate in a manner that could help the Maritimes. Everything in the economic make-up of Confederation favours southern Ontario and the English capitalists of Montreal. The Maritimes have more or less the same problem as us."

There is evidence that the federal government is also preparing for any eventuality. Last September, Prime Minister Trudeau admitted that specialists in the Privy Council office have drafted a report analysing the PQ's proposals for a Canada-Quebec economic union.

For the moment, while preparing for Independence Day, the PQ strategists are content to work to increase their share of the popular vote to 35 per cent. They feel events are working for them and their goal.

"Quebec," Camille Laurin told a Péquiste rally recently, "was ready to wait for Trudeau to reach his goal, but the challenge was rejected by the Canada of the others. That which the Québécois consider as a minimum is a maximum for the Canada of the others."

Nick Auf der Maur is a member of the Last Post editorial board and is the magazine's Quebec editor.

The men who would run the 'new Qu

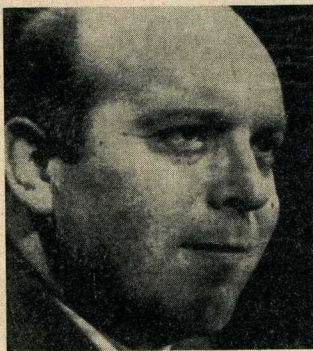


Jacques Parizeau

Forty-two. The No. 2 man in the party and former economic adviser to Premiers Lesage, Johnson and Bertrand. Enjoys an international reputation as an economic heavyweight and has extremely good connections with U.S. liberal financiers, academics and foreign affairs study groups. On good terms with people like CNTU president Marcel Pepin, Pierre Trudeau and Robert Bourassa. Regarded as a state capitalist, was once described as a Harold Wilson without the unions.



Robert Burns
Thirty-six. Represents Maisonneuve which includes a large part of Gérard Pelletier's federal riding. One of the lights of the PQ's left wing with good connections in the CNTU, where he worked as a technical adviser and a lawyer for eight years before 1970. Trade unionists regard him as one of their best friends in the party. Is just about the only Péquiste Michel Chartrand would invite to a Montreal Central Council meeting. Likes Scotch.

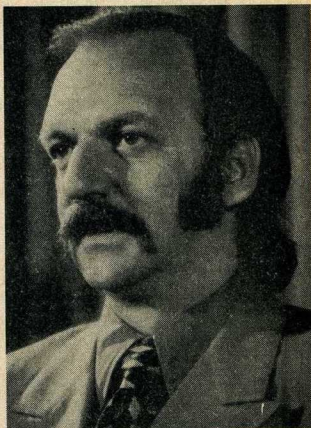


Claude Morin

The third man in the PQ Big Three. Was the principal constitutional advisor to three Quebec governments and the province's ranking civil servant. Is perhaps the PQ's key man in European relations, with good connections in France and Belgium. A man of the right, he's said "after independence there will be no place for extremists in Quebec."

Camille Laurin

Fifty years old. Chief of the PQ's parliamentary wing and MNA for Bourget. A wealthy Outremont psychiatrist, he helped reform mental hospitals, earning the enmity of the medical establishment when he prefaced a book called *The Insane Cry for Help*. His beliefs are an odd mixture of Freudianism and Catholicism. A progressive, but not a radical, he sees independence as a "therapeutic choice". Liberals call him the Mother Superior of the PQ.



Jacques-Yvan Morin

A constitutional and international law expert, he narrowly lost in the last election. Prof. Morin represents the more traditional, conservative nationalist element in Quebec. He founded the now-defunct Estates General of French Canada and now heads up the Mouvement Québec Français, a coalition of union, nationalist, political and special-interest groups trying to make French the province's working language.





Marcel Léger

Forty-two. Party Whip and MNA for Lafontaine. A successful small Quebec businessman (Fiesta soft drinks), he's active in the local parish Caisse Populaire and savings groups and director-general of the Montreal Archdiocese's Service for Pastoral Action. Regarded as a pragmatist rather than a visionary, he's chief organizer for next election. Smokes Sail pipe tobacco.

Guy Joron

Thirty-two. At first glance, the MNA for Gouin seems like the odd duck in the PQ caucus. He has the credentials for being the party's finance critic. Comes from an establishment family and used to be a wealthy stockbroker. Still is wealthy and dabbles in the market. Reputedly made a small fortune in currency speculation when the Deutschmark was revalued. Often described as a progressive economic nationalist and the Walter Gordon of the PQ.



Charles Tremblay

Fifty-one. Was an active trade unionist for more than 20 years before being elected MNA in Ste-Marie. An ex-NDPer, he worked for Hydro-Québec where he was director of local 1500, Canadian Union of Public Employees. He was also a Quebec vice-president of CUPE, but never worked as a paid union official, always maintaining his Hydro job as a technician. In poor health, may not run again and may turn his seat over to Lévesque.



Lucien Lessard

Thirty-four. A native of the Saguenay district which he now represents in the National Assembly, he was the only Péquiste elected outside of Montreal. A teacher, he was elected in large part by union members in the mining towns of his North Shore riding. Along with Robert Burns, was only MNA to support the *La Presse* union demonstration a year ago. The PQ natural resources, lands and forests critic, he's active in the St. Jean Baptiste Society and the North Shore Economic Development Council.



Claude Charon

Twenty-six. MNA for St-Jacques. Made his name as a student leader with the old Union Générale des Etudiants du Québec and as a fiery orator during the opposition to Bill 63, the 1969 law guaranteeing immigrants English-language education rights. Quite modish, there's little of the student radical left in him, preferring the Lévesque road of moderation. Likes to attack "leftist extremists" and proclaims his fondness for pot and turning on his parents.

Marc André Bedard

A lawyer, runs the PQ in the Lac St. Jean region, its main area of strength outside of Montreal. Despite strong leftist and union participation, he's managed to keep his riding associations loyal to the official PQ line. Is liked by Lévesque and has a big future in the party.



André Larocque

The PQ's research director. A former lecturer at McGill University. A mild progressive, he authored a book called "The challenges in the Parti Québécois" (Guy Joron wrote the preface) suggesting that the party should move to the left. Ran against Lévesque for the party leadership at the 1971 convention (unsuccessfully, of course) to provide some left-wing opposition.



Pierre Marois

President of the PQ executive, he's viewed as a quiet leftist. A consumer crusader for 10 years, he founded and runs Quebec's family budget associations and heads the fight to abolish finance companies. Somewhat of an expert in auto-gestion, workers' self-management. Studied in France under Albert Meister, author of *Auto-gestion en Yougoslavie*.



Pierre Bourgault

Ever since the disintegration of the RIN, his star has been fading. Has to bear the burden of the RIN's radical image, although he is not really a radical. Managed to get elected to the PQ executive despite official near-censure and now rarely attends meetings. A great speaker, he's hardly used by the independence movement and occupies himself with the task of trying to make a living.



CHOOSE...YES, BUT CHOOSE WHAT?

by Magnus Isacsson and Joan Gillies

"We want independence, but we don't want to destroy anybody. We just want what belongs to us.

"Once I was playing golf and I met two bosses from two big companies. We played three holes together and then I said to them: 'I am a separatist.' They just looked at me and then they said: 'what do you separatists want, anyway?' And I said: 'We don't want to do any harm. We just want to take what belongs to us. And you English have a reputation for fair play, don't you? So you won't mind if we take what belongs to us?'"

* * *

Marcel Clavet is a former worker at La Societe de Montage Automobile (SOMA) in the Montreal suburb of St. Bruno. The provincial-government-controlled plant is closing soon when its contractor, Renault of France, takes its business elsewhere in search of a greater profit margin.

With the company phasing out operations, Clavet and about 250 fellow workers were recently laid off. Now they're just one more set of statistics in the persistent branch-plant closings that keep unemployment high in Quebec.

He says he figures the government let the situation deteriorate because 80 per cent of the workers at SOMA were in the PQ.

"Before the [provincial] elections we had PQ signs on our helmets and everything," Clavet says with a grin. The party is one of his main interests. He is vice-president of the PQ association in Verchères riding.

When he talks about whether the independence party of René Lévesque represents the best interests of Quebec workers, Clavet, an optimist, switches to the future tense.

"It will if the workers get in there. Anybody can join the PQ and if you stay outside, nothing will ever change. In our riding the workers have been influential. There are three [out of seven] on the executive."

He figures a real workers' party would only help the provincial Liberals, because it would divide the opposition. That's why "we have to convince everybody to join the PQ. We're going to work like hell."

Clavet has been around the party long enough to know what he's talking about when he says there's a lot of work

to be done if it is ever going to represent the Quebec worker in any real sense.

In fact, he and others in the party's left wing have probably set themselves an impossible task.

For example, here's a PQ portrait from the Montreal daily *Le Devoir* after the last convention in February 1971: "The delegates to last weekend's convention were clearly (petty) bourgeois: one out of five was a member of a profession, 16 per cent were teachers and 14 per cent were office employees and salesmen. There were only about 10 per cent workers and 16 per cent students.

"There was one woman for every five delegates. And the delegates are slowly getting older: 37 per cent were between 25 and 34.

"A majority of delegates came from big cities and more than one-third came from the Montreal region alone. They are extremely well-educated, since 39 per cent have a university degree. They are also relatively rich, since more than half make in excess of \$7,000 a year."

Then there are the party roots.

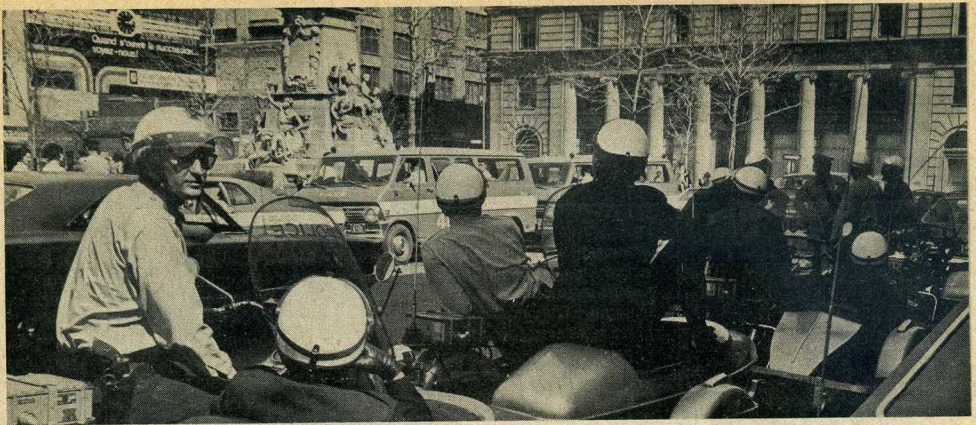
The Parti Québécois is the logical conclusion of the misnamed Quiet Revolution of the sixties.

Prior to founding the sovereigntist movement, leader René Lévesque was last seen in public life as a disillusioned Liberal cabinet minister. And as a minister in the Lesage regime, he was one of the architects of the so-called revolution.

His step into the independence stream was inevitable. For he was a man of his time, a man of the sixties, that decade that Liberal historians said brought Quebec into the twentieth century.

Although urbanization, technological evolution and increased foreign control began under the post-war Duplessis regime, the pace of economic expansion outdistanced the need for corrupt local politicians and a docile labour force. The commercial and industrial sectors needed technocrats rather than small-town mayors on the take, needed super-highways and "planification."

The needs of capital changed, a Quebec historian observed some years later, and this change in need was called the Quiet Revolution. Lévesque, as a minister in the Lesage



During the Common Front strikes Lévesque said "for the moment only one thing is important. What can we do to restore order immediately?"

cabinet, understood this better than anyone else. And as time went on he understood more — the question was, indeed, were the Liberals going to be able to provide for those new needs, for the new elite that would be emerging, would these people be masters in their own new technocracy? Lévesque grew to be the spokesman of the bright young technocrats from Laval, the new Liberals, and in due course, opted for independence.

In 1968 he founded the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association; later the MSA became the PQ and independentists of all political shades from rather red to true blue rallied to its ranks.

From a little to the left came members of the recently dissolved Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale and from the right a group called the Ralliement National, with close ties to the Créditistes.

The PQ continues to be a grab-bag — attracting adherents one would imagine would be politically incompatible.

