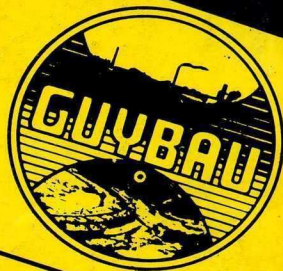


THE LAST POST

APRIL 1975/VOL. 4, NO. 6/75 CENTS

INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

CANADA'S OIL:
'MARRY THE
LANDLORD'S
DAUGHTER,
GET THE FIRST
PORKCHOP,
AND THE BEST BED
IN THE HOUSE



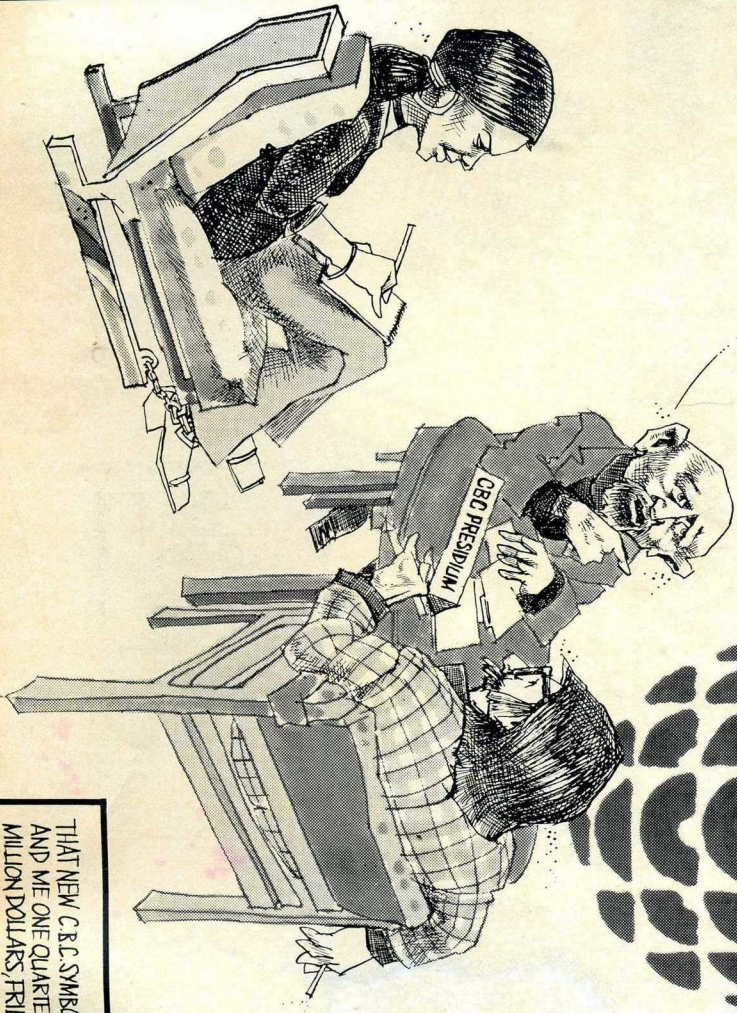
GUYANA:
THE MWALIMU'S
BIG DEAL



SICK & SLICK:
MAKING A
FOLK HERO
OF MONTREAL
MURDERER
RICHARD BLASS



NO, HARRY, I REALLY
DO LIKE IT! BY THE WAY,
IS IT BILINGUAL?



MOTHER J.

THAT NEW C.B.C. SYMBOL COST YOU
AND WE ONE QUARTER OF A
MILLION DOLLARS, FRIEND.

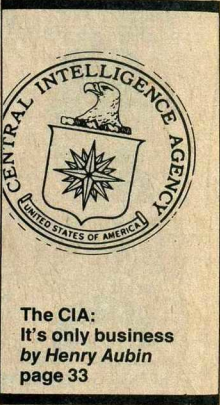
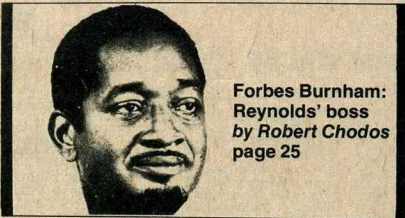
THE LAST POST

April 1975, Vol. 4, No. 6

CONNEXIONS
P.O. BOX 158, STN. "D"
TORONTO, ONT. M6P 3J8



THE MONTH	4
Immigration by <i>Eric Hamovitch</i>	
Gypsum by <i>Last Post Staff</i>	
INTERNATIONAL REPORT	13
Dubcek echoes Rockefeller wins	
Last Pssst by <i>Claude Balloune</i>	17



REAR VIEW	42
Gompers by <i>Rae Murphy</i>	
Science column Rural Ontario by <i>Bob Trotter</i>	
Joseph Heller by <i>Wayne Edmonstone</i>	

We wish to thank the Ontario Arts Council for its financial assistance under its periodicals program.

The Last Post is produced by an editorial board.
Production this issue: Henry Aubin, Nick Auf der Maur, Patrick Brown, Drummond Burgess, Robert Chodos, Pauline Couture, David Crandall, Wayne Edmonstone, Eric Hamovitch, Oliver Irwin, Richard Liskeard, Patrick MacFadden, Terry Mosher, Rae Murphy, Larry Pratt, Bob Trotter.

Published by the Canadian Journalism Foundation, a non-profit corporation, 454 King St. W., Rm. 302, Toronto, Ont., M5V 1L6. Phone: (416) 366-1134. Address all editorial and business correspondence to the Last Post, 454 King St. W., Rm. 302, Toronto, Ont., M5V 1L6. Phone: (416) 366-1134. In Montreal: 4233 av. de l'Esplanade, Montreal, Que. Phone: (514) 288-6060. Managing Editor: Drummond Burgess; Business Manager: Elsie Murphy.

Typeset and assembled by Heritage Press. Printed by Les Editions du Richelieu. Contents copyright 1975. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be duplicated in any way without prior written permission from the publisher. CDN ISSN 0023-8651. Second Class Mail Registration No. 2315. Postage Paid at Montreal.

distinctive features" in this country. There were many earlier in this century who thought it undesirable to admit large numbers of continental Europeans, and there is hardly an immigrant who cannot recall having encountered at least some friction. But why does Mr. Andras find the addition of a few new titles to the much vaunted Canadian mosaic so frightening?

"There is racial prejudice in Canada," wrote *Ottawa Citizen* editor Christopher Young. "Of course there is. And government would be remiss not to take some account of it in shaping policy, just as other forms of sickness or of evil must be considered in framing other policies. But first of all we have to bring such evils into the light of day and talk about them. And secondly we ought to devise policies intended to overcome them, not pander to them."

Prior to 1967 Canadian immigration policy was based partly on a quota system, with limits set according to country of origin. Shortly before the adoption of the new regulations, there was a funny note on CBC television's *This Hour Has Seven Days* in which a Canadian immigration officer patiently explained to a prospective Martian immigrant that we had quotas for black people and yellow people and brown people, but that despite his many qualifications he could not be allowed to enter Canada because we had no quota for green people. Under the 1967 regulations, admissibility is determined by a points system in which country of origin is no longer a direct factor, and education and occupational skills became more important in assessing applicants. The proportion of immigrants from the Caribbean, Asia, Latin America and Africa increased from a total of 13.8 per cent in the 1962-67 period to 32.1 per cent in the 1968-73 period.

The Green Paper purports to be an impartial assessment put forward for discussion rather than a statement of policy, but it shows strong leanings toward — indeed almost an obsession with — cutting down on immigration. Despite the rigours of its climate, Canada has many strong attractions, and some controls are obviously needed to regulate population growth. But the Green Paper suggests some dubious measures, and some dubious reasons for their implementation.

It puts forth four "options" for immigration policy: (1) the present system, which does not fix any limits to the total number of immigrants and which may not necessarily "respect national priorities"; (2) gearing the system more



ROBERT ANDRAS
a careful choice of words

closely to the needs of the labour market; (3) explicit numerical targets "on a global, regional and possibly post-by-post basis; and (4) an annual global ceiling, with special priorities according to category of immigrant.

That the third option should even be considered is disturbing; called "a major innovation in Canadian immigration policy", what it basically amounts to is a return to the quota system. The Green Paper admits that "this option would present very difficult problems in deciding on the formula for allocating visa quotas among regions and countries." Even under the more reasonable fourth option, the Green Paper recommends "forecasts" of "the number of applicants in each minority group from each source country and area of the world". Our Martian friend would not be pleased.

Because immigration policy is so closely linked with population policy, it cannot be divorced from consideration of employment perspectives, housing shortages, urban sprawl and other factors advanced in favour of reducing population growth. However, the links between these problems and the immigration question are not as clear as the Green

Paper seems to suggest. Because many immigrants are highly skilled or have taken jobs not wanted by most Canadians, and because they are consumers as well as producers, they are less likely to create unemployment than we are sometimes led to believe.

This does not excuse the laxness shown by some provincial labour departments in enforcing minimum standards. Housing shortages and urban sprawl can in large part be attributed to the fact that private developers and land speculators have effectively been in charge of housing policy and urban planning; government action is called for, but not against prospective immigrants.

One of the positive features of the Green Paper is the suggestion that a larger proportion of immigrants be found who are willing to become integrated with the French-speaking community. This may help reduce the antagonisms which have erupted between Quebec nationalists and immigrant groups because of the latter's tendency to choose English over French. The widespread public support shown in Quebec for groups of Haitians and Colombians in their battles against deportation shows that this hope is not illusory.

The Green Paper briefly considers the problem of the "brain drain" from less developed countries that can ill afford to lose skilled and professional people, a concern which would appear more sincere were Canada's aid and trade policies less selfishly oriented. Finally we come to the red herring of helping relieve the Third World of its population burden. No one is seriously suggesting that Canada can even make a dent, but it is a good ploy for conjuring up more racial fears.

"While the Green Paper is obscene in the smarmy hypocrisy with which it caters to racial prejudice," wrote *Montreal Gazette* editor Tim Creery, "and while it is a government selling job rather than the impartial assessment it purports to be, these failings do not mean it is without substance for debate."

It is unfortunate that this debate on a matter of fundamental policy should take place at a time of economic stagnation and general pessimism. While economic circumstances may call for tighter regulation of occupational requirements, it is regrettable that the government should emphasize race as a consideration. If the Liberals are so concerned about the roots of racial strains, they should take a closer look at the living conditions of the native peoples, the very earliest of Canada's immigrants.

THE CHINESE ARMoured DIVISION?

* * *

But let me add a kind of postscript, lest the awe of China gives us the worries. They do have chinks in their armour, so to speak.

—Norman Smith, *Ottawa Journal*, January 25, 1975

QUEBEC/CRIME THE YELLOW PRESS CREATES A HERO

by NICK AUF DER MAUR

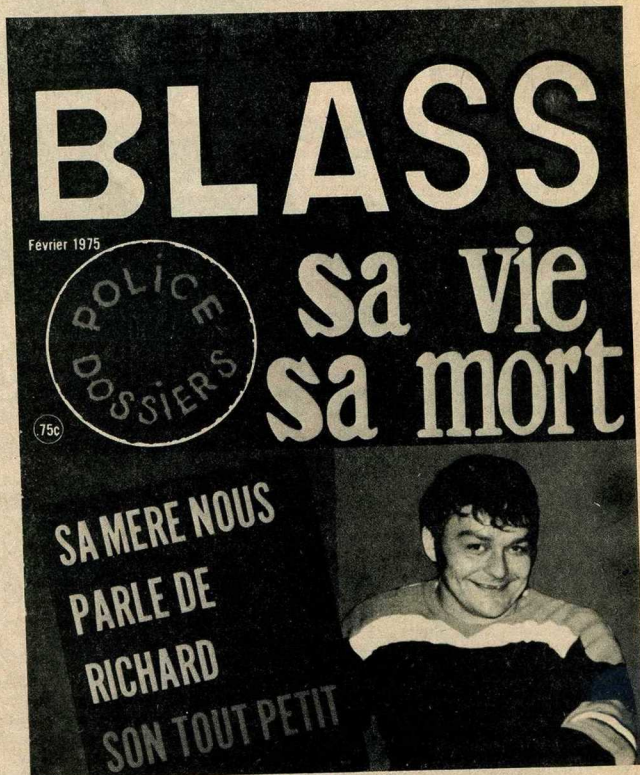
In Quebec, Richard Blass has for some time now been as well known as John Dillinger, Bonnie and Clyde and Jesse James were to Canadians during their American heydays.

Blass' criminal career — up to 20 murders, spectacular jail escapes, several underworld attempts on his life, narrow escapes from police ambushes, and other assorted and sordid crimes — has been well chronicled by the French language press over the past few years. He was well known long before English Canadians first heard of him in February when police surprised him at his last hideout and riddled him with machine-gun bullets.

Blass' criminal career was ended abruptly — but not his public print career. Shortly after his death, a flashy, gaudy and rather sick but slick magazine hit the news stands: *Blass. Sa Vie. Sa Mort* (*Blass. His Life. His Death*). 100,000 copies at 75 cents. Photos, the full story of his 29-year life plus several prison letters from the dutiful son to his mother, all crammed into 30 pages. How he shot his way out of one police ambush, how he survived two bullets in the head in one gangland execution attempt, how he bust out of prison with cohorts and blazing guns supplied by girl friends. How he killed people. And a list of his heroes — Georges Lemay, Al Capone, Lucien Rivard, Monica-la-mitraille (Machine Gun Molly, a late local bank robber) and Bonnie and Clyde.

Blass had a flair and craving for publicity. While on the lam, he would send photos of himself sitting in a chair clutching pistols and sawed-off shotguns. Or he would show up at a South Shore nightclub — the recent scene of a four-person St. Valentine's massacre — where he would have himself introduced by the MC and receive roars of applause. Blass loved his criminal notoriety. So did the press. He kept a scrapbook of all the press clippings.

Quebec has a big crime press with a huge circulation, such as papers like *Allo-Police*, owned by criminal lawyer Raymond Daoust, *Photo Police*, and others. With some of the yellowest press journalism in North America they play up the local hoods and turn them into folk



Front cover of mass-circulation Blass magazine

heroes.

People like Blass get to think of themselves as being big-time operators and daring Robin Hoods. They try to live up to their press clippings. The world of the small time hood, which in normal circumstances would be confined to knocking over grocery stores and an out of the way Caisse Populaire, gets transformed into Bonnie and Clyde.

Blass and most of the people killed in recent Quebec gangland murders weren't organized crime operators. In fact the glossy magazine on Blass' life tries to build him up by saying he took on the Mafia. Blass and his friends are the same small time crooks found in any North American city — but the publicity has

turned them into something else.

With a blown-up reputation to protect, an insignificant slight requires the hood to avenge himself in a club, machine guns blazing. The yellow press and sordid publications like *Blass. Sa Vie. Sa Mort*, share a large responsibility for the sudden wave of madness and savagery in Montreal.

No doubt there are some social causes contributing to this perversity. Blass' sending photos of himself to newspapers is reminiscent of some of the FLQ publicity techniques; similarly, Blass' friend shouting "Vive Richard Blass" at a coroner's inquest. A while back, a fired French Canadian employee stalked into Dupont of Canada's office and shot three



Blass, chef de la guerre aux "maffiosi"

Il a même voulu s'attaquer à Frank Cotroni, à son domicile.

Richard Blass n'aurait eu que 30 ans le 23 octobre 1975, date à laquelle, jour pour jour, il aurait pu filer le premier anniversaire de sa troisième fracassante éviction de prison. Le petit poèteur s'écrit son dernier affidavit de 1971, posant dans les 100 lignes, ayant les cheveux bruns, les yeux d'un brun perlat et un regard «mau qui a fougères affiné, vers lui, toute l'attention des

Il se sont mis à les suivre jusqu'à leurs domiciles. Les pourchasser à travers la ville. Les menacer par des appels anonymes, des lettres et des boules de papier laissés ici et là à leur intention. Un soir, Richard Blass, "The Cat" Allard et Raymond Laurin (le même que le "chat" devant finalement bouclier, le même 1974, au "p-tua"), filab-



Blass leads the fight against the Mafia

UNIONS: MR. STRIKE ADVISES THE PROFESSIONALS

by ERIC HAMOVITCH

The white-collar units of Canadian public service unions have not traditionally been hot-beds of radicalism. With an almost unequalled degree of job security and wage rates not unadjacent to those in the private sector, their lack of militancy has come as little surprise.

However, double-digit inflation has caused even this complacent group to sit up and take notice; spurred on by their blue-collar components, such dormant organizations as the Public Service Alliance of Canada and the Civil Service Association of Ontario have sprung to life in recent months, with the strike threat freely brandished.

Then there are the professional associations. Teachers and nurses in several provinces have come to realize that professional status and collective actions are not necessarily incompatible. This elementary truth has yet to dawn upon the Professional Institute of the Public Service, which represents a wide range of professional workers in the federal civil service. The PIPS is not opposed to class conflict between the government and its employees; it just doesn't want to leave any doubt as to which side it supports.

In a recent issue of the PIPS bi-monthly journal, its co-ordinator of collective negotiations, Mr. A. K. Strike (yes, that is his real name), laid out directives for members to follow in the increasingly likely event that they find

Les héros de Richard Blass

Georges Lemay, Al Capone, Lucien Rivard, Monica-la-mitraille, Bonnie and Clyde, tous les "grands noms" s'y trouvent.



"Angelette" Daoust. On voit qu'il souligne les articles de jour des p-

à la plume, dans les "actions" des mêmes. Il a

Blass describes his heroes

people — the next day *Journal de Montreal* headlined "Three English bosses shot". Sickness does breed sickness and there's no doubt there's a lot of political, moral and social sickness around in Quebec.

And there are parasites that live off it. Plans are afoot to make a movie about Richard Blass. One of the "stars" will be, it is rumoured, Frank Shoofey, his lawyer. Shoofey has been getting a lot of publicity lately — one of the reasons Justice Minister Jerome Choquette refused to allow him to run on the Liberal ticket even after he won the nomination in the last provincial election. Some say he's angling to get into the big lawyer's league with Raymond Daoust, Leo-Rene Maranda, Sydney Leithman and Maurice Hebert. The latter four are household names in French Canada, their reward for representing big fellows.

And all along the line, everyone is conscious of PR and publicity. At the

moment, the population is anxiously awaiting the re-opening of the Quebec Commission into Organized Crime. And behind the scenes, police are preparing a small investigation into stories that four crime reporters are on the take, bribed to play up certain aspects of the inquiry.

AND IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING

* * *

As the minister of finance said in the statement which has just been quoted, there is something to be said for this. But, regrettably, there is more to be said than that.

I would not look upon the statement of the minister of finance as being an endorsement at all. He merely comments that there is something to be said. There is something to be said on the other side, too.

I would not interpret the minister of finance as endorsing COLA. Anyone who has looked into the question of the best basis of negotiations of labour contracts knows that this is a subject upon which there can be legitimate differences of view.

—Hon. Mitchell Sharp, acting prime minister, in the House of Commons

themselves facing a picket line mounted by colleagues represented by another bargaining agent.

"As responsible employees we must avoid being used by our employer," writes Mr. Strike, and must not "protect his interests to the exclusion of consideration of the problems of our colleagues."

"These may sound pious sentiments or even good basic principles," he adds, "but how do they relate to the practical

situation?"

The "practical situation" is as follows: those on the picket line know that other employees are expected to report to work as usual, but may "become incensed" if they learn that their normal duties are being performed by them; however, these others cannot be expected to risk disciplinary action by refusing instructions.

"I guess the advice is clear by now," says Mr. Strike.

Among his pieces of advice are the following:

"Refuse to cross picket lines only where there is likelihood of physical violence."

"Do not seek ways and means to keep business as usual [i.e. strike-breaking] — that is for the excluded managers and designated employees."

"Do not refuse to carry out specific instructions to perform duties not normally part of your job, unless by so doing you may endanger yourself or other employees."

No doubt to placate hard-line radicals, he suggests that such instructions be carried out under protest, and grievances filed. This, he declares, "allows all employees to come out smelling of roses".

To give his advice the stamp of final authority, he remarks that "the Treasury Board has recognized and advised Departments from time to time of the validity of these rules, and will give you the same advice."

His article, by the way, is entitled "The Golden Rule".

The Professional Institute of the Public Service, as the name suggests, does not consider itself a union in the normal sense. It is notably absent from the listings of "labour organizations" in the yellow pages of the Ottawa telephone directory. Rather than humble itself to the hurly-burly of normal collective bargaining, the PIPS prefers to seek out something approaching gentlemen's agreements between its members and the folks over at Treasury Board.

These gentlemen's agreements haven't worked out so well for the membership in these past two years of high inflation, and the economists' group, one of the largest components in the PIPS, recently voted to withdraw and form their own association. It appears Mr. A. K. Strike may no longer be co-ordinating as many collective negotiations.

CORPORATE WELFARE BUM OF THE MONTH DEPT.

United Aircraft of Canada has enjoyed one of the more notable free rides in this country's recent history. First, it ripped off some \$73 million in government grants (otherwise known as the taxpayers' money) without even minimal guarantees that its subsidized work would be kept in Canada. Then it took advantage of a strike, now over a year old, to indulge in strike-breaking. And now it boasts of its old victories in a U.S. magazine. . . .

At United Aircraft of Canada Limited we turned last year's problems into opportunities.

Bad times often bring out the best in companies as well as in people. 1974 labour problems, for example, forced us into a complete reorganization of our plant and facilities and a careful re-examination of our objectives and priorities.

The result is that we are starting 1975 stronger than ever.

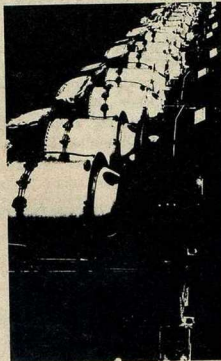
We have improved our production capability and our capacity to meet the new demand for both PT6T-3 and PT6T-6 engines. We are refilling our spares pipelines and can now offer customers better support (including 24-hour A.O.G. service) than ever before.

There will be four new overhaul facilities on-stream in 1975: — Pacific Airmotive Engine Division — California; Hants and Sussex Aviation Ltd. — England; Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Limited — Japan, and Alfa Romeo S.p.A. — Italy. We have completed certification of the new PT6T-6 Twin-Pac® and commenced production delivery. With 8% more power for increased payload, it's the commercial equivalent of the T400-WV-402 engine already in military service.



**United
Aircraft
OF CANADA LIMITED**

(Circle No. 89 on Reader Inquiry Card)



Reliable helicopter power. Pratt & Whitney PT6T Twin-Pacs roll off the line at United Aircraft of Canada Limited, Longueuil, Quebec.

See the PT6T-6 engine at our HAA booth No's 112 & 113. Register at the booth for our USER CREDIT CERTIFICATE and other prizes.

—Rotor & Wing magazine, Jan-Feb, 1975

SLURP!

* * *

Maclean's magazine chief Peter Newman describes sexiness this way. "At one level, sexy means enjoying the texture and juices, spices and rhythm, all the tastes and tastings of a woman you love."

—The Toronto Sun, February 23, 1975

OTTAWA/THE DISTRICT: TIDYING UP HULL FOR THE ENGLISH

by PAULINE COUTURE

L'ouest du Québec c'est le trou de cul de la province [Western Quebec is the asshole of the province].

—Premier Maurice Duplessis

Duplessis said these unforgettable words years ago, but for many Quebecers in the Outaouais region they are only beginning to belong to the past.

In 1968, the Dorion Commission's report on territorial integrity in Quebec said:

"Through the conjunction of the general powers accorded to the federal government by the Canadian constitution, the special powers granted the National Capital Commission by the 1958 law, and the complacency of the provincial government of Quebec, the federal government has progressively created what can almost be called a 'de facto federal district'."

The Dorion Commission recommended that Quebec City make its presence felt by contributing substantially to development in the Outaouais region, to counter the federal presence. At the end of 1969, with the creation of the Société d'aménagement de l'Outaouais (SAO) [a kind of country cousin of the National Capital Commission (NCC)] the Outaouais Regional Community (CRO) and the transport commission of the Community (CTCRO) it was possible to believe that Quebec City was waking up. A closer look revealed, however, that the major development which was to represent the provincial government's investment in downtown Hull, La Place du Centre, had been entrusted to Cadillac Developments Corporation, a Toronto-based company, and would include a Canadian National hotel, a federal institution. In every instance, the provincial government's efforts to stimulate development in the Outaouais have remained marginal in comparison with the federally-sponsored initiatives.

The federal Department of Public Works, with its Place du Portage, is the biggest single developer of downtown Hull. Mass expropriations undertaken in old Hull to make way for both Place du Centre and Place du Portage, as well as several other developments planned by outsiders, have created a housing crisis



DOUG FULLERTON
a controversial report

for many who cannot replace their old dwellings for anything like the money they were paying in rent, or obtained if they owned their own homes. A strong protest against these and any further expropriations was undertaken by a coalition of citizens' groups — to no avail.

The strongest voice of all in development is, of course, that of the National Capital Commission. It owns 28 per cent of urban Ottawa-Hull, with by far a greater portion of that falling on the Quebec side of the Outaouais River. Its budget for investments alone in 1973 was \$24 million. Its sister Quebec organization, the SAO, had a total budget of \$11 million that year.

The NCC also drives a hard bargain: in a recent deal, the government of Quebec

wanted to sell the Polyvalente de Hull (which was originally slated to be part of a Cité des Jeunes which never materialized) to the Public Service Commission, which was then looking for a language school. The provincial government wanted 250 acres adjacent to the school to build a new CEGEP (junior college). The 250 acres in question, like most of the peripheral lands in Hull, belonged to the NCC. The province ended up exchanging 12,500 acres of land not much further north for the 250 it wanted. That's 50 acres for 1 — a good stiff price by any accounting!

The NCC has a reputation for arrogance in development matters. Its 1973 annual report stated quite proudly that it would be almost impossible to build a road, pipeline, sewer, bridge, or anything else without crossing NCC lands at some point. And since the ambiguities in the NCC's charter have led to Supreme Court rulings in its favour where the constitutional rights of a province were overriden, there is a feeling that the NCC is somehow above the law.

The National Capital Region, as the NCC so fondly calls it, must be one of the most over-governed places in the world. In his recently-released report, the outspoken former chairman of the NCC, Douglas Fullerton, revealed his vision of the area. Having already experienced the violent reaction from English-speaking people in the area and throughout Canada to any suggestion that the capital of the country could be other than "Ottawa" as delineated by the British North America Act, Mr. Fullerton is very careful not to mention the term "federal district."

Instead, he recommends a cumbersome supra-regional council which would have 50 per cent provincial (appointed) members and 50 per cent munic-

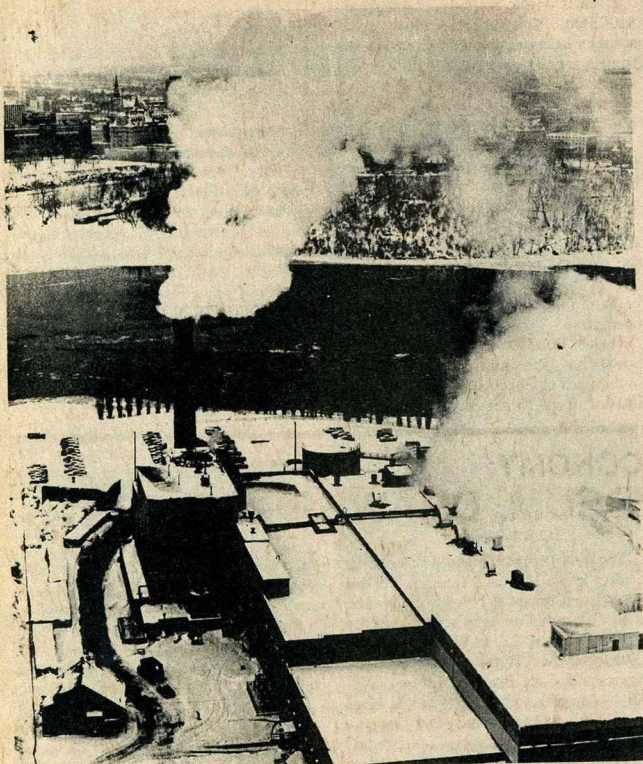
UP YOURS, YANK

* * *

Robert Aliber, a University of Chicago professor and consultant to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), told a conference on the future of Canadian nationalism that "domination and control is very much a sexual fantasy Canadians engage in when they try to understand the operation of foreign firms and their impact on Canada."

He said ownership of an industry does not affect the degree of Canadian control.

—Canadian Press news service report



When the E.B. Eddy plant goes, Hull's citizens will be able to see who runs the show

ipal (elected) representatives. It is unfortunate that the controversy raging over this aspect of Mr. Fullerton's report — which is based on the author's somewhat naive but rosy vision of a truly bilingual, bicultural capital — will probably drown out some of the other, wise recommendations of the report.

Under the "low profile" chairmanship of Edgar Gallant, the NCC is changing. Once public reaction to Mr. Fullerton's report was clear, a hastily-written communiqué assured us that Mr. Fullerton's opinions were entirely his own. But it seems everyone has an opinion about the Outaouais region. The NCC concept of a capital where all Canadians can feel at home and of which they can feel proud often invites comment from across the country. The end result is that the people who actually live and work there have virtually no say in major questions which directly affect

them (development, planning, etc.).

A recent report of the OPDQ (Office de Planification et de Développement du Québec) stated flatly that the Outaouais had no industrial future, and should be treated, especially Hull, as an administrative centre. Adverse reactions to this report prompted the establishment of the CODO (Comité des objectifs de développement de l'Outaouais) which is expected to produce an anti-Fullerton report at some point. A recent agreement between the provincial government and the Department of Regional Economic Expansion noted that the Outaouais has had only a very mediocre rate of economic growth, while undergoing a phenomenal rate of demographic growth. No steps are to be taken. The agreement specifically excludes the Montreal-Hull corridor, which extends into the Pontiac, one of the poorest areas of the province. The way is clear for the

NCC and the Department of Public Works.

Federal investments in Hull have pushed the region's traditional forest industries back to the periphery. E. B. Eddy's, a major employer, has sold most of its plant to the NCC, whose priorities lie mainly in the area of aesthetics. Although the plant was to reopen elsewhere in the region, there is still no sign of this, and even many of the oldest employees who are still working have been laid off "due to market conditions".

So Hull is becoming a bureaucratic centre. No one objected until the Department of the Environment moved into Place du Portage. Some 88.9 per cent of the department's employees are English. Several other departments have much higher proportions of French-speaking employees. The direct impact on downtown Hull was quick and startling — waitresses and sales clerks now often address a client in English first. Many of the Ottawa and Toronto-based stores in Place du Portage hadn't even bothered with bilingual signs.

Hull City Council lodged a formal protest over this. All they got was a vague promise that in future the government would make an effort to locate only departments with high French quotas in Hull. The city does have an "Identity Committee" whose mandate is to "preserve the French character of Hull". Easier said than done, since the only enforcement tool they have is good will.

The advent of 1975 resolved at least one long-standing question: that of municipal fusion. The issue has been up in the air through three municipal affairs ministers, mainly because it was so bitterly fought, particularly by the English minorities in Aylmer and Lucerne (who have, interestingly enough, set aside their "picturesque village atmosphere" arguments long enough to declare themselves all in favour of a federal district). Aylmer, Lucerne, and Deschênes have, for the time being, been allowed to form the new town of Lucerne, although the old Lucerne will lose a considerable stretch of land to the new Hull, choking within its present boundaries, and soon to be replaced as the metropolis of western Quebec by the new, amalgamated Gatineau.

Examination of the Lucerne lands which will be the subject of negotiations between Hull and Lucerne, revealed some shocking land speculation statistics. One obvious reason for this is the stiff tax Ontario has imposed on land deals. In Quebec this is quite legal.



HULL'S MAYOR ROCHELEAU
He got vague promises

Even if one looks only at deals over \$100,000, from 1970 to 1974, 2,000 acres in Lucerne changed hands, going from a buying price of \$3 million to a selling price of \$12 million. Other deals reveal profits between 200 and 1,000 per cent.

Since the local establishment wears its political party colours quite openly, there have been bitter confrontations in the Quebec National Assembly and elsewhere, with partisan insults abounding freely. This is, of course, quite in keeping with the present climate of the National Assembly, but in the Outaouais, perhaps at last, it is causing a certain awareness.

I asked René Levesque in March 1974 how he saw the significance of the jump in the Parti Québécois' share of the vote in Hull, from 16 per cent in 1970 to 30

WHERE EAGLES DARE

* * *

More than 100 police, many in riot gear, raided three nightclubs in Hull last Friday and arrested 12 people, two for drugs and 10 for underage drinking.

—Ottawa Citizen, October 23, 1974

per cent in 1973. After all, the region is absolutely impregnated with the federal presence. He replied, "Well, 30 per cent are not that impregnated, are they?"

We'll see.

NOVA SCOTIA/THE ECONOMY: HEWERS OF GYPSUM, DRAWERS OF CENTS

by LAST POST STAFF

Nova Scotia Premier Gerald Regan got his start in politics back in 1958 when he was a lawyer for the Quarry Workers during a long and bitter strike against the U.S. Gypsum Company; Regan's support was committed and militant.

The main issue was union security, known to management as the "closed shop". The strike lasted 13 months and caused hatred and internal strife that pitted neighbours and sometimes even family members against each other.

The union lost the strike, but Regan went on to become premier of Nova Scotia. The gypsum company continued on its merry way.

* * *

Every year millions of tons of gypsum are torn from the soil of Nova Scotia. Gypsum is not, to put it mildly, a mineral that Canadians of even the most nationalistic persuasion are used to getting excited about. But its history repeats a familiar pattern.

Three-quarters of all gypsum mined in Canada comes from the province. Except for small amounts processed locally or shipped to plants in Quebec, all is exported to the U.S., where it is made into plaster and wallboard. These exports make up 75 per cent of all American imports of the mineral.

The three companies that dominate the market in the United States also control the gypsum mines of Nova Scotia — the U.S. Gypsum Company which runs the Fundy Gypsum Co. at Windsor and the Little Narrows Gypsum Co. at Little Narrows in Cape Breton; National Gypsum (Canada) Ltd. which has a huge quarry at Milford; and the Georgia Pacific Co. at River Denys, Cape Breton.

The extent to which the three international giants control the industry can be seen in the fact that in 1975 they paid over \$50 million for an out-of-court settlement of price-fixing charges brought against them by small-fry competitors in the U.S. They paid up according to their share of the market — U.S. Gypsum, \$28 million; National, \$19 million; Georgia Pacific, \$6 million. The president of National Gypsum told the press at the time that the payment would come out of operating funds and would not affect profitability in any way.

In a recent study of the industry by the federally-backed Development Education Resources Service (DERS), researchers Nils Kuusisto and Rick Williams conclude: "The story of gypsum mining in Nova Scotia describes the basic distortion of our economy to serve needs which are antipathetic to our own."

It works like this . . .

There is virtually no local processing of the mineral. It's difficult to ship in processed form without expensive rail

facilities, and, in any event, the companies that have a stranglehold on all stages of the industry aren't interested.

Nova Scotia gains little in the way of employment. The trend is for more and more gypsum to be mined by less and less labour due to improved technology. The average number of workers employed has fallen from 638 in the year 1950 to 350 in 1973. But in the same period production has increased from 3.1 to 5.8 million tons.

Perhaps most startling is the financial rip-off. Gypsum costs 75 to 80 per cent more to produce in the U.S. than it does in Nova Scotia, according to the DERS study. For 150 years, the mineral was exported tax-free. In the mid-1950s a tax of 33½ per cent was imposed on company profits. However, the usual corporate sleight-of-hand practised by multinational firms made it impossible to find out the real profitability of the Nova Scotia mines. After long bargaining the province and the companies settled on a profit figure of 18 cents a ton — meaning six cents a ton for the people of the province. From 1955 to 1973 Nova Scotia got \$5 million in taxes out of the companies — a mere \$263,000 a year.

If the gypsum had instead been sold to the U.S. companies at a price similar to what it costs to produce gypsum in the United States, the province would have received an extra \$100 million, say researchers Kuusisto and Williams.

GERRY'S WRITING HIS OWN SPEECHES AGAIN

* * *

We've diddled and doddled too long. We're not going to fiddle while our energy burns. So let's get moving.

—President Ford speaking in Atlanta

The taxes, such as they are, replace the usual royalties charged on mineral production. Gypsum is not a crown mineral — in other words the owner of the land owns the gypsum rights — and therefore is exempt from royalties.

The fact that gypsum is not a crown mineral has also led to a land grab. Government officials estimate that 95 per cent of gypsum bearing farmlands have been optioned by land speculators working either independently or for the companies — involved is some of the province's richest farmland and most attractive seashore and recreation land.

The result of the neat little operation? According to the DERS researchers, gypsum enters the fabricating plants on the east coast of the United States at a value that has never gone higher than \$2.50 per ton (the 12 year average up to 1973 was \$2.07 per ton). It comes out of the plants as products that are valued at more than \$30 a ton (\$31.53 per ton of plaster, \$38.06 per ton of wallboard). Yet the gypsum companies tell the Nova Scotia government that their mining operations generate no profit to be taxed, and due to their complicated accounting no one has had the facts and figures to contradict them.

There has, of course, been pressure from organized labour and other groups both to increase wages and impose higher taxes. This has resulted in threats by the companies to leave Nova Scotia. Such threats have generally been taken at face value. Yet, since the cost of producing gypsum from American sources is 75 to 80 per cent higher than the import cost of Nova Scotia gypsum, it's likely that, at the very least, the companies would bow to higher taxes because their mines would still be profitable.

Indications are that the very least is the most that will be recommended by a joint federal-provincial study now going on of gypsum mining in Nova Scotia (not to be confused with the DERS study). The province's deputy minister of mines and the chairman of the task force study, John Smith, said recently that "I don't think at all that Nova Scotia is being ripped off."

His task force is not even looking into the possibility of taking control of the gypsum. It is looking at the possibility of having more processing of the material in the province, but the companies aren't interested in footing the bill and they control the markets. It's difficult to believe that the cash for processing plants would be given to the companies by the Nova Scotia government — difficult, that is, until it is remembered that Nova Scotia has gone for outrageous boondoggles before.

The only really unpredictable factor at the moment in this very neat and very typical rip-off is the personality of Premier Gerald Regan. He remains known for his work for the Quarry Workers, and tries to project an image of being a labour

supporter.

So it's possible that Regan's personal animosity to the gypsum companies — he personally pushed through the setting up of the federal-provincial task force — might lead to more action than would normally be expected. But in the world of multi-national corporations, such quixotic motives tend to get discounted. Chances are it will continue to be business as usual for the gypsum companies — with maybe a few bucks in slightly higher taxes for the Nova Scotia government.

Producers of raw materials around the world — led by the oil countries — are showing signs of getting their act together. But in Nova Scotia the gypsum companies don't seem unduly worried.

MACHO AD OF THE MONTH DEPT.

The fighter turns, the hotter the action... the more a fighter pilot needs our new high-acceleration cockpit. You put your fighter into a screaming turn to get inside your adversary's belly in less than a heartbeat.

You roll it over and rack it. Break off suddenly and go into a gut-pulling climb. You feel the strain as you work to lock him up. Fatigue begins to get to you.

Your machine is built tough. It can take it. You're built tough, too. But there's a limit to what a body can stand.

That's why McDonnell Douglas is developing a unique new high-acceleration cockpit for the Air Force. We're finding that there's a way to put those tight turns to work more often. To use power and airtime to accelerate and come back armed as never before. In today's airplanes, ordnance.

That's our cockpit is more than just a reclined seat. You can select back angles large enough to be degrees to provide a maximum as well as comfort. Controls and displays are where you can use them easily.

Weapons management is a fingertip operation. Visibility is excellent. Now you can bring out the airplane any other time — whenever the situation calls for it.

At Force and Navy pilots who have tried our concept in the simulator are enthusiastic. They found that they get more time on target — sooner.

The pilots have been demonstrating on the centrifuge. Now we're ready to fly a prototype.

McDONNELL DOUGLAS

**McDonnell Douglas
HIGH ACCELERATION COCKPIT
Puts more fight in a fighter.**

—Aviation Week & Space Technology, Feb. 10, 1975

International Report

compiled by the staff of the Last Post

The Dubcek era stirs again in Czechoslovakia

Once again something is stirring in Czechoslovakia. The old issue that has dogged Premier Gustav Husak's regime ever since its inception after the 1968 Soviet invasion is still unresolved and may break to the surface again soon.

The issue, put at its simplest, is this: can the Czechoslovak leadership afford to allow a partial rehabilitation of some of the key aides of the 1968 Prague Spring liberal movement led by Alexander Dubcek who still have a tenacious popular following?

Can it afford not to, and so continue yet another year without the talents and skills of thousands of engineers, academics, and other members of the intelligentsia who are barred from responsible jobs on political grounds?

In May, all the Communist parties of Western and Eastern Europe will be meeting in East Berlin for their first summit in six years. The moment is an obvious one for those who still feel deeply enough about it to raise the question of Czechoslovakia, the single most traumatic issue that has affected European Communists in the last decade.

Reports from Czechoslovakia indicate that some of the most senior figures from the 1968 reform movement are discussing how best to open up the question again. Former party secretary Dubcek — who ousted Antonin Novotny in the 1968 liberalization — is said to be interested in bringing the matter to the surface.

Many of these men have been silent for years, mainly because despite everything, they remain Communists and have been reluctant to air their complaints against the present regime in public, knowing that the Western press would seize on them.

They also know that the present party leadership takes a very hard line on its more vulnerable and vocal critics on the left. Recently, according to sources, Ivan Dejmál, a former student of agriculture in

Prague, was arrested after serving two years in prison as a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, a new left group.

He was accused of "slandering the Soviet Union and allied countries and their leaders."

Other activists rearrested include a group of three, Bohumir Kuba, Vit

Brezhnev paid a secret visit to Czechoslovakia last October on his way to East Berlin for the 25th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic.

In a meeting at the Soviet military headquarters at Milovice, with six members of the Czechoslovak Central Committee, the Soviet leader al-

Hundreds of thousands expelled

The Czechs have at last disclosed (but behind closed doors) how many Communist Party members were expelled in the wake of the Soviet invasion in 1968. According to a secret report of the Central Committee 600,000 party members, of whom all but 50,000 were Czechs, were made to leave the party. Of the 25,000 surviving veterans of the pre-1945 period, only 8,000 are still members of the party. Of the 500 surviving members of the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War, only 30 are party members. Even the wife of a former president, the 80-year-old Mario Zapotocka, has left the party because she is out of sympathy with Mr. Husak's government.

Lepil and Jan Svoboda. They had signed an open letter by released political prisoners expressing solidarity with the Chilean left, and condemning the official Society of Czechoslovak Lawyers for attacking the Chilean regime while ignoring political detainees in their own country.

A prominent former student leader, Jiri Muller, was recently brought to court from prison to face new proceedings. Friends noticed that his eyesight had deteriorated severely in prison.

Many of these younger Czechs take their moral inspiration from the strident Jan Palach who burned himself to death in Wenceslas Square six years ago. For them, the great thing in Palach's action was that it was public and a break from the Czech tradition of silent opposition.

For the majority of the now purged Communist leaders, the best path is still thought to be "through the institutions". They hope in some guise to repeat the movement for reform within the party by means of quiet pressure and careful negotiation.

Dissident Czech sources claim that Soviet party leader Leonid

legedly criticized the handling of the purges. He said that they had to make up their minds about the thousands of former Communists who were still without jobs.

One result of the Brezhnev mission was that a new wave of dismissals from the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences was apparently postponed.

But no further conciliatory moves have been reported. The party presidium is presumably as deadlocked on the issue as ever. The Czech hardliners clearly have a vested interest in conceding nothing.

The Guardian

Wunnerful, wunnerful

* * *

The military guard of honour in southern Brazil has hit the wrong note again, this time playing the Czarist national anthem in honour of the Soviet Ambassador. Four months ago, a band played the West German national anthem in honour of the East German Ambassador.

—*Toronto Globe and Mail*,
January 25, 1975

China gears for another radical campaign

With the dust hardly settled after the moderates' success at the recent National People's Congress, China is gearing up for what looks like yet another radical campaign.

The battle cry for the new drive is a "recent instruction" from Mao Tse-tung, the first new utterance formally attributed to the chairman for several years. It is every bit as delphic as most of his previous instructions and the three press articles that "explained" it recently left a wide margin of ambiguity. But what they all seem to indicate is another drive to destroy "remnants of capitalism".

Mao himself has been obsessed with the possibility of a reversion to bourgeois values, and the emergence of a Djilas-style "new class" in China, ever since he first identified the Russians as marching off to revisionist perdition 15 years ago. The congress may well have revived these worries; in fact, the instructions could be some of the chairman's marginal notes on the new state constitution which the congress approved while he kept his distance in Changsha.

They do not attack the constitution as such but seem intended to remind Mao's colleagues that the "bourgeois rights" enshrined in that document — like the right of peasants to farm private plots and the system of paying workers according to their work, on a complex grading system, rather than according to need — are merely temporary expedients and should be restricted as soon as possible.

Private plots and material incentives in general have always been a political barometer in China. So it seems very likely that this latest campaign is backed by China's more radical leaders who feel they did not get much of a show at the congress. The articles introducing the new anti-capitalist theme suggest that a moderating brake is also being applied: Red Flag stresses the need for gradualism and insists that the "spontaneous forces of capitalism" cannot be overcome "at a stroke". But reports from the provinces indicate that local leaders have already taken the radical hint.

An Anhwei meeting a few weeks ago called for action against enemies who are undermining socialist enterprises. A county party committee in Hupeh complained about peasants who are abandoning agriculture for commerce and others who are expanding private plots. And a provincial secretary in the same province cited "new bourgeois elements" who have been colluding with traditional baddies like landlords to corrupt cadres and engage in theft, speculation and embezzlement.

Chou En-lai and his moderate al-

lies should have no trouble swallowing a campaign against such obvious — and familiar — illegalities as these. But Chinese mass campaigns have a way of getting out of hand, and the recent articles implied that one way this one could turn would be a purge of party and state bureaucracies. This would be a blow to the moderates just when they have managed to reconstruct the state apparatus nine years after the last destructive campaign.

The Economist

Rockefeller gets his way

Since he was sworn in a few months ago Mr. Nelson Rockefeller has been busy in public avoiding the anonymity of being Vice President while taking care not to give the impression of trying to crowd President Ford out of the limelight. He has criss-crossed the country speaking up for the Administration's policies, from aid to Vietnam to energy conservation. (One 16-minute speech in Chicago, devoted chiefly to the need to save fuel, is said to have occasioned the consumption of 7,000 gallons of jet fuel on the quick trip from Washington and back again.)

In private Mr. Rockefeller was, with Mr. Ford's apparent blessing, manoeuvring with skill and persistence to see to it that he would play a far more substantive role in government than any of his 40 predecessors in office. He appears to have won his struggle to control the White House's domestic council, which will decide long-range policies as well as give the President day-to-day advice in non-economic domestic matters.

Mr. Ford has said from the outset of Mr. Rockefeller's tenure that the former New York governor would have a strong voice on the domestic council. To Mr. Rockefeller, that meant controlling the staff of some three dozen specialists, and he insisted that he be allowed to name his own men — Mr. James Cannon and Mr. Richard Dunham, faithful assistants who worked for him when he was governor of New York — to the two top jobs.

IT TAKES ONE TO KNOW ONE



Mr. Ford, however, is surrounded by advisers who come from a different Republican stable than Mr. Rockefeller and his men. They are more sensitive to conservative Republican opinion, they are aware of the difficulty conservative Republicans have in swallowing Mr. Rockefeller as a Republican leader and, of course, they want a White House staff organised to serve the President, not the Vice President. Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, the White House chief of staff, and other advisers tried at first to get the Vice President to accept a staff director who would be the White House choice.

Mr. Rockefeller declined with thanks. If he could not put his own men in charge, he said, he could not run the council. In this, he was supported by a powerful ally and friend of Mr. Ford, Mr. James Lynn, the former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, who had just been named to head the White

House Office of Management and Budget. After weeks of teeter-totter arguing, Mr. Ford chose the occasion of a speech on Mr. Rockefeller's home ground in New York on February 13th to announce that Mr. Cannon and Mr. Dunham would be director and deputy direc-

tor of the council.

Whether this means that Mr. Rockefeller will personally run domestic policy as Mr. Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State, runs foreign policy remains to be seen. Mr. Rockefeller can expect probing attacks on his flanks, to say nothing

of all-out assaults on his main force as his adversaries, Republican as well as Democrat, try to see just how much power he has. On the face of it, however, Mr. Ford has given his Vice President more power than any of his predecessors has had.

The Economist

South Africa barter for a breathing spell

by Ernie Regehr

LUSAKA — While southern Africa's much-vaunted detente holds at least the promise of settlement and majority rule for Rhodesia and Namibia, for South Africa it could mean the opposite — the further entrenchment of minority rule and "separate development".

In Rhodesia the principle was early established that settlement talks could not be contemplated without the participation of the previously-detained Zimbabwean nationalist leaders.

In Namibia, while Black nationalist detainees have yet to be freed, it is accepted on all sides that negotiations must involve the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) — and while Pretoria and some of her Black appointees in South West African "homeland governments" maintain that SWAPO represents only Ovambos, internal realities and international recognition clearly confer upon SWAPO a much broader role.

But in South Africa, liberation movements have been denied a role in current peace initiatives.

And what worries representatives of the African National Congress in Lusaka is not that South Africa's Prime Minister John Vorster has ignored them, but that Presidents Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana appear to be ignoring them. Publicly, the ANC says detente is irrelevant and does not affect the liberation struggle of South African Blacks. But privately, they acknowledge fears that detente will lead to accommodations with the Vorster regime and ease external pressures upon the Afrikaner nationalists to seek a settlement with Black nationalists and their detained leaders.

As long as apartheid remains the

central theme of South Africa's social and political life there will be no final settlement between Pretoria and the Organization of African Unity, but the tenor of current southern African diplomacy, going under the popular term "detente", suggests that tacit accommodations in southern Africa are not to be discounted.

The broad outline of Zambia's terms for detente in southern Africa were contained in President Kaunda's speech at the University of Zambia last October, following by only three days Prime Minister Vorster's speech in the South African Senate outlining South Africa's interest in new attempts to ameliorate international relations in southern Africa. Dr. Kaunda hailed the Vorster speech as the "voice of reason" for which Africa had been waiting, and then, in a precise and detailed statement of Zambia's conditions for detente, made no mention of internal change in South Africa or of apartheid.

Basing his position on the 1969 Lusaka Manifesto on southern Africa, Kaunda told his university audience: "the Manifesto gives recognition to South Africa as an independent sovereign state, but she has compromised her position by supporting unjust causes in Rhodesia and Namibia." Apartheid is not referred to here or elsewhere in the speech as "compromising" South Africa's international status.

The omission of any reference to South Africa's internal policies as being relevant to detente was reinforced the following week when Zambia's minister of Foreign Affairs, Vernon Mwaanga, listed for Durban's *Sunday Tribune* the three "minimum and urgent" responses required of South Africa "for achieving peace in the region."

1. Withdrawal of South African

military forces from Rhodesia: "There would have to be a time-schedule. How it is worked out is up to South Africa. They know that Smith is heavily dependent on them. They know how best their decision can be conveyed to him."

2. Withdrawal from South West Africa: "We regard Namibia as an international trust territory. South Africa must withdraw her presence and move towards a real self-determination and independence for Namibia. We are against any fragmenting of the territory, and dividing of tribes or races into homelands or special areas."

3. No interference in Angola and Mozambique: "We would welcome a definite commitment from South Africa that she will not interfere directly or indirectly in the processes of change in Angola and Mozambique."

Apartheid and South Africa's "internal" problems do not happen to number among Zambia's immediate problems. To the extent that President Kaunda is a realist, his first priority is a settlement in Rhodesia. Kaunda has been at pains to explain that Zambia's initiatives are not based upon economic considerations, but it remains a fact that the border closure between Rhodesia and Zambia has placed severe strains on Zambia's developing economy. The direct costs of improving and developing alternative transportation routes has been estimated by the minister of finance to be about \$75 million and direct and consequential costs to Zambia of Rhodesia's UDI have wasted an estimated 15 to 20 per cent of each year's budget since 1965. In other words, virtually a whole year's budget and economic development have been wasted in Zambia's 10 years of independence.

If Zambia doesn't need a settlement, she understandably at least

wants one.

Mr. Mwaanga went on to tell the *Tribune* that "if South Africa is interested in moving toward us, we are prepared to help by paying a price for achieving peace in the region." Just what was meant by "a price" remains open to speculation, but the *Tribune* did not hesitate to venture a guess: "Zambia's price, it is understood," said the paper, "would include the denial of backing and facilities for guerilla movements which might insist on continuing hostilities against South Africa's borders."

Such speculation in the South African press may be written off as wishful thinking, but the *Sunday Times* of Zambia, in a story under the by-line of John Parker, suggested that Black African conditions for South Africa to maintain unchallenged membership in the United Nations were confined to South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia and from support of the illegal Smith regime in Rhodesia. "As a bonus," the story adds, "President Kaunda probably threw in a pledge to stop guerilla incursions from Zambia aimed at South Africa (a promise he would find easy to keep once the South Africans quit Rhodesia)."

To lend credence to the theory is the fact that South African liberation movements have been studiously avoided by the main parties to detente. The Zambian newspapers, at least one of which must be considered semi-official, have carried no reference to the African National Congress which has offices in Lusaka. ANC leaders have not been given space to make any comment on the situation.

Zambia's position is based on a distinction between Rhodesia, as an illegal regime and colonial left-over, and South Africa, whose longstanding independence is recognized by Black Africa. It is a position that Kaunda and Nyerere, in their frequent meetings with Samora Machel, appear to have been urging on Frelimo. Mozambique's provisional government appears to have accepted the argument. The foreign affairs post in the provisional government is held by Portugal, so that the true position of Mozambique cannot yet be known, but Prime Minister Joachim Chissano told a

press conference in Lourenco Marques last September that an independent Mozambique would respect the territorial sovereignty of her neighbours and would not try to solve the "internal problems" of neighbouring countries.

An important premise of the joint detente initiative is that Rhodesia and Namibia both represent international problems, with South Africa in both cases violating international law, while apartheid represents a national, internal problem.

South African liberation movements take heart from the fact that it is a premise that is unlikely to find unanimous acceptance within the OAU. But even in the OAU, advocacy of direct and militant action against apartheid appears strongest in the states furthest away from the centre of conflict. Algeria remains an outspoken advocate of the no-truck-or-trade-with-apartheid line, but then she is not in a position in this issue of having to temper principle with reality.

In Zambia and Mozambique the issue is not quite so simple.

Much has been made of Mozambique's economic dependence on South Africa — it is in fact an interdependence that is not entirely one-sided — and even the African National Congress recognizes that these economic links will not be cut over-night. In Zambia the liberation struggle in southern Africa has been supported far out of proportion to that country's modest resources. Substantial sacrifices have been made and it would be an unwarranted denigration of those sacrifices to suggest that Zambia is now prepared to come to terms with apartheid and sell out the struggle. That she will clearly not do, but that neither precludes nor prohibits diplomatic efforts to ease her burden.

Kaunda may be prepared, once South Africa's direct violations of international law in southern Africa are ended, to leave apartheid to its own self-destructive logic. As a system of social and economic relationships, apartheid is rife with internal contradictions. That and the resurgent internal moral opposition have made the system vulnerable and more than ever dependent upon police violence. Apartheid's days are numbered and the continuing liberation struggle could not be

halted, even if they desired it, by Zambia, Tanzania or the OAU. But independent Black African states are in positions to influence the form that the struggle takes, and if countries in southern Africa conclude that an armed struggle in the mode of the anti-colonial struggles in the Portuguese and other territories of the region will not serve the interests of the region as a whole, the liberation forces may well have to devise other means.

Meanwhile South African liberation movements find themselves, even though they continue their preparations for a long struggle, in a state of political suspension. Although they clearly do not see detente, in terms negotiated by Vorster, as coming anywhere near to meeting the aspirations of South African Blacks — serving instead to drive them into deeper repression — they recognize that Vorster has managed to gain more time. They resent the fact that Zambia, Tanzania and Botswana allowed Vorster to take the initiatives, but admit that as long as the leader of the South African regime continues to do and say the right things concerning Rhodesia and Namibia, he will be granted reprieve by the international community.

But the so-called detente that has resulted, the liberation movements do not consider to be genuine: "Detente undertaken by Vorster," says the ANC, "cannot be genuine as long as he continues to oppress the people of South Africa and to keep their leaders in detention. The people whose futures are at stake, the Black people of South Africa, are not participating in working out the details of their detente."

Should detente collapse, then Black Africa, including Zambia, will have done with patience and South African liberation movements will become the focus and beneficiaries of the OAU commitment to the political liberation of southern Africa. But if detente proceeds along the course set by President Kaunda's speech at the University of Zambia, then the position of the South African liberation movements — which continue to believe that in the end an armed struggle will be the only means to South African liberation — will be an open question.



by Claude Balloune

Last Pssst

Ottawa military victory: The military brass led by **General Dextraze** came out winners in their showdown with **Defence Minister James Richardson**. Relations between Richardson and the brass are anything but cordial, but he gave in to the military's ultimatum and wangled a \$437 million defence budget increase, one of the largest military budget slices in the Western world (in Britain it's less than six per cent). However, the military still feels Richardson is a hopeless dummy.

Green Paper farce: The federal cabinet is happily congratulating **Immigration Minister Robert Andras** for his slick Green Paper on immigration. The Green Paper is supposed to launch a national debate on the subject, taking the heat off the cabinet. The whole exercise is supposedly designed to lead to an immigration policy dictated by public opinion; in practice, however, it's arranged to lead to a policy already agreed by the cabinet last November, when Ottawa decided to admit only sponsored immigrants with jobs on hand that no Canadians can fill. This will result in 80,000 immigrants being admitted this year compared to 220,000 last year.

The last genius to run immigration, **Jean Marchand**, now running Transport, is rumoured to be on his way out of the cabinet; there's a lot of friction between him and the rest of the ministers. . . . **Solicitor General Warren Allmand** has told aides that if cabinet ever refuses to commute a death sentence he'll resign rather than allow a hanging.



Jean Marchand: on his way out?



Robert Bourassa: can Ottawa ditch him?

Bourassa and the Feds: Ottawa Liberals, or the Feds as they're known in Quebec, are trying desperately to ditch **Premier Robert Bourassa**. Trouble is the Feds' influence on the provincial party these days is minimal. The current corruption scandals have transformed the former cocky Quebec Liberal attitude into a bunker mentality. The scandals have been answered by loads of silence. A recent caucus decision ordered backbenchers and most ministers not to talk to the press. The Liberals are hunkering down, hoping some good news will come along, although there is fear that the federal Liberals possess some new scandal information that they may leak. Bourassa's two most likely replacements, **Raymond Garneau** and **Guy St. Pierre**, are nervously looking for the starting line while Bourassa wallows aimlessly, puttering around while his press secretary, **Charles Denis**, reads him the latest copy off the Canadian Press Wire. Denis incidentally, is affectionately called Ron Ziegler by the press gallery, who always address him as Ron. Chunky and a natty dresser, Denis smiles affably, thinking it an honour.

One good effect of the current siege mentality in Quebec City is that it has served to silence people like **Guy Leduc**, a member of the National Assembly from South Shore Montreal who may lose his seat because he

Last Pssst

consorted with Mafia types and utilized QFL heavies to get elected. A fanatic right winger, it was his habit to display his incisive political ability by sitting on his corner backbench shouting "Castroite, Maoist, revolutionary Communist" every time a Parti Quebecois member spoke. He was joined in this clever repartee by the likes of **Andre Marchand**, a man who mutters loudly but has never managed to make himself clearly understood through a boozey haze. When Marchand wasn't belching in the Assembly, he was to be found at the Chateau Frontenac's piano bar, impressing the ladies with his opening gambit: "I'm the man who beat Rene Levesque in 1970".

The only person who seems to be in fine fettle in Quebec City, at least amongst the Liberals, is **Justice Minister Jerome Choquette**, who keeps guard on rooms full of tapes. And those Liberal tapes are rumoured, indeed some have proven, to be as interesting as the Nixon tapes. The Liberals aren't too enthusiastic about Choquette's naming **Jacques Dutil** as a judge to head up the floundering inquiry into organized crime. Dutil was formerly with the Cliche Commission into the Construction Industry. He's a millionaire lawyer who made his money by selling SNoJet to the Americans, just before the snowmobile industry went into a slump. A lot of people are nervous over Dutil's intention of really looking into organized crime. When he was sworn in as a judge in Thetford Mines, Choquette personally flew in for the ceremony. Recently, Bourassa saw to it that a rumour was floated saying there was going to be a cabinet shuffle, that Choquette was tired of the justice ministry and wanted to try his hand at something else; Choquette bounced back and publicly stated that he was really quite happy with the justice portfolio. One thing that's clear, if the Quebec cabinet is shuffled, **Labour Minister Jean Cournoyer** is out.

The Cliche Commission inquiry is going so well that a lot of Tories want to see one of the commissioners, **Brian Mulrooney**, make a run for the Conservative leadership. One of his great assets is his jut jaw; some say that, apart from Choquette's, it's the finest jaw in the country. And it works, they add.

Inflation Note: In Pittsburgh, Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation reports that profits are up from \$50.2 million in '73 to \$141 million last year. How did they do it? Well production went from 6 million tons to 6.1 million. But the price went from \$250 a ton to \$360. So their profits went up 282 per cent without appreciably increasing production. And they say the Arabs are responsible for inflation.

Politicos and their friends: In a conversation not too long ago, Britain's erstwhile Christian **Malcolm Mug-**



Jerome Choquette: a room full of tapes

geridge startled me when he said that he used to carry on a fairly extensive correspondence with none other than **Maurice Duplessis**. Muggeridge told me that he thought Duplessis was of world statesman calibre and a remarkable man. If he had come from a bigger country, Duplessis, he claimed, would have been an international figure of some force ... **Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau**, I hear, chats on the phone fairly often with the **Shah of Iran**, the two of them having become good friends during Expo 67. They like each other and are alike. The Shah's wife, on the other hand, is friendly with Bourassa's wife **Andre**. She's a Simard and knows how to mingle with those folk. While **Joey Smallwood** was a great pal of **Richard Nixon's**, **Bou-Bou Bourassa** gets along famously with **Nelson Rockefeller**. Myself, the only politico I drink with is **Nick Auf der Maur**.

The tar sands deals: Syncrude gets the bigger porkchop

by Larry Pratt

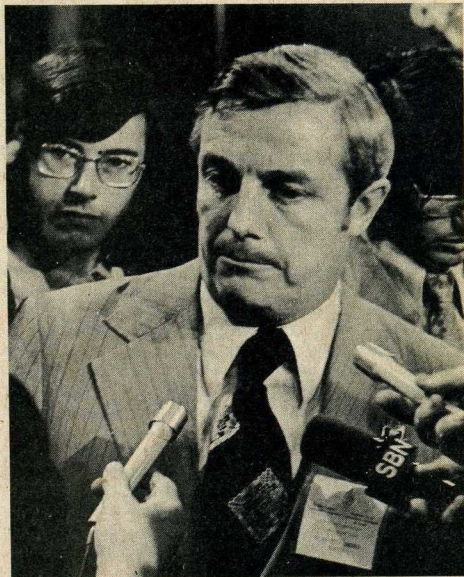
The Syncrude papers are about oil and politics, the Ying and Yang of today's energy crisis. If these documents are revealing of anything, it is that the energy crisis is first and foremost a matter of politics, a question of power.

The documents printed here obviously represent only the tip of the tip of the iceberg. They deal with the 1973 negotiations surrounding the Syncrude project, then merely an application by four large oil companies (Imperial, Gulf, Cities-Service and Atlantic Richfield) to construct and operate for 25 years a 125,000 barrel-per-day strip mine and extraction plant in the Athabasca tar sands.

At stake in the negotiations were the terms for Syncrude's go-ahead, the financial and political rules of the game under which the plant would operate. The outstanding issues were: government royalties, the possibility of direct government participation in the project, Syncrude's tax situation, the price of Syncrude's oil, government support for "infrastructure" — houses in Fort McMurray, new roads, bridges, etc. — labour supply and labour stability, and regulation of the serious environmental externalities of tar sands development. These were the bread and butter issues of the politics of Syncrude.

All of the companies behind the Syncrude joint-venture (it is important to keep in mind that Syncrude is merely the operator for the project, it is not an independent profit-making company) are interested in maximizing their profits on a world-wide basis. But they are also interested in creating a new surplus of oil in the world, a new surplus capacity, as leverage in their dealings with both producing and consuming nations. But this is an expensive business, particularly when the surplus must come from such areas as Alaska, the oceans, the oil shales and the tar sands. It is therefore only good business strategy to attempt to have the public sector underwrite the high costs and the risks of such

Larry Pratt writes for the *Last Post* from Edmonton. His book *The Tar Sands: Syncrude and the politics of oil* will be published in September by Hurtig.



Lougheed made political hay out of the Syncrude deal

new development. This is essentially what the Syncrude Four were doing in the summer of 1973.

Until now, our only version of what happened during the 1973 Syncrude negotiations was provided by Premier Peter Lougheed in his television address of September 18, 1973, to the people of Alberta. Lougheed said that the negotiations had been long, hard and tough, that they had almost broken down in mid-August, but that they were ultimately resolved

"on the government's terms". Key features of the agreement were that the government was taking 50 per cent of Syncrude's profits in place of royalties, that the Alberta Energy Company had a 20 per cent option to buy into the plant, and that the Energy Company would also be taking equity shares in the project's pipeline and power plant. Alberta, said Loughheed, would make at least one billion dollars on the project over its 25 year life. (See *Last Post*, Vol. 3, No. 6).

But Syncrude's own documents put a rather different light on what happened between the Loughheed Cabinet and the oil companies in August, 1973. Indeed, they appear to refute Loughheed's claim that the dispute was resolved on the government's terms. Quite the reverse, the documents suggest that Loughheed's final terms were rejected and Syncrude's own terms imposed.

Royalties were the key issue. The oil companies argued from the outset that Syncrude could not afford to have to pay royalties during years of loss. Syncrude's real return would only begin to show as the project settled into production after a breaking-in period which would be lengthy and expensive. Thus the consortium pressed for the introduction of 50-50 profit-sharing. The government would recoup 50 per cent of net profits, so that if the plant lost money Syncrude would pay nothing into the public treasury.

The use of the profit-sharing concept was nothing innovative for the oil companies; such arrangements were worked out in Venezuela and the Middle East in the 1940s and 1950s. But its acceptance by the Loughheed government marked an important departure for Alberta. Royalties have been too low in Canada, but at least they have guaranteed a steady return from the value of the resource to the owners of the resource. No such guarantee is implied by profit-sharing, and such an arrangement is an obvious incentive to the companies to run Syncrude as a marginal venture and to transfer profits away from the production end of the operation.

The companies were making other demands on the Loughheed cabinet. They wanted, for instance, a guaranteed return on their investment of about 8 per cent annually. How could this be provided? Quite simply, by permitting them to deduct 8 per cent interest on their investment from revenues in calculating net profits. But such a concession would not only seriously reduce Alberta's share of profits (by perhaps one billion dollars over the life of the project), it would also be politically embarrassing to Loughheed. The formula for calculating profits, and in particular the companies' demand for a guaranteed return, thus became the focal point of major controversy.

As the documents make clear, the Syncrude partners were unpleasantly surprised when they received Bill Dickie's letter of August 3rd, outlining the cabinet's final terms on royalties, public participation and lease renewal. The government had already met Syncrude's demands on a lengthy list of "concerns" presented to the cabinet in June. Now, however, the companies learned, to their obvious irritation, that the cabinet had changed the profit-sharing formula, dropping the controversial provision for a minimum rate of return from its royalty guidelines. What followed is the subject of several of the more interesting Syncrude documents. It must be noted that the documents make quite clear that the government was offering its final terms for development; Dickie's letter was not simply part of the ongoing give-and-take of the bargaining process, it was designed to end the bargaining.

It is abundantly clear from Syncrude's own account that

the Loughheed government retreated from its so-called "final position" and re-opened negotiations with the companies in mid-August. What happened at the later meetings between Peter Loughheed and the heads of the four oil companies is a matter for speculation, but we can discover the outcome simply by comparing the terms offered by Dickie on August 3rd and those written into the Syncrude agreement of September 14th, 1973. The difference comes to about a billion dollars — the companies had won their point, they would be allowed to write off their 8 per cent in calculating net profits.

Syncrude's second crisis flowed directly from the earlier set of negotiations. The oil companies attached several crucial conditions to their September, 1973, intent to proceed, and two of these conditions involved decisions from Ottawa. First, they wanted access to international oil prices. Second, they demanded assurance that their profit-sharing payments to Alberta would be deductible from their federal taxable income. These documents illustrate some of the strategies employed in the fall of 1973 as the corporations attempted to extract written guarantees from John Turner, federal Minister of Finance, and Donald Macdonald, Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources.

Turner has proved to be remarkably amenable to Syncrude's many tax requests. The first of his concessions came in November of 1973 when he agreed to allow the companies to deduct their profit-sharing payments; this would be done by having Syncrude and Alberta form a "joint venture" so that any legal concept of "royalties" would be removed from the September agreement. Since then, he has exempted the Syncrude venture from his November budget — which specifically disallows both provincial royalties and payments in lieu of royalties as deductions in taxable income calculations — and given the partners several other crucial concessions (eg., the venture is considered as a "mine", which permits faster writeoffs, etc.). All of which seems to bear testimony to that old adage: "A good tax accountant is worth a hundred salesmen". And a good Minister of Finance is worth a hundred accountants.

Macdonald, however, refused initially to give Syncrude a specific guarantee that it could market its oil at the world price prevailing when the plant comes onstream in the late 1970's. He did promise that the plant's production would not be subject to prorationing — i.e., it would never be "shut in" in the event of a surplus — but his only commitment on prices was to the effect that Canadian oil prices would eventually rise to international levels, provided such prices were just and reasonable for Canadian consumers. Macdonald added that it was the policy of the Canadian government to encourage tar sands development, and that this tied in to his desire to see any "surplus" exported to the U.S.

The recent Syncrude debacle must be seen against the backdrop of the earlier bargaining between the companies and governments. Once again, the corporations have used their veto power, their power as monopolists to block oil sands development except on their terms. Their terms now included (1) world prices, (2) exemption from the November federal budget, and additional tax concessions, and (3) substantial direct equity participation by the Albertan and Canadian governments. The deal of February 3rd, 1975, grants the Syncrude companies all of these conditions.

Of these, the latter demand is probably the most interesting development we have seen recently in the politics of oil. Clearly, the large oil companies now intend that government will have a vested interest in the success of expensive energy resource development. Equity participation by government ensures that any emerging antagonistic relationship between the companies and the owners of the resource will be blunted by their mutual interest in seeing development succeed — in spite of high prices, environmental problems, labour unrest, and so on.

Alberta oilman Nick Taylor, who tries to arrange joint ventures himself wherever he chases the oil dollar, calls this

“the strategy of marrying the landlady’s daughter. You stop paying rent, get the first porkchop and the best bed in the house”. Taylor himself has dispensed entirely with the rhetoric of “free enterprise”, but the larger companies will undoubtedly enter joint ventures of the Syncrude model with some public shrieking.

Privately, says Taylor — and he is probably right — the large companies are unanimously in favour of the creation of Petrocan, our much-awaited national oil company, precisely because it offers the prospect of a better bed and a bigger porkchop. If this is correct, then Syncrude is only the beginning.

DOCUMENTS

HOW THE OIL COMPANIES WON

NUMBER 1

Mines and Minerals

Office of the Minister

August 3, 1973

Syncrude Canada Ltd.

Attention: Mr. F. K. Spragins, President

Dear Sirs:

On Friday, June 18, 1973, representatives of Syncrude Canada Ltd. made a presentation to members of the Executive Council of the government of Alberta and Deputy Ministers expressing their areas of concern on the Syncrude project and the action that was required by various departments of the government for Syncrude to reach a decision on the project by August 31st. Since that time, there have been various meetings with representatives of the government and representatives of Syncrude Canada Ltd. reviewing and discussing various aspects of the areas considered at the June 18th meeting. On July 17 and 18, 1973 you provided government representatives with the final revision of your cost estimates for the Syncrude project so as to permit us to make a final decision on the questions of royalty and public participation.

It is my understanding that as of today the Ministers in charge of the various departments of government involved in the project have by letter, or otherwise, advised you of the government's intention or policy statements in respect to all areas discussed at the June 18th meeting, with the exception of the questions of royalty, public participation and renewing of leases

....

I am now enclosing herewith:

- (1) Guidelines for Royalty.
- (2) Guidelines for Public Participation.
- (3) Proposed Regulations for renewing leases.

It should be understood that where applicable all of the conditions contained in Order-in-Council No. 244/72 are in full force and effect in the event that you decide to proceed with the Syncrude project.

In the event you decide to proceed with the Syncrude project, we would call upon our legal counsel to work out with your legal counsel the necessary agreement to reflect the aforementioned guidelines and other conditions.

I trust that you will now have the government's views and positions on all areas and items that you require in order for you to proceed with reaching your decision by August 31st, 1973. In the event further clarification is required, we trust that you will advise us as quickly as possible.

Yours truly,

Bill Dickie, Q.C.
Minister of Mines and Minerals

NUMBER 2

Royalty Guidelines Profit-sharing concept — Syncrude

1. The Government will take its royalty as a share of the profit of the operation. The profits shall be shared each year on the basis of 50% to the Government and 50% to Syncrude.
2. For the above purpose, profit will be determined by deducting from gross revenue from the sale or use of all products.
 - (a) allowed operating costs, which will not include income tax;
 - (b) straight line depreciation based on capital cost,
 - (c) operating losses carried forward, including interest thereon

NUMBER 3

Syncrude Canada Ltd.

F. K. Spragins

President

August 8, 1973

TO: PARTICIPANTS' REPRESENTATIVES

Gentlemen: At a meeting of the Executive Committee with the Alberta Government Royalty Committee on July 23rd, it was agreed that July 30th would be reserved to finalize any last minute discussions regarding matters of concern to Syncrude before these matters were presented to Cabinet for approval on July 31st. It was further agreed that various Cabinet Ministers would respond to Syncrude on August 1st regarding Cabinet decisions.

After several discussions with various government representatives during the week of July 23rd, the only meeting scheduled for July 30th was a meeting of the Syncrude group with the Government Public Participation Committee with the Minister in charge present. The overall plan called for a session at which the Committee was to review its recommendations with the Minister (Don Getty) after which the Syncrude group would be called in for final review before the proposals were submitted to Cabinet.

The Public Participation Committee stood by for most of the day, the Minister finally arrived but was called away after two minutes. Consequently, the Committee was left "holding the bag" and the meeting with the Syncrude group did not materialize.

The Cabinet, as confirmed by several sources, did consider Syncrude matters on July 31st as they did on August 1st, 2nd, and 3rd. An attempt was made to set up a meeting with the key Cabinet Ministers on August 2nd; however, the request for such a meeting was ignored. The Executive Committee stood by from Wednesday morning until late Friday afternoon. At about 3:40 p.m. on Friday, Mr. Dickie called to say that a letter was being delivered to Syncrude setting out the government's position on the matters of concern to Syncrude and that he thought the letter would eliminate the need for a meeting. He was immediately asked whether or not the points covered in the letter were negotiable and the answer was that the Cabinet had made a final decision. After further discussion by phone, Mr. Dickie agreed to stand by until Syncrude had received the letter.

The letter arrived within a few minutes. A copy is attached.

As soon as the contents of the letter were known, Mr. Dickie was contacted and advised that a meeting was absolutely essential. He was reluctant to agree stating that other members of government were probably gone by that time but consented to meet with the Syncrude group at 4:45 p.m.

The meeting was held and is described in the attached minutes.

Discussions continued when possible during the week-end. A meeting was held with Dr. Hohol (and later joined by Mr. D'Estere) at which a more conclusive statement on labor was worked out Also, considerable discussion took place with Dr. Hohol re-

garding survival of the Syncrude project. He appeared to show considerable concern and volunteered to discuss the matter with the Premier and, if possible, to set up a meeting with the Premier to be attended by Syncrude representatives. Dr. Hohol was able to reach the Premier by phone over the week-end but reported that he was unable to arrange a meeting or convince the Premier of the extreme seriousness of the situation. In the meantime, Mr. Dickie had reported the developments to Mr. Getty and in turn Mr. Getty was in touch with the Premier. Early Tuesday morning Mr. Getty called Syncrude and said that if the government had made any mistakes regarding the Syncrude project then the Cabinet would be prepared to hear our arguments. Accordingly, a meeting was arranged whereby the Syncrude group would meet with appropriate members of Cabinet at 2:00 p.m. on August 15th at which time Syncrude's response to the government's letter of August 3rd would be discussed.

In addition Mr. Lougheed has requested that the senior executive officers of the participants meet with him at 11:00 a.m. on August 16th

Yours very truly,

F.K. Spragins

NUMBER 4

Summary of a meeting between Hon. Mr. Dickie, Alberta Minister of Mines and Minerals and representatives of Syncrude Canada Ltd. Office of the Minister, Friday, August 4, 4:30 p.m.

Present: W. J. Dickie (Alberta), S. Steward (Atlantic Richfield), R. B. Galbreath (Cities Service), G. A. Connell (Gulf Oil), W. B. Dingle (Imperial Oil), F. K. Spragins, D. W. Scott, H. B. Scott, F. J. Werth (Syncrude).

Mr. Spragins told Mr. Dickie that the proposal which had been presented represented an entirely new approach and suggested that omission of the rate base return may have been an oversight. He said the proposal was worse than that presented a week earlier and that, as it stood, it could kill the project.

Mr. Dickie said the omission was not in error but was deliberate.

Mr. Stewart stated the formula doubled front-end costs.

Mr. Dickie replied that the committee was aware of this but that this was a cabinet decision.

Mr. Galbreath stated the new proposal was outside the acceptable guidelines for his company and that it took the matter out of Syncrude's hands, putting it under the control of the participants' boards of directors. He felt he was speaking for all participating companies in saying the proposal was outside the limits as set by the participants as acceptable. Further discussion would be required if the government wanted the project to proceed, he said.

Mr. Dickie repeated that the proposal was the result of a cabinet decision and asked the group what the next

move would be.

Mr. Galbreath replied that the proposal would probably be turned down.

Mr. Brent Scott brought up the matter of labour concern as it relates to royalty. He commented that agreement with the Alberta Construction Labour Relations Association had not been reached, resulting in an absence of strike protection. With the combination of royalty and labour concern, Syncrude is not able to recommend the project to the participants. The decision is now entirely in the hands of the participants, he said.

Mr. Galbreath asked about the availability of government people with whom the proposal could be discussed and was told that the premier would be attending a ministers' conference the following week and then would be going on vacation. Mr. Connell asked when the premier planned to leave and Mr. Dickie said it would be on Tuesday (Aug. 7) and would not be back until after his vacation.

Mr. Stewart expressed his concern with the guidelines for lease renewals as contained in the proposal. He said these were vague and discretionary but would not be a problem if the eight per cent return on rate base was restored to the formula.

Mr. Dingle stated that the Syncrude position was poorer with the new guidelines than it had been a week earlier. Mr. Dickie said that the formula offered a week earlier had been decided upon by the royalty committee, not the cabinet. It was not the government view, he said.

Mr. Spragins stated that the 4.8% P.I. had been unacceptable and now the situation was worse. Mr. Brent Scott commented that the project was running out of time and, in light of the changes, it would be almost impossible to stay on schedule.

Mr. Dickie asked if the program now was to submit the government proposal to the participants' boards of directors for a decision. Mr. Spragins answered in the affirmative and further stated that in case of a negative decision it should be made public immediately. Mr. Dickie asked Mr. Spragins what he felt the procedure would be and was told the government would be presented with the guidelines required for a "go" decision by the participants, along with a deadline for government response. If the response was not received or was not favorable, a public announcement would be made immediately.

Mr. Dickie asked when these guidelines would be decided and was informed a date for the meeting had been August 14 but it would now likely be earlier. Mr. Galbreath said certainly not later than August 14. He stated that the committee was prepared to present the conditions under which a "go" decision could be reached and again asked the availability of people to make the government decision.

Mr. Dickie said this was a problem, he didn't know who would be available. Mr. Galbreath reminded Mr. Dickie that it was costing the participants \$1 million per month and delaying the announcement would mean additional expense should a "no go" decision be reached.

Mr. Dickie asked if it was the intent for the participants to return with their suggested terms no later than

August 15, setting a period for government response, then making a public announcement if the response was not favorable. He asked if negotiations were still considered confidential and was assured they were.

Mr. Spragins asked if there would be any further reaction from cabinet and was told there would not be, that the matter was now in the hands of the participants. Mr. Dickie promises to convey to cabinet the displeasure of the Syncrude contingent with the latest proposal. . . .

Mr. Stewart suggested Mr. Dickie remind cabinet they would not find a group willing to spend a billion dollars very often. They would not find another customer should Syncrude decline. The government had been playing poker with Syncrude for a year, he said, and this was the showdown. . . .

NUMBER 5

Minutes of a meeting of the management committee of Syncrude Canada Ltd. held in the Imperial Oil Building, Toronto, Ontario on August 9th, 1973 at 9:00 a.m.

Mr. Aaring suggested the Committee first finalize the dates of the next meetings with government as proposed by Mr. Getty. . . . The royalty and public participation guidelines proposed by government were discussed and counter-proposals drafted. These, along with a letter setting forth the Syncrude position, were to be completed for presentation to the participants on August 13th and would be finalized at a meeting on August 14th. It was agreed that the government be informed that the counter-proposals represented Syncrude's final position. If modifications of the royalty guidelines were demanded by government, adjustments would have to be made in other areas to offset these demands. . . .

NUMBER 6

Syncrude Canada Ltd.

F. K. Spragins

President

September 21, 1974

TO: PARTICIPANTS' REPRESENTATIVES

Gentlemen:

Syncrude's decision to proceed has sparked reams of news media comment. As expected, Premier Loughheed and his political associates have taken every advantage of the situation for political promotion — and not without results. The provincial government's violent stand against Ottawa on the oil export tax question coupled with the Syncrude announcement to proceed has made Loughheed a hero in the eyes of the "man on the street". Any criticism made to date by political opponents has been meaningless and ineffective. . . .

The provincial government has proceeded with its plan to incorporate the Alberta Energy Company. Our

attempts to get meetings underway again with government groups have failed; however, the new company held its first Board meeting yesterday and it is understood its first order of business was to designate negotiating teams to work with Syncrude . . .

Premier Lougheed called today and personally congratulated and thanked Syncrude on the manner in which we handled the confidentiality of the negotiations with the government, and the manner in which Syncrude handled its end of the publicity with regard to the announcement to proceed. The Premier also advised that he had forwarded a copy of the Syncrude/Alberta Government agreement to Prime Minister Trudeau pointing out the concerns with regard to pricing. A copy of Mr. Lougheed's letter has been forwarded to Syncrude and the participants. In addition, Mr. Miniely has been in touch with Mr. Turner with regard to the income tax concerns.

Mr. Lougheed confirmed that arrangements have been completed for discussions of Syncrude problems in Ottawa for October 3rd. He suggested that Syncrude prepare an economic evaluation of the Syncrude project for presentation in Ottawa sometime after October 3rd but before October 15th. He said that he would be in touch with Mr. Armstrong. [J.A. Armstrong, then president of Imperial Oil] on Monday for further discussion on strategy. . . .

Yours very truly,
F.K. Spragins

NUMBER 7

Syncrude Canada Ltd.

F. K. Spragins
President

October 12, 1973

TO: PARTICIPANTS' REPRESENTATIVES **Gentlemen:**

Several meetings of interest have taken place within the past eight days.

During the morning of October 4th, Brent Scott and Frank Spragins met with a group of Alberta Conservative MP's accompanying Mr. Stanfield, leader of the Federal opposition, on his tour of Alberta. This meeting and all other meetings connected with Mr. Stanfield's visit to Alberta were arranged for the purpose of acquainting, on a first-hand basis, Mr. Stanfield and his party with Canadian energy problems. A prepared review of the Syncrude project including a brief technical description of the plant, comparisons with other major projects in Canada, and a discussion of major concerns and objectives were presented. This presentation followed the same format as the presentation made a few weeks ago to the Provincial Cabinet except that it was updated and re-oriented for the benefit of federal representatives. Following the prepared presentation, over an hour was spent in open discussion. The group was interested in what we had to say but exhibited little understanding of the project. It was quite apparent that this meeting was their first exposure to problems relating to the development of the Athabasca tar sands. We attempted to stress the importance of getting immediate answers from federal gov-

ernment authorities to questions regarding tax and a pricing base for synthetic crude which still blocked the way to a full commitment to go ahead with the project.

The next day, October 5th, a Syncrude group composed of Jerry Cogan, Ken Canfield, Gale Daniel, Brent Scott, Frank Werth and Frank Spragins met with 18 staff members of federal departments including Industry, Trade and Commerce, Energy, Mines, and Resources, as well as representatives of the National Energy Board and the federal planning group. A two-hour general session also of two hours duration each was held with the representatives of the Energy, Mines and Resources and the Department of Finance. Key people in the discussions were Bill Hopper, Assistant Deputy to Mr. McDonald and formerly an economist with Arthur D. Little, and John Thompson, Director of the Department of Finance. The federal staff people appeared to be eager to learn about the tar sands, asked many questions and seemed to understand what we were trying to tell them.

The presentation to the large group was about the same as that given to the Conservative Party leaders. However, in discussions with the two smaller groups, the entire time available was spent in describing the economics of the Syncrude project. We found Mr. Hopper to be especially understanding. He said that final decisions were up to the Minister but he said that some way must be found for the project to go ahead as quickly as possible. . . .

After Donald McDonald met with Premier Lougheed on October 3rd the Premier informed Syncrude that the federal minister had been told that Syncrude representatives planned to visit Ottawa to bring his staff group up to date on Syncrude matters, and that this introductory meeting was in preparation for further meetings at the ministerial level. When he returned from Ottawa, a verbal report on the progress was given to Premier Lougheed. He then suggested that the senior Executive Officers of the Syncrude participants follow-up with a meeting in Ottawa involving, if possible, Prime Minister Trudeau, the Hon. Donald McDonald, and the Hon. John Turner. In making this suggestion it would appear that Lougheed is avoiding some of his commitments to Syncrude regarding a solution to our Ottawa problems. In view of Lougheed's current difficulties in discussing anything with Ottawa officials, the proposed strategy may not be too far out of line. However, before embarking on this plan of action, it should be understood that this does not let Lougheed off the hook in case Syncrude representatives are not successful in Ottawa.

On Saturday October 6th Frank Spragins and several business men met in a private session with Mr. Stanfield. He took an active part in this meeting and made a far better accounting of himself. A major part of the discussions were devoted to tar sands and the Syncrude objectives. (At this stage Mr. Stanfield had spent a day visiting Ft. McMurray and the tar sands and had become an "expert".) His recent press conference has indicated at least some improvement in his understanding of the energy problem — especially from Alberta's point of view. . . .

Yours very truly,
F.K. Spragins

GUYBAU NEWS

OVERSEAS EDITION

NO. 3

VOLUME 1

THIRD QUARTER 1974

GUYBAU IS EXPANDING



Prime Minister, Forbes Burnham addressing the Vesting Day Rally.

Prime Minister Forbes Burnham told a mammoth gathering at a Vesting Day Anniversary Rally at Cuffy Square that three years after nationalisation we have proved not only that we can run the big complex, but today we are expanding even further our alumina production as well as our caliche production. He also disclosed that plants are well in hand to introduce hydro-electricity so that aluminium could be produced from bauxite mined locally.

"Having nationalised Demba," he said "we got a great deal of experience, we learnt a great deal and our self-confidence increased." Recalling that initially there were grave misgivings on the part of many persons including even some of those employed in the Company itself, that nationalisation would succeed, the Minister observed that the prophets of doom had been confounded and now "we are able to report that the workers and management of GUYBAU have together been able to have a higher level of production and productivity than at any time in the past; today we stand here proudly and say . . . GUYBAU is ours."

The Prime Minister's observations were made during a fiery and hard-hitting speech which brought the curtain down on a week of activities in Linden to mark the third anniversary of the take-over of the formerly Canadian-owned bauxite company. The week-long celebrations included public addresses and panel discussions in which several prominent persons in the community as well as Government Ministers participated. Hundreds of workers and other citizens including school children marched to the Guyana Defence Force Military Band and the GUYBAU Invaders and other steelbands. Among the several processions which converged on Cuffy Square from different starting points in the town was a group of workers from Reynolds Guyana Mines Limited carrying placards urging

Visions of Guyana

The movement to criticize Cheddi Jagan and the Reynolds Metal Company

by Robert Chodos

3 Bauxite may not have the glamour of oil, but for Guyana, where Canada's historic interest has ranged from Presbyterian missionaries to the powerful Alcan Aluminium Company, it has for more than half a century been the chief instrument of economic survival. Now Guyana owns all its bauxite resources, but it is still a long way from being the Co-operative Republic of Prime Minister Forbes Burnham's dreams.

Where is that anyway?

First it was the oil countries. Then the banana-producing countries got it into their heads that they could talk back to United Fruit. Then the nations that grow sugar started making noises. And now, in November 1974, representatives of the countries in which bauxite is mined were sitting down in Georgetown, Guyana, to work out a strategy for telling Alcan, Alcoa, Reynolds and Kaiser what price they would have to pay for the precious ore.

These were not the sort of countries for whom the North American corporate giants were accustomed to have any respect. Jamaica. Guinea. Sierra Leone. Australia was there, presumably to keep the others honest, but you've never known what to expect from the Australians since they elected that fellow Whitlam. And that host country, Guyana. Where is that, anyway? On the west coast of Africa somewhere?

For Guyana, which is in fact a small but cheeky English-speaking country improbably perched on the north coast of South America, the event was of particular significance. At the same time as the delegates were deliberating in Georgetown's Pegasus Hotel, Guyana and its crafty Prime Minister, Forbes Burnham, were embroiled in an intense struggle with one of the multinationals, the U.S.-based Reynolds Metals Company.

Reynolds first came to Guyana — then the colony of British Guiana — in the 1950s. It never became as large or as visible as the other foreign-based bauxite concern, the Demerara Bauxite Company (a subsidiary of the Aluminum Company of Canada usually known as Demba) which had already been in operation for more than 30 years by the time Reynolds set up shop. So Burnham chose Demba to begin his program of localization of the bauxite industry in 1971.

It was never Burnham's intention to nationalize Demba: he simply wanted what he called "meaningful participation", which consisted of 51 per cent government ownership, along with safeguards to ensure that real control didn't remain in

foreign hands. Alcan balked at the terms, believing that Burnham would back down. Burnham did not, and the only way out of the impasse was nationalization. In July 1971, Demba became the Guyana Bauxite Company (Guybau), wholly owned by the Guyanese government.

The question of Reynolds remained. At the time of the Demba nationalization Burnham's chief political opponent, Dr. Cheddi Jagan of the People's Progressive Party, criticized the government for not nationalizing Reynolds and the giant Bookers sugar concern (in colonial days the abbreviation 'B.G.' for the country was said to stand for 'Bookers' Guiana') as well as the Alcan subsidiary.

The government's motives for undertaking the nationalization were questioned. Burnham had originally come to power with American support, displacing the Marxist-oriented Dr. Jagan, and his taking over of a Canadian company while leaving an American one alone aroused suspicion. A loan to Guybau from the Chase Manhattan Bank added to the speculation.

Burnham, as always, remained cool. One thing at a time, he said. Reynolds would be nationalized, or at least meaningfully participated in, in due course. As time went on, he set a deadline of December 31, 1974 for taking Reynolds over, and as the deadline approached he reaffirmed it. So when the delegates to the International Bauxite Association meeting assembled in Georgetown, D-day was less than two months away.

In the meantime, things had been happening elsewhere.

Among the bauxite countries, it was Jamaica that stirred first. The world's largest bauxite producer, Jamaica elected a new and more dynamic government under Michael Manley in 1972, and Manley became a leader in the movement that led to the creation of the International Bauxite Association. Jamaica also set out on its own to collect higher revenues from the mining companies. Unlike Guyana, however, it did not embark on nationalization.

Having committed itself to such a course, Guyana seemed in a poor position to do anything about bauxite revenues in the short term. A government can pass laws levying new

Robert Chodos is a member of the Last Post editorial board, and is the author of *The CPR: A century of corporate welfare*



The "Co-operative Republic" masks bitter racial divisions, a legacy of British colonial rule

taxes or royalties, but a company that knows it is going to be nationalized anyway is hardly likely to pay. Still, Burnham figured, there was no harm in trying. Besides, the government of Guyana was virtually bankrupt at the end of 1973 and he had to do something.

On July 4, 1974, Resources Minister Hubert Jack announced a levy of more than \$7 million on Reynolds' exports of metal-grade bauxite from Guyana. What happened next was eloquently described by Burnham in a speech to a mass rally in Georgetown's Independence Park on October 27:

"At first they offered a mere, paltry \$3 million which they most charmingly and kindly raised to \$4 million (U.S.). It is interesting to note comrades that they were offering \$4 million (U.S.) per annum as the levy against a declaration by them that their profits in 1973 amounted to only \$1.95 million. Again here is the lineal descendant of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. They make only \$1.95 million profits, so they say, and like Brutus they are honourable. So are they all, the directors of Reynolds in and out of Guyana, honourable men."

The profit figure of \$1.95 million is, of course, an artificial one. Since the bauxite produced by Reynolds (Guyana) Mines Ltd. was sold to another Reynolds operation in the United States to be smelted into aluminum, the company declared its profits at whatever point in the process it wanted. A fair royalty takes into account not only the profit made by the local company on its product but the contribution of that product to the overall profit of the multinational.

Not all the bauxite mined by Reynolds in Guyana, however, stayed within the family. While its metal-grade bauxite was refined into aluminum in a Reynolds smelter, it also mined calcined and chemical-grade bauxite which were sold

outside the Reynolds complex. These were not included in the levy, so Reynolds simply stopped the production of metal-grade bauxite and concentrated on the other two grades. Burnham retaliated by banning the export of chemical-grade and calcined bauxite. Reynolds cut back its work force, pulled out its American personnel and proceeded to run its Guyanese operation by telex from Richmond, Virginia.

This matter too had just come to a head when the IBA delegates assembled at the Pegasus.

The IBA technocrats who chose Georgetown as the site of their meeting could hardly have picked a better place.

Two nations warring

A North American visitor to Guyana is likely to be amazed at the national consensus on the question of public ownership of natural resources. It embraces both major political parties, Burnham's People's National Congress and Dr. Jagan's PPP, and is challenged only by the United Force, a small, discredited third party that is represented in the National Assembly only through an odd circumstance that will be explained later.

The differences between the PNC and the PPP on nationalization come down in practice to questions of pace and degree. "Our objection to the government's position on nationalization," says Mrs. Janet Jagan, Cheddi's wife and

herself a major PPP figure, "is that it's not a position of principle. They nationalize only when they're forced to." Nevertheless, they do nationalize, and when they do, the PPP supports them.

This consensus is all the more remarkable when considered against the background of the deep divisions that affect almost every other area of Guyanese life and are the bitterest and most pervasive legacy of British colonialism. The basis of these divisions is race, a factor powerful in itself and still more powerful because of its exploitation first by the British and later by the Americans.

There are two large racial groups in Guyana, making up between them roughly 90 per cent of the population. (All racial proportions in Guyana are of considerable political significance and hence differ according to who is making the estimate). One group is African, the descendants of the slaves who worked the sugar plantations and were freed in 1834 when a changing economic system no longer needed them. After emancipation, the blacks left the plantations and formed the basis of an urban proletariat; to replace them, the planters imported labourers from India under an indenture system similar to the one that brought Chinese to British Columbia to build the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The East Indians now form the largest single group in Guyana, perhaps a little more than 50 per cent of the total population. And yet since 1964, it has been the less numerous Africans who have been in control of the Guyanese state apparatus.

The reasons for this are complex. It has partly to do with the fact that Georgetown, where most of the political life of the country takes place, is a predominantly African city — in fact, one sees proportionally fewer East Indians in Georgetown than in Port of Spain, the capital of Trinidad, where the Indians are a decided minority.

But it has more to do with the fact that the East Indians recognized as their leader a self-proclaimed Marxist who never made any secret of his hostility to British colonialism, American multinational corporations and the other alien forces that have dominated Guyanese history.

For one brief moment, Africans and Indians succeeded in transcending their differences. In the early 1950s a new political movement, the People's Progressive Party, based on African-Indian unity and a Marxist ideology, swept the colony. Under Dr. Cheddi Jagan and his chief lieutenant, Forbes Burnham, it easily won the 1953 election, the first under universal suffrage. But this was the height of the Cold War, and the Prime Minister of Britain was a thoroughgoing anti-communist and imperialist — Winston Churchill. After only 133 days Dr. Jagan was deposed, the recently proclaimed constitution suspended and direct colonial rule restored.

The PPP, which had always been more a common front than a genuinely united party, came apart under the pressure. Burnham pulled out in 1955 to form the PNC, espousing a milder form of socialism and looking to the African community for support. Still, when internal self-government was slowly re-introduced, the East Indian majority returned Dr. Jagan to office, in 1957 and again in 1961.

Britain's two other sizeable Caribbean territories, Jamaica and Trinidad, were both granted their independence around this time, but a similar privilege could not be allowed British Guiana as long as Dr. Jagan was premier. And so both the British and the Americans encouraged the ambitions of Burnham, and helped produce the most poignant act of the Guyanese tragedy.

Violence first broke out in February 1962 and continued over the next two years. In 1963 a general strike, in which CIA involvement has been well documented, paralyzed the country for 80 days. Africans and Indians took up arms against each other and the racial divisions were deepened and formalized. People were uprooted as the minority group in village after village was forced to move; villages where Africans and Indians had lived side by side now became wholly African or wholly Indian depending on who was in the majority.

Even more than a decade later, Guyanese East Indians will openly express sentiments about black people that would shame a southern white American. Similar expressions can be heard in reverse from Guyanese blacks. And race, always a major determinant of Guyanese politics, now became virtually the only determinant: despite the venter of their ideological differences, and despite Dr. Jagan's best instincts, the PPP now became strictly the party of the East Indians (including well-to-do East Indian businessmen), and the PNC the party of the Africans.

Under a new electoral system designed to facilitate a Burnham victory, the PNC, in alliance with the right-wing, business-dominated United Force, came to power in December 1964. And once he had achieved power, Forbes Burnham would not be quick to give it up.

The mwalimu of Georgetown

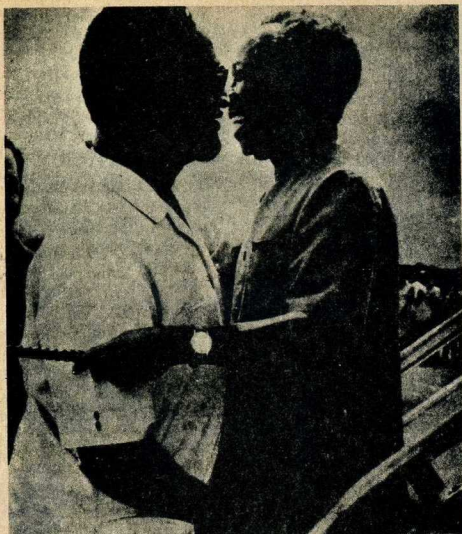
In a new calypso called "Mr. Nixon's Mistake", The Mighty Chalkdust, the acerbic Trinidad calypsonian, suggests that the former American president might have avoided his fate if only he had studied Trinidad politics more closely; Dr. Eric Williams and his subordinates could have provided him with a few lessons in breaking in, covering up, doing dirty tricks and still remaining in power. Perhaps so, but an even better course for Mr. Nixon might have been to study the politics of Guyana.

For one by one, Prime Minister Burnham has moved against the centres of opposition and potential opposition in the country and either wiped them out or reduced them to impotence — all in the name of the "Co-operative Republic" into which he turned Guyana in 1970.

Burnham has established a thriving little cult of personality for himself. Photographs of him adorn every public and semi-public building, and when I was in Guyana in November posters showing Burnham and Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere side by side and proclaiming them both "Great leaders of their people — Champions of self-reliance" were ubiquitous in Georgetown and in the bauxite town of Linden (so named because the Prime Minister is Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham).

Nyerere had recently visited the country and Burnham was trying to make some of the charisma of the Tanzanian *mwalimu* rub off on him. But in keeping with Burnham's ideological flexibility, another set of posters went up in November to welcome a considerably more pro-western African leader, President Tolbert of Liberia.

For Burnham's great skill has been in playing off one side against another, and the more sides there are, the better Bur-



Burnham greets Tanzania's Nyerere: Guyana plays both sides of the street

nam plays. One Guyanese political observer describes him as "the original skater on thin ice." If the Americans helped engineer his ascent to power ten years ago in preference to the doctrinaire Dr. Jagan, they have not found him the easiest client. He is as likely to be seen talking to the Russians or more recently the Chinese as the Americans, and one of his recurring fears is that *detente* among the great powers will make this kind of manoeuvring impossible. Meanwhile, he has carefully fostered for himself an image as a Third World leader, hosting international conferences and making well-publicized pledges of support and gifts of money to African liberation movements.

To do this he has needed a solid home base, and since he could not create one on the basis of popular support he has had to resort to other means.

The 1964 election is the only one of the three he has won that was not tainted with charges of massive fraud. In the 1968 election, the charges (never seriously denied) involved the sort of electoral practices that are very familiar to North Americans — ballot-box stuffing, voting by dead people, that type of thing. According to the unofficial PNC version of the 1973 election, there was "some" election fraud, 1968-level stuff; after all, everybody knows this goes on. But in essence, goes this version, the remarkable result of the election, in which the PNC won 71 per cent of the vote and 37 of the 53 seats (as compared with 30 in 1968 and 22 in 1964), was due to the long-awaited breakthrough of the PNC in the East Indian community.

As to the charges made by the PPP and certain journalists of tampering with ballot boxes by the army, these are said to be simply not true. It was regrettable that the army had to be brought in, but the government had received reports that the PPP was planning violence and disruption and something had to be done.

The PPP version of the election is, needless to say, somewhat different.

But first, since the role of the army in the election is the crucial point of difference, it is necessary to understand something of the nature of the Guyana Defence Force (GDF), as the army is called.

One of the most visible differences between Georgetown and other Caribbean capitals is the vastly greater number of men in uniform in the streets. Guyana police, Georgetown police, the GDF and the newly-established militia, part of Burnham's National Service plan — one is not likely to walk more than a couple of blocks in the centre of town without running into one or another of them. Perhaps only in St. George's, the capital of Eric Gairy's Grenada, does one see as high a proportion of soldiers and police, and unlike the Grenadians the uniformed Guyanese have weapons.

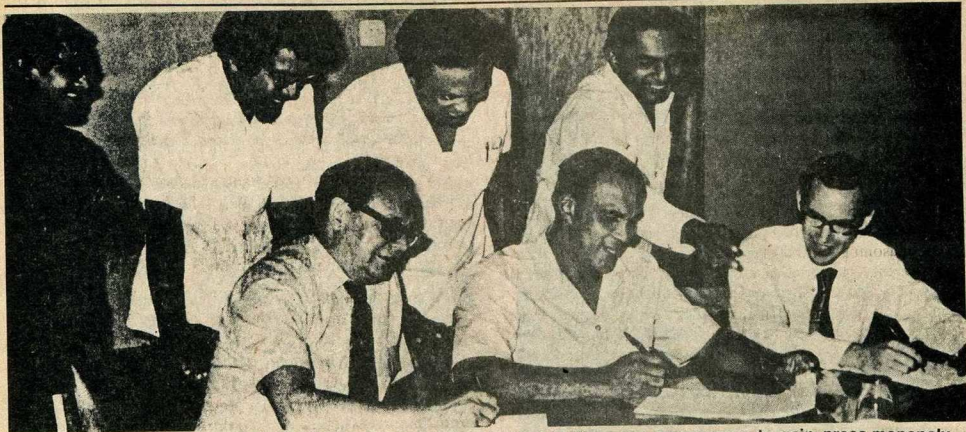
It is equally striking that virtually all the members of the police and military organizations, like the vast majority of civilian government employees, are black. This imbalance long predates Burnham and was part of the divide-and-rule strategy of the British. Under Burnham it has continued (an army minimum-height regulation that discriminated against East Indians has only recently been modified) and has acquired new significance.

So in contrast to the Regiment in nearby Trinidad, of uncertain loyalty and once aptly described as "a regiment of toy soldiers," the GDF is a serious army. Admittedly Guyana, involved in territorial disputes with all three of its neighbours and a particularly intense one with Venezuela (official Venezuelan government maps include roughly two thirds of Guyana as Venezuela *irredenta*), has more serious external problems to worry about. Still, the principal role of the GDF has been in the area of internal security. And while the Trinidad Regiment established its place in history when its soldiers staged a mutiny at the height of that country's political convulsion in 1970, the GDF's moment of glory consisted in converting the 1973 election into something between a normal election and a pro-Burnham military coup.

Called in to prevent violence and disruption of the election, the GDF was soon assigned another, quite different task, relating to the original way in which ballots are counted in Guyana. In past Guyanese elections (as in elections in most other countries), ballots were counted in the districts in which they were cast. In the 1968 election, the ballot boxes were transported to central locations in each of Guyana's three regions. Two days before the 1973 election, it was announced that this time all counting would be done in Georgetown. And the ballot boxes would be taken to Georgetown by the Guyana Defence Force.

Despite a previous commitment extracted from the Chief Election Officer, polling agents for the three opposition parties were not permitted to accompany the ballot boxes on their journey. Those who tried were not always gently dealt with. "So violent was the refusal to permit polling agents to accompany ballot boxes," wrote Janet Jagan in her lengthy and detailed pamphlet *Army Intervention in the 1973 elections in Guyana*, "that in the Corentyne [the easternmost area of Guyana], two persons, one an 18-year-old lad, were shot and killed and others injured as a result of an attempt to join the vehicle carrying the ballot box at No. 64 Village."

Ballot boxes arrived in the Counting Centre in Georgetown anywhere from a few hours to two and a half days after they left the rural districts. What happened in those lost hours must be left to speculation. Nothing untoward, says the PNC.



Burnham buys *Guyana Graphic* and *Sunday Graphic* from Canada's Thomson newspapers to gain press monopoly

Massive tampering, says the PPP, pointing to some direct evidence that ballot boxes were opened and that the ballots that reached Georgetown were not the same ones that had left the villages.

The PPP naturally claims that it would have won a fair election, and since there was no fair election that claim is clearly impossible to verify one way or the other. However, some indication is provided by the results in Georgetown where, while there was 1968-style election fraud, the same circumstances did not surround the transportation of the ballots as in the rural areas. And in Georgetown, the PNC's traditional stronghold, voter turnout was down and PNC majorities unremarkable.

After the election the PPP, along with two other small opposition parties, announced a boycott of the National Assembly. "There was a tremendous revulsion throughout the country," says Mrs. Jagan. "People felt very strongly that we shouldn't sit." The United Force, which had not contested the election, was dusted off and given the role of official Opposition, with two seats in the Assembly.

The 1973 election marked something of a watershed in Guyana, and Burnham has since been considerably less restrained in his use of power. When journalists Ulric Mentus and Rickey Singh of the *Guyana Graphic* and Father Harold Wong of the *Catholic Standard* accused the government of election rigging, Burnham demanded, and got, their heads. Later he got the *Graphic* itself, buying it from Lord Thomson to promote "national ownership of media" and turning it into a government organ (the other major newspaper, the *Chronicle*, was already government owned). Hubert Williams, the Reuter correspondent in Georgetown and one of the few journalists of independence and integrity left in the country, was removed from a position as public-affairs panelist on the privately-owned Radio Demerara station at Burnham's request (the other radio station is government-owned and directly controlled).

The government also blocked the appointment of Walter Rodney, the Guyanese historian and one of the most respected Caribbean scholars of his generation, as chairman of the history department of the University of Guyana.

A neat summary of the PNC philosophy of governance was

provided in one October issue of *New Nation*, the weekly party organ. In one article, an oblique defence of the government's conduct in the Rodney affair, Kit Nascimento, a Minister of State and spokesman for Burnham, discussed varying conceptions of the role of the university. "Too many young academics," wrote Nascimento, "have gone abroad to Western nations and have returned with the idea that the university is a place in which 'academic freedom' is an absolute and autonomy is another name for wilfulness. But if developing nations, which use scarce economic resources to build and staff advanced economic institutions, allow these institutions to be used by academics with political ambitions as platforms for dissident activities, there would be little likelihood of producing patriotic young men devoted to the needs of their nation."

Another article reported on a speech by Deputy Prime Minister Ptolemy Reid to an audience of senior civil servants, in which he warned against the dangerous notion of neutrality in the public service. According to the article, Reid said there were many civil servants who said they were not politicians and were not concerned about politics. "But to me," he added, "you are all politicians."

"Five years ago," says one Guyanese, "people would have been outraged at statements like that. Now they would be surprised if the government didn't make them."

Mr. Eberle sees red

Like Alcan before it, Reynolds never had any intention of going in as a minority partner in a government-controlled bauxite operation, and like Alcan it was prepared to push Burnham to the wall in an attempt to get him to back down. It was the levy that added a new dimension to the affair. Ten years ago, Reynolds had received a very favourable tax break from the Burnham government; it was part of the price Burnham paid for coming to power. But now in Guyana, as in so

many other countries, times had changed (even the usually docile government of Haiti was gloating about its own "victory" over Reynolds in December, in the form of a hefty increase in Bauxite revenues).

While the levy and the nationalization bid were bound to be associated in the minds of everyone from casual observers to Reynolds executives, the government made valiant efforts to separate the two. The levy was an adjustment to bring government bauxite revenues in line with the world price of aluminum and to do something about the disastrous effect the energy crisis had had on the government's financial position. The takeover was part of a long-standing policy.

The reasoning behind this distinction was not an abstract commitment to historical accuracy. If the levy were to seem to be connected to the proposed nationalization, it could be construed as "expropriative". And if it were seen to have been "expropriated", then Reynolds could claim a tidy sum from the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), the same semi-public agency that virtually emptied its treasury to compensate the copper companies that were taken over in President Allende's Chile. And if the U.S. government were forced to pay out a large amount of money to Reynolds through OPIC, it might seek to get back at the nuisance that had started the trouble in the first place — the government of Guyana.

The possibility of U.S. retaliation is very much on the minds of government officials in Georgetown, and has been used over and over in the government newspapers to create popular support for the struggle with Reynolds. Any indicator of American intentions or comment on American policy is quickly picked up and magnified. The *Graphic, Chronicle*, and *New Nation* all headlined an editorial in the *Washington Post* — "the newspaper that broke the notorious Watergate scandal" — that said that bauxite countries like Jamaica and Guyana were not "oil blackmailers" but "friendly neighbours with desperately high unemployment rates and desperately low reserves, trying to cope . . . by getting a larger return on their principal export, bauxite."

The Guyanese fears are not without some foundation in reality. At the time of the Demba nationalization, the Canadian government, supposedly the government most directly concerned, maintained a scrupulous neutrality, on the conditions that the nationalization not be discriminatory and that Alcan be adequately compensated. Since Burnham repeatedly stated his intention to take Reynolds over as well, the first condition was fulfilled, and since agreement was reached on compensation, so was the second, in Ottawa's eyes if not necessarily in Alcan's.

The American government, however, was not so quiet. It attempted, unsuccessfully, to block a World Bank loan to Guyana for the maintenance of the seawall that prevents Georgetown from being swallowed up by the Atlantic. There is no reason to suppose that Washington wouldn't do at least as much for Reynolds, which is a directly American company. In late November, President Ford's chief trade adviser, William D. Eberle, told the *Washington Star-News* of a developing Administration strategy for punishing export cartels, including the bauxite producers; he accused the bauxite countries of having raised prices in violation of agreements.

The Burnham government brought in the necessary legislation and nationalized Reynolds, effective January 1, 1975. Talks are being held to determine how much compensation will be paid. Among the participants has been Arthur Goldberg, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Gold-

berg, who had previously represented Reynolds in Guyana, turned up this time as a representative of OPIC. The amount of compensation will no doubt be influenced by what happens on the question of the levy, which has been shunted off to the High Court in Georgetown. Reynolds has challenged the constitutionality of the levy (and hinted that it wouldn't pay even if the Court decided in favour of Burnham, as it does on most matters).

The cabinet ministers and government officials from the bauxite nations meeting at the Pegasus were of one mind about what the International Bauxite Association should do. Despite some early reports of opposition from Australia, in the end the IBA agreed in principle that it would determine the price at which its member countries would sell bauxite and established a secretariat to work out the modalities, thus bringing down on itself the wrath of President Ford's trade adviser.

Life at the top

Burnham's electoral practices have received extensive attention in the world press, and are probably the chief reason most people are aware of Guyana at all. Always a figure in international left-wing demology as the man who allowed himself to be used to manoeuvre Dr. Jagan out of power, he has by now established himself as a liberal villain as well.

Probably the most subtle and sophisticated article on Burnham (and on Guyana in general) appeared in the September 16, 1974 issue of the *New Yorker*, in the form of a 29-page "Letter from Guyana" by Jane Kramer. In early November the *New Yorker* piece was second only to Reynolds as a topic of conversation in Guyana: everybody had read it although nobody had a copy of it, all the copies in the country having been lent to friends and friends of friends (I only managed to see it much later, in Trinidad). Depending on whom one talked to it was either a brilliant and incisive analysis of the Guyanese situation or a scurrilous collection of lies and half-truths; I met only one person with a sufficiently dispassionate view of Guyanese politics to suggest that it might be both.

It is hard to recognize in all this the Burnham who is considered a pace-setter in the Caribbean, Burnham the Third World leader, Burnham the father of the Co-operative Republic. And yet there is some substance to these aspects of Burnham as well. The Demba and Reynolds nationalizations are one manifestation of it. The import substitution program is another: "import substitution" has now become a catchword all over the Caribbean, but it originated in Guyana and it is only in Guyana that it has been backed up by the necessary tough measures. The importing of a wide variety of food-stuffs and other goods has been banned — if people want them they must produce them themselves. (Burnham being Burnham, the import restrictions have also been used to keep out undesirable literature.)

But Burnham's victories have in a sense all been easy ones; they have been some of the unfinished business of the revolution that was wrought in the country by the original PPP in the early fifties. He simply does not have the popular standing that would have been necessary to take the country beyond that, to coax Guyanese into making socialism and the



Deputy Prime Minister Ptolemy Reid (right) told civil servants "to me you are all politicians"

Co-operative Republic more than words and in developing the country's interior (the interior, which encompasses the entire country except for a thin coastal strip and is virtually uninhabited, plays much the same role in Guyana's mythology as the North does in Canada's). The moral capital that might have made those things possible has been squandered in the corruption, the fixed elections and the exploitation of Guyana's racial division that have marked Burnham's regime.

The last point is the key one. While less than democratic methods of dealing with opposition are one part of Burnham's formula, they are not as important as his clever manipulation of the Guyanese racial equation.

For no movement to get rid of Burnham will be successful unless it can win substantial support among the Africans, who as the most urbanized sector of the population have a political strength out of proportion to their numbers. At the moment many Africans who are not enthusiastic about Burnham — such as Georgetown's legions of unemployed — would still prefer to see him in power than to see an East Indian government. It is noteworthy that any African disenchantment with Burnham that manifested itself in the last election took the form of abstention rather than votes for the PPP.

The most significant opposition to Burnham is still provided by the PPP, but the probability of its ever regaining

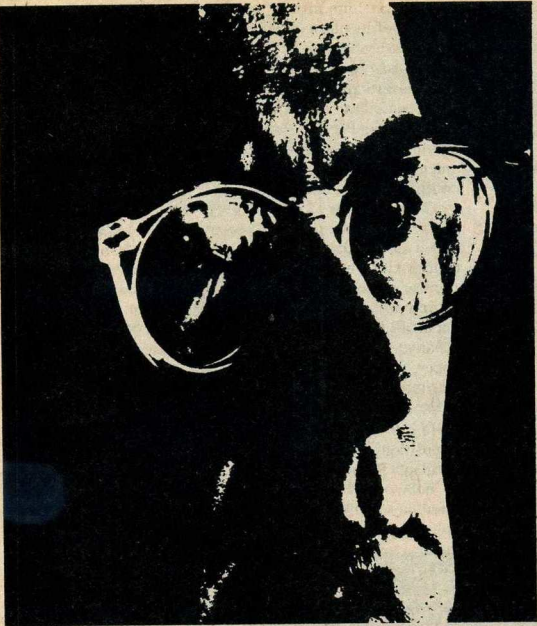
power has diminished steadily. A parliamentary party stripped of its place in parliament, the PPP now sees itself as a "pressure group" and points to some successes in influencing government policy (including the Reynolds nationalization) — sort of like the NDP. Anyone who has spent some time around North American left-wing organizations will find the PPP office the only place in Georgetown that feels a little bit like home: the posters, the decent, serious and committed people and the general air of hopelessness all contribute to the familiarity.

The PPP's daily *Mirror*, the only Guyanese newspaper not controlled by Burnham, is a poorly printed four-page tabloid and a table outside PPP headquarters is its only outlet in central Georgetown; it is hampered by government restrictions on importing new printing equipment, while restrictions on importing newsprint sometimes prevent it from coming out at all. It is also limited by the PPP's policy of treating it as a party organ rather than as a more broadly-defined newspaper, and reading the *Mirror* can be an only slightly less frustrating experience than reading the *Chronicle* or *Graphic*.

Other opponents of Burnham complain that the PPP is willing to consider opposition unity only if it means united opposition support of the PPP, and so the groups remain divided. Ratoon, centred around University of Guyana's economist Clive Thomas and loosely modeled on Trinidad's more successful Tapia group, has not succeeded in having much impact beyond the walls of the university. The African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa (ASCRIA) was once a black cultural group within the PNC, and its leader Eusi Kwayana was once called Sydney King and once held a PNC cabinet post. Now ASCRIA is on its own and Kwayana is the leading black opposition figure. He has lately made efforts to form alliances with East Indian opposition groups but his clear image in the public mind as a strictly black leader is likely to make that difficult.

The result of all this is that the Burnham government is in its own way a remarkably stable one, especially by West Indian standards. While Dr. Williams' regime in Trinidad and Tobago appears to be on its last legs, and while Errol Barrow in Barbados and Michael Manley in Jamaica have to subject themselves to the vagaries of free elections, Burnham just sails on. The National Assembly, the press, the university, the main trade-union central (which does not include the bulk of the sugar workers, who are East Indian and loyal to the PPP) — all the centres from which opposition could be expected to come — are under his control. Of these the only shaky one is the trade unions, and if Burnham is not able to provide them with something concrete in exchange for their support of the regime that support may begin to erode; if there is a potential starting point for a new and more effective opposition, it is there.

The Guyanese have endured slavery, indenture, colonialism, British and American intervention, and now they are enduring the logical extension of those blessings. In this Guyana is far from unique. It shares a common heritage with the Indian subcontinent, Nigeria, and that part of the Middle East that is variously regarded as Israel or Palestine depending on one's inclination. For in Guyana as in those other places, the British exploited racial and religious divisions in order to rule, and then retired to London in time to watch the inevitable aftermath from a safe place, commenting sadly on the congenital inability of those blasted wogs to govern themselves.



**William Colby,
Director of the
Central Intelligence Agency**

by Henry Aubin

The CIA: It's only business

Well, it probably had to happen. No longer satisfied with political intrigue, the Central Intelligence Agency has set itself new horizons. To shore up the sagging market for American technology, the gentlemen from Langley, Va., are anxious to contribute to the free enterprise system.

No longer is it the job of the U.S. Department of Commerce to promote research and development for American business. Now it's the CIA's responsibility as well.

The disclosure this winter of a confidential memo from the CIA to unidentified U.S. multinational corporations, recruiting them to spy on transportation technology in Canada and five other countries, says that and much more.

Earlier wire service stories out of Washington have been too brief to do the memo justice. The full eight pages, now available in Canada, make both comic and sinister reading, shedding new light on an emerging government-corporate ethos. The CIA's paranoia may be amusing, but its ramifications are not. The memo announces:

... the U.S. may be faced with competitive threats, in both the U.S. and technological markets, evolving from rapid

technological advances in other countries.

Such vigorous competition is seen as almost hostile to American interests:

When these potential technological threats are combined with influences arising from the changing world economic and resource situation, important U.S. sectors may be detrimentally affected.

The memo's terminology sounds 1950ish, but the date on the first page says clearly "24 November, 1974": the world, it affirms, is divided into "free world and communist countries."

The greater threat, it appears, comes not from the red menace but from the free world itself: the memo's whole purpose is to ask the corporations to "acquire a data base on free world developments in ground and air transportation technology."

The countries thus "representing potential technological and/or economic threats to the U.S. position" are France, West Germany, Great Britain, Japan, Canada and — named last — the Soviet Union. One might well wonder what the CIA finds so intriguing about Canadian transportation, which the transport minister himself calls "a mess," but no matter.

Once it was the missile gap which dominated the CIA's investigative psyche. Today Langley's anxiety bubbles at reports of such disquieting developments as the low-pollution

Henry Aubin is a reporter for the Montreal Gazette. We thank the Gazette for permission to reprint this article.

car — one of several transport innovations deemed “most likely to impact on, or compete with, U.S. economic developments.” No matter that for years Detroit automakers gave Washington one reason or another as to why good low-fuel, low-pollution cars could not be made — those foreigners are making them anyway, and their secrets must be mooched.

It's not just the cars. While the best minds in U.S. technology have gone into military research, other countries have been outflanking it in the development of such menaces as high-speed mass rail systems — and, according to the memo, things we will see more of in the 1980's such as “tracked magnetic levitation vehicles” and “repulsion-type MAG-LEV systems.”

Two sentences sum up the predicament:

The U.S. has for years held the international leadership in transportation systems technology, manufacturing capabilities, resources, utilization and marketing. However, constraints imposed by economic, ecological and convenience considerations may drastically alter future ground and air transportation technologies.

The moral is clear: the U.S. may have the “most extensive personal transportation system in the world” but that system is in imminent danger of becoming a white elephant. Long-time zealots of energy-intensive progress, American industrialists have ignored developing an ecologically sensible al-

ternative and are invited to play catch-up by deploying their branch offices abroad as satellite outposts for U.S. intelligence.

The CIA and U.S.-based global corporations have, of course, a long-standing community of interest in influencing politics abroad. Stability abroad means secure investments — thus the cooperable spirit between the agency and the boardrooms. But this memo, indicating as it does that the CIA intends to give an added leverage to favoured firms competing against foreign companies, signals a new dimension to that symbiotic relationship between government and big business and a new benchmark in the decline of free market competition.

It's worth noting what the agency intends to do with its industrial spy data. Instead of being shared by the various companies who pooled it, it is to “be restricted to agency facilities” — where presumably it would be used to enhance the agency's power base, to be disseminated to companies on a kind of patronage basis.

Elaborate steps will be taken to protect the data from counter-moochers. The memo solemnly envisages “at least” an “approved security container, secure area or vault, plus supplemental coverage by hourly guard check or electronic intrusion detection alarm system with ten minute response.”

Whatever else it all means, one thing is clear. G. Gordon Liddy may be in the slammer but his spirit goes marching on.

DOCUMENT

THE CIA ORDERS A TRANSPORT STUDY

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505
26 November 1974

WORK STATEMENT

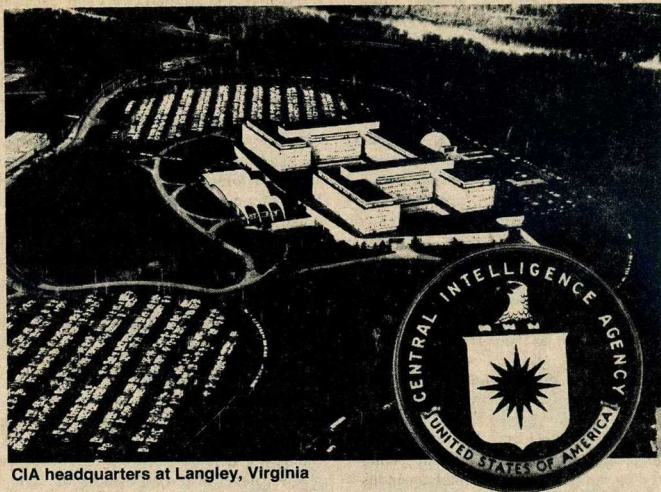
1. The U.S. has probably the most extensive personal transportation system in the world, is the world's largest producer of personal and air transportation systems, is one of the world's largest users of transportation systems of all kinds; its mass ground transportation systems are not as advanced as those of certain other nations. Furthermore, the U.S. has for many years held the international leadership position in transportation systems technology, manufacturing capabilities, resources, utilization and marketing. However, constraints imposed by economic, ecological, and convenience considerations may drastically alter future ground and air transportation systems as we know them today, and the development of a new generation of transportation systems for the future, will depend upon the development and application of new technologies, many of which are presently being developed by foreign countries. Thus, the U.S. may be faced with competitive threats, in both the U.S. and international market, evolving from rapid technological advances in other countries. When these potential technological threats are combined with influences arising from the changing world economic and resource situation, important U.S. industrial sectors may be detrimentally affected.

It is the purpose of this study to assess foreign technological R&D efforts and policies which may lead to developed systems having a competitive impact on the international transportation field through the mid-to-late 1980s. The emphasis will be placed on the identification of specific foreign developments in transportation technology that could provide the most serious economic competition for the U.S. The main thrust of the initial analytical effort will be a technological assessment and forecast of foreign air transport developments will be surveyed for their technological advances and potential impact.

II.A. General

Economic considerations will have a great influence on the next generation of transportation systems. Utilization of existing facilities (roads, airports, waterways), conservative materials selection and low energy consumption will probably be important factors by which new systems are selected. Both in the U.S. and elsewhere, ecological concerns will similarly favor the introduction of quieter, non-polluting propulsion systems or modifications to current systems; simultaneously, the ever-present desire for reduced transit times, efficient land usage and adequate personal comfort are among major considerations in the acceptance of new systems.

Ground transportation may be pushed in the direction of smaller, quieter, more efficient and less polluting personal transport systems, along with quiet, high-speed mass transport systems using either magnetic levitation or air cushion



CIA headquarters at Langley, Virginia

technologies. Air transport systems may see broader introduction of VTOL and STOL technologies for quicker access to inner-city areas, quiet, clean, and economical propulsion systems for use in high density population regions, reemergence of water-based aircraft and renewed interest in certain forms of the SST.

B. Specific Tasking

1. Ground Transportation

Task 1

The contractor will exercise his thorough knowledge of the major foreign ground (to include over water) transportation systems R&D programs already underway, and will prepare a base line report analyzing the broad aspects of these foreign technology developments, specifying the country or countries involved and the companies, institutions and personnel participating in these programs. Particular attention will be paid to programs which could lead to operational systems by the mid-to-late 1980s. This task will specifically cover: (a) high speed ground (excluding over water) transportation systems technology; e.g. tracked air cushion vehicles (TACV) or magnetic levitation (MAGLEV) vehicles and (b) automobile engine technology e.g. new design approaches resulting in greater fuel economy, reduced pollution, use of non-petroleum fuels such as hydrogen, and electrical energy conversion systems.

Task 2

Subsequent to the base-line study, three ground transportation system technologies will be identified jointly by the contractor and the sponsor for detailed analysis; emphasis will be placed on those technologies showing the greatest potential for further change as well as economic, technological, or social impact during the stated time frame. The three technology areas are to be subjected to an in-depth technical assessment, which will include: (1) the status of all foreign developments and relation to U.S. work, if

applicable, (2) a technology forecast of each technology area, and (3) a description of expected technical performance characteristics. The primary economic factors to be considered will be (1) development costs, (2) capital costs, and (3) operating costs. Each in-depth analysis is to constitute a single study report.

2. Air Transport

Task 3

The contractor will exercise his knowledge of R&D programs underway in free world and communist countries in the way of all transportation systems which can be expected to become operational by the mid-to-late 1980s, including the institutions and personnel involved in this work. A preliminary assessment will consider the range of systems from short range V/STOL systems to long range sub/trans/supersonic systems, not to exclude lighter-than-air, hybrid types and ground-effect types of vehicles. Fuel requirements and propulsion systems requirements, as well as control system, guidance, navigation, traffic control, ground support, and ground interface requirements will be briefly addressed, and technology programs discussed. The contractor will, by conducting this overall analysis, identify the programs most likely to impact on, or compete with, U.S. economic development in air transportation systems. The results of this analysis are to be reported in a single report.

Task 4

Subsequently, one or more technology areas may then be jointly selected for in-depth analysis similar to that done under the ground systems task.

3. Data Base Development

Task 5

The following series of activities are to be accomplished simultaneously with the analyses in tasks 1 through 4:

- a. The contractor will determine the most important

information sources (and their availability) which need to be surveyed in order to assess the various countries' capabilities in the technology areas of interest. Countries to be covered include, but are not restricted to, France, West Germany, Great Britain, Japan, Canada and the Soviet Union.

b. Using his available resources, the contractor will acquire technical information and develop a data base on free world developments in ground and air transportation technology. Prior to initiating such efforts a careful review of existing technical data sources including the collation of open literature must be made. The contractor will review the available data base (and may, together with sponsor's technical representatives, review additional data bases) to determine the technological capabilities of foreign countries related to ground and air transport systems. Sponsor may also provide inputs regarding foreign national goals and how they might impact on R&D programs.

For some of the countries of interest, the technical publications may not be readily available or automatically translated. Additionally, some of these countries may better satisfy their requirements by buying (or otherwise acquiring) the technology or equipment. The contractor's discussion and proposed approach to these problems will form a primary area of proposal evaluation.

c. For each country identified as representing potential technological and/or economic threats to the U.S. position, the following information or data will be generated by the contractor:

(1) Identify institutions engaged in ground and air transportation systems development activities and estimate the level and quality of effort.

(2) Identify the scientific personnel engaged in the activities.

(3) Evaluate the state-of-the-art in each technological area in relation to that needed for either feasibility demonstration or economic production.

d. Identify other technological areas related to the three ground transportation technology areas specified as they become evident (i.e. repulsion-type MAGLEV systems technology is dependent upon superconducting magnet and cryogenics technologies), as well as fundamental technology requirements needed to develop new air transport systems, (i.e., composite materials, high temperature materials).

e. Identify related areas of technology readily available to a country on the open market, through the open literature, or through existing exchange agreements and contracts.

III. At least five substantive reports, four on ground transport and one, possibly two, on air transport, in addition to bi-monthly administrative reports, will be required during the performance of this contract. A mid-year status report, due at the end of the fifth month of the contract will address the contractor's accomplishments in identifying and obtaining access to the required sources of information and will summarize the information thus far obtained in each technological area for each country. A final report will complete the summary of information. It will contain an overall summary of analyses performed, important trends and the major conclusions and implications derived from the total work performed during the year. Also, the Con-

tractor will be required to present a reasonable number of oral briefings on the results of substantive analysis at the specific request of the Sponsor to certain government agencies upon successful completion of each task; briefing format will be decided upon during the course of the Contract.

IV. The Contractor is responsible for having readily available such resources as abstracting services and foreign publications necessary to perform this work. The Sponsor will perform searches of his own files as requested by the Contractor and provide all relevant information up to the classification of SECRET.

V. Foreign nationals within the firm, or associated therewith, shall not have access to this Request for Proposal. Dissemination to other members of the firm shall be restricted to those who are judged to have a need-to-know.

Any Contract which may result from this Request for Proposal would stipulate that dissemination or disclosure of the contractual relationship shall be on a need-to-know basis and would include a "Non-Publicity" clause.

The work contemplated includes utilization of classified information at the TOP SECRET/Compartmented Information level. In this connection, Contractor employees selected for this effort would require appropriate Agency access approvals prior to exposure to classified information at those levels. Unless or until authorized otherwise by the Contracting Officer, or his representative, it is proposed that all classified work, storage of material and reporting at the TOP SECRET/Compartmented Information level will be restricted to Agency facilities.

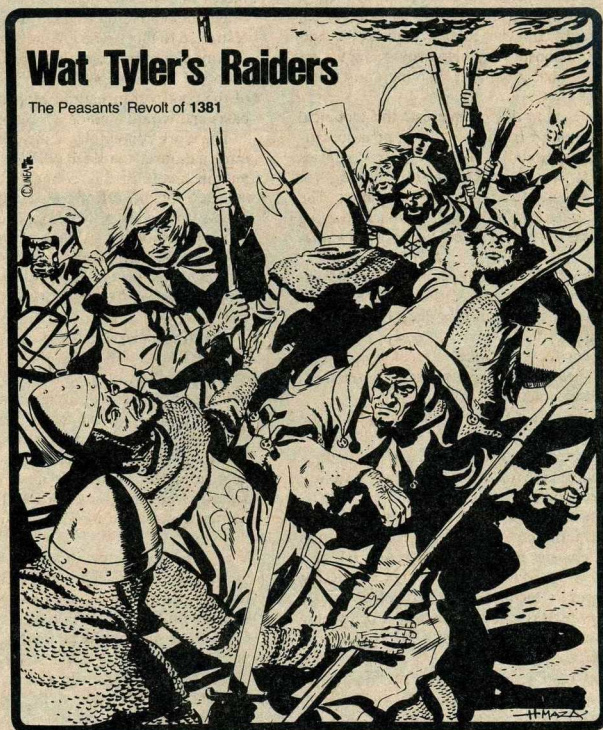
Additional classified information and/or materials at the SECRET level will be involved. Performance at this level of classification may be at the Contractor's facility, and will require security storage capability of at least: GSA approved security container, secure area or vault, plus supplemental coverage by hourly guard check or by an electronic intrusion detection alarm system with ten minute response. Waiver or modification of these physical security standards, or a portion thereof, would require the written approval of the Contracting officer.

VI. The Contractor's proposal is to include information on the technical background, publications, and other pertinent qualifications of the personnel who will be assigned to work on this study. Furthermore, it is required that the Contractor specify the percentage of an individual's time that will be spent on the study. Full names, dates and places of birth, citizenship, and current U.S. Government clearance status are also to be included; only U.S. citizens are to work on this project.

VII. It is estimated that the Contract will require 2½ man years of effort to extend over a period of one year. Approximately ⅓ of the total efforts will be expended for the ground transportation analysis (Tasks 1, 2 and the relevant portions of Task 5) with the remaining ⅓ to be expended in the air transportation analysis (Task 3, 4 and the relevant portions of Task 5). The Contractor's proposal will display his proposed allocation of effort at the task and sub-task level, as well as the proposed scheduling approach.

John C. Dougherty
Contracting Officer

Comics are no less popular in places like Cuba and Eastern Europe than they are in Canada or the U.S., and we thought our readers might be interested in sampling some of the highly successful comics distributed by the Prensa Latina news service. In this issue we publish the second section of "Wat Tyler's Raiders", to be continued next month. Readers may find a rather different view of English history than they remember from their school books.



THE STORY SO FAR

Brian Hayman, under arrest for poaching the Duke of Kent's deer, was rescued by Wat Tyler and John Ball. Taking refuge in an old mine, they plan rebellion with small groups of family and friends. Now they are joined by Brian's identical twin, Richard, who managed to avoid capture by disguising himself as Tam-Tam, a hunchback who lives with the Hayman family.



Now brothers, let's get down to work. Our friend Tam-Tam is on his way to London in search of news, but meanwhile, I have a plan...

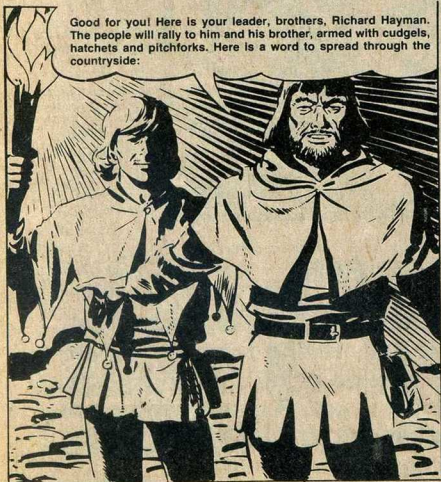


... Surprise is a weapon of war used to confuse the enemy. If my twin brother and I each lead a band of rebellious peasants, and attack simultaneously in different places, the oppressors will be bewildered...

... We will strike, and then hide in the forests until the next attack.

But we have no weapons, no experience...

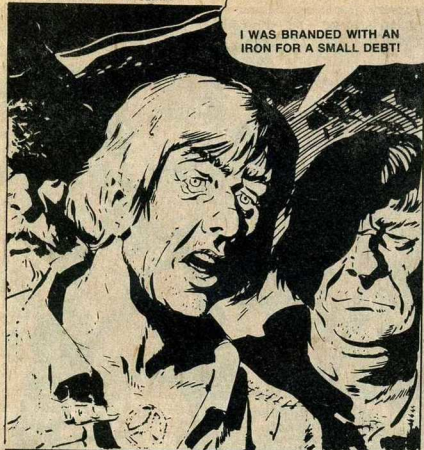
Never mind, we have right on our side! And if there are no weapons, here is a torch...! Set them on fire!



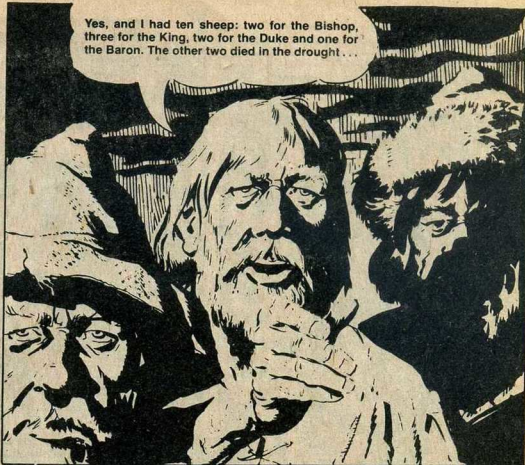
Good for you! Here is your leader, brothers, Richard Hayman. The people will rally to him and his brother, armed with cudgels, hatchets and pitchforks. Here is a word to spread through the countryside:



Where do we stand? Duties and taxes for war are greater than ever. Church taxes, called tithes, go to make the clergy rich, and as they get richer they sit only at the tables of the lords, pardoning their sins. All we get out of our tithes is loans at heavy interest, making us slaves of debt.



I WAS BRANDED WITH AN IRON FOR A SMALL DEBT!

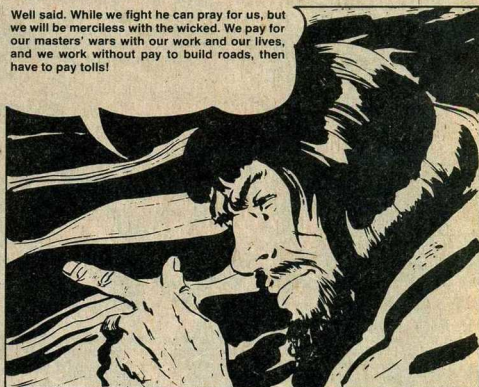


Yes, and I had ten sheep: two for the Bishop, three for the King, two for the Duke and one for the Baron. The other two died in the drought...



What shall we do with Father Joseph, the village priest?

Father Joseph is a humble servant of God and the poor, he gives all he has to the needy.



Well said. While we fight he can pray for us, but we will be merciless with the wicked. We pay for our masters' wars with our work and our lives, and we work without pay to build roads, then have to pay tolls!



My four sons died in the war with France...

My son won't return either...



They took mine too!



We can't cut firewood because the forests belong to the King.



And we can't hunt deer or hares because they belong to the King too. In winter we freeze and starve.

Ay, we live in bad times brothers: rich sinners are pardoned because they pay indulgences to enrich the Pope while the poor go to Hell!



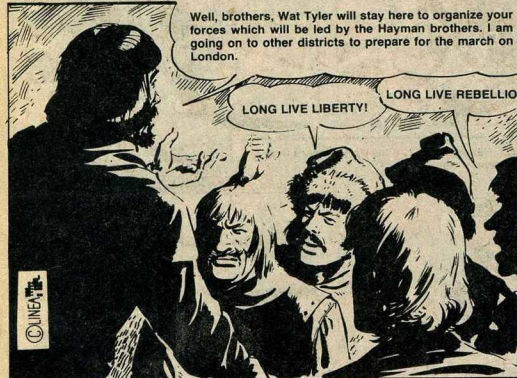
Times will be bad until all goods are held in common and there are neither servants nor masters. When Adam and Eve earned their own bread there were no nobles.

NOBILITY INVENTED TYRANNY!



Well, brothers, Wat Tyler will stay here to organize your forces which will be led by the Hayman brothers. I am going on to other districts to prepare for the march on London.

Fired with revolutionary fervour, the peasants spread the word.



LONG LIVE LIBERTY!

LONG LIVE REBELLION!

Brothers! Tomorrow we leave our ploughs and our cattle, and attack the feudal landlords. Gather what arms you can.



The forces were mustered.

I'll attack the Baron of Tambridge at three o'clock. Brian, you attack Saint John's Abbey at the same moment. We'll wear identical clothes and make sure we're noticed.



At the appointed time, Richard Hayman's forces, with the help of the servants, took the Baron's mansion and disarmed the guards.



Proximo Episodio LA CONSIGNA

They spread through the mansion like an avalanche, burning as they went.



The guilty were punished, and the contents of granaries and storerooms taken to the village for distribution.



The guards were placed in chains ...



... And the prisoners freed from the dungeons.



Meanwhile, the real Brian Hayman attacked the Abbey, more than a day's journey from the Baron's mansion.



Within minutes the Bishop was a prisoner, and his riches captured.



Next Month: The Phantom of Kent.

Rear View

- **Murphy on the A.F.L. — p. 42**
- **Democritus on Science — p. 45**
- **Trotter on rural Ontario — p. 46**
- **Colombo's unquoted quotes — p. 47**
- **Hamovitch on Portugal — p. 48**
- **Edmonstone on Something Happened — p. 49**
- **McLellan on Manpower — p. 50**

The Liberals found a friend

by RAE MURPHY

Gompers in Canada: a study in American continentalism before the first world war, by Robert H. Babcock. University of Toronto Press/Toronto. 292 pp. \$4.95.

The hundred years or so that separate the Reconstruction period from the present (or, perhaps, the recent past) can fairly be described as the American century.

Bursting with the energy released by the upheaval of the Civil War, the newly enriched industrialists pushed westward across the vast continent; and northward and southward as well. Pushed until the dreams of the more sanguine of the "Founding Fathers" of a hemispheric American empire seemed about to be realized. But realized under the driving force of an industrial-commercial revolution that could not have been contemplated, and on a scale that could not have been imagined.

A system that was already showing signs of stress was shipped across the Atlantic and let loose to thrive on a virgin landscape unhampered by the chains of a feudal past, and then unfettered from the archaic bonds of slavery. With the system came the masses of humanity who could make it work — the dispossessed middle classes, the farmers and the unemployed working class of Europe.

Among the arrivals in 1863 was a Jewish lad of 13, an apprentice cigar maker from the slums of London called Samuel Gompers. Gompers was destined to play a profound role in the American century and "Gomperism" was to leave an indelible stamp on the working class and trade union movement of the Americas.

To this reviewer, it seems fundamental to a study of the Canadian labour movement — which is so intricately, perhaps inextricably, connected with the American move-

ment — that the role of this one individual would loom rather large. Thus, Robert H. Babcock's *Gompers in Canada: a study in American continentalism before the first world war* should be, by its title at least, an interesting and important study.

It is and it isn't.

Written in that bloodless academic style that could reduce the Battle of Armageddon to properly footnoted correspondence between God and his selected field angels, *Gompers in Canada* begins with an American Federation of Labour approach to the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress to send a fraternal delegate to a convention, and ends with the great professorial 'but on the other hand' cop-out:

"Canadian newspapers today periodically reveal lingering doubts and conflicts among Canadian trade unionists about the international tie. Many are torn between the desirable economic features obtained through their membership in AFL-CIO unions and the often less attractive American-made policies and values which these organizations impose upon their Canadian branches."

The problem isn't simply one of prose style. Correspondence, convention proceedings and resolutions do little to express the bloody and turbulent history of the early organization of workers. Moreover, when the historian concentrates on this primary source material some very important problems arise, aside from sheer dullness.

In the first place, the trade union movement was built and shaped by the conscious activity of hundreds of thousands of individuals who had neither the time nor the possibility of setting their views and experiences on paper; thus, the proceedings of conventions can tell us what happened and when, but rarely why.

Crucial decisions were made by the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress in the early years of the century which, as Babcock suggests, saw the 'east-west axis of Canadian na-

tionality crumbling before the new north-south chains binding Canadian workers to American labour organizations." But what were the pressures on the shop floor or in the mills and camps to make these workers do as they did and support a leadership that pushed continentalism?

This, of course, raises the very touchy question of internationalism which has been an intrinsic part of all trade union activity from birth. When one deals with this problem on the North American continent through a correlation of statistics involving the movement of American branch plants and international unions, only part of the picture emerges. Perhaps the labour historian's time could have been just as profitably spent examining and developing the many occasions expressed in the following paragraph:

"The value to American unions of organization in British Columbia was well illustrated by an incident that took place in 1902, when the boiler makers in Seattle struck for the eight-hour day. The owners of a steamer in need of repairs refused to bow to the Seattle workers' demands and moved the vessel to Victoria, British Columbia, where the work-day was ten hours. The boiler makers of Victoria, however, would not work on the job for a longer period than the eight-hour day the Seattle men wanted. The international union, through its expansion into the Canadian branches of what had become a continental job market, protected the interests of its American members. And it introduced generally superior American wages and working conditions into the Canadian industrial community."

Although Babcock writes of the incident rather one-sidedly it is an example of the spontaneous solidarity of workers across the border. The essential ties that bind workers are those of class not of nation; this spirit was especially manifest on this young continent which was being built by men and women who were immigrants from lands where 'calls to the colours' were an integral part of the system of oppression.

How then could the workers of Canada be expected to respond to the hysterical outbursts of their 'betters' in the Senate and House of Commons who waved the flag — the British one — and screamed about foreign agitators, pernicious Yankees and their unions disturbing the quiet of the realm?

One can only surmise what the response of trade unionists was to the legislation that was before our Parliament in 1903 that would imprison for two years any American labour leader coming into Canada for the purpose of union organization. Babcock quotes a Senator Gibson, who incidentally wanted to ban all American unions, who said "the troubles that Canada is now suffering under are not directed by our own people, but by men who are sent from Washington to organize unions."

Well, it was ever thus. It's always foreign agitators — even Ian Smith in Rhodesia thinks that's the root of his problem — but the interesting thing is that, aside from dunderheads like Gibson, important leaders of the Canadian bourgeoisie tricked on to the "more responsible classes of labour organizations of an international character." It is in the development of this aspect of our labour history that the strength of Babcock's study lies.

Gompers is the focal point.

The ideology of Samuel Gompers was part dialectical materialism and part Manifest Destiny. He matured in a milieu of New York in the 1870s where the immigrant worker-intellectuals were fighting the battles of the First International — a battle which increasingly devolved between

the "trade unionists pure and simple" and the "sectarians" — but the milieu was also that of struggle to form a trade union movement that could ameliorate the conditions of the workers and could also challenge the power of the trusts and monopolies.

Gompers, as a young man and an active trade unionist must have participated in the struggles of the floundering First International. He was an acquaintance of the immigrant Marxist, Sorge, and at one time asked Sorge to write to Friedrich Engels for the latter to intercede on Gompers' behalf over the issue of affiliation of political groups to the trade union body (a nephew of Sorge's was to be hanged in 1944 by the Japanese as a Russian spy — which proves again that it really is a small world).

But whatever part of the young Gompers' ideology was tangentially Marxist influenced — the refusal to obscure the essential function of a trade union movement to protect the economic interests of its membership with the conscious organization of a political movement to assume power, and his concept of the internationalization of the capitalist system and the need for a parallel response by labour — he was soon completely consumed by the power and glory of the United States.

It is problematical whether Gompers ever wanted to beat the system as some of his biographers now suggest; there is no doubt he joined it.

By the time Gompers stamps his imprint on the Canadian trade union movement, his policy of refusing to countenance any notion of independent political action by the labour movement is his obsession, and for Canada's 'system-savers' — Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his protege William Lyon Mackenzie King — is just what the doctor ordered for a 'troubled Canada'.

As Babcock shows, Gompersism came to Canada at a crucial period of our industrial growth. The country was opening up and being transformed from scattered local markets into a cohesive national market. The Canadian working class was

Coming soon —

Vancouver Ltd.

Donald Gutstein

An analysis of Vancouver's municipal power structure and the corporate interests that have controlled — virtually owned — the city for the last 35 years.

\$5.95

Publication May '75

A Citizen's Guide to City Politics

James Lorimer

Paper \$4.95

Up Against City Hall

John Sewell

Paper \$3.95

The Real World of City Politics

James Lorimer

Paper \$3.95

Working People

LIFE IN A DOWNTOWN CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD

James Lorimer

Paper \$4.95

The Tiny Perfect Mayor

Jon Caulfield

Paper \$3.95

**James Lorimer
& Company,
Publishers**

growing and with it a trade union movement was developing. Yet because of time, place and circumstance, its growth did not exactly pattern that of the U.S. Our imported traditions were different than the Americans:

"Certainly the parliamentary political institutions of British North America encouraged political action by labour groups. Canadian unionists hoped to follow the example of the Irish contingent in England and elect enough sympathizers to obtain the balance of power in Canadian legislatures. In addition there were close personal ties between the Canadian and British trade unionists. Many Canadian labour leaders had brought British labour's ideas, including socialism and independent political action, across the Atlantic; once enshrined in Canada, these men usually kept in touch with their old friends in England."

It was this tendency that was perceived to be of more danger than any other in the fledgling trade union movement.

The contribution of the AFL to the actual organization of Canadian workers was, to say the least, minimal.

With the free exchange across the border American leaders were concerned about Canada becoming a reservoir of cheap labour, especially with the advent of the branch plants. In this instance their internationalism was at best enlightened self-interest. And they were obsessed with the idea that the British tradition of political action would in some measure merge with the native radicalism, expressed particularly in the west. And so Gompers could come to Canada to rally the strikers in London, Ontario, speak at a huge May Day rally in Montreal and still receive praise from the *Liberal Toronto Globe*:

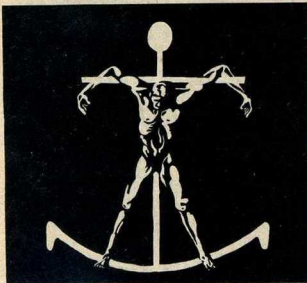
"The mouthpiece of Ontario Liberalism had editorially endorsed international trade unionism in most laudatory

terms. 'The labour organizations have been first to bridge the gulf of international hostility on this continent. They are preserving democratic traditions threatened with extinction, they are resisting the growing spirit of militarism, and, with the discipline and experience of age, will become a means of averting danger from the power of colossal fortunes and the weakness of widespread poverty and dependence.' The *Globe* heaped praise on Gompers, calling him a man of conservative views, sound judgment and recognized ability."

The most interesting sections of Babcock's book deal with the ever present urgings for independent political action within the trade union movement, and how these strivings were consistently connected with, or perhaps more precisely, espoused by leaders whose socialist ideology also dovetailed with their insistence on an independent and sovereign trade union movement in Canada. Yet even here, the reality is more complex.

There is a strong radical tradition on our continent which has always eschewed political action as simply playing the "bosses' parliamentary games". Gompers, at his demagogic best, could be quite effective at manipulating this sentiment, backed by American industrialists who could always recognize an ally, and supported by Canadian Liberals who could always use a friend.

Samuel Gompers' place in the pantheon of saints of American industrial capitalism is as secure as Henry Ford's or John D. Rockefeller's. What is less obvious is that his particular role in Canada which is implicit in *Gompers in Canada* is that his place should also be with the saints of Canadian Liberalism. It is probably the same temple in any case.



Save The Lives Of The Patriotic Sailors Of Chile!

The Chilean people wanted to construct a just society free from exploitation by both the multinational corporations and their allies, the Chilean bourgeoisie. The anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic measures taken by the Popular Unity government earned them the determined opposition of the multinationals, the United States (through their undercover agents within Chile as well as through international finance institutions) and the Chilean ruling class. The economic sabotage, the credit and aid blockade, and the lying propaganda used by the forces of reaction to undermine the Chilean people's support of their government are infamous. However, by March of 1973, it was obvious that the reactionary tactics were not successful. During the CIA-financed truck-owners strike in October 1972, the working class showed that they were capable of making the economy function despite the opposition and sabotage of the bourgeoisie, the CIA and the multinationals. The March elections, in which the UP increased its popular support by 8 percent (a precedent in Chilean politics — the government has always lost support in mid-term elections) clearly showed the right-wing forces that the only way to weight the balance of power in favour of the ruling class was through direct military intervention.

The Chilean military dictatorship is presently holding secret trials to prosecute a group of naval personnel who were detained for refusing to participate in the coup d'état against the constitutional government of Salvador Allende. Their detention is a result of massive purges carried out within the Navy in Talcahuano and Valparaiso from August 5th onwards. These seamen were labelled as subversives, imprisoned, brutally tortured and charged with insubordination, the most serious charge against military personnel in peacetime. The seamen were and are being denied any defense other than official appointees of the military tribunal.

Now that Chile is officially in a state of internal war, the charges against the patriotic seamen have been changed and they are being court-martialed for treason. Fifteen death penalties have already been requested by the military attorney and it seems likely that the other seamen on trial will suffer a similar fate. Hidden from the public eye by the silence of the dictatorship, the sailors' trial is coming to a close. The imminent danger to their lives has led us to speak out in their defense. We call upon all democratic and progressive individuals, and institutions to support us in all of the actions that we are organizing to demand and obtain the liberty of the naval personnel victimized by this unjust and inhuman trial. Please send letters or cables to General Pinochet, Edificio Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile, demanding the immediate release of the patriotic sailors of Chile. Please notify our campaign office if you have sent a letter or telegram at our address below. It is urgent that the maximum number of support committees be formed throughout the country. In order to publicize the plight of the sailors and carry on the campaign we need your financial help. We do not even have the money to do a massive mailing. Donations can be sent to our address:

Box 86,
Station V,
Toronto, Ontario.

Make cheques payable to "Campaign-Chilean Sailors."

In a letter made public on Sept. 9th, the imprisoned sailors asked the Chilean people: "We ask if defending the government, the constitution, legality and the people is a crime, while overthrowing the government, trampling on the law and killing thousands of human beings is legal? WHAT DO THE WORKING PEOPLE ANSWER? WHAT DO YOU ANSWER?"

ELEMENTS

SCIENCE REPORT BY DEMOCRITUS

Cancer Crusade

The war against cancer continues on many fronts. In recent developments:

- Stanford University scientists claim they have developed a new cancer treatment tool which attacks malignancies with a stream of miniature "nuclear explosions." A 17-foot-long particle accelerator fires sub-atomic "bullets" into the offending tissue;

- A Japanese researcher has discovered an extract from a certain mushroom species that appears to help control the growth of cancer ... and in some cases, cure the disease;

- U.S. National Cancer Institute scientists are studying a virus found in the cultured blood cells of a leukemia patient that they believe may be a long-sought human cancer virus. If so, a powerful new tool for cancer detection has been discovered;

- French researchers have found a mysterious new substance that might explain how cancer cells fight off the body's natural defenses. The substance was found in the placenta of a pregnant woman ... and is thought to prevent a fetus from being destroyed by phagocytes ... the cells that fight foreign substances in the human body. A fetus and cancer cells are thought to be protected by the same mechanism;

- Dr. Barry Posner of McGill University says scientists have recently discovered that many biological effects on the body are mediated through cell "receptors" ... which respond to hormones. It is believed that the growth of tumors could be slowed down by "turning down" the receptors in the affected area ... possibly by diet.

Abolition Solution

Cold showers are recommended for one kind of tension ... but for fatigue, headaches and irritability, a Canadian scientist recommends a hot bath. Dr. Edward Napke, a member of the International Society for Biometeorology in Ottawa, says brutish positive ions ... churned out in the air ventilation systems of our infernal towers ... makes us petulant, languid and prone to the grippie. The remedy? Swarms of soothing negative ions can be had in whiffs of fresh air and from the cascading waters of a hot bath.

Hot choppers

In the never-ending stream of health hazards, the latest menace can set your teeth on edge. British researchers have identified a new radioactive compound used in dentures to match the brightness of natural teeth. The atomic teeth have a radioactive level exceeding the limits set by the International Commission on Radiological Protection.

All about Eve

The Scopes "Monkey Trial" business has been dealt another kick in the genes ... with the discovery of a human skeleton dating back some three million years in Ethiopia. The girl ... older by about a million years than our next eldest relative ... was slightly taller than three feet and lived to be about 22 years old. There is no evidence to indicate that she was constructed out of a rib or was a relative of Haile Selassie.

Breaking wind

The latest swirl in science circles is that there may be something sinister in driving on the right-hand side of the road. A group of California scientists say they have revolutionary new evidence that motoring on the right-hand side of the road in two opposing streams of traffic whips up whirlwinds strong enough to develop into tornados ... which have increased sixfold in the U.S. in the last 40 years.

The Secret Life of CIA Plants

Democritus' team of investigative reporters has learned that the CIA has infiltrated the plant kingdom ... and that the operation was carried out with the finesse and painstaking regard for truth for which that agency is renowned.

It seems that Cleve Backster, the polygraph expert who wrote the best-selling *The Secret Life of Plants*, was a CIA employee.

It also seems that the "experiments" described in the book — which claims that plants have feelings, and are uncomfortable when humans think violent thoughts — cannot be duplicated by real scientists outside the curiously misnamed "intelligence community".

While Mister Backster's bubble of fantasy was definitively burst at the last meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, it does make one wonder: was the whole thing a CIA plant?

From Our Sex and Drugs Editor ...

There are several interesting developments in the exciting sex and drugs field this month ...

- Three Pittsburgh scientists report that alcoholic excess may seriously inhibit male fertility by interfering with an enzyme system necessary for sperm production. It was already known that too much elbow bending could affect potency — even Democritus was once a victim of "Brewer's Droop" — but this is the first confirmation that fertility is also affected. Curiously, the same enzyme system is involved in the chemistry of vision, and alcoholics suffer from "night blindness". At least they can't see what they're missing.

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from previous page)

• Further unpleasant news comes from another new U.S. study on Marijuana. It says that habitual marijuana smokers show a drop in male hormone levels, which may interfere with adolescent sexual development, or with sexual differentiation of male fetuses in pregnant smokers.

• Also on the sterility and hormone front, two Australians report successful preliminary results with a new approach to a male contraceptive pill. A combination of androgen and oestrogen hormones, they say, produces reversible sterility, and as yet, no unfortunate side effects have been found.

• Readers doubtless remember the controversy over the presence of a growth hormone, DES, in beef imported from the U.S. to Canada. Such beef was banned from Canada because of fears that DES may cause cancer if taken over long periods. Now it appears that DES is good for more than fattening cows — it has

been approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration as the first "morning after" birth control pill. Because of the cancer risk, DES will be used only in emergency situations, such as rape.

• In other birth control news, a Johns Hopkins University scientist has developed a new sterilization procedure for women. It uses a silicone ring to pinch the fallopian tubes, and is cheap, quick, and virtually risk-free.

• And lastly, from the world of fireflies, a distressing or encouraging report, depending on one's viewpoint. Each firefly species has a distinctive mating signal — a sort of sexual morse code of light flashes. A Florida biologist has found that some female fireflies are able to mimic the mating signals of other firefly species. When a passing male is attracted by the flashing invitation from such a female, she grabs and eats, that is to say devours, him. As this column has a strict policy against anthropomorphism and sexism in any form, need we say more?

Before the vacationers moved in

by BOB TROTTER

The Lark in the Clear Air, by Dennis T. Patrick Sears. McClelland & Stewart Limited, Toronto. 190 pp. \$6.95.

Canadians must be fed up with prissy nostalgia pieces about the early decades of this century. The resurgence of Canadian nationalism before, during and after centennial year sparked numerous volumes of hand-written history in 20-cent scribbles. Most of it is deadly dull, high-schoolish-cute crap that would cause Lord Tweedsmuir, to whom these local histories are dedicated and who was a pretty good writer himself, to groan in his grave.

Centennial year also dumped a dozen or more county histories into the laps of eager librarians and these, too, of necessity, were turgid tomes, chronological accounts for the most part which traced the paths of early settlers and their descendants. They include church-and-school histories, the town band, industrial expansion and God knows what else. Chapters had such trite titles as "the Annals of the Red Man", "Political Alarums and Excursions", "Pages of Parish History", "Travel Then and Now", and "Every Village a Hive of Industry".

None that I have read in the past 20 years captured the rugged, bawdy,

brawling stories told me by my father and my Irish grandmother when I was a kid growing up in Victoria County, Ontario.

Grandmother Lytle could have been one of the wild Irish characters depicted with such sensitivity and style as those in the pages of Sears' novel. She never knew her age. In those days, birth records were not kept with the meticulous care of today. She married a sailor-lumberman who died when he was only 24 and left her with two young sons. My grandfather died, she said, because he injured his chest when a group of men got half-tight down at the docks in Bobcaygeon and had a weight-lifting contest. He was only five-feet-five but he hauled the 100-pound grain sacks higher than anyone else, came home, kissed his wife and two boys and went to bed with a pain in his chest.

He died two years later of tuberculosis in a tent in the backyard because, in those days, nobody knew enough about the lung disease to treat him properly. Those suffering from the lung disease were placed in tents during the summer months. My father said he and his kid brother were allowed to peek in the door once a day to say hello to him and that was it.

When he died, she went back home to a remote farm near Buckhorn, to the Lytle homestead in the barren, craggy land Sears talks about in his novel. She went back to live with an easy-going father and three brawling, black Irish

brothers. She would giggle like a school-girl when she told of them travelling into Lindsay or Peterborough, coming home with clothes tattered, bloody and bruised, from battles in the hotels and taverns dotted like a string of beads through the rural countryside and the towns.

They spent much of the winter in the lumber camps which were full of an incredible array of fiesty characters and poignant personalities.

Sears sets his novel in the mythical county of Brule, a harsh area of central Ontario which has to be a counterpart to either Victoria or Peterborough counties — perhaps the southern edge of Haliburton County — and refers to Lindsay where I cut my journalistic teeth. He talks of seeing a waitress reading the *Lindsay Post* which is one of the world's worst daily newspapers today (front page classifieds, yet!). He would have made me happier if he had had his waitress reading the *Lindsay Watchman-Warder*, now dead, but a great weekly in its day. I know because I worked for it when it was still a good weekly 20 years ago.

He names one of the areas in the novel Longford which is part of north Victoria County. Longford Township, named from a county in Leinster, Ireland, is the most northerly township in Victoria County dotted with about 40 lakes. Unfortunately, it is today a classic example of how Canada is being taken over by Americans. The entire township was

The quotes left out of Colombo's Quotations

John Robert Colombo's debilitating three-year battle with publisher Mel Hurtig to get the spunky publisher to leave Colombo's name in the title meant that Hurtig in turn was able to make Colombo an offer he couldn't refuse . . . "Okay, okay, John," said Mel, "we'll go with your name, but this other shit's gotta come out."

Last Post writers Patrick MacFadden and Rae Murphy have been given exclusive access to the offending passages . . .

* * *

"Whoop, eh?"

—*Canadian Whooping Crane*

"Not tonight, I gotta headache."

—*Xaviera Hollander*

"Naw, I'm gettin' too old for that stuff."

—*George Hees*

"How long's this fuckin' Yonge Street anyways?"

—*William Lyon MacKenzie*

"Hey, if we hurry we can get another beer down Queen Street, eh?"

—*overheard in Montgomery's Tavern*

"We must first make a radical analysis of the bourgeois State and then we must proceed, in a word, to smash it; then we must put it together again in an orderly fashion in order to create something rather wonderful, a place in which our children, etc., etc. . . ."

—*Chief One Drum, leader of well-known Irish-Catholic tribe, the Mic-Macs*

"Been nice talkin' to ya."

—*Barbara Frum*

"The buck stops here."

—*Hiawatha*

"Wogs begin at Nanaimo."

—*Pocahontas*

"Tu Whit Tu Who!"

—*Grey Owl*

"Paramount Pictures speaks with forked tongue."

—*Chief Dan George*

"Jeeze, you know, it hasn't changed much. The agent still takes 10%."

—*Chief Dan George*

"This is going to be a terrible lesson for me, Officer."

—*Louis Riel*

"Lissen, can I cop a plea? Howsabout we settle for one

charge of impaired shooting?"

—*Louis Riel*

"Jes' top it up."

—*Sir John A. MacDonald*

* * *

"Well, don't you like milkmaids?"

—*Sir Robert Borden*

"Drinks for the House!"

—*Edgar Bronfman*

"Make mine Manischewitz."

—*Marc Lalonde*

"Let's go out, get a few squid and jig 'em."

—*Joey Smallwood*

"Let's win this one for the Kipper!"

—*Joey Smallwood*

"What on earth do you mean, driver, *only* Belleville?"

—*Susanna Moodie*

"Shit is it ever cold . . ."

—*Margaret Atwood*

"What is this Chateau Laurier of which you speak, oh my brother?"

—*Wally Firth*

"How do you mean, by force or violence?"

—*Eric the Red*

"Why C.B.C.? Oh, I don't know . . . I suppose the alternative was Kung Fu movies."

—*Adrienne Clarkson*

"Transplant? You must be kidding."

—*Brother André*

"Can't we just sit down and talk about this like gentlemen?"

—*Harold Ballard*

"Dyva have one wid a sauna?"

—*Harold Ballard*

"Ouch!"

—*Norman Bethune*

"Okay, I know I said I'd do house calls, but this is ridiculous!"

—*Norman Bethune*

"Why don't you try to get some sleep, honey?"

—*Pierre Trudeau*

"Viewpoint is a free expression of opinion, I enjoy receiving yours. Sort of."

—*Earl Cameron*

bought in 1928 by a corporation of sportsmen and cottagers whose office address since 1933 has been in Cleveland, Ohio. Friends of mine in Coboconk tell me that the entire township is posted with "no trespassing" signs and entrance roads to the area are blocked by chains with locks on them.

In his preface, Sears candidly admits that the episodic nature of his book reflects slices of life as he knew it from

that part of his boyhood spent growing up in Ontario.

The characters are real enough to anyone who has taken the time to listen to oldsters talking about the 1920's and 30's in rural Ontario, especially if those oldsters weren't descendants of the much-touted United Empire Loyalists who did play a great part in making Tory Ontario. But those fey Irishmen who came here because they were starving or

persecuted for their religious beliefs made just as much a contribution as those staid, for-king-and-country loyalists.

As suggested by Sears, the characters in *The Lark in the Clear Air* were not pioneers but descendants of pioneers. They were the men and women who built the railroads, the canals, the corduroy-then-gravel roads and stayed to settle the back country. Many of them got stuck with near useless land at the

edge of the Canadian Shield full of blowholes and salleygad swamps. They mingled freely with the handful of Indians still left in the bush, those who wouldn't go to the reserves, and eked out a living, fiercely independent, until the cottagers and the yankees took over.

Few of them understood that their rugged farms would become the Land of Smiling Lakes and Sky Blue Waters, populated now by fat city folks outlandishly dressed during the summer months.

Sears has captured the era before the vacationers came in a robust and earthy novel that can certainly be considered a contribution to the history of Ontario. It may never be considered a great con-

tribution but it sure is honest.

It parallels the stories I heard from my grandmother in her melodious blarney in the years before she died. And Mick Mulcahy, one of the major characters in the book, is the image I have of those brawling great-uncles my father talked about when he had a few slugs of Irish whiskey in him.

Odd-balls in those days were not the exception and Sears sprinkles them through his entire novel with wonderful abandon in a refreshing contrast to the dullness in centennial histories. After a bout of story-telling one night I remember my grandmother saying that the family had no skeletons in the closet because the skeletons had taken over the

house and the righteous members of the family were forced to live in the closets. My father laughed and said the family had no closets either because they had nothing to hang in them.

I'm envious, too, because Sears is a journalist with a background similar to mine and he's about the same age. He held jobs as a policeman, cow-puncher, lumberjack, carpenter, farmhand and bridge operator and now toils somewhere in the bowels of the *Kingston Whig-Standard*. He has done what most newspapermen only dream of doing. He has written a book, a helluva good book. Although fiction, it comes closer to the truth as I know it than anything else I've read about rural Ontario.

I hope he writes another. And soon.

A General waits in the wings

by ERIC HAMOVITCH

Portugale o futuro (Portugal and the Future), by Antonio de Spínola. Available in Canada in French translation: *Le Portugal et son avenir*. Flammarion/Paris. 233 pp. \$6.50.

When 48 years of Portuguese fascism came tumbling down on April 25 last year with hardly a shot fired, one of the central figures in the coup was a crusty, monocled general named Antonio de Spínola. Judging by the accounts which appeared in some Canadian newspapers, one had the impression that the general was a fiery liberal democrat and an implacable opponent of colonialism, almost a revolutionary.

Actually, de Spínola was a man of impeccable night-wing credentials: he had supported Franco against the republicans, he fought with the Nazis on the eastern front, and he was decorated for his bloody assaults against African freedom fighters, prior to becoming colonial governor of Guinea-Bissau.

Discouraged by Portugal's poor military showing in southern Africa and appalled by the mother country's great economic weakness, de Spínola published a book in February 1974 calling for reforms in Portuguese political structures and *alterations* of colonial ties; this led to his dismissal by the then president Marcelo Caetano, now in exile. A few weeks later he was to resurface as titular head of the Armed Forces Movement, which supplanted the government in a bloodless coup.

That the publication of *Portugal and the Future* should have led to the disgrace of its author is less an indication of anything very radical in the book than of the closed and fossilized nature of public life in pre-coup Portugal. In stating that Portugal was one of the poorest countries in Europe (only Albania is poorer) and that the colonial wars were turning in favour of the Africans, he was only stating what was obvious to almost everyone outside Portugal but which was in contradiction with official dogma.

Portugal's diplomatic isolation disturbed de Spínola, as did the needless sacrifices imposed upon the population by the colonial wars and the massive emigration of Portuguese workers. Part of the solution, he felt, lay in the transformation of Portugal's political and economic structures to conform more closely with conventional western models.

As for the colonies, the independence agreements recently negotiated with Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola were not what he had in mind. Complete independence was one of the extremes to be avoided, he felt, the opposite extreme being the maintenance of colonial ties through increasingly costly military means. The intermediate solution he envisaged was the creation of what he called a "Lusiad Community", a sort of decentralized federation in which Portugal and its ex-colonies would form a political union on a basis of equality, bound by a common (Por-

tuguese) heritage! This would, he thought, form a viable unit and help restore Portugal to its proper place in the world.

General de Spínola was overtaken by events, and five months after coming to office, he yielded the presidency to another general, Francisco Da Costa Gomes, reputedly of socialist leanings. There is some question as to how much power de Spínola held within the Armed Forces Movement, which had been organized and led by officers of middle rank, mainly captains; his obvious divergences with many of his colleagues would suggest that he was not very powerful, and that his selection as leader had been aimed largely at lending respectability to the movement. Hailed as a national hero following the coup in April, de Spínola spoke in his resignation speech in September (in a manner reminiscent of de Gaulle) of the inevitability of "crisis and chaos" following his departure, a prophecy not to be taken lightly.

Despite its many weaknesses, *Portugal and the Future* is an important book. While it is easy for us to look upon de Spínola as an outmoded conservative, his ideas were relatively progressive in the stifling context of the Salazar-Caetano era. It is somehow refreshing to see a book, even a mediocre one, play such a decisive if indirect role in a major train of events. How many political books have been written in recent years that have had any perceptible effect upon anything?

Everyone's afraid of everyone

by WAYNE EDMONSTONE

Something Happened, by Joseph Heller. Knopf. 569 pp. \$10.

"Brilliance," the American critic Louise Kronenberger once wrote, is like lightning."

"Either it flashes — or it flashes and hits something; whatever happens, there is not much to investigate."

Since the publication of his first novel, *Catch 22*, author Joseph Heller has produced only a few magazine pieces and a play titled (rather prophetically as it turned out) "We Bombed in New Haven."

Now, 13 years after his initial success — and about the time when critics were beginning to wonder