

**LADY  
POD**

THE LAST POST  
Vol. 3, No. 3

MAY 1973  
Price 50 cents

**LADY  
POD**

**The  
international  
wolf pack  
moves in  
on  
the North**

**or...  
why David  
Rockefeller  
was in  
Quebec City**

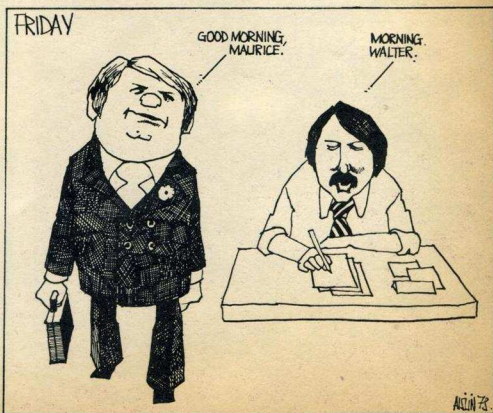
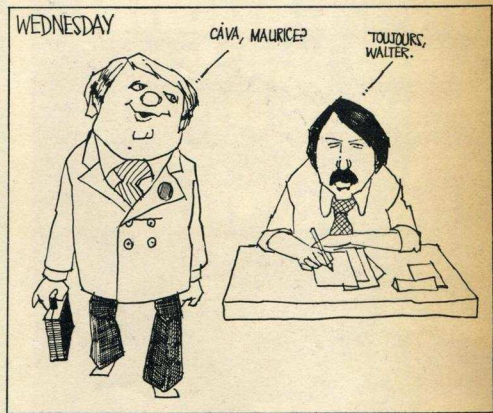
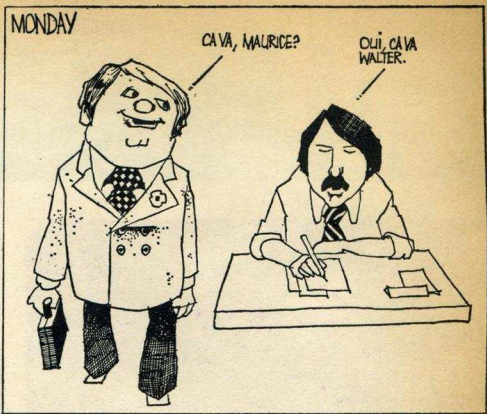
**'I am  
Yvon Dupuis'**

**or...  
the latest  
version of  
'la belle  
promesse'**

**Toronto's  
reformers:  
Socialism  
in one ward**



DOES THE CIVIL SERVICE  
MAKE YOU NERVOUS?





## A NOTE TO OUR READERS

Our thanks to those of our readers who were able to respond to our request for contributions in the last issue. The results were gratifying, and helped offset many of the production costs of the magazine.

We ask you for your continuing support. As mentioned in our last appeal, the *Last Post's* consolidation and growth cannot depend entirely on subscriptions, and the small amount gained from advertising. It has to be like other political publications of its kind, for example *Quebec-Press*, which draws a large part of its sustenance from a system of readers' contributions.

It's not the magazine's existence that depends on contributions — because that could be ensured through subscription revenues — but its frequency of publication, depth of research, and staff.

Many of you sent cheques in small amounts, which formed the brunt of the money raised. Some sent a series of post-dated cheques spread over a year. If the *Last Post* could count on a regular input of this nature, it would add immeasurably to the improvement of the magazine, the extension of coverage, and increase in frequency.

If you are able to contribute this month, there's a box explaining how on page 27 of this issue.

Also, on page 5, is a suspicious document comprising a series of impertinent questions.

Its purpose is to help us ascertain some patterns in our readership (eg. how much of it is student-based or university oriented, how much of it labour) and what articles, or kind of articles, have had the most or least impact. It has nothing to do with advertising, as similar surveys in some magazines do.

Please use the "comments" area freely to tell us what the questions posed might not deal with. We are interested in learning particularly what your comments are about shorter versus longer articles, about areas of coverage we are unwisely omitting or oversteering.

Although we know questionnaires such as this have a marginal scientific value, this will help us focus somewhat more clearly on the needs of our readership.

# LADY POD

THE LAST POST  
VOL. 3 NO. 3

## CONTENTS

Letters	4
The Month	6
Energy crunch	
Sinking dollar	
Last Pssst	17
'I am Yvon Dupuis'	19
<i>by Nick Auf der Maur</i>	
The Pros grab for James Bay	24
<i>by Ralph Surette, Bob Davis, Mark Zannis</i>	
The Caribbean's dead season	31
<i>by Patrick MacFadden</i>	
The 'greening' of Toronto	34
<i>by Rae Murphy</i>	
Reviews	42
People's poetry	
Canada's capitalism	

The *Last Post* is produced by an editorial board.

Production this issue: Nick Auf der Maur, Drummond Burgess, Robert Chodos, Alan Guettel, Eric Hamovitch, Richard Liskeard, David Lloyd, Patrick MacFadden, Terry Mosher, Rae Murphy, Carole Orr, Gail Scott, Ralph Surette.

Address all editorial and business enquiries to the *Last Post*, 430 King Street West, Room 101, Toronto 135, Ont.: phone (416) 366-1134. In Montreal: 151 St. Paul Street West, 3rd floor, Montreal, Que.: phone (514) 288-6060. In Ottawa: P.O. Box 2124, Station D, Ottawa, Ont.

The *Last Post* is published by the Canadian Journalism Foundation, Inc., a non-profit corporation, 430 King Street West, Room 101, Toronto 135, Ont. Secretary-Treasurer: John Dufort.

Typeset by Foundation Press Ltd., 430 King Street West, Room 101, Toronto 135, Ont. Printed by Les Editions du Richelieu, 100 rue Bouthillier, St. Jean, Que. Contents Copyright 1973. Second Class Mailing registration No. 2315. Postage paid at Montreal.



# LETTERS

## Dear Last Post:

I never expected to meet with such an old conservative argument against the emancipation of women in my favourite radical magazine as contained in Stuart Adam's "Children in a Peter Pan Culture" (Vol. 3, No. 2).

Adam argues that the home is the last fortress of humane values and leaving the home for the stresses of the capitalist outside world in no way constitutes liberation. I omit any discussion here of the many rich rewards of unpaid housework performed in isolation from other adults to say that if Stuart Adam really believed that the home is such a wonderful liberating place, he would recommend not that women should not leave it, but that men should enter it. If caring for a home and children is a suitable way for an adult's time and energy to be spent, then it's equally suitable for an adult man as for an adult woman. What the women's movement is primarily interested in is providing options for both sexes.

Adam goes on to say that the values of the family unit are a radical threat to the spirit of capitalism. I suppose that it is because of the acuteness of the threat that most corporations require their salesmen and executives to have a wife and children and why capitalist banks extend credit most readily to the family man.

The women's liberation movement has never been against children, as Adam claims. The literature of the movement is full of discussions of how best to raise children. (Every issue of Ms. magazine so far has contained a children's story. Men have children too but when did any men's magazine ever publish a story for their kids?)

Feminists recognize that some, but not all women have a vocation for raising children. So do some men. What women in the movement generally agree on is that those with a vocation help raise the children of those without by means of co-operative day-care centres or communal living arrangements. If parents helped more to raise each other's children, not only parents but children would

be freed from their present mutual possessiveness. A generation could be raised with truly broad and generous sympathies.

That, and not the maintenance of the traditional hierarchical family, would be revolutionary.

Judy Stoffman  
Toronto

## Dear Last Post:

I would like to point out to Carole Orr and your readers that the recent edition of *Faust* for which Randy Jones did his superb drawings was published by University of Toronto Press, not Oxford University Press.

Jean Wilson  
Editor  
University of Toronto Press

## Dear Last Post:

As a regular reader of the *Last Post*, I was disheartened to see once again that the *Post* is fostering a falacious concept within Canadian politics: namely, this seemingly national journalistic notion that the Committee For An Independent Canada is nothing more than an appendage of the Liberal Party. I was further disheartened to read that the C.I.C. is nothing but a clandestine corporate backwater, bent on promoting capitalism within Canadian society.

This conscious conspiracy on your part to brand the C.I.C. within this perspective is a blatant misrepresentation. This goes beyond the area of misrepresentation and borders on suppression of the real characteristics of the C.I.C. Jake Moore of Brascan and other prominent corporate activists are not presently active members in any facet of the C.I.C.'s operation. Jake Moore has not financially contributed to the coffers of the C.I.C. in over two years. His initial contribution to the C.I.C. was certainly not commensurate with his corporate status within the economic elite of Canadian society.

You, the editorial board of the *Last Post*, owe the C.I.C. and the readers of the *Last Post*, a retraction of this innuendo appearing in the Brascan article. (March Issue, 1973) A failure to even consider redressing this error only further underlines the naivety of your political rationality. It underscores the fact that the *Post* in this reference is nothing more than an imported extension of the American Left. This extension complements branch-plant corporate exploitation and branch-plant unionism. You are in

essence the very thing that you are against. You are indicating nothing more than an immature, irresponsible posture by making references of this nature appear as fact.

I put to you the proposition that the *Post* is very far removed from monitoring and analyzing the Canadian pulse. Which generally reflects the crucial issues of the country. I agree, that a magazine of your stature should be exposing and nationally discussing these issues, if you purport to represent the real left opinion of this country. The question of Independence is one such issue. A failure on your part to foster a national forum for debate of this and other crucial issues is to defeat the founding premises of your journal.

The C.I.C. is a non-aligned movement within this country representing members of all major political parties geared to promoting a consensus within Canada, that will enable a fundamental redefinition of Canadian society to occur. For you to argue that this redefinition will be capitalist in perspective, is assinine. This reflects your immaturity and irresponsibility in factual journalism. Cynicism on your part will not aid this redefinition.

I publicly invite you to contact the Executive Director of the C.I.C. in Toronto to correct this matter and to raise the level of your political awareness regarding the C.I.C.

Aid us, to foster debate and national consensus in this country concerning Independence.

G. A. Thomas  
Chairman  
Metro Toronto Regional C.I.C.

## Dear Last Post:

I have been, in general, impressed with the liveliness and the relatively well-informed paper that you have been publishing.

At times, one almost feels that politics, etc. in Central Canada has very little relation to us in B.C. For example, during the last federal election, if Central Canada had voted the way we did, there would now be a Social Democratic NDP government in Ottawa!

The comment that the *West* (especially B.C.) voted anti-French is not very accurate. Much of the B.C. vote was largely a working class, socialist vote. *We are not a province like the others, including Quebec.*

K. Grieve  
Vancouver



# LAST POST READERS' SURVEY

Last Post is trying to find out more about who its readers are, and what aspects of the magazine interest them most. Readers are invited, on a voluntary and confidential basis, to fill out and return this questionnaire to Last Post, 430 King Street West, Room 101, Toronto 135, Ont.

## What is your age?

- under 20
- 20-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
- 60 or over

## What was your income last year?

- under \$4,000
- \$4,000-\$6,000
- \$6,000-\$8,000
- \$8,000-\$10,000
- \$10,000-\$12,000
- \$12,000-\$14,000
- \$14,000-\$16,000
- over \$16,000

## What is your occupation?

### How much education have you had?

- less than high school
- completed high school
- some university
- bachelor's degree
- more than bachelor's

### What type of community do you live in?

- rural
- small town
- small city
- large city
- suburban

### When did you first see the Last Post?

- 1969  1970  1971
- 1972  1973

### Where did you first see the Last Post?

- free mailing  newsstand
- bookstore  friend
- other

### How do you normally get the Last Post?

- subscription  newsstand
- bookstore  other

### Do you buy the Last Post

- whenever you see it?
- only when specific articles interest you?

## Are you a trade union member?

- yes  no

## Which of the following Last Post articles did you read?

- The Brascan File—March 1973
- Establishment is a mangy word (Canadian theatre)—March 1973
- The Parti Quebecois: The shape of independence—January 1973
- When finished, recycle this war (Vietnam)—January 1973
- Nice guy who finished first (review of Pearson)—January 1973
- The Strikebusters—December 1972
- The great hockey brain-drain—December 1972
- Don't expect much, Dave (Manitoba government)—December 1972
- English Canada's October Crisis (election report)—December 1972
- Claude Balloune goes to the elections—October 1972
- Last rites of B.C.'s Bennett—October 1972
- Alden Nowlan: The need for a framework—October 1972

## Which of the following issues of the Last Post did you see?

- March 1973 (Brascan)
- January 1973 (Parti Quebecois)
- December 1972 (Strikebusters)
- October 1972 (Federal election)
- July 1972 (Common Front strike)

## Which of the following other magazines do you read?

- Maclean's  Saturday Night  Canadian Forum
- Canadian Dimension  New York Review of Books
- Time  Newsweek  Esquire  Ms.
- Cosmopolitan  New Statesman

## Comments:

---

---

---

---

---



# LAST POST

## THE MONTH

### Canada was the odd country out

John Connally, the Texan Canadians love to hate, passed through Toronto in late March and delivered himself of the opinion that Canada should join up with the United States in a free trade area, along with Mexico and maybe all the other countries with Pacific coastlines, ranging from Peru to Japan.

It was perhaps an unexpected comment from a man who, as secretary of the treasury, had been the chief spokesman for the new American protectionism. But it was a clear demonstration of the fact that protectionism versus free trade was no longer the point. The Americans were willing to swing either way, so long as in swinging they remained in control.

In two key areas, however, their control was coming under increasingly heavy fire. The countries on which the U.S. depends for its oil supplies were beginning to flex their muscles. And the American dollar was under such sustained attack that even a ten percent

devaluation was not enough to defend it.

For Canada, both the energy crisis and the monetary crisis underscored the dubious benefits of economic integration with the United States. Canada is both a major American trading partner and a major oil supplier to the U.S., but neither of these privileges has provided us with any leverage in the current world economic readjustment. When American oil prices went up, our oil prices went up. When the value of the American dollar went down, our dollar went down with it.

The irrationality of the Canadian position, in both the colloquial and the economic sense, was becoming obvious.

### Winter moves fast Oil moves slow

"To impose gas rationing," said Jesse Unruh, the former speaker of the California State Assembly, on March 6, "would cause a revolution. I foresee armed raids on gasoline stations."

Unruh is not a man noted for hysteria. His statement was a sign of the importance of energy fuels to America and the depth of the current energy crisis. His vision may not have been far wrong.

Abderrahman Khene of Algeria, secretary-general of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), has been issuing dire predictions of a "catastrophic energy starvation" unless prices for oil are raised.

The formation of the OPEC was one stage in a challenge to the U.S. by the countries — Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Abu Dhabi, Venezuela, Indo-

nesia, Algeria, Nigeria and Libya — that supply America with a large part of its oil.

At the moment, the United States imports 30 per cent of its oil. According to the National Petroleum Council, it will need to import 60 per cent by 1985 to maintain itself as a modern industrial state. This will put the U.S. at the mercy of the oil-exporting countries.

The OPEC countries, fully aware of this, are stepping up their challenge.

In the U.S., domestic producers have been applying the same tactics. Because of their multinational bases, the oil companies can now afford virtually to hold their own country for ransom. They are doing this in the international monetary markets and they are doing it in the energy field as well.

Thursday, January 11, 1973 brought a rash of newspaper stories about heatless homes and schools in Minnesota and the Dakotas, airlines forced to close, layoffs. "Winter moves fast. Oil moves slow. That is the trouble," said a petroleum industry spokesman.

The television program *CBS Reports* made the suggestion that the oil is moving slow because the oil industry was making sure it was moving slow. The oil companies were in fact saying to the American government that unless it granted them the price increases and protective tariffs they were demanding, they would not "be able to extract and refine existing petroleum resources in a way that is economically feasible for them."

But the resources exist.

President Nixon was faced with a choice: hold off the oilmen by increasing imports to fill the gap, or give in to pressure for price increases. Whichever way



**CONNALLY**  
Swinging either way



he chose, however, there were effects on the monetary situation to consider. If he increased imports, the already dangerous deficit in the U.S. balance of trade would be worsened. Price increases, perhaps even more seriously, would aggravate inflation and lead to greater international pressure on the U.S. dollar.

Nixon had already shown a tendency to hold the companies at arm's length. Meanwhile, he was looking for an alternative to the hostile OPEC. Signs that all was not well have, after all, been around for years. Mexico nationalized its oil industry in 1938 and has been running it successfully ever since. All the Middle Eastern OPEC countries took over majority ownership from American, British and Dutch interests at least ten years ago.

The only major U.S. supplier that is not a member of the OPEC is Canada. In the summer of 1971, Nixon announced that the U.S. would remove import quotas on Canadian crude if the two countries could come to an agreement on dealing with oil supplies in an emergency.

Since the Diefenbaker government's Borden Commission, the Canadian market has been divided into two areas, east and west, by the Ottawa Valley line. The west is supplied by the Alberta oil fields, 80 percent American-owned, the east by the fields of Venezuela and the Middle East, in both of which American companies have substantial holdings.

This policy was a joint effort of government and industry, and it has always been in the interest of the American-controlled industry to keep itself tied to the home market. The American multinationals who own Alberta's oil are the same ones that benefit from the sale of Venezuelan and Middle Eastern crude in the eastern provinces, primarily Gulf, Standard of California and Standard of New Jersey.

If the Venezuelan and Middle Eastern supplies were cut at any time, Canada would be unable to ship its own oil to its own eastern provinces. The present pipeline system simply could not deliver.

As the energy crisis broke in December and January, Alberta applied to the government to double its wellhead prices for gas delivered outside the province. The short supply in the U.S. meant that the Americans would be willing to pay more than the current Canadian market price, and Alberta was primarily geared to supply the U.S. through the pipeline system. Premier Peter Lougheed saw his

chance for a fast buck and jumped. Ontario screamed.

Ontario is on the western side of the Ottawa Valley dividing line, and would suffer a severe blow to its manufacturing industry if the price hike went through. Instead the Ontario government proposed a three-price system: one for Alberta, one for the rest of Canada and the third for export, that is, the United States. Lougheed has shown little enthusiasm for the idea.

On February 27, the federal government, acting on a recommendation of the National Energy Board, announced a compulsory cut in exports of Canadian crude to the U.S. by 3.7 per cent in order to preserve a Canadian supply. But, said NEB Chairman R.D. Howland, this did not reflect a long-term policy of reduced exports to the U.S. It was strictly a stopgap measure while the government looked into the matter.

Some of what it will see has already become clear. First, Ottawa has no intention of rationalizing the industry in terms of east-west supply. "As I have indicated," Energy Minister Donald Macdonald told the House of Commons Natural Resources Committee on February 27, "there has been a very substantial investment in the industry on the basis of the existing division of the country into substantially two markets and I do not see a change in that without very substantial policy reasons."

If the government is still not talking

in terms of a major interprovincial pipeline, than it is reasonable to suppose that it is talking about continued north-south lines. Which it is.

The controversial pipeline from the Alaska fields at Prudhoe Bay through the Mackenzie Valley to the American midwest has the full support of Macdonald and the Liberals. The government's loosely-titled Canada Development Corporation has allied with three of the oil giants, two international consortiums and Canadian Pacific Investments to push the line through. The February 27 export quota begins to look a little odd in this company.

Then on March 7, Nixon made his choice. Taking the advice of the Administration's Cost of Living Council, he announced price controls on the oil industry, which would automatically mean the necessity of increased imports. He had chosen a worsening of the U.S. balance of trade over the inflationary risk.

This move meant that Nixon felt sure of a supplier for those imports. With the OPEC gnashing its teeth, he is unlikely to commit himself in their direction. Thus the supplies of which he felt sure enough so that he can hold back his mutinous multinationals at least until he could deal with the monetary crisis were largely Canadian supplies. If anything, Canadian oil is more securely under the control of U.S. government policy than domestic supplies in the United States.

## SOFT-CORE PORNOGRAPHY IN WEEKEND MAGAZINE

**Nothing else tastes  
so 'finger  
lickin' good!**



When Colonel Sanders first served his Kentucky Fried Chicken to his customers, the look of delight on their faces told him all he needed to know.

The Colonel and his boys still cook Kentucky Fried Chicken to that same recipe today. And that 'finger lickin' good' taste still wins every time.

This is why Colonel Sanders cares so much about quality. And insists that the unique 'finger lickin' good' taste of Kentucky Fried Chicken never varies.

This is why he teaches his boys to use the freshest ingredients, tender young chicken, and most important, his secret blend of herbs and spices.

No other chicken is cooked with such care. So no other chicken gives you that 'finger lickin' good' taste that's guaranteed to bring on a smile.

That's why the Colonel and his boys make the 'finger lickin' good'.

—Weekend, February 10, 1973



Meanwhile, Canadian retail gasoline prices are rising in accord with those in the U.S., although there is no shortage of fuel in Canada. While Nixon denies them wellhead price increases back home, the oil companies can make up some of their lost profits by increasing retail prices here.

This latest round of goals scored in our own net represented nothing new. They were the fruits of decisions that the Canadian government had made long ago, and was now unwilling to reverse.

Carole Orr

## The multinationals pull the plug

*"Brother can you spare a Deutschmark."*

— old American saying

The world's exchange markets, closed for two weeks to stave off chaos, opened again March 19, and the latest round in the international monetary crisis appeared to be over.

Stable rates of exchange among currencies are now mostly abandoned. The hope is that currencies will now float to levels thought correct by participants in the exchange market, and that as a result speculation will cease. But there is no precedent for such a system, so whether it will work, and what effects there will be on trade and foreign investment, remain to be seen.

The seriousness of the crisis we have just lived through is not in doubt.

On August 15, 1971, the mighty American dollar was effectively devalued when it was freed from gold, and its lesser value relative to the currencies of its major trading partners was made official by the Smithsonian agreement of December 1971. Little more than a year later, on February 12, 1973, the U.S. had to devalue its dollar formally by ten per cent.

In a matter of days, the dollar was again under such sustained attack as to require the closing of markets. With the U.S. dollar devalued and an increasing number of currencies floating, mostly upwards, the overall depreciation of the U.S. dollar since August 1971 has now reached 20 to 40 per cent against some currencies.

The immediate detonators of the crisis were the speculators, who move monies to make money. On March 1 alone,



**TREASURY SECRETARY SHULTZ**  
Devaluation won't do the trick

European central banks had to absorb 3.5 billion hot U.S. dollars; on March 2 they closed their doors.

These speculators are not so much a breed unto themselves as the normal functionaries in exchange markets: the multinational corporations (mostly American-based), the Middle East oil potentates, the international bankers (the gnomes of Zurich) — and in that order of importance.

They move currencies, swapping the weak for the strong, protecting themselves against anticipated revaluations. They speed up adjustments which they deem necessary because of deeper structural faults. In the process they avoid the losses those adjustments would otherwise cause them.

But they can go further than that — and did. They can, in the delicate language of the business press, over-protect themselves. Thereby they not only avoid losses but reap windfall gains.

The losers in this international crap game are the central bankers of the countries with strong currencies — in this case, West Germany and Japan in particular — whose holdings of billions of American dollars have depreciated drastically in terms of the mark and the yen.

The capacity of the multinational corporations to play the lead role in pulling the plug on the U.S. dollar is a tribute

to their vastly increased role in exchange markets as a side-effect of their growing number and size. A study by the U.S. Tariff Commission estimated that at the end of 1971 private enterprises engaged in international business held \$268 billion in short-term liquid assets. A large proportion of that was held by U.S. multinationals and banks.

Such a volume of short-term assets is more than double the total of international reserves held by all the world's central banks and international monetary institutions. A massive crisis can result from the movement of only a small portion of that \$268 billion.

Speculation, however, is only the froth on the brew; the core of the rot lies elsewhere.

In the simplest terms, the U.S. is living beyond its means. For years American dollars have been pumped outwards, eventually to reach glut proportions in the hands of everybody else's central bankers. In effect, other countries have been financing U.S. activities abroad. By August 1971, the situation had got out of hand.

Some of the dollar outflow has been offshore spending for the troops in Vietnam. In spite of its lessening, the crisis persists, and it is significant that the business press makes no more than passing reference to relief from this quarter.

A sizeable chunk results from new investments abroad by U.S.-based multinationals. But to put controls on direct investment abroad is to kill the goose that lays the golden egg. For direct investment stimulates exports to the country that is being invested in and, after a short time-lag, a back-flow of earnings on capital.

Hence, the dollar crisis notwithstanding, the Nixon Administration is in the process of phasing out controls on capital flows and direct investment abroad with the intention of ending them by the end of 1974.

So Nixon has made trade, not foreign investment, the name of the game. That the U.S. has a trade deficit, and a growing one, is not in doubt. The 1971 deficit of \$2.7 billion was the first in this century; in 1972 it increased to \$6.8 billion. The U.S. is now running a deficit with every major trading partner. The only product area in which the greatest industrial power the world has ever seen now has a trade surplus is farm products.

The reason for the trade deficit is the increasing inability of the U.S. to compete in world markets. The U.S. is becoming more and more dependent on



## HELLO THERE

Thirty-four per cent of all adolescents agree that having sex together is a good way to two people to become acquainted.

—*Montreal Star, February 20, 1973*

foreign trade, while the domestic rate of investment in new plant and equipment is persistently low and gains in productivity are slow.

Nixon's allegations of unfair trade practices by other countries are thus very much beside the point. For what is happening is that the vaunted U.S.-based multinational corporation has undermined U.S. industrial strength.

The essence of Nixonomics can now be appreciated. The intent is to leave the capital account in the balance of payments alone and to reduce the trade deficit by protectionism. The AFL-CIO, which Nixon wants to bring into a new Republican coalition, is openly and stridently protectionist. As for the corporations, so long as the higher costs that will result are borne by the American worker — as they will be, in the nature of protection — there is no reason why they shouldn't go along.

In all of this, Canada has been the odd country out. Though we are the United States' major trading partner, we were involved hardly at all in the wheelings and dealings of February and March. Between February 7 and 13, while the U.S. worked out the 10-per cent devaluation, U.S. Undersecretary of the Treasury Paul Volcker flew from Tokyo to Bonn to London to Rome to Paris to Bonn to Washington, an itinerary from which Ottawa was conspicuously absent.

Yet more telling evidence of the purely passive role in which the U.S. has cast Canada is that the American devaluation left the value of the Canadian dollar relative to the U.S. dollar virtually unchanged.

One side-effect of the February 12 devaluation was an effective devaluation of our dollar against other currencies — except for the U.S. dollar and those currencies which were formally devalued in lock-step with it, such as the Mexican peso, the Israeli pound, the South Korean won and the Greek drachma. There is little satisfaction to be had from being part of such a list, characterized by *Time* magazine as "moneys of nations that are greatly dependent on the U.S. for trade, aid, investment or tourism."

Since — as U.S. Treasury Secretary George Shultz has quite reasonably suggested — devaluation will not turn the trick, Canada is far from being out of the woods. On the U.S. list of trade concessions, the auto pact and other special "favours" we have been granted over the years when U.S. imperialism could afford to be more benign are presumably well-up.

That's not to deny that the U.S. would like to clobber Japan, and West Germany to boot, but it's hard to get the strong — and strengthening. Canada is less of a threat to the U.S., but also more easily dealt with. For like the Americans only more so, we have industries that are already uncompetitive, and highly vul-

nerable because of their reliance on U.S. favours. And we don't have strong corporations, as the Europeans and Japanese do, ready and able to play the multinational game.

The international monetary crisis cuts deep for Canada, and the fact that it has hardly registered in the House of Commons is simply more cause for concern. John Connally's March 19 speech in Toronto advocating free trade came at an appropriate time. And it was also appropriate that it was left to Connally, who helped start the ball rolling in earnest in 1971, to point out the increasingly stark nature of the solutions with which we are being presented.

Mel Watkins

## Parliament:

# A grade-B performance

*You know, it is hard for a man to have faith anymore. It is hard to know what one can believe in.*

— Max Saltzman (NDP — Waterloo),  
House of Commons,  
February 21, 1973

It was surely a spectacle to shake the most fervent believer. There were the Tories, who should have supported the budget, voting against it. There were the New Democrats, who should have opposed the budget, voting for it.

And there was Liberal Finance Minister John Turner, who, as everyone from Conservative Leader Robert Stanfield to Toronto *Globe and Mail* columnist George Bain was quick to point out, filled his budget with measure after measure he had previously denounced as wasteful, impractical or otherwise pernicious.

## FINE DISTINCTION OF THE MONTH

Speaking on Saturday at his first public meeting in more than three months, the former Social Credit premier [W.A.C. Bennett] told a near-capacity breakfast audience of 125 businessmen and orchardists in his home riding that the New Democratic Party administration of Premier Dave Barrett intends to make B.C. "the most socialist state in the free world."

—*Canadian Press, March 5, 1973*

The one thing on which there seemed to be general agreement was that it was a political budget. It followed by only a few days the second devaluation of the once solid American dollar in a little more than a year, but it was directed far less at the delicate situation of the international monetary system than at the delicate situation of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons.

"It has been without a doubt one of the most political budgets this country has ever seen," said Saltzman, the NDP's finance critic, "and I say 'political' in the best meaning of that word. Some of those great economic budgets which were designed by governments with a large majority turned out to be complete fiascos. This time, out of sheer necessity, out of the need to adapt itself to the various opinions held in this House, I think we have a political budget which is a good budget."

Not only was the budget political, but the responses to it were as well. Thus, NDP leader David Lewis could virtually promise his support for the budget on national television the night before it was brought down in the House of Commons. And at the conclusion of Turner's speech, Stanfield could rise and graciously accept the congratulations of his caucus for what they regarded as a budget stolen straight out of the Tory platform, although everyone knew they were later going to oppose it.

But the most intense political speculations that surrounded the budget con-



# Large clothes with large seams

Off in St. John's Nfld., *Evening Telegram* columnist Ray Guy, who is inclined toward such speculations, was speculating on how much it would cost to buy the government of his home province.

On the basis of \$100,000 per head ("last spring's top prices") and 21 members needed to have a majority in the Newfoundland House of Assembly, "you would have to lay out \$100,000 times 21 or roughly \$2 million for the complete package, delivery included.

"It must surely be one of the more attractive bargains on the market today."

Newfoundland is one of our economically less advanced provinces, and so these sorts of dealings have not reached the sophisticated level they have in some other areas of the country — Ottawa, for instance.

## Sold to the fat man on the front bench

One form of bidding that was going on concerned the size of the deficit in John Turner's budget.

Keynesian economics is now almost universally accepted in Ottawa, and so in times like these when the economy needs a push a big deficit is regarded as a Good Thing. But the question is: how much is enough?

Turner's own bid was almost \$2 billion, or at least so he said. The Tories, once the party of the balanced budget (until they got into power), pointed out that this included \$890 million as a bookkeeping entry to meet last year's deficit in the unemployment insurance fund, and that Turner was in fact budgeting for a deficit of only about \$1 billion, roughly the same as last year's. And this, they said, simply wouldn't do.

Jim Gillies (Don Valley), one of the Tories' twin finance critics, declined to enter a bid of his own, but hinted darkly that the miserly Turner deficit "has little likelihood of moving the country forward in the way in which it ought to go."

The other Tory finance critic, Porky Lambert (Edmonton West), was less reticent. "A Conservative minister of finance," he told the House, "would have introduced a really expansionary budget and if you want figures it could be \$2½ billion or \$3 billion to really do a job."

Even Lambert's top bid amounted to only \$300 or so per Canadian voter, a small fraction of the price of a Newfoundland legislator. Meanwhile, the NDP got into the game too, saying the deficit was not high enough, but finance critic Max Saltzman added that "perhaps the deficit will not be the determining factor in the amount of employment that will be created in this country."

David Lewis, in his intervention in the budget debate, concurred with Saltzman, and so the NDP firmly established itself as the party that didn't believe in a fixed price-tag. It had, after all, long been known that New Democrats were not for sale.

## When you're No. 3 you try harder

But increasingly, the 31 New Democratic MPs were being referred to as "rent-a-caucus."

And that was another form of bidding that was going on.

"I've always had good friends among the NDP members," one cabinet minister was quoted as saying, "but

now there are times when I almost have to remind myself that we don't belong to the same party."

Since the above quote appeared in Peter Desbarats's column, it was evident that some Liberals were interested in creating an impression of intimacy between their party and the NDP.

How closely this impression corresponded with reality was another question.

Circumstances have clearly brought the Liberals and the NDP together. For the New Democrats this has involved a certain amount of political compromise; for the Liberals, who by definition are easy ideologically, it has been no problem.

While both groups have succeeded in accommodating themselves to the arrangement, only the Liberals have succeeded in liking it. New Democrats have not found their taste of power, junior-partner style, particularly satisfying. Perhaps more than ever, their chief ambition is to be the government themselves. They may be a bit hazy about exactly what they would do if they were in power, but they're sure it would be different.

Critics of the NDP were accusing it of being under the thumb of the government. Critics of the government were accusing it of being under the thumb of the NDP.

## Add lots of water and stir

On the evidence of the Turner budget, it looked as if the NDP's critics had a far stronger case.

Most of the budget came out of the general political fudge that is common to all three parties. Everyone is in favour of higher old-age pensions and lower taxes. As with the deficit, the only question is how much.

The tax cut amounted, in effect, to only two per cent. And the rise in the pension to \$100 was far short of the \$125 that had been rumoured in the days before the budget, and that the NDP had wanted.

There was only one measure in the budget that could be pinned directly on a specific party. That was the "indexing" of the income tax system so that it would change with the cost of living, which was part of the Tory platform and which both the Liberals and the NDP had previously opposed. The NDP still opposes it, although not strongly enough to prevent its passage.

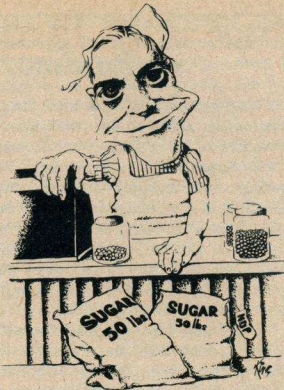
"We are more accustomed [than the Tories] to having our ideas stolen," Max Saltzman told the House. "Actually, in a sense, we wear clothes with large seams, to make sure that when they are stolen they are suitable for others."

But it was not only large seams that Saltzman and his colleagues had on. The clothes themselves were large enough so that the NDP, the Liberals and the Tories could wear them simultaneously. At that point, whom the clothes belong to becomes a question for Talmudists, not politicians.

The prize everyone is scrabbling for at the Ottawa auction is parliamentary power and the ability to determine how it is exercised and for whose benefit. After the budget debate it was a prize the Liberals had captured, at a remarkably low price.

R.I.C.





### TWO VISIONS OF TURNER A precarious position, but a useful one

cerned the career of John Napier Turner, who despite more than a year in the finance portfolio is still widely regarded as the most likely successor to Pierre Trudeau as leader of the Liberal Party.

In his two budgets to date, Turner has largely avoided the temptation to go out on a limb that had destroyed better men such as Walter Gordon and Edgar Benson before him. In its effectiveness in negotiating rough political seas without antagonizing anybody important, the new budget was doubtless a political success.

There remained the still questionable question of the corporate tax cuts and fast write-offs left over from the 1972 budget, which Turner did not include in the 1973 budget for fear of incurring the wrath of the NDP but pledged to introduce separately.

Even with the NDP committed to oppose the measures, however, by late March it appeared that they would get through when the Tories bowed to what Robert Stanfield himself had earlier described as heavy-handed corporate pressure and agreed to support them. Stanfield's curious insistence on a one-year time limit for the tax cuts ("No one knows what Stanfield's up to — including himself," the Toronto Star headlined a piece by columnist Anthony Westell) ensured that the squabbling would continue, but the last vestiges of substance had been removed from it.

The five weeks of uncertainty over the corporate tax cuts did however underscore the precariousness of Turner's position. There were continuing reports that Turner would resign if the tax cuts did not pass (some of the reports added

the twist that Turner, chafing under the constraints of cabinet solidarity, would not have been at all unhappy about this; his apparent refusal to meet Stanfield's terms lent credence to these reports); at the very least he would have lost a large part of his standing both with the corporate money-men, who wanted their tax cut, and within the Liberal Party.

Gordon and Benson had to go because they brought in measures the corporations wouldn't stand for; Turner would be equally vulnerable if he couldn't pilot through parliament measures the corporations wanted very much. His position was particularly reminiscent of that of Benson, who was used as a sacrificial lamb on both the Liberals' stumbling steps in the direction of tax reform and their disastrous anti-inflation campaign; with an election in sight in January 1972, the lamb's head was cut off and Turner parachuted in to replace him.

There is at least one prominent Liberal who would not be averse to using Turner in the same way: Pierre Trudeau. Turner, who knows he can get to the top only over Trudeau's dead body, has long been cultivating independent bases of support. One Ottawa report has him operating on a large personal slush fund, with which he ran his own election campaign last fall (during which he rode around his riding in the back of a Cadillac limousine, inviting voters to come down and shake his hand) and those of supporters whom he thereby placed in his debt. The election is over, but the fund remains — or at least so says the report.

That John Turner is actively running for the leadership of the Liberal Party is a statement unlikely to encounter seri-

ous disagreement in Ottawa, or anywhere else. His budget performance was a major step in that campaign. And it must be added, in the interests of truth if not of charity, that the performance was grade-B at best.

The next day, newspaper photographs of Turner at his budget-night press conference showed him grimacing, picking his nose, mouth agape, eyes vacant. It was not surprising to see the Tory-to-the-core *Ottawa Journal* run two such Turner poses side by side on its front page, but to see the Liberal-to-the-core *Montreal Star* running a series of four of them at the top of its front page gave pause for thought.

This means that John Turner does not show up well in photographs. It also means that many of the major newspapers, or at least their news editors, are no longer interested in promoting his political career; if so, this represents a significant change.

Those who watched budget night on television were treated to a no more polished spectacle. Turner at his press conference was halting, tedious, and sounded, as he often does when he is discussing economic matters, as if he didn't know what he was talking about.

CBC producer Angus McLellan switched away from the hour-long press conference after some fifteen minutes and filled the rest of the hour with spokesmen for the opposition parties and groups ranging from the Canadian Construction Association to the Waffle. He closed the program with 'Happy Days Are Here Again' — the heavily ironic, almost lamenting Barbra Streisand version.

Nevertheless, there is still a very substantial Turner camp in Ottawa, and pro-

### IT'S NEVER DULL IN RIO

RIO DE JANEIRO, Brazil — A total of 150 bodies were delivered to the Rio morgue during the annual four-day carnival that ended early yesterday.

Most of the dead had been shot, knifed, drowned or fallen from high places.

In Sao Paulo, Brazil, the morgue received 66 bodies, and the major cause of death was traffic accidents. Sao Paulo is the country's biggest city, but its carnival is much duller than Rio's.

—Associated Press, March 8, 1973



minent Liberals right up to Trade Minister A. J. A. Gillespie have been identified with it. The finance minister's careful dissociation, in nuance and emphasis rather than direct statement, from some of Trudeau's less popular positions has lent attractiveness to the Turner option. The contrast between his platitudinous defence of bilingualism during the throne speech debate in January and Trudeau's intemperate attack on the Tories for "dividing Canada" did not go unnoticed.

The prime minister has continued to say that he will face the issue squarely, both in parliament and in the next election. "I don't want us to go to the people under a cloak of ambiguity," he told Montreal journalist Solange Chaput-Rolland February 23, "Oh, everyone is for it, it's just the excesses of bilingualism that we opposed" — when in reality you know that in many cases it was not the excesses of bilingualism, it was bilingualism itself people were opposing. So we intend to make the issue crystal clear, and it might be a hard blow for some MPs."

The considerable portion of the Liberal Party that is opposed to making the issue crystal clear could easily coalesce around Turner.

But probably the largest factor in Turner's continued ascendance is the lack of an obvious alternative successor to Trudeau. There has been a long series of attempts at building up one or another of his cabinet colleagues to cut Turner off at the pass, but none of them has met with much success.

The latest to get the treatment was Winnipeg millionaire James Richardson. He is a successful businessman, he comes from an area of the country where the Liberals are weak, he has not had a chance to get into hot water in either

## A landmark document

We go to press a week after the publication of one of the most important documents authored by the current government, Communications Minister Pelletier's "Green Paper" on Communications Policy.

A "Green Paper" is lower than a White Paper, and constitutes only proposed policy, not even proposed legislation. But Pelletier's paper, if it ever sees the light of day in legislation, will be a landmark development in the politics of culture in Canada, and indeed anywhere in the western hemisphere.

Taking seriously the grave warnings of the Science Council about the fatal danger of losing control of our data systems to the United States, it goes a long distance towards strengthening east-west communications lines, as against north-south pull.

The Green Paper proposes the amalgamation of the Canadian Radio Television Commission and the notorious Canadian Transport Commission, so long a rubber stamp for Bell Telephone and the railways. It allows for financial support to groups opposing rate increases by companies like the Bell.

In a radio interview following the presentation of the paper, Pelletier warned that if this form of stiff regulation failed to assure Canadian control of communications systems, nationalization of data communications systems might be considered.

The Last Post will examine the paper further in the next issue.

of the two rather pedestrian portfolios (supply and services and now national defence) he has been given and he has even managed to acquire a reputation as a spokesman for western rights.

The concept of a man who has spent much of his life associated with such institutions as the Winnipeg Grain Exchange and the Canadian Pacific Railway emerging as a passionate defender of western rights requires a bit of readjustment. But, *faute de mieux* . . .

So John Turner, like the government of which he is a member, seems to have come through the budget episode at least as strong as before. He serves too useful a purpose to be ditched at this point. If Peter C. Newman hadn't invented him, he would have to exist anyway.

Robert Chodos

Argus, manufactured by Canadair Ltd. in Montreal, entered service in 1957. A large four-engine aircraft, with a crew of up to fifteen, its function has been to patrol the western sector of the North Atlantic. It specializes in anti-submarine warfare (ASW).

In recent years, the Argus has also been employed in surveillance in the Canadian Arctic, in keeping with the increased emphasis on national sovereignty in that area.

Several years ago, a debate began quietly taking place in government and aircraft industry circles about whether the Argus should be overhauled and refitted in the early seventies or whether a new aircraft should be bought to replace it.

Canada first became involved in anti-submarine warfare during the Second World War, and by the 1960s Canadian maritime forces were devoted almost exclusively to ASW. But anti-submarine warfare today is a much more problematic endeavour than it was in the era of the relatively slow-moving conventional submarine. Now the most important submarines of the world's fleets are nuclear-powered, and the probability of locating a hiding atomic submarine is not particularly great. Contemporary detection equipment is highly sophisticated, expensive and not entirely reliable.

There is also the question of the purpose served by Canada's involvement in ASW. Submarines, because of their capability of launching thermonuclear

## Defence:

# A matter of \$800 million

Sometime soon, Defence Minister James Richardson will receive bids from five aircraft manufacturers on the largest expenditure for military equipment that the Canadian government has ever made in peacetime. The decision that the defence department will have to make has already been the subject of some controversy. It will be the subject of much more. Its implications for the economy and for the role Canada is to play in

world affairs are both complex and far-reaching.

The total expenditure will be in the neighbourhood of \$800 million. Where this money will be spent, to whom, for which aircraft and to what purpose are the essence of the controversy.

The new equipment the money will buy will replace the Canadian Armed Forces' current fleet of 32 Argus maritime reconnaissance aircraft. The CP106



missiles, are a vital part of the "strategic balance" of world powers. By engaging in anti-submarine warfare activities, Canada is directly involved in the balance-of-terror equation of the major powers.

In its 1971 White Paper, "Defence in the 70s," the Trudeau government stated its intention of diversifying the role of the armed forces. In particular, it said that "although an anti-submarine warfare capability will be maintained as part of the general purpose maritime forces, the present degree of emphasis on anti-submarine warfare directed against submarine-launched ballistic missiles will be reduced in favour of other maritime roles."

This was a distinct indication that the Argus would be replaced. Meanwhile, several of the major aerospace firms were already informally bidding for the contract to manufacture the replacement. The British Hawker-Siddeley Group, following the example of U.S. arms salesmen, had set up a special office in Ottawa for the sole purpose of selling its Nimrod maritime reconnaissance aircraft. The U.S.-based Lockheed corporation, an old hand at selling aircraft to Canada, was pushing its Orion. McDonnell-Douglas and Boeing, both U.S.-based, were also competing for the lucrative contract.

Whatever the military arguments, they were only one of the elements that would go into making the decision. Military purchasing was high on the "shopping list" of contentious trade matters that the Nixon Administration leaked to the *Chicago Tribune* on October 11, 1971. The Treasury Department document, entitled "Grievances against Canada — Major Items," demanded that Canada purchase the Lockheed Orion without delay.

"We have evidence," the *Tribune* quoted the document, "that Canada tried to play off Lockheed and Hawker-Siddeley, and now is trying to play off Lockheed, Boeing and McDonnell-Douglas. The Canadians should be told to stop the game of seeing how much 'sourcing' they can get . . . If the Lockheed plane was bought it would close the gap under the defence production sharing plan by \$250 million or so."

The United States has repeatedly complained about Canada's favourable trade balance in military products. A 1963 agreement, which has never been made public, is supposed to have included a requirement for "rough equality" in return for giving Canadian manufac-

turers access to bidding on U.S. defence contracts. From 1959, when the first defence production sharing agreement was signed, to December 1969, the U.S. spent some \$2.4 billion on defence items in Canada, half a billion dollars more than Canada spent in the United States.

This occurred during a period when the Canadian military was operating under an austerity program, while U.S. military spending, spurred by the Vietnam war, reached record levels. A few days after the *Chicago Tribune* leak Paul Volcker, U.S. undersecretary of the treasury, said that "we think that some countries ought to pay a fair share of the burden of the military expenditures we have overseas, which are quite heavy."

In insisting on the Orion, the U.S. government was also trying to help bail out the Lockheed corporation, which at the time was in serious financial trouble.

In July of 1972, the Trudeau government formally decided to replace the Argus fleet with new long-range patrol aircraft capable of military surveillance of Canada's east and west coasts and the Arctic.

The four corporations already in the running were invited to submit proposals to meet the new requirements, along with the American-owned but Montreal-located Canadair Ltd. In the words of the *Financial Post*, "Canadair was included somewhat reluctantly because the initial decision had been taken to include only those companies with suitable aircraft in production. But Canadair requested an invitation to bid and it was granted."

On February 5, Defence Minister Richardson said in the House of Commons that the proposals from the manufacturers should be in his hands in the near future. The proposals must include not only specifications for the aircraft but also details as to how Canadian subcontractors would benefit from the production. It will be many months before

a final decision is made.

Richardson has made much of the fact that the manufacturers will be asked to decentralize their subcontracting. He has decided that \$200 million of the total amount of the contract should be spent in Canada, and of this at least a quarter should be spent in the west. "I have been very reasonable about these requirements," he said recently, "and I won't stand for 100 per cent of the \$200 million going into the industrialized region of Canada."

This ignores the fact that the \$200 million itself represents only 25 or 30 per cent of the total amount that will be spent on the contract. It also ignores the decline in employment in the aircraft industry in Montreal and Toronto in the past several years. And the possibility that Canadian industry could design and manufacture an aircraft to meet Canadian needs, as happened to some extent with the Argus in the 1950s, is virtually forgotten.

The aerospace corporations have played the Canadian content aspect of the Richardson policy for all it is worth. American-owned branch plants such as that of Litton systems are already involved in the production of equipment which could be used in the new aircraft. The \$200 million to be spent in Canada is unlikely to contribute to real innovation and research in this country. Nevertheless, one advertising slogan in the current campaign to get the contract is "There's a lot of Canada in this Boeing long-range patrol aircraft."

Ottawa will likely not buy the Lockheed Orion, as it was ordered to do in 1971. But the defence minister's disregard for where four to six hundred million dollars of public money is going is disturbing. The letter of the U.S. Treasury Department's demands may not be met, but their spirit almost certainly will be.

James Littleton

## Quebec:

# 'We're not the labour party'

The Parti Québécois emerged from its recent policy congress ready to go to the electorate with a comprehensive plan for a new state, covering the social, political and economic aspects of Quebec life.

And with a little help from the party executive, the 1,200 delegates rejected the "far out" resolutions from party leftists, resolutions that the PQ hierarchy

feared would scare off the voters come the 1974 Quebec election.

Wreathed in a grin, PQ leader René Lévesque described the new program as electorally "saleable." It was not only complete, but also a careful balance between the leftist aspirations of the original independence movement and middle-of-the-road electoralism.



At one point, the congress passed a resolution calling for complete workers' control of factories. A couple of hours later, Lévesque got up and pleaded with the delegates to reconsider. We just can't "sell" this one, he said.

Ready to co-operate, as they seemed to be almost every time party heavies spoke in favour of moderation, a majority of the people in the hockey arena in Laval, just north of Montreal, agreed to vote again and defeated the resolution.

But the executive used its interventions sparingly, always to discourage delegates from voting for resolutions deemed impossible to peddle on the campaign trail.

Aside from the workers' control resolution, proposals for nationalization of Bell Telephone, all financial institutions and some mines; for a unilingual Quebec; and for a clean separation from Canada were rejected.

Only one member openly showed his disappointment by ripping up his membership card and leaving after the second workers' control vote. The rest stayed and approved a program which is nevertheless the basis for one of the most progressive platforms in the country for any party likely to come near power in the next few years.

Some of its more notable planks include:

- state "encouragement" of sectoral negotiations and "severe sanctions" against companies caught intimidating workers trying to organize unions

- limited workers' participation in company administration.

- extension of the medicare program and straight salaries as opposed to fees for all personnel in the health sector

- repatriation to "Quebec interests" of a majority of shares in certain sectors of the economy

- remuneration for whichever spouse assumes the household responsibilities and six months paid maternity leave for

pregnant women.

The program also provides for an American-type presidential system in an independent Quebec, state support of English schools, and "souveraineté-association" — political independence but economic union with Canada.

But the new blueprint for independence has one major weak point, one point where it lapses into ambiguity and contradiction, and it is a point that casts doubt on how seriously the PQ can be taken as a left-wing party in the long term.

That weak point is labour.

"I realize this might be a stumbling-block," Lévesque told a reporter from the union-backed weekly *Québec-Presse* a week after the congress when asked about the party's relations with the trade-union movement in the light of the new program.

"But careful. We're not the Labour Party of Quebec."

Emile Boudreau of the United Steelworkers, who has been active both in the PQ and in the Quebec wing of the New Democratic Party, uses the resolution for gradual and partial workers' control — adopted after Lévesque's plea for withdrawal of the total workers' control resolution — to illustrate the program's weakness where unions are concerned.

The resolution reads: "The exercise of power by workers in factories (or places of work) will take place progressively as the workers decide and corresponding to the administrative competence of the workers in question."

Boudreau says that and other well-meaning labour resolutions in the program tend to be incoherent because the question hasn't been adequately studied by the party.

And he maintains it hasn't been adequately studied because there's no provision within party structures for union representation.

"My main beef regarding the party is that it never did anything about the permanent consultative committee on labour for which a resolution was passed at the 1971 congress," he says.

"The party is afraid," he adds, "of having labour represented as a component part of party structures."

But many workers will continue to give their electoral support to the party anyway, because, as Boudreau says, there's no alternative.

Statistics gleaned from the lengthy forms filled out by congress delegates show workers represented only 11.2 per cent, while 69 per cent of the participants had college or university education and a full 45 per cent earned at least \$9,000 a year.

The program, which Lévesque says "goes as far as Quebec is capable of following at this point" will now have to be boiled down into popular language and electoral slogans if the PQ is going to compete successfully against the facile demagoguery of the *Créditistes*.

With rigor mortis apparently setting in on the old Union Nationale party, the fight for the opposition in the next election will be between those two parties, and the PQ is even beginning to look like it might give Bourassa's ruling Liberals a good fright.

A coalition of opposition forces to unseat the Liberals, much rumoured in Quebec these days, is unlikely. The PQ program is too progressive to be acceptable to the rightist UN and *Créditiste* parties.

There remain the left-wing Quebec nationalists, some within the party and others in smaller groupings to the left. Those who are now members of the PQ have apparently decided to stick with it in the short term to pursue the common goal of independence.

They were not particularly vociferous at the conference, most of their resolutions were defeated and none of their representatives made it onto the 12-man executive.

Lévesque says most of the party accepts their presence within its ranks but he thinks the "far left" would be better off with its own party.

"It would be a good thing if there were a 'proletarian party' on the far left, instead of having the coming and going of these guys who don't feel at home in the PQ," he said.

"I don't think they'd go very far, ... but as it is now they use the party in a parasitical way."

Gail Scott

JUST A LITTLE BITE

# Cannibalism gets qualified approval

By The Canadian Press

—Vancouver Sun, March 3, 1973



France:

## Mr. Mitterrand loses his gamble

"Monday, they'll throw artichokes into the courtyards of the prefectures, Tuesday it will be potatoes, Wednesday, they'll block the highways, Thursday, they'll break the store windows, Friday, they'll jam the Avenue of the Opera and defile the ministry of finance and Saturday, God knows what they'll do.

"But Sunday, they'll vote for the government."

In literal terms, the French election did not proceed quite the way François Mitterrand, the wily and shrewd general secretary of the Socialist Party, predicted more than six weeks before the March 11 balloting. But as an appraisal of the mood of the French electorate, Mitterrand's bitter comment turned out to be stunningly accurate.

There had been many reasons for believing that for the first time since the formation of the Fifth Republic in 1958, the Gaullists and their allies would lose their stranglehold on power.

The most important was that in 1972 the long-standing dream of the French left was finally realized. After months of delicate bargaining, the Socialists and leftist radicals joined in a coalition with the single most powerful force on the left, the French Communist Party.

For the first time since the Popular Front had swept into power under Léon Blum in 1936, the French left went into an election as a united force.

United first of all on a common program, based on the bread-and-butter domestic issues the Gaullists had neglected, that the three partners, now calling themselves the Union of the Left, would implement if installed in power.

Instead of the wasteful and foolish Gaullist *politique de grandeur*, the left promised a guaranteed minimum income, controls on France's soaring inflation and other measures that would allow the French worker to partake in some of the riches of what the Hudson Institute has predicted will be the world's third most powerful economic unit by 1980.

### ON THE SEVENTH DAY, OF COURSE, IT RESTS . . .

Television creates multitudinous disparities of an intense cultural kind, witness Bangladesh, Belgium, and the Middle East.

— Harley Parker, *The Globe and Mail*, 6 January 1973.

Perhaps equally important, the three parties also reached an accord on electoral strategy. Under the French electoral system, a candidate must obtain a clear majority in order to win one of the country's 490 *circonscriptions* in the first round. If no candidate gets more than 50 per cent, then a second round of voting is held the next Sunday in which the candidate simply getting the most votes wins.

According to the agreement reached by the left, only the left candidate gaining the most votes in the first round would be presented to the voters in the second. The other leftist candidates would support him and, it was hoped, convince their followers to do likewise.

Each of the principals in the deal went into it with ambitions of his own, but knowing that there were certain risks.

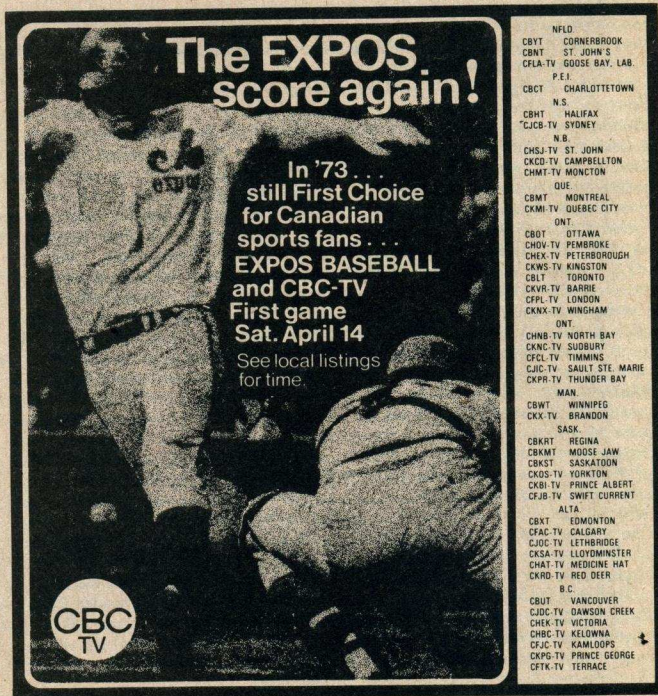
In getting into bed with the Communists, François Mitterrand risked scaring off the left-centre votes he needed. But balanced against that was the firm 20

per cent of the electorate that the Communists have commanded for years, and that under the pact would in large part be delivered to the Socialists.

The pact also served Mitterrand's personal ambitions. A tough political pro with a reputation for slipperiness, Mitterrand was trying to dispel the suspicion in which the left has held him since the days when he was a strong proponent of the Algerian war. As the possible chief architect of a 1973 leftist triumph, his chances of winning the presidency in 1976 wouldn't be hurt.

But anti-Communist paranoia is still strong in large sections of the French electorate. It could only be assuaged if the Socialists displaced the Communists as the largest party of the French left. To accomplish that was the key to Mitterrand's strategy.

And it was precisely what George Marchais, since 1969 the general secretary of the Communist Party, feared. Even if the left did win, Marchais had



# The EXPOS score again!

In '73...  
still First Choice  
for Canadian  
sports fans...  
EXPOS BASEBALL  
and CBC-TV  
First game  
Sat. April 14  
See local listings  
for time.

**CBC TV**

Nfld.  
CBVT CORNERBROOK  
CBNT ST. JOHN'S  
CFLA-TV GUSSE BAY, LAB.  
P.E.I.  
CBCT CHARLOTTETOWN  
N.S.  
CBHT HALIFAX  
CJCB-TV SYDNEY  
N.B.  
CHSJ-TV ST. JOHN  
CKCB-TV CAMPBELLTON  
CHMT-TV MONCTON  
QUE.  
CBMT MONTREAL  
CKMI-TV QUEBEC CITY  
ONT.  
CBOT OTTAWA  
CHOU-TV PEMBROKE  
CHEK-TV PETTERBOROUGH  
CKWS-TV KINGSTON  
CBLT TORONTO  
CKRV-TV BARRE  
CPPL-TV LONDON  
CKNX-TV WINGHAM  
ONT.  
CHNB-TV NORTH BAY  
CKNC-TV SUDBURY  
CFCL-TV TIMMINS  
CJUC-TV SALT STE. MARIE  
CKPR-TV THUNDER BAY  
MAN.  
CBWT WINNIPEG  
CKX-TV BRANDON  
SASK.  
CBKRT REGINA  
CBKMT MOOSE JAW  
CBKCT SASKATOON  
CKOS-TV YORKTON  
CKBI-TV PRINCE ALBERT  
CFJB-TV SWEET CURRENT  
ALTA.  
CBKT EDMONTON  
CFAC-TV CALGARY  
CJOC-TV LETHBRIDGE  
CKSA-TV LLOYDMINSTER  
CHAT-TV MEDICINE HAT  
CKRD-TV RED DEER  
B.C.  
CBUT VANCOUVER  
CJOC-TV DAWSON CREEK  
CHEK-TV VICTORIA  
CHBC-TV KELOWNA  
CFJC-TV KAMLOOPS  
CKPS-TV PRINCE GEORGE  
CFKA-TV TERRACE





**MARCHAIS (LEFT) AND MITTERRAND**  
For each, there were certain risks

no reason to trust the Socialists: it was, after all, a Socialist premier who in 1947 had purged the government of the day of its Communist ministers and placed the party into the political ghetto where it has remained.

Still, the pact with the Socialists represented a chance to escape that ghetto, and so Marchais felt the risks were worth taking.

Thanks in large part to an incredibly inept majority campaign led by Premier Pierre Messmer, the left started to open a lead in the polls.

In the first round of balloting March 4, the left coalition amassed 46 per cent of the vote, the Gaullists only 38 per cent.

But the smiles on the faces of the losing Gaullists told the story. In the first round the voter chooses, explained a Government spokesman confidently. In the second round, he eliminates.

On March 11, French voters did precisely that. The Gaullist coalition captured 275 seats for an absolute majority in the Assembly while the left, trailing the majority by less than a percentage point, captured only 176 seats: 89 Socialists, 73 Communists, 14 Radicals and three deputies of the extreme left.

Marchais and Mitterrand naturally seized on the most obvious reason to explain the defeat of the left — the gerrymandering of the French electoral map. It was no doubt an important factor. But the left's defeat had other causes as well.

One was the campaign of the government. For although it had virtually no program of its own, the majority still had one trump up its sleeve.

For a decade, General de Gaulle had campaigned successfully on the same theme: "After me, the flood" . . . . "It's either us or chaos." Now the Gaul-

lists used a variation on the theme: "It's us or the Communists."

And if the Communists won it would be Czechoslovakia 1968 all over again. Or if not that, then surely there would be a flight of capital, the franc would fall and there would be a rash of strikes and occupations.

There was a further element to the Gaullist scare campaign. In December Premier Messmer said that if the left won the election, President Georges Pompidou would refuse to install them in office, as he has the right to do, and instead might dissolve the newly-elected Assembly and call new elections. Pompidou himself later suggested the same thing.

Mitterrand hammered away effectively at the Messmer speech, pointing out that while the left was willing to respect the ballot box, the undemocratic right wasn't. He defended the responsibility and independence from Moscow of the French Communists. And in answer to Gaullist allegations that the Communists would be in control of a left government, he pointed to polls which showed the Socialists ahead of the Communists by as much as four percentage points on the eve of balloting.

Unfortunately for Mitterrand, George Marchais was reading the same polls and he was not pleased. He dropped his we're-all-in-this-together line and told the voters that voting for his party was the only way they could make sure the left program would really be implemented.

And to drive the point home further, Georges Séguy, a member of the Communist Party executive and head of France's largest trade union, warned that if the left didn't win his workers would take to the streets and destroy the government there.

It was a surprising speech, since Séguy and other union leaders had agreed to keep cool during the campaign. It also cut the ground from under Mitterrand, since it placed at least parts of the left in the position of being just as unwilling as Pompidou to abide by the election results.

Just to make sure the voters got the message, Pompidou dramatically entered the fray when the official campaign had ended and no one could use the airwaves to reply to him. In an emotional radio and television appeal, Pompidou said it was now clearly a choice between "the Communists and their allies and then all the rest."

The choice was simple, he said. On the one hand a society which suppresses individual rights, political liberties and property rights. On the other hand a free society in which everyone could remain master of his life and destiny.

On March 11 centrist voters, responding to an appeal from Reform leader Jean Lecanuet who was angling for an important post in the next cabinet, massively cast their ballots for the government. So did many Socialists. For while some 57 Socialist candidates owed their election to an almost 100 per cent delivery of Communist support, only 15 Communists received similar support from defeated Socialist candidates. Another 42 Communists lost close races after Socialist support failed to come through.

But for George Marchais it really didn't seem to matter much. While complaining about the gerrymandering of seats, Marchais said he was pleased by the performance of his party which largely on its own had made the most dramatic gains. His stance fortified the suspicion that in the crunch the Communists would rather maintain their supremacy of the left in opposition than play second fiddle in a Socialist government.

As for Georges Séguy, he seemed pleased that the period of cooling it was finally over and two days after the election announced that he and other union leaders were ready to "put the government up against the wall."

And François Mitterrand, who lost his gamble that the French people might just accept Communism watered with Socialism, professed to be worried about the country.

**Norman Andrews**

*(Norman Andrews is a Canadian journalist now living in Paris.)*





by Claude Balloune

LAST  
POST

### Sporting speculation

Insiders at *MacLaren Advertising*, the company that controls Hockey Night in Canada, say quietly that a fusion between the *National (sic) Hockey League* and the *World (sic) Hockey Association* is inevitable. "That's what the formation was all about," confided one executive. "They'll get together, dump the weak sisters in both leagues — and form one strong monopoly." The same executives are also banking on pay TV for Hockey . . . and with reason. The latest TV ratings show that Hockey Night has lost its once indomitable hold on number one spot. In English Canada, The Game has tumbled to seventh place on CBC. In Quebec, the drop is even more alarming — down to 16th place (only one of the top ten Quebec TV shows is an imported series; the rest are produced locally). The declining ratings mean a corresponding fall in ad revenues. Pay TV offers the prospect of previously unprecedented profits.

**The Lord Killanin of Spiddal**, the new head of the International Olympic Committee, recently was appointed a director of *Canadian Breweries Limited*. Considering the way ABC and the Montreal Olympic Committee negotiated their sweetheart TV deal, one suspects that O'Keefe may have the inside track on sponsoring part of the '76 Olympics. That TV deal, by the way, was negotiated by **Paul Desrochers**, Premier Bourassa's eminence grise, the man most often referred to in the patronage and favouritism scandals rocking the Quebec City government . . . On the other hand, since Canadian Breweries is owned by Rothman's of South Africa maybe the white supremacists will be back for '76.

Still on the Olympics, Montreal City Hall is pondering the possibility of building the Olympic village on the Expo 67 islands, with the hope of later turning the site into a Canadian athletic research centre and quasi-university. The civic government was (and still is) considering building on the East End Municipal Golf Course, but is worried that the resulting protests by citizens and golfers concerned about losing green space would erode badly needed public support for the Olympics.

### Media Watchers

**The External Affairs Dept.** in Ottawa, which doesn't only deal with events outside the country (its crisis management centre was the hub of operations during the War Measures crisis of 1970) has a staff of six people whose only function is to watch television. Two of them are assigned to each of the three Ottawa channels; they then prepare synopses and report anything of interest to the appropriate cabinet minister . . .

If the appropriate government dept. had appointed

people to read the *Toronto Globe and Mail* and the Quebec City *Le Soleil*, they would have noted a blatant example of discrimination and corporate colonialism recently. The *Iron Ore Company of Canada* took out an ad in *Le Soleil* announcing that "because of expansion of operations" in Sept Iles, Schefferville and other Quebec mining centres they required — and here they listed: electricians, welders, labourers and assorted tradesmen. In the *Globe and Mail*, that same day, for the exact same expansion operations, the company required: "electrical foremen, plant foremen, works foremen" etc. The former ad appeared in French, while the latter, naturally, appeared in English.

**Senator John Nichol**, the president of the *Liberal Federation of Canada*, is the most recent recruit to the board of directors of *Time Canada* (sic). When asked why he had accepted the appointment, Nichol said he wanted to make sure the Canadian point of view was represented on the board. I wonder whether Nichol (who also represents the Canadian point of view on the board of Crown Zellerbach Canada, a large American-owned pulp and paper firm) will argue for the view of the Senate Committee on the Mass Media that *Time Canada's* special privileges should be revoked. (*Time*, by the way, last February gave its Canadian editor **John Scott** a whole three days' notice before it transferred him out of the country to London, England.)

*Reader's Digest*, the only other foreign magazine aside from *Time* which is exempted from Canadian legislation regarding advertising cost write-offs, claims that its most valuable asset is a mailing list of more than two million Canadians that regularly buy its products.

The Canadian magazine and periodical field is so completely controlled by foreigners that federal government departments, universities and other large Canadian institutions don't order subscriptions to Canadian magazines from a Canadian agency. Orders used to go through the Canadian firm of Dawson Subscription Service. But Dawson "merged" with *EBSCO Industries Ltd.* of Birmingham, Alabama. Now the whole thing has been continentalized, and Birmingham in the Deep South gets the business.

The External Affairs Dept. recently renewed its subscription to *Last Post* via Birmingham. Interestingly enough, when a library in Moscow put in an order, it too had to bow to Birmingham.

### Ottawa Watchers

*Weekend*, that faltering flagship of CBC-TV Public Affairs (which is about as seaworthy as the Graf Spee) put on an almost indecent show when lovely **Charlotte Gobeil** interviewed **Prime Minister Trudeau**, ex-boy



friend of her sister Madeleine. From what I understand, *Weekend* requested an interview with the PM, to be done by **James Eayrs** or **John Gray** or both. The PM's office refused, saying they'd be interested if **Larry Zolf** or **Charlotte** did the interview. Zolf declined the honour, proffered at the last minute. Charlotte didn't, and the result was a gushy, insipid rendition of giggly-blond meets the charming intellectual. Soft-core journalism.

Lachine MP **Rod Blaker**, a glib former Montreal lawyer and radio editorialist, involved in some financial shenanigans connected with a nurses' union, of which his wife was president, is a very indiscreet fellow who has probably blown his chances of moving up in the Liberal hierarchy. He told *Montreal Star* reporters that on informing Trudeau he was in trouble, the PM said that "every new MP who comes to Ottawa has a story about sex or money and he tells them to fight." Blaker also stated that Solicitor General **Warren Allmand** also had offered him the use of the RCMP to investigate union dissidents who had leaked information on how he had made commissions on union business while his wife was president. But his greatest indiscretion, I have learned, was to throw out a stack of documents about a foot thick in Montreal's Lakeshore dump during the election campaign last year. A guy who putters around dumps looking for antiques and stuff picked it up. It's full of interesting documents about little companies in Lichtenstein etc. Mr. Blaker is not only indiscreet but, the documents show, well-connected. An unfortunate combination. A fellow I know who hangs around bars, once sat at a table in a Montreal bar near Mr. Blaker. He was talking to a travel agent about charter flights. "I have 6,000 clients in my pocket," he said. There happen to have been 6,000 members of his wife's union. He helped them out, he told the *Star*, because "these girls" couldn't cope with running a quarter-of-a-million dollar operation because they "don't know their assets from their liabilities." He did, though. Oh, those interesting documents from the dump were sent by the finder to the NDP research office, where they've been sitting since last fall.

Montreal Mayor **Jean Drapeau** lost the use of his free limousine when the press revealed that Ford and Chrysler alternated giving him a free car every year, apparently the only Canadian mayor to get this particular service. What the press hasn't pointed out according to one of my usual usually reliable sources (URS) is that Air Canada has given him a free travel credit of up to \$25,000.

The head of the Russian language section for the CBC's short wave international service, appointed about a year ago, is **Caroll Chipman**; his previous job was with the U.S. State Department . . . . When informed that Canada



**Paul Desrochers**



**Rod Blaker**

was to make the arrangements to bring home **Marc Cayer**, the Quebec agronomist captured in Vietnam while working for Washington-based International Volunteer Service, a very well-informed official at External Affairs exclaimed: "What! We have to bring home the American spies ourselves?" IVS officials in Washington deny their organization is a CIA front, although they say they can't be sure whether or not they are funded via CIA conduits . . . .

RCMP agents in Montreal are continuing their usual harassment of anyone who strikes them as suspicious. However, sometimes they are bumbling incompetents when it comes to harassment. A Latin American journalist friend of mine is being constantly bothered by the RCMP because they've seen him enter the Cuban consulate to collect newspapers and periodicals. However, the agent who is assigned to him appears to speak only English, while my friend speaks only French and Spanish. As a result, the questioning is rather arduous and unnecessarily long.

A high official at Ottawa's *Export Development Corporation* was perturbed after this magazine, in its last issue, explored that crown corporation's \$26.5 million Brascan loan. He ordered **Mr. Strang**, the public relations chief, to investigate. Mr. Strang, a grad of the Carleton School of Journalism decided to try the old-school-tie-bit first, and phoned up Carleton asking if anyone knew anything about *Last Post*. As it happened, the person to whom the Journalism department secretary referred him is a member of the *Last Post's* editorial board. The PR chief didn't deny the accuracy of the story; but he kept asking questions about the magazine's politics, and seemed concerned that parliament might start taking a look at the EDC.

### You read it here first

Everyone in the Ontario NDP is wondering when, not if, **Stephen Lewis** will resign as leader. Lewis' long-time promise that he could make the NDP the official opposition in the Ontario Legislature lies in shreds after a resurgent Liberal Party won both recent Ontario by-elections. To make matters worse, the NDP vote dropped dramatically. When the Legislature opened recently, Lewis wasn't there; he was on holidays, thinking the whole thing over. In the succession battle, support is lining up behind former leadership candidate **Walter Pitman** and Waffle-baiter **Ian Deans**.



# LAST TANGO IN QUEBEC

YVON  
DUPUIS

ADRIEL  
ALOUETTE



An account of the incredible return of Yvon Dupuis (including the time he waited for the nomination in a backstage toilet); the further misadventures of Robert Bourassa; a little patronage; some Mafia; generally chronicling a long, but most peculiar Winter as reported by our Quebec Editor:

Nick Auf der Maur

Seekers of the symbolic already are calling the weekend of February 3-4 a turning point in the history of Quebec.

On the Friday evening, Confederation of National Trade Unions president Marcel Pepin and Quebec Teachers' Corporation head Yvon Charbonneau were led to the gates of Orsainville prison — to be followed two days later by Quebec Federation of Labour president Louis Laberge. Quebec's three union leaders, men who had overseen their movement's transformation into a political force dedicated to socialism, entered jail to complete their one-year sentence for having stood up to what they called "the puppet government of liberal capitalism."

Then, before the weekend was out, a new force emerged in Quebec politics in the form of Yvon Dupuis, a demagogue of the reactionary right who seized control of the Cr ditiste Party, and who would ride the crest of a right-wing backlash to authoritarian glory.

The symbolists claim that weekend represents the crumbling of the left, and the rise of a vast, popular movement that could bring the falangist, lumpen-right to power. The fact that the three union leaders were jailed to what an opposition paper called "an avalanche of silence" while Dupuis was being acclaimed the man of the hour seemed to reinforce their argument.

But, like much of what is symbolic in our lives, this was a facile, misleading portrait of reality.

That weekend saw the acme of two on-going and complementary phenomena in Quebec: One the continued repression of the progressive movement, considered dangerous because of its potential strength; the other, another act of the opera-bouffe, the continuing farce that seems to preclude liberal and right-wing politics in Quebec.

This is an account of that opera-bouffe.



# The spectacular career of Yvon Dupuis

Yvon Dupuis was first elected a Liberal in 1952, winning his seat at the age of 24 (youngest Quebec MPP ever) against the big, *bleu* Duplessis machine. When he tries to shed the fascist image harped on by his opponents, he is apt to tell an interviewer: "I am one of the few who can say 'I fought Duplessis openly, face-to-face. I drew my lance against him across the National Assembly floor. I was 20 feet from him and I fought him.'"

But few remember him as other than a young, old-style partisan politician from a "rouge" (Liberal) family. In the same interview, he'll express respect and admiration for "strong" politicians. "I liked Duplessis' dedication to his work, his devotion to his province."

Dupuis went on to federal politics. He developed into an extremely forceful, leather-lunged orator. In 1962 the Créditistes, led by Réal Caouette, made a spectacular showing in the federal elections, coming from almost nowhere to win 26 seats. In the 1963 elections, the Liberals assigned Yvon Dupuis to be chief of the anti-Créditiste campaign.

He toured the province, heaping ridicule and scorn on Caouette, Robert Thompson and Social Credit monetary theory. Each speech reached its climax when he threw piles of "funny money" into the air, as he dismissed the Créditistes as demagogic crackpots. He was effective and the Créditistes lost seats. He earned a Cabinet post as minister without portfolio.

However, he was close to personal bankruptcy in his business, according to a confidential letter sent to Quebec Premier Jean Lesage by Liberal bagman Réal Rousseau on Oct. 29, 1963.

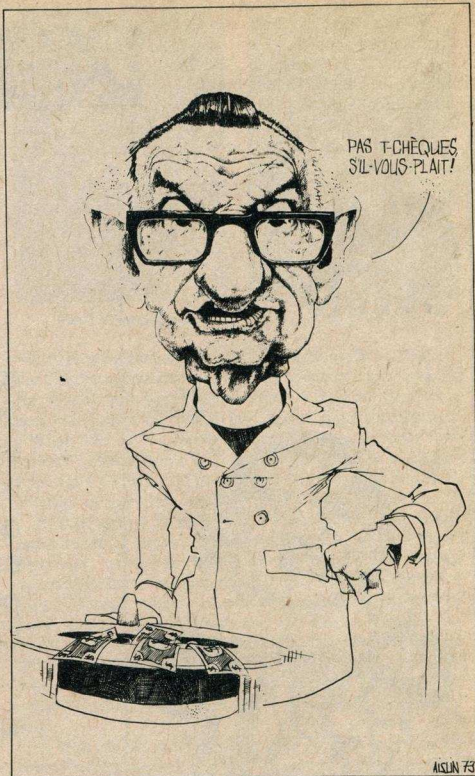
"My dear Jean," the letter stated, "Yvon Dupuis and his imminent bankruptcy. Fifteen days ago, Gérin-Lajoie told me: 'Réal, I'm giving you carte blanche, see the Premier, have him give me instructions and I'll take care of the whole affair . . .'" The letter went on to state Dupuis' services to the Liberal party.

"His creditors are now at Dupuis' throat," Rousseau continued, "without support a scandal will break and [Opposition leader Daniel] Johnson, wanting to avenge the Salvus Inquiry [into corruption and patronage under the previous Union Nationale regime] will spark the fire which will light Caouette. Note well, that I have no personal interest in this affair. Inkel sent Dupuis to me, and I don't know him at all. Once again I'm the Boy Scout."

It is not known, what, if anything, the Liberals did to help him.

However, two years later, Dupuis was forced to resign from the cabinet when he was accused of accepting a \$10,000 bribe from a constituent seeking a race track concession. He was tried for influence peddling.

At his trial, he said he only accepted the \$10,000 as a bond for the government from chiropractor and race track



promoter Roch Deslauriers. He said he turned the money over to a man claiming to represent the Quebec Revenue Minister. He did not get a receipt.

A day later, somebody deposited several thousand dollars in his bank account to cover some cheques. During the trial, an associate of Dupuis claimed the deposit money was a loan from Solly Silver, a Montreal nightclub operator, often mentioned as a man who knows his way around the world of gambling and the like.

Dupuis was convicted of influence peddling and fined \$5,000 and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. He won a new trial, claiming the whole thing was a frameup, and was later acquitted of all charges. His friends claim that Eric Kierans, and other Liberals known as reformers, were behind the frameup.

He lost his Commons seat in 1965, and eventually became a radio hotliner. Daily, he attacked the Communist menace, the spread of sex, and teachers who brainwashed children.

He founded a paper called *Défi* (Challenge) claiming to be "the only paper written for the people, by the people" and composed entirely of letters to the editor, including the first issue.

The paper regularly exposes revolutionary and separatist journalists (anybody to the left of Genghis Khan as they say) and "the socialism that is not at our gates, but in our



very midst" — and here he names half the Bourassa cabinet. His favourite target is education, so that he can appeal to anyone worried about the question "Whatever is happening to our youth?" For example, the Christmas issue of *Défi* carried the heading: "Deluxe brothel and unlimited beer at Sherbrooke college." Inside was a story, or rather a letter, explaining that authorities at the community college had decided to go ahead and build a co-educational student residence.

In 1970, when the Cr ditistes opted to enter Quebec provincial politics, R al Caouette decided that Yvon Dupuis would be the ideal leader. The only problem was that Dupuis was not known as an advocate of Social Credit, a quality most Cr ditistes thought essential.

Dupuis did not want publicly to re-enter politics unless he was assured the party would accept him as leader. So R al Caouette brought him to the convention centre and hid him in the toilet. The plan was for Caouette to announce to the convention that he had found the perfect leader, mention the name Yvon Dupuis, and then for the latter to leave the toilet and go to the stage when he heard the thunderous applause.

However, as it turned out, the old-time Cr ditistes remembered him from the days of ridicule and responded only with boos and hisses. Caouette hurriedly left the platform for the toilet and, convinced of Dupuis' oratorical talents, tried to persuade him to make a pitch for the leadership. A silly tug of war ensued, and Dupuis stomped off, to deny he was ever in any toilet, except for personal reasons, and to say he was not interested in the Cr ditistes.

The convention, which the hierarchy hadn't even prepared to run an election, finally chose Camil Samson, a faithful, long-time evangelist of Major Douglas' Social Credit doctrine.

Under Samson, the party went into its first provincial election and won 11 per cent of the vote and 12 seats (compared to 45 per cent and 72 seats for the Liberals, 24 per cent and seven seats for the Parti Qu b cois, and 20 per cent and 17 seats for the Union Nationale).

Dupuis continued in the radio hot line business, attacking the pill, teachers and socialism while promoting "youth training centres" at army camps, identity cards and human decency. According to the rating companies, he attracted 92,000 listeners daily, fewer than the city's previous big hot line host, Pierre Pascau, and fewer also than the man who eventually succeeded him at the station.

In the fall of 1972, according to informants, Dupuis pleaded with Quebec federal Liberal boss Jean Marchand for a nomination in the elections. He was turned down.

In the middle of all this, the Quebec Cr ditistes were having family squabbles. Camil Samson, in an effort to consolidate his leadership within the party's parliamentary caucus, and in a move that defies strategic analysis, resigned as leader. He then attempted to call a leadership convention and run for the leadership he had just abandoned. The party refused, and Armand Bois was named leader, later to be named interim leader. Samson attempted to form another Social Credit Party. R al Caouette intervened in the squabble and got them to call a leadership convention.

In mid-December, fellow CKAC radio commentator Mme Solange Chaput-Rolland approached Yvon Dupuis and said: "Listen, there's a rumour going around that you're going to be a candidate for the leadership of the Cr ditistes."

"Are you crazy," answered Dupuis, "me with those

fools?"

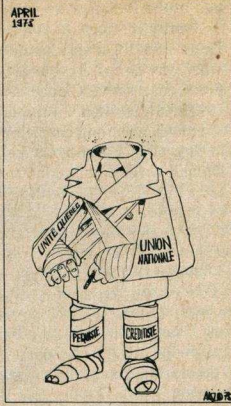
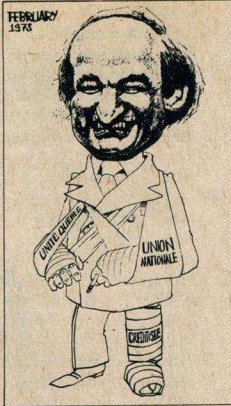
On December 21, two days later, he entered the race. In an interview he said:

"On December 21, I felt nauseous as I announced my return to politics. I didn't want to come back but for years people have been pressuring me, saying 'Yvon come back, we want you.' I did everything to convince the Cr ditistes



Bourassa: scandals are piling up





Loubier got the scatter-brained idea to change the party's name to Unité-Québec

that there were other men capable of leading the party. I even gave them a list of names. But they would always come back saying 'all we hear are people saying we want Yvon Dupuis.' " He added, modestly, "I am Yvon Dupuis."

The organizers of the convention, under the wise counsel of Réal Caouette, decided it would be an open convention—that is, anybody with a two-dollar party membership card could vote. Poor old Camil Samson and Armand Bois thought it would favour them, since all the true Crédiatistes were located in rural Quebec and didn't really like this urban usurper, this Dupuis who used to ridicule them. For the most part, the party consisted of gnarled old farmers, colons who had years ago been convinced to go try farming in inhospitable, rock strewn land. They lived a materially marginal life, and they were poor. Social Credit appealed to them because it attacked 'la haute finance,' interest rates and a financial system that offered them nothing. For over 30 years they toiled to build their own political movement, free from control of the financiers of the cities.

Their attempts paid off: then, enter Yvon Dupuis.

He gave up a \$50,000-a-year radio contract to make a crack at the Crédiatiste leadership. He appeared to have ample funding for his assault. The others, except for Bois who drew support from a well-off Quebec City true believer, were left to the fortunes of the usual Crédiatiste hat-passing.

Dupuis engaged in a furious campaign to sign up supporters, most of whom knew nothing of Social Credit theory, before the deadline. By the time the convention rolled around, he had enough to fill 18 busloads from Montreal alone, and the seven or eight motels he rented in Quebec City. The others relied on the old faithful party members.

But the newcomers were not enough. Loyal Crédiatistes trekked to the Quebec City Coliseum from across the province to save the purity of their party. It was a very bitter convention.

But on that weekend, it appeared that anyone, signed up before the deadline or not, could vote. Newsmen found piles of delegate cards lying on the floor of a Dupuis booth. Gérard Godin of *Québec-Press* picked up a bunch and voted twice to see if it was as easy as it appeared.

Dupuis won on the second ballot and promptly proclaimed the convention the greatest exercise in democracy in the history of Quebec.

Numerous Crédiatistes, some with tears in their eyes, tore up their membership cards and vowed never to have anything more to do with the party. Some had travelled all night, through miserable weather from distant corners of the province, to save the Social Credit doctrine. They had devoted all their political energies to the movement, and a man with a lot of money and buses took it away from them.

## The incredible manoeuvres of Yvon Dupuis, Loubier, et al

For weeks before the convention, there had been rumours and reports that Yvon Dupuis and Gabriel Loubier were plotting an electoral alliance or merger of the Crédiatistes and the Union Nationale. Ever since the election, all polls and surveys have confirmed what everybody knew — the Union Nationale under Loubier was dead, rating only a few percentage points of popularity.

Loubier got the scatter-brained idea that if the party's name were changed, to something like Unité-Québec, he would rally all anti-Liberal forces to his new party. He changed the name, and adopted a new party emblem, intertwined red and white doughnut-type symbols. He commissioned more polls. The result? The traditional old nationalists, backbone of the party, drifted off. He changed the name back to the Union Nationale.

Despite his problems, Loubier still had and has one strong bargaining point. During their years in power, the UN accumulated quite an amount of wealth for the party coffers. With the party's demise in popularity, traditional sources of income, such as company donations, dropped off. Loubier decided, after the 1970 elections, to sell some of the party's assets, notably the morning newspaper *Montréal-Matin* and



two of the Renaissance Clubs, for an estimated \$6,000,000.

Shortly before the weekend convention, Loubier and Dupuis got together to plan strategy. It is not known exactly what was discussed, but it is known, from reliable sources, that Conservative Claude Wagner and Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau also attended the meeting.

However, strong suspicions from Social Credit purists and a threatened disastrous split in Cr ditiste ranks forced Dupuis to deny all contact with other parties and pledge unqualified devotion to the party's monetary reform doctrine.

(Dupuis is so unfamiliar with Social Credit that a few days after the convention his secretary and his wife desperately attempted to help him in a crash course. His secretary pleaded with McGill University professor Michael Stein, one of the few persons to have made a study of Quebec Cr ditiste history and theory, for a copy of his soon to be published book.)

Armand Bois was so embittered by his defeat that he charged that Mafia elements had infiltrated the Dupuis camp and helped him win the leadership convention.

During a television interview Dupuis was asked about accusations that the convention was rigged, and specifically about journalist G rald Godin's claim, supported by photographic proof, that he had voted twice. Dupuis replied that Godin's paper, *Qu bec-Presse*, was part of the FLQ, and was not to be trusted for anything. The paper promptly filed a \$50,000 damage suit against the new leader. Dupuis then announced he was going to sue Armand Bois for \$500,000. Later he said he was going to drop the suit because "it would be as difficult to prove damages [incurred as a result of the Mafia charges] as it would be to prove the original accusations." When that hit the press and he realized how silly it sounded, he announced he was misquoted and would go ahead with the suit.

(Accusing the winner of being linked with the Mafia is becoming a standard practice at political conventions. A few days after Jean-Jacques Bertrand won the Union Nationale leadership race to replace the late Premier Daniel Johnson, Jean-Noel Tremblay, the former cabinet minister who backed nationalist candidate Jean-Guy Cardinal, claimed the underworld was behind Bertrand's victory. I found this peculiar, because a few days before the convention I met Willie Obront, a man who boasts of being friends with Cosa Nostra gambling czar Myer Lansky, Mr. Obront told me he was backing Jean-Guy Cardinal, and had in fact paid for some of his election literature. Willie also boasts Gerda Munsinger, the sometime companion of former Tory Associate Defence Minister Pierre S vigny, as an old friend — coincidentally, his firm, Obie's Meat Market, held a large meat supply contract for the Canadian Army while S vigny was in the cabinet.

(At the Liberal government's inquiry into organized crime, Mr. Obront testified he had given \$5,000 to Robert Bourassa's campaign fund.)

At any rate, the right-wing opposition in Quebec convinced that Premier Bourassa's Liberal Government is in serious trouble and can easily be defeated in the next election, if only they can get organized.

Gabriel Loubier, sensing something, issued a call for opposition unity in the next election. Dupuis was forced to say publicly that unity was only possible if Loubier would accept Social Credit principles. Next, Loubier attempted to open negotiations with the Parti Qu b cois. Ren  L vesque said unity was possible — if the rest of the opposition accepted the PQ platform.

The Liberals are in trouble, in part, because of the patronage scandals being hurled at them. The Montreal *Gazette* came out with a story that, right after the Liberal election victory, Roads Minister Bernard Pinard's executive assistant sent out a questionnaire to all Liberal MNAs, asking for a list of "friends of the party" and trusted companies and contractors deserving of favours. The story was accompanied by an impressive list of companies enjoying favourable contracts. The premier denied the charges and asked for proof.

The opposition responded with a barrage of accusations, while the papers dug up one instance after another of patronage.

One example: a hospital contractor, J. H. Dupuis Ltd., represented by former Premier Jean Lesage, was awarded \$741,000 for a cancelled contract. The company had completed excavation work worth no more than \$15,000 when the contract was cancelled. Later, the Liberal government ordered an Asbestos hospital to hire the same firm for costly renovation work, without calling for public tender. The original cost estimate was \$250,000 but an order-in-council increased it to \$475,000.

It was revealed that the government was awarding millions in contracts without calling for public tenders. This ranged all the way down to a Liberal undertaker in Hull who held an exclusive Provincial Police contract to pick up the bodies of highway accident victims.

The patronage scandal also implicates Bourassa's in-laws, the Simard clan of Sorel, whose wealth originally stems from shipbuilding and a firm which was nationalized by a previous Liberal government. Bourassa's wife and his Tourism Minister are Simards. Other Simards have benefited from advantageous contracts with various government agencies and departments.

There were even mutterings about the Justice Department and the fact that it cost the taxpayers \$305,727 up to November 1972 just to guard Justice Minister Choquette's Outremont home. The Canadiana Security Agency, formed in the midst of the October crisis by chief Liberal Party organizer Alcide Courcy and another organizer, Israel Lefran ois, is paid \$4.65 an hour per man to guard the minister's home, as opposed to the \$2.50 an hour it is paid to guard the courthouse.

The Liberals stoutly denied all accusations of favouritism, saying that the only time contracts were awarded without public tenders was when the amounts were small and it was necessary in the interests of efficiency.

(Two years ago, Transport Minister Georges Tremblay defended favouritism and said: "There are certain traditions in Quebec that may have to be changed, but I have no intention of changing that one.")

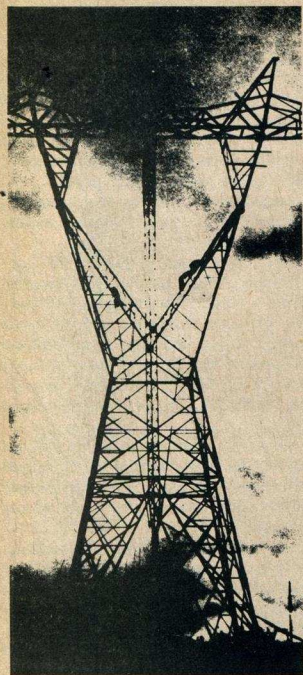
Meanwhile, Premier Bourassa's only news conference in four months was held for the purpose of announcing a \$40 million expansion of Imperial Oil refineries in East End Montreal. However, the impact of this breaking of the Premier's routine was somewhat lessened when the Imperial Oil spokesman inadvertently admitted that the modernization and expansion program would result in the net loss of 50 jobs.

No wonder his unfulfilled 1970 election promise to provide 100,000 jobs in a year has people today driving around with sticker licence plates numbered 100,000 and bearing the Quebec legend "La Belle Promesse".

---

*Nick Auf der Maur and Terry Mosher (Aislin) are members of the Last Post editorial board.*





# The international wolf pack moves in on the North

by Ralph Surette, Bob Davis and Mark Zannis

**T**he mystical link that is supposed to exist between hydroelectric dams and political charisma is a pervasive characteristic of America's Canadian colony, and a useful one. It allows politicians to bring tears to the eyes of the bourgeoisie by relating the exploits of homegrown — well, home-incorporated, anyway — enterprises, some of them with charming names like Bechtel Quebec Ltée or Churchill Falls (Labrador) Corporation. By raising economics to the level of mysticism, it keeps people from asking questions and allows the financiers to play their game in comfort. And for the poor, the Indians, the Eskimos . . . well, you can't please everybody.

Nowhere is this mysticism stronger than in Quebec, where expertise in hydroelectricity has been one of the few real achievements of the rising nationalist technocracy. It is no small deal in Quebec that allows thousands of workers to earn a living in their native language.

And thus nowhere is the disillusion stronger as the greatest project of them all — James Bay — passes into the hands

of the Americans.

Whereas English-Canadian resistance to the James Bay project has focussed on ecology and the plight of the Cree and Inuit who inhabit the region, Quebec resistance has centred on the threat to the power of Hydro-Quebec which, since the nationalization of electricity in 1962, was seen not only as the prime nationalist symbol (its position in Quebec is sometimes compared to that of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the Canada of the 1880s) but as the first step in an economy controlled by Quebecers.

When the James Bay Development Corporation (JBDC) was formed, a furor erupted, spearheaded by the Parti Québécois. Premier Bourassa's government stood accused of trying to bypass Hydro-Quebec and sell out to the Americans.

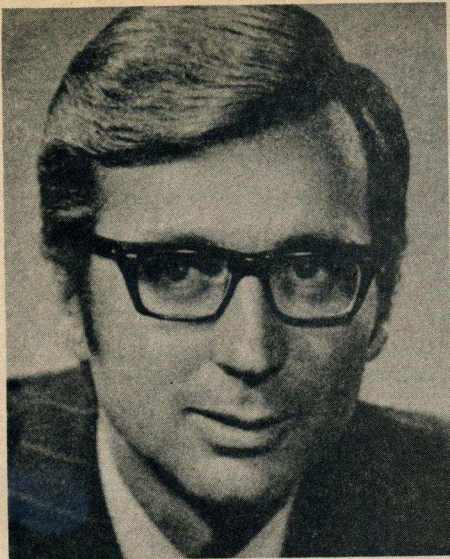
Finally, Hydro-Quebec "won." Pierre Nadeau, the first president of the JBDC, resigned. Robert Boyd, a Hydro-Quebec commissioner, took over as president and the public utility was given majority representation on the JBDC.

And what was the first act of Mr. Boyd and his Hydro-Quebec boys after "winning"?

Why nothing less than to hand over management of the James Bay project to the Bechtel Corporation of San Francisco — the largest engineering firm in the world — which incorporated a wholly-owned branch in Quebec on the spur of the moment for public relations reasons. So much for great nationalist institutions.

In the folkloric atmosphere of Quebec City, it appears that the PQ and others had assumed that Hydro-Quebec's





Premier Bourassa announced the James Bay project as a 'the world begins today' scheme; then the trouble started.

nationalism extended into its boardroom, whereas in fact it did not rise above the engineers and technocrats.

So the nationalist brownie points that Bourassa had accumulated by installing Hydro-Quebec in the project were promptly lost again. The PQ is now arguing that if Quebec really does need the electricity that James Bay will provide, it could be produced at a fifth the price by nuclear generators, and that Quebec's scarce financial resources should be channelled into other areas.

But it is not surprising that mere Quebec nationalism — or nationalism of any kind — would come apart in a situation such as this.

For lined up behind the James Bay project — which includes not only electricity but also vast possibilities for tapping the mineral deposits of the Quebec north and the hard-earned cash of the Quebec taxpayer — is an awesome array of economic power which includes the largest financial houses in the world, such as the Morgan Group, the Humphrey-Hanna Group, the Rockefellers, the Rothschilds and the near-infinite web of their corporate connections.

Who are these people? How does this international cartel work? How does it keep its political puppets like Robert Bourassa on a string? Why and how are giant boondoggles like James Bay profitable to it?

Since James Bay is Act Two of a play that started with Churchill Falls, it is necessary to check back a few years. What happened at Churchill Falls is what is in store for James Bay on a more monstrous scale. To place things in perspective, Churchill Falls cost \$1 billion. James Bay will

As soon as they won, Robert Boyd and his Hydro-Quebec boys handed management of the project over to Bechtel Corporation.



cost \$10 billion.

Hydro-Quebec began preliminary studies of the James Bay area in 1961, about the time that plans to nationalize electricity were begun in earnest. By 1964 a feasibility study was submitted which indicated power from James Bay could not be delivered to Montreal for less than 5.3 to 5.6 mills per kilowatt-hour, and the plan would not be feasible before the end of the 1970s at the earliest. The project was shelved.

Meanwhile, the Liberal government of Premier Jean Lesage began dickering with the British Newfoundland Corporation (Brinco) for delivery of power from the proposed Churchill Falls complex at a price between two and three mills.

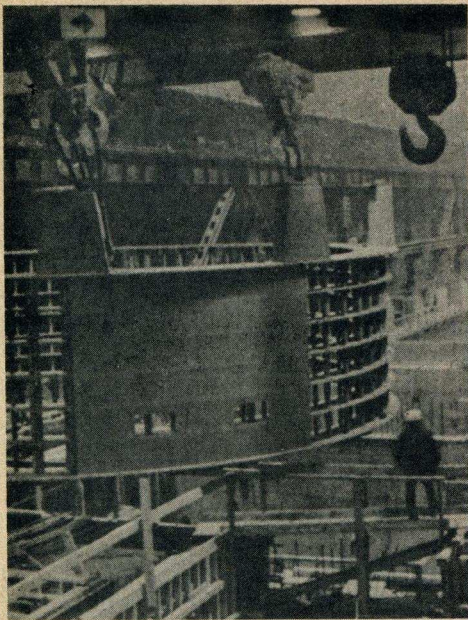
But two political problems stood in the way.

First, the aura of nationalism was heavy in the air. The Lesage government had campaigned and won in 1962 on the issue of nationalizing hydro power. How could they justify paying out massive profits to Brinco? René Lévesque, then Liberal minister of natural resources and the man primarily responsible for the state takeover of electricity, pointedly demanded the nationalization of Brinco on the grounds that a crown corporation need not pay federal taxes, and thus large amounts of money would be saved.

But fear not. Such a drastic step was not needed. Through the good offices of Robert H. Winters, then federal minister of trade and commerce and one-time Brinco chairman, a "compromise" was hammered out and announced at a federal provincial conference in July 1965: Brinco would not have to pay federal taxes.

The other problem was a boundary dispute. Churchill Falls





The first generators are installed at the Churchill Falls project.

is situated in what maps — except Quebec government maps — show as Labrador, just slightly over from the Quebec border. Quebec has never recognized the validity of the 1927 British Privy Council decision that awarded Labrador to Newfoundland, and still considers itself the rightful owner of the northeast chunk of the continent. In the mid-1960s, agitation on this point in Quebec was rising.

But corporations that have no use for national boundaries are not apt to be bothered by provincial ones. Premier Daniel Johnson, whose Union Nationale upset the Liberals in 1966, signed the Churchill Falls agreement complaining of "a knife at my throat." Churchill Falls remained a geographical part of Newfoundland.

Newfoundland's Joey Smallwood had faced the same knife earlier — although as with all good colonial masochists there is nothing to indicate he didn't like it. When the formation of Brinco was ratified by the Newfoundland House of Assembly in 1963, the company was ceded mineral rights to 40 per cent of Labrador and 10,000 square miles of the island of Newfoundland (nearly all of its uncommitted crown land) as the price of "development."

Who is behind Brinco?

Rio-Tinto Zinc, a member of the House of Rothschild, has total control. The Rothschild empire includes an impressive lineup of institutions that have been terrorizing the world with their capital for more than a century, including the British South Africa Company which made its fortune in gold and slave labour; Hambros Bank and Morgan Grenfell, the most prestigious London banks; the London Alliance and Prudential insurance companies; and an assortment of world-wide mining companies, mostly related to Rio-Tinto Zinc.

Brinco in turn has 44.7 per cent of the shares of the Churchill Falls (Labrador) Corporation (it had 49 per cent, but sold 4.3 per cent to Japanese interests recently) and thus effective control. Hydro-Quebec has 34.2 per cent and Newfoundland 16 per cent. Churchill Falls Corp. is involved only in power development. The mineral wealth and financial manipulation are Brinco's bag exclusively.

Brinco's links must be traced back to the parent Rothschilds and in turn to the U.S. financial consortiums, especially the House of Morgan, the single most powerful group of Wall Street financiers, and their Cleveland-based sidekicks, the Humphrey-Hanna group of investors. This connection, which brings us around to James Bay, will be explored later.

Faced with this kind of pressure, it is little wonder that Hydro-Quebec caved in while negotiating the Churchill Falls contract. The final agreement included the following provisions:

- Hydro-Quebec must take all but 10 per cent of the Churchill Falls power whether it needs it or not.

The idea, in both Churchill Falls and James Bay, is that excess power is destined to solve the power problems of the northeastern U.S. An agreement between Consolidated Edison of New York and Hydro-Quebec was signed in 1972 whereby 800,000 kilowatts of Churchill Falls power will be supplied to Con Ed during the summer months between June 1, 1977, and 1982.

No agreement has been signed for James Bay, however, and Con Ed is not committed on Churchill Falls after 1982. Since Con Ed is owned by the same gang that is financing the Quebec power projects (its owners are the Chase Manhattan Bank, the Morgan group and the First National City Bank of New York, with combined assets of \$150 billion), presumably they are waiting until they can extort higher power rates from the American public and then they will put the squeeze on Quebec for cheap power.

Meanwhile, the PQ and trade unions in Quebec have begun to argue that instead of exporting cheap electrical power to New York State manufacturers the Quebec government could attract manufacturing to Quebec with cheap rates for electricity.

- Hydro-Quebec was required to increase its investment in the Churchill Falls corporation from 16 per cent to 34.2 per cent of the common stock, to assume management responsibility for the operation "as if it were owned" by Hydro-Quebec, and to buy \$100 million worth of the general mortgage bonds from the financial consortium.

- Hydro-Quebec was liable to assume responsibility for further financing had it been needed.

- The rate charged Hydro-Quebec will range from 3.98 to 4.89 mills for power delivered to Montreal (more than twice the original bargaining position) over a 44-year period with the option of another 25 years at two mills after the debt is amortized.

- Hydro-Quebec is obligated to pick up a \$16 million annual tab as its share of the repayment of the Churchill Falls Corp. mortgage bonds — and there may be more. The 1970 annual report of Hydro-Quebec said that it "can be required to make additional advances . . . to service the debt of the Churchill Falls (Labrador) Corporation and to cover its expenses if funds are not available."

Total annual profits from Churchill Falls are estimated to average about \$23 million. Rio-Tinto, getting almost half of that, will be able to recover its total capital investment in less than ten years, while Hydro-Quebec, with its 34.2



per cent ownership, will get about eight million dollars — or half of the \$16 million it is pumping back into the corporation.

The ink was barely dry on the Churchill Falls deal when the newly-elected government of Premier Bourassa was dusting off the plans for the old James Bay scheme.

In the autumn of 1970, long before his "the-world-begins-today" announcement of the project before assembled party faithful on April 29, 1971, Bourassa was out trying to scare up capital and impress the folks back home with his big-time connections. As a matter of fact he was in the U.S. magnanimously offering to help the Americans solve their energy crisis when a little crisis of his own struck — the FLQ kidnappings. He had to rush back home.

The standard explanation of how the James Bay project came about is that the Bourassa government, faced with a shaky image over the FLQ crisis and its failure to produce the promised 100,000 jobs, was stampeded into premature approval of the project at a cabinet meeting in early November 1970 which also approved the Trans-Canada Highway extension through downtown Montreal. It was an attempt to burnish the image and give the illusion of creating jobs. Bourassa even chose the first anniversary of his election for the announcement so that he could end his first year in office on an upbeat note.

But whatever the scenario, local political imperatives are never the ultimate reason for gigantic rip-offs. By virtue of their immense power to put the squeeze on client governments, international money cartels demand that such projects be made available in order to make huge profits and shift public money into private hands.

Hydroelectricity is merely what the locals get — if they're

lucky. The real aim of these projects is for the big money boys to make even more money on the "financing" of the projects and to get their paws on massive mineral deposits.

Rather than raise the money through taxes, especially equitable taxes on the rich, governments are required by the rules of the power game to go to private investment bankers for "financing."

The risk is even further reduced by the fact that the bankers require public utilities to hold hefty amounts of their capital funds in reserve — usually in the lenders' own banks — to pay interest, amortize debts, replace rolling stock, cover depreciation of capital investment in plants, etc. These reserves yield only the normal bank interest that everybody gets on his savings account. The bankers are thus free to re-invest this money at lucrative rates.

Government-secured bonds are at a premium among the super-rich because their income from them is taxed at a lower rate than income from stocks. Multimillionaires snap up such bonds through the various institutional investors they control.

It is interesting to note in this connection that a public offering of bonds on the Churchill Falls deal fell flat in 1967 because Hydro-Quebec had not yet given assurances it would buy the power. The financiers used this stranglehold to extort more investment in the project from Hydro-Quebec. Shortly after Hydro-Quebec signed the deal, Morgan Stanley negotiated a bond sale of half a billion dollars to institutional investors only. It was oversubscribed.

(The Quebec government is very familiar with this kind of extortion. The infamous Bill 63 guaranteeing English-language rights to immigrants was rushed through after a government bond float was strangled by Toronto finance houses. The bonds went like hotcakes after the bill was

## THE LAST POST IS A READER-SUPPORTED MAGAZINE

Help us extend the Last Post's coverage, frequency, and distribution by joining those who have supported the magazine over the last three years.

The Last Post counts on a sustaining level of regular readers' contributions to function. If you can contribute this month, send a cheque, no matter in what amount. It will all be put to publishing a better magazine, and distributing it farther across the country.

- I enclose a donation of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to the Last Post.
- I enclose \$50 for a lifetime subscription.
- I enclose \_\_\_\_\_ post-dated cheques of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ each as a donation.

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

CITY, TOWN, or COUNTY: \_\_\_\_\_

PROVINCE \_\_\_\_\_

Do you subscribe?

Do you buy the magazine at the newsstand?

Make all cheques payable to  
the Last Post, and send to:

the Last Post  
430 King Street West, No. 101  
Toronto 135, Ontario

The Last Post is published  
by the Canadian Journalism Foundation,  
a non-profit corporation.



passed.)

Bond issues are good for another clever trick. Conditions are often attached to their sale which give the holders certain rights to interfere in the management of companies or utilities issuing them. It can be a lever to gain effective control.

State-owned monopolies under capitalist governments are easy pickings for big money men for still another reason. Upper-level bureaucrats are very sensitive to the wishes of financiers in a game where patronage is a major gambit of boardroom diplomacy. While the occasional direct payoff may be used, the reward for the civil servant usually occurs when he leaves government for a highly-paid position in the corporate structure.

(A note in passing here: Pierre Giroux, son of Hydro-Quebec president Rolland Giroux, recently got a top job with Ames & Co., traditional Canadian partners of the First Boston Bank; together, these two houses have been accused of having a virtual monopoly on Quebec government borrowing.)

The second lucrative area for big business comes from the resource activities connected with hydro projects, which provide the excuse for indirect subsidies on a grand scale.

When the Quebec government created the JBDC in July 1971 it also created five subsidiary development companies in forestry, petroleum, mining, telecommunications and energy.

A hydro complex needs access roads which open new territories for the mining companies free of charge. The companies also use the hydro power for extraction. Ninety-five per cent of the James Bay area has already been staked out. Soquem, the Quebec government mining corporation, has already entered into an agreement with a mysterious company called Somex Ltd. to develop "mini-mines" — portable mining camps and operations which with a modest investment of about \$200,000 can go for the smaller deposits in a systematic way, laying waste to one area at a time.

That the access roads (which alone will cost \$300 million) are being developed for the mines rather than to get people to the hydro dams is revealed in the choice of sites for hydro development on James Bay.

Hydro-Quebec has always favoured the southern complex of the Nottaway, Broadback and Rupert rivers on the grounds that it is more economical. When the choice of the northern complex of the La Grande and Eastmain rivers was announced instead, the press gave "environmental factors" as the reason. But top JBDC officials (Pierre Nadeau himself before he resigned) admitted that the real reason was mineral deposits.

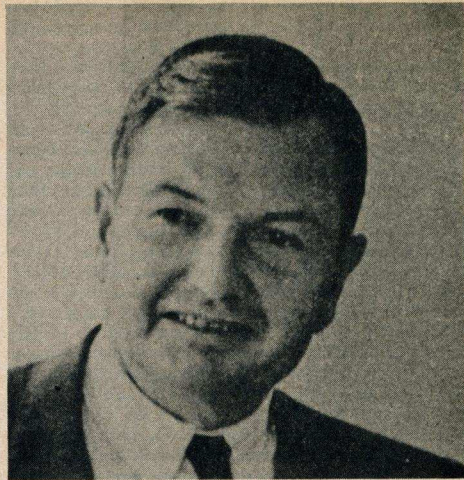
And now for that cute little firm called Bechtel.

When JBDC president Robert Boyd appeared at a press conference September 22, 1972, to give his version of the sellout, he said:

"It would be unrealistic to think that the human and technical resources of Hydro-Quebec alone would suffice to carry out the James Bay project. The energy corporation therefore decided to call upon the assistance of two firms of consulting engineers whose competence in the field of hydroelectric project management is well known. One of these is a Quebec firm: Lalonde, Valois, Lamarre, Valois & Associates. The other is Bechtel Quebec Ltd."

The stuff about Lalonde, Valois is sheer nonsense. The firm has not demonstrated any "competence" at all in hydro-electricity or very much in anything else.

It did the engineering on the Turcot Interchange in Montreal, part of which collapsed and killed seven workers in 1965. It built the lighting system on the Bonaventure Express-



David Rockefeller: a little visit to Bourassa in March 1972.

way in Montreal; the system didn't work, so it got another contract to replace it (the "Lamarre" among the partners is a cousin of Montreal executive committee member Yvon Lamarre). It did the engineering on the Louis-Hyppolite-Lafontaine Tunnel under the St. Lawrence river between Montreal and the south shore, of which one section leaks like hell and requires a sophisticated system of electric pumps backed up by emergency diesel pumps going 24 hours a day to keep the water out.

Lalonde, Valois is there, in short, to handle the patronage for the small fry and to get sandwiches and coffee for the Bechtel boys. Lalonde, Valois's primary role is listed as "personnel."

Bechtel has the management contract, will draw up all the plans for the electricity and is in charge of accounting.

What Hydro-Quebec has left in all this is unclear. It has "labour relations", "supplies" and some — but no one is sure what — engineering.

Bechtel was also given the management contract at Churchill Falls by Hydro-Quebec, when the small stuff was handled by Acres Ltd., a company of which Guy St-Pierre, now Quebec minister of industry and commerce, was once vice-president.

The Bechtel story goes back a few years to when Stephen Bechtel, Sr., inherited the family engineering firm, worth \$20 million in 1936, from his father and parlayed it into the world-wide empire it is today. *Fortune* magazine estimated the Bechtel family to be worth between \$100 million and \$200 million in the late 1950s. Recent estimates range higher. This places the Bechtels in the ranks of the world's most influential prime movers.

The family fortune was built through engineering and construction, but unlike other one-industry multimillionaires the Bechtels have not been dismissed as *nouveau riches* and isolated from the highest stratum of the American plutocracy. Wall Street financial circles do not admit somebody into their group just because a guy shows up with a couple of hundred million or so. J. Paul Getty, with one of the largest personal



fortunes in the world, has never been able to break into Wall Street, and this has been prevented from getting a financial base for expansion into other fields outside oil.

But with the Bechtels it was different, primarily because the financial giants need engineers for projects of the James Bay type.

Its phenomenal rise began with an arrangement with Kaiser Corporation to build liberty ships during the Second World War. For this the Bechtel-McCone Corporation was formed, involving John A. McCone, who later went on to head the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, the Central Intelligence Agency, and then to a directorship of ITT as well as to the U.S. government's Public Committee on Personnel which had authority over the diplomatic corps.

McCone never forgot his friends at Bechtel, and used his influence to land juicy contracts for the firm, particularly in Southeast Asia. Bechtel was on its way.

It has some prestige projects under its belt, including the Hoover Dam, the San Francisco Bay Bridge and the BART rapid transit system in San Francisco.

Bechtel's interest in Canada dates back to the building of the Canol pipeline linking Norman Wells, N.W.T., to U.S. bases in Alaska during World War II. It broke innumerable times and was an ecological disaster.

Since then Bechtel has built 90 per cent of Canada's pipelines. It was also involved in the experimental Great Canadian Oil Sands Limited venture of a couple of years back which received a \$6 million rebate on federal taxes, leading to a minor stink.

Bechtel has been kicked out of India over a fertilizer plant rip-off and out of Saudi Arabia for offending the local gentry.

One of the better little scandals Bechtel was involved in occurred in the U.S., however. A routine labour racketeering investigation in the late 1960s led to prosecution and conviction of the company for giving a \$110,000 bribe to two Woodbridge, New Jersey, city officials so that it could obtain building permits for storage tanks without mandatory public hearings.

The special prosecutor for the U.S. justice department said in his summation:

"Rarely if ever has the United States been able to pull back the curtain and to display before you or any jury the kind of naked corruption that we have displayed in this case, the intimate details of corrupt public officials met and joined, furthered and promoted by big businessmen who were equally corrupt for their own reasons."

Bechtel was fined \$20,000.

Bechtel took charge of the construction of the giant Carol pelletizing and concentrating facilities in the Churchill Falls deal. A refinery complex for Gulf Oil in Edmonton, a copper concentrating plant in Princeton, B.C., a nickel mill for International Nickel in Sudbury and a pulp-and-paper expansion for Quebec North Shore at Baie Comeau are all projects it has completed or is currently working on.

It likes to get into vast schemes like Churchill Falls and James Bay not only because it is actively engaged in designing the facilities needed for the resource extractors and managing their construction but also because it furthers the Bechtels' high finance ambitions.

Stephen Bechtel, Sr., sits on the advisory board of the U.S. Import-Export Bank with a host of luminaries, including Victor Rockhill of the Chase Manhattan Bank. He is a former board member and a current member of the directors' advisory

council of the international council of Morgan Guaranty Trust. He is also chairman of a string of Bechtel subsidiaries.

Increasingly, Stephen D. Bechtel, Jr., has assumed primary responsibilities. He is a director of General Motors, Hanna Mining Company, Crocker National Bank and the South Pacific Company, as well as being a member of President Nixon's Cost of Living Council.

The most revealing links are those with Morgan Guaranty and Hanna Mining. Morgan Guaranty provides Bechtel with an in to the Morgan Group. Through Hanna Mining it is connected to the Humphrey-Hanna group, based in Cleveland and Toronto.

Humphrey-Hanna became big when George Humphrey, U.S. secretary of the treasury in the Eisenhower administration, won a struggle with Cyrus Eaton and his allies over steel interests. Humphrey shut Eaton out of the Wall Street capital market, gained control of the old Hanna Company interests and built a base in the Hanna Mining Company and Consolidated Coal. The decisive move for this group was the takeover of Chrysler motors, which assured it of a market for steel.

Hanna Mining and Consolidated Coal merged with Continental Oil in the 1960's. Continental is controlled by the Morgan Group, and the Mellon family (Gulf Oil) has a minority interest. The result is one of the most formidable energy consortiums in the western world.

The Humphrey-Hanna group has very strong bonds with Rio-Tinto Zinc and the House of Rothschild through a maze of interlocking ownerships and directorships involving the Hanna Mining Company and its subsidiaries, the Iron Ore Company of Canada and Hollinger North Shore and Labrador

## foundation press...

began operation six months ago, and has provided quality typesetting at reasonable prices for publishers of books and periodicals in Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa—including national magazines such as the Last Post. We welcome the opportunity to discuss your typesetting needs.

**Foundation Press**  
430 King Street West  
Suite 101  
Toronto  
(416) 366-1134

## ...typesetters.



Mining on the one hand, and on the other hand Rio Algom Mines, St. John Delray Mining Ltd., The Toronto-Dominion Bank, the Bank of Montreal and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce.

Humphrey-Hanna got involved in Churchill Falls through a complex deal with Rio Algom, the major Canadian subsidiary of Rio-Tinto and a titan in Canadian mining, which couldn't enter the project directly since its parent was already controlling it (one must observe decorum, you know).

The Hanna-owned Iron Ore Company of Canada has an interest in Twin Falls — a power project connected with the Brinco deal on a waterfall on the same river system as Churchill Falls. Bethlehem Steel and National Steel both have slices of the Iron Ore Company of Canada. The power at Twin Falls is used in extraction by Carol Pellet, a company owned by the same consortium of steel and mining companies which also has a share of Twin Falls. The Iron Ore Company of Canada has 25-year contracts for delivery of ore to Europe, Japan and the U.S. Bethlehem Steel has a piece of Brinco through a holding in Rio-Tinto's Thornwood Investments.

The presence of Bechtel is one indication that, with slight variations, the same setup is in the works for James Bay. Another huge American-owned but Canadian-incorporated mining company, International Nickel, has stakes in the Great Whale region. Great Whale is close to LG-2, the principal project slated for the La Grande project.

Although here the transportation situation is sticky because Hudson Bay is iced over much of the year, the big ore and steel interests have yet another card up their sleeve with which to extort concessions from Quebec and Ottawa in transport matters — the discovery of big iron ore deposits in Brazil.

But there's no doubt that the big boys are more than mildly interested in Quebec. Sir Val Duncan, chairman of Rio-Tinto, paid Robert Bourassa a visit in July 1971 on the eve of the passage of Bill 50 that created the JBDC, and commented in passing through Montreal that he had mining interests all over the world but had a "particular affection" for Quebec.

And Morgan Stanley, which floated the \$500 million Churchill Falls bond deal, has set up shop in Montreal, along with First Boston and White, Weld.

This represents not only an "interest" on the part of these behemoth financial manipulators, but in fact a breakdown of Canadian policy to keep these giants out of the country for fear they would gobble up the Canadian entries in the financial field.

The only obstacle remaining before American finance completes its beachhead operation in Canada is the Canadian policy of keeping foreign banks out.

David Rockefeller and six of his Chase Manhattan cronies paid Bourassa a visit in March 1972, an occasion which Rockefeller seized in order to complain that his bank was being kept out of direct activity in Canada and that it would be helpful if he could have a nice little bank in Montreal to join his chums from the investment houses.

The direct participation of Rockefeller and the Chase Manhattan is a new element. There was some talk that Rockefeller was sore because the "British" got Churchill Falls, but this is obviously not so considering that it's basically the same gang on both sides of the Atlantic. The only thing Rockefeller has got to be sore about in Canada is that his bank is being kept out — and given the nature of the Liberal governments in Ottawa and Quebec City he may not have to stay sore long.

James Bay is a large enough carcass to accommodate the entire international wolf pack, and Bourassa has visited the major financial centres of Europe. Hydro-Quebec has already started borrowing from the Orion group, a Rockefeller-controlled international finance consortium that involves the Royal Bank of Canada.

In looking at the prospects for the James Bay development, even the federal government is disquieted by its implications, and a growing anti-James-Bay lobby in Ottawa recently led Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien to tell some Quebec bureaucrats to "go to hell."

Renewed Ottawa-Quebec hostility, however, is simply bound to miss the point. When the federal government raises the nerve to tell Rockefeller and Rothschild to go to hell, we might have something to cheer about.

As it stands, there have already been a few insights into power manipulation and patronage. A stir was created recently when the Kiewit Construction Company of Omaha, Nebraska, was awarded a hefty contract to build part of the road between Mattagami and Fort George over a lower bid by Simard-Beaudry, a Quebec firm, on the technicality that the Simard-Beaudry deposit cheque was made out to Hydro-Quebec rather than to the JBDC. So much for native technology.

Peter Kiewit is a director of Northern Natural Gas Co., part of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline consortium which intends to bring gas out of the high Arctic. Another company in the consortium is Columbia Gas System, a Morgan Group company. Stephen Bechtel, Jr., once sat on the board of Tenneco which agreed to finance one half of the exploration program of Panarctic, in which the federal government has the major share, in exchange for one half the gas produced.

Talk of a possible pipeline to carry eastern-Arctic gas through James Bay has been heard repeatedly. The proposition has a ready supply of eager builders ready to meet the opportunity.

In the long run Churchill Falls and James Bay constitute a new invasion by international finance, a fifth column readying itself for further assaults on the Canadian economy and resources. Recently the principals involved were smacking their lips over the prospects for capitalism in the 1970's — especially as regards Canada — at a semi-secret gathering of nuclear-overkill man Herman Kahn's Hudson Institute, which was transported to Montreal for the occasion.

Meanwhile Quebecers, incensed over a recent Hydro-Quebec rate increase, are blaming the James Bay scheme without realizing that they are only beginning to feel the pinch from Churchill Falls.

The 1971 bonded debt of Hydro-Quebec was \$2.875 billion. The interest charges on long-term debt was 167.8 million. For the same year total costs of producing electric power were \$149.9 million.

In other words Quebecers can be consoled by the fact that even before they contemplate the charges of the loan sharks for James Bay, a larger chunk of their monthly hydro bill went to pay interest charges than to produce the electricity they used.

---

*This article was written by Ralph Surette, in collaboration with Montreal freelance writers Bob Davis and Mark Zannis, authors of The Genocide Machine, a chilling account of the activities of multinational corporations in the Arctic, to be published shortly by Black Rose Books, 3934 St. Urbain Street, Montreal.*

---



# The Caribbean's dead season

by Patrick MacFadden

"Mr. Podsnap's world was not a very large world . . . he considered other countries a mistake."

— Charles Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend*

"The West Indies are about our speed."

— Mr. Mitchell Sharp

Tourism does not present itself to the modern consciousness as a system.

The secondary attributes of Tourism have received some attention, particularly from the feminist movement. This movement has served notice on the use of reductive images of women in the system's propaganda: "The trouble with a lot of the girls I met at the Caribe Hilton is that they have no respect for a guy's mind." Or again: "I'm Karen. Tell your travel agent you want to fly me to Orlando for a Fun Tyme Fling."

Yet Tourism, its accompanying advertisements and boilerplate blurbs, take up large wads of newspaper space and supply a great deal of revenue to the publishers. All the more remarkable, surely, that it remains unexamined.

The objections of the feminists, cogent as they may be, address themselves only to certain techniques of presentation. But the essence of Tourism as a system, as an organization of material and immaterial things, is that it depends for its working on the total objectification of people and places, robbing them of their specificity, substituting for their geographic and social reality a set of symbols wrenched loose from the context which had once invested those symbols with meaning, and, finally, cannibalizing the accumulated felt experience that peoples have traditionally held on to as a way of defining themselves in the world of others.

In this view, Tourism may be regarded as a sub-system of consumerism. That is to say, it eats countries. This observation is particularly relevant since Tourism comes to fruition in an age of neo-colonialism. It is this conjunction that underlies the "barbarous actions" reported on so reluctantly by the metropolitan media, actions that stamp the official imprint of hard reality on the counterfeit notes peddled by the touts of Tourism.



"We're the Bermuda of storybooks and dreams. We're the Bermuda of pink and white cottages nestled under Royal Palms. Gardens ablaze with poinciana, bougainvillea and pas-



sion flowers. We're Harmony Hall . . . Contact Robert Reid Associates, International Representatives . . ."

(Advertisement appearing in numerous Canadian newspapers)

The Governor of Bermuda, Sir Richard Sharples, his aide-de-camp and his Great Dane, Horsa, had been shot dead the week before the above advertisement appeared. Six months earlier the Bermuda Police Commissioner had been killed and his daughter wounded. In the Bahamas this year, eight tourists were slaughtered on a golf course. In Barbados, kidnappings involving a Canadian banker and his family are reported.

The lead editorial in the *Trinidad Guardian* of March 5, 1973, entitled "Let it be a clean Carnival", relates how "two Canadian lasses" were driven to tears by shouts of "honky" during the Carnival celebrations.

A 16-year-old boy was shot to death while looting a store in Paramaribo, Surinam during "serious riots" in the wake of "a wave of strikes for better pay and working conditions," according to a Reuter report in the *Trinidad Express* of February 28 of this year.

The Carnival Development Committee in Port of Spain announces on February 11 that the name of its steelband competition is to be changed. Originally titled the "Bomb," it is now to be called "Pan on the Move."

The point of listing these unfortunate events is not to say they are the inevitable concomitants of Tourism. But to the degree that its publicity system edges out such "dysfunctional" phenomena as strikes and assassinations, the actor-tourist is left only with non-specific Harmony Halls, surrounded by bewilderingly ominous bougainvillea.

There are practical reasons for the system's inability to co-exist with the real events in the territories which it has commandeered. ("Ireland — Not So Much Trouble Spot As Travel Bargain" — *Montreal Gazette*.) †

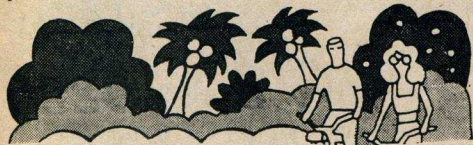
These reasons have to do with the economies of both the metropolitan and the satellite countries, what the British



economist George Lee calls Moloch and Aztec. The process is clearer if we look at how Tourism operates in those areas where it has become the major source of income, is about to become so, or is the determining factor in controlling economic development.

In this model, Antigua in the British West Indies provides an excellent Aztec; Canada and the United States a Molochian partnership. Islands other than Antigua, of course, will also do as Aztecs, while the United Kingdom may wish to form a trilogy with its friends.

That Moloch in this instance is almost entirely white while Aztec is predominantly black is a fact of history. As Trinidad Prime Minister Eric Williams says, we cannot rewrite the history of the Caribbean. But black-white is not the main point.



“The psychic shame that burns the hearts of men whose lives have been a history of genuflection . . . West Indians in their own home have to take not a middle, but a back seat, while other men . . . give the ultimate direction about

petroleum and sugar. Here is a humiliation that goes deep; a humiliation which no abstract independence can heal. No change of flag or anthem can stem this spiritual bleeding of men who have nothing to celebrate but a raise in salary.”

— George Lamming, quoted in Selwyn Ryan, *Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago*

Readers of Jane Austen may recall Sir Thomas Bertram, the gloomy overlord of Mansfield Park. Sir Thomas had holdings, of an indeterminate nature, in Antigua. From them he is able to stock a handsome house, maintain his wife as a baronet's lady, set up his friend, the Rev. Mr. Norris “with little less than a thousand a year,” and in general give sustenance to the Augustan vision of country house, parsonage, farm and cottage.

Of the Antiguans who provided this bounty Miss Austen tells us nothing. Nothing at all. To do so was not the style of the times. Sir Thomas simply comes and goes.

Thus a whole world is created from a non-world.

Antiguans have been unfortunate. They have throughout history felt the bite of the master's cane. One of the few territories in which castration was dignified by specific legal sanction (*Acts*, Leeward Islands, 1702), the island went on to suffer natural disasters such as fire and flood, man-made disasters such as Methodists and sugar imperialism, emerging in the twentieth century to receive its reward — free secondary education since about 1968, an amiably corrupt government totally in hock to the Canadian banks, and, as its major industry, Tourism.

The historic Antigua, the story of an enslaved people bent and scarred by centuries spent as the objects of others, may be read about in the admirable study by Elsa Goveia, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands*. Professor Goveia writes in her summation: “Sooner or later we shall have





to face the fact that we are courting defeat when we attempt to build a new heritage of freedom upon a structure of society which binds us all too closely to the old heritage of slavery."

Part of that binding process is the system of Tourism. For Antigua now "owes" its existence to that system. The demonstration of this is immediate and brutal: the modern Antigua, its sugar crop ruined, was "invented" by Pan Am when it hired a Long Island contractor to build the Mill Reef Club, thereby adding the island to the system.

Some years later, Air Canada told the government that unless more money were spent on promotion, it would take away its planes. The government complied. Now every twenty minutes, Pan Am, Air Canada, Air France and BOAC thunder in to disgorge the dishevelled hordes, soon to be shovelled into singles-with-balcony and singles without — built, owned and financed by the banks who own the airlines and the government.

The upshot is total control of the economy. From an imperialism of pillage through an imperialism of commerce to an imperialism of assimilation, the writ of Moloch continues to run.



"I cannot right new wrongs  
Waves tire of horizon and return  
I watch the best minds root like dogs  
For scraps of favour."

— Derek Walcott, St. Lucia poet

It is clear from this model that the actor-tourist is largely a mere agent in a process designed to integrate two economies. His natural desire, especially if he lives in colder climates such as Canada's, is to have a vacation in the sun. That the Tourist system, given a different social matrix, might be positively beneficial, is equally evident.

However, in its present form, it is pernicious.

The figures for tourist income in Antigua from 1966-70 show that the money does not filter down. In 1966, about five-eighths went to the hotels, in 1970 about one-half.

To see the dwelling of the average Antiguan is to understand the cheapness of human life; it is also to wonder at the refined lobotomy that keeps this gentle people from rising up in a mindless *jacquerie* of blood-letting and plunder. There is no glass in the windows; for there are no windows. The wood and clapboard shacks with no electricity may house a family of ten or twelve; subtle divisions between nuclear and extended have no place here in a space slightly bigger than a good Canadian outhouse, but too pinched and cramped for Horsa, the Great Dane, whose master the day before his death heard his annual expenses of \$187,000 passed by the legislature, and who himself a few weeks previously had had all the other Great Danes in Bermuda over for a birthday party in his, Horsa's, very own honour.

The Canadian travel agencies that serve Antigua are often themselves front offices for American companies. They simply pass on the tourist check to New York headquarters, thus ensuring it never reaches Aztec. The existence of the "host" country is, quite literally, a detail.

Another percentage goes to the indigenous elites, those "Afro-Saxon calibans" so bitterly lampooned by West Indian writers and intellectuals, to pay the police forces that keep them in power. In the case of Antigua, an American air and naval base (the former's motto blazoned on the gate: PEACE ON EARTH) serves to protect the natives from foreign aggression.

The wages paid to those lucky enough to service the hotels come from the universal ten per cent surcharge levied on the tourist. Since the system is not labour intensive, work is seasonal, there is no trade union and the average wage in Antigua, much sought after, is \$12.50 per week.

Recently, tourists in growing numbers have been complaining vociferously to management about the growing habit among Antiguan of objecting to having their photographs taken. Some have even smashed cameras. Dr. Franklin, who owns a hotel ("medical McGill, dentistry U. of T."), explains there's an old African belief that a piece of the soul is lost when a picture is taken. "And basically," he shakes his head, "they're really Africans." Dr. Franklin, anthropologist.

Many commentators have noted the dependency syndrome associated with the Tourist system. However, it is more than a syndrome, since, literally, natives of Aztec may now be invented. Indeed new Aztecs themselves may be invented by simply writing a different programme for the Moloch computer. If as Sartre suggests, the essence of fascism is to render abstract what is concrete, then we have a working model of fascism.

"With nightfall and the rise of that lovely moon, gaiety reigns supreme. Romantic night-life echoes haunting music and dancing to the exotic beat of . . ." (Represented by Oliver Engenbretson, Inc., 919 Third Ave., N.Y., Toronto Agent . . .) Since this kind of psychic backdrop may be shucked into a thousand different locales, the dependency of the Aztecian is, for the first time in human history, total.

In previous constellations of racial or master-slave relations, both parties existed and had reality for each other. This is no longer so. The completeness of the domination of one over the other is now secreted in the brain cells of even the tourist-actor. It is not that his power is greater than that of Svengali, or Prospero or that of Itard over his wild child; it is of a different order.

A West Indian journalist recently referred to Tourism as "whoreism." He added that tourists come under attack because they are the convenient symbols of metropolitan control.

Yet neither whores nor tourists can appropriately symbolize the menticide that befalls an Aztec population intent only on scrabbling after the droppings left by the big birds of Pan Am and Air Canada. The most terrifying vision of that dilemma occurs in a film by the Italian director, Jacopetti: a plane has crashed on a mountain top in Africa or perhaps Brazil. The natives sit round it, squatting, immobile.

They are adoring it silently. There is nothing else to do. Their lives are dominated by the hunk of metal that came into their heads from the sky.

If it goes away, they are ruined; while it stays, they can only serve it.

It is the ultimate fix.

---

*Patrick MacFadden is a member of the editorial board of the Last Post.*

---



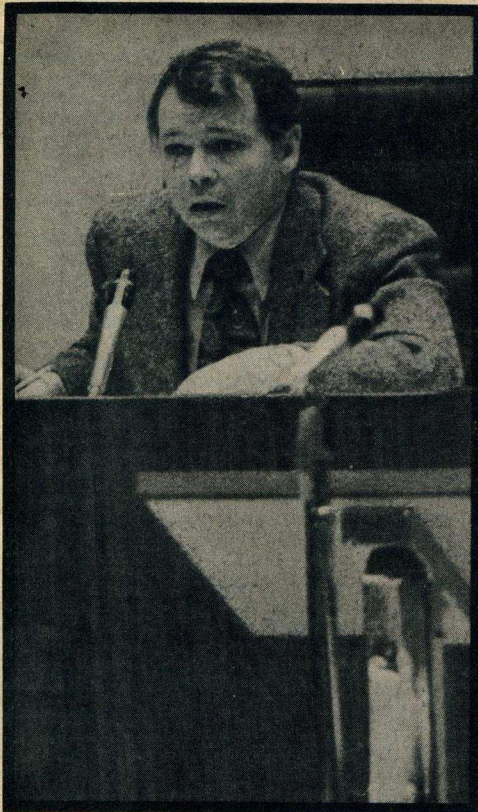


photo: David Lloyd

Toronto is like a fourth or fifth-rate provincial town, with the pretensions of a capital city. Here we have a petty colonial oligarchy, a self-constituted aristocracy, based upon nothing real nor upon anything imaginary.

— Anna B. Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, 1838

Once, two *Telegram* reporters were bemoaning the lack of news, and one of them said to the other that it really was a shame because “we could get these guys to jump through a hoop, if we had a hoop,” and an idea was born. A photographer was summoned from the *Telegram*’s office at Bay and Melinda Streets, and off they went to take pictures of the mayor and selected aldermen jumping in the air. It immediately became a fad, and some of the most influential men in Toronto were calling the *Telegram* for days after, pleading and sometimes demanding to have their pictures taken jumping in the air. I don’t think that could happen today. There seems to be more sophistication in the new City Hall than there was in the old.

— John Aitken in *Toronto Life* magazine, 1973

by Rae Murphy

# The ‘greening’ of Toronto... ...and the paving of Ontario



map from rural to urban. In short, the status is changing in Canada and the quo is going to have to get in line.

But this is a more long-term problem. The immediate trick is for power to stay in the same hands while having it appear to change. In political terms it is called having your coup and eating it. This seems to be exactly what Premier William Davis of Ontario pulled off when Torontonians voted in the last civic election.

Toronto's civic election was a lively affair.

Big money was spent in the election for the first time. David Crombie, the winner, claims to have spent about \$40,000. David Rotenberg and Tony O'Donohue spent on the order of \$100,000 each. In the last civic election, William Dennison was re-elected for only \$12,000.

To many observers, the big money in the election represented the decisive nature of the contest. According to John Aitken in *Toronto Life*, "big money interests . . . realized that the greening process was taking place in Toronto; that the election would likely determine whether the city would be a fertile investment in the coming decade or whether it would be a hard city to crack."

The good guys apparently won. The "greening process" (whatever the hell that is) will continue and Toronto will be a hard city for the developers to crack in the future. The headlines about the big reform win in Toronto hit every paper in Canada. David Crombie even had his picture in the *New York Times*.

In Toronto, the mood was ecstatic. The newspapers, whose militancy against the developers hadn't been too noticeable — the *Toronto Star* just last year made a tidy bundle on the demolition of its old, but perfectly usable building —

photo: David Lloyd

**A** lady acquaintance of mine recalls the Glorious Twelfth of July and the Orangemen's parade as one of her most cherished memories of growing up in Toronto. Her house was on the route of the parade and every year King Billy on his white horse would pause briefly to salute the house before leading the Orangemen onward once more. The annual tribute paid to the otherwise undistinguished home of an undistinguished Jewish family came because a former owner of the house was a leading light in the Orange Order. The old owner had long since passed on to either a Protestant heaven or a Catholic hell, but the parade still paused.

Habit, you see, dies slowly in Toronto. And because it does, it takes a long time before newfangled ideas and new fads catch on. Thus Toronto seems to be out of phase — in a time warp of its own. Yorkville, for example, just seemed to get rolling when the freaks became mean down in Haight-Ashbury; the Yonge Street strip became lit after Mayor Lindsay's Fun City turned from a sick joke into a complete disaster; even massive downtown redevelopment didn't really get underway in Toronto until Place Ville Marie and other monstrosities cluttered the skyline of Montreal.

Now, with the election of David Crombie as mayor and a gaggle of new aldermen, representing the most diverse backgrounds — from quasi-Conservative to queasy Waffle — conveniently and misleadingly labeled "reform", Toronto has, years after the last flower child had been carpet-bombed, entered the Age of Aquarius.

Or so we have been led to believe.

Municipal elections take place in Canada with depressing regularity, and nobody outside of the concerned municipality ever seems to get very worked up about them. Even in this respect, Toronto has a certain negative uniqueness because not many people in Toronto get very excited even about their own local elections. One reason for the general lack of interest in municipal politics is that local governments have little power in Canada. They are creatures of the provincial governments and, in Ontario at least, the provincial government makes all the decisions — whether the schools will be financed and if so, how; what transit will operate; what roads will be built; what high rises zoned; where ward boundaries within the city, and regional boundaries outside, will be located.

Yet, even with all the power vested in the provincial government, the rapid pace of urbanization has created a tension between the municipal governments faced with all the social, economic and political problems of growth in an essentially unplanned environment, and the senior levels which have the money, laws and political clout to solve them. The tension is also manifest in the changing contours of the political



The "greening process" was supposed to make every corner a friendly corner



sang the praises of the new boys in City Hall. Even the developers appeared to be good losers.

On election night, according to *Toronto Star* columnist Alexander Ross, the residents of Gothic Street "ran from their houses . . . whooping for joy."

Quebec-Gothic is a small area in the west end of Toronto abutting the Bloor Street subway. The houses have been bought up by two of the major development companies so that they can be demolished for a high-rise apartment complex. Pending redevelopment, the houses have been rented to people who, as Ross describes, are mostly young:

"Many are draft-age Americans. Many are living five and six to a house, sharing rent and chores, the kind of homes with brown rice in the kitchen cupboard, cats in the living-room, Che posters on the wall, a small stash of grass in the spice-cupboard and the Rolling Stones on the stereo. Most have jobs. They're graduate students, musicians, social workers, LIP grant beneficiaries, one lawyer and a cheerful lady in her 80s who has lived on Gothic for about 50 years, refused to sell to the developers, and likes her new neighbours just fine."

The mini-community, described by one of the inhabitants as "the western campus of Rochdale" is generalized by Ross as "young people with middle-class educations and non-middle-class attitudes."

Whatever their attitudes, they were all whooping it up on election night.

In a similar vein, Ron Haggart wrote in *Toronto Life* that the election meant that politics in Toronto has caught up with culture; that Toronto is primarily a middle class city with middle class values, values which in 1973 are diametrically opposed to urban change and development. Haggart wrote:

"The reformers . . . represent a genuine change in attitudes toward government, particularly in attitudes toward property and physical objects . . .

"The kind of politician now on his way out at City Hall, if not entirely replaced, is the politician with an inordinate regard for physical objects. He dreams of saying to his grandson: 'See that 80-storey office building over there? When I was at City Hall, I helped make that possible.' The new politician at City Hall, if he is true to his creed, will be able to say: 'See that residential street? It doesn't look much different than the day I took office, but keeping it that way was the hardest job I ever had.'"

Now it is quite natural for members of the so-called middle class to assume that their interests and preoccupations are universal. They have been making such assumptions since the Paris Commune and have been getting screwed up regularly.

There is a large, vocal and influential middle class in Toronto — a rather snug group who live on cute little streets or in snug high-rises central to the theatres. Some bicycle to the office and just love to shop among the quaint Europeans on Spadina Avenue. They also tend to embrace causes. Since there is a dearth of whales in Toronto, people were the big thing for the saving this year.

At best, people is a vague term; there are just so many of us, with all different sizes, shapes and interests. For example, those of us who live downtown have no need for good access roads into the city. Those of us who have nice homes on quiet residential streets don't really see the need for any redevelopment. Mr. Haggart's alderman who years hence takes his grandchild to a street he preserved will have



**Ex-Mayor Dennison had taken to reading Mao and Guevara**

to be quite selective, because there are plenty of ratty streets and districts in Toronto that cry out for redevelopment.

One can dismiss much of the trendy nonsense that seems to abound in Toronto — next year another cause will be "in" — but we shouldn't be blind to the counter-productive and downright reactionary influences behind the concept that development — any development — is inherently evil.

The non-development syndrome is counter-productive because, in pretending that there is another option to growth, it obscures the essential issue of how, and under what conditions, growth will take place. It also obscures the reality of urban politics today and what can be logically expected from a municipal government.

Reformers have been elected to City Council before. In fact, until his final term, Mayor William Dennison carefully cultivated his constituency in the working class wards of the city as the people's crusader against the developers and "big shots" downtown. In the 1966 mayoralty election, Dennison defeated incumbent Mayor Philip Givens and Controller William Archer on an essentially anti-developer platform.

Givens went on to become a Liberal MP and is now reported to be alive and well in the Liberal caucus of the Ontario legislature. Archer has since been reincarnated as an alderman. And, of course, Dennison became the greatest thing to happen to developers since the invention of concrete.

Way back in 1966 the beautiful people tended to support Philip Givens because he, along with a very few with-it developers, was pledged to build a swinging new Athens



up there on the Lake Ontario mud-flats. Givens came from a line of mayors from Nathan Phillips through Donald Summerville whose political platforms revolved totally, without qualm or qualification, around development. They were led by Frederick Gardiner, the Tory-appointed "super-mayor" — Metro Chairman.

Gardiner was adoringly called "Big Daddy" as he smashed through everything, including concepts that elected representatives should really be in charge, in order to get Metro organized.

Gardiner seemed to get everything running all right, and when he retired in a blaze of glory the story was that all the wheels were spinning to find a suitable monument to name in his honour. No building, square or statue seemed to suit him, so the new expressway which smashed through and over the south side of Toronto was named the Frederick Gardiner Expressway.

It is perhaps an ironic illustration of how things change that the ill-starred Spadina Expressway is officially named the William Allen Expressway. Allen was Gardiner's successor. And it is perhaps an ironic illustration of how things remain the same even as they appear to change that Gardiner, Allen and the present Metro Chairman, Ab Campbell, are all prominent Tories. Both expressways were built by command of the provincial government — Tory then, Tory now and, it looks, Tory forever. The Spadina was stopped by the same provincial government.

The Spadina Expressway looms extremely large in any discussion of the "greening" of Toronto. It was the most spectacular battle against both the manner in which the city was growing and the method by which political decisions were arrived at in City Council.

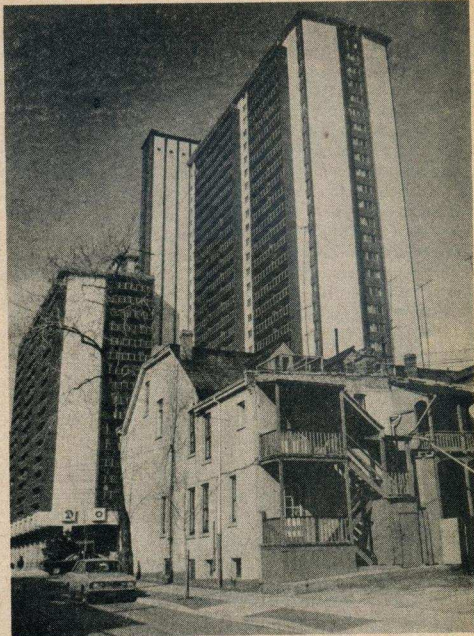
The Spadina Expressway was planned in the 1950s as a major access route north and south, to and from the city core. It was part of a system and was to intersect a new east-west expressway across the north-central part of the city as well as being linked with the existing Gardiner Expressway in the extreme south of the city which was, in turn, to be extended right to the eastern perimeters of Metro Toronto.

The Spadina, of course, opened a new vista for the land speculators, and property values zoomed upwards as farmlands to the north of Toronto began to bloom with subdivisions and apartments. Anticipating the expressway, Webb and Knapp, of Place Ville Marie fame, along with Eaton's and Simpson's, built a large shopping plaza right at the intersection of the incipient Spadina and the major trans-Ontario artery, Highway 401. The expressway proceeded south and nobody seemed too concerned until it loomed above Eglinton Avenue, within shouting distance of fashionable downtown residential districts.

Then the Rosedale Tupamaros moved into action.

The battle to stop the Spadina coincided with several other movements developing in various neighbourhoods against the policies of an unresponsive City Hall. In 1969, residents of the Trefann Court and Don Vale areas locked horns with City Council over development policies. A battle over gerrymandered ward boundaries ended when the boundaries were rejected by the Ontario Municipal Board.

Throughout this period, various groups had formed to attempt to save historic buildings — Old City Hall, University Armouries — and to do battle to protect neighbourhoods. From these battles, and the publicity given them, grass roots community organizations began to spring up of a quite different character from the traditional ratepayers' groups.



**High rise apartments smashed up the city as prices and property values soared.**

The "old guard" at City Hall really never knew how to handle or deal with these new groups. Mayor Dennison had taken to reading Mao and Guevara and was drawing some wild analogies. Other civic leaders did not quite over-react in the same way and opted for mere hysteria. Yet, if the civic officials didn't know how to handle the activists, there was a government that did.

The battles that were won by the community groups — the battles that started the "greening" of Toronto — were won by consent of the provincial government. Of the various fights between City Council and community groups, it was almost always the unfeeling bureaucrats — "the mandarins" at City Hall versus the people. Interesting it was then that the province's super-mandarins on the Ontario Municipal Board began opting for the "people".

Meanwhile, back at the Spadina . . .

Story has it that young Alderman Crombie one day stood on a hill and eyed the scattering party of surveyors of the expressway. Behind them he saw a solid phalanx of bulldozers and graders. Reaching back into darkest Hemingway, he stood like a Loyalist general. "The Spadina shall not pass," he said, or a reasonable facsimile. Crombie thus joined the ranks of the "good guys".

He had also just recently joined the Ontario Progressive Conservative Association.

The battle to stop Spadina gained momentum. It became an increasingly emotional issue. The Spadina, especially as it came closer and closer to impinging on the middle class and upper-upper middle class neighbourhoods of the city,



became a symbol of everything evil in our acquisitive society — especially the automobile. Everyone drove around with bumper stickers reading "Stop The Spadina".

Whether the Spadina was or was not all the horrible things its opponents said it was, the interesting thing as the battle developed was that nobody, except the large body of people who must make their way north and south in Toronto, or the people who live on the congested streets along the way, fought for the building of the expressway. Even spokesmen for Eaton's and Simpson's and the rest of the boys up at the Yorkdale Plaza felt they were doing enough business without the completion of the Spadina. The old City Council, however, stuck to its guns, not realizing that the provincial Tory government was about to pull the rug from under them.

As a prelude to the 1971 provincial election, William Davis decided to get on the side of the angels — saving a bundle of money in the process — and cancel the Spadina. He cancelled it with all the flourish of a newly converted ecologist. The city was for people — got to do something about cars — protect our environment — all that stuff.

The Davis decision was interpreted as a victory for the people — for the neighbourhoods and communities. Actually it was a victory for Davis, who went on to win a provincial election and announce plans for the construction of the Scarborough Expressway. Ecology and pollution mustn't be such a problem out east of the city core, because protest is, to say the least, muted.

The protection of the neighbourhood and community within the complex urban environment is recognized by most experts as a prerequisite for a healthy city. The encouragement of neighbourhood organizations, the demand that they and their constituents have a direct voice in the destiny of their streets and homes is also vital to the democratic functioning of civic government. And the battle raged over the last few years by many of the "reform" aldermen such as John Sewell for their communities has done much to expose the venality

and corruption of city government and to place the machinations of the developers and their kept representatives in public view. Some favourable decisions even have been won.

But neighbourhood politics is a game everybody can play. Toronto, like every other major city, has its ward politics and community organizations have been manipulated in the interests of the most reactionary politicians.

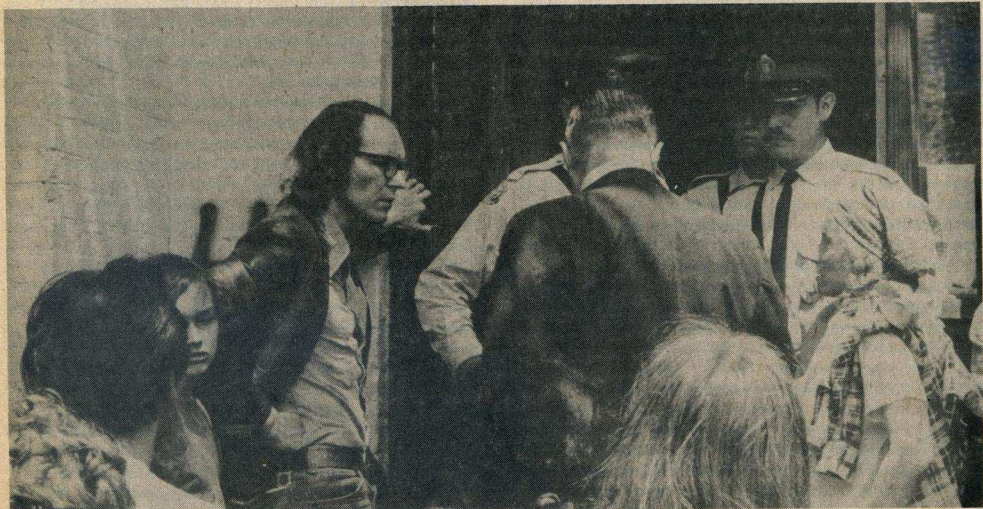
Even now, in the wake of the recent civic election in Toronto, some of the more adaptable old-line politicians and machines are moving into some of the new community action groups and there is little doubt that a manufactured backlash against the community radicals will be heard once again.

The problem is really not little neighbourhoods against the big impersonal city or the Goldwaterish conflict of little government versus big government. Toronto is a big city with a big government situated in a province with several big governments. While the argument rages in downtown Toronto about neighbourhood control, the provincial government has redrawn the political map of Ontario creating regional governments and eliminating hundreds of small municipal entities and councils. It has also, with a new policy of grants and finances as well as a transportation scheme, taken to itself more power than ever over what has nominally been considered municipal affairs.

Like Zero Population Growth, the no-growth syndrome contains some rather practical reactionary responses from those who have it made to those who don't. It is sometimes fascinating and always interesting how some of the nicest peoplish slogans and catch-words become a code for something else.

While there is no point in trying to identify the problems of cities in Canada with those of the United States, there are some interesting parallels. The word "ecology" has in the U.S., in the opinion of some experts, been used increasingly to justify keeping the poor where they are. "The history of the environmental movement has contained the pervasive

photo: David Lloyd



John Sewell at Bleeker Street: the old guard never knew how to deal with the new groups; but Bill Davis did



idea that there is something evil about the city," said a Reverend Richard Neuhaus at a conference on the cities recently held in New York.

Calling for increased suspicion about "the faddish quality of movements among people who have made it in our society," Neuhaus labelled as "arrogance and elitism" what he said was the environmental movement's attempt to "re-educate the poor so that they're not going to want what we already have."

This sort of I'm-All-Right-Jackism is one of the obvious problems with the concept of the "greening" of Toronto. The fact that no such thing is happening is another. But the most serious problem is that it replaces what is actually the urban process — the things that have been taking place and the manner in which the city has grown — with irrelevant nostalgia.

Urban regions in Ontario are growing. Toronto is such a region. It is going to grow in area and the population will become denser; neighbourhoods will change. Meanwhile, plans are being made on a much larger scale.

This thing we call "Free Enterprise" is less a system than it is a racket. Or rather, it is a complex of diverse, interlocking, sometimes merely complementary rackets. And, as we learn from Mario Puzo if not Karl Marx, things have to get organized. In a highly urban society, the municipal arena — where and how people will live, where they will work, how they will get back and forth to work, how their children will be schooled — is where a lot of the real action is.

The action is essentially real estate, and to speak of municipal politics is to speak of real estate. To speak of real estate is to speak of developers. In large, thriving municipalities there is lots of real estate and there are large, thriving developers. Development corporations which buttress their position with access to some of the largest blocks of capital in the country — the banks, the Bronfmans, the Eatons — toss off multi-million dollar re-development projects over coffee to their kept aldermen, and casually expect profit returns of 35 to 50 per cent.

Thus, to speak of municipal politics is to speak of big business — the biggest in the country — within the context of a political structure which was outmoded when the British North America Act was written.

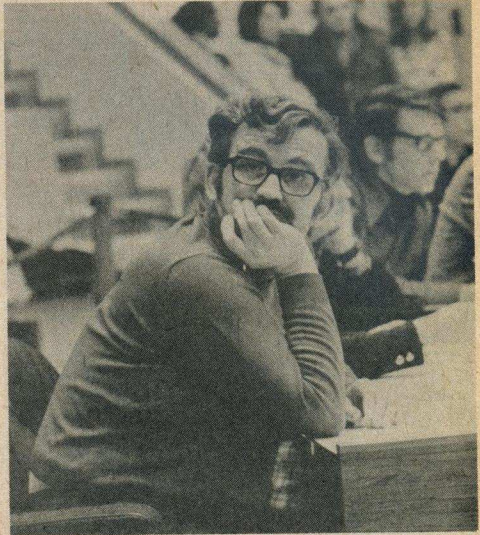
In 1972, Metropolitan Toronto set a world record in per capita construction — \$1.3 billion worth of new building permits were issued. Last fall, an article in the *Globe and Mail* said:

"If only the present plans and projects for downtown Toronto are carried through, a two-block radius around King and Bay Streets will be jammed by nearly twice as many people as inhabited the whole of Toronto of 1867. Currently, 15,000 people work in the twin towers of the Toronto-Dominion Centre. Erection of the third tower will add another 6,000 to 7,000. Add to that the 9,000 or so in the new Commerce Court, the 12,000 in the . . . Royal Bank complex, the 20,000 who will inhabit the 80-storey Olympia and York tower if it becomes a reality, the 10,000 more expected to occupy other new buildings planned or nearing construction."

That is a lot of buildings, and over the years things have worked out pretty well between the developers and the mediocre minds that have gravitated to ward politics. "Reformers" who got on council either joined the club or were eased off. And the city grew.

A clubby atmosphere developed between City Hall and

photo: David Lloyd



Dan Heap: one of the diverse group of new aldermen

the real estate sharks. A lot of friendly arrangements must have been made. Fred Gardiner's son was cut in on a piece of the action of the St. James Town project and William Allen went to his reward and became President of Kincross Mortgage Corp. (a subsidiary of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, which handles the placement of a lot of the bank's mortgage funds across Canada) shortly after his retirement from politics. Allen was later given another job as president of Dominion Realty, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Commerce which manages and operates all its properties — including the new Commerce Court in downtown Toronto.

Once in a long while an alderman would get his hands caught in the till. Such was the story of poor old Ben Grys, whose wife owned two houses in an area where land was being assembled for a high-rise complex. Grys, it transpired, was treated rather generously by the development corporation assembling the land, and there was reason to believe that Grys reciprocated in his position as chairman of the city's building and planning committee which approved the development.

But throughout all this the city, as they say, showed dynamic progress. As Cadillac Development Corporation (one of the development heavies) said in its advertisements: "our business isn't bricks, blocks and big deals. It's people."

And the people were getting the business.

Over-priced bungalows spread around the periphery in monotonous rows as far as the eye could see and the storagach could tolerate.

Closer to the core, giant filing cabinets called high-rise apartments clogged the environment.





One reaction to Premier Davis' regional municipalities schemes.

Toronto's Official City Plan was adopted in 1969. The plan designated large areas of the city for redevelopment as high-density residential areas. Translated, this meant that large areas of the city, many of them housing working class families, were to be bulldozed and replaced with high-rise, high-rent apartments. Old neighbourhoods were destroyed, and the people displaced were either banished to the outer regions of Metro or squeezed into flats and rooms in other areas not yet slated for wrecking. Thus, in the midst of Canada's largest building boom, the housing crisis became worse, rents rose and property values zoomed.

Over the last several years, the price of homes in Toronto has increased by an annual average of ten per cent. In 1972 the average price of a home in Metro was \$32,186, in 1967 it was \$24,098. During the last 12 years almost 10,000 large residential units have been demolished and replaced by fewer than 5,000 family units (units of three or more bedrooms). Office buildings and apartments with one and two bedrooms are the predominant buildings now being constructed.

When one deals in terms of average costs, it should be remembered that the average includes all types of homes in all stages of repair or disrepair. The average cost of a new home in Toronto was around \$42,000 in 1970. Given the average wage in the city a new home was thus beyond the income range of 97.9 per cent of the people.

Speaking of Metro Toronto as a whole, the average price of a house jumped from \$33,445 to \$34,782 between January and February 1973 — and the spring boom is still to hit. Toronto, you see, may be becoming a nice place to visit but far too expensive to live in.

The housing crisis which has been artificially induced in

Toronto has forced a migration to the suburbs — and beyond. And who is waiting for us out in the rolling Albion Hills and beyond all those subdivisions with the cute names and exorbitant prices? You guessed it. But we leap ahead of ourselves.

Back in Toronto, the Official Plan — known by many as a hunting licence for developers — ground on. Prices continued to climb — \$100 a square foot in certain downtown areas. Older, established factories closed, and if they did not reopen they sought cheaper land on the outskirts of the city. And the problem of getting from home to job was becoming a nightmare for thousands of Torontonians. With the dispersal of industry around the outskirts of the city the problem of transportation, the movement of people and goods over the city roads, was reaching crisis proportions.

Another fact of modern urban life was becoming obvious. Mythology has it that development means wealth, that high-rise apartments and massive office complexes are efficient in that they concentrate business and increase tax revenues. In an article based on development studies in San Francisco and one of the boroughs of Metro Toronto which appeared in *Toronto Life*, Marianne Stern shows that this development, under present conditions, actually impoverishes the city.

This may or may not be the case, but the most interesting aspect of Stern's article was expressed in her interview with Toronto's development commissioner, former disc jockey Graham Emslie. Emslie, while boasting that the proposed Metro Centre will generate a cash flow of \$28 million into the city treasury "even after we deduct our borrowing expenses," confessed that the actual economics of high-rise development had never even been studied during the period of Toronto's phenomenal growth.

"It seems self-evident now that it's something we should have been looking at," says Emslie. "But in the past, city planners were more concerned with the purely physical building process. Recently they have begun to look at social concerns. But somehow the economic aspects always got overlooked. It might develop that analysing proposed developments from an economic point of view could kill some proposed projects for Toronto, but then maybe that might be the right thing to do."

In the Borough of York, where a study of the economics of high-rise was conducted, specific examples are recorded which, in cases, show a minimal gain in assessments. In one area, a change from single housing to high-density apartments resulted in an extra four cents on the tax bill. Another area which was re-zoned from industrial to high-density residential brought in \$123,900 in added revenues but added \$196,000 in costs.

One can make what one will from the investigations and statistics, but one thing is obvious. In booming Toronto, every year the city and city government seems poorer and poorer, yet taxes go higher and higher.

In short, the system isn't working well now and some rather significant changes are in the works. The essence of these changes revolves around the decreasing role and influence of local governments — even the larger ones such as Toronto — and a growing concentration of power in the provincial government through a new level of bureaucracy.

As we have seen, it was the provincial government that determined the fate of the Spadina Expressway, and it is the provincial government that has literally taken transit policy out of the hands of the local administrations. It was the provincial government, through the powerful Ontario Municipal



Board, that determined the outcome of the ward boundaries in Toronto.

In fact, the provincial government either initiates or becomes the court of last appeal on just about every substantive matter before a municipal government so, as things stand now, if we are about to see the "greening of Toronto" it will be with the approval of the Ontario Municipal Board and Premier Bill Davis. All evidence seems to indicate that the Conservative government isn't really into Charles Reich; while everyone is contemplating their neighbourhoods, somebody out there is looking at a larger picture.

A report prepared for the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation estimates that Toronto will require 29,000 acres of land for development before 1982. The bulk of this land is situated outside the Metro boundaries, and, according to the new political map being drawn, will remain outside the control of Metro for ever. Moreover, the great bulk of this undeveloped land — 19,391 acres — is already assembled and owned by five real estate corporations. A case in point is the huge Erin Mills development, financed by the Bronfman real estate company, Cemp Investments, with Eaton's in on part of the action.

Erin Mills, directly to the west and north of Toronto, will probably develop into one of the major political scandals of the decade. It consists of 7,000 acres and is planned to house about 170,000 people. It has been put together over the last 19 years with almost no governmental control.

The agreement between the developers and the town of Mississauga runs scarcely three typewritten pages and ignores fundamental considerations such as design, staging, type and location of housing, services and other amenities. The town of Mississauga — much less Toronto where the vast majority

of the eventual inhabitants of Erin Mills will work — will exercise no control over the development. In fact, Mississauga is slated to disappear into the new metropolitan region of Peel.

Most of Ontario is now being formed into metropolitan areas. In 1969, a regional government was formed in Ottawa-Carleton out of 16 separate municipalities. It covers 1,100 square miles with a population of more than 460,000. Niagara was formed from 26 municipalities and covers 720 square miles with a population of 338,494. York, formed in 1970 from 14 municipalities directly to the north of Toronto, covers 640 square miles with a population of 161,372. Muskoka, formed in 1971 from 25 municipalities, covers 1,688 square miles with a population of about 30,000. Waterloo, formed in 1973 from 15 municipalities, covers 550 square miles with a population of 245,000. Sudbury, formed in 1973 from 15 municipalities, covers an area of 1,074 square miles with a population of 163,000. Slated for regionalization are the area between Niagara and Metro Toronto — including Hamilton — and the Oshawa area to Toronto's east extending to Cobourg. More than 65 per cent of Ontario's population is now living in regional metropolitan areas. By 1975, all but the most sparsely populated areas of the province will be covered.

Regional government began in Ontario in 1954 with the creation of Metropolitan Toronto out of the city of Toronto and 14 adjoining municipalities, reduced in 1966 to the city and five surrounding boroughs. Toronto was alone until 1966 when Ottawa-Carleton was formed and at the beginning of this year the government embarked on a headlong rush to create regional governments across the province.

There is wide disparity in the regional areas. In some cases, like Toronto, they work to confine the growth of the city at least in physical terms, and in others they force the amalgamation of existing communities into a curious mix of urban and rural areas covering a large area of land. But there is one general attribute to these regions. They dissipate local control, place an unequal tax burden on a region's residents and disproportionate representation on regional councils. They are undemocratic.

Also, through a complex system of subsidies from the provincial government, subsidies which can be increased, decreased and indeed ended anytime, the province has complete political control. And the regions with their large and diverse communities effectively remove political power over even small local matters from elected representatives to a new group of super-managers. A would-be developer saves himself plenty of hassles from local elected governments. It is all so bloody efficient.

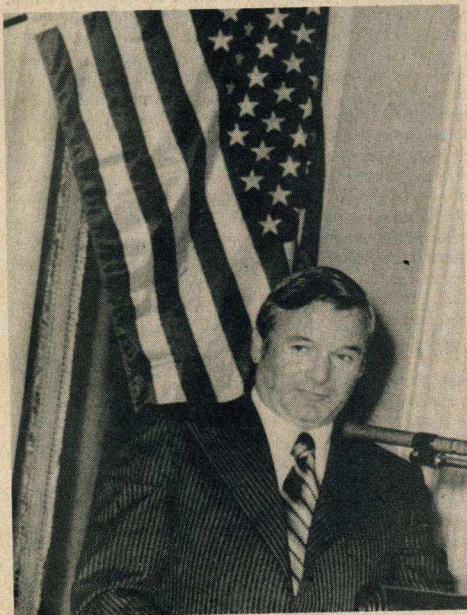
Now, with regional governments straddling the lake from Niagara Falls to Cobourg, and with the eventual development of such middle-tier governments from Windsor right to the Quebec border, the provincial government is creating a potential high-population industrial strip that can turn Southern Ontario into a complete disaster area.

Thus, while Torontonians gloat over the victory of the little people at the polls, the triumph of the middle class ethic and the "greening of Toronto", perhaps they should give a thought to what is happening around them before the whole of Ontario is paved.

---

*Rae Murphy is a member of the Last Post editorial board based in Toronto.*

---



**Premier Bill Davis: the man who really runs Toronto**



## A singer to the ear of everyman

By MARK STAROWICZ and ROBERT CHODOS

This is the era of the vanishing art form. Poetry has been proclaimed dead, as has the novel. The movies replaced theatre, but the debates are still going on about which films, are art and which are not. There were high hopes for television, but prohibitive production costs have kept it in the hands of the few.

If one wishes to talk about other people's art, one has to talk about art that people look at or listen to. No matter how sensitive and moving and deeply-felt the work of a poet whose books sell 500 or 1,000 copies, it fails one crucial test. This is not to suggest that box office is the only artistic criterion, but simply that the ability to reach a large number of people is one fairly accurate measure of significance. Rod McKuen is the people's poet of our era.

This has less to do with what McKuen says in his concerts and his mass-produced books — the same pap is being served by any number of heard and unheard voices — than with how he chooses to get his message across. The choice of form is neither arbitrary nor accidental, and it is far from unimportant. In part, of course, the question of form is internal

to the artist; one cannot magically turn a painter into a playwright.

But there is also a large element of deliberate selection. Often the motives are rather crass. Money, for instance, as in the case of McKuen, Tom Jones and their ilk. Or fashion: one year starting a rock band is in; the next year everybody's making a movie with a hand-held camera and an Opportunities for Youth grant.

In the area of poetry and music, there is also another, more honourable tradition.

Most of its practitioners have been anonymous. Its production requirements are simple: a musical instrument, a degree of inventiveness, a good memory and a human voice. Its chief mode of expression is the ballad.

It is international, highly flexible and easily survives transitions of time and place. ("I learned this from my father," says John Allan Cameron, probably Canada's foremost ballad singer, as he introduces one song, "who learned it from his grandmother, who learned it from her second cousin, who learned it from a tobacco picker in Virginia, who learned it from an old Connie Francis album.")

Variants of some of the more durable English ballads can be found wherever the language is spoken. There are versions of "Barbara Allen" from England, versions from Scotland, from Ireland, from the United States, from the Maritimes, from Newfoundland. Usually the original English setting is retained, but not always. A version with a last verse like:

For this young man he's died for love  
And the fair maid shortly after,  
The finest young man all in New York died  
For the love of Dave Allen's daughter.

turns up in Nova Scotia.

The ballads have all been collected, written down, put on tape, annotated and had scholarly theses written about them. But there are still people singing them who have never heard of Professor Francis James Child and his definitive collection. And there are still people writing new ones.

The methods of distribution have widened, although the old method of oral transmission from one generation to the next has not entirely died out. There is the record, the television, the concert hall, the coffeehouse. There is also the union hall, the political meeting, the peace rally. But the form remains remarkably constant. Even more remarkably,

### Greenpeace AND HER ENEMIES

by James Eyars

A major collection of essays and articles from one of Canada's most highly praised and widely damned commentators on public affairs.

*"Eyars emerges . . . as a cross between H.L. Mencken and Herbert Marcuse, using his switchblade wit and accumulated wisdom to support the radical thesis that the essence of politics is the creation of freedom."*

— Peter Newman, *The Gobe & Mail*

Available at all good booksellers

ANANSI



\$11.50



do does the content: love proposed, love betrayed, the supernatural, war, death, disaster and the hard conditions of life. These were fifteenth-century themes; they are also twentieth-century themes, whether it be Joe Hill:

These gunny-sack contractors have all been  
dirty actors  
And they're not our benefactors, every  
fellow-worker knows  
So we all must stick together in fine  
or dirty weather  
And we will show no white feather where  
the Fraser River flows.

or Ewan MacColl:

In the town of Springhill, Nova Scotia,  
Late in the year of fifty-eight  
Day still comes and the sun still shines  
But it's dark as a grace in the Cumberland mine.

or Bob Dylan:

William Zanzinger killed poor Hattie Carroll  
With a cane that he twirled 'round his  
diamond-ring finger  
At a Baltimore hotel society gatherin'  
And the cops was called in and his weapon  
took from him . . . .

The tradition is not impoverished, only saddened, by the attempts of some of its practitioners to deny it. "She's still singing about Mary Hamilton," Dylan once said of Joan Baez, "and where's that at?" It was meant as a put-down.

The Mariposa Festival, held each summer on the islands off Toronto harbour, is one of the dying breed of such events that respects traditional music. It's become a pilgrimage for a generation of mid-to-late sixties people that has otherwise disappeared from view. It's even got a melancholy tinge to it, because the number of people that still revere the music of Mississippi John Hurt, Bukka White, the great fiddlers and pioneers of blues, suddenly seems finite — a few hundred, those around you.

But then it's not melancholy if you see the faces of the audience. They're young, some very young. And while there are many performers that are so old that people have come to see them before they die, it's a very good feeling to see young fiddlers, young blues and folk artists. In the superimposition of the young and the old, you can think that maybe there is continuity, and this isn't a sneak preview of a museum.

And just as encouraging is to see the blending of Canadian and American traditional, country and folk. A sense of separate development, but common root and identity of interest between people who've worked hard all their lives emerges in the blend.

Mariposa, in short, is a serious affair, where music that has roots in the people, the land, and the city core is respected.

On the last evening of the 1972 festival, stretched over the long lawns and behind clumps of old trees, five or six tents were surrounded by squatting groups of three or four hundred each — one tent was a blues workshop, another had a fiddle workshop, and near the eastern tip of the island, one had John Allan Cameron come on, just after New Brunswick's Edith Butler.

Cameron, a bit shy, ingenuous, picking a 12-string guitar with a \$40 fiddle on the side, was singing the music of

Cape Breton, Newfoundland, a song written by someone in Alberta, an Irish traditional.

About halfway into his set, one by one, people scrambled to their feet and ran in the other direction. Two by two, every couple of seconds, until you could see people fleeing from all the other tents but one, rushing towards who-knew-what. It seemed as if the Toronto-Dominion centre across the bay had blown up and everyone was massing to see the rest of the skyscrapers crumble.

Cameron, who kept on singing, was left with about fifty stalwarts.

Well, it seems that Bob Dylan had just arrived at the tail end of the Festival by helicopter or something, and was hanging around one of the tents, so he was quickly surrounded by two or three thousand people gawking.

We had met Cameron the evening before, at a motel where the performers were housed two to a room. After a few minutes of idle conversation he had invited us and a couple of others into his room, which he shared with a young fiddler from Quebec, and together the two played for us from midnight till six in the morning. He just about went through the history of the Maritimes, of the Scottish and Irish emigrations, all in ballad.

The sight of everyone fleeing the next day to catch a glimpse of Bob Dylan served as a bitter footnote to that night.

Cameron is no stranger to a lot of people in Canadian music. The people who watch Countrytime or Tommy Hunter will know him. The legends that throng to Anne Murray concerts know him, because she shares the stage with him in her act. But likely as not, to the "serious" young music crowd in Toronto or Vancouver, Cameron is a stranger.

---

## Winnipeg 1919

### The strikers' own history of the Winnipeg General Strike

Edited with an introduction by Norman Penner

An extraordinary document published for the first time — a detailed history of the Winnipeg General Strike, written by members of the organizing strike committee. As well as describing what actually happened during the strike, the distortions and hysteria of what the strikers call the "kept press" are recorded. Accompanying the strikers' history are more than 30 photographs, including a 10-frame sequence of the charge by the RCMP on people gathered in front of Winnipeg's city hall when police bullets killed one man and injured many others.

Paper \$2.95

Publication: April

---

Our RCMP Centennial year book:

## An Unauthorized History of the RCMP

Lorne and Caroline Brown

The first critical history of Canada's national police force, recounting their activities through Canadian history — strikebreaking in the 20's and 30's, persecution of immigrants and the unemployed, intelligence work and infiltration of the Communist Party, and their treatment of draft dodgers and farmers during the 60's.

Paper \$1.95

Publication: April

---

James Lewis & Samuel, Publishers



# A new crop of Spring Penguins

*This Spring if your fancy turns to good reading, we have whatever you fancy. The Penguin Spring list is blooming with dozens of interesting and important titles like these:*

## THE BATTLE OF BOGSIDE

*Clive Limpkin*

This photographic record of three years of violence in Ulster speaks more eloquently than words of the futility and horror of war. **\$4.25**

## OUTLAWS OF AMERICA

*Roger Lewis*

This Penguin original investigates the social and political implications of the proliferating underground press both in Europe and North America. **\$1.65**

## THE BEST OF I.F. STONE'S WEEKLY

*ed. Neil Middleton*

For 18 years I.F. Stone produced his *Weekly* from Washington writing virtually every word himself. Pledged to expose corruption and folly at home and abroad, he remained true to his vision of what is best in the Western liberal tradition. **\$2.50**

## OPPOSITION

*Ghita Ionescu and Isabel de Madriaga*

What useful functions does parliamentary opposition fulfill today? Is it as effective as group opposition? By negative and delaying action, does it distract the government from its most urgent tasks? **\$1.65**

## MY WAR WITH THE C.I.A.

*Norodom Sihanouk and Wilfred Burchett*

A shocking expose by the ex-king of Cambodia of the ignoble motives lying behind friendly offers of American aid. **\$2.15**

## A FAREWELL TO ARMS CONTROL

*Elizabeth Young*

While the rituals of anti-proliferation negotiations continues at its usual leisurely pace, the arms race is speeding up daily. Elizabeth Young offers timely suggestions for international co-operation before it's too late. **\$2.15**

## RADICAL PERSPECTIVES IN THE ARTS

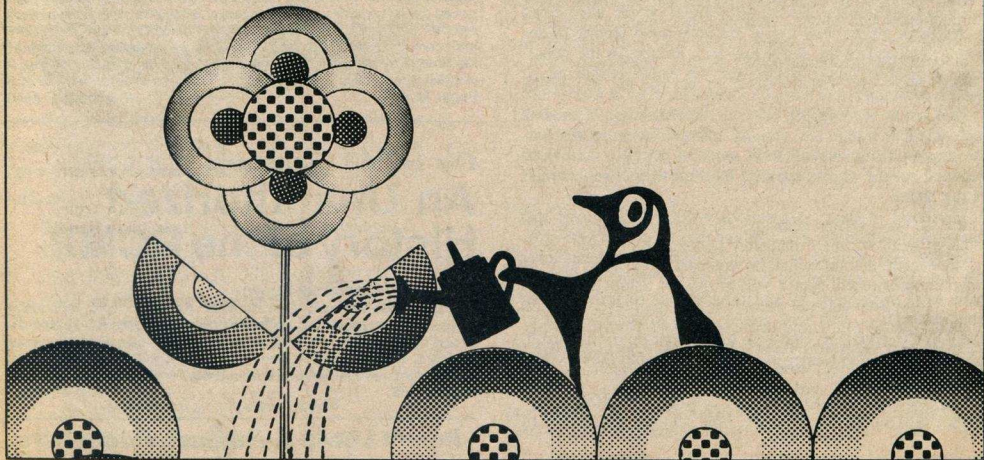
*ed. Lee Baxandall*

What is the relation of the arts to political ideology? Herbert Marcuse, George Lukacs, John Berger, Jean-Paul Sartre, Fidel Castro and other important thinkers ponder the question. **\$2.75**

## GREAT DAY COMING: FOLK MUSIC AND THE AMERICAN LEFT

*R. Serge Denisoff*

An illustrated study of folk music as a political weapon in the U.S., from the protest songs of the communist party in the 1930's and 40's to those of the New Left during the 60's. **\$2.75**





And therein is the best compliment we can perhaps pay John Allan Cameron. The 34-year-old St. Francis Xavier graduate from Mabou, Cape Breton, who almost became a priest is a hundred times more a singer of the people than the droves of alienated and "revolutionary" poets pouring out of Eastern Sound Studios in Toronto.

Cameron's is a story of some fortune too. He was told by one big recording company nobody would buy "this local Canadian stuff". After all, the only interest in Maritimers in Toronto is among the nouveau Canadian film buffs, delighted at the discovery of our own Appalachia, rushing to the Film Development Corporation with another rejected CBC script about the son of a drunken but proud fisherman who came from the boonies to Toronto, etc. Everybody without a proletarian present wants a proletarian past.

But John Allan plugs away, convinced that someone will be interested in the roots, and what the roots still produce today.

His albums — Here Comes John Allan Cameron, The Minstrel of Cranberry Lane, Get There by Dawn, and the latest, Lord of the Dance — are a blend of Scottish and Irish traditional, Bruce Cockburn, Ottawa Valley modern folk, country, and one by a dentist from Edmonton.

And while the beauty of Cameron's blend lies precisely in his ability to mix traditional and contemporary ballads, there is still a lot of pressure on him to match the market and play down the "traditional" image. The composition

of Cameron's mixture has undergone a gradual change. The more recent albums have more contemporary songs, fewer traditional ones. On Lord of the Dance he includes a couple of country and western numbers, on which he is not at his best.

One might hope that this represents only a broadening of Cameron's interests, and that he will not yield to the pressures of what is regarded as today's music market. It is important that he continue to help change the market, rather than let it change him. Some apple must have tried to tell Mississippi John Hurt or the Clancy Brothers to "get with it" once too.

Cameron's songs are enriched by a mastery of the guitar and the fiddle, and a delicate handling of every song as if it were a rare piece of porcelain.

And cumulatively, there emerges that feeling of continuity, of music accessible to the ear of Everyman, of someone saying that the history must be remembered, that the ballads are the journalism of their time, and, above all, that it's still there, still being written, under our very noses, and that, as is the wont of this country, we are the last ones to know.

---

Mark Starowicz and Robert Chodos are members of the editorial board of the *Last Post*, based in Toronto.

---

## A time rich in social intensity

by RALPH SURETTE

**The Shouting Signpainters**, by Malcolm Reid, McClelland and Stewart. 315 pp. \$8.95.

The 1960's ... a time of left wing fermentation, both harsh and exuberant, throughout much of the world. But in Quebec — a strange and special thing. Bombs went off. Liberals panicked. Pillars crumbled (or did they? for things were often not as they seemed). Mad poets declaimed, confusing desperation with beauty. Drapolic winked, wiped the blood off their nightsticks, then went on strike themselves. A musty society was uncorked and ideologies thus released swirled and fizzed with the ambiguity of vapours from an old bottle: is the scent that of wine or vinegar, revolution or reactionism?

Malcolm Reid was there from the beginning, participating and taking notes. The fruits of his long labours now are with us, in a book whose title evokes those who used the word as an instrument of revolt.

The centre of his interest is *parti pris*,

a separatist-Marxist magazine and later publishing house, and the group of talented individuals surrounding it (primarily Jacques Renaud, André Major and Paul Chamberland) who took the language of the people, *joual*, virtually invented a new literature with it which dramatized a specifically Québécois mode of working class perception and then sought to put that literature at the service of their revolution.

The book documents their success and their failure, their revolt and their mellowing (and in some cases their coping out). This against the background of movements of agitation which often enough were started by *parti pris* people.

The magazine was published between the autumn of 1963 and the summer of 1968. In the wider scope of things, it plucked at birth the leading role in progressive thought in Quebec from *cité libre*, the left-Catholic publication of the Trudeau, Pelletiers, Marchands, etc., hanging over from the anti-Duplessis days.

Hence an ironic note: *parti pris* plucks



Canadian young people are raising \$20,000 to help build the Nguyen Van Troi Children's Hospital in Hanoi.

Please give generously.

Send your donations to the Vietnam Children's Hospital Fund.

128 Delaware Avenue,  
Toronto 173, Ontario.



the burning brand from *cit  libre*, then ceases to exist the moment Canada is blessed with a *cit  libre* government in 1968.

That was not the cause of its demise, however. For 1968 was also the year that the Parti Qu b cois was formed, and the magazine came apart over whether or not to support it, whether nationalism should come before socialism. The publishing house is still functioning.

Reid's is not an ordered book. It lacks academic cleanliness, sterilized categories, footnotes (thereby incurring the displeasure of the *Canadian Forum*); it is not a College Survey of Revolutionary Lit., happily. Its basic strength lies in the fact that it does not, like conventional writing about Quebec in English, distort the subject by interpreting it in terms of Anglo-Saxon logic. Often, in fact, a point will be brought to life by contrasting a Quebec situation or attitude with an English Canadian, American or European one, and Reid brings an eclectic mind and his own travel experiences to this particular task.

The book falls into no category. Reid calls it reportage, journalism. It is that, as it contains the distillation of a great many interviews with *partipristes* and

others, but it is also part contemporary history, part personal political diary, part panorama of the intellectual-cum-bistro life of the times. Its prime appeal is perhaps that it is formed by a constant stream of insights into the multi-faceted and fundamentally ambiguous reality of Quebec in the 1960's.

There is the ambiguity of a reactionary Catholic society giving birth rather brusquely to a revolutionary movement, many of whose stars were being weaned shortly before as the future elite of the existing social theocracy (e.g. Valli res "had been a seminarian with a religious order for a time, and the usual wry remarks were made about exchanging one mission for another").

Reid, himself the product of a Protestant-CCF-Ottawa English Canadian environment, obviously did not experience that particular duality, but he has chosen judiciously from among the most significant writings of the early 60's to make the point, from Fr re Untel's bubbling clerical "insolences" ("so the vice is deep — it is at the level of syntax") to a trenchant exposition by Pierre Maheu in *parti pris* of the thesis that the members of the FLQ, freshly apprehended by the stern *cur s*-become-police, "are the first to live at a political level what we have all experienced at school and in our families."

Later in the book, time having passed, we see Maheu, who "has personified *parti pris* around the province since its beginnings," as a not particularly revolutionary adman with Cockfield Brown. We also see the *parti pris* group, which had spread panic into the hearts of good progressives and conservatives alike, forgiven: "Good boys, but keeping bad company. That had been the line on the FLQ, and that was the line on *parti pris*."

Hence, another profound ambiguity: that of a land which is half colonized, half consumer society: a society which dangles the bait of the good life forever before the vanguard of those who revolt (an old trick: the leaders of the 1837 rebellion took the bait and became respected citizens; only their followers were hanged) and which, having pronounced it "safe" although naughty, provides its revolutionary elite with many opportunities to become good boys — and even allows them to keep their little habits as a hobby after working hours!

We see Paul Chamberland "living the contradiction between malcontent and lover of life." It is the "intellectual's

dilemma — bound to the working class by principle, but to the bourgeoisie by lifestyle."

The shouting signpainter moves West of the Main, learns the colonizer's language, "but the nation is still back there in the slums, still as he described it in his shoutings."

Or, we see others like Yvon Husereau, not necessarily a *partipriste* but an agitator and pamphleteer in working class movements who spent a few months in jail (without coming to trial) for his pains, having "undoubtedly been discouraged, in his already mounting years of revolutionary activity, to find the revolution so hard to charm up to waking life, and in recent months he has withdrawn from activism into way, way-out Marxist scholarship."

We also see, inevitably, some of the *partipristes*, who had categorically rejected the past as containing nothing but stupid obscurantism and exploitation, looking for "roots" at a later point in the sixties. Andr  Major started seeking roots rather early and "one suspects that it was this reaching for the folk traditions of French Canada when seeking roots for the revolution that had alienated Major from *parti pris*." But later we see that "for G rald Godin and the whole group called *parti pris*, perhaps things are no longer as clear, the rupture with the old no longer as compelling . . ."

There are other ambiguities Reid touches upon, some rather too briefly such as the curious kind of revolutionary humour that has risen from the bitterness of slum life. He also mentions the Cr ditistes, which started as a sort of right wing para revolution, and comes up with a Rumanian bookseller who was at work relating social credit to communism. But really, this is a much deeper vein in Quebec life (reminiscent of the Red-Tory phenomenon in English Canada) as the switch from right wing to left wing activism is not uncommon and many a Marxist traces his beginnings to social credit.

Reid has written an important book. It contains a great deal to think about. It also contains enough for most people to find something to criticize.

I find that — perhaps inevitably for anyone writing about contemporary events — some of the questions he deals with do not have the importance they might have seemed to have a few years ago, and that occasionally he dwells overlong on what seems to me to be merely the normal quibbling attendant on most left movements which are in the process of coming apart.

NOW AVAILABLE

## Unequal Union

Stanley B. Ryerson

Out for print for some time  
and now available in a new  
second printing

"What the liberal historians have systematically eliminated from their historiography, namely the interaction of all classes making history, is the starting point of this lucid account of the origins and problems of modern Canada."

Canadian Journal of History  
and Social Science

Paper: \$3.95 Cloth \$12.50

order from



**Progress Books**

487 Adelaide St. West  
Toronto, Ontario M5V 1T4



On the negative side still, there are a few kinks in Reid's prose. He has a fluid style that normally flows very well, but sometimes gets outrageously complicated when the concept he is dealing with gets complicated. This has the unfortunate effect of camouflaging some very interesting points that would be best served by simplicity of expression.

Reid situates himself in his book. We know where he stands politically. *The Shouting Signpainters* is a radical book, and it is Reid's own "shout" (strictly, the title comes from Chamberland's long, strong, violent and uncompromising poem of 1964 called "L'Afficheur hurle" — literally "the poster-hanger screams"). This is a brave thing to do — plunk oneself in one's own book. But in this case it works very well. Apart from sparing the reader liberal-like pretensions to "objectivity" it helps the author develop a sense of involvement with the people he is writing about.

This gives the book a novel-like quality, as these many characters involved in the same theme move along, their lives developing. It also gives the time and place he is writing about an exotic quality which is, one suspects, the element which has endeared the book to English-language reviewers of the commercial press. And it is not an element to be overlooked, especially by a reader who has not lived through the events in question.

Even I, who as a reporter spent many an evening ducking missiles in the middle of riots and demonstrations and attending angry meetings in dingy basements, found it very appealing in that sense. I'm sure if I wrote down my perception of Quebec in the sixties, Reid would find that exotic. Quebec was that rich in social intensity and events: that most people would find the elements of another person's experience during that time somewhat strange.

One last word. Reid has been criticized by some reviewers for not mentioning the crucial events of 1969 and 1970 although the publication date would have allowed him to. In my view it has been wise of him to avoid them. Apart from the danger of falling into mere punditry when writing of something so current, the book is complete as it is.

Reid took that white-hot burst of anger and creativity of the early sixties and followed it through.

There was a great deal of exuberance and naivety in the radical movement in Quebec as elsewhere during those years.

Many people were in it for the lifestyle more than anything. The police strike of 1969, the Brink's incident during the 1970 election and the kidnap crisis brought that naivety to an end and sent many a hanger-on to other forms of escapism. As such, those events marked the coming of a more grim stage in Quebec politics and belong more properly to the mood of the 1970's.

And that mood is not nice at all. The

right wing is feeling its oats, the Olympics are coming and people talk nervously of "security" . . . but that's a whole new story.

Hopefully, Reid still has his notebook out and will in a few years give us the story of the seventies.

Ralph Surette is a member of the Last Post editorial board, based in Montreal.

## Nationalism of the left?

By MICHAEL ORNSTEIN

**Capitalism and the National Question in Canada**, edited by Gary Teeple. University of Toronto Press, \$4.95.

The resurgence of Canadian nationalism we are now witnessing poses urgent questions to the left in English Canada. What is the connection between the struggle for socialism and the often middle class nationalist movement now emerging? What is the meaning of the growing nationalist sentiment among some big businessmen, prominent Liberal and Conservative politicians, and in the media — can the left simply disassociate itself from these forces and define a left nationalist movement in opposition

to the CIC brand? What impact can nationalism have on the trade union movement?

A book with the title *Capitalism and the National Question in Canada* should provide some insight into these questions. Readers in search of answers in the debate about nationalism will be disappointed. Gary Teeple has pulled together an interesting group of essays centering on the theme, but nothing like a definitive analysis. These essays begin to pose the new understanding of Canadian history that will allow us to deal with nationalism, but fall far short of meeting the *political* need. This inability to deal with the central questions of nationalism is a sign of the state of the left in English Canada today; and this book is a sign of how far we have come

## THE DECOLONIZATION OF QUEBEC

Sheilagh Hodgins Milner  
Henry Milner

In recent years, Quebec has produced a popular and powerful movement united by aims fundamentally opposed to the status quo of this province. The movement is characterized by a strong separatist, left-wing ideology, and a broad representation from labour and professional classes. This volume presents a radical and comprehensive analysis of the movement and its roots in the economic, social and historical conditions of Quebec. It is sympathetic to the movement's goals, and as such is a unique contribution to the present debate on Quebec's future.

Maclelland and Stewart Ltd./The Canadian Publishers  
Available at good bookstores everywhere. \$3.95





in the debate, and how far we have to go.

There is a remarkable difference between the approach in the eight essays about English Canada and in the two which deal with Quebec. The essays on Quebec present a class analysis of Quebec society and an explicit discussion of the forces behind nationalism. Those on English Canada focus on the interpretation of Canadian history, not on the political questions.

Teepie clearly describes his own political position in the introduction: Canada is a colony of the United States; socialists have the pressing task of "detaching the trade unions from American control and making them 'schools of socialism.'" "First the struggle for Canadian unions, then socialism. While this is the editor's perspective, apparently it is not shared by all of the contributors, though none of them contradict Teepie's position.

Tom Naylor's "The Rise and Fall of the Third Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence" which begins the collection, is a significant contribution to the study of the Canadian ruling class and state. His thesis, in short, is that Canada never really developed a ruling class based on manufacturing industry. Instead, a complex of bankers with control of the transportation industry and utilities and some other sectors has directed the economy and dominated the government. The finance-centered Canadian ruling class with its lack of roots in manufacturing and modern resource development, allowed the takeover of these parts of

the Canadian economy by foreign interests in the fifties and sixties. This is a compelling argument, which provides many useful insights into the Canadian economy and politics. Naylor successfully elaborates Kari Levitt's position, put forward in *Silent Surrender*, that Canadians have shown a lack of the entrepreneurship required to retain control of their economy.

But Naylor makes his argument too sweeping. He obscures parts of our history while illuminating others. The essay begins with the assertion that "Canadian history is the history of a French, British, and an American colony successively." Yet Naylor never defines just what he means by the term "colony", and this is a critical concept — surely there is some risk in trying to understand the colony of New France and Canada in 1973 in the same terms. If Canada is now an American colony, are we to believe that all nationalism, that of the CIC and the *Toronto Star* and CBC commentators, is a part of the struggle for the national liberation of English Canada?

Somehow our ruling class managed to develop a very largely Canadian-owned steel industry — how is this to be explained? Canada is now a developed capitalist nation with a standard of living that cannot be compared to that of the underdeveloped third world. The development of capitalism within Canada was moved by the same forces that are found in other capitalist nations — our history is characterized *both* by the kind of dependency that Naylor describes and capitalism within the country. Socialists must work towards a formulation that deals with both these processes.

All three of the articles on trade unions argue the nationalist thesis set out by Teepie in his introduction: The Canadian trade union movement's failure to challenge capitalism in a sustained way is due to the influence of international unions. Freed of this tie, the logic goes, we would have a militant, anti-imperialist, and presumably soon socialist, trade union movement. Each of these essays describes the way in which international unions have systematically opposed workers' struggles once they went beyond trade union issues, like demands for recognition of a union and for higher wages. Trade union opposition to general strikes and the destruction of the Canadian Seamens' Union by the Seafarers' International union are just two examples.

The way in which nationalist his-

torians treat the Western militancy which reached a peak in 1919 and 1920 provides an insight into the difficulties with their approach. Roger Howard and Jack Scott, in an essay titled "International Unions and the Ideology of Class Collaboration," says that Americans were responsible for the hostility in parts of the trade union movement to the Winnipeg General Strike and the *One Big Union*. Howard and Scott see this as a struggle between bad Americans and good Canadians. They tell only part of the story. In the United States at that time, Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labour, was carrying out a vicious red-baiting campaign against militant American trade unionists; Canadian craft union leaders opposed the movement from the West. The labour upsurge after the first world war resulted in general strikes in Winnipeg and Seattle, while other important clashes took place throughout the west of Canada and the United States.

A key element in Teepie's orientation to trade unions is the way in which he sees the Canadian experience as historically separate from that of other nations — if only it weren't for the Americans, the unions would never have become class collaborationist. The rise of business unionism and the decline of earlier militancy is found in *all* advanced capitalist societies. Surely it is possible to recognize the uniqueness of the Canadian situation while still dealing with the forces at work on trade unions in all developed capitalist nations.

## APPOINTMENT

Psychology Department oriented toward humanistic, innovative and integrative approaches to clinical and social problems needs two new Ph.D.'s with scholarly as well as applied interests, one in social psychology and one in the personality-clinical field. The Department offers maximum time and opportunity for staff members to develop their own special areas of competence in their own unique academic fields. Visiting lecturer appointments at starting salary of around \$10,500. Please send *vitae*, three letters of reference, and a sample of your work that best expresses your personal and professional orientation.

Address all correspondence to:  
**CHAIRMAN,  
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY,  
UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN,  
REGINA, CANADA.**

## APPOINTMENT

**SOCIALIST PHYSICIANS** are required to participate in a community owned and controlled multiplicity group practice of 20,000 in a pleasant University city on the Prairies. A partnership between providers and consumers of health care, working under a tax-financed medical insurance plan, trying to humanize and unify preventative and therapeutic ambulatory health care. **PROFESSIONAL CHAUVINISTS SHOULD NOT APPLY.**

Do not wait for the medical revolution. In Saskatchewan — the first spark is burning brightly and American physicians can register without difficulty.

**WANTED IMMEDIATELY:** Specialist in Psychiatry, Specialist in Internal Medicine, Specialist in Obstetrics and Gynaecology with Canadian Fellowship or Certification or eligibility to write. Family Physicians with wholistic approach who are sensitive to the social and emotional needs of their patients.

**CONDITIONS OF SERVICE** - not bad. \$19,000 — \$30,000 per annum with some fringe benefits.

Apply to:  
**The Medical Director  
Community Clinic  
455 Second Avenue North  
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan  
S7K 2C2**



Leo Johnson's essay on the development of class in Canada in the twentieth century provides a good overview of the Canadian working class, the decline of small business and the farmers, and the nature of the ruling class. While his discussion is admirably informative and concise, the political analysis with which he ties it together is not so clear. Johnson argues that Canadian political history has until now been dominated by the struggle between the *petit bourgeoisie* (almost entirely the farmers, that is; not the small businessmen) and capital — the agrarian radical tradition of the west being its most obvious manifestation. Now "we are entering a new era of Canadian history where the primary conflict of social forces is moving from one between the capitalist and *petit bourgeois* modes of production, to a conflict of capital and labour," a conflict "more closely resembling Marx's delineation of capitalist economy."

In demographic terms, Johnson is perfectly right. But the class struggle isn't just scored by numbers. Our history is marked by genuine workers' struggles and not only by the class action of a steadily diminishing farmers' movement — intense confrontations between capital and labour occurred before the First World War, in 1919, in the latter part of the depression, and in the post-war years. While the last seventy years have been marked by a huge growth in the working class they have also seen an acceleration of the differentiation *within* the class. The large numbers of professional and white collar workers, women and immigrants in the labour force pose enormous barriers to the building of a movement capable of uniting the whole of the working class. Paradoxically, perhaps, the past ten years have seen political movement concentrated among groups that are not in the "mainstream" of the working class, witness the late sixties' radicalizations of students and women, and now the growth of militancy among Canadian farmers and native peoples. Nationalist sentiment itself, and much of "community action", are at present concentrated among students and professionals.

An essay by Gilles Bourque and Nicole Laurin-Frenette called "Social Classes and Nationalist Ideologies in Quebec, 1760-1970" provides a model use of Marxist analysis applied to a national question. This article deals explicitly with the class nature of nationalism in Quebec. In an essay written with remarkable clarity and simplic-

ity, they show how the group of technocrats whose entry into Quebec provincial government marked the "Quiet Revolution" of the early sixties, later split in two: an anti-nationalist group now centered around Bourassa's government and the group which formed the Parti Québécois.

They strongly attack the theory of "ethnic class", developed by Rioux and Dofny, which argues that all Québécois, workers and capitalists alike, are oppressed by English-Canadian and foreign capital; Bourque and Laurin-Frenette argue that this theory obscures the class relations within Quebec society. It is disappointing that this article was completed in early 1970 and so fails to deal with the October crisis and the upsurge of trade union militancy. Paradoxically, the Common Front struggle appears to have grown out of the nationalist movement, while itself shifting the focus to class issues and away from nationalist demands like those around the French language.

What is perhaps most interesting about the contents of this book is the one essay that should be there, but isn't! It might be titled, "Nationalist Ideology and Class in English Canada." And you might well suspect that its absence is the result of the thorny historical prob-

lems that the writer of such a chapter would have to pose to a historian of Teep- le's nationalist persuasion. A nationalist ideology, the National Policy, guided the consolidation of capitalism in Canada, from the time of Confederation until well into the twentieth century. On the labour scene, two trade union centrals, the All Canadian Congress of Labour and the Quebec-based Federation of Catholic Workers of Canada were *both* nationalist and class collaborationist. If Teep- le is to make his case, he will have to deal with some of these "inconvenient" facts of Canadian history too.

The problem is that the essays in this book never do address the question squarely: What *is* the relationship between nationalism and socialism in Canada? Most of the essays suggest, obliquely, that nationalism is a progressive force. But the retelling of history alone, even when it is of the calibre of Naylor's piece, is no substitute for a clear *political* analysis.

It is an important contribution to the debate around nationalism. And it could be the stimulus for a far better understanding of nationalism on the left.

---

Michael Ornstein teaches sociology at York University.

---

## A step forward for Milton Acorn

by ROBIN MATHEWS

**More Poems for People**, by Milton Acorn. New Canada Press. \$1.75.

*More Poems For People* is a good book. It is also an important book. It takes its title ("with grateful thanks") from a book by Dorothy Livesay published in 1947. It is perhaps significant politically, among the writers, that nearly twenty-five years had to elapse between Dorothy Livesay's book called *Poems for People* and Milton Acorn's called *More Poems For People*.

Acorn's book is an expression of insistence that poetry can be, and in our time in Canada must be, committed to anti-imperialism and the people of the land, in love and in hope.

It's important, too, because it's a step forward for Acorn, I think, a step that is ideological as well as aesthetic and that makes him a better poet than he was. He was a good poet in *I've Tasted My Blood* (1969), but some things got into that book that were the poems of a Canadian still hooked partly on the liberal ideology. Bill Bissett could have written them. There are, for instance, two poems in *I've Tasted My Blood*



# HAD ENOUGH?

You know that capitalism is a sick society! But are you ready to throw in the towel after these many years of bombast from 57 varieties of self-styled revolutionaries? Are you looking for a remote desert island to avoid the Leninist-Trotskyist-Maoist-Guevarist and other splinters thereof who daily assault your ears and eyes? Have you begun to suspect, with good reason, that each are offering the same old goods with but a change in the decoration on the package? So they offer you capitalism, administered by the state, under the pseudonym: socialism?

Alternatively, there is the other hangup. Are you fed up with the learned irrelevancies of the professed socialist intellectuals who write erudite treatises in scholarly journals of the "left"? Or the so-called democratic socialists? Do they not offer capitalism, administered by the state, albeit they claim a more benevolent state, in the manner of the Scandinavian countries or Great Britain?

What then is socialism? If you work for wages it is **not** socialism. If goods and services are sold in the market place with a view to profit it is **not** socialism. If the world is divided into nations, it is **not** socialism. If there is **any** kind of government **over** people it is **not** socialism. Unless each man, woman or child in the world has free access to all goods and services it is **not** socialism.

**INVESTIGATE THE NOW THING!  
ESTABLISH SOCIALISM IN  
THE WORLD TODAY!  
WHY SETTLE FOR LESS?**

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 237, Victoria, B.C.

Write above address for a sample copy of your choice:  
Fulcrum, Victoria, B.C.

The Western Socialist, Boston, Mass.  
The Socialist Standard, London, Eng.  
Internationales Fries Wort (in German),  
Vienna, Austria

sparked by the assassination of John F. Kennedy, poems in which Acorn is almost taken in and does in fact mourn.

John Kennedy may have been a great, brief break-through for the people and the history of the USA. For the people of Canada, however, he was just another president of the imperial power that's looting and exploiting Canada and Canadians. JFK was different only in that he had a certain U.S. first-family, eastern-seaboard, expensively educated elegance with which to manipulate the imperial forces.

There are no poems to powerful U.S. imperialists in *More Poems For People*. Acorn has hardened. He loves as touchingly in this book, but he doesn't waste his love on the wrong objects.

Love with me on Earth among red berries and the bluebirds

And leafy young twigs whispering  
Within such little spaces, between such floors of green,

such figures in the clouds

That two of us could fill our lives with delicate wanting . . . .

The book is important also because it is a measure and a symbol of the steps (some giant) being taken by many of us in Canada today as our colonial condition becomes *really* known.

People have told me that the book is badly edited, that it could have been unblemished perfection. They say that some parts of the poems weaken and should have been tightened up. They say some of the nationalism is very gauche. They may be right. Every poem and piece of prose should always be as good as it can be — for love, for the craft, for the cause, for the future. But, even so, *More Poems For People* is a landmark, a place. It has a voice. It speaks language that is still moving in the mouths of men and women in the streets. It isn't 'typographic'. It isn't elitist and in-group and mock humble or ring-around-the-rosy metaphoric. It speaks, and it says something. It is simple, sensuous, and passionate.

From time to time it is gauche. How shall we tell Canadians they *can be* and *can fight* and *can win*? Maybe not exactly as in Acorn's "What are the Odds?" But he is beginning to shape some terms of struggle there. Maybe the almost-ballad, "The Schooner Blue Goose", could and should be better, and being so would pass easier from mouth to mouth as a rallying cry (or as 'just a poem' for those who want to disconnect speech from action). But it shows, even

as it is, what needs to be done and can be done. And it finds itself in a book which takes a step forward and makes the liberal, used-up, stance-and-posture, locus and hocus-pocus 'poetry' all around us moulder on its pages.

Reviewing Leonard Cohen's *The Energy of Slaves* recently in *Last Post*, Patrick MacFadden wrote:

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.

That statement is true for the heaps of Sara Lee consumer poetry pressed out (like pus from a pimple) onto the mediocre pages of liberal anarchist poets — the twittering song birds of the liberal (capitalist) ideology and the U.S. empire (which serve each other).

But it isn't true of poets like Milton Acorn. What they have to say is important and matters. But don't get me wrong. It isn't just splenetic rhetoric with Acorn. It's poetry, as in "At Dawson Creek Hotel":

Like single rocks from space hitting the moon

The fist of the Québécois in the next room

Thump . . . Thump . . . Thump . . . Far into the night

—I make no objection

The turbulence of his mind matches the turbulence of mine.

In the daytime he has visitors. Thru the wall

I can't make out much except his larynx grating again and again

"C'est pa'd juste . . . C'est pa'd juste!"

The town's afflicted with workless wanderers.

Indian and White . . . Native and foreign

They came in honesty, came with honor; Came to labour: And there was none.

Late into the night I hear his fist. Late into the day

I hear his voice as if it was grinding rock.

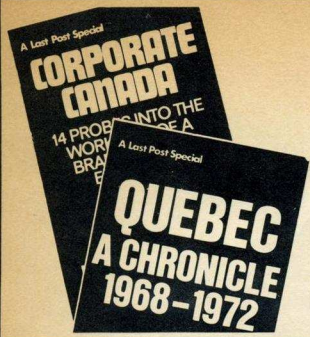
"C'est pa'd juste . . . C'est pa'd juste!"

\*"This is not justice . . ."

*Robin Mathews is Professor of English at Carleton University.*



Jud



# Offer to New Subscribers TWO LAST POST BOOKS

plus 1 year (8 issue) subscription  
to **Last Post** — only **\$6.90**  
(see coupon below)

Both books are collections of features taken from the newsmagazine  
— revised, edited and updated by **Last Post** staff

Look for these Last Post specials in any good bookstore

## LAPD POD back issues

**Vol. 1 No. 1:** Canada's leading role in Chemical-Biological Warfare, the struggle in Quebec, and the politics of wheat. **\$1.50**

**Vol. 1 No. 2:** not available

**Vol. 1 No. 3:** the "underdeveloped" Maritimes, the Canadian oil sell-out, Montreal's guerrilla taxis, and Canadian imperialism in the Caribbean. **\$1.50**

**Vol. 1 No. 4:** how Time controls the Canadian magazine industry, CPR's attempts to get out of passenger service, and the Ottawa Press Gallery. **\$0.75**

**Vol. 1 No. 5:**  
**Special report on  
the Quebec crisis, 1970**  
Also, the story of the Maritime fishermen strike, Part 1. **\$0.75**

**Vol. 1 No. 6:** Michel Chartrand profile by his wife, and Canada's economy squeeze: the electrical industry, women, the Maritimes, and Sudbury's labour camps. **\$0.75**

**Vol. 1 No. 7:** David Lewis and the NDP, the NHL power play, an interview with the IRA chief of staff. **\$0.75**

**Vol. 1 No. 8:** Jumbo issue . . .  
**Renegade report  
on poverty . . .**  
prepared by former members of the Senate Committee on Poverty, who resigned in 1971. Also John Munro's youth-spir program, the Arctic war-games, and the N.S. Fishermen, Part II. **\$1.00**

**Vol. 2 No. 1:** the Canadian press and the Vietnam war, the Lapalme drivers story, and Canada's resources. **\$0.75**

**Vol. 2 No. 2:** the saga of Stompin' Tom Connors, the rural revolt against farm policies and Aislin's best caricatures. **\$0.75**

**Vol. 2 No. 3:** the story behind the Auto Pact, and five stories on developments in Quebec in the Fall of 1971. **\$0.75**

**Vol. 2 No. 4:** portrait of Joey Smallwood, and the Ontario Civil Service non-Union. **\$0.75**

**Vol. 2 No. 5:** Pierre Vallieres, the Toronto Star, the crisis in Canada's

book publishing industry, and Trudeau's 'different' ideas on foreign economic domination, written in 1958. **\$0.75**

**Vol. 2 No. 6:** Jean Marchand's Dept. of Regional Economic Expansion, the May labour revolt that shook Quebec. **\$0.75**

**Vol. 2 No. 7:** Claude Balloune's 1972 election portraits, the Waffle-NDP war, the Claude Wagner phenomenon, and W. A. C. Bennett's defeat. **\$0.75**

**Vol. 2 No. 8:** Canadian Driver Pool - professional strikebusters, Canada's plan to invade the U.S., and the pollution of Canadian hockey. **\$0.75**

**Vol. 3 No. 1:** the politics of separation — report on the Parti Quebecois, and the Science Council of Canada on branch plant technology. **\$0.75**

**Vol. 3 No. 2:** Canada and Brazil — the Brascan Corporation and the Liberals, and Jim Laxer on the energy crisis. **\$0.75**

Reduced price for all back issues except Vol. 1, No. 2 **\$12.00**  
Offer to subscribers: all issues, except Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2, 3: **\$8.00**

Bulk order discount on any issue except Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2, 3: 30 per cent on orders of 10 or more, 50 per cent on orders of 25 or more.

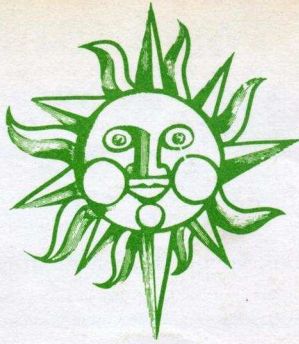
- I enclose:
- \$4. for a 1-year (8 issue) personal subscription (Institutional rate: \$7.)
  - \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ gift subscription(s)
  - \$6.90 for a subscription plus the two Last Post books
  - \$\_\_\_\_\_ for back issues
  - \$\_\_\_\_\_ contribution to the Last Post
  - \$50. for a perpetual subscription

Send with cheque or money order to  
**THE LAST POST**  
**430 King St. W.**  
**Suite 101**  
**Toronto 135 Ont.**

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_







THIS COUNTRY  IN THE  
MORNING  starts at  A.M.  
on  with Peter  Gzowski:  
people  and contests  and  
places  and music  and  
public affairs and private affairs  
and quizzes    and granola   
and news  and opinions and  
things    and...and...YOU.  
Be a part of THIS COUNTRY,   
every weekday morning! 

**CBC  
RADIO**