For example, two fairly recent newcomers are Claude Morin, formerly a highly-placed civil servant in the provincial government, and Pierre Vallières, once considered an ideologist of the Front de Libération du Québec.

Says Charles Gagnon, also earlier considered an FLQ ideologist and now a critic of Vallières for his adoption of the independence-first-socialism-later theory (called *étapisme* in Quebec):

"The group that sees itself as the left wing of the PQ accepts the leadership which is fully integrated into the present system."

Gagnon, who favours the eventual formation of a "proletarian party", is convinced workers are making a big mistake joining the PQ.

To wit:

Spring, 1972. Two hundred and ten thousand employees of Quebec's public services call the biggest strike in Canadian history.

After ten days, Bill 19 is passed, banning strikes in the public sector for two years and permitting the government

to impose a settlement by decree.

Marcel Pepin, Louis Laberge and Yvon Charbonneau, the leaders of the Common Front of strikers, are jailed and the province is hit with spontaneous actions by workers, amounting in some cases to the complete takeover by communities.

On 12 May, René Lévesque makes a statement on behalf of the PQ executive: "For the moment, only one thing is important. What can we do to restore order immediately?"

Lévesque calls on both sides to make conciliatory gestures in the interest of avoiding anarchy.

The government, he says, should take it easy with the wielding of police and judiciary power, "resisting any temptation of repression." It should grant the lowest-paid workers an "appreciable" raise in wages and guarantee job security. (He didn't say in the statement whether an "appreciable" raise amounted to the \$100 minimum which was one of the main strike demands.)

He also calls on the government to lengthen the one-month negotiation period before bringing in the decreed settlement provided for under Bill 19. At the same time he counsels the union leaders to make use of their right of appeal to get out of jail and give responsible leadership to their men.

It was a statement tailored to appease the party's left wing while fortifying the respectable image needed for middle class support.

But you can't be all things to all men. And a lot of workers couldn't help but notice that Lévesque didn't even question the propriety of the strikebreaking legislation. (As a matter of fact, the party had started to prepare its own "just and fair" strikebreaking legislation as a substitute for the government decree.)

Says Clavet: "During the Common Front strike, we didn't agree with Lévesque. We told him to shut his trap. 'That's the least you can do,' we said. 'If you're not going to come out for the workers, you can at least shut up.'"

There was only one overt protest by workers against the party stand and that came from a group of union militants who occupied *Québec-Presse*, the co-operatively-owned, independentist union weekly published in Montreal.

They sat in to prevent publication of a column by Jacques Parizeau, PQ economist and moderate.

"*Québec-Presse* is the only paper that gives decent infor-

mation on strikes and that sort of thing. But it kept publishing things we didn't want to see. People like Parizeau don't represent the interests of the workers," commented one of the occupiers, leader of a teacher's union.

But nobody was really surprised at the party position.

After all, there had been a sneak preview of its policy on labour disputes during the *La Presse* strike of October 1971 — the strike which found the labour leaders getting battered by the police in a huge demonstration in the same way the student left had in the nationalist demonstrations of the late sixties.

The demonstration is considered the point in Quebec labour history at which unions turned left. The PQ executive, which had at first appeared to condone the massive action, withdrew its support as the heat rose in the hours before the march began.

Robert Burns, a PQ member of the National Assembly for a Montreal working-class riding, defied the executive and marched anyway.

Riding associations from the proletarian east and south ends of Montreal — where most of the party's members of the National Assembly come from — supported Burns and for a time it looked like there might be a left-right split.

Claude Ryan commented in a *Le Devoir* editorial that although the party has its roots in the middle class, its strength in the last election appeared to be based on its ability to attract nationalists from other classes. He wondered if the best course was to hold close to the centre or try for a greater penetration of workers' ranks where it had had its heaviest electoral support.

Burns said: "The PQ has no right to try and get itself elected under false pretenses. It should clearly say if it intends to put itself on the side of the exploiters or the oppressed." Shortly afterwards, Péquiste representatives met behind closed doors and came out with a mini-manifesto that plotted their course: right down the centre.

The headline in the Montreal *Gazette* the next day read: René Lévesque defeats Parti Québécois radicals.

The mini-manifesto invited straying members of the party to be more 'solidaire', deplored "flirtation with violence or even words that could lead to violence," and laid down provisions to make dissent within the party on explosive issues difficult. Commenting on relations with labour, the PQ said it shares the common goal of "humanizing the economic and social situation," and actions "clearly aimed at this goal" should be supported by the party. "... But our tactics and timetable are not the same as those of the unions, whose approach is necessarily assertive while ours is persuasive ..."

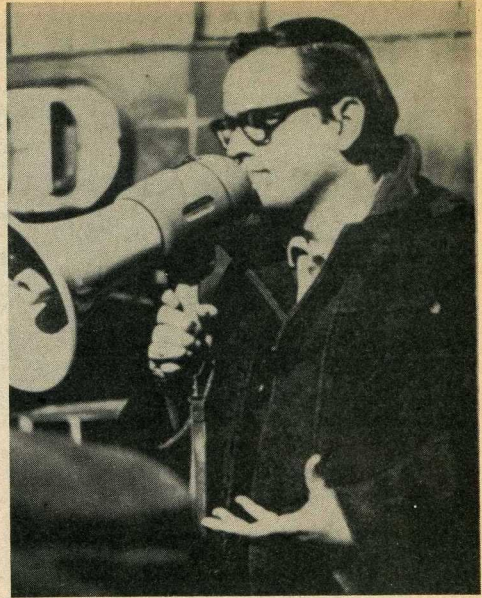
But more interesting in the long term were the provisions to keep party radicals in hand.

The new regulations say a dissenting position by any group must first be approved by a meeting of the riding association concerned — called on 48 hours notice — and the resolution in question must be telegraphed to headquarters as soon as possible.

That presumably gives the moderate factions plenty of time to mobilize adequate forces to keep the lid on the kettle.

Clavet said he understood the reasons behind the party's policy on the 29 October demonstration.

"You couldn't really blame the executive for that. The leaders wanted to know which way the demonstration was going to take before getting involved. What if some guys



Vallieres says PQ is only realistic alternative at this time.

were throwing stones and breaking windows and stuff and the PQ was in there officially? It wouldn't be too good for the party. But we were in there anyway, in the demonstration. It was only the party that didn't take part."

On that, Clavet finds himself in a different position from workers in east Montreal ridings who supported Burns. It's an example of the lack of consensus on the PQ — a confusion that's reflected on the level of organized labour.

The Confederation of National Trade Unions and the Quebec Federation of Labour — Canada's two major union centrals — have not taken an official position on the PQ. But many of their top men are known to favour and even work for the party.

At the QFL, the party has a strong voice in Jean Gérin-Lajoie, vice-president of the Federation and leader of the United Steelworkers. Secretary-General Fernand Daoust takes a similar position but is less outspoken. Leader Louis Laberge, however, still seems to lean more in the direction of the New Democrats.

The situation is much the same at the CNTU. In the past the union took a federalist position. But that has not been clearly reiterated since 1968.

In his "letter to militants" of January 1970, CNTU leader Marcel Pepin wrote: "The question of Quebec independence will demand an answer in only a few years. The only current obstacle — and there is no other — is the economic question ... If we can work that out, nothing will hold us back."

Now the 170,000 member union has decided to hold a referendum on the independence question, preceded by an information campaign and discussions in the locals. The vote will probably take place next spring.

The CNTU's Montreal Central Council, presided over by



Chartrand's unionists support independence to left of the PQ.

Michel Chartrand and probably the most radical group of union bureaucrats in the province, came out in support of independence last April. It was an independence to the left of what the PQ currently has in mind.

"Quebecers are doubly exploited and colonized both as workers and as Quebecers," said the independence resolution. "The liberation struggle of Quebec workers is a struggle for national liberation . . . The seizure of power by Quebec workers will take place with the independence of Quebec."

Just two months ago representatives of Quebec's largest industrial union also opted for independence. But this time it was independence à la PQ.

Under the heavy guiding hand of leader Jean Gérin-Lajoie, delegates of the 35,000 strong United Steelworkers of America gave their endorsement to a "moral report" he had written calling at the same time for Quebec independence and moderate union action. The report didn't mention the PQ, but its tenor made it obvious that that's what Gérin-Lajoie had in mind. René Lévesque was naturally pleased with the independence-moderation option, and he praised the union leader's "simple courage".

With visions of the Common Front walkouts and the earlier *La Presse* strike still vivid Lévesque also devoted a large part of the column he writes in *Le Journal de Montréal* to the reappearance of "common sense" among unionists. "Serenity and lucidity haven't exactly been current fare in the torrent of proclamations and apocalyptic slogans which — from one crisis to another — have continuously shaken the union movement as well as irritating and too often exasperating society," wrote the party leader.

Only a handful of Steelworkers — several of them women — from three recently-organized Montreal factories opposed the moral report on the grounds that PQ independence is not the sort that will benefit the working class. But their protests were lost in the strong nationalist sentiment and the influence of the Steelworker leader.

The voting patterns of the 1970 provincial elections tend to confirm the importance of the national question.

According to a study done by electoral experts Lemieux, Blais and Gilbert, the party got its support in April 1970



Charles Gagnon says "radicalizing the PQ from inside is a myth".

from both the middle and working classes. It got 46 per cent of the vote among white collar workers, 44 per cent among students, 30 per cent among professionals and executives, 30 per cent among skilled workers, 30 per cent among housewives, 25 per cent among unskilled workers, 17 per cent among the unemployed and four per cent among farmers.

Six of the seven Péquistes elected to the National Assembly came from Montreal working-class districts. (The seventh came from the North Shore region.) It got more than 40 per cent of the vote in most east-end Montreal ridings, with the highest proportion occurring in Maisonneuve, which has an average income of \$3,800 and which elected Robert Burns with 45 per cent of the vote. But the PQ got high percentages even in French-speaking Montreal ridings where it was defeated — 43 per cent in Ahuntsic, 43 per cent in Bourassa, 41 per cent in Fabre.

The next critical moment for Quebec nationalists came six months later: the October Crisis.

Premier Bourassa's initial decision to negotiate with the FLQ for the release of the kidnapped James Cross and Pierre Laporte gained support from the PQ. But then Bourassa gave in to federal pressure and stopped negotiating.

It was at this point, two days before the War Measures Act came down on the province and hundreds of people, including numerous Péquistes, were arrested, that Lévesque, *Le Devoir* publisher Claude Ryan, labour leaders, academics and even an influential Quebec business executive got together and signed a statement that reflected the feelings of many

Quebecers. Ottawa, they said, had reduced their government to puppet status.

"Certain attitudes from outside [the province] . . . plus the almost military rigidity that exists in Ottawa contain the risk in our opinion of reducing Quebec and its government to a tragic impotence.

"The risk of two human lives, the honour and reputation of our society, the evident danger of social and political deterioration, all this makes it perfectly obvious to us that the responsibility of finding a solution and implementing it is Quebec's."

They called for resumed negotiations with the FLQ, with a view to gaining the release of Laporte and Cross. *Toronto Star* columnist Anthony Westell overstated it when he called it "peace-making." But then he saw it from the outside and maybe in a sense he got the message: nationalist Quebecers, while not exactly cuddling up against the FLQ, were banded together against the rest of the country.

Nineteen seventy-one was a bad year for the Parti Québécois. Its membership declined and its bank-book diminished, partly because of the backlash coming out of a traumatized Quebec and partly because the midpoint between elections is a bad time for a political party.

But something else happened in 1971 that augured badly for Lévesque and his supporters: cracks in the party's solidarity.

They appeared at the February 1971 convention. The issue was language, with the radical faction taking a more or less unilingual stand while the moderates would keep separate schools for English-speaking Quebecers after independence.

Le Devoir reported that "the party executive council, led by Mr. Lévesque, had to use all means at its disposal to keep the party's moderate position on this issue intact.

"The participants booted the president and openly protested against the fact that the executive had brought out its heavies to reject certain proposals from the base."

Lévesque also had to face a symbolic opposition candidate for party leadership. André Larocque, director of PQ research services, wasn't actually questioning the leadership, but just bringing attention to criticisms presented by a faction in the party. The faction turned out to be a majority which wanted more decision-making at the base and support from the party for popular movements. Larocque lost, of course, but the hierarchy got the message. And just to serve as a little reminder the delegates voted former RIN leader Pierre Bourgault, unofficial leader of the left wing, onto the executive council.

