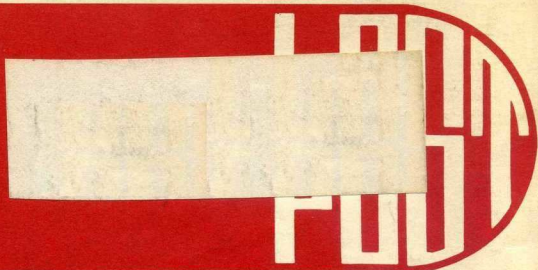


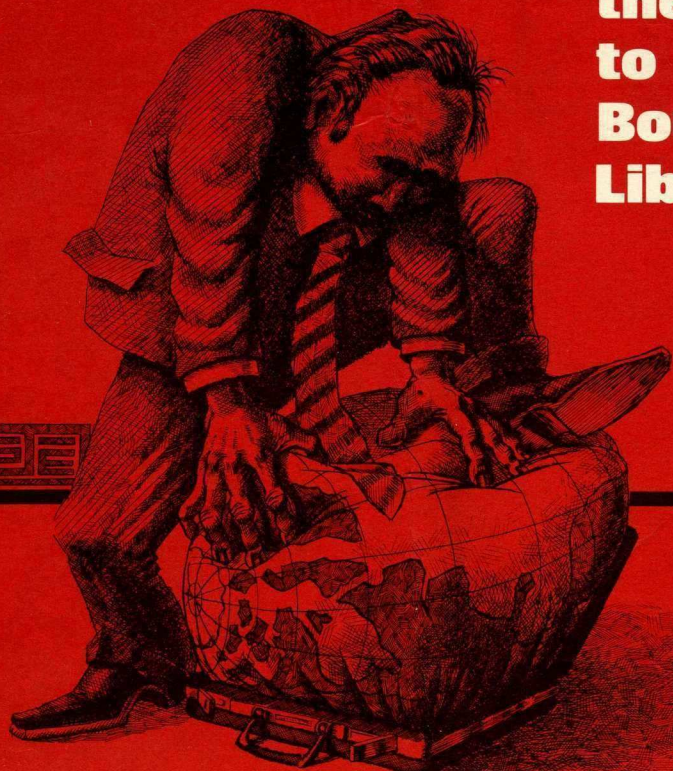
■ B.C.'s land freeze ■ Food prices

LAST
POST

THE LAST POST
Vol. 3, No. 4



ITT: from
the Nazis
to
Bourassa's
Liberals



A FEW TIPS ON BECOMING A MEMBER OF 'THE COMMITTEE FOR AN IMPOTENT CANADA'.

- LIVE IN TORONTO (FLYING THIS, FLY THERE THREE TIMES A MONTH ON BUSINESS).
- EARN AT LEAST \$25,000. A YEAR.
- TAKE YOUR MONEY OUT OF XEROX AND PUT IT INTO BRASCAN OR THE BAHAMAS.
- BE SHOCKED AT WAYNE & SHUSTER WORKING FOR GULF.



- BE SEEN READING IRVING LAYTON'S LATEST NATIONALIST COLLECTION "LOINS ADJUSTED."
- DRESS LIKE A NEW YORKER.
- TALK LIKE A NEW YORKER.
- DRINK LIKE A NEW YORKER.
- READ THE NEW YORKER.
- HATE NEW YORK.
- HATE THE C.B.C.
- WORK FOR THE C.B.C.



- BE SOMEWHAT DECISIVE.
- DRIVE A METEOR.
- EAT SPAGHETTI WITH A HOCKEY STICK.
- DRINK NIAGARA PORT OUT OF A MOCCASIN.
- SEND MEL WATKINS A POST-DATED CHEQUE.



USIN 72



- LOOK BACK IN COMPLACENCY.
- SPREAD THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO GISELE MACKENZIE.
- BE GREY.

LAST POST

THE LAST POST VOL. 3 No. 4

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The Last Post is produced by an editorial board.

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IN OTTAWA, THE BLAND IS STRONG

The past few weeks have not been kind to Conservative leader Robert Stanfield. For months the Tories had assumed that an early election would be the best possible thing that could happen to them. Now they are heard saying that, with Mr. Stanfield as leader, an early election might be the worst possible thing they could hope for.

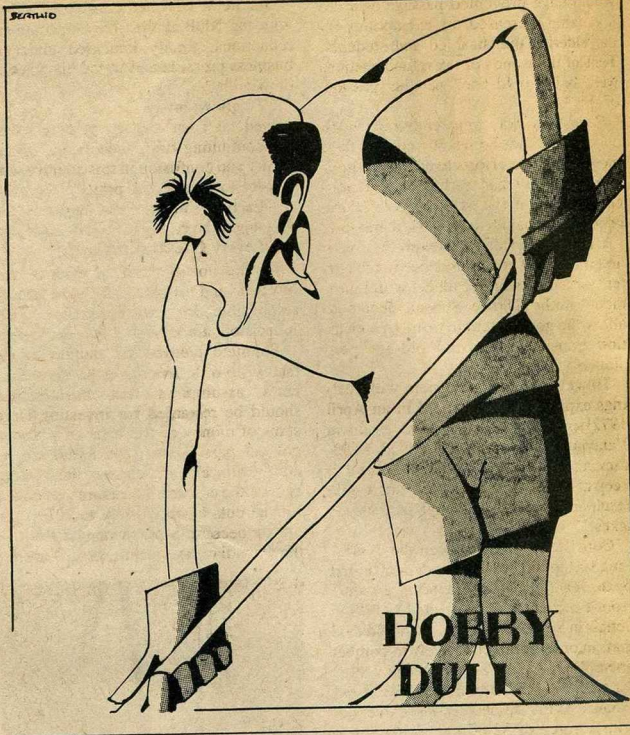
It was unpleasant for party members to read a report in the *Financial Post* that said 63 per cent of the country's businessmen thought Stanfield was a detriment to the Tories' strength and chances. And it was chastening to find that, according to the April 11 Gallup Poll, the businessmen were not alone in their thoughts.

The poll showed that in a quick election the Tories would get only 30 per cent of the committed vote, compared to 40 per cent for the Liberals; the ten per cent gap separating the two parties compared to three per cent between them in a January poll.

Meanwhile, the gap between the Tories and the NDP had narrowed to ten from 20 per cent in January.

Obstructing the government at every move, which had seemed so important to Stanfield in the recent past, was indeed outmoded.

David Lewis was in a jubilant mood as he spoke to supporters at an evening reception that April 11. The results of the poll clearly showed, he said, that the people of Canada approved of the NDP's policy of making the current parliament work.



These were the words of a man whose interests lie in convincing voters that a parliament of minorities can function well. Lewis insists his support for the Liberals has been productive. It was the NDP balance of power, he maintains, that forced the Liberals to raise basic pensions to \$100 a month, to set up a committee on food prices, to talk about guaranteed annual incomes, to quash telephone rate increases in Ontario and Quebec, to keep liberal provisions in the unemployment insurance act, to bring in a slightly tougher foreign ownership bill, to introduce changes in housing legislation, and to commit themselves to other reforms.

But until more of these proposals take the form of finished legislation, just how productive parliament has been will remain a matter of opinion, although

things are not as dismal as they were in the days of the Trudeau majority.

One occasion on which parliament was functioning less than memorably was the evening of March 26, when the famous Polymer vote came up. By Order-in-Council the Cabinet had, the previous July, sold the government-owned Polymer Corporation to the Canada Development Corporation, which the Liberals hope to build into a holding company. The sale price was judged by many to be well below Polymer's market value.

The Tories placed a motion of non-confidence in the Government's sale of Polymer, in a bid either to defeat the government or to embarrass the NDP. They succeeded in the latter. The NDP, which strongly opposed the sale, was forced to support the government, an

uncomfortable stance for a party so accustomed to being the conscience of parliament.

Defeat of the government would not have reversed the Polymer sale, but it would have prevented passage of a bill legalizing increased tax exemptions for the elderly, the disabled and students. Tens of thousands of tax refund cheques were being held back pending passage of this bill.

This was not, apparently, of much concern to the Tories. In one of their more desperate efforts to defeat the government, they had earlier moved non-confidence on the very basis of these changes not having been passed into law.

But it was inconsistent with their very first motion of non-confidence in the current session, which called for adjournment of the Throne Speech debate to allow the government to bring in legislation immediately to aid old-age pensioners.

However, it was consistent with feelings expressed by Stanfield in an April 1972 speech to a pensioners' group in Vancouver in which he called \$150-a-month pensions unrealistic. "I have to keep in mind," he said, "that this would result in a very substantial increase in taxes."

Consistency has not been the Tories' long suit in this session, as demonstrated by the reactions of different Conservative front-benchers to the projected \$2 billion deficit in Turner's budget. Stanfield said that, in order more effectively to combat unemployment, he would have budgeted for a deficit of \$2.5 billion to \$3 billion. Finance critic James Gillies came out with a figure of \$3 billion. And Claude Wagner, Stanfield's external affairs critic and the French-speaking half of the Quebec Tory caucus, upped the ante to \$4 billion. (As a latter-day C. D. Howe might ask, what's a billion?)

This same foreign affairs critic was a little less bold when it came to pronouncing views on Canadian participation in the ICCS in Vietnam. Having refused to take part in the fact-finding mission conducted by External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp and members of the two other opposition parties, and having declined to go on an independent mission of his own. Mr. Wagner could not take a strong position.

The Tories are a frustrated party. At the time of writing they have succeeded only once in getting the NDP to vote with them against the Liberals — and that was to keep Senators off the food prices committee, not a matter of suf-

ficient importance to bring down the government.

The real crunch will come when Chick Turner brings in his long-awaited corporate welfare legislation.

Stanfield, who had considered siding with the NDP against the corporate tax reductions, finally knuckled under to business pressure and stated his position on March 21.

"I believe many Canadians are concerned, as I am and my party is, with the continuing drift, indecision, uncertainty and confusion in this country with respect to federal tax policy," he said.

"Each day works a real hardship, not only upon the corporate community, but upon every Canadian taxpayer."

He did not mention, of course, that it was he and his party who were largely responsible for the continuing drift, indecision, uncertainty and confusion.

Stanfield pledged his support to the fast write-offs, sharing as he does Turner's assumption that businessmen should be rewarded for investing large sums of money on the basis of a pledge not yet passed into law. However, to allow himself an excuse for voting against the corporate measures, he called for the cuts to apply only to 1973, and not to become a permanent feature of the Canadian tax system, as in Turner's

RABBIT POWER

* * *

Czechs take Rabbit census

PRAGUE (AP) — There were 1½ million rabbits in Czechoslovakia at the end of 1972, the news agency CTK reported. It did not say how the count was made.

open-ended formula.

Many are now wondering whether expectation of the legislation is to be a permanent feature of the tax system. The tax cuts and write-offs were first announced in May 1972, and the suspense is getting to some people — and to some corporations.

Turner is biding his time, for to introduce the legislation without Stanfield's amendment would likely lead to the defeat of the government and to a severe loss of face for one John Napier Turner, a man not noted for discretion in pursuing his prime ministerial ambitions.

Whatever they may say, none of the parties is now in a hurry to force an early election. All have a sneaking suspicion that a new House of Commons would have much the same division of



Lewis: Jubilant at the Gallup poll's results



Stanfield: Always a place to go home to

seats it has now. Further, no MP who has gone to a lot of trouble and expense getting himself elected to a comfortable, well-paid job will lightly give up his seat and go to a lot more trouble and expense trying to win it all over again.

The Liberals have special reasons for holding off at least until the autumn. The Throne Speech called for a conference on Western economic opportunities this summer, and this could help lift their sagging electoral fortunes west of Ontario. Also on the summer agenda is the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in Ottawa, and Prime Minister Trudeau has in the past found the publicity to be gained from such conferences most encouraging. If all goes well, he may even have a chance to make his long-awaited trip to China.

As the Tories grope and the NDP gloats, the Liberals are coasting along with the self-assurance to be expected of a party that has been in power for 32 of the past 38 years.

Trudeau waited more than two months after the election before convening parliament. A week of parliament's time was wasted on a quite useless debate on capital punishment. It was a month-and-a-half before Turner brought forth even the part of his budget dealing with personal tax deductions, and there is no evident hurry to rush the corporate tax cuts. After all, the corporations will still be around later in the year.

So will Quebec and Ontario, where the Liberals held all but 17 of their 109 seats. In a memorable understatement, Stanfield said at the April 13-15 Quebec Tory Convention that perhaps too much had been expected of Claude Wagner. It was at this convention that Marcel Masse, former Union Nationale cabinet minister now sitting as an independent in the National Assembly, announced his intention to seek a federal seat for the Conservatives. It was also hinted that Roch Lasalle, ex-Tory MP now sitting in the House of Commons as an indepen-

dent, might rejoin the party. But a Wagner-Masse-Lasalle tandem is unlikely to make a deep dent in the Liberal edifice in Quebec.

Bill Davis' scandal-ridden Big Blue Machine may be as much of a hindrance as a help to the federal Tories in Ontario. A proposed energy tax, withdrawn under public pressure, that would have assessed householders but not industry, is equalled as a rip-off only by Alberta Tory Premier Lougheed's proposed increases in natural gas prices, two-thirds of which would go into the coffers of the international oil companies. The two most likely candidates to succeed Stan-

field have begun their contest by seeing who can provide the most corporate welfare.

Things are likely to remain quiet on Parliament Hill until corporate rip-off time approaches once again, and this may not be for several months. With the Tories unable, and the NDP unwilling to defeat the government, the division bells do not send MPs and reporters scurrying quite as quickly as they did during the Pearson years.

In the 29th Parliament, the bland is strong.

Eric Hamovitch

WATERGATE: THEY SHOOT LAME DUCKS, DON'T THEY?

This period of American history has been described by I. F. Stone as the time of moral imbecility in the republic of Jefferson and Whitman. Well, things are tough all over, and as we watch lesser men than Stone fire away with their moral pea-shooters, it is perhaps well to remember that a Watergate wouldn't happen in most other countries of the world for the simple reason that it wouldn't have to happen.

It is also becoming obvious that while the immediate problem Richard Nixon faces is a series of scandals known as the Watergate family, the real crisis involves political power — who wields it and how — in the most important American presidency in history.

It has been pointed out in tiresome detail that when, in a parliamentary system, the scandal gets too hot, the government resigns. But this scarcely alters the fact that politics is a problem of power, not morality, that nasty men do nasty

things to reach and maintain themselves in power. Even nice guys do nasty things. For example, one of America's chief nice guys, John F. Kennedy, squeaked by Richard Nixon in 1960 because Mayor Daley's crooked election returns in the Chicago area could offset the Republican majority in Illinois.

Furthermore, when virtue does triumph there are usually solid, political reasons for it to do so. Thus, as it appears that the Watergate group of bad guys have gotten their just deserts on prime time television — something has to be said for a political system that can turn a grave constitutional crisis into a TV spectacular — it seems that a more profitable activity for political voyeurs would be to peep through the key-hole to the room where the grapes of wrath are stored, and see just who is doing the stomping — and why.

It is no secret that Richard Nixon built his political career on shady, indeed illegal practices. Tricky Dick has earned his name as one of the crummiest politicians in U.S. history. His character and past habits have never endeared him to the American people, but until now he hasn't unduly upset the American establishment.

Just like one of his mentors, Senator Joe McCarthy, Nixon got away with murder until a certain point was reached, and then the roof fell in. One thing is clear now: the roof is falling in on Richard Nixon. Another thing is also obvious: the getting of the President has

PURE FIREWATER

Boyce Richardson has once again, made a sensitive and true appraisal of "James Bay Week". My two sons and I feel privileged to have seen at Theatre Maisonneuve an abbreviated glimpse into a culture that is pregnant with the native people's way of life. White man would be wise to look closely and silently for the native people could teach us so much if we would only stop and look and listen.

I hope James Bay Week was a success, it would be wonderful to have an annual James Bay Festival so we could once again join hands as brothers.

— Mrs. David Molson, letter to the editor, *Montreal Gazette*, April 25, 1973.

'WILL THE REAL BUGGER PLEASE STAND UP?'



nothing to do with Watergate.

The simple reason why Nixon's troubles do not stem from Watergate is that everyone knew, or could guess, within a week of the burglary, that the job was done on White House orders. The background of Liddy and Hunt were spread over the newspapers. The nature of their occupations was well known. The matter of the forged letters was also known — the author of the famous one that seemed to devastate Senator Ed Muskie more or less confessed before the New Hampshire primary was over, almost a year before the election took place. There was also plenty of evidence, long before Nixon assumed the presidency, that he was quite capable of forgery. In 1962 both Nixon and Haldeman were found guilty of conducting a phony poll and financing a fraudulent organization — The Committee for the Preservation of the Democratic Party in California.

During the election itself, one charge after another of financial irregularity cropped up. For example, Nixon's official position on price supports for the dairy industry after that industry kicked \$417,000 into the President's campaign fund. "Whether we liked it or not," said a dairy lobbyist, "this is the way the system works." So it is indeed. Remember ITT offering to underwrite the cost of the Republican Convention?

Last spring and summer, these revelations were the stuff that cured insomnia. So why is it that the wherewithal that made the system work in 1972, the grease that let the wheels of American democracy turn have, a year later, become a grave moral dilemma?

Until it was clubbed by Watergate,

and even in spite of the present difficulties, the Nixon presidency was shaping up as a decisive turning-point, in terms of the relationship of the presidency to Congress, and in terms of the section of the American establishment that actually controls the country.

The quirks of the American Constitution, which essentially duplicated political authority between the president and congress, worked well enough a century or so ago. Just as, today, it works well enough in Iceland. The constitution of Iceland vests impressive state as well as political functions in the office of the president — the president can call out and send his army anywhere he feels the situation requires. Since Iceland doesn't have a standing army, however, the problem doesn't arise.

Any constitutional system that includes a system of checks and balances on central authority is, for the rulers at least, a pain in the ass. For an imperial power with global interests, it is an impossibility, and there has been tension within the American system for many years.

Given the speed of the Watergate snowball, a month ago in the Nixon administration is ancient history, but it was just last April when Kevin Phillips of *The New Majority* fame, and the closest thing to the ideologist of the Nixon regime, spelled out in *Newsweek* magazine a solution to the old-fashioned concept of presidential limitations. The "mistake" of the "founding fathers", as Phillips said, was about to be rectified by Nixon.

Throughout the winter and early spring, Nixon was invoking Executive

privilege, not only to evade questions on Watergate, but to challenge Congress on some basic treaty-making prerogatives. For example, the Secretary of State told a Senate committee that it didn't even have the right to discuss whether or not American troops should or could be re-introduced in South Vietnam. Even

HARD LUCK STORIES OF THE MONTH

* * *

Woman hurt in crash now afraid of sex

NEW YORK (UPI) - A 30-year-old woman won an \$85,000 settlement from a taxi company yesterday after claiming that injuries suffered in an accident left her with an overwhelming fear of sex.

* * *

Flyer shrinks after ejecting from fighter

Associated Press

LONDON — Tom Gauvain, who ejected from his jet fighter, found he had shrunk after he landed.

Before he jumped he was six feet, 2½ inches tall. Now he is six feet, 1¼ inches.

"It's a funny feeling," said Gauvain, 30, who ejected from his jet at 10,000 feet over England's Yorkshire moors.

as pressure built up over Watergate, Nixon seemed anxious to force a test of his executive prerogatives in the Supreme Court — a court he already seems to have packed.

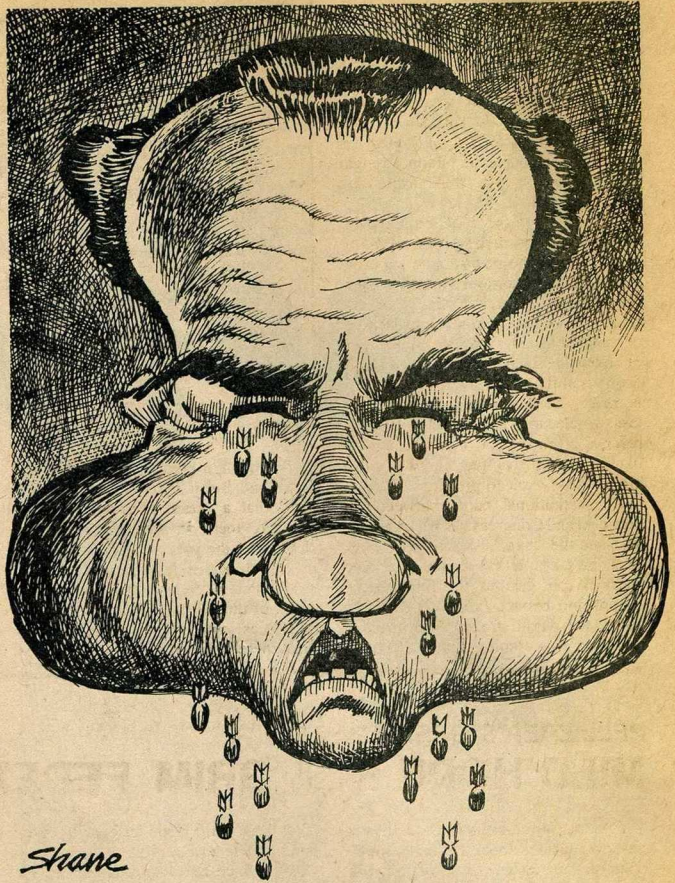
At issue was not just his war-making privileges as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces — the Senate seemed ready to capitulate on this matter and was debating a bill that would limit the president's war-making powers to 30 days, which for practical purposes means not at all. The essential issue was the extension of presidential powers over the regulation of the economy — internally and, perhaps more importantly, in the sphere of international trade and tariff regulations.

Nixon was impounding monies voted by Congress and was wheeling and dealing with his wage and price controls in defiance of the legislature. Pending is the Trade Reform Act, which would give the president unprecedented power to raise and lower tariffs and to negotiate international trade agreements. As the U.S. prepared to enter into sweeping economic agreements with Eastern Europe and to open up the potential of China, economic power was being concentrated in the hands of the executive, much in the same way that military power accrued to the president as gunboat diplomacy gave way to B-52 diplomacy.

Given Nixon's testy relations with Congress — now being blamed on the arrogance of H. R. Haldeman (interesting how the label of arrogance operates; one wonders when American pundits will discover the new, chastened Nixon) — it is perhaps not coincidental that he invoked the same privileges over Watergate that he demanded over his conduct of international affairs.

Nixon was, in fact, locked into a position of principle. His early attitude to the Watergate investigation was based upon his concept of presidential authority. And because Watergate is the weakest link in his administration — to put it mildly — the battle has been joined by those forces in the U.S. who are fighting a rear-guard action against the concentration of political power in the hands of the president.

That is why the tossing of his key aides and implicated officials to the wolves — an action equivalent to a parliamentary government change — has not placated the wolves. What heightens the Watergate mess is not the burglary and the bribes, but the challenge to the concept of the all-powerful president.



'I weep for the peoples of Indo-China'

Thus, the liberal *New Republic* commented nervously on former Attorney-General Kleindienst's early testimony to the Senate:

"Kleindienst's fundamental position ... was that our system of separation of powers does not operate in accordance with any rules, however ambiguous or difficult of application, does not call for cooperation in discovering, evolving or applying such rules. It operates by raw power. The President 'commands', as the attorney general observed, anything he wants until someone stops him. By cutting off money for needed programs, in other words by stopping the government dead. Or by impeaching the President.

"But on what evidence might impeachment proceedings be brought, or be conducted, the attorney general was asked, and subject to what rules? None, he replied: 'You do not need facts to impeach the President.' Mr. Kleindienst saw the subtleties of shared power in billboard letters, as Victory or Defeat for the administration, not perceiving that Victory so perceived can be Defeat — the antithesis of a conservative attachment to accommodation."

True to its tradition the *New Republic* is demanding a clear-cut equivocation.

The issue is made even more complicated not only because of what Nixon meant to the concept of the presidency, but also because of the power base that

Nixon represents.

Documenting Carl Oglesby's dichotomy of American wealth and power between the 'Yankees' — old eastern money — and the 'cowboys' — new western and southern wealth (which Nixon represents) — Kirkpatrick Sale in the *New York Review of Books* has analyzed the source of Nixon strength and concludes with this disquieting thought:

"It is built on the population growth of the Southern rim, the increased voting population of the new-money suburbs, the galloping desertions from the ever-blackening Democratic party in the South, the rampant I'm-all-right-jackism of the established nonurban unions, and of course the financial wealth and shady dealings of the cowboys. If that strategy is correct, and every indication from the last two elections suggest that it is, the reversal of power that it has brought is likely to last just as long as the one that brought Roosevelt to power."

A constitutional battle between the President and Congress has been shaping up since the days of Roosevelt's New Deal, at least. It has come to a head under Nixon, just as the fundamental relationship between the U.S. and the rest of the world, frozen since the end of the war, was coming unstuck. Nixon's

FINALLY, OTTAWA LINKED TO WATERGATE

78N106

MORE FOURTEENTH SUMMARY BN104/
NEW. DEFENCE MINISTER JAMES RICHARDSON FACED A SERIES OF QUESTIONS IN THE COMMONS TODAY ON ALLEGED PLANS HIS DEPARTMENT PLANS TO CONTRACT OUT CLEANING AND COOKING JOBS AT ARMED FORCES BASES. A NUMBER OF PEOPLE EMPLOYED AT FORCES BASES HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THEIR JOBS AND AT LEAST ONE DEMONSTRATION HAS BEEN HELD.
MR. RICHARDSON SAYS THERE IS NO INTENTION OF REDUCING THE NUMBER OF CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES AT BA6FLMMWVAERGAIE CONSPIRATOR HOWARD HUNT HAS TOLD THAT FORMER WHITE HOUSE COUNSEL CHARLES COLSON ORDERED HIM TO FALSIFY STATE DEPARTMENT CABLES IN CONNECTION WITH THE ASSASSINATION OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE PRESIDENT DIEM IN 1963. IN TESTIMONY RELEASED TODAY BY THE PENTAGON PAPERS TRIAL JUDGE IN LOS ANGELES HUNT SAID THE CABLES WERE FALSIFIED TO SHOW THAT PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ADMINISTRATION HAD ORDERED DIEM'S ASSASSINATION.
HUNT SAID IN THE RELEASED TESTIMONY THAT THE F-B-I SENT HIM MATERIAL FOR USE IN HIS TASK, THE TRANSCRIPT WAS OF HUNTS TESTIMONY LAST WEDNESDAY IN WASHINGTON BEFORE THE WATERGATE GRAND JURY. 14/

—Broadcast News wire service

position of a strong, central authority to run the U.S. around the globe must be shared by a majority of Yankees and Cowboys. But if there is shared agreement that a president should run the country, there is struggle over who should run the president. Watergate has messed things up for everybody.

Meanwhile, the prototype and embodiment of the Cowboy, Texas John Connally, has joined the Nixon administration, thereby becoming the first rat that

ever swam towards a sinking ship. And Nelson Rockefeller who, if there is anything to what Kirkpatrick Sale says, must be more than a little upset, has let it be known that he holds an "emotional commitment" to run again for the presidency.

Well, if it is any consolation after a long winter and a slow spring, nothing seems to work out for anybody these days.

Rae Murphy

PELLETIER'S GREEN PAPER: MILD HOPE IN A GRIM FEDERAL SCENE

Even to Gerard Pelletier, a man who has few illusions about the media in this country, the shattering yawn that met his Green Paper on Communications must have been a crushing disappointment.

Only one newspaper in the country carried the story of the tabling of the Green Paper on its front page. Editorial comment in the subsequent few weeks was as vague as it was sparse. Pelletier was available for interviews, and nobody was asking.

For the communications industry, it's a sad fact to note that it virtually ignored one of the most important and progressive documents on communications in Canadian history.

For three or four years now, the men and women that formed the communications group in the Secretary of State's Department, and now in the Department of Communications, have been a source

of at least mild hope in a pretty grim picture of federal policy.

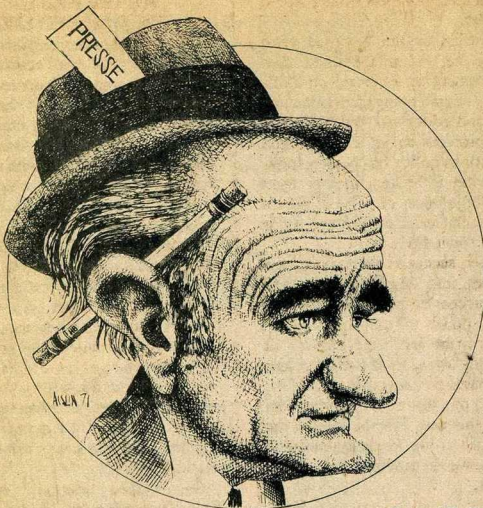
Ever since the establishment of the CRTC, one of the soundest ideas in Canadian communications, one could allow oneself to be lulled into the incredible conclusion that intelligent cultural nationalism had gotten off the level of podium thumping at Carleton to active policy on Parliament Hill, at least to a perceptible degree.

"Proposals for a Communications Policy for Canada", tabled in March, proposes the centralization of all regulatory bodies dealing with communications — computer networks, telephone systems, radio and television broadcasting, cable transmission. A sort of super CRTC (in fact, the CRTC would also be merged into this new regulatory agency).

This document is important because it recognizes that communications, as

Harold Innis warned long years ago, is the *sine qua non* of Canada. East-West communications lines, which do not grow naturally in the continental scheme of things, must be forcibly erected and preserved before we can hope to have a national political consciousness of even the most primitive sort. It is therefore imperative to prevent communications policy from being administered piecemeal, and allowed the free play of market forces. It's like farming out our foreign policy to the provincial governments.

The Green Paper is the only sign that anyone in the federal government has even read the brilliant and chilling series of studies released over the last three years by the Science Council of Canada, warning against loss of control of our research, technology, data communications systems, general electronic technology, in fact the gradual de-



Gerard Pelletier

industrialization of the modern technological areas in the face of American economic pressure.

One such report outlined the necessity of pulling together a nationally-regulated east-west computer trunk system, a sort of electronic CPR, or lose control of data flows to a north-south pattern entirely dependent on market forces. (See: Caught in the Continental Computer Web (*Last Post*, Vol. 2, No. 2)

The Green Paper takes an obvious swipe at Bell Telephone and that notorious rubber stamp for railroads and telephone companies, The Canadian Transport Commission. Noting that it's almost impossible for citizens to fight Bell and her battery of slide-rule lawyers, it hints at setting up batteries of Nader-like lawyers and experts to screen such companies, and to offer citizens' groups financial support in building their cases against companies demanding fee increases or begging for permission to reduce service.

The Green Paper has obvious failings.

SELECTIONS FROM THE GREEN PAPER

The existence of Canada, as a political and social entity, has always been heavily dependent upon effective systems of east/west communications. This is the historical reason for the successive development of the routes of the voyageurs, coast-to-coast railways, telegraphs and telephone systems, broadcasting services, airlines, the Trans-Canada Highway and, most recently, a domestic satellite-communications system. These systems, counter-balancing the strong north/south pull of continentalism have been essential for industrial and resource development, for the transmission and dissemination of information, and for the expression and sharing of social and cultural values

Computer/Communications Systems

More than 50 per cent of the present remote-access data-processing industry in Canada is Canadian-owned. Still in its infancy, the industry is vulnerable to competition from the United States and an increasing proportion of foreign ownership. The Government attaches great importance to the development and support of a strong data-processing industry

in Canada and will favour measures to maximize Canadian influence and control in key areas of computer/communications.

More positive action may be necessary with regard to firms offering remote-access computer services directly to private homes, and it has been proposed that Canadian ownership of such firms should be mandatory. The reason for this distinction lies in the capacity of remote-access computer systems to provide the public with databank and information services, where the provision of, and access to, Canadian content will be as much a matter of concern as it already is with regard to broadcasting programming. The Government notes that computer service is already being provided in the home, to a very limited extent, in some parts of Canada by firms that are not owned or controlled by Canadians. However, it is at present too early to determine the proper balance of policy that will best serve Canadian interests and values in this regard.

The Impact of Cable-television on Broadcasting

The traditional framework of control

of Canadian broadcasting has been distorted in recent years by the phenomenal growth of the cable-television industry, and Canada is one of the most heavily cabled countries *per capita* in the world. The industry has been developed by privately-owned undertakings providing service mostly to urban areas, which very often make use of the poles and wires of a telecommunications carrier. Contractual arrangements range from total ownership of the distribution system by the CATV [Community-Antenna Television] operator to so-called partial systems, which are commoner, where ownership and effective control of the coaxial-cable are retained by the carrier, while the antenna, the amplifiers that relay the signal, and the connection to each household are the property of the CATV operator. The pattern developed before the passing of the Broadcasting Act in 1968 at a time when broadcasting licences were not required for CATV systems and the radio licences issued by the Minister of Transport were of a supervisory nature and represented only a very limited articulation of Government policy

In developing policy options for future

which fall under the general categories of vagueness and timidity. The paper is less than forthright in its analysis, and begs to be read between the lines. It's basic solution to the communications problem is strict regulation, where it might be more realistic to talk of nationalization of computer trunk systems, and telephone systems, and cleaning out that gaggle of hardware-merchant cowboy entrepreneurs, the cable television station owner, who so often found himself in the communications business for having scratched the back of the local Liberal organization at election time.

The CBC is a successful institution by and large because it is a publicly-owned corporation. Permitting the CTV network to start was a violation of the spirit of the initial Broadcasting Act. What railroad communications still exists in the country is largely due to maintenance of a publicly-owned railroad. Air Canada still flies to Earleton, Ontario because it's government-owned and has to, while CP Air would be happy

to stick with Executive jets from Toronto to Vancouver.

As pedestrian as the National Film Board may be, what Canadian film industry is emerging is based on skills produced by people being cameramen and soundmen and editors for the NFB.

Direct intervention in cultural and communications policy has been responsible for what little has already been achieved. Regulation may be a distant second best, but we have learned to be grateful for small favours.

If Pelletier succeeds in making the Green Paper into legislation, it will signal the success of his quiet campaign to build the power of the Communications Department and take control of relevant fields away from the Secretary of State Department and other ministries. The building of a powerful, independent ministry in this area may be one of the better legacies of the Trudeau administration before we are cast into the Conservative night.

M. S.

AT THE END OF THE THIN RED LINE

June Fowler is an English nanny who works in the comfortable Rosedale home of financier Alan Grieve and his wife. If that conjures up a picture of a stout and grim-faced spinster marching through the local park with a posh pram in front and elegantly-garbed, dutiful children in tow — forget it.

Miss Fowler, 21, is a cheery, pretty girl, one of the new breed of children's nurses graduating in large numbers each year from Britain's unique nanny schools.

She would rather play football with her charges or escort them on adventures downtown than sit on park benches gossiping with the many certified nannies and mother's helpers who work in her community.

— *Andrea Merry, Toronto Star, December 16, 1972.*

ON FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS POLICY

development of the role of CATV systems in remote-access data-processing and information-based services, the following considerations will be relevant:

— it may be difficult to distinguish clearly between broadcasting and carrier functions on the basis of hardware alone, since many of the closed-circuit services using the facilities of CATV systems will contain an element of programming;

— there may be difficult issues regarding competition between existing carriers and CATV systems in the development of efficient distribution systems;

— it will be necessary to determine the extent to which various services provided by CATV systems may be permitted to cross-subsidize one another; this in turn will require determination of whether the model of regulation now applied to communication carriers is appropriate;

— it will be necessary, for regulatory purposes, to attempt to forecast the nature and quantity of the various demands which CATV may be called upon to satisfy, as a result of accelerating social and technological change.

Redefinition of this role in the light of possible future policy requirements

could perhaps be accomplished by a unified agency having jurisdiction over both broadcasting and carrier functioning

The Advantages of a Single Federal Regulatory Agency

It is evident that many existing and foreseeable regulatory problems would be eased by the establishment of a single federal regulatory agency to cover the whole field of telecommunications insofar as it is subject to federal jurisdiction. Such a body, exercising authority over both the Canadian broadcasting system and the operations of the federally-regulated telecommunications carriers, would be in a position to take account of the increasing interaction between broadcasting and other forms of telecommunications, particularly with regard to the broader capabilities of cable systems. The potential duplication and conflicts which might arise between two federal regulatory bodies in the same general field would be eliminated, and the recruitment of experts in the economics and technology of communications, who are in notably short supply in Canada, would be facilitated.

Another important outcome would be the ability of a single federal agency to establish effective means of collaboration and consultation with provincial regulatory bodies in a way that would be difficult, if not impossible, if two regulatory bodies continue to be involved.

As telecommunications systems become physically and operationally compatible and interconnectable, it becomes increasingly difficult to differentiate between them in terms of channels and processing techniques, and more practical to do so in terms of the forms and functions of messages and information. Thus a single agency would be readily adaptable to the rapid and continuing evolution which has created a grave imbalance between the resources devoted to the development and technology of systems, and those devoted to the creation, production, and distribution of programming and information content. In short, one of the principal advantages of the proposed new agency would be the attainment of a proper balance between the social, cultural, economic, and technical aspects of communications, in accordance with clearly stated national objectives

ANGOLAN TRADE: CANADA BUYS WHILE IT CONDEMNS

The scene is the Hotel Tropica in Luanda, Angola. The time is about noon on February 21, 1973 and the leading commercial and industrial men of Angola have joined officials of the Portuguese colonial government for a special luncheon. Among the guests are Dr. Sao José Lopes, director-general of Angolan security (which, given the state of things in Angola, is to say minister of war) and Mr. Roger R. Parlour, head of the Canadian Commercial Delegation in Johannesburg, South Africa.

The occasion is the appointment of Mr. Michael Chapman, director of the firm of Angolan Consultants Ltd., as Honorary Commercial Representative of the Canadian government in Angola. Messrs. Chapman and Parlour speak appreciatively of the prosperous trade links between Canada and this outpost of Portuguese colonialism and Mr. Parlour, noting the rather substantial excess of Canadian imports over exports to Angola, directs the attention of the assembly to the many products available in Canada. The list includes such things as high-quality paper, pure-bred cattle, railway and road construction equipment, tires for heavy equipment and radio and tele-communications equipment (it may have been the latter item that drew the interest of Dr. Lopes, being aware, as a man in his position no doubt

would be, of Canadian expertise in producing radio and communications equipment for use in the field — which, again, in Angola, is to say battlefield).

The scene shifts now to the United Nations General Assembly in New York. The time is just three months earlier, November 15, 1972, and the Canadian delegate rises to record Canada's vote in support of a strongly-worded resolution condemning Portuguese domination of her African Territories.

The resolution recognizes the national liberation movements of those territories, Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and Mozambique, as the "authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of those Territories" and calls upon all states to "take forthwith all possible measures to put an end to any activities that help to exploit the Territories under Portuguese domination and the peoples therein and to discourage their nationals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction from entering into any transactions or arrangements that contribute to Portugal's domination over those Territories. . . ."

That little drama is not an unfamiliar one in the schizophrenic world of Canadian trade and foreign policies, but Mitchell Sharp resolutely fails to see any connection, never mind contradiction, between the two scenes.

That "trade in peaceful goods", as Mr. Sharp likes to put it, could contribute to Portuguese domination of her African colonies is quite beyond the ken of the artless external affairs minister. To the suggestion that a war tax on Angolan coffee exports to Canada, for example, paid by the Canadian consumer directly into the war chest of the Portuguese government, might contribute to Portugal's ability to prosecute its war on the liberation movements of Angola, Mr. Sharp offers this sophism: "I suppose that is true of anything that Portugal sells, whether it's from their colonial territories or whether it's from the mainland in Europe. All trade does help any country to carry on whatever activities it is carrying on."

Besides, the minister explains to the inquiring reporter, trade with Angola "contributes greatly" to the welfare of her people. Calling it "one of the great

dilemmas of our time", he warns that to cut off trade with Angola would be to cut her people off from the very source of their wealth.

That there is a great deal of wealth accumulated through the sale of Angolan coffee and oil, her two principal and in 1972 her only exports, to Canada is not to be denied. But it must stretch even the credulity of Mr. Sharp to believe that any of that wealth finds its way into the hands of native Angolans.

In the case of coffee the plantations are, without exception, owned by wealthy Portuguese and other Europeans. In the late fifties, when the export of coffee was discovered to be an unusually profitable undertaking, a major scramble for land began, with the colonists often fighting each other for the possession of choice lands and in the process forcibly driving off the original inhabitants. The illegal occupation of the land by the colonists and the accompanying fighting drove some 500,000 inhabitants of northern Angola's coffee regions from their homes and into neighbouring countries. The Portuguese government subsequently announced that the settlers could have their illegally-occupied land registered without fear of prosecution.

Today a major part of the labour force for these plantations (about 85 per cent) must be recruited from other areas of the country, most native Angolans having fled. This "recruitment" was formerly carried out under a law which required that every Angolan had the moral and legal duty to work. Anyone unable to prove to the satisfaction of the Portuguese administration that he was gainfully employed — that is, that he produced more than was required for his family's private needs — was liable for service on the plantations. Hence, workers were snatched from all over the country and transported to the plantations where they were kept away from their families in what the Portuguese call "strategic villages" for up to a year or 18 months at a time.

The Portuguese claim to have abolished forced labour in 1961, but throughout the sixties the number of forced labourers increased and a 1970 report to the Committee on Human Rights of the United Nations concluded

THE POOR EXPLOITED U.S.

Major U.S. multi-national companies could find themselves in the future with large blocks of shares owned in the Middle East, and with Arab sheiks joining their boards of directors.

This possibility is not welcomed by many Americans. "It is most unlikely that we or any other developed country would permit continued massive investments on a scale that would progressively result in foreign takeovers of important companies and industries," says Walter Levy, a prominent U.S. energy consultant.

— David Crane, *Toronto Star*,
March 26, 1973

that "the most inhuman form of forced labour prevails in the Portuguese colonies in Africa."

Wages in agriculture, in which coffee growing is the major activity, showed the following distribution, according to a July 1970 report entitled "Violation of Trade Union Rights", which the International Federation of Free Trade Unions submitted to the UN:

Whites	\$1,685
Non-whites	830
Assimilated Africans	183
Non-assimilated Africans	48

So much for the wealth that Canadian purchases of Angolan Coffee (amounting to seven per cent of all coffee exported and about 11 per cent of Canada's green coffee purchases) is supposed to earn for native Angolans. On the supermarket shelves, by the way, Angolan coffee is found in the following instant brands: Maxim, Maxwell House, Brim, Sanka, Yuban, Taster's Choice, Nescafe, and Chase and Sanborn.

Then there is oil. For 1972 Statistics Canada lists \$9,796,000 worth of green coffee as the only import from Angola, but then shows a figure of \$45,145,000 for total imports. The difference between the two figures represents crude oil imports by Gulf Oil Co. to Point Tupper, Nova Scotia. Statistics Canada explains that a special regulation allows the company to request that the product not be listed separately if it is readily identified with a particular importer.

In this case, however, the secret is out and Gulf Oil is understandably nervous, because Canada is rapidly becoming a fence for what are essentially stolen goods. In The Netherlands, once a major importer of Angolan coffee and oil, consumer protests have persuaded Gulf to stop marketing there the oil it has expropriated from Angola and the company is cautious about marketing it in the United States due to the protests of some black organizations.

Consequently, Canadians having voiced no protests, Canada serves as the dumping ground for resources expropriated from the colonies.

Some protests are, however, beginning to be heard. The Southern Africa Information Group of Ottawa, in co-operation with OXFAM, an external affairs interest group within the United Church of Canada, and other groups, is organizing a boycott of Angolan coffee in an effort to repeat the record of consumer groups in The Netherlands.

And the argument that boycotts rob



Forced labour still prevails in the Portuguese colonies

Angola of needed markets is rejected by the native Angolans themselves. John Saul, a Canadian political scientist who for seven years taught at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, and Jacques Roy, who has filmed the activities of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, have travelled extensively within the liberated areas of Mozambique and Angola and have the personal assurances of liberation movement leaders that they support and encourage the boycott of products from the Portuguese-dominated areas of their countries. The expropriation of the resources of their countries must be stopped, they say, until the areas in question are liberated and the Angolan people have an opportunity to determine how those resources are to be employed.

The liberation movements are not, as Western governments like to think, isolated "terrorist" groups. In Angola and Mozambique the liberation movements control almost 50 per cent of the land,

and in Guinea (Bissau) the liberation movement controls about two-thirds of the territory and has been granted observer status at the UN with the expectation that it will become a full member, as an independent state, before the year is out.

The liberated territories are, in fact, new nations with fully operational education systems, communications networks, and food production facilities. Some Western countries, such as Norway, have extended aid to the liberated territories and the World Council of Churches also provides some assistance to the emerging nations.

Canada, meanwhile, confines herself to pious declarations about the need for non-violent solutions and the sacred right to self-determination, all the while remaining a willing consumer of the goods expropriated by the very interests which are ostensibly the objects of her righteous indignation.

Ernie Regehr

BE PREPARED

Two former astronauts, Valentina Nikolayevna-Tereshkova of the Soviet Union, and Neil Armstrong, of the United States, said at the weekend they plan to return to outer space one day. Mrs. Nikolayevna-Tereshkova, the world's only woman astronaut, said she hopes to return to space travel soon. Her space flight was in June, 1963. Mr. Armstrong, first man to set foot on the moon, said he hopes to return there some day with a Boy Scout troop. He told a banquet of scout leaders in St. Louis that lunar scouting probably would be the next new phase for the Boy Scouts of America.

—*Toronto Globe and Mail, January 29, 1973*



Strict curbs on labour activities are one of the terms investors demand of Bourassa

QUEBEC: NOTHING SATISFIES THE INVESTORS

It's always interesting to hear businessmen state their minds when they don't think the public is listening. Quebecers had this chance recently when some civil servants leaked a Bourassa government commissioned survey of the attitudes of American and Canadian investors to Quebec.

The survey was carried out by FANTUS, a Chicago-based consulting firm that is a subsidiary of Dun and Bradstreet. It was commissioned after the

October 1970 crisis to see what the Liberals should do to clean up their act if they were to attract enough capital to create the premier's famous 100,000 new jobs.

"The political situation," commented one investor, "like the coloured situation in the U.S., like Bermuda, like England with the hippies, I would like to see improve." Said another: "The chaotic political situation, separatism, etc. If this was changed then there would be confi-

dence which is sadly lacking in Quebec industry today." Another typical response: "The language issue is presently one of the most serious obstacles to industrial expansion in Quebec."

No surprises there, but no good news for Mr. Bourassa either. According to the FANTUS report, 22 per cent of the executives interviewed would not invest in Quebec again if they were to start from scratch.

The investors did, however, report one silver lining in all the clouds — a pool of cheap labour.

The businessmen reported that there was an "excellent labour pool," that there was an "abundance of good people available. They are busting down the doors," and that the "unemployment rate in Quebec is probably the highest of any province in Canada. This tends to keep wages low."

The FANTUS company comments that statistics bear out the opinions of these corporate decision-makers and that furthermore, labour in Quebec is getting even cheaper relative to elsewhere. Wages for production workers, it finds, rose by 27.1 per cent in Ontario from 1968 to 1971, but by only 23.7 per cent in Quebec.

The low wage picture is made even

FIGHT RISING MEAT PRICES

**STEWING
OWL**
TRAY
PACK

• GOV'T INSPECTED
CUT-UP
FROZEN

29^c

Ideal for • CHICKEN FRICASSEE • CHICKEN A LA KING
• CHICKEN and DUMPLINGS and other economical dishes

LB.

—from the Regina Leader-Post

pleasanter for the businessmen since, they say, Quebec labour is highly-skilled and productive. "Equal to or better than our competitors in Canada and the U.S.," comments one investor. "Very good. Equal to or better than our U.S. plants," reports another.

But this doesn't seem to outweigh the political uncertainty or, needless to say, the activities of Quebec labour unions. These are, the executives worry, "too active politically", "very dangerous", "very socialistic", "very militant", and "opportunist". As a result, as one large mining company comments, "for expansion, at equal opportunity, we would consider expansion outside Quebec, due to attitudes of Messers Pepin, Laberge and Chartrand."

The Bourassa government's open door policy towards investors from outside, and its willingness to clamp down on the activities of the labour movement — as in the case of Bill 89, which would severely restrict the right to strike — ought to remove, one would think, any misgivings that foreign investors might have.

But such is not the case. Despite all its efforts, Quebec is no perfect Banana republic in the eyes of corporate investors. The investors would like to see "less recourse to nationalism on the part of politicians as a defense for their own inability to cope with the local and provincial political and economic situations that develop." And they complain that the "constant harping by provincial spokesmen on such items as provincial rights, language issues, education etc., creates an atmosphere of uncertainty, especially for the managerial elite."

They would like to see even stricter labour laws, the "elimination of the radical nationalist groups", "better control on extremist movements" and "stricter law enforcement to ensure respect for

authority."

The degree to which business uneasiness is affecting Quebec's economy was shown by another leaked report, prepared by the federal Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE). This study documented the accelerating relative decline of Montreal as a financial and economic centre. It concluded that the city had not only lost its status as the country's metropolis, but was in the process of becoming a satellite of Toronto. Decline was evident in many areas: employment, population, investment, stock market trading, bond trading,

number of head offices and brokerage firms.

It might have been thought that Bourassa's Liberals had done just about everything conceivable to make Quebec a happy hunting ground for foreign investors, and that, long ago, the premier's famous promise of 100,000 jobs would be radiating prosperity. But the FANTUS report on investors' attitudes and the DREE report on the relative decline of Montreal show that, try though it has, the Bourassa government has not yet mastered the art of puppet politics.

Magnus Isacsøn

FRENCH:

NO LONGER A PRIORITY

When Quebec's Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa won the 1970 provincial election, he did it on two promises: 100,000 jobs and French as the priority language of Quebec.

The 100,000 jobs are now a household joke.

With the recent release of the \$2.3 million government inquiry into the status of French in the province — on which new language legislation was to be based — it is apparent that the second promise will go the way of the first.

The commission, headed by Laval University linguist Jean-Denis Gendron, took two years to come up with recommendations so timid that even the Liberals (in what some observers consider a well-staged ploy) are looking embarrassed.

They had, after all, been promising to introduce language legislation soon after the commission reported.

But any legislation based on the three

thick and costly volumes of the Gendron report would scarcely touch the stagnant linguistic status quo.

The report says French should be Quebec's official language, but English would be right up there too with "national" language status. "Persuasion," it says, should be used to make French Quebec's working language. And immigrants to Quebec should not be "coerced" into educating their children in French.

That last one touches a sensitive chord.

The question of the schooling of immigrant children has become the crucial issue of the language debate in Quebec because many Québécois feel that the channeling of new Canadians into the English school system is contributing to the anglicization of Montreal — the centre of French-Canadian culture.

The French fact should be accepted a priori, they feel, by people immigrating to Quebec. They have to learn a new language anyway, so why not French?

Well, as the Gendron Commission points out, a great many immigrants come here for "economic reasons." And it doesn't take them long to learn that the bread is buttered on the English side.

English is the language you need to get the top jobs in many companies and also, with English, you're mobile.

Thus the option of the vast majority of new Canadians for the English school system.

The whole thing exploded into a heated debate in 1969 in a Montreal suburb in a struggle between Italian and

HAZARDS OF OFFICE DEPARTMENT

* * *

Lalonde considering probe

**Ottawa area
VD rate up
46 per cent**

—Ottawa Journal, April 3, 1973

French Canadians over the language of instruction in certain schools.

The government responded with a law guaranteeing every Quebec parent the right to educate his child in either official language.

That was the infamous Bill 63.

Now the Gendron report is here. And the commissioners have seen fit to go against the strong current of French-speaking opinion and recommend that the bill remain as it is, at least for another couple of years.

Lysiane Gagnon, who has covered language questions extensively for the Montreal daily *La Presse* over the last few years, sends the following bitter report on Bill 63:

* * *

It was in a barricaded parliament, lined within and without by police in uniform and plain clothes, that Bill 63 became law in 1969.

Bill 63 had a misleading title: "Law for promoting the priority of the French language." In reality, it was to consecrate free choice of the language of education and thus maintain the existing situation: the coexistence of an expanding English school population (because immigrants overwhelmingly opted for English schools) and of a French population already threatened by its falling birthrate. On top of that many French parents were enrolling their children in English schools.

Many French-speaking groups, concerned about the situation, were demanding a law that would truly preserve French culture, which has been rendered extremely fragile in the current socio-economic context, and which, in North America, has no other home but Quebec.

With the massive influx of new Canadians and some French Canadians into English schools the situation had become crucial: For example, at the Quebec City Catholic school board, it was discovered last year that half the students in the English sector were French-speaking, and in Montreal (where most immigrants live), they were getting ready to close some 60 schools for lack of students.

This was the context in which the Gendron Commission, created during the Bill 63 debate, recently released its report.

In suggesting the government change nothing regarding language in the education world for the next three or four years, it gives our legislators another precious smoke-screen behind which to hide.

Why do they want to save Bill 63?

Maybe they figure it hasn't proved itself yet. Maybe they figure if we give it another couple of years, something might change.

That's what Edward McWhinney, who is the author of the part of the Gendron report dealing with Bill 63, seems to be saying. At last, we have someone who can look at the situation calmly and who writes about it in English — English being, as we know, more concise than French.

Of course, there will be a few racists who find it astonishing that an opinion on Bill 63 had to be translated from English to French before being officially handed over to the public. Let them talk. We'll agree this once to be docile and patient.

And let's not listen any more to these fanatics who for four years have called this law unjust for French-speaking Quebecers. They're marginal and we can list them in a minute.

There are the labour centrals. Of no importance, and anyway, their chiefs are in jail;

There are the teachers. But they're mostly militant communists.

The students? Too young to understand.

Montreal parents' groups. They don't know anything about the situation.

The Catholic school boards of Quebec

City and Montreal: it's well known, they're extremists.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce: but they're young, too, of course.

The Quebec Liberal Party (which advised the government during a recent policy convention to withdraw the bill): but it's reported, according to reliable sources, to be thinking of fusion with the Parti Québécois.

Highly-placed personnel in the French-language school system: but civil servants, everyone knows, are impulsive and get carried away by their emotions.

Besides, the figures prove that nothing is conclusive: more than 95 per cent of the new Quebecers go to English schools and more and more French Quebecers send their children there as well, but, in the light of a careful and impartial examination of the situation, the well-informed observer would conclude that there's nothing to worry about. It isn't necessary to consider radical solutions that would deprive the English school system.

Oh my brothers and sisters, let's renew a tradition almost forgotten in the last ten years: as Mr. McWhinney has just so kindly reminded us, "this land is a valley of tears" and we will all be rewarded one hundredfold in the hereafter.

God save Bill 63.

CUBAN TRADE: SEEKING A FAIR CHANCE

March 21, 1973, the thirteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, was an appropriate day indeed for Mitchell Sharp to announce the government's intention to contribute \$74,000 to the United Nations Educational and Training Program for Southern Africa and of \$10,000 to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.

"These contributions," said the secretary of state for external affairs, "are indicative of the government's abiding concern with the problem of racial discrimination in southern Africa."

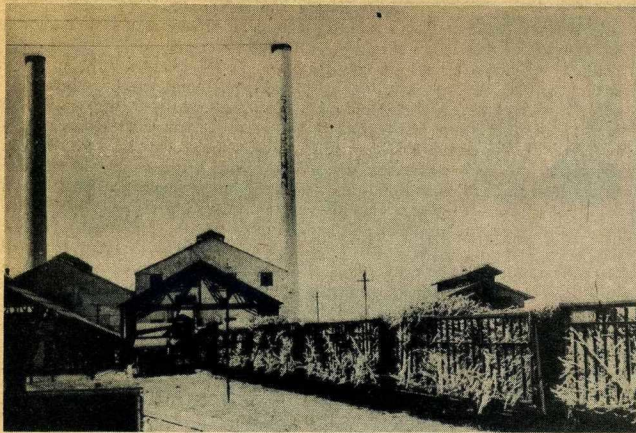
Canadian imports from South Africa totalled \$59 million in 1972, whereas the two contributions announced by Mr. Sharp come to \$84,000, indicative perhaps of an "abiding concern" but not of a real concern.

One reason imports from South Africa

have reached such high levels is that South African goods entering Canada continue to enjoy Commonwealth preferential tariffs. South Africa was expelled from the Commonwealth over a decade ago, but the department of trade and commerce is unwilling to modify an "established relationship" with a "traditional trading partner". South Africa last year bought under \$44 million in Canadian goods, leaving Canada with a trade deficit of over \$15 million.

Several other Canadian trade relationships are suffering as a consequence of the preference shown South Africa. One example is that of Cuba, which is competing with South Africa for Canadian sugar purchases.

Cuba is competing at a disadvantage. The average tariff on raw sugar entering Canada from Commonwealth countries



Cuba is anxious to increase sugar sales

and South Africa is 22 cents per hundred-weight. Cuban sugar is taxed at an average rate of \$1.04, so that in order to compete for the Canadian market Cuba must sell its sugar at a significantly lower price.

John Turner's February budget contained changes which involved an across-the-board reduction in the sugar tariff but which maintains the discrimination in favour of Commonwealth countries and South Africa. The tariff on raw sugar from these countries is removed altogether, whereas an average rate of 82 cents per hundredweight is maintained on raw sugar from other countries.

This goes against a recommendation of the Canadian Tariff Board, which, after an exhaustive study, suggested a reduction in the difference between the two rates. This would not only help diversify Canadian sources of supply, but would also be a step toward improving trade relationships with Latin American and other non-Commonwealth countries, a declared priority of the department of external affairs and a pressing necessity on the part of the department of trade and commerce, what with the impending modifications in Commonwealth trade structures in light of Britain's entry to the European Economic Community.

It is neither of these two departments, however, that sets tariffs, but the department of finance. And with the instability both of his own position and that of his government, the minister of finance, John Turner, is most interested at this time in short-term measures.

Together with the lowering of sugar

tariffs, Turner proposed the elimination of the federal sales tax on soft drinks and chocolate because, he said, he had noticed that Canadian children often include such items in their school lunches and he did not wish to tax them as much. Politics can play strange games with a country's nutritional standards.

Canada now relies upon Commonwealth countries and South Africa for over 90 per cent of its cane sugar supply. Australia is our largest supplier, with \$55.2 million in 1972 sugar sales, followed by South Africa, with \$35.3 million. Canada bought a scant \$3.9 million worth of sugar from Cuba last year.

Japan is Cuba's largest non-Communist sugar customer, and an arrangement that would suit everybody but the shipping magnates would be for Japan to buy more of its sugar from Australia and South Africa, and for Canada to buy more sugar from Cuba and other Latin American sources.

Australia's new Labour Government is realigning its foreign relations to take fuller advantage of its proximity to Asia, and South Africa now classifies visiting Japanese businessmen as "honourary whites", but Canada is moving very slowly in establishing closer ties with Latin America.

Three Canadian parliamentarians returned early last winter from a visit to Cuba, and all three (Ralph Stewart — L, Heath Macquarrie — PC and Andrew Brewin — NDP) are urging tighter links with Cuba. One way of doing this would be to redress Canada's lopsided trade balance with Cuba — Cuban purchases of Canadian goods amounted last year to

\$58 million (\$14 million more than South African purchases), whereas Cuban sales to Canada came to only \$11 million.

The Cubans, who have long had a large trade delegation in Canada, wish to increase their purchases of Canadian goods, but in order to do so they need the hard currency they can gain by selling more goods to Canada.

In addition to tripling their sugar sales, they are seeking to sell larger quantities of seafood, citrus fruits, vegetables, honey, rum and tobacco. In return they wish to buy a wider variety of Canadian industrial and agricultural products, but they have found Canadian salesmen lacking in aggressiveness and have been able to arrange better terms of credit in western Europe. The bulk of their trade is still with eastern Europe.

(Pharmaceuticals are in short supply in Cuba, but Canadian sales efforts in that field have been particularly unimpressive. This may be due in part to the high rate of foreign ownership of the Canadian pharmaceutical industry: European-owned firms are more interested in exporting from their home base, and American-owned firms may fear retribution at home, since the U.S. Trading with the Enemy Act is very vague on the subject of pharmaceuticals.)

Foreign tourism is understandably a sore spot with the Cubans, what with the rampancy of gambling and prostitution before the 1959 revolution. (The beaches and resorts are now used by the Cubans themselves, many of whom never had the opportunity before 1959.) Nonetheless, Cuba is interested in receiving small groups of Canadian tourists and businessmen, but Air Canada is not interested in offering them regular flights, although their flights to Jamaica and other West Indian destinations pass quite close to Cuba and stopovers could be arranged. To travel by air from Canada to Cuba, one must now go via Mexico City or Madrid.

Canada is the only western hemisphere country other than Mexico that did not break relations after Castro came to power, and the Cubans appreciate this fact. Cuba is the only Latin American country with which Canada enjoys a trade advantage over the United States, but one of these days the U.S. is going to turn around and recognize the realities of modern Cuba. Canada would do well to consolidate its trade position with Cuba before this occurs, even if it means showing less favour toward "traditional trading partners" such as South Africa.

Eric Hamovitch

LADY PSSD



by Claude Balloune

INCO's newest export

The *International Nickel Company*, which in the past did such a great job for the environment around Sudbury, Ontario (the U.S. space agency used it to train astronauts because it so resembled the barrenness of the Moon) is to be congratulated on its latest export — pollution. It built a giant, new smoke stack to disperse its highly sulphurous smoke. Now, I'm informed by a scientist at Laurentian University, it is so effective that the sulphur smoke plume has been, at times, spotted intact high in the air between Goderich, Ont. and Detroit, Mich. — heading south

Members of the Saigon Lions' Club, it is reported unanimously agree that Canadian ICCS ambassador *Michel Gauvin* was their best after-dinner speaker since *General William Westmoreland*. Hopefully, the Saigon Lions' Club members are as patriotic as their Canadian brothers in various service clubs, notably some Rotary Club branches, who start off their meetings by singing O Canada and the Star Spangled Banner

In Ontario, high-level overtures have been made to a Waffle-connected personality to make a run for the leadership of the Ontario NDP, if *Stephen Lewis* resigns The RCMP and Canadian Penitentiary Service commissioners are trying to run all over Solicitor General Warren Allmand, a man they regard as weak and pliable. The two heads are doing everything in their power to reverse what they see as an insidious trend towards liberalism. Perhaps they'd prefer John Mitchell?

Canadian Pacific, that bastion of private enterprise, is going to come out with an official language policy in a month. Its headquarters has always been in Montreal, where 80 per cent of the natives speak French. Yet virtually its entire HQ operations are in English Don't be conned into believing all those denials concerning a merger of the NHL and the WHA. Sports industry types both here and in the U.S. regard it as inevitable. Give them two years, at the outside

Tremors and Trembles

On the Tory front, *Stanfield's office* is not exactly mourning *Premier Bill Davis'* troubles in Ontario (for example, a million-and-a-quarter dollars were paid to an architectural firm for plans for a new Hydro building, and the plans were scrapped. The pay-off went to a good friend of Davis'. The affair is being called "Hydrogate" in Toronto political circles). *Alberta's Lougheed* is being touted more and more as the successor. He has many good friends among powerful Toronto Tories, not the least of them being his



Stephen Lewis



Bill Davis

skiing buddies at the posh Caledon ski resort, *John Craig Eaton* and *Fred Eaton*.

Some federal Liberals are pressuring *Quebec's Premier Robert Bourassa* to call elections soon. It appears the *Parti Quebecois* is enjoying a steadily rising curve of support, according to private polls. One gives the provincial Liberals only a 39 per cent to 35 per cent lead over the PQ.

The federal Liberals are doing a little pre-election house-cleaning. The intellectuals are being pushed into closets in the *Prime Minister's Office* and the politicians are being welcomed back. *Torrance Wiley*, former national director of the party, has joined Trudeau's personal staff; he joins defeated Liberal candidate *John Roberts*, who knows the political game well, and *Martin O'Connell*, the defeated Cabinet minister *Senator Keith Davey* will be heading the next national Liberal campaign, signalling his return to the centre of affairs the party is happy with the results of Trudeau's "mea culpa" humble bit, feeling it's been a great success and evokes a semi-Pearson image. The Conservatives, of course, have been helping the Liberals by concentrating their attacks on *Finance Minister John Turner*, letting Trudeau off the hook.

The upper crust

Canadian nationalists take heart: Variety notes that the youngest major film producer is a Canadian. At the tender age of 18, he is in the process of producing a film starring his



Senator Keith Davey

Peter Sellars and Charles Aznavour. The name of this young, Canadian success story is *Edgar M. Bronfman*. His father is in the whiskey business. It goes to show that hard work and diligence can put Canadians right up there with the Yanks.

There's good news for Ottawa's horsey set. Members of the plush *Kanata Riding Club*, which has a heavy Rockcliffe membership, have successfully lobbied for a *National Capital Equestrian Centre*. The centre will be built on 270 acres of greenbelt in the nation's capital, will have stable facilities for 117 horses, three outdoor and indoor riding rings, and will be the biggest of its sort in the world. Taxpayers will only have to shell out two or three million dollars. I am assured there's no danger of the club getting too exclusive, because "it will be open to everyone, regardless of race, colour or creed." So if there's anyone out there on welfare, just bring your horse, don't eat it.

William Denton, head of *Canadian Breweries*, is getting with it. Beer advertising, he feels, has been too male chauvinist; he wants no more big breasts and bikinis. He thinks Toronto's beer-sponsored O'Keefe Centre and Dow Planetarium are elitist; he says "20 per cent of the people drink 80 per cent of the beer, and those 20 per cent are union members." He plans to put a union rep on the company's board of directors; he had his people distribute free beer and sandwiches to strikers in Winnipeg; he's building a recreation centre for the UAW education centre at Port Elgin; and he's providing the CLC with money for scholarships for workers' children. For he's a jolly good fellow.

High Turnover

Jacques DesRoches has been demoted to deputy minister of supply in the department of supply and services after leaving his post as deputy minister at the trouble-prone

department of manpower and immigration. This follows a directive ordering all manpower offices to give priority to job-seekers who are collecting unemployment insurance or welfare. After an initial denial of the disclosure, *Manpower Minister Robert Andras* blamed it on *DesRoches*. *DesRoches* did not recall having put out the politically embarrassing directive and felt he could no longer work under *Andras* in an atmosphere of trust. The manpower and immigration dept., formed only five years ago, has already had four deputy ministers and five ministers

Avis Rent-A-Car recently signed a sweetheart deal with *Air Canada*, which will allow them to use *Air Canada's* extensive reservations system and to run piggyback advertising with the crown corporation. The chairman of *Avis Transport of Canada* is *Chip Drury*, former mayor of Westmount, and brother of *Bud Drury*, president of the treasury board in the *Trudeau* government.

IT COULD ONLY HAPPEN IN CANADA

* * *

FROM SEALSKIN TENT TO SWITCHBOARD
QUEEPEEKA TIGLEE,

AN ESKIMO GIRL WAS BORN AND RAISED IN A SEAL-SKIN TENT ON BAFFIN ISLAND. NOT UNTIL SHE WAS 12 YEARS OF AGE DID SHE KNOW A WORLD THAT WASN'T FILLED WITH ICE, SNOW, ROCKS AND MOSS, OR THE LONG ARCTIC WINTER.

YET BY THE TIME SHE WAS 19 SHE HAD BECOME A POISED YOUNG WOMAN, WITH THE SAME INTERESTS AS YOUNG WOMEN "OUTSIDE" THE ARCTIC, WORKING AS A TELEPHONE OPERATOR IN FROBISHER BAY!

4-17

THE CANADIAN NATIONAL - CANADIAN PACIFIC MICROWAVE SYSTEM, STRETCHING 4,000 MILES ACROSS CANADA, IS THE WORLD'S LONGEST

© 1973 TORONTO STAR SYNDICATE

— "It happened in Canada", *Toronto Star*

ITT:

Now the experts on Catch-22 move in on Canada.

Guess who's winning?

by Nick Auf der Maur

The International Telephone and Telegraph Company has a peculiar kind of Midas touch. Every year the conglomerate grows and grows and its profits swell; but beneath the blue-chip glitter there is an all-pervasive stench.

From modest beginnings in Puerto Rico shortly after the First World War, it has grown into one of the biggest corporations in the world. In the past 13 years alone, its revenues have shot up from \$742 million to \$8.6 billion, while profits increased by 1,600 per cent. And through it all, ITT has proven itself, better than most multi-national corporations, to be thoroughly disreputable, built on a foundation of corruption and intrigue.

Years ago, the American company assured its expansion

by gaining friends and benefactors like Adolf Hitler, Hermann Goering, Francisco Franco and a variety of Latin American dictators. Today its holdings in 93 countries — including massive expansion in Canada — still depend on dubious deals, financial as well as political. Whereas in the 20's and 30's growth was based on telephone takeovers in Cuba, Uruguay and Chile, in the 70's it is based on cosy deals with the likes of Premier Robert Bourassa. It enjoys friendship with such diverse elements as President Richard Nixon and the Republican Party, the Eastern financial establishment, the CIA and the Canadian Post Office.

In Canada, ITT controls some 58 companies from bakeries to communications, from insurance to hotels. It operates the DEW line and controls an area in Quebec the size of New Brunswick. And it is moving into the Arctic in a big way.

On the balance sheet, its future looks bright in this country. But its future course is best judged by its present and past, both here and abroad.

International Telephone and Telegraph (its name was deliberately chosen to confuse it with American Tel and Tel) was founded when two brothers, Sosthenes and Hernald Behn, acquired a small phone company in Puerto Rico, and then another in Cuba. Realizing the immense future awaiting tele-



phone companies outside America (where AT & T had things sewn up) the Behn brothers set out to create an international communications system.

Their first major expansion came in 1923 when the Spanish dictator Primo de Rivera turned the fledgling national telephone service over to the Behn brothers. Their next big break came in 1925, when U.S. anti-trust action forced Western Electric, a manufacturer of telephone equipment and a subsidiary of AT & T, to sell off its operations in England, Belgium and Germany. Through a series of other rapid acquisitions, ITT soon became the owners of communication manufacturing companies in 13 European countries. Their international network was held intact through a secret cartel agreement with AT & T in which they agreed to help each other and to avoid competition.

Further expansion in cable, telegraph, radio-telegraph and telephone companies was stepped up. Within a short time, the company controlled communications systems and manufacturing in such countries as Chile, Paraguay, Argentina, Peru, Columbia, Uruguay and China. By the time the war rolled around, ITT and its subsidiaries had control over a startling number of companies around the world.

Brother Hernand died early in the game, but Sosthenes

Behn, backed by New York banks, proved extremely capable of dealing with various governments around the world. One of his greatest successes came in dealing with Nazi Germany, a story well documented by British journalist Anthony Samsom in a soon-to-be-published book called *The Sovereign State of ITT*.

In 1930, Behn set up a German holding company named Standard Elektrizitats-Gesellschaft (SEG) and entered into a series of cartel agreements with competitors, notably with Swedish financier Ivar Kreuger who later was to go down as one of the western world's greatest defrauders (he bilked various other financiers of close to a billion dollars in today's terms and then committed suicide).

Shortly after the setting up of the Nazi Third Reich, Sosthenes Behn became the first U.S. businessman to be received personally by Adolf Hitler. They met at Berchtesgaden where ITT established a warm and privileged relationship with the Nazi state.

Behn approached Hitler's economic advisor, Wilhelm Keppler, and arranged to have the boards of ITT's German companies filled with men acceptable to the Nazis. One was Kurt von Schroeder, who later became a General in the SS and fund raiser for Himmler's Gestapo. Schroeder brought



While Focke-Wulf planes bombed the Allies, Sosthenes Benn posed in civilized surroundings

in massive armaments contracts for ITT companies, including the notorious Focke-Wulf company, builders of the very effective Second World War Nazi bombers of the same name.

When Hitler took over Austria the Nazis wanted to expropriate ITT's Austrian subsidiary, but another visit to Hitler by Behn removed that danger. Jewish employees were fired and the company (along with other holdings in Nazi-threatened countries) was transferred to ITT's German holding company. Thus ITT became one of the few foreign companies to escape confiscation by the Nazis. Behn remained a good German corporate citizen by plowing back almost all profits into the construction of the German war machine. (In 1965 ITT managed to get \$27 million in war compensation from the U.S. because some of its German plants, including the Focke-Wulf bomber operation, were damaged by Allied bombing.)

But ITT's loyal service to the Third Reich did not end there.

Before the U.S. entered the war, Nazi businessmen, acting on orders from Foreign Minister Ribbentrop, visited the U.S. (at ITT's expense and planning) to try and convince American businessmen to cut off supplies and spare parts for Britain.

After the U.S. entered the war, ITT continued to serve the Germans. An ITT factory in Switzerland went on supplying the Nazis, although a Swiss-owned competitor refused. ITT was also strongly suspected of allowing its Latin American lines to be used to pass communications to German submarines (many of its South American subsidiaries maintained direct links with Germany). In Spain, ITT supplied the Axis



Visits to Hitler cleared the way for a warm relationship between ITT and the Nazis

with raw materials and equipment (the Spanish Republicans had eliminated ITT but when Franco took over the company was invited back with expanded interests).

Operating out of Lisbon and Madrid, Behn kept regular contact both before and during the war with such Nazis as Hermann Goering, communications being his business.

Anthony Samson writes: "Behn's high-powered contacts, both in Europe and elsewhere, helped to provide an unrivalled private intelligence service — which was perhaps the greatest asset of his company. When foreign leaders came to America, they often lunched with Behn in his penthouse before they talked to the State Department, and his information was often better than the government's"

He also had good connections in U.S. politics, as well as with the Pentagon where several ex-ITT men were placed. And Behn was using his world-wide communications system to increase his own and his stockholders' profit. So he also served the Allies, and that was his own Catch-22.

In Washington, ITT had been quite suspect and the Justice Department had been preparing anti-trust action against the company. So, at some point in the war, ITT became very valuable to the Allies, such as U.S. intelligence agencies. American agents turned up working for ITT companies.

"When the tide of war turned, and Europe was invaded," writes Samson, "Colonel (WWI) Behn emerged in new chameleon colours. On the very day of the liberation of Paris, August 25, 1944, the French ITT workers were celebrating in the laboratories, hoisting French flags on the roof, when who should arrive at the door but the Colonel, wearing a



Harold Geneen took over in 1959 and turned ITT into a conglomerate

mud-stained battle dress, sitting in a jeep with his son William at the wheel. Supposedly he was a communications expert, advising the American Army. But his preoccupation was to inspect and re-establish ITT factories in Western Europe.

"It became clear as the Allies pushed into Germany, that ITT now had a special relationship with the American Army. ITT officials mysteriously appeared in brigadier general uniforms . . . in the postwar rubble there were all kinds of business marauders picking up what they could, with ITT in the forefront. In October 1945, it even managed to dismantle two Focke-Wulf aircraft plants in Muhlhausen, in the Russian zone, and to move them to Nuremberg in the American zone."

T

he company came out of the war stronger than ever, with new experiences and a flair for political and financial intrigue. Even in countries where it faced nationalization ITT managed to turn a nice profit. In Argentina, Peron gave it a settlement of \$90 million, including accumulated profits. However, the American Ambassador at the time alleges that this was accomplished through a \$14 million payoff.

The company also came out of the war with more than 500 military contracts, a bonus that allowed it to move heavily into research and development. ITT remained primarily a communications outfit and grew steadily up to 1959, when Harold Geneen took over. Geneen, an accountant brought in by the bankers and financial institutions that control the company, turned ITT into a conglomerate; that is, a company without specialization and a producer of any number of goods and services.

Under Geneen, ITT underwent spectacular growth, moving up from number 40 to number nine on *Fortune* magazine's list of giant companies.

Geneen's ascension to power coincided with Fidel Castro's, with Cuba soon nationalizing ITT holdings. Until that time, 82 per cent of ITT's empire lay outside America. Geneen changed this pattern, steering much of the conglomerate's future growth into the U.S. and Canada. In 1964, for example, the U.S. and Canada provided 30 per cent of ITT's profits; by 1968, this had risen to nearly 60 per cent. But ITT's other holdings remain gigantic, employing some 428,000 people around the world and making the company the largest American firm in Europe.

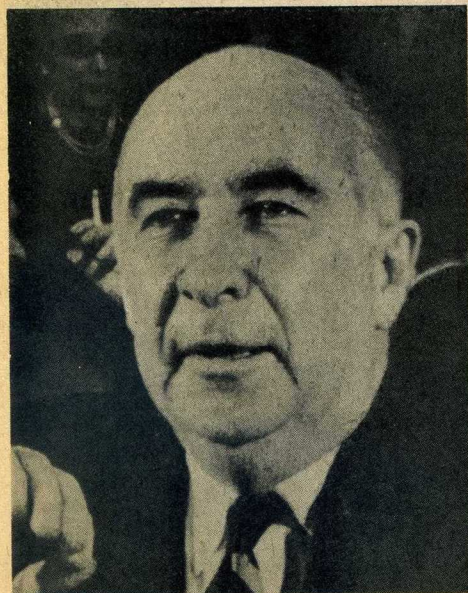
Despite its enormous presence and scandalous past, it is only recently that ITT achieved public notoriety — thanks to the Republican Party.

ITT's phenomenal growth stirred renewed interest by the U.S. Senate's anti-trust subcommittee, interest directed particularly at its acquisition of the Hartford Insurance Company through a \$1.5 billion share exchange, the largest merger in U.S. history. The Justice Department took ITT to court in 1969, but two years later began negotiations for an out-of-court settlement. The two companies easily reached a settlement and ITT was allowed to keep Hartford on the proviso it get rid of some other companies — Avis-Rent-A-Car, Canteen Corp., and parts of another insurance company over a period of a few years (ITT still owns them). The settlement was highly favourable to ITT since the companies it must get rid of generate only a third of the revenues of what it was allowed to keep.

Then, last year, Washington columnist Jack Anderson published a memorandum sent by ITT's chief Washington lobbyist Dita Beard to the head of ITT's Washington office. "I'm sorry we got that call from the White House," the memo said, "I thought that you and I had agreed very thoroughly that under no circumstances would anyone in this office discuss with anyone our participation in the Convention, including me. Other than permitting John Mitchell, Ed Reinecke, Bob Haldeman and Nixon (including Wilson of course) no one has known from whom that 400 thousand commitment had come."



Dita Beard, ITT lobbyist, claimed the memo was a forgery, then headed for hospital



Former Attorney-General John Mitchell: named in the memo

That memo and subsequent investigation brought charges that ITT had bought its anti-trust settlement by making a \$400 thousand donation to the Republican Party's San Diego convention to re-nominate President Nixon (it was eventually held in Miami). It was also revealed that, except for losing memos, ITT's Washington lobby was extremely efficient. Hoards of bankers, lawyers, PR men and lobbyists spent two years pushing for ITT. In fact, Senator Ted Kennedy was moved to write: "The sustained and sophisticated ITT anti-trust lobbying effort from 1969 to 1971 is a tribute to the advanced state of the lobbying art. Any Cabinet member or White House aide who was not contacted by ITT must now be suffering from second-class citizenship."

Of course, as subsequent Anderson disclosures showed, its lobbying was not limited to anti-trust cases. Around the same time, ITT was lobbying and plotting to keep Senator Salvadore Allende from taking power in Chile.

A flock of ITT memos secretly released to Anderson revealed a vast, well-oiled and unremitting effort by the company to pressure the U.S. government and other corporations to undertake economic sabotage of the Chilean economy. As well, ITT encouraged the CIA and various Chilean right wing and military elements to block Allende's democratic takeover.

It should be noted that ITT is the Pentagon's 23rd biggest defence contractor, much of its work being classified. Its main contracts have to do with "the Automated Battlefield Concept" and include a mindboggling array of research and development into computerized weaponry. Much of it comes from practical research and application in Vietnam. Because of the nature of its business, ITT has perhaps the best private intelligence network in the world, presided over by its senior vice-president for corporate relations, Edward Gerrity, and his \$100 million a year budget for "advertising, promotion and public relations".

As well, ITT and other U.S. companies with far-flung foreign holdings, such as United Fruit, have extensive contacts with the CIA, sometimes with an interchangeable staff. One of ITT's catches is none other than John A. McCone, the former director of the CIA, who is an ITT director. In recent testimony before a Senate subcommittee, McCone held his listeners spellbound as he coolly admitted that he had personally offered up to \$1 million to Henry Kissinger and to then CIA director Richard Helms to bankroll any government plan to stop Allende's election in Chile.

The Canadian operations of ITT are nominally run out of a modest suite of offices on the 15th floor of the Toronto-Dominion Centre in downtown Toronto. It controls some 58 Canadian companies, including Shearaton hotels, communications equipment firms, Avis-Rent-A-Car, ITT Arctic Services, Rayonier of Canada, a wire and cable plant in St. Jerome, Quebec and frozen foods in Toronto.

These companies report directly to the New York head office. Being wholly owned American subsidiaries their books are not open to the Canadian public. The four-man Toronto

“head office” is then, as journalist Walter Stewart described it, “a combination mail drop and lobby for the U.S. firm.”

The degree of autonomy of ITT in Canada is well illustrated by the fact that when one of the Canadian subsidiaries raised its prices for U.S. customers the U.S. price commission asked the company to rescind the increase and the New York executives agreed.

The biggest deal ITT has made in Canada is the massive project for the exploitation of Quebec's huge forest reserve on the north shore of the St. Lawrence opposite the Gaspé. Under the terms of the agreement between the government of Quebec and ITT, acting through its subsidiary, Rayonier Quebec Inc., the company has acquired the timber rights to a 26,000 square mile area stretching from the Manicouagan River to the Labrador border.

The details of the agreement are reminiscent of the deals worked out between the United Fruit Company and Guatemala, and have been described by the Confederation of National Trade Unions as a “typical example of the degree of belly-crawling to which our little elites have sunk to satisfy their master.”

The project calls for construction of a pulp mill at Port Cartier, 350 miles down river from Quebec City, plus access roads and related facilities for a total cost of \$165 million. Of this, \$57.3 million will be provided by the governments of Quebec and Canada. This huge subsidy will result in the creation of a grand total of 459 permanent jobs. Ironically, while construction of the Rayonier plant is going on, Canadian International Paper's pulp mill plant at Temiscamingue has closed down, resulting in the loss of 550 jobs — a net loss of 91 jobs.

The mill itself will produce dissolved pulp, or cellulose acetate, a crude material that will then be shipped to ITT plants in Europe for conversion into rayon fibre, cellophane, rubber and film. It's a nice irony that the Canadian taxpayer ends up subsidizing more and better paying jobs for Europeans.

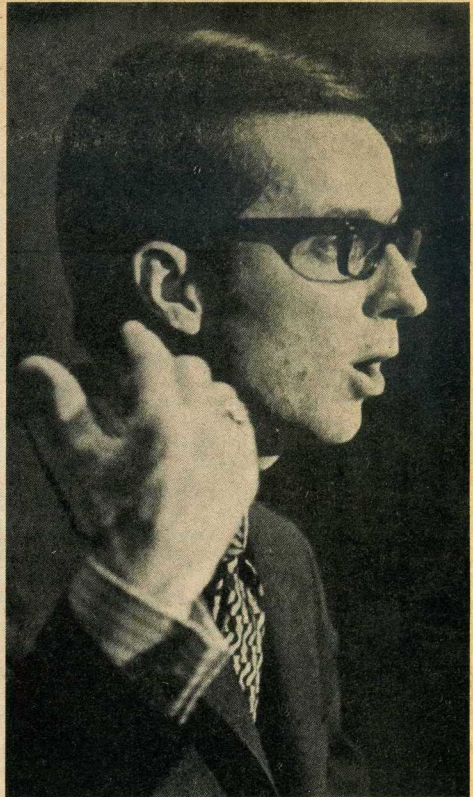
This ‘hard-nosed’ deal was negotiated on behalf of the Quebec government of Premier Bourassa by his predecessor, Jean Lesage, a man who has spent most of his retirement years collecting a score of company directorships.

The terms ITT ran away with call for royalty payments of 50 cents a cord, compared to the \$2.50 to \$3.00 a cord plus \$20 per square mile concession rights other companies pay. To gild the golden lily Quebec has even agreed to assume all responsibility for reforestation and silviculture, and for fire protection.

During the first phase of the operation, ITT-Rayonier will harvest 600,000 cords of wood a year, paying Quebec \$300,000. This will give ITT 263,000 tons of dissolved pulp selling at \$230 a ton, making \$60,490,000 a year. Later phases of the project call for 2 million cords of wood a year, harvested from a 51,000 square mile forest, an area almost twice the size of New Brunswick. To protect ITT's stake in this, there is a proviso that if the wood supplies are not adequate, the province undertakes to deliver the shortage. The agreement also gives ITT virtual veto rights over other timber operations in the area.

Just in case all this does not prove satisfactory to the company, it can cancel the contract without any conditions. As it is, the contract runs for 40 years, with option to renew for another 40 years.

To add insult to injury, ITT plans to finance its part of the bargain by an initial bond issue of \$25 million on the



Bourassa lets ITT run away with the terms of the deal

Canadian market. Thus, while the federal and provincial governments can trumpet this as another much-needed “foreign investment” of \$165 million (\$57.3 million of which is subsidized) ITT will actually put in only a minute fraction of the amount it will take out of the country.

Another controversial deal involves the Canadian Post Office. ITT's postal mechanization company in Guelph landed a \$72 million contract to supply the Post Office with automatic sorting machines, although its bid was reported not to be the lowest.

The government dismissed as mere coincidence that the Deputy Postmaster General, J. A. H. Mackay, happens to be a former president of ITT Canada. Both the government and the current ITT president T. H. Savade also claim as coincidental that the Post Office's chief engineer, Jack Moody, had been seconded work for ITT while still a government employee six months before the contract was announced.

It seems that all parties concerned agreed that the American company was the only bidder with the necessary expertise to fulfill the contract. None of the Canadian companies had it — and with government policy being what it is, none ever will.

ITT IN CANADA

A partial list of ITT's holdings in Canada includes:

Lighting fixtures, London, Ont.
Blackburn Division, Dorval, Que.
Controls and Instruments, Guelph, Ont.
Cannon Electric, Toronto, Ont.
Fluid Handling, Guelph, Ont.
Components, Ottawa, Ont.
Semiconductors, Cooksville, Ont.
Terryphone, Toronto, Ont.
Brydon Brass, Rexdale, Ont.
Wire and Cable, St. Jerome, Que.
Technical and Support Services, Ottawa, Ont.
Communications Division, Guelph, Ont.
Barton Instruments, Calgary, Alta.
Postal Mechanization, Guelph, Ont.
Abbey Life Insurance, Hamilton, Ont.
Allied Building Services, Toronto, Ont.
Avis-Rent-A-Car, Montreal, Que.
Arctic Services, Winnipeg, Man.
Flygt Canada, Dorval, Que.
Commercial Cable Co., Toronto, Ont.
Hartford Insurance, Toronto, Ont.
Rayonier Quebec, Montreal, Que.
H. M. Harper & Co., Toronto, Ont.
Continental Baking, Toronto, Ont.
Monitor Underwriting, Montreal, Que.
Rayonier B.C., Vancouver, B.C.
Grinnell Co., Oshawa, Ont.
Canteen of Canada, Toronto, Ont.
Sheraton Hotels, Montreal, Que.
Aimco Industries, Mississauga, Ont.

However, it is comforting to know that ITT Canada also enjoys U.S. government contracts. For example, in 1971, the Pentagon awarded ITT's Arctic Services division a \$50 million contract for "operation, maintenance and logistic support of DEW line North Atlantic Radio System and Ballistic Early Warning System North Submarine Cable Terminal."

A lesser Pentagon award also went to ITT Canada for "development of an experimental radar system," work to be located at Whitehall, Virginia and Hall Beach, Ontario.

ITT Arctic Services, with Canadian offices in Winnipeg and head office in New Jersey, also has a number of other military contracts. And it engages in extensive research and development projects aimed at exploitation of the Arctic. Judging by its ability to milk subsidies from the federal and Quebec governments, ITT's future looks promising.

In fact, ITT plans to make Canada one of its major areas of growth, in both resource development (sic) and through acquisitions.

The history of one takeover, Aimco Industries of Mississauga, Ont., demonstrates how easy it is for foreign conglomerates to buy out Canadian firms.

Aimco was the world's largest, independent manufacturer of replacement auto break shoes. It was making \$1,000,000 in profits, with assets of \$30 million, when it ran short of capital in the tight money market.

It applied to the General Automotive Assistance Board in Ottawa for a \$3 million loan. The Ottawa agency turned the Canadian company down — while another Ottawa agency was busily negotiating a \$13 million subsidy (not a loan) to ITT. Canadian banks and brokers also turned down the loan.

ITT, which makes break shoes in Europe, then moved in and took the company over through an exchange of shares.

ITT, with its extensive financial backing, could then supply the firm with a line of credit, but invested no money in the actual takeover. The company can now continue to grow. However, its European market now is cut off, since ITT has reserved this for its Belgian subsidiary. Growth therefore has to be partly at the expense of Canadian competitors — with less access to capital — and this could mean a reduction in Canadian jobs.

In all this, there is one area of optimism. The recent scandals that have rocked ITT in the U.S. have caused a spectacular decline in the price of the company's shares. From a high this year of around \$60, the share price now is in the vicinity of \$35.

This is important, because ITT acquisitions are usually made through stock transfers. The lower the price, the more expensive it is for ITT to buy out other companies.

Even if the present scandals blow over, however, there is no guarantee that the price will rise. With so much attention focused on ITT, analysts have been examining its public books and performance more closely. Recently, ITT reported record profits for the 55th quarter in a row, an all-time American corporate record for a company of that size. But, as it turns out, many now suspect that the repeated record growth and corporate profits are more of a tribute to Hal Geneen's accounting skills than anything else.

There has been evidence that ITT books are manipulated — through an extremely complicated accounting system — to show terrific performance no matter what happens.

This is done in several ways. One is for ITT to take over a company with hidden assets (in its own accounting system) and then reveal them in ITT books as increased revenue. It has also been shown that ITT has sold off properties and then listed the sales as "miscellaneous and non-operating income" — which it is not. There have apparently been numerous such accounting tricks. The purpose of this is to show continuous, spectacular growth, keeping the New York Stock Exchange price at high levels. This allows ITT to buy out other companies cheaply.

This is not to suggest that ITT is a sloppily run organization, with operations so far-flung, so complex that it is a huge, floundering giant. Quite the contrary; ITT is a very tightly run, centralized operation. Everything is ruled from New York by Hal Geneen, once described by a French business magazine as the "Michaelangelo of management".

Factory and company directors around the world are obliged to submit weekly and monthly reports to New York. Geneen's motto is: "I want no surprises."

"I do not think," Geneen once told the New York Society of Security Analysts, "that even a routine question arises anywhere in the system that is not scheduled for review at the area and headquarters level within two weeks at most, and usually in person by the top New York headquarters executives."

Geneen and his executives, responsible for more than 1,000 companies around the world, run a very tight ship, paying management salaries 10 per cent higher than competitors in return for unquestioning company loyalty (Geneen's salary is over \$800,000 a year).



Deputy Postmaster General J.A.H. Mackay happened to be a former ITT Canada president

In some ways, descriptions of ITT's operations remind one more of Goldfinger or Prof. Moriarty than of a normal company.

On the last Monday of every month, for example, a 727 jet airliner takes off from New York with a top level management team for a four day meeting in Brussels with the European managers. The meeting is held in an electronic boardroom where 120 or so people gather around a horseshoe table. Each position is impeccably marked. Statistics and images appear noiselessly on large screens. Geneen is in full control as he receives his secret reports in a scene reminiscent of a James Bond movie.

ITT meetings must be very interesting since the conglomerate operates its own extensive intelligence system. In Puerto Rico for instance, ITT is alleged to have dossiers on every member of the legislature, including each one's personal life and peccadilloes. Because communications still account for a large part of ITT's business (23 per cent) it has special access to all kinds of information. The company is also better able to keep in touch with its worldwide empire than other commercial and governmental outfits.

ITT, because of its mammoth size, acts as a government unto itself, one that does not hesitate to mix in politics. Essentially, it operates without restriction, as an amoral operation. It has become so steeped in its own insular existence that every facet of its operations is suspect — not only on a large, but even on a relatively minor level.

Recently in New York, for instance, it was shown that ITT had turned the Queens District Attorney's office into a kind of private collection agency. This was revealed following a raid on a company that had been repairing cars for Avis-Rent-A-Car, and allegedly overcharging the company that "tries harder". Subsequently it became known that the detective who led the raid, the chief rackets investigator for District Attorney Thomas J. Mackell, had been driving a free Avis car for over a year. Other members of the staff enjoyed similar gratuities.

In addition, reported the *New York Times*, ITT had donated at least \$138,000 to a non-profit foundation — the Institute for the Advancement of Criminal Justice — created and headed by the Queens District Attorney. ITT was the source of all the funds for the institute, which picked up hotel tabs for Mr. and Mrs. Mackell, but did little to advance justice.

ITT did not contribute money to other, similar organizations and, in fact, spent more money advertising its "public service" contribution to the institute than it actually gave.

An investigation is underway to determine what, if any, benefits ITT drew from this peculiar arrangement. However, it can be safely assumed that this is another illustration of the company's unsavoury character and penchant for corruption.

The information about ITT's record over the years that has reached the public is enough to place all its operations under deepest suspicion. There is, indeed, a stench of corruption and amorality about the company as bad as that surrounding President Nixon's White House in the era of Watergate. The wonder is that governments anywhere, such as Canada's federal government and the Quebec government, would conceive of reaching major deals with such sharks.

But perhaps it's not so surprising after all. It's only as a result of the recent, unexpected surfacing of several appalling scandals that the public has become aware of what lies behind ITT's smooth, cosmetic image. Is there any reason to believe that the scores of other giant, international companies, whose names are household words to Canadians, and who have huge holdings in this country, operate any differently?

Nick Auf der Maur is Quebec editor of the Last Post. Fuller details on ITT's relations with Nazi Germany are to be found in Anthony Sampson's forthcoming book, The Sovereign State of ITT. Thanks for special assistance goes to Alberto Rabilotta.

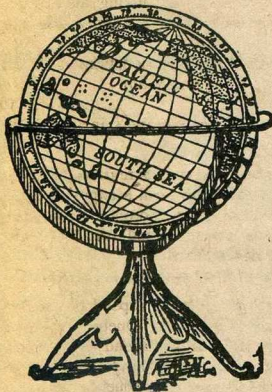
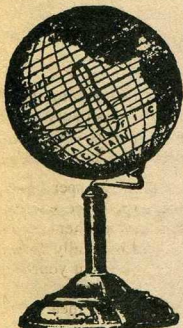
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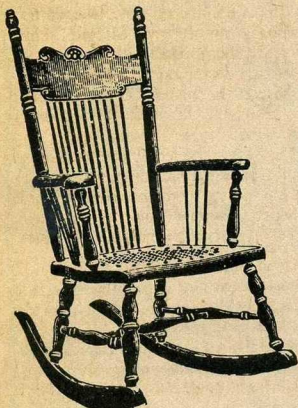
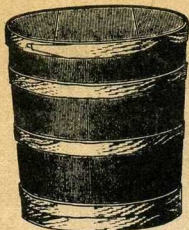
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date of broken treaties with our Indian Brothers, dates of British and American violations of Canada's sovereignty, of comprador sell-outs by our politicians, and of authentic peoples' holidays. Beautiful photos of our northland as it is now, but won't be for long.

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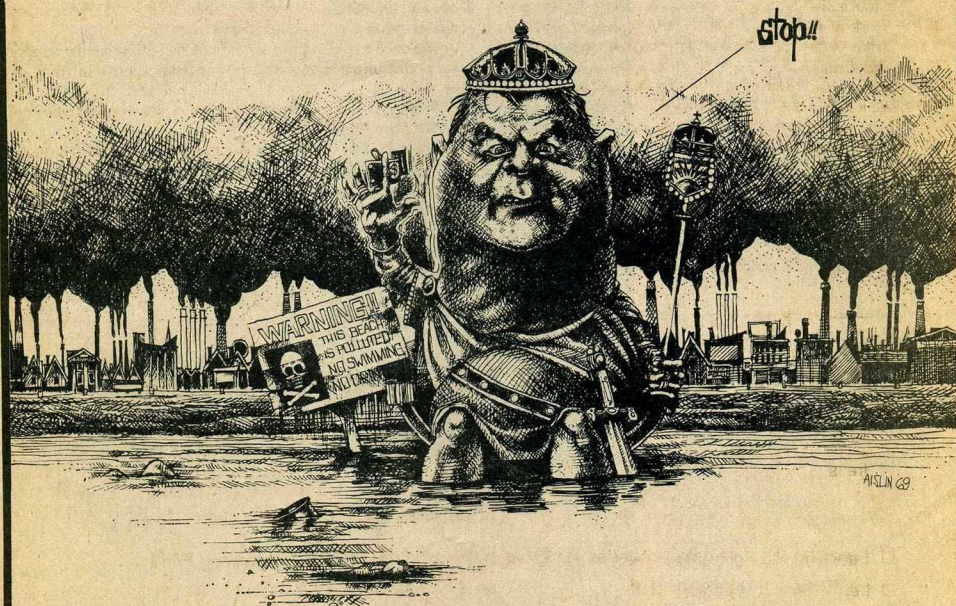
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Bennett vs. Barrett: B.C.'s battle of the Land Act

by Evert Hoogers



On March 2, W. A. C. Bennett, the ex-and-eclipsed-premier of all British Columbia, returned from two months in Oriental climes. The reappearance of the exile from his post-defeat pilgrimage abroad lacked the portentous quality of, say, Juan Peron's recent visit to Argentina, but it lacked nothing in dramatic flair.

"I warned the people of B.C.," thundered Bennett in fine Elba-esque fashion. "Socialism is now in full flood in B.C. . . . There should be a provincial election called forthwith . . . on the issue of the NDP government's Land Act." The Land Commission Act, Bill 42, "is socialism's first attack . . . No house is safe, no business is safe!"

The return could not have been more timely. While in such exotic and torrid regions as certain Latin American republics — where Bennett reportedly witnessed the "heavy hand of state socialism" — his sadly decimated Social Credit answer to Barnum and Bailey was crumbling badly. And so the portly old Ringmaster stepped from the plane smartly cracking his somewhat frayed bullwhip, in a dress rehearsal for the extravaganzas to come.

That the issue bringing the old man back should be the Land Commission Act was predictable. It was, after all, possibly the most progressive legislation introduced to date by the Barrett government. Its aim is to salvage B.C.'s diminishing farmland — diminishing because attempts to preserve prime land from the insatiable jaws of development corporations had been torpedoed by the previous Socred government.

B.C. is hardly a plowshare's paradise. Of the province's total area, just slightly over one per cent is suitable for farming. But the Lilliputian dimensions are misleading, since favourable climatic conditions in key regions — such as the Okanagan Valley and the Lower Mainland — allow the cultivation of specialty crops. B.C.'s production of tree fruits, berries and vegetables, as well as other produce, have made it important to Canadian agriculture. Unfortunately, like so many river-beds following the paths of least resistance, developers have flooded into these areas, since they are the lowlands near existing metropolitan centres.

When the pre-legislative land freeze stopping the sale of all farmland for non-agricultural purposes was first announced by order-in-council, Agriculture Minister Dave Stupich pointed out that, at the present rate of expansion, there would be no fruit-growing land



'I warned the people,' thundered Bennett in Elba-esque fashion

in the Okanagan region within ten years. The obvious ramifications of the development balloon made it necessary that "the first priority of the government must be to save the farmland now." When one considers that currently 10,000 acres of farmland a year are being swallowed by the thirst created through

subdivision fever, such a remark seems little more than a bland statement of the obvious.

The land crisis had become inevitable with the Socred scrapping, in 1969, of the professionally oriented regional planning boards. The boards (most notably the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board) had acted as a check on the compulsive zoning habits of municipal councils, whose resistance to high-pressure real estate barons more often than not resembles the courageous stand of a straw in a Kansas cyclone.

In fact, the Lower Mainland Board (LMRPB) had published, in 1967, a plan allowing for 60 per cent of arable land in the Lower Mainland to be reserved for farmland, an arrangement which still reserved 147,000 acres for development in Delta, Richmond, and the Western end of the Greater Vancouver Regional District. Of this, 77,000 acres still remain undeveloped in 1973 in Surrey, White Rock, Coquitlam, Richmond and Delta, not including some 60,000 acres of undeveloped urban land further up the Fraser Valley. Urban geographers have pointed out that even minus the latter acreage, a minimal amount of care would allow urban growth to the year 2000 without disturbing a single blade of grass in farmland areas.

All of this might have made for a cozy arrangement between government, development capital and farm enterprise — until the Socreds came up with their plan for a super-port at Point Roberts (south of Vancouver) to ship coal ripped from the craggy slopes of Crownsnest Pass to Japan. Everyone knows that to have a super-port you need a railway, even if it runs smack-dab through the middle of the richest farmland in the entire Delta region. Everyone of importance, that is, except the members of LMRPB, who apparently ventured their professional opinion that alternatives existed to the Socred vision. Bennett responded to this churlishness in typical statesmanlike fashion — he abolished the Planning Board forthwith, and built his railway.

The demise of the Planning Boards in 1969 presaged an orgy of rezoning in sundry municipalities. The Greater Vancouver Regional District has amended its portion of the 1967 plan 28 times in three years; the Central Fraser Valley Regional District, 26 times; about half of the changes involved rezoning long range farmland to urban use. Subdivisions, Industrial Parks and speculative holdings increased dramatically.

In December 1972, the new NDP gov-

ernment froze the zoning of all land in the province pending legislation to be introduced in the spring session. Bill 42, the Land Commission Act, was introduced to the Legislature in late February, making the NDP "the first government in North America with guts enough to protect our farming heritage", as Richmond MLA Harold Steves remarked. But the real battle, it developed, was in defending the Act, an area where guts alone were hardly sufficient, as the right wing in B.C. mounted its most sustained and tenacious fight since the NDP came to power.

In essence, the Land Act merely transferred zoning powers from municipalities to the provincial government through the creation of a Commission empowered to classify land in one of four different categories. Further, the Commission could establish agricultural land reserves on land "suitable for farmer's use", greenbelt land reserves around urban areas, land bank reserves on land having "desirable qualities for urban or industrial development", and, finally, park land reserves.

Significantly, the bill explicitly denied

compensation for paper losses incurred by those whose land is zoned within one of the four reserves, a clause which recognized the phenomenal amount of speculation on farmland in B.C. In response to opposition cries that the bill removes the "right to the enjoyment of private property", Stupich replied that zoning powers had existed and been used in the past. "In this case, all we're saying is that zoning is going to work."

Surprisingly, the initial opposition forays against the new legislation didn't seem to get anybody very excited. Of course there were the highly predictable accusations that the Land Act violated the Canadian Bill of Rights in its guarantee of the "enjoyment of private property" (Frank Richter, the uninspiring Socred House Leader lamented that "the day of private ownership of land in B.C. is over"). In fact, all of the basic charges against the new Bill were spelled out as soon as it saw the light of day. These ranged from charges that the Commission would be dictatorial due to its expropriation powers and lack of appeal procedures (the most infamous instances of expropriation, of course, occurred dur-

ing Socred years — the various big dam projects and the Delta railway are merely examples), to announcements that farmers now would be mere token owners of their land.

But for the most part, the attack was unco-ordinated and unsuccessful until the return of W. A. C. Bennett, who proceeded to organize a three-ring circus. The fact that reaction instantly galvanized around him is testimony to the fact that there is no one in sight to take his place. One is led to wonder in just which direction the circus animals will desert when he inevitably cracks his whip for the last time.

For the new government, the performance over which Bennett presided was a bitter lesson for, with some exceptions, the NDP failed to overcome theatrical politics with the necessary hard-driving educational campaign.

The first level of Bennett's strategy was a membership drive for the party, which enabled him and his most adept tightrope performers to stomp the ridings nearest the legislature with cries of "Four letter words used to be in. Now it's three letter words. Socialists OUT NOW!" as if an election campaign was being waged.

The strategy allowed the populist side of the ex-premier maximum exposure, and the exuberance of a supposedly reviving Social Credit movement in the face of the Socialist scourge was played up to the hilt. This reached its apotheosis in the person of ex-MLA Agnes Kripps (most noted for her suggestion that a certain dirty word denoting sexual congress be legally changed to "bolt" for purposes of education of youngsters. Someone across the House irreverently cried "What about nuts?"). Ms. Kripps would lead the meetings in rousing choruses of "The more we get together" as well as her own variation of "Old MacDonald's Farm" ("With a Barrett Freeze here, / And a Waffle Freeze there, / Here a freeze, there a freeze, / Everywhere a freeze, freeze ...")

The second ring of Bennett's anti-Land Act Circus revolved around his strategy for the Legislature — in a word, filibuster. As Bill 42 came up for second reading, the house was subjected to the spectacle of 13 hour speeches, harangues and other forms of oratory by Socred members apparently wanting debate to go on until the next election.

Reportedly, the members felt that the longer the debate, the greater the chances of securing amendments to the bill prior to third reading — a sort of legislation



The Barrett government: zoning to save the farmland that remains

SOME DEAL

NEW YORK — (CP) — The New Democratic Party in British Columbia is "moving ahead with a socialist program rivalling that of the Allende government in Chile," says an article in Barron's, a business weekly journal

In Victoria, Premier Barrett said that Barron's "must have got out their Joe McCarthy cut-out kits" to prepare the article. He characterized the author of the article as "a refugee from the Rowan and Martin Laugh-in show."

The premier said his government is putting together the same sort of legislative package as Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal, "which saved American capitalism."

— *Montreal Gazette, April 5, 1973*

by attrition. Despite charges by the NDP that such tactics were despicable, counter-productive and a waste of time, there was a certain convoluted logic to the proceedings since the House debates occurred in conjunction with the Sacred circus ring number three, the organization of opposition to the bill outside the House.

This latter operation, which was to culminate in the famous "Farmers demonstration" in Victoria on March 15, was built around the principle that no circus is complete without a travelling side show. Sponsored by the major farmers' associations, in particular the agri-business oriented B.C. Federation of Agriculture and the B.C. Land Owners Association (specially formed for the occasion), a curious group of Land Act opponents toured the province's farm ridings to drum up support for a massive march on Victoria. For this exercise, Mr. Bennett reached out beyond the confines of the Social Credit party, although the touring group did include a remarkable number of defeated Sacred candidates.

One of the chief performers was one Derril Warren, leader of B.C.'s quaint Progressive Conservative party; not being in the legislature, this gentleman must seek headlines from other sources, and consequently was a natural for playing the role of Daring-Young-Man-On-The-Flying-Trapeze.

This involved challenging Dave Stupich to resign his seat and fight a by-election over the Land Commission Act. Mr. Stupich, er — declined.

The travelling side show involved even more curious specimens than Mr. Warren. There was radio hotliner Pat Burns, whose demagoguery hadn't been enough to keep his ratings at the top lately. There was even a representative of the Canadian League of Rights, an extreme right wing group whose literature comparing Barrett with Hitler failed

to camouflage the fascist overtones of its own stances. But most curious, in all of the public meetings this motley crew addressed, nary a B.C. farmer was included on the speaker's platform.

As this display was unfurled, the B.C. Federation of Agriculture was organizing the Farmer's March on Victoria. The opposition of this group to Bill 42 seemed less than rational, since its representatives had been calling for the preservation of farmland during the Sacred regime; now its rather hysterical claims that farmers were about to rise up in bloody revolt apparently underlined the rapidity with which agri-business and land speculation had merged forces in recent years.

Their demonstration of 2,000 went ahead as planned despite a statement by Agriculture Minister Stupich that there would be amendments to the Act, including the right of Appeal from the Commission's decisions, no expropriation rights for the Commission and clarification of zoning powers. Noting that the B.C. Federation of Agriculture had been invited to suggest amendments with financial aid to research for this purpose, Stupich remarked, "Their only response has been to organize this demonstration. If all these people are down here today, who is taking care of the farms?"

To some observers, Stupich's question may have seemed rather cold and begging of the issue, but it was to find clarification in the counter-attack of left-leaning Richmond MLA Harold Steves, who struck the only effective blow for the NDP against the growing pressure from the bill's opponents.

Mr. Steves, it turns out, believes in doing his homework, and revealed on March 22 that he had followed through the metered mail on "Stop Bill 42" cards he had received. He discovered that they had largely been sent by employees of Real Estate firms with major development aspirations in Richmond, including

Canada Permanent Trust, Block Bros., Wall and Redekop and Rutherford Thompson McRae.

He read out proposals for the gradual acquisition of thousands of acres of agricultural land in Richmond by development companies, and then proceeded to bomb-shell the House with his revelation that nearly all the "farmers" who came from Richmond to the Victoria demonstration were "major land owners" who have been trying for some time to get their land rezoned. Holding aloft a list of developers who own farmland in Richmond he asked, "Are these the farmers the opposition is trying to protect?" Steves' allegations, of course, got front page coverage in the daily newspapers; strangely, the apologies from Block Bros. and other real estate firms that resulted from his discoveries were given far less prominent treatment.

On March 28, the government introduced Bill 42 for third reading and included the amendments earlier promised by Stupich and Barrett. That they watered down legislation which in its original form was a minimal step to meet an immediate crisis is testimony to the success scored under Bennett's circus tent.

That the new Bill does nothing to insure a reasonable income standard for anything less than the largest of farms underlines the fact that the problem of agri-business has not been tackled. In the Lower Mainland, for example, the middle-sized farmer has been virtually squeezed out in the past ten years. And certainly the Land Act is of little comfort to those small farmers left who find that rising costs eat up whatever meagre profit they might realize from selling their products against the competition of big farm corporations.

Roy Atkinson, president of the National Farmer's Union, in supporting Bill 42 addressed himself to this problem. "Farmers should be making a living out of farming, not land speculation," he said. "What farmers should be demanding is not the right to sell their land at inflated values for real estate developments, but rather the right to make a living out of farming that will allow them to retire on a decent income."

What steps the NDP government might take in the direction of meeting these needs remain to be seen.

Evert Hoogers is based in Vancouver and is a regular contributor to Last Post

**Everyday
Deep
Discount
Prices**



by Ralph Surette

DOMINION STORES SALES, PROFITS CLIMB
—*Montreal Gazette, February 1973*

**“We’re not
to blame”...
but
the profits
roll in**

Many good grocers, members all of the Grocery Products Manufacturers of Canada, were gathered in conclave this day (Jan. 10, 1973) in the mercantile city of Toronto, and a satisfied lot they were. Their rent-an-economist had just “proved” — basing himself on Statistics Canada figures — that wages generally have risen faster than food prices since 1967 and that food price increases are therefore quite moderate and hence the food industry is blameless in this messy business afoot in the land concerning high food prices. It was all very logical.

The study was modestly designed to “serve as a foundation for . . . appropriate decision-making in both the private and public sectors of the economy.”

Alas, the very next day (to wit, Jan. 11) appeared the most famous monthly consumer price index of them all (there have been other famous ones since): it showed that food prices had increased by 10 per cent since the previous January and constituted the highest food price increase in any western nation except France.

Here is another pretty touch in the same vein. During the 1972 election campaign, NDP leader David Lewis, in a speech in Timmins, Ont., identified Steinberg’s Ltd., a large grocery chain operating in Ontario and Quebec, as somewhat of a corporate welfare bum which “makes huge profits and pays little income tax.”

Sam Steinberg, chairman of the board, properly offended, rose up against this bit of impudence from some nose-picking socialist. Sam replied that increases in Steinberg’s revenue were due to increased sales and not in any way to increased profits. A 47 per cent increase in profits since 1968 had been realized on sales that had gone up 63 per cent, he said.

Again, alas. For the *very same day* that Sam Steinberg was waxing indignant, the Steinberg’s annual report came out. It showed a 47.4 per cent increase in profits for the year. Sales meanwhile had only expanded by 10.6 per cent. Mr Lewis went on, having now reached the tiny town of

Loblaws...

Fairfield, Alta., to score his points for the national press and Sam Steinberg has not been heard from since.

The point of reviving these untoward incidents is not out of any desire to be crass, but simply to underline this point: that such a situation could not go on. Good grocers could not go on being caught with their pants down, their profits dangling free for everyone to see.

Something had to be done.

One fellow in the meat business in Winnipeg had an idea. He "statistically butchered" (Canadian Press dixit, picking up the breathless tone from the *Winnipeg Free Press*) a steer and once again "proved" that the food industry was not to blame for any wrongs.

But somehow that didn't turn the trick. There was a certain vileness in the public mood, an irrational winter heat that led it to disregard mere "proof".

More speeches were made, all aimed at calming the boiling spirit of the masses. All to no avail. The situation was grim.

It looked like the ultimate drastic measure would have to be invoked: a SENATE/COMMONS COMMITTEE INTO FOOD PRICES. And it was.

Here we might enunciate, as our guiding principle, what we would modestly like to see go down in history as the Last Post Law of Increasing Returns: *The quantity of public relations increases in direct proportion to the gravity of the problem.*

Initially, this principle may appear not to be effective due to the vileness of the public and parliamentary mood. For instance, as soon as the committee was set up the NDP and Tories got together and kicked off the senators on grounds they didn't want yet another travelling roadshow and forced an interim report within two months, cutting down on the government's opportunities to prey on the public's short memory. The mood was vile indeed.

But consider the situation as you read this. People have been convinced to a considerable extent that not only are Canadians getting a break on food prices compared to other countries, but that these prices are bound to increase even more due to world forces. The hearings were barely a few weeks old when NDP MP Grace McInnis was complaining

that the whole thing was turning into a "producers' lobby."

On top of all this an Independent Food Prices Review Board has been formed — as a result of the interim report — to "watch" price increases. The board has the "power" to recommend measures to the government and make its findings public.

With such a vigilant group watching over the common weal there is no longer any need for alarm. It is all very logical.

So you see, the mood is not vile at all any more.

* * *

STEINBERG'S UP AGAIN

—*Montreal Star*, March 1973

There are two related areas that call out for investigation in relation to food prices:

(1) The politics of food, particularly the effect of parliamentary committees in calming public opinion and letting the government off the hook without doing anything while the conglomerates pursue their profits.

(2) The economics of food: including the growing centralization of the industry by the multinational conglomerates, and price manipulation among them.

Inquiries into the prices of food and other consumer products are a standing institution in Canadian life. The record of when the first ones were held is uncertain, but for sure there was one in 1938 (on which Lester Pearson sat), in 1948, in 1959 and again in 1967.

The 1959 inquiry was called the Royal Commission on Price Spreads of Food Products and the 1967 one was the Parliamentary Committee on Consumer Credit and Cost of Living.

Both these committees are of interest to us as they cover the period in which the present economic phenomenon began, and both in their own ways are extremely instructive indeed.

Both found high profit levels in the food industry. Both whispered out this fact to the world for no one to hear. Both were filed away to gather dust.

Concentration of ownership in the food industry began in the early 1950s. The 1959 royal commission dealt with surprising frankness with this and established at that early date the economic pattern which the present inquiry in Ottawa can only confirm. But more of the economics later.

As an exercise in public relations, the 1967 hearings were very effective. There was a battle at the time over trading stamps and gimmick packaging in particular, but also false advertising, misleading marketing and, of course, high prices.

Consumer and anti-poverty groups protested loud and long before the assembled wisdom of the committee. Some even brought third rate stew beef that Loblaws had tied up to look like pot roast, and dumped it on the committee table. It was stated that the poor, the Indians, the northerners are the first to suffer when food prices rise, that there is malnutrition among them and even starvation. It was hollered that profits were too high in the food industry, and that prices were being manipulated.

However, food industry lobbyists said the opposite, and they didn't have to shout.

The committee report absolved the food industry from blame in rising food prices (one cannot be blamed, after



all, for the mere pecadillo of having high profit margins. Everyone has the right to make a buck) and the committee, to quote *Canadian Press*, asked Parliament "for a new life and a steady job in surveillance of consumers' welfare."

Then on April 24, 1967, when all had calmed, the president of the Canadian Grocery Distributor's Institute gloated in Montreal that the industry had "gained prestige in the public eye" as a result of the hearings.

He praised his troops for their performance in countering "the organized efforts of groups and committees who have tried to discolor the food industry ... the hearings cleared



any doubt of excess profiteering by the grocery industry."

There were a few other cute touches at the 1967 hearings that might be recalled. The Hamilton and District Consumer's Protest Association charged collusion, price fixing and infiltration by criminal elements into the food industry.

That upset Auguste Choquette, a Liberal from Quebec's Lotbiniere riding, who protested the housewives' accusations, saying it is a "very serious matter to speak as their brief did of criminal intent to confuse the consumer daily."

Maybe this is neither here nor there, but this past winter Montreal Urban Community police director Rene Daignault told the Quebec Police Commission hearings into organized crime in Montreal that the prime targets in the legitimate business field for infiltration by the underworld are those dealing in foodstuffs — meats, and dairy products in particular. We might gratuitously note that the Mafia does not invest in low-profit business, and that their strong-arm methods of enforcing monopolies are not without bringing to mind the more subtle methods used by "legitimate" business.

* * *

I hope to goodness that we are not going to waste our time completely on just the profit motives or profit margins of the various segments of the food industry. That sort of witch hunt is not totally relevant.

—Conservative front-bencher Allan Lawrence

The economics of food are both vague and complicated. They start with the people who supply the farmers and end with the consumer. A calculation of how the system works is an exercise in hocus-pocus because the essential figures are simply not available. There are reams of statistics on the farmer himself as a collective entity, and even a few on the give and take of the chain stores. But what the middle stretch between the farmer and the consumer really makes is curiously absent from official records.

And the government makes no attempt to find out this vital information. When Dr. Sylvia Ostry, head of Statistics Canada, was grilled on figures relating to food prices her answers were generally in the category of "we don't know because we haven't tried to find out." And, the tone of voice implied, "we don't want to try."

The fundamental question that must be asked in relation to the economics of food prices is: who controls food prices, and how?

Members of the present food price hearings have actually had the nerve to ask this. But, backed by a government that doesn't want to know the answer, their efforts came to naught. A few incidents at the hearings in March bear this out.

In one session the Canadian Food Processors' Association, which represents most fruit and vegetable processors in the country, refused even to identify its member companies. CFPA president L. H. Johnson condescended to say that there were 104 members, however.

He resisted in particular all attempts to make him identify the biggest members of his association and what percentage of the market they control, saying information on the top suppliers in the field is confidential.

This got members of the committee mad — even the Liberals, which may or may not mean something. Our friend Allan Lawrence complained that such a refusal was contributing

miracle

Food Mart

to the "monopolistic or cartel innuendoes" widespread among the general public.

Typically, then, our friend Allan the Tory was worried about "innuendoes" rather than the monopolies and cartels themselves, which we can safely assume was also what was worrying the Liberals.

The same thing happened with the Meat Packers Council of Canada. The committee demanded that the MPCC reveal to what extent the nation's beef industry is dominated by the five biggest companies.

MPCC general manager Keith Leckie refused, saying "if the government wants that information it should take steps to find out. It's considered confidential information."

A very deft reply. Since the committee has no power to force the companies to give up the statistics it's obviously "up to the government". And since the government doesn't want to — probably both for ideological reasons and because the industry has a few well-placed contributions in the Liberal slush fund — the information will rest undisturbed.

And it is interesting to note that all these associations representing various sectors of the food industry would reveal nothing but what they put together by fishing around in Dr. Ostry's Statistics Canada bag.

That the committee is at least asking these questions is somewhat of an improvement over 1967. At that time George Metcalf, Canadian head of the Weston-Loblaw empire, condescended to testify before the committee. He stated that the parent holding group controlled \$800 million in assets, and that it controlled 150 companies. Its sales volume for the previous year was \$3 billion which, it was estimated, made it the fifth largest merchandizer in the world. It turned a neat little profit of \$43 million in 1965.

Instead of asking what all this had to do with food prices, committee members and the press treated the episode as if Prince Phillip had shown up to confess that he had been born in a log cabin outside of Wawa. Obviously one could simply not cast aspersions on a Canadian boy — George Weston — who started off with one bakery in Toronto in 1920, became the fifth largest merchandizer in the world, then moved his head office to England where he could bask in the proper decorum.

Let's not have a witch hunt.

—Consumer Affairs Minister Herb Gray

One of the most interesting briefs — and one which drew the praise of several committee members — at the present hearings was that of the Quebec farmers' union, l'Union des Producteurs Agricoles. It suggested that food price increases be subject to negotiation between farmers, processors, distributors and consumers. It stated that the present system in which prices are determined by market forces (read: manipulated by the conglomerates) with up and down cycles hurts farmers, suppliers of farm implements and consumers alike.

"If government wanted it, we could enjoy a national food policy without being constantly taken in tow by the decisions of multi-national concerns which buy Canadian products when it is to their advantage to do so."

The UPA is qualified to talk because it had direct experience with market manipulation in the "chicken and egg war" of a few years back. In attempting to impose farmer control over their own market through Fedco, the egg marketing board, it was shown in the numerous court cases dealing with the matter that large retailers and wholesalers — mostly from outside the province — would hold back produce to drive prices up, then when prices rose would sell — even getting eggs from the U.S. to dump on the Quebec market.

The result of Fedco has been a stabilization of egg prices and a lease on life for many small egg farmers that would have gone out of business next time egg prices slumped.

* * *

Fini les folies

—P. E. Trudeau

The 1959 royal commission commented — at a time when the supermarket phenomenon was still in an adolescent stage of development — that "the chains are not low-cost, low price firms. Under the general conditions prevailing they have featured service competition rather than price competition.

SAFEWAY

They have not only shown great skill in adjusting to consumer demand; they have also been very effective in the use of devices to influence."

The commission found unusually high profits in some sectors of the food industry, particularly breakfast foods where profit levels reached up to 32 per cent.

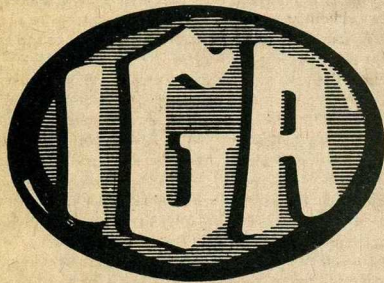
It also stated that "many farmers, perhaps most of them, are firmly convinced that downward pressure on farm markets resulting from concentration and integration in the farm marketing system tends to depress prices received at the farm. We do not think the assumption is an unreasonable one."

All this is merely to say that the notion of concentration and manipulation of food prices is not an idea cooked up here on the spur of the moment. It is a fact of life that started — and was recognized as such by farmers and later a government commission — in the early 1950s. The commission identified 1952 as the year when the "price spread" began to widen, with food prices increasing while farmers started getting less for their produce — a trend that has continued until very recently. It may have stopped now. If so, the reason would be that many farmers have been driven off the land and that agriculture has been largely taken over by corporations.

And corporate farming, as we know, is profitable.

The commission's recommendations were rather mild: Stricter regulations governing retailing, such as controls over false advertising and packaging. Even at that two commission members put out a dissenting opinion saying they wanted nothing to do with such rampant Bolshevism and that they believed in free enterprise.

Since nothing was done as a result of that 1959 commission,



the same theme was picked up by the 1967 committee report. It recommended essentially the same thing: that a consumer affairs department be created to regulate these problems.

This was done, and the department, with our friend Herb at the helm, has been busy handing out \$15 fines to naughty food tycoons.

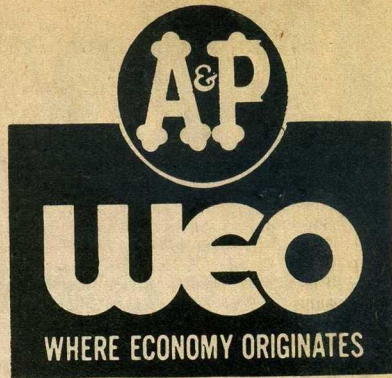
And this is where we're at now. Watch for another food hearing circa 1980.

* * *

Eat your potatoes and shut up. The little Chinese are starving.

—New Brunswick Proverb

There are many ramifications to this problem of food economics which cannot be followed through here. But we might at least define a few points we have touched upon



too briefly.

One is the fact that the poor take the brunt of the increases in food prices. If wage and price controls are not brought down "you're going to have people starving in the street," Marjorie Hartling, president of the National Anti-Poverty Organization, told the Ottawa hearing. She said families are subsisting on soybean burgers and television dinners and pensioners are eating dog food.

Wahshee, a NAPO member from Yellowknife, told the hearing that Metis, Indians and Eskimos are being sold "high priced junk" by food outfits. At the same time, at the James Bay injunction hearing in Montreal the Indians and Eskimos were testifying that they pay up to 25 per cent more for food than people in the south.

There is also an urban core phenomenon in which "captive" populations with access to only one store or supermarket are made to pay more than in the well-to-do areas. This phenomenon is often at work in poverty ghettos hemmed in by railroad tracks, factories and superhighways with no access to outside shopping areas. According to the Association des Locataires du Grand Montreal (tenants association) areas populated by old people with little mobility, even though these may not be strictly poor areas, are often in the grip of a local monopoly which imposes high prices.

There is also the question of who the farmer really is. Some government statistics have recently indicated that "farmers" are now getting increasing prices for their produce. Beef on the hoof and wheat prices this year have jumped beyond any farmer's expectations. But with growing concentration, it is likely that the corporations and gentlemen farmers — like Crowfoot PC Jack Horner — are making money hand over fist while genuine farmers are still on the brink of disaster, with more going over all the time.

Rising wages, rotten weather all over the world last year and "expensive tastes" may indeed have a bit to do with rising food prices, as the food lobbyists state. But these handy excuses are always used to foster a "crisis" situation which in turn gives more opportunities for unprecedented profits.

Ralph Surette writes for the Montreal Star and is a member of the Last Post editorial board.

Reviews

Yankee come home

by ALLAN MACKENZIE

Nationalism, Communism and Canadian Labour, by Irving M. Abella. University of Toronto Press. 222 pp. \$4.50 paper.

Irving Abella has a problem. He has a fascinating story to tell, but he has also a dubious thesis to save. Unfortunately, the needs of the latter overshadow, curtail and finally militate against the possibilities of the former within the story itself. The careful research, the interviews, the culling of convention proceedings and the peering into letters are thus finally directed toward a vigorous smashing through open doors and rather faint-hearted evasive action against brick walls.

Abella's thesis is that two themes: "the internal threat from the Communists and the external threat from the Americans dominate the entire history of (the Canadian Congress of Labour) from its creation in 1940. Besides these two issues, all others seem insignificant."

That simply is not true. The history of the CCL was dominated by the struggle first to organize and consolidate the base of industrial unionism in Canada in the face of active opposition from both governments and employers. Its success was heralded by its ability to unite workers, in spite of all the divisive tendencies both within and without the labour movement, into a powerful and quite vital trade union movement.

This is not to suggest that the CCL was organized in a vacuum, free from the reality of the Cold War, the emergence of the United States over the last few decades as the "bastion of the Free World" or "the pre-eminent imperial power" (depending, I suppose, how one looks at such things) or the divisions within the labour movement between "right" and "left-wings" — a division which I feel Abella oversimplifies when he uses the term "left-wing" interchangeably with "Communist".

The context in which the CCL was organized was decisive in shaping its history, policy, leadership; indeed its structure and relationship with the United States. But the essential problem remained for the CCL, as it does for every other trade union movement: the struggle to build unions is essentially a class question. Nothing happened throughout the history of the CCL that either eliminated or basically altered that problem. So it was that throughout the rivalry between, for example, Steel and Mine Mill, both unions were relatively

effective in organizing and in advancing the economic and social interests of their members. All unions were able to achieve what they did because at the factory and mine the commonality of interests of workers becomes irresistible. The issue was never Reds in Westinghouse or Whites in Stelco down the street.

How much stronger the trade union movement in Canada would be today if the splits and fratricide did not occur is perhaps immeasurable, but Abella's colossal understatement: "That the expulsion of the left-wing unions accomplished anything of benefit to the Congress is doubtful," can only be charitably described as one of his more faint-hearted evasions.

Now, about those "threats".

The "internal threat" that Abella alludes to was the Communists. With all the connotations that come with being an "internal threat", Abella never actually states to whom they were a threat — our "free way of life", Mom's apple pie or the Divine Rights of Charles Millard and David Lewis.

Obviously there was a struggle for leadership of several unions, and with careful research Abella chronicles that struggle. In the course of this detail Abella concludes that (1) Communists worked consistently, devotedly and in many instances selflessly in the organization of Canada's industrial unions; (2) that the memberships of many of the unions stuck by their Communist leaders in the face of the pressure exerted against them; (3) that in order to expel the Communists, the "right-wing" leadership resorted to many if not illegal, at least anti-democratic procedures against unions and locals which elected "left-wing" leadership — including implicit support for Premier Duplessis' decertification of "red unions" in Quebec; (4) that it was all a waste of time because:

"the ousted left-wing unions continued as independents, maintaining their memberships, and successfully withstanding Congress-sanctioned "raids." As successful independent organizations no longer restrained by the Congress, these unions wielded just as much influence in Canadian labour circles after their expulsion as before, and could more easily undertake those "subversive" activities which had caused them to be expelled from the Congress."

The struggle between the "left" and the "right" which Abella describes in hair-raising detail not only begs the question of who the Communists threatened, but also, by tearing this struggle out of the context of the Cold War and the

consciousness of that period, portrays all the people who organized Canada's unions as one-dimensional power-hungry manipulators — a rather conventional liberal view of trade unionists.

Nobody really emerges from Abella's book with much of a recommendation except Pat Conroy. Conroy, for some inexplicable reason, receives quite a cosmetic job and he is allowed to leave the pages of the book shafted by his own principle that all union men, or at least any who want a job, must be devoted to God and Conroy (in whatever order). Abella doesn't mention that the martyr soon pops up as none other than Labour Attache in the Canadian Embassy in Washington, a curious locale to resurrect this most curious of all Canadian nationalists.

The Cold War wreaked terrible damage to the Canadian trade union movement, no participant really acquitted himself with complete honour, and ghastly errors were made in all directions.

But the fact remains that the expulsions and vilifications — including such terminology as "the Communist threat", in which Abella indulges, did not arise out of contradictions within the labour movement but were super-imposed upon it. One can also suggest in passing that there is far less substantiation that the Communists followed the beat of a drummer in Moscow than the notion that the notables in the CCF danced to music choreographed in Washington. In this connection, I believe there is also plenty of evidence to suggest that domination of the American headquarters over Canadian affairs derives much more from the Cold War, and the agreed upon anti-Communism between men like David Lewis and Charles Millard and the American union brass during the 1950s than from the earlier period of organization. For example, the imposition of Taft-Hartley provisions in Canada — the extensive correspondence between Walter Reuther and David Lewis about forcing George Burt into line, and the importation of Hal Banks and the SIU into Canada to smash the Canadian Seamen's Union, to name but a few instances.

Possibly because of the book's concentration on the CCL no mention is made of the SIU episode, but it remains an interesting omission because the crisis provoked by destruction of the CSU and the part played in this tragedy by the labour hierarchy in Canada certainly was reflected in the politics of the CCL. Claude Jodoin, who was to become president of the merged TLC and CCL after all sponsored Hal Bank's citizenship application.

All of which brings us to Abella's "external threat." From his own evidence one can deduce that, at the formative stages of the CIO in Canada, the American leaders were either benignly disinterested or unable to deliver much in the way of support for the fledgling unions in Canada. And here is where Abella gallops through the open door, as he proves that the Canadian workers organized and built their own trade union movement. The workers chose the particular form — the CIO — for a number of rather complex reasons, one of which was the spirit of the Roosevelt administration in the United States, the Wagner Act and the impetus given the concept of industrial unionism by the political situation in the States which naturally inspired workers in Canada. The bonds of solidarity which existed then, maybe potential rather than actual or perhaps even illusory, certainly helped Canadian workers organize. But there is nobody who suggests that the CIO was foisted upon Canadian workers, except politicians like Mitch Hepburn and newspapers like the *Globe*

and *Mail*. If some of Hepburn's rhetoric now appears to be echoed by members of the Committee for an Independent Canada and Kent Rowley (who should know better) at least the *Globe and Mail* has been consistent in its efforts to protect Canadian workers from any foreign influences.

Without attempting to deny the tensions that exist between the national and international unions within the old CCL and the present CLC (as well as some plain ordinary jealousies) the basic problem of raising the "external threat from the Americans" in Abella's context is that it tends to deal with history according to the sensibilities of the present.

There is now an irresistible demand for complete sovereignty of the Canadian labour movement. And there is no reason to suspect that this demand will not be successful. Whatever form Canadian autonomy takes within individual unions — a problem best left to the members of those unions — it will be a reflection of the needs of the 1970s and the situation which now pertains — not as a correction of past mishap or chance. It will also reflect a fundamental truth that a Canadian miner has more in common with an American miner than he has with a Canadian mine owner.

If it is not correct to say that the problem of American control of Canadian unions has been exaggerated — and I feel there is evidence that it has — the problem certainly tends to be discussed out of context. The simple fact is, and interestingly enough Abella cites many examples, the leadership of the CCL agreed totally with the leadership of the CIO with their Cold War policies, and the international constitutions became convenient devices to enforce this policy. When Internationals put pressure on Canadians they did so, if not under the direct urging of the leadership of the

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CCL, then at least with their agreement. If that was not the case, the expulsions and removals would not have been possible. When the Canadian leadership did not agree with their international officers they simply told them to go to hell. For example, when International Steelworkers president McDonald told the Canadian Policy Conference of the Steelworkers that affiliation with a political party was against the international policy he was ignored. It is true that during the Douglas strike a few years back, the workers were told to go back to work by the International Executive Board, but the board acted if not at the urging, at least with the full approval of the Canadian Director. Many dastardly deeds have been done Canadian workers in International Unions, but it is record that most of them have been done by Canadians.

Now the internals of every union may differ but for the most part the Canadian leadership do not act as viceroys. As Abella points out in excruciating detail, the leaders of Canadian unions are pretty good at wheeling and dealing and are rather mature politicians, who did what they wanted to do. The "American threat" to the labour movement was basically only a threat, or reality, to the extent that the Canadian leadership found it useful and when the membership were convinced to go along.

This concept is related to another weakness in Abella's approach. Unfortunately Abella almost totally restricts himself to recounting the conventions, documents and the infighting that took place at the top, and dismisses almost out of hand the resulting struggles at the factory or plant level. Just as the issue of the existence of the autoworkers union was settled on the picket line and not in Mitch Hepburn's office, so also were the raids and inner union disputes finally settled by the workers themselves.

Perhaps it is the fate of all researchers to be unable to see the movement for the memos, but the essential vitality of Canada's trade-union movement has been proven on the shop floor and on the picket line and it is here again that the changes in relationship both to the United States and to the internal policies of the movement will be established. All of which turns one back to the original proposition that the constant factor in a trade union movement is a question of class, and the subsidiary issues of organizational form or political direction between "right" and "left" will be solved within the essential distinction of our society — between those who own for a living and those who work for one, and it is impossible to delegate this problem to International headquarters or to engage in this conflict by proxy.

The great cheese explained

by PATRICK MACFADDEN

As a result of many favourable notices, Margaret Atwood has been successfully lunched and launched onto the Sierra Club lecture circuit. ("The Animal as Victim.") This is a commendable development, even though it invades the fiefdom of Laird Mowat.

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But her paradigm of four (at last count) Basic Victim Positions as adumbrated in her book *Survival* has had equally stimulating results in other areas of our public life. I am thinking here of the business of poetry criticism. Not the criticism that appears in the literary sections of the public prints, nor again that which graces the small magazines; for in both these instances the problem of adopting an approach to poetry has been solved by the simple expedient of having poets review one another's work, a method that worked so well for the medieval guilds.

No, what I had in mind is the daily work of poetry criticism that goes on unnoticed in our schools and universities. High school teachers and lecturers alike have mentioned to me on several occasions what a boon *Survival* and Ms. Atwood's Basic Positions have been to them and to their pupils. "The new Positions," one of them remarked recently, "have come as a breath of fresh air."

I think I can see why. Teachers of poetry have for years been gasping in the shallows of the New Criticism or gurgling in the depths of the Newer Criticism. Using models drawn from other, older cultures, they have suffered a vague sense of guilt when applying those models to the *corpus* of Canadian poetry. For them, Ms. Atwood has been a relief.

They have adopted her approach with alacrity: Victims and Survivors have popped up in gratifying numbers in community colleges, Cegeps and even in the vocational streams of some of our High Schools. ("Woodwork and Lathe Operating as Victimization.")

I was privileged to see how these new vistas might be explored to throw new light on our traditional Canadian poets during a recent brief tour of High Schools in Northern Ontario. The Grade 12 pupils of the Sir Farquhar MacDougall High School For Boys and Girls in Thunder Bay were studying the work of James McIntyre, an Ontario poet who dwelt in Oxford County in the latter half of the last century.

It is fair to say that McIntyre is not as well known as he should be. As a result, I was apprehensive about how the

OH, YOU SMOOTH TALKER YOU!

"I first met Gore Vidal in 1947 . . . He was very young and looked spruce and golden. He had tawny hair and eyes that made me think of bees' abdomens drenched in pollen."

— Stephen Spender, *New York Review of Books*, Mar. 22, 1973.

teacher, a Mr. Angus MacOdrin, would get his charges interested in McIntyre's work. Mr. MacOdrin, a bearded and affable young man sporting corduroys adorned with a Support the Kraft Boycott button as well as a Stop James Bay button, waved me genially to a seat at the back of the classroom and the lesson began.

Perhaps before continuing, I should quote some examples from the work of this neglected versifier. He is best known for his poem called *Ode on the Mammoth Cheese*. Apparently Oxford County, a cheese-manufacturing area, built a three-ton cheese for exhibition at the 1866 New York State Fair as a promotional device. Mr. McIntyre wrote a poem about it. Here it is:

*We have seen thee, queen
of cheese,
Lying quietly at your ease,
Gently fanned by evening breeze,
Thy fair form no flies dare seize.*

*All gaily dressed soon you'll go
To the great Provincial show,
To be admired by many a beau
In the city of Toronto.*

*Cows numerous as a swarm of bees,
Or as the leaves upon the trees,
It did require to make
thee please,
And stand unrivaled, queen
of cheese.*

*May you not receive a-scar as
We have heard that Mr. Harris
Intends to send you off as far as
The great world's show at Paris.*

*Of the youth beware of these,
For some of them might
rudely squeeze*

NOT CRICKET

SAM FRANCISCO — Four students have been expelled from San Francisco schools for carrying guns to classes

Joel Mitchell, chairman of the United Black Educational Caucus, charged that at least one school principal, and probably other

educators as well, had carried loaded guns to school.

He said it was unfair that educators could carry loaded guns into school, while youngsters were expelled for doing the same thing.

— *Reuter, January 11, 1973.*

*And bite your cheek, then songs
or glees
We could not sing, oh! queen
of cheese.*

*Wert thou suspended from balloon,
You'd cast a shade even at noon,
Folks would think it was the moon
About to fall and crush them soon.*

Space does not allow for extensive quotation. But perhaps we have room for a further sampling. Here is McIntyre's now (alas!) forgotten tribute to St. Catherines, Ontario:

*St. Catherines famed for
mineral waters
And for the beauty of her
daughters . . .*

Or again, McIntyre's exquisitely modulated dying fall in these sombre cantos on the "Indian Mutiny":

*British infants who were
nobly born
Were from their bleeding mother's
bosom torn,
And with the bayonet dashed
upon the street
There left to lie for native
dogs to eat.*

*But the British lion he quick
o'erthrew,
Both the high and the low Hindoo,*

*Now they respect the
Christian laws
For fear of British lion's paws.*

I had, of course, known and loved these poems for years. But to hear them again, read in the lilting Cape Breton tones of teacher MacOdrin in that sunlit classroom in Thunder Bay, was to relive, almost, an old love affair.

And finally, McIntyre's subdued but nonetheless felt epitaph on Shelley:

*We have scarcely time to tell thee
Of the strange and gifted Shelley,
Kind hearted man but ill-fated,
So youthful, drowned and cremated.*

Here Mr. MacOdrin stopped and I had an opportunity to collect my thoughts. Bitterness welled up in me as I remembered how cavalierly McIntyre had been treated by our anthropologists. Apart from William Arthur Deacon, the literary editor of the Toronto *Globe and Mail* in the twenties who had written a short yet perceptive monograph on McIntyre — "He saw beauty in what was actually in every meadow, the pacific face of the cow" — our so-called sophisticated tastemakers have regarded this Oxford County artist with nose-wrinkling disdain.

Not so, thank God, MacOdrin. In that very ordinary classroom at Sir Farquhar MacDougall High, (walls bare save for "Tamaracks" by Tom Thomson and "Calendar" by Bank of Montreal), his pupils and I were exposed to a critical exegesis the rigour of which augurs well for the future health of poesy appreciation in the national life. For this, much of the credit must go to Ms. Atwood.

Mr. MacOdrin began with some of the biographical detail. McIntyre, he pointed out, was born in the village of Forres, Morayshire, Scotland in 1820.

"And for-r-r what was that village famous?" Mr. MacOdrin shouted triumphantly.

Here ensued a silence. Finally, one pupil, a lovely creature (if memory serves) removed her Wrigley's and hoisted her hand (vermillion nails) into the air.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE ON PAGE 50

ANSWERS—ACROSS

- A1. Rip-off
- A8. Atlantic
- C1. Grannie
- C11. Learn
- E3. Egg
- E7. Garibaldi
- G1. Moose Jaw
- G12. Once
- I1. Note
- I8. Plants
- K1. First Lady
- K11. Towel
- M1. Spadina
- M9. Fingers
- O1. Ousted
- O8. Assholes

ANSWERS—DOWN

- A1. Regina Manifesto
- A3. Plane
- A5. Finagler
- A9. Towers
- A11. Ad Libs
- A13. Trapplines
- A15. Continentalists
- G3. Ontarians
- H9. Playoffs
- H11. One tenth
- J5. Strike
- J7. Mamas
- K13. Wheel

NOT TO MENTION HEINZ'S BAKED BEANS

Here Ondaatje seems to echo the Arnold of Dover Beach, the Yeats of The Second Coming, and the Eliot of The Journey of The Maji with their sense of loss, their disaffection with the shabby present, and their premonition of what is to come.

— Gary Geddes, *Toronto Globe and Mail*, April 21, 1973.

"Yes, Sandr-r-r-a," encouraged MacOdrin.

"Cheese?"

After some slight laughter, Mr. MacOdrin explained that Forres was where Macbeth had murrdered Duncan, an event which he went on to describe as coming under Position Basic Victim Two, in which the loser accepts his fate but invents a cause for it that can't be changed. ("Verry Shakespeare," said MacOdrin.)

Also born in Forres, Mr. MacOdrin went on, was a Mr. Donald Smith and in the same year as McIntyre. Both would emigrate to Canada. But Smith would later become Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal, a Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Canadian High Commissioner in London, A Privy Councillor, President of the Bank of Montreal and founder of the great Canadian Pacific Railway.

And McIntyre? A poor undertaker in Ingersoll, Ontario. "Here we see," said MacOdrin, "the survivor and the victim pattern emerging right on the emigrant boat. The one to die a rich man, the other to spend his days among those perennial victims — the dead — and finally to expire in straitened circum-

stances. The one Up, the other Down!" (Here Mr. MacOdrin made small directional movements with his arms.)

Mr. MacOdrin went on to deal with the significance of McIntyre's evocation of "the British Lion's paws" in the Indian Mutiny poem. Quoting Ms. Atwood quoting Dave Godfrey's gloss on Graeme Gibson's extrapolation from Al Purdy's dedication of his rondel, "Hommage à bill bissett", MacOdrin teased out a finely-honed *aperçu* to the effect that, for McIntyre, the British lion, as an almost extinct species, was a victim with which we could all identify.

I for one had not thought of the British lion in this way before: what MacOdrin had done, in a masterly *tour de force*,

CULTURAL GRACE NOTE

"Walking into the porter's lodge of Massey College in the University of Toronto, I was frightened."

— Donald Cameron, *Conversations with Canadian Novelists*

was to make connections among apparently discrete phenomena, the task, as I later pointed out to him in the staffroom over a nice cup of Horlick's, of all great teachers in any age or clime.

Of Shelley and of McIntyre's interest in him, MacOdrin held that the unfortunate English poet had in his day taken up all four victim positions, sometimes simultaneously, sometimes adding positions of his own — some of which were frowned on by Society At That Time — and as a result had to flee the coop, as it were. (Sandra the vermilion girl perked up at this and asked to know more about this Shelley.)

As for McIntyre's mammoth cheese, MacOdrin drew a penetrating parallel between it and Frederick Philip Graves' yeasty novel, *Our Daily Bread*.

"And what goes best with bread?" he asked jocularly. This time Sandra got it right.

But there was more to it than that. Quoting Ms. Atwood's vision of a landscape "strewn with deserted farms", inhabited by victimized Earth Mothers and Ice Women such as Hagar Shipley, Mary in the Royal Bank, Signe Eaton and Mrs. David Molson, MacOdrin saw McIntyre's mammoth cheese, manufactured as it was from "elements all too fleetingly corporeal," (his phrase — the reference was to curds and whey), as the Ultimate Victim, to be trundled by truck, all three tons of it, beaten, poked at and interfered with, the butt of crude jokes and vulgar references by the hardhats of the day, finally to lie sweating and all the time decomposing under the pitiless American sun at the New York State Fair. Alienated Nature, emigrant, victim, Woman: when James McIntyre's Muse sought out a large smelly cheese as her objective correlative in those far-off golden days of 1866, she wrought better than she knew.

* * *

Postscript: Both Mr. MacOdrin and the present writer will be engaged in a national tour during which they will read from the works of James McIntyre. This has been made possible through the good offices of the Canada Council (Wee Kirk Branch.) Questions will be entertained.

Patrick MacFadden, Professor of Journalism at Carleton University, is co-editor of the Last Post reviews section.

BULLETINI

* * *

Jesus, threatening Pilate's power base, arrested

* * *

—Headline, *Ottawa Journal*, April 18, 1973

* * *

LISTEN, HOW DO YOU THINK WE FEEL?

* * *

Memories of crucifixion haunt disgraced Pilate

* * *

—Headline *Ottawa Journal*, April 21, 1973

Movie review

Bless their charming little murdering hearts

by CAROLE ORR

The Ambassador is dining with friends at their home in the outskirts of Paris. As the door bursts open, he dives under the table where he remains, hiding in the folds of the floor-length damask cloth until the invaders have liquidated his companions. Then slowly he reaches up for a slice of meat from the cold-plate. The hand is spied. End of Ambassador.

The audience then discovers that it's only a dream. A dream that someone else was dreaming that the Ambassador was dreaming. Then they go out for more popcorn because they remember it's only a movie.

Luis Bunuel's *The Discrete Charm of the Bourgeoisie* is like that: a dream that somebody dreamed Bunuel was having. It's a quality that seems to be persistent in the film art of the intellectual left: a built-in inaccessibility, the kind of thing that calls upon the consumer to be either a connoisseur or a clairvoyant.

Perhaps another similar film can illustrate: "He and She are prisoners of the F.N.L.S.O. (Front National de Liberation de Seine-et-Oise), a cluster of terrorists who implement to their letter the theories of Che, as well as those of Timothy Leary, and who lead an existence made up of extortion, thefts from the neighbouring farms, sexual ceremonies, sacrifices, and subversion.

"The terrorists," says the capsule blurb, "assassinate tourists and eat them. She ends up eating her husband."

The film was Jean-Luc Godard's *Weekend*, which raised considerable fuss when it was released in 1968, at least in film circles. Like *Discrete Charm*, and numerable other films from the European left (Marguerite Duras' *Destroy She Said* could be cited), it concerned itself with the violence underlying the apparent civility of the bourgeoisie. But it is doubtful that any of these, Bunuel's being only the latest, will ever be dinner

topics in any but the homes of the bourgeoisie itself. And therein lies their charm.

It is like a park or private playground, or one of Fellini's circuses. This could, of course, be enough in itself. To make a film on the-inherent-violence-of-the-bourgeoisie, make it for them, about them, at them, and see what happens. It becomes a kind of game, played in private clubs next to the whist table. Spot-the-literary-reference, or I spy with my little eye a symbol that begins with 'P'. If the object is to entertain the victim, then Bunuel succeeds moderately.

Discrete Charm (as it has been nick-

named) trails about after a group of upper middle class French who are involved in a constant round of dinner parties with each other. Their attempts to have a civilized dinner (middle class Living Death) is constantly interrupted by strangers walking in with bizarre personal stories, guerillas, their own dreams and other disquieting flotsam (Real World). Their violence is in their cathartic dreams and in their sins of omission. All is not as it seems etc., etc. Through it all, we flash periodically to a shot of the six main characters walking down a perpetual road in a perpetual flat field (The Road That Goes Nowhere) . . .

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In "Mon Oncle", unlike "Taureau", the portrait worked.

There is an interesting comparison to be made here between symbol and propaganda. In the case of Bunuel, (or Godard, or Duras, or . . .) the leftist intellectual has virtually chosen the symbol over the direct statement as his instrument of propaganda. The choice may be a reflection of the dilemma he finds himself in when intellectual sympathies, which are with the working class, confront his lifestyle, which is middle class. He seems embarrassed, at any rate, to make a simple statement. No, that isn't quite it of course. The complexities of the evolution of the idea have to be taken into account. But there is an element of aversion to traditional propaganda, the un-subtle sort of thing that is associated with The State, whether Maoist shorts or Reifenstahl's odes to the Third Reich.

These latter, commissioned by Hitler, are universally acknowledged (including by Bunuel and Godard) to be one of a very few films with the ability to inspire action. Yet it is purest, direct documentary propaganda, filmed at the Nazi rallies in Nuremberg.

That far we don't have to go. But *so* discrete, *so* subtle, *so*, *elegante*? (The classifieds advertise a button: "Eschew Obfuscation").

Bunuel's method is fine if the aim is the making of a "piece d'art", ephemeral, symmetrical, elliptical, or merely plagiarized, complete within itself. But choice of style has to do with motive in creation. Bunuel says of his

own motives: "Basically, I agree with Engels. An artist describes real social relationships with the purpose of destroying the conventional ideas about those relationships, undermining bourgeois optimism and forcing the public to doubt the tenets of established order."

Bunuel's vehicle contradicts his purpose. "The public" will not be forced to doubt anything, because the public will be down the street at Cabaret (\$1 million box office per week) or the Poseidon Adventure (\$500,000 box office per week). The bourgeoisie will listen very nicely then go out and order a daiquiri. And that is a shame. Because Bunuel's *ideas* are sound, are valuable, and could, if communicated, force the public to doubt the tenets of established order. As it is, it remains a curio of the Left.

(Bunuel has relegated himself to something of the same status anyway. "I believe," he says, "that the class struggle is no longer the central social problem. The real issues are birth control and ecology." Maybe his heart just wasn't in it.

In Clemont Perron's *Taureau*, released this spring in both French and English by the National Film Board, the problem is reversed. Perron, who scripted the brilliant *Mon Oncle Antoine*, has simply attempted to repeat his first success. But for variety, the portrait of a small town in Quebec this time is painted from the perspective of the local bete noir, Taureau (Bull), a semi-

retarded youth who is publicly scorned by the town and secretly coveted by the women folk.

The film remains on the level of storytelling, of drama, (which may be a prerequisite of communication in film.) Jean Cousineau's music is remarkably powerful; it forces attention and reaction. In fact, it forces it more than do the characters themselves. In *Mon Oncle*, this worked, because it was a portrait, drawn from the perspective of a small boy. In *Taureau*, it isn't acceptable. *Taureau* is an indictment, not a portrait, and it must therefore justify itself further.

The main theme is a variation of Godard, Bunuel, et al: hypocrisy, and the masked violence of the *rural* bourgeoisie. The society that traps, stifles and corrupts with its whimsical morality.

Bunuel indicts the ruling class. Since Perron is in a sense judging the ruled, the middle middle class if you like, he is under even more of an obligation to examine the evolution of their meanness. Bunuel at least portrays the sublime isolation that allows the Ambassador and his friends their free conscience. Perron, aside from a few predictable jabs at a limping church, gives nothing more than a picture of how awful it all is.

His vehicle is political; his analysis is not. And that, too, is a shame.

While Perron's film is accessible and totally comprehensible, it is just not quite worth the effort. Bunuel hides his valuables in a jungle of obstacles. Nothing seems to improve on *High Noon*.

The Gary Cooper classic incorporates all of these ideas, uses a man and a story and faces the audience. Will Kane is deserted by his own townspeople in the face of a threat to them all: the return of the notorious bad guy. Their motives are clear: "If we have any more shootin' in the streets, the men up north won't invest their money here, and that money is important to us."

"Leave town, Will. Now."

Cooper makes the moral decision alone, to fight the immoral regardless of convenience. He stays, fights alone, saves the nasty little town in spite of itself, and leaves in silence.

In *High Noon*, the statements are equal to anything in *Discrete Charm* and most other droppings of the disaffected cerebral left. And it's still on the afternoon tee vee reruns.

Carole Orr is co-editor of the Last Post reviews section, and is based in Toronto.

Sociology as a skin trade

by STUART ADAM

Sociology as a Skin Trade: Essays towards a reflexive sociology, by John O'Neill, Harper and Row, \$2.95 paper.

Several years ago, I decided to locate and identify the individuals who put such words as 'social structure', 'existential', 'elites', and 'you-know?' — especially the latter — into the everyday vocabularies of otherwise pleasant undergraduates. I have discovered several of these culprits over the years, for example, Broom and Selznick, Erving Goffman, Irving Louis Horowitz, Talcott Parsons . . . I have found another, John O'Neill, a York University social theorist whose book *Sociology as a Skin Trade* will no doubt receive considerable attention during the next few years.

I do not mean to imply that these are willing culprits. Their motives are obviously beyond reproach and in some cases, including O'Neill's, their contributions to social and political thinking are substantial. But in the smorgasbord-like atmosphere of the contemporary university, students are encouraged to broach difficult subjects without the time available to investigate and master them, nor the expectation that they will. Doing the university is like doing Europe.

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We've done Sartre, Marx, Freud, Alexander Hamilton, B.F. Skinner and Peter Newman this year, 'you-know?'

This prolonged process of bafflement in the contemporary university would be less of an issue on the occasion of a publishing event such as *Skin Trade* were it not akin to the one that the author raises himself. O'Neill tells us in his conclusion (which comes at the beginning of his book to provide the symmetry required by an introduction which comes at the end) that "the attempt to reach a wider audience than one's colleagues seems to be an absolute necessity if one is to avoid contributing to the privatization of meaning which is a principal source of social control in a liberal society." In a burst of gratuitous honesty (at the end of the same conclusion which, to recall, comes at the beginning) O'Neill asks if his essays are examples of repressive communication and privatization which he seeks to destroy. I would suggest the essays are very private, that he mustn't worry about it and that the fact of their privacy is what makes them interesting. Persons such as O'Neill with deep metaphysical concerns and a passion for ideas are peculiarly unique and esoteric, not simply because they cover unfamiliar ground and require a specialized vocabulary to do so, but more importantly because most of us are less imprisoned by the mystery of things than he is. In other words, O'Neill is engaged more in freeing himself than freeing others.

I hesitate to belabour the point on a book which, after all is said and done, is eminently worth reading. But the result of this urge to emancipate the mind guides one across terrain staked out by Goffman and Merleau-Ponty, Marcuse and Arendt, Hegel and Marx and requires the discussion of ideas and the development of a vocabulary which is as specialized in its own way as the scientific social science he attacks is in its way.

The fact that O'Neill can use a work like "criteriology" or write sentences such as the following should illustrate:

The revolt of the sons against their own oral/anal dependency upon the patriarchal genital bond releases a vast escalation of the excremental and metabolic processes of capitalist soci-

ety: the self-made man.
Or elsewhere:

The *a priori* of Hegelian Marxist thought is the embodiment of human consciousness and the history of its reflexive awareness in the structures of language, work, and politics, governed by the dialectic of domination and organization.

Willing as they may be, there will be few hard-hats, students or non-specialists who will find such ideas intelligible; and as disappointing as it may be to O'Neill, this kind of sociology is less of a skin trade — trades such as barbering, massaging, dentistry and prostitution which involve working with people — than the sociology of the hack social engineers at whom part of his polemic is directed. It is a personal enterprise in which other persons may participate, individually.

This is all excusable because once it is accepted that the discussion is among

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specialists, the interpretation of other major theorists by this one invites serious attention. O'Neill's major obsessions are the domination of contemporary life by the technological order and the complicity of sociologists in maintaining this order. This rationality, as others before him have pointed out, is the source of social irrationality. A humane, that is to say, a rational society will not begin to be a promise until we have reversed the standard and subjected technology

to the firm requirements of a social order in which O'Neill's man of creativity and sociality is rationally and joyfully tied to his fellow man.

That the spiritual and moral basis of human life is out of joint is demonstrated by the imagery in social thought of society as a mental institution or prison. It is further demonstrated by the revolts of the young and the blacks who, with Marcuse, he honours for providing the most obvious signals of the decay, and

by the artistic and defiant fringe who best view the moral space.

Sociologists, O'Neill advises, must adjust the vision of their craft so that it is grafted not to the purposes of this corrupting corporate order but rather to the spiritual grass roots. It's like saying, harshly one must say, that sociologists must take basic instruction in thinking about people. This instruction comes through a careful examination of the phenomenologists whose view of society

Mediacritiques

by Richard Liskeard

Mr. Mitchell Sharp recently echoed, to a group of Canadian publishers, a theme originated by Senator Davey's Committee on the Mass Media: There must be more Canadian correspondents abroad, to give Canadians a view of the world through Canadian eyes.

While the argument would, on the surface, be unassailably obvious, there is little reason to become overexcited at the prospect of more Canadians abroad. Not, at least, if we observe the most recent exercise in Canadian foreign journalism — our redoubtable press corps in Vietnam, sporting their smallpox shots and carrying with them every idiocy learned from years of working at the Parliamentary Press Gallery.

Two lessons emerge: One, that Canadian journalists in Vietnam have been substantially less critical and skeptical of American involvement there than have American journalists themselves (even the American television networks); two, that a Canadian in khaki can be just as stupid as a Canadian in an Arrow shirt, and sending more of them out begs the central issue.

For months, Canadians' only opportunity to see Asia "through Canadian eyes" had been through the eyes of Joe Schlesinger of the CBC, technically that Corporation's Hong Kong correspondent.

Now, traditionally, foreign assignments in the CBC are distributed on the basis of which powerful news department bureaucrat has lost which power play and needs to be gotten out of the way fast.

The London Bureau has been the time-honoured repository of such manqués in the bureaucratic wars. Thus, Frank Stalley got bumped out as director of programming in Vancouver, and ended up doing absolutely nothing in London; Peter Capelli of "Weekend" got squeezed out of that particular Disneyland of CBC television, and has been doing the rounds of wine and canapé broadcasting conferences in Europe, occasionally, very occasionally, sending a film back for "Weekend," which rarely gets used.

It's important to realize that it can be more profitable to lose a power struggle than win one, sometimes.

Thus, two years ago, a major clash took place between the News Department and the Public Affairs Department in Toronto television, over who controls what. And the ensuing explosion was so great, as one veteran of the battle put it, that it blew Joe Schlesinger all the way to Hong Kong. Thus Canadians inherited a new Asia correspondent, on the theory

that if he wasn't good enough to stay in Toronto, he should be foisted off on the Orientals. Mr. Schlesinger's credentials to cover the Far East are as solid as Adrienne Clarkson's. Nevertheless, on comes Joe Schlesinger in a khaki shirt right after Ron Collister, huffing and puffing after American tanks in South Vietnam.

Mr. Schlesinger's speciality is refugees. The final refuge of the man who doesn't know what the Christ he's doing covering a war is to deplore its innocent victims, the homeless children, and Canadians were treated to dozens upon dozens of feet of recurring film of refugee trains — all, coincidentally, fleeing from rampaging Viet Cong tanks which were crushing down entire cities in their path.

Always mistrust the correspondent who reports from battle scenes too frequently. Somebody had to drive him there, and in Mr. Schlesinger's case it was not a taxi. Not even the American networks were peddling as many on-the-scene U.S. Army handouts as our intrepid Mr. Schlesinger. French correspondents were getting arrested for covering the story of the 200,000 civilian prisoners in the South; UPI correspondents were being expelled for trying to interview NLF representatives on the truce supervision teams, but the seats in the bars of the Saigon mess halls have now been occupied by the Canadian lads.

It was difficult to conceive a more insufficient job being

GREAT HEADLINES

**2 dead girls
last seen
having coke**

**Youth flees
fire, dies
in fridge**

**Cigarette
blamed for
jet hitting
apartment**

**Organist sits tight in boathouse,
blames Hydro for high lake level**

starts not with social structure but with the mind which creates in common with its fellows a picture of exchange and order, and asserts its presence in the world. Thus reflexive sociology embraces "action and responsibility. Its habit is to see itself as it sees others, to break with the self-conceit of sociology and its way with the world. But the larger purpose ... is to renew the connection between self-awareness and awareness of the social world is

broken by ... the neutral observer paradigm of scientific knowledge."

A final note: Tainted as he is by the sociological tradition, O'Neill cannot help but attach a utilitarian justification to his enterprise. A reflexive sociology promises too much, almost as much as a government white paper. One suspects that were it empowered to construct or serve its own world that it, too, should be opposed. For the importance of the book lies not in its political program —

there really is none. The importance lies rather in the challenge it issues to us to reject convention. Books such as this, then, should be valued not for what they promise, but rather for what they are: the odyssey of an imaginative and sometimes brilliant mind freeing itself for its own sake.

Stuart Adam is professor of Journalism at Carleton University.

Mediacritiques

done than Mr. Schlesinger's, but the impossible actually happened. For who should arrive on the scene in Saigon but the *Toronto Star's* own Jack Cahill.

Within days, Jack Cahill was to make Joe Schlesinger look like Wilfrid Burchett.

Jack was in Saigon, of course, to cover the Canadian team on the ICCS. Previously, he worked in the Ottawa Bureau of the *Star*, where he outdid himself as a flack man for such cabinet luminaries as Joe Greene. Joe had the good sense to retire, but Jack went on to greater things.

One morning, the *Toronto Star* hops out onto the street with a gleaming red headline exposing how the Polish contingent of the ICCS was smuggling in sophisticated radiocommunications equipment in order to communicate with the VC behind the scenes.

By Jack Cahill, *Star* Staff Writer.

Picture: A Canadian sergeant standing by a stack of suspicious looking wooden crates marked with stenciled representations of umbrellas and wineglasses on each crate.

Clever Jack reveals his scoop: The Poles, sly little Comms that they are, are actually trying to fool us Canadian sharpies into thinking that these crates contain umbrellas and wineglasses. Ha, Ha. Jack isn't fooled. He notes that the rainy season doesn't start till June (this was February) and besides "soldiers don't carry umbrellas." Not only that but "Vietnamese wine is terrible", and nobody is fooled into believing the other crates contain wineglasses.

Within two hours of the edition's appearance, the *Star* received 400 phone calls from incredulous readers, pointing out the fact that an umbrella stencilled on a packing crate means "Keep out of Rain" and a wineglass stencilled on a crate is the international symbol for "Fragile".

The *Star* made some hasty changes in its final edition, without giving its readers an explanation; they still carried the main part of the story, however, that secret radio equipment was probably in the crates.

Subsequently, the *Star* had to run an explanation on its editorial page the following Saturday, admitting what was obvious to everyone, that they had enough egg on their face to feed every Vietnamese refugee for a year. "Hazards of the trade", the *Star* muttered. Mr. Cahill was to claim weeks later at a seminar at Carleton that he had intended this as "satire", but that "it went over everyone's head". Yes, over the head of the Foreign Editor, the Managing Editor,

the General News Editor, the Rim Editor, the Assistant Managing Editor

* * *

George Bain, the *Globe and Mail* Ottawa columnist who sometimes made getting up in the morning worth it, has gone to a plush chair and salary as editorial page editor of the *Toronto Star*. To replace him, the *Globe* came up with the unlikeliest of all candidates: Geoffrey Stevens, formerly of *Time* Magazine, whose main claim to perspicacity in the backrooms of Ottawa politics was the weighty tome: *Stanfield: The New Charisma*.

* * *

Shakeups in the National: CBC TV news is undergoing a shakeup. Since Knowlton Nash, who is not a very good news administrator, brought in the *Montreal Gazette's* Executive Editor Dennis Harvey to head the News Department, other shakeups have followed, or are in the works. Harvey has brought Malcolm Daigneault of the *Gazette* down to fix up "The National". Daigneault will undoubtedly switch a few chairs around the office and make superficial changes, but don't look for fundamental improvement in quality in the steadily worsening evening "National". About the only shift on the horizon is that the new boys at the "National" are looking for a replacement for Ron Collister.

* * *

The *Globe and Mail* is getting into bad financial trouble. It has lost most of the gains made after the folding of the *Toronto Telegram*, both in circulation and advertising. The *Star* is cleaning up. Reporters have left the *Globe* for cushier jobs at the *Star* in droves. Morale at the *Globe* is at an all time low because of bad management. The pinch on the *Globe* is evident even from its advertising pages — one only sees four or five movie ads in the paper anymore; look for the *Globe* being sold within two years. Meanwhile the *Toronto Sun*, a right-wing gutter sheet, is making steady gains in the morning field, and rumourous about that the *Star* will try to knock out the *Globe* by starting a morning paper. These rumours vigorously denied by the *Star*.

LETTERS

Dear Last Post:

Those who are running and supporting the meat boycott can lay claim to at least one immediate result. A rapid increase in the decline of the family farm. The huge multinational corporations which control the food industry in North America may actually decide to reduce the cost of meat due to the boycott. But that does not indicate a reduction in corporate profit or that it will be permanent.

The real culprits, the processors, packagers, wholesalers and retailers, will

continue to take excess profits. Any reduction in the price of meat to the consumer will ultimately be passed on down the line to the farm level. Contrary to widespread popular belief farmers do not receive a significant share of the profit and any reduction of the amount they receive will result in a depletion in their numbers.

Taking a recent example. Broiler turkeys selling at 60 cents per pound bring the farmer a whopping 3 cents per pound. After he deducts his costs he can attempt to calculate his profit from that piddling amount. What I'd like to know is where the other 57 cents goes and whether it has anything to do with the fact that corporate profits in Canada were up 24 per cent after taxes in 1972?

Instead of a misdirected consumer meat boycott urban people might do well to stop a minute and consider who their friends are and who is actually reaping the profit. It becomes obvious when you

consider that most farmers, like most urban workers, do not receive adequate compensation for the efforts of their labour. Farmers in Canada are going under at the rate of 1200 per month. Corporations, especially the huge multinationals, are flourishing. The businessman's dictum of charging whatever the market will bear has real meaning in that context.

The solution is a rural-urban alliance to curb corporate profits. Farmers should have all the help they can get to survive because as their numbers decline so does the quality of our food. With the small family farm eliminated the corporate farming interests will really be able to put their slogans to work, inflating food prices and bleeding us dry. If rural and urban people can get together now, perhaps together we can find a solution to a common problem.

**Dave Hunter
Kingston**

LAST POST PUZZLE

INSTRUCTIONS

Clues are cryptic, consisting of at least two elements, one of which is a direct reference to the answer, the other a rebus, anagram, hidden word, play on words or a pun. Any proposed solution to a clue may therefore be checked against the whole clue to see that it fits in with all the elements. Anagrams are usually flagged by the inclusion in the clue of a word such as "confused", or "upset"; puns are flagged by words such as "we hear". Letters in the answer may be indicated in the clue. Thus S may be indicated by "south", P by "soft" (music), M by "thousand" (Latin), IE by "that is", EG by "for example", MD by "doctor" and so on.

Specimen clue: "Preserve a District Attorney in the country"

CAN A D.A. CANADA

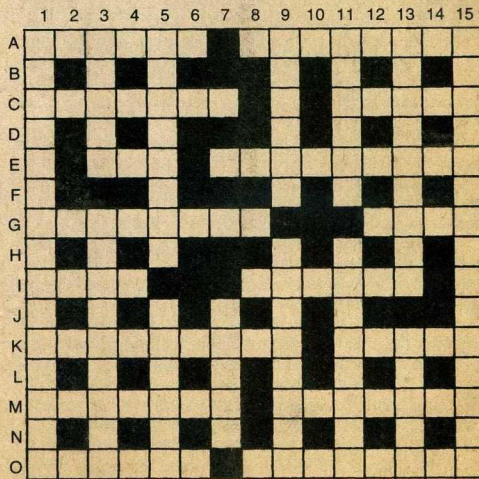
(Answers on page 43)

CLUES—ACROSS

- A1. Epitaph of loud corporate behaviour. (3-3)
- A8. This Kissinger charter should be dumped in it. (8)
- C1. Anger in upset old lady. (7)
- C11. North with Shakespeare king to gain experience. (5)
- E3. Unexplained jay-walker with this caused inter-provincial war. (3)
- E7. Cooper lost his hair, we hear, and became an Italian revolutionary. (9)
- G1. What Sampson might have used to slay Philistines in Saskatchewan. (5,3)
- G12. Fairytale beginning doesn't happen twice. (4)
- I1. Not the most common letter, this letter. (4)
- I8. Floral factories? (6)
- K1. Pat Nixon in the Garden of Eden? (5,4)
- K11. Toronto welcome conceals something Trudeau should throw in. (5)
- M1. Sounds like a health resort restaurant on the Toronto expressway. (7)
- M9. Liberals have them in till they get burnt. (7)
- O1. Used to being mixed up, Diefenbaker was. (6)
- O8. Stanfield's company covers them up while he leads them in Parliament. (8)

CLUES—DOWN

- A1. More gain in feast about CCF principles. (6,9)
- A3. Airborne tree? (5)
- A5. Up to something fishy, a typical Liberal has misshapen large fin. (8)
- A9. Overshadows one at peace in Ottawa. (6)
- A11. MacLaren Advertising men make off-the-cuff remarks. (2,4)
- A13. Catchy script for northern hunter? (9)
- A15. Instant coins let confused Canadians become sellouts. (15)
- G3. May be a strain on Upper Canadians. (9)
- H9. Theatre cancellations for Stanley Cup? (8)
- H11. Ten per cent is province's share of Canada. (3,5)
- J5. Good pitching was general in Winnipeg. (6)
- J7. Telephone company mothers are still maternal. (5)
- K13. Do this and deal in politics and you can be a big one. (5)



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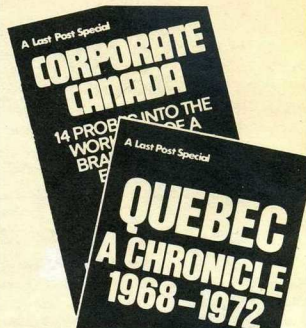
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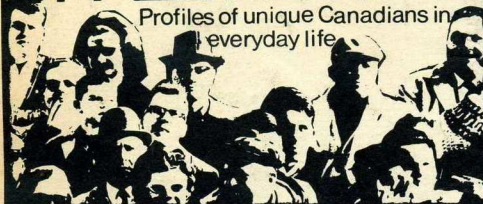
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DAY IN, DAY OUT...GOOD VIEWING on CBC-TV THIS SUMMER

SUNDAYS/10:30PM

OF ALL PEOPLE

Profiles of unique Canadians in
everyday life



MONDAYS/10PM

VIP

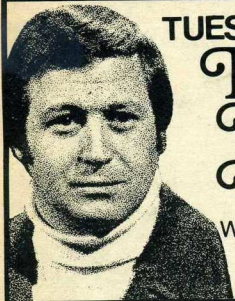
Very Interesting
People interviewed
by Lorraine
Thomson



TUESDAYS/8:00PM

It's A Musical World

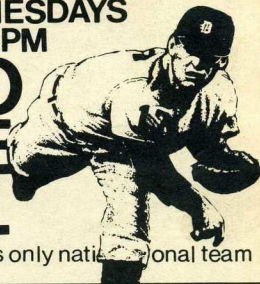
With TOMMY COMMON
and TOMMY MAKEM
as alternate hosts



WEDNESDAYS
8PM

EXPO BASE BALL

Following Canada's only national team



THURSDAYS
10PM

ms.

Straight talk by
today's woman
Host:
MARGO LANE



FRIDAYS/9PM

COUNTRY ROADS

Show-
casing
new

★ talent in the
country
music field Starts Aug.10



SATURDAYS/8PM

All Around The Circle

The folk music and
sea
shanties of
Newfound-
land



there's more



CONSULT YOUR LOCAL LISTING