"The 20,000 PQ supporters who gathered last night at Patro Roc Amadour were literally carried away with joy when the president of the elections announced Mr. Bourgault's victory," said *Le Devoir*.

When the conference was over, Lévesque tried to smooth things over with more statements designed to please everyone: ". . . The PQ should take increasingly radical stands against all kinds of injustices such as poverty and unemployment. At the same time it should be more and more realistic as it gets closer and closer to power and avoid playing with words.

"It should also avoid the kind of false radicalism that gratifies itself at the expense of others."

That was early 1971. Over the course of the next two years, as social and economic demands came to the forefront, as the labour movement started to question "the system" in a more radical fashion, the PQ became more and more

clearly a moderate party.

Some leftists have chosen to leave the party as a result, but a great many have stayed.

Ironically, two veterans of the extreme left of the independence movement have come to symbolize "l'urgence de choisir," the necessity of choosing — between the PQ or the building of a real proletarian party. Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon, the so-called "ideologists" of the FLQ — both of whom have rejected terrorism — now represent the two options open to the left-wing Quebec nationalist.

Vallières is the independence-first-socialism-later man. He argues that the PQ is a "mass party" and the only realistic alternative at this point.

Gagnon says that independence will be the necessary consequence of class struggle in Quebec and he places the PQ on the other side of that struggle. He says the possibility of "radicalizing the PQ from inside is a myth."

The icing on the cake is the PQ's economic manifesto published last spring. Relative to anything one could expect from other parties in Quebec, it is fresh, radical at times and even, on occasion, downright audacious.

It wouldn't, however, do much to change the current class structure of Quebec society. Entitled "Quand nous serons vraiment chez nous" — When we will really be at home — the party manifesto envisages a society where the state plays a major role in economic planning and intervenes wherever necessary for the good of the Quebec "collectivity."

Among the more audacious measures — in view of its hopes of continued good relations with the United States — are the proposals to abolish finance companies, nationalize drug manufacturing and control certain facets of the oil industry. In certain other sectors — like banking — foreign interests (including, of course, English Canadian) would gradually be replaced by Quebec interests, public and private. Foreign ownership and investment would still be permitted, although subject to controls in certain sectors. Most locally-owned industry would be in no danger whatever, except that larger companies might have to submit to the inconveniences of workers on their boards of directors.

Like other PQ documents, this well thought-out scheme for the structures of an independent Quebec has elements in it designed to please separatist members of most classes, at least up to a point.

Workers, who are generally not yet thinking in terms of a workers' state, would find plenty to please their nationalist aspirations. And provisions for an indirect distribution of wealth — through, for example, nationalization of drug companies — as well as greater, if largely symbolic powers at their place of work might also be appealing.

The local bourgeoisie, while a bit uncomfortable, shouldn't be all that put off.

For the petty bourgeoisie, of course, it's a dream.

If René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois succeed in the seventies in severing the tenuous ties keeping Quebec in Confederation, the historians who came up with the term "Quiet Revolution" for the sixties may be tempted to refer to this decade as revolutionary too.

But revolution in that case will be as much of a misnomer as it is now when applied to the sixties.

Magnus Isacsson and Joan Gillies are Montreal free-lance journalists.



Background
Study for the
Science Council
of Canada

December 1971
Special Study
No. 22

The
Multinational Firm,
Foreign Direct
Investment,
and Canadian
Science Policy

by Arthur J. Cordell



Arthur J.
Cordell

Anyone looking for stimulating reading on some of the most important issues facing this country would be unlikely to turn toward the federal bureaucracy in Ottawa.

He would be less likely still to turn to an agency whose purpose, according to the legislation under which it was established, is "to assess in a comprehensive manner Canada's scientific and technological resources, requirements and potentialities and to make recommendations thereon to the Minister."

But people have come to expect surprises from the Science Council of Canada. Its heresies began in October 1968, two years after it was set up, when it issued its watershed report, "Towards a National Science Policy for Canada." In that report, the Council made the unlikely suggestion that Canadians had collective national goals, and that science policy was merely an instrument for the attainment of those goals. Since no one else had defined national goals for Canada, it had to do the job itself, and so it defined six: national prosperity; health; education; "personal freedom, justice and

THE WARNING EVERYONE IS IGNORING

security for all in a united Canada"; leisure and personal development; and world peace. Later it added a seventh goal: the conservation of the environment.

The goals themselves were innocuous enough, but the idea that Canada should have goals was not. Historically, Canada has been less inclined to aim for goals of its own than to accommodate itself to the goals of others — most recently, the burgeoning multinational corporations. What would happen if our goals and the goals of the multinationals began to conflict?

The Council's terms of reference are not particularly broad, but they leave a lot of room for interpretation, even when specified by eight subclauses. And unlike most federal agencies, the Council has chosen to do a good deal of interpreting. With its national goals in mind, and casting about on the periphery of its mandate for subjects it should examine, the Council could hardly fail to come face to face with the whole question of Canadian industry. Early in 1970, it undertook a study of manufacturing in Canada. When the results of that study appeared, they produced the biggest round of surprises yet.

The Science Council's report on manufacturing, "Innovation in a Cold Climate," was released in October 1971. That report sought to demonstrate that manufacturing in Canada is in a state of crisis, and to explain why. It contained little to comfort those who believe that all we need to create more jobs is more foreign investment.

"Between 1961 and 1967," it said, "manufacturing employment increased almost 25 per cent. In 1968 this growth began to falter, and employment has now remained essentially static for the last two years. This development can be traced



Background
Study for the
Science Council
of Canada

October 1972
Special Study
No. 23

Innovation
and the Structure
of Canadian
Industry

By Pierre L. Bourgois

to a levelling off (and in many cases a decline) in employment in precisely those industries that contributed most heavily to new employment in the first half of the sixties."

The glamour industries are not as glamorous as they seemed, in terms of profits, growth and job opportunities. Employment in the service industries continued to climb at a steady rate; it was only employment in manufacturing that was floundering, with manufacturing that is highly dependent on technology showing up particularly badly.

Nor did the Council see any sign that this trend is likely to reverse itself: "Canada's economy in this decade will increasingly become dependent on the resource and service industries. Resource industries offer limited opportunities for employment; furthermore, much of their profit does not remain in Canada. This funneling of funds out of the country is likely to stunt the growth of our service industries . . .

"Our participation in international trade will become less and less significant, and we will become — once again — mainly suppliers of raw materials to the North American continent."

The report found one overriding reason for this situation: the inability of Canadian industry to innovate. This means more than just the failure to do research and development (R&D), with which innovation is often associated. Innovation is a chain leading from an initial conception to the actual manufacture of a product, and rarely is that chain followed through from beginning to end in Canada. Even when ideas do originate in Canada, they are generally brought to fruition somewhere else.

The Science Council gave a wide variety of reasons for this crucial failure of Canadian industry, most of them traceable to the branch-plant nature of our economy. Foreign ownership in itself is not the problem; it is the economic structure that foreign ownership and dependent status have helped bring about.

We have an inadequate technology base in Canada because of the ease with which technological information flows across the border from the United States. "This importation of technology has been done mainly through foreign direct investment. It is characterized by a continuous flow of information to the recipient, who does not need to possess the technology

in depth It leads, ultimately, to the assembly-plant type of operation."

Small market size has often been cited as one of the obstacles facing Canadian industry. But, said the Science Council, the Canadian market "is intrinsically adequate for many kinds of industries." The problem is that the market is reduced by indiscriminate importing and then fragmented by the presence of too many suppliers — the branch plants of larger foreign companies. Moreover, since the branch plants are backed by strong parents, "it is the indigenous companies that are the first to be squeezed out."

We have not developed proper management skills; we have never thought that we needed them. And now we are faced with the hegemony of the multinational corporation, which sets up its "rationalized" subsidiaries in Canada, subsidiaries that conduct no research and development at all or, at best, conduct research and development totally unrelated to the specific needs of the Canadian economy.

"Innovation in a Cold Climate," which was the Science Council's collective assessment of the situation, was only the beginning. The report was based on a number of background studies carried out by the Council's staff. Fifty companies, both Canadian and foreign-owned, had been chosen for examination, intensive studies had been made of them, and interviews had been conducted with a whole range of executives, both in Canada and, in the case of the foreign-owned firms, at the head offices. These industry studies formed the basis of the background studies, and thus of the report.

Since the appearance of the report, two of the background studies have been published: "The Multinational Firm, Foreign Direct Investment, and Canadian Science Policy" by Arthur Cordell, an economist with the Council's staff, appeared in December 1971, and "Innovation and the Structure of Canadian Industry" by Pierre Bourgois, who left the Council in April 1971 to become dean of applied sciences at the University of Sherbrooke, appeared in November 1972. Together they dispel any notion that "Innovation in a Cold Climate" was overly alarmist, and lend weight to its conclusions with detailed information.

Cordell's study of the multinationals starts out by saying that "the key to understanding why and how non-resident subsidiaries behave as they do lies in remembering that they are part of a larger entity." Hence the phenomenon of the "international interdependent" research laboratory, tied into the corporation's international research program.

"A major subsidiary in Canada maintains a very impressive R&D establishment besides its equally impressive manufacturing facilities; to the casual observer there appears to be a "normal" laboratory and manufacturing operation; thus it is assumed that the lab reports to management and works with various entities of the total plant — production, market research, sales, etc.; upon further analysis and interviewing it was discovered that the head of R&D has little to do with the president of the subsidiary; in fact, both individuals report to different people in corporate headquarters abroad. R&D, in this case, is tied into the worldwide multinational research program, and production is primarily for the Canadian market

"The expenditure for R&D does take place in Canada and is paid for by some part of the worldwide firm. Beyond that little can be said. Since there is little or no interaction between R&D and manufacturing it is conceivable that a

zero expenditure or a \$X expenditure can have the same final impact on innovative ability, design capability and export potential in Canada."

But a more common type of R&D operation in a subsidiary is the "support" laboratory, designed to transfer and adapt the technology developed in other countries to Canada. The prevalence of this kind of laboratory, Cordell suggests, could be the basis for an explanation of the widely quoted statistic that indigenous Canadian firms perform *less* R&D than their subsidiary counterparts.

Despite U.S. regulations which forbid subsidization of subsidiaries, "it is not inconceivable that a particular subsidiary could have access to technology at a price lower than could an independent firm which negotiated the licensing of technology on an 'arms length basis'. Furthermore, some firms so consolidate their domestic and overseas operations that they see no need to explicitly charge subsidiaries for services rendered."

Indigenous Canadian corporations, on the other hand, have to pay full price for the technology they get. Since it is pointless for them to maintain "support" laboratories, they have two choices. One is "to maintain a research program of 'critical' size," considerably larger than the subsidiary's support lab. "If it mounts such an operation, the indigenous corporation will inevitably operate at a price disadvantage, since it will have to sustain greater overhead costs than its subsidiary competitors."

The second option is "to conduct little or no research at all." Needless to say, that is precisely what many Canadian firms do, with predictable results for this country's innovative capacity.

Although the study deals mainly with the effects for foreign ownership on the Canadian economy, it also says that Canadian ownership of multinational firms is no answer. Even for Canadian-owned multinationals, "*increasing segments of the operation have been and continue to be transferred to the most active market area — the United States.*" (emphasis in original)

One executive of a Canadian multinational told Cordell that "it paid his company to locate all of its R&D in the United States because manpower needs could not be met in Canada. When presented with data on the increasing quantity of highly qualified manpower in Canada, the interviewee vacillated and admitted that, while times might have changed and manpower needs could now be satisfied in Canada, it did not seem worthwhile to transfer R&D back to Canada."

Companies whose extra-Canadian operations are not so heavily concentrated in the United States don't have the same tendency to locate R&D outside Canada. But in general, Canada may be the victim of what Cordell calls an "iron law": "*When a company in a relatively smaller country expands its international operations into a significantly larger market . . . it pays to locate not only production but support and managerial functions in the larger offshore market area.*" (emphasis in original)

Cordell finds the problems of Canada as a headquarters for firms expanding their operations into the United States similar to those of Sweden as a headquarters for firms expanding their operations into the European Common Market. It was the head of Volvo's Gothenburg plant who said that "we have come to the point where the company has outgrown the country," but it could as easily have been an executive of a Canadian multinational.

15

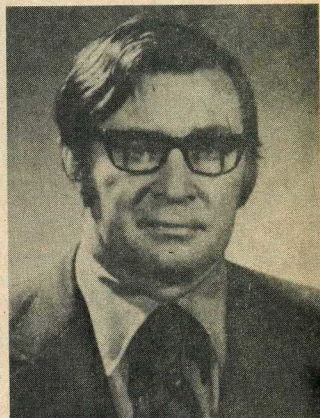


Science Council
of Canada

October 1971
Report No. 15

Innovation
in a Cold
Climate:

The Dilemma of
Canadian Manufacturing



Pierre L.
Bourgault

The most recent Science Council publication on the problems of Canadian industry is also the most wide-ranging, detailed, and hard-hitting.

Pierre Bourgault's study covers much of the same ground as "Innovation in a Cold Climate." But it is more than twice as long and, perhaps because it represents Bourgault's own views rather than the collective views of the Science Council, it pulls fewer punches.

Bourgault challenges the very assumption that Canada is an advanced industrial country, and finds that, at the very least, Canada is not *considered* to be an advanced industrial country by the executives of large multinational firms.

"A senior executive of a large U.S. science-based company, who is also on the board of directors of the Canadian subsidiary (whose sales are one hundred million dollars plus per annum) told us flatly that it was his view of Canada that we were a developing nation, and that it was foolish of us to try to act like an industrially developed nation in competition in world markets.

"Another executive, a director of the U.K. firm as well



Economic
Council
of Canada

The Economic Council at Work

1970-1971

as a director of its Canadian subsidiary (a science-based secondary manufacturing company), stated; 'yours is a resource-based economy . . . why not do the things you are good at? You can grow wheat more efficiently than most, you have unexploited minerals and oil fields. Why do you want to get into the rat race of high-technology industry? . . . other countries are so far ahead of you now, it would be almost impossible to catch up.' Needless to say, neither of these executives was very optimistic about the future of his Canadian 'high-technology' operation . . .

'In the courses of our discussions with persons in the British, French and Belgian governments, and in OECD [the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development], it was often conveyed to us that, in terms of technological capability, Canada is not considered to be on a par with the larger countries of Europe (Germany, France, U.K., etc.) nor even on a par with some of the smaller industrialized countries (such as Sweden, The Netherlands and Switzerland).'

The picture of the Canadian economy that emerges from Bourgault's study is of one somewhere in between the manufacturing-based economies of the advanced industrial countries and the resource-based economies of the third world. The underdeveloped state of our manufacturing industry is directly related to its failure to innovate, and that in turn is related to the lack of incentive to innovate: it is cheaper and simpler for a firm to get its technology from elsewhere.

'There is considerable evidence to suggest,' Bourgault says, 'that Canadian manufacturing industry has been permitted to evolve into a state that indirectly discriminates against the indigenous manufacturer. The manufacturer who attempts to innovate in Canada and who strives to develop and use his own technology — whether he is the independent Canadian manufacturer who has little alternative but to rely on his own technological resources, or the foreign subsidiary who attempts to be a "good corporate citizen" — will frequently find himself at a disadvantage in comparison to his counterpart in the industry who ties into a 'technology pipeline' sourced outside the country.'

'With the highly fragmented and limited markets available to manufacturers in many areas, the only viable option is

often a limited degree of manufacturing from designs, specifications and components imported from abroad. For an international corporation, this can be profitable; for the nation, it can have disastrous consequences in the long term.'

One of the many stumbling-blocks in the path of the Canadian manufacturer is the requirement of formal product approval. Large corporations manufacturing products with a high technological content have "increasingly gone to a system of approving materials and parts through an elaborate and formally established procedure. This procedure often involves approval of the supplier's facilities themselves. As this formal approval of suppliers is quite complex . . . it is often done at one location only in the multinational corporation.'

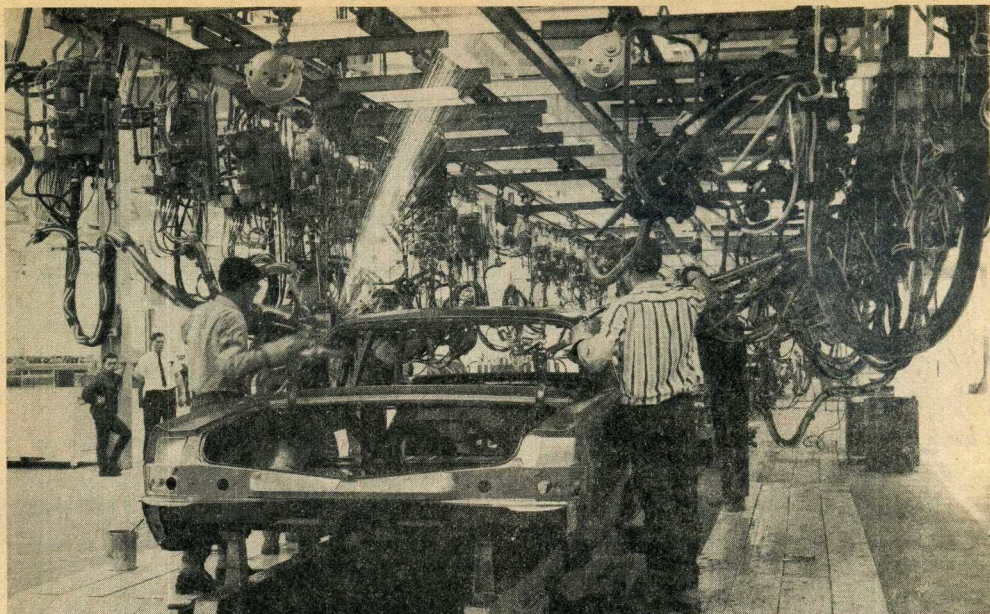
Bourgault cites the instance of "Company XY," a subsidiary of a U.S. corporation building aircraft navigational equipment in Canada. It requires formal approval of all parts used in its equipment, and the Canadian subsidiary is not equipped to approve suppliers and parts. The cost of evaluating a new supplier is quite high, and so the head office is reluctant to test a new Canadian supplier unless the supplier himself is prepared to pay the cost, with no guarantee of approval. Moreover, the head office would approve a Canadian source only if it could supply its main plants in the U.S. and other countries, but not if it were, say, a subsidiary of a multinational corporation that had a mandate to sell in Canada only.

'The final result is that Company XY continues to import parts from Arizona, while a Canadian manufacturer, also a subsidiary of the U.S. firm, manufactures the same parts less than three miles away, and is prepared to sell it to Company XY at a lower laid-down cost than Arizona.'

But perhaps the most disturbing conclusion Bourgault comes to is that we have lost — and are continuing to lose — advantages that can never be made up. This is because of the 'learning curve' — jargon for the observation that the time required to perform a manual operation is reduced the more times the operation is repeated. This applies as well to automated operations (where the "learning" is done by those responsible for designing the production process) and whole systems. It's related to the idea of "economies of scale" (the more units a manufacturer produces, the lower his cost per unit), but, says Bourgault, it "goes beyond the simple 'economies of scale' concept by implying that it is important to enter a field early and to develop it quickly, in order to gain the advantage of 'cumulative experience.'"

There are no computers designed in Canada, and hence if a Canadian manufacturer wanted to supply computer components, it would have to be in conformity with specifications worked out in a foreign country. "The options open to the Canadian manufacturer will be to copy or not to supply; to innovate will not be an option. Moreover, before the market is truly existent in Canada, the foreign competitor will have had time to move well down on his learning curve, making even copying a doubtful proposition.'

And the situation is not only not getting better; it is getting worse. "Fifteen years ago we were developing highly sophisticated military aircraft, but that capability no longer exists; ten years ago we had some limited capability in automotive engineering, and today that multi-billion-dollar industry provides virtually no stimulation to innovation in the industrial infrastructure; a little over a decade ago, a Canadian company designed and built a large computer comparable



Large multi-nationals don't think Canada should try to be an advanced industrial country.

to the best available at the time, and that too has vanished from the scene; within the past five years, the development and engineering capability of our chemical industry has withered very visibly.

"The structure of our industry being what it is, the amount of engineering and design done in Canada could well continue to decrease as computers play increasingly important roles in engineering, design and quality control."

The cumulative effect of the Science Council's criticism of Canadian industry is to provide a scenario, already well advanced, for the de-industrialization of Canada. Because of the source of the criticism and its impressive documentation, it cannot be easily dismissed.

The debate on the control of Canadian industry has not been the only contentious question engaged recently by the Science Council. Its 1971 report on computers (*Last Post*, November 1971), which predated "Innovation in a Cold Climate" by a month, called for the establishment of a national computer network, to create an east-west flow of computerized information instead of the north-south flow that now exists. It compared this in importance for Canada's existence as a country to the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880s and the establishment of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in the 1930s.

Then last May, the Science Council publicly took to task the Senate Committee on Science Policy, headed by Maurice Lamontagne, for what it felt was a wrong philosophical approach, leading to many wrong conclusions, in its report released earlier in the year. "The most profound divergence," said the Science Council, "concerns the *purpose* of science and technology. The Senators' view of this purpose has implicit within it the danger that science and technology may

come to be regarded as goals in themselves. In our view, science and technology are tools for achieving human and national objectives."

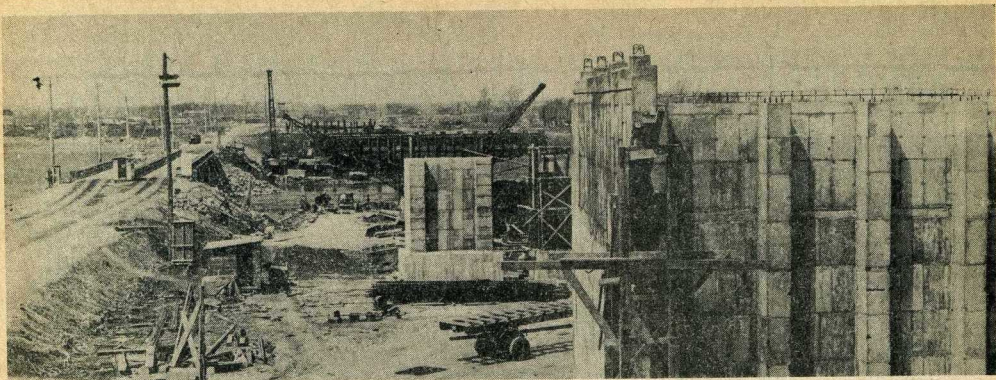
With a characteristic concern for getting its message across, the Council released its views at a full-scale press conference in Ottawa. Its criticism (which, according to Patrick McTaggart-Cowan, the Council's executive director, was "a sanitized version of the first draft") sparked a debate that still continues.

It has now begun an examination of the whole question of Canada's energy resources, which could produce some more shock waves before it's finished.

The Science Council's approach and performance are all the more remarkable when compared with those of its sister organization, the Economic Council of Canada.

The two bodies have many things in common. Both are crown corporations, independently staffed, and relatively removed from the mainstream of the government. Both have the freedom that goes with an absence of responsibility for implementing policy. Both are regarded with some suspicion in the rest of the federal bureaucracy; "people from the department of finance tend to stay away from us at cocktail parties," says Fred Belaire, secretary of the Economic Council.

Both consider themselves to be national, rather than merely federal, institutions. Thus the Science Council undertook a study of provincial research councils. And the Economic Council is co-operating with the province of Quebec in the field of health and Ontario in the field of education in an attempt to develop "social indicators" — criteria to let us know how we're doing in the social as well as the economic field. Both Councils also work extensively with private industry.



The Science Council's criticism provides a scenario for the de-industrialization of Canada.

Both are separated from the myriad other advisory councils within the government (like the 40 blue-chip businessmen who advise the minister of industry, trade and commerce) by the public nature of their advice. But it is there that the two approaches begin to diverge.

Although the Science Council's publications have not always received the attention they deserved, it has generally succeeded in communicating the importance of the problems it has examined to a fairly wide public. So did the Economic Council, in its early years. Under its first chairman, John Deutsch, now principal of Queen's University, the Council established a reputation as a hard-hitting critic of government economic policy; its annual reviews established goals and criteria that put into sharp focus the shortcomings of the Pearson government.

But more recently, people have begun to wonder just whom the Council was trying to reach. Its eighth annual review, released in September 1971, was an examination of the process of government decision-making. It set out a framework for how decisions should be made, and looked at its application to two policy areas: federal manpower policy, and provincial education policy.

It was no doubt all very significant, but for everybody except the relatively small number of people who are directly concerned with the internal workings of government in one way or another, it was not of much interest. The ninth annual review, released in the same week as Pierre Bourgault's Science Council study of innovation, gets back to the traditional function of economic policy criticism, but it does so in such a way as to leave open the question of just who the Council's "informed general public" (as staff member John Dawson describes its intended audience) really is.

The basis of the ninth annual review is an econometric model that the technocrats have coyly named CANDIDE (for CANadian Disaggregated InterDepartmental Econometric project). When a scientist builds a model, he represents something he can't deal with directly, like the motion of the planets, with something he can, like a series of equations. In physics it's a well established process, but in the far less exact science of economics it's very new and exciting, and the building of sophisticated models has only been made possible by the ability to do complicated calculations rapidly with computers.

The CANDIDE model, with 1,600 equations, is one of the most sophisticated in the world. It took two years and \$750,000 to develop. Its existence is no doubt a good thing; as Fred Belaire says, "it's better to have a model to play with than to play with people's lives."

But the ninth annual review, like the eighth, is of restricted interest. Despite the Council's patient efforts to explain what it is doing step by step, it loses many of its readers along the way. Inevitably, attention focuses on that which *can* be easily understood — the numbers the Council comes up with

There's more to the Maritimes than K. C. Irving and the Chronicle-Herald.

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at the end. Thus the criticism, from the politicians and the press, has been of the form of "we don't like one number" — particularly the estimate of 4.5 per cent unemployment for 1975 that the Council obtained using CANDIDE and various assumptions.

This kind of criticism disappoints Belaire, who says it misses the point; any criticism of the number really has to start with how it was derived. True enough, but isn't that a bit much to expect from Robert Stanfield and the Toronto Star?

While the Science Council has interpreted its mandate as broadly as possible, the Economic Council has interpreted its mandate — "to advise and recommend to the Minister how Canada can achieve the highest level of employment and efficient production in order that the country may enjoy a high and consistent rate of economic growth and that all Canadians may share in rising living standards" — much more narrowly.

The Economic Council early on defined five strictly economic goals as a framework: high rate of growth, price stability, equitable distribution of rising income, viable balance of payments and full employment. It is significant that the goal with the strongest social implications — equitable distribution of rising income — is the one on which the Council had done the least work. The Council's current work on social indicators is perhaps a sign that that orientation is beginning to change somewhat; but, says Belaire, "we try and stay within a framework where economic parameters are the important ones."

Patrick McTaggart-Cowan says "the ongoing role of the Science Council is to influence"; the Economic Council shies away from such an *engagé* interpretation of its role, preferring to "advise" instead. The Science Council bases everything it does on the philosophical ground it has staked out; John Dawson sees no particular philosophical underpinning to the Economic Council's work, and Belaire says "it is not the prerogative of economists to have a philosophy."

Everybody — even economist Mel Watkins of the Waffle group — credits the Economic Council with some good work. Although Belaire says "the real successes of the Council have not been in coming up with right answers but in changing the process, in making the body politic more economically literate," the most visible achievements of the Council have been right answers. It perceived that the Trudeau government's war on inflation would have disastrous consequences, and said so: it was proved right and the Trudeau government wrong.

Its failures have not been so much in what it has done as in what it hasn't done, and perhaps its most significant omission has been a failure to say anything about the question of foreign economic domination, which should have been at least as much its area of interest as the Science Council's. That it was the Science Council, and not the Economic Council, that decided to tackle that whole area is the clearest comment on the divergent paths the two organizations have taken.

The Science Council's most notable successes have not been in coming up with right answers, but in asking the right questions.

In fact, the answers it has suggested have tended to be somewhat vague, and palpably unsuited to the magnitude of the problem it has uncovered.

In its computer report, for instance, the Council held back

from recommending that its proposed national computer network be publicly owned and controlled, calling instead for a partnership between government and industry. (Even so, McTaggart-Cowan says many people in industry regarded the report as "a damn socialistic document.")

"Innovation in a Cold Climate" called on the federal government, in collaboration with the provincial governments and with industry, to "develop a co-ordinated industrial strategy which recognizes the significance of innovation and gives priority to industries of high innovative potential We cannot emphasize strongly enough that the industrial strategy must be co-ordinated: among federal departments; between provincial and federal governments; and among industries. Little such co-ordination presently exists. We also stress that the strategy must be developed in concert with the private sector and the universities — not merely discussed with them." (emphasis in original)

"Industrial strategy" has become a catch-phrase: everybody agrees that we need one, nobody knows what it is. To its credit, the Science Council at least pointed out some of the broad areas such a strategy would have to cover.

But what's missing is not just a strategy but the will and the means to carry one out. McTaggart-Cowan says that industry has responded positively to the Science Council's criticism, that "they know they've got problems." He adds that "the message that Arthur Cordell got from the multinationals was 'you write the rules and we'll conform.'"

However, the rules have not yet been written, the strategy has not yet been spelled out. Industry has not yet been faced with the need to make hard choices. Its record of fierce opposition to even the mildest legislation designed to make it conform more closely with Canadian national interests, like the present government's tax-reform package or competition act, is not encouraging. Nor is it just the foreign multinationals that are involved. The flight of such as E. P. Taylor and K. C. Irving to tax havens in the Caribbean attests to their deep commitment to Canadian national goals.

The Science Council itself, in "Innovation in a Cold Climate," recognized some of the obstacles to the co-operation of industry. "The prevalence of foreign-owned subsidiaries totally dominates the viewpoints expressed by a number of industrial associations, and it must be recognized that these are not necessarily 'Canadian' attitudes Above all, industry must work to overcome its subsidiary mentality, the main characteristic of which is an extremely short time horizon."

The government's record of backing down at the first sign of a fight is not encouraging either. It's easy to say that governments and industry are going to have to get together, but the initiative, backed up by a willingness to take drastic steps if necessary, is going to have to come from somewhere. Perhaps the Science Council, with a better record of taking courageous stands, will seek to provide some leadership in this direction, but even if it does it can only "influence," not implement.

McTaggart-Cowan says that the Science Council will be going back and taking another look at some of the subjects it has previously considered to see how things are proceeding. This of all areas merits its continuing attention.

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

A New Year's Garland, plucked from the publishers' blurbs

by Patrick MacFadden

Artifacts of Childhood by Irving Layton

The poet has carefully preserved over the years his early drawings from Grade School. In this compendious scrapbook are included his first halting attempts (chalk) to render a pig, a horse, pig-tailed girls, an adult figure (doubtless a relative) and a frying-pan. Featuring ten drawings in all, the reader is given a rare opportunity to trace the development of the artistic sensibility through the juvenilia to which it gave rise. Each drawing individually autographed by the artist; foreword by Harold Town. Limited edition of 400 copies, \$60 each, less for bulk buying. A timely gift for loved ones.

The Awful Tragedy of My Friend The Dogfish

by Farley Mowat

The author tells how, in a moment of absent-mindedness, he befriended a wounded dogfish, brought it home, gave it drinks and everything, and just as it was on the mend, beastly youths from the village broke into his house and kicked the shit out of it.

"Not for the queasy" — Jack McClelland

Red Skates in the Sunset: the Real Truth about That Russian Tour by Alan Eagleson

Set upon under the grandstand by hired thugs of the KGB, beating off the crude attempts by "Olga", so-called interpreter, (ha-ha!), to lure him into compromising positions in his bugged hotel room; slipping an obviously doctored hors d'oeuvres into his lap while continuing to beam at his Soviet hosts; jokingly vomiting all over Lenin's pretentious tomb — it's all here for the first time, the indignities, ruses and insults up with which our lads had to put. Eagleson pulls no punches.

"Pulls no punches" — Andy O'Brien

The Collected Speeches of Robert Stanfield

as told to Bill Trent

Between hard covers for the first time, this is the story of the man who came from behind to almost lead a troubled nation — and who will do so again. These pages record the biting invective, the slashing aside, the devastating summation of the Trudeau years: ("I rather tend to think the Prime Minister's not at all times as good as he thinks he is, quite possibly.")

Hard-nosed and trenchant, particularly suitable for the upper grades.

Drawings by Randy Jones



Le Monde Entier; My World by Claude Wagner

The recently-appointed Minister for External Affairs in the Stanfield Shadow Cabinet affords us some fascinating glimpses of the direction Canadian foreign policy might take in the wake of the next election.

Mr. Wagner is his own man, and it shows. He calls for what he terms "new directions" in Canada's posture vis-a-vis the world. Recalling the strong trading bonds that once marked our relationship with the Spanish Empire, Mr. Wagner sees in Spain and Portugal ("our oldest allies") the nucleus of a new arrangement ("rap-prochement") with Europe. "What is the Falange but the Lion's Clubs writ large?" he asks.

The case is unanswerable.

"Certainly better than nothing" — Robert Stanfield

Also Received:

Accountancy for Beginners by Harold Ballard

Great Canadian Recipes: an Overview

by Peter Gzowski

With Rod and Gun through Darkest Quebec

by the Rev. Robert Stanfield

They Shoot Horses, don't they?

by Bryce Mackasey

The survivor as hero

by MARNI JACKSON

Survival, by Margaret Atwood, Anansi, 287 pp. \$3.25.

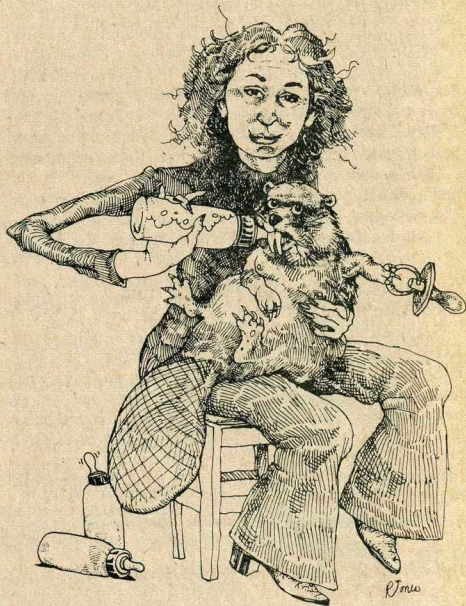
I have at least two responses to *Survival* that are at odds. Since the word is already out that this is an important and praiseworthy new approach to Canadian literature — and I won't be saying otherwise — the complaints can come first.

Margaret Atwood asks us to try a litmus-paper test on Canadian literature, to see if a tradition of our own really does exist. Suppose that a theme, say that of "survival and victims" could be as central and unique to Canadian writing as the idea of the Frontier is to American literature, or the metaphor of the Island is to England's.

For Atwood the pattern is clear and gloomily consistent — everywhere Canadians who are more enduring than prevailing in their fiction. The reasons for this literary mood, she writes, can be found in our geography, our colonial state of mind and affairs, and a habit-hardened will to lose. The typical Canadian hero is rewarded not with "triumph or victory, but the fact of his survival" (if he's lucky, and barring blizzards).

So far so good, and other critics have found "survival and victims" a plausible pair of brackets to put around Canadian literature: it fits. Atwood doesn't claim that the idea is new, and she emphasizes that her theme is meant to be a useful approach to reading, and not a candidate for The Golden Bough or the key to CanLit. That said, she proceeds to dissect the role of the victim in our literature into four Basic Victim Positions. It's that feature of *Survival* that I wonder about. (Briefly, the four positions are: one, to deny that you're a victim; two, to accept that fact but to invent a cause for it that can't be changed; three, to acknowledge the role of victim and identify the real cause; four, to be a creative non-victim.)

In this case Atwood is not talking about universals, but a particular cultural point of view, and every step she takes towards abstraction and flashfrozen structure is a risky one. With the references to Position Two or Four or One, and their "Basic Game" subdivisions, the whole thing takes on an air of inflexible authority that she didn't intend in the



first place. *Survival* ought to take us deeper into our experience of what we read, and there are times when it's a brilliant distraction instead. I think the chapter on the women in Canadian literature, or the "Ice-Virgin-Hecate Nature-Monster" figure, gets out of hand that way.

Atwood is a writer who can suffuse the particular with intelligence, and to me her analysis is held together more by her metaphorical tone of voice and her asides than by the System. The basic value theme of survival and victims

is overdeciphered, and, by the way the Position references thin out towards the end of the book, perhaps that occurred to her too. (I'd also like to know why literary analysis still sticks so close to static categories and symbolism, but for the time being there's no point in faulting a Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature for being a thematic guide to Canadian literature.)

Survival is original because Atwood has looked for her guidelines *within* our writing rather than importing her criteria. Instead of being defensive about the Canadian reluctance to imagine full-blown heroes, the kind that lead change and die significant deaths, she says "of course!"

"It may be misguided to create a traditional, individual hero in Canada," she writes, when our history had rarely produced them, and our martyrs tend to go up in anticlimax. The mad bomber Chartier, for instance, who blew himself up in the Parliamentary john. The collective hero may be our tradition, or the failed hero; the point is that these are not inferior or incomplete subjects for literature; if our condition is that of a victim whose victory is survival, then authors who recognize that are fulfilling the contract between a culture and its art.

Atwood looks at our literature's attitude towards nature, animals, women, the family and the artist himself and finds more evidence for her thesis: the settlers who arrived wanting to write about the pillowy bosom of Mother Nature, and then began to imagine (understandably enough if you think about black flies) that the land had it in for them; the novels where the family is not a sore point of departure for the children but an inescapable prison; the identification with the animals who get shot, trapped or treed, not the hunters who hunt them.

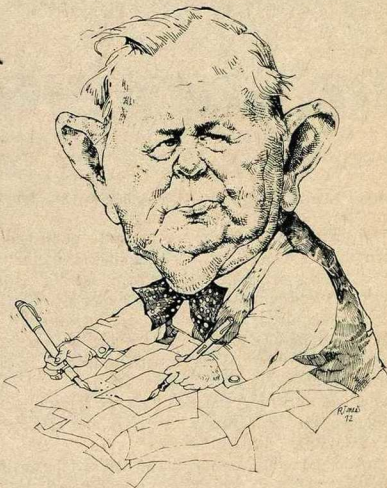
Admittedly the whole picture isn't a cheering one. For Atwood the comfort lies in the fact that an accurate self-image, even if it's dour-featured, is better than none at all, or one that's cosmetic.

The response I had to *Survival* right away though, was different from these critical tickmarks. In the first few pages Atwood talks about what she read when she was young — books like *Wild Animals I Have Known* by E. T. Seton — and how Canadian writing had "a shape of its own that felt different from the shapes of the other things I was reading." At that point I remembered the abnormal craving I developed for poetry in early high school, and the kind of stuff I felt most comfortable with. A few years later I learned by its conspicuous absence in the university classroom that it had been Canadian poetry I was reading all along, mere

nonentities like Margaret Avison and P. K. Page. Originally, of course, it never occurred to me that I was reading Canadian; I probably even knew enough to hope that the poets were impressively dead Frenchmen. Well, I got them in university and back on the shelf went Canadian poetry.

So if a book like *Survival* can confirm that the strong and natural connection I felt with those early books wasn't just an aberration in taste, I'm ready to believe it.

Marni Jackson is a free-lance journalist currently working on a Canadian women's film festival.



A nice guy, who finished first

by DOUGLAS FISHER

MIKE: The Memoirs Of The Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, PC, CC, OM, OBE, MA, LL.D: Volume I, 1897-1948. University of Toronto Press, 301 pp. \$12.50.

There is an external problem for me in reviewing "Mike". I fear that I discount Mr. Pearson overmuch because of prejudices left from partisan rivalry. There has to be more there, given his rise to high responsibilities, than the so decent chap who abnegated their grandeur with modesty and the wishy-washy victim of scandals.

"Mike" is light, pleasant reading, particularly the 60 pages or so which take us through the boyhood, college, war and

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post-war experiences before 1928 when the author found a niche in the newish department of External Affairs in Ottawa. It seems to disprove the folk wisdom of a hero from Mr. Pearson's favorite world, Leo Durocher, who once said: "Nice guys finish last."

Mike retired from politics' top place and since has become much cherished in a popular way. Some of this cherishing may be belated recognition that he wasn't such a bad prime minister, in light of what followed.

Let me give some opinions of others which underline the difficulty of assessing Mr. Pearson.

Miss Judy LaMarsh, a younger party colleague, was put in the first Pearson cabinet. She wrote later:

"Like everyone else I found to know Mike Pearson a little was to love him — a little. To know him better was to be disappointed and disillusioned — the better, the more disillusioned.

"I wonder, if, in his retirement, he has left as friends any of the people in politics who helped him on his way and kept in office . . . Pearson is easy to approach, humourous, self-deprecating, loveable. He has simple tastes and dislikes formality and ostentation and bombast. Sometimes petulant and irritable, forgetful, child-like and not to be depended upon, his favourite word is flexible. He will back off from any fight and seek a compromise. It isn't that he lacks courage, he just prefers to talk rather than fight . . ."

The University of Toronto Press recently published the memoirs of the late Arnold Heeneey, a mandarin contemporary of Pearson in Ottawa and a most influential civil servant. Heeneey, in my encounters, was neither nice nor loveable despite an aristocratic kind of charm. He was shrewd and unsentimental. In his *The Things That Are Caesar's* he wrote of Pearson as both Secretary and Undersecretary of State for External Affairs:

"Pearson had little time, indeed little taste for administrative problems. His flair was developing and negotiating avenues of solution, for action at the policy level. It has often been said and written of him that he disliked the business of running a department and that, in consequence, he was no good at it, and that he left his officials, ultimately his deputy minister, the unpleasant decisions of personnel management and housekeeping. There was much truth in this."

The editor of Heeneey's memoir includes in a footnote a comment from the personal journal of our first real Clerk of the Privy Council. Written in 1955, it ends with an insight on Mr. Pearson which I sense is true.

"LBP is in fair form, and full of his impending trip to Russia of course. He continues to be constantly vigorous and interested and stimulating and cheerful. But over the years, although consistently friendly and satisfactory with me, he is increasingly impersonal — a deep one whose secret self very few, if any, can know."

A year later Heeneey "felt in his bones" that LBP would "stick it out" in the ministry. "There was no doubt he had private longings for release as the shadow of having to stand for the leadership, with all that involved, became deeper. If that were to come he hoped that he would be offered the post unopposed as he shrank from the sort of personal competition which other candidacies would involve."

James Eays has a marvellous sketch of characters in the introduction of his third volume in the series "In Defence of Canada", called *Peacemaking and Deterrence*. The Toronto professor and columnist is not one to pull his punches;

however, a leaven of fondness for Mr. Pearson takes an edge off his judgment. In a recent Eays column contrasting two published reminiscences — by Pearson and George Kennan — he left the former in an image of a jolly broker who had a rather flukey run of importance in international affairs after the war but a much lesser man in intellect and wisdom than the State Department's Russian expert.

In the Eays' book Pearson was "Gifted in negotiation . . . a poor administrator. He was hesitant to judge people and consequently not perceptive about their weaknesses, preferring to like everyone until he had been given plenty of reason to think otherwise."

"Not least among his charms was his utter self-awareness of this liability of leadership. An almost reckless air of diffidence marked his five years as prime minister . . . and a highly developed (perhaps over-developed) gift for persiflage found its first target in himself. Of such leniency colleagues and underlings were quick to take advantage. The pedagogue-turned-politician found himself headmaster of a school for scandal."

The young Pearson was to a large degree the protege of Vincent Massey. When he entered Victoria College in 1913 Mr. Massey was Dean of Residence, and when he wished to take further study after the war to prepare himself as a professor it was Mr. Massey who came through with a fellowship at Oxford for the young war veteran. Later when Pearson joined External Affairs after a competition in which there were few candidates, Massey wrote Skelton, the key civil servant of the time, that "My only criticism of him in connection with this possible appointment is that there is something

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curiously loose-jointed and sloppy about his mental make-up which, as a matter of fact, is reflected in some measure in his physical bearing. It is possible that his other qualities offset this defect."

Mr. Massey, of course, had a partisan and a friendly association with the leading Liberal of that time and later, Mackenzie King. King himself was an ex-civil servant who found his way into politics. He decided Pearson was cut out for politics and told him so in 1946 when he made him Undersecretary of State for External Affairs.

Mr. Pearson ends his first volume of memoirs with a detached account of how he became a politician. "The most difficult decision" he had ever had to make "... meant leaving the security and satisfaction of the civil service for the hurly-burly, controversies, and uncertainties of politics, of which I knew little." "... it meant becoming a member of the Liberal Party."

Fortunately, "There was no difficulty ... for me in accepting the general principles and policies of the party." Into politics he went, reluctantly, doubting, his mind, he says, determined by the opportunity for service to his country which it offered, particularly with Mackenzie King about to retire and St. Laurent about to become prime minister.

Of course, I'm being ironic about Mr. Pearson's difficulties, largely because the first volume is such a pleasant romp. Neither the first world war, the depression, nor the second world war depressed the protagonist or set him ruminating much. His is a happy, sunny story, so much so that one wonders how the devil this genial, self-effacing man got ahead. This is why I've given in this review so much on Pearson from other sources much better informed on him than I am.

After reading "Mike" I kept asking, like Peggy Lee: "Is that all there is ...?" The only candour as distinct from modesty (of which there is so much) in "Mike" relates to advancement and concern over money. The genteel shortage of money in a clergyman's household bothered the young Pearson and again and again in the book he returns to the theme of trying to get a raise or raises in order to live a more comfortable life. He almost returned to Varsity as a football coach from the wonderful threshold opportunity in External Affairs because of the pay and perquisites. He was ready to ask for more. And, of course, he was ready to ask for help: in joining the unit he wanted in the army, in getting himself a commission, in getting a job from his uncle, in getting a fellowship from Vincent Massey, etc.

The difficulty most of us have with Lester B. Pearson is squaring his innocuousness and moderate qualities in everything, including talent and intellect, with his success as our most distinguished diplomat and world figure and his ten years as party leader during which he came back from what seemed absolute disaster to a rather fruitful (if scandalous) five years of government in a minority situation.

It's not that he is stupid or slow. The book tends to show him as he was at Oxford, a good "second class". It's not that he isn't perceptive, especially about people. It is that there isn't a smidgin of anything profound, at least on the surface we see. There is a decency almost in extreme, as the many family and diplomatic anecdotes in the book demonstrate. But there never seems to be any deep concern with the forces and needs of his country.

Throughout most of his early life, Mike Pearson's timing was excellent. He even got hit by a bus in London and invalidated home at the very month when odds on his survival

were plummeting. He bounced into External Affairs just at the perfect moment for opportunity and advancement.

I keep feeling there has to be more to Mr. Pearson and I dislike myself at times for feeling so disrespectful towards him merely on the basis of eight years' observation in the House of Commons. He never showed me much there except extreme flexibility and an amazing capability at engendering loyalty in his own party followers. I thought, for example in the Favreau situation, that he bent the truth with alacrity

to duck trouble.

Anyway . . . "Mike" is rolling along as a Canadian best-seller. A lot of people want to read about the life of the nice guy who gave Canada its flag.

Douglas Fisher is an Ottawa syndicated columnist and former NDP member of parliament.

Has Cohen become his admirers?

by PATRICK MACFADDEN

The Energy of Slaves, by Leonard Cohen. McClelland and Stewart, \$5.95 cloth, \$2.95 paper.

In a way it doesn't much matter whether poetry is very good anymore in consumer countries. Like Sara Lee cake, the varieties differ, the texture remains the same and it will be eaten anyway. We're back to what David Cecil called the yum-yum school of literature.

This doesn't hold true for countries where there is still a strong and troubled spiritual agenda to be worked through. An abrasive, public poetry is possible in places such as Latin America and Ireland; perhaps that is why the most interesting modern writing is appearing there.

The sense I have of poetry being written in Canada, with few exceptions is that of several over-worked seams simultaneously running out. Themes of alienation borrowed from the Black Mountain poets no longer fit well; the sexually liberating verse of the early sixties hasn't survived the sexual revolution whose main victim was genuine eroticism. There's an absence of moral coherence that sometimes reaches an almost shameful level:

Why did you spend
another night with her
when you could have slept
with Naked Jane
or bought yourself
a twelve-year oriental girl
Why don't they make Vietnam
worth fighting for

The venality of publishing houses aside, it would have been wiser not to print the present collection. It isn't Leonard Cohen's best work, neither dark nor light enough. And the use of a razor blade as logo to head many of the poems is not significant, merely silly. I don't

object to silliness as long as it's amusing. As in this:

ON HEARING THAT
IRVING LAYTON WAS KISSED
BY ALLEN GINSBERG
AT A TORONTO
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Not to alarm you Irving
but I have it
from a friend of
the deceased Irish poet
that soon after
he received
the blessings of
Allen Ginsberg
Patrick Kavanagh died

But there's not enough good light
verse in *The Energy of Slaves* to make up
for the lacklustre of the rest. The
"element of aimless enervation" which
Louis Dudek objected to in the work of

the younger Cohen is quite gone — a
great pity, since its place has been taken
by something much worse — aimed
enervation:

I did not know

until you walked away
you had the perfect ass
Forgive me

for not falling in love

with your face or your conversation

Could it be that Leonard Cohen is a
victim of mass communications? Could
it be that — allowing for devaluation
— he has become, as Auden said of
Yeats, his admirers? This is a depressing
thought. Yet it may very well be that
the modern habit of packaging the artist
has the same effect on him as the bottle
or the syringe had in previous ages. Does
he begin to *act out* his notices? ("This
travelling body of pain," Jack Batten
in *Maclean's*. His piss came in short,

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sharp spurts," Richard Goldstein in *The New York Times*.) From *poète maudit* to a kind of male Rod McKuen, Cohen has been expected to provide an instant crutch for all those who wandered through the maelstrom of the sixties. He did this, probably out of kindness, but the costs may have been heavy.

You lucky son-of-a-bitch
while I had to contend
with all the flabby liars
of the Aquarian Age

The reason I raise this question is not that I put any particular trust in the sociological trivia surrounding a writer's circumstance. But the age of consumption, or the consumptive age, needs neat deaths and entrances, needs funerals as well as new boys knocking at the door. It will kill, if it must, those who hang around too long. *The Energy of Slaves* leaves itself open to such treatment, ("The poems don't love us anymore/they don't want to love us")

This kind of statement is easily grabbable as an artistic obituary and has already been used as such. But there are poems in this book, written under the same gibbet shadow as infected from time to time Hopkins and Dylan Thomas, that celebrate the continuing presence of

a lyric impulse that defies the surrender it purports to denote. The best poem in *Les Us Compare Mythologies*, Cohen's first book, was called "Elegy"; the following piece from the present work promises even more elegant deaths yet to come:

Good father, since I am now broken
down, no leader
of the borning world, no saint for those
in pain,
no singer, no musician, no master of
anything, no
friend to my friends, no lover to those
who love me

only my greed remains to me, biting
into every
minute that has not come with my insane

triumph
show me the way now, tonight, to
possess what
I long for, to ensnare, to tame, to love
and be loved
by — in the passion which I cannot
ignore despite
your teachings
give her to me and let me be for a
moment in
this miserable and bewildering wretched-
ness, a happy
animal

*Patrick MacFadden is a member of
the Last Post editorial board and prof.
of journalism at Carleton University.*

Figures from dark ages, gremlins and munchkins

by CAROLE ORR

It is one of the peculiarities of our age that our most conservative institutions find themselves from time to time in the embarrassing posture of the avant-garde. When hairy revolutionaries took up Edwardian jackets and cummerbunds, Savile Row turned desperately to blue jeans à la haute.

For the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, however, keeper of the Dominion's good taste, if old-fashioned is new-wave, then so be it. The Pickwickians who write the *Globe's* editorials recently took to a young artist whose work could not fail to appeal to time-honoured sensibilities. The artist's name is Randy Jones, probably inappropriate for one whose work abounds in unexpected figures from the dark ages and fogs on the moors, gremlins and munchkins, all of which are now enjoying a kind of happy resurrection in what passes for the Renaissance in these parts. (Sale on Brueghel Posters! This week only!)

Ahead of all this, Jones has been in touch with the middle ages for some time now. Born under an oak tree on 7 May 1949, in Exeter, Ontario, he spent his early creative years picking potatoes. There followed four years of art school



in the intense world of Beal Tech in London, Ontario. Then to Toronto, to thrive.

He lives in a bleak warehouse affair in an overheated building on Temperance Street (a few blocks from Chastity Lane, in Toronto's core.). From his drawings and etchings, one expects an incipient maniac surrounded by old tapestries and stuffed crocodiles. Instead, a tall, very boyish character with straight teeth, who apparently hasn't the least idea of the Meaning of the Mediaeval Grotesque in his work.

It filters into his political cartooning

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— witness the Jones cartoons for the *Last Post*, in the preceding issue's "Defence Scheme One" — but it is clearest in his illustrative work. One of his most outstanding accomplishments has been the illustrating of Oxford's latest edition of Goethe's *Faust*. They can be held to Durer or Gustave Doré. (These are not available for reproduction, so those printed here aren't such clear examples of the troll-like tendencies.)

Jones is surprisingly unconcerned. "I like to experiment with the grotesque to see how far I can go, just because you can do more with it," said with a shrug. Hence a recent *Globe* drawing of Ugandan president Idi Amin, lid raised, brain bubbling with toil and trouble and frogs and newts.

But the *Globe*, in the best conservative tradition, was unwilling to pay a liberal wage, and Jones was forced to try the less erudite *Toronto Star*. His work can be seen there from time to time. Thriving it is not. So he is now contemplating a move to New York City, where he now has digs on a corner of a crowded studio shared by five others. One hopes that he will be recognized here first.

As an illustrator, Jones is unique. As a cartoonist, he brings relief from the whining and carping that goes on in many of the pages he illustrates in the daily press. It is the difference between Jonathan Swift and Peter Newman.



French past and American dream

by JEAN-GUY RENS

One of the official means of blurring Quebec literature is to compare it with Canadian literature. Note all the comparative literature professors at work throughout Canada. They don't distort what is being written in Quebec, no, they just integrate it into a Canadian frame.

Quebec culture is not half the Canadian culture: it exists by itself and needs no protection from federal whores. Gaston Miron has been promoting these simple ideas for 20 years. One of the radical poets who came out of Quebec in the 60s, Paul Chamberland, wrote me some time ago: "The whole world must be translated into Kébécois". This is the challenge for our generation. When men like Miron started writing 20 years ago, they had to attack the abstract cosmopolitanism of collège curricula. It was a search for the roots of Quebec. He found them in Montreal. An interesting point to quote is that Miron was born in Ste-Agathe-des-Monts, yet his art is essentially urban. His genius was to enter the city with a country laugh. Everyone could recognize him and he became the poet laureate of Quebec. Miron insists that Paul-Marie Lapointe is our best poet, but the fact remains that for all Québécois Miron defined what he calls an "escape natal." After three centuries of doubt, Miron began naming our environment. He defined the landscape by writing simply what it actually is. When he whis-

pers:
Mon Québec ma terre amère
ma terre amande

it is a comfort for a people long isolated at the frozen top of North America. It is a voice at the end of the dark.

But I am not going to introduce Miron to my English-speaking buddies. Miron needs no introduction. Read his book *L'homme rapaillé*, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, \$3.50. I just wanted to find a few symptoms of the Quebec identity. It doesn't require a lot of cleverness to say that Miron's poetry is simple.

It's not at all academic. It has the strength and naïveté of pre-classical French. The 13th century of Rutebeuf. The 15th century of Villon. He quickly grasps the emotion of poetical utterance. He is not interested in abstract theories that are in fashion in French and American universities. He writes of love and revolution because he likes women and freedom. There is no need to search for esoteric symbolism: Miron would laugh at you! At the moment he is living with his two year-old kid, and his only claim is to be a "mère de famille."

Nobody can reproach Miron with lack of political commitment: he landed in jail on the first day of War Measures. But even his revolution is earth-bound: he is fighting for the poem to gain the victory over the non-poem. By non-poem, he means social inequalities, humiliation, destruction of the language, of the mind, fatality. Miron feels unhappy in his body and for him this is a good enough motive to start a revolution. McLuhan wasn't wrong when he referred to the French-Canadians as a people of hippies.

In his simplicity, if in nothing else, Miron resembles another writer who is from, if not of, Quebec, Jack Kerouac. What strikes me, when I read them both, is the symmetry of their reactions. One must not forget that Jack Kerouac was born from a Quebec family who lived in Lowell, Mass. One million Québécois left the country at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th to go to the States. There are now four million of them in New England, while Quebec only contains five million French speaking inhabitants.

These dry numbers show how powerful the American fascination is in Quebec minds. Miron represents the resistance to the Anglo-Saxon ocean: he stiffens and promotes a violent Quebec nationalism. At the opposite, Kerouac rugs into the monster and tries to melt with it; he becomes more American than any WASP, writes a better English than most

of his contemporaries, watches more baseball games on TV than all the intellectuals of the U.S.

Kerouac went as far as a Québécois could go on the way towards Americanization. The result lies on *the road*: the rootless wanderer goes from place to place until the post-card-like Florida where he dies, full of alcohol, in 1969, with his mother at his bedside. . . . Check the importance of the Mother in Quebec society! But what is important is not so much the extraction as the way you deal with it. Well, then, Kerouac is full of such unexpected statements: "My real name is Jean," or when being asked about his nationality, "Franco-American". In his *Book of Dreams*, he reports: "Had I gone back to Canada I wouldn't have taken shit from any non Frenchman of Canada." But he never came back. It was just a dream.

Anyway, Kerouac only wrote one book and about a single theme: the voyage. I don't intend to go on and on about his search for escape through geography or drugs: it has been done before and much better than all I could write about. My aim was only to stress the importance of this *Franco-American* writer in relation with Quebec dreams. The novelist

Lévy Beaulieu wrote an exciting essay about Kerouac (*Jack Kérouac*, Les Editions du Jour, \$3.95). In Kerouac's Lowell, as in Beaulieu's Montreal, man is born to be pursued, scared, beaten and defeated.

But I am not trying either, to make a Québécois out of Kerouac, but to underline the special way we apprehend him in Quebec. Kerouac appears as Quebec's secret temptation and symbolizes our failure to Americanize ourselves. Both Miron and Kerouac failed

to quit their family links in order to assume new ones: the first with a woman (all Miron's love poetry is poetry of misfortune), the second with a country. Love and Land: we are right in the middle of Quebec literature. It's not difficult to find the key of such a culture: the search of a place to live, and love, and die.

Jean-Guy Rens of Montreal is currently editing a book on recent trends in Quebec society for publication in France.

Rifling through leftovers

by PAULETTE JILES

Surfacing, by Margaret Atwood, McClelland and Stewart, \$6.95.

Surfacing, by Margaret Atwood, is second on the best-seller list, a Canadian novel selling at the top in Canada. This is because it is an excellent book. It contains an exciting story of detection and then throws the whole detective-story away, in preference to asking some primitive and childlike questions: "Where am I?" and "who are you?" and "which way is out?" But then, these are questions which all good detectives get around to asking. It's elementary.

The central character and three others journey for a weekend to a cottage in the northern bush, threading their way through the innumerable lakes. This cottage is one in which the heroine lived for the first part of her childhood, along with father, mother and brother. Now the mother is dead, the brother is elsewhere and the father is missing in the surrounding forest. Her life has become a period of abeyance, waiting for him to return or for his body to be found.

One of the most powerful themes in the book is the heroine's rifling through the old maps, diaries, pictures and other leftovers in the cabin, the residue of childhood; going through them carefully as scholar through the Vatican Archives, searching desperately. Who was he, this father, and what did he want, where did he go and what did he leave for me?

In the wake of this quest the other three characters become irrelevant and irritating. The author is not able or willing to make them effective. They merely intrude upon the heroine's battle with bygone ghosts on a deserted island. They are like those characters in detective

novels who are there when you need them to find the ransom note in a garbage can; and villainous to boot. They are so relentlessly villainous we eventually don't even want to hear about them. The made-up, affected princess who won't live in the bush without her compact. The bummy, almost autistic men: Joe has the mentality and profile of a buffalo named Johnny Weismuller.

Characters that are so consistently flat could possibly be worked for humour; but they are described with blow-by-blow observations of someone who took them more seriously than we would expect of the central character. Every moment I was waiting for her to yell, "Oh, get out!!" and shove them into the swamp. If the heroine had not been on the edge of a breakdown these wretches would have driven her to it — with people like that I'd go and live in the garden as well, and eat worms, or snakes and adders or whatever else was handy rather than bait their hooks and cook their dinner. At the end she runs away from them, and gets on with it.

It's an absorbing, surprising novel, like the track of a calf through the woods — that proverbial figure whose trail ended up as a turnpike. Where one may lead then others may follow. The tension and suspense which the author infuses into some of the scenes of discovery and detection are terrific. While the others are gone, she carefully goes through her father's notebook. While they sleep she inspects her old drawings. What is the need to hide her activity? The fear that she may be thought mad; and at times a woman's psyche is so fragile that a moment's interruption can pierce the skin of a thought. Ridicule from the Buf-

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falo or Miss Revlon would have sunk the whole canoe.

She discovers an adolescent self in drawings of princesses. Her father left behind a confusing series of pictures, maps and notes, which she calculates must lead somewhere, to some answer. His notes are accompanied by sketches, stark and primitive; god-like creatures with horns, tails, and enormous eyes. They are marked with map references. She discovers that they are copies of pictographs hidden somewhere in the nearby territory. They are symbols of power whose magic has been distilled and whose chemistry has been defined by the aboriginal indians of the northern bush; perhaps left for her as a secret message. She and the others take a two-day canoe trip in search of the rock-carvings, and fail to locate them.

Still she manages to place her parents, and especially her father, in history. Riffing through the evidence of memory and myth, thumbing through scrapbooks as if they were the Book of the Dead, she manages to ground him in a time and a place. She realizes finally that her hallucinations of him are what he himself feared; "He turns toward me and it's not my father. It's what my father saw, the thing you meet when you've stayed here too long alone."

The father appears in the midst of his own paraphernalia: his fences, his books; not even negative but unapproachable. Her mother has drifted away into death leaving nothing of herself, not even in her diary. "When I got outside I leafed through it, I thought there might be something about me, but except for the dates the pages were blank, she had given up . . ." The father, however, is created in all his shimmering complexity in Atwood's rapid prose. He seems to float below the surface of the northern lakes and swamps with their winding roots and tea-coloured water, being born or decomposing, perhaps turning into himself, ready to reappear.

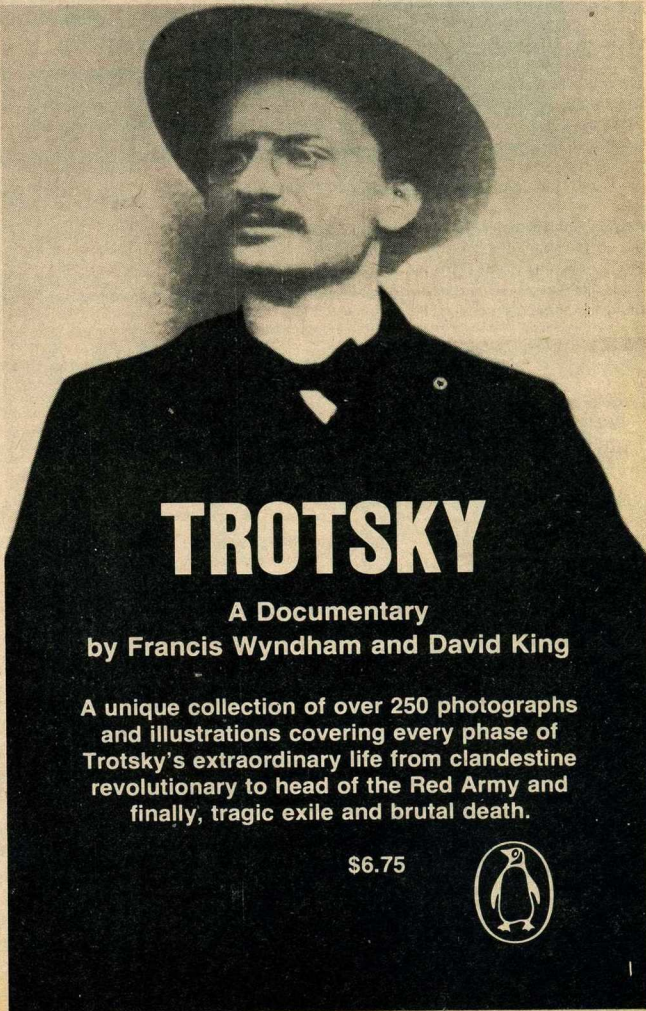
Pregnancy is used as a symbol in the last part of the book, as one of the life-affirming sides of the author which has suddenly surfaced. It is a rather over-used symbol, even here, where it counterbalances an abortion, one of the hidden traumas from which the heroine frees herself. It is thrown in at the last moment as a kind of lifeboat: "have a baby, you'll feel close to nature." Here the symbol gets away from itself, for, as we have learned to ask more of symbolism than simple-minded equations,

we have learned that babies eat matches, piss on the floor, and want to be taken to the zoo. They are no substitute, symbolically or otherwise, for self-discovery, and we fear the heroine is in for it.

The curves of the book wind in and out of fantasy until finally the maps and logic of detection are abandoned altogether. After all, maps can only enclose the sinuous topography of a life in its grids, useful to a certain point only. The novel twists about, inflates and deflates, zooms in for close-up shots of snap-beans and retracts until the figures

become blurred archetypes. The central character surfaces, finally, in such a vital, assertive welter of selves we find a triumph in the confusion, a victory over the flattened existence of anxiety and guilt, discovering she was inhabiting herself all along, and ready to go into the business of discovery elsewhere.

Paulette Jiles is a free-lance journalist and a poetess, whose work recently appeared in Women Unite! published by The Canadian Women's Educational Press.




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THE LAST PAGE

ALL THE BUS
PLUNGES
FIT TO PRINT

in THE NEW YORK TIMES

The *New York Times* has a considerable reputation for comprehensiveness in its reporting which, despite the sheer volume of *Times* news coverage, is not always deserved. In one area, however, the *Times* is beyond reproach.

One perceptive reader of the paper began to notice an astonishing number of one-paragraph fillers dealing with bus accidents in Europe, Asia and Latin America. Each of them was topped with a one-line headline containing the words "bus plunge."

We make no comment on the possible significance of this discovery, but simply reproduce some examples below:

Ecuador Bus Plunge Kills 19

QUITO, Ecuador, Aug. 28 (Reuters) — Nineteen people were killed and five seriously injured when a crowded bus plunged down a 150-foot ravine in northern Ecuador last night, the police said today. The dead, they said, included an American couple, identified as Thomas and Elsy O'Kelly.

12 Die in Ceylon Bus Plunge

COLOMBO, Ceylon, Sept. 12 (AP) — A bus plunged down a 100-foot precipice today at Agrapatana, killing 12 persons and injuring 50.

Brazil Bus Plunge Kills 14

RIO DE JANEIRO, Sept. 22 (Reuters) — Fourteen persons were killed and 17 were seriously injured when a bus collided with a jeep, then plunged off a mountain road in India's Himachel Pradesh territory, killing four persons and injuring 13, the Press Trust in India reported today.

Bus Plunge Kills 4 in India

NEW DELHI, Oct. 14 (UPI) — A bus collided with a jeep, then plunged off a mountain road in India's Himachel Pradesh territory, killing four persons and injuring 13, the Press Trust in India reported today.

Mexican Bus Plunge Kills 8

PALMAR CHICO, Mexico Oct. 27 (UPI) — Eight persons died of injuries suffered when a bus plunged off a wet road into a 400-foot-deep gully, the police reported. The police said the bus had been overloaded, carrying more than 50 passengers.

Six Killed in Bus Plunge

SARAGOSSA, Spain, Dec. 19 (Reuters) — A bus carrying about 50 Spanish workers and their

families home for Christmas from West Germany and Switzerland plunged off a bridge into the Ebro River here early today. At least six persons were killed and about 40 were injured. Most of the passengers escaped through a rear exit.

Bus Plunge in India Kills 7

NEW DELHI, Dec. 27 (UPI) — Seven policemen were killed and 24 others were injured when a police truck carrying them plunged into a canal near Arrah in the northeastern state of Bihar, the Press Trust of India reported today. The agency said the policemen were on their way to target practice.

Afghan Bus Plunge Kills 21

KABUL, Afghanistan, May 11 (AP) — Twenty-one persons were killed and six injured when a bus plunged into an irrigation canal in Lashkargah, western Afghanistan, the police reported. They attributed the accident to careless driving.

Brazil Bus Plunge Kills 20

BELO HORIZONTE, Brazil, June 22 (Reuters) — Twenty persons were reported killed and many injured when a bus plunged off a viaduct near here today. Radio reports, quoting a highway patrol spokesman, said the bus fell on to high tension wires over a railway track.

Spanish Bus Plunge Kills 22

CACERES, Spain, June 26 (Reuters) — A bus carrying 56 Spanish football fans home from a game plunged down a ravine, killing 22 passengers and injuring the others, 5 of them seriously, police reported today. The accident occurred late last night when the bus skidded off

the road and crashed 40 yards down a cliff.

GIVE A KID A BREAK. THE FRESH AIR FUND.

Cairo Bus Plunge Kills 15

CAIRO, June 27 (Reuters) — Fifteen persons were killed and 17 injured today when a truck plunged into a canal near the Nile River after the driver had swerved to avoid another vehicle.

Bus Plunge in Brazil Kills 30

BELEM, Brazil, July 19 (UPI) — Thirty persons were killed yesterday when a bus fell off a ferry ramp into the Capim River, and an unknown number are missing, the police said today. The accident occurred at São Domingos, 250 miles southeast of this Amazon delta port.

Bus Plunge Kills 14 in India

NEW DELHI, July 27 (UPI) — A bus plunged into a 100-foot gorge near a Himalayan hill station at Simla, 250 miles north of here, yesterday killing 14 persons and injuring 45 others, the Press Trust of India reported today.

Bus Plunge Kills 6 in Spain

SEVILLE, Spain, Feb. 6 (UPI) — Six persons were killed and 43 injured when a bus plunged over a bridge near the town of Carmona today, the police reported. The cause of the accident was unknown.

Indian Bus Plunge Kills 25

NEW DELHI, India, May 1 (AP) — Twenty-five policemen were killed and four were seriously injured today when a police bus fell into a ravine at Peda on the Jammu-Srinagar road in Kashmir, according to reports reaching here.

Brazil Bus Plunge Kills 5

RECIFE, Brazil, Feb. 2 (UPI) — Five persons died and 30 were injured today when a bus bound from Recife to Goiania went over a precipice.

Bus Plunge Kills 30 in Iran

TEHERAN, Iran, Feb. 6 (UPI) — A bus plunged into a deep gorge near Irbaj in western Iran yesterday, killing 30 persons, the police said today. Twenty passengers were injured.

Colombia Bus Plunge Kills 12

BOGOTA, Colombia, April 11 (Reuters) — Twelve people died and 15 were injured when a bus plunged nearly 500 feet down a ravine outside Linares, near the Equadorean frontier, it was reported here today.

Chilean Bus Plunge Kills 13

OSORNO, Chile, March 20 (UPI) — Thirteen persons were killed and 34 injured when a bus with an inexperienced driver at the wheel plunged off a mountain road at Puyehue, near the Argentine border 625 miles south of Santiago, the police said today.

Indian Bus Plunge Kills 19

NEW DELHI, Feb. 6 (UPI) — A bus plunged into a Himalayan mountain gorge near Mahasu last night, killing 19 persons, the Press Trust of India said today. The accident took place 300 miles north of New Delhi.

35 Injured in Bus Plunge

MARKTHEIDENFELD, West Germany, April 20 (UPI) — At least 35 persons were injured, 10 of them seriously, when a bus filled with 52 members of a pensioners club went down an embankment and overturned, the police said today.

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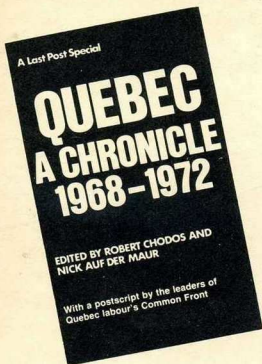
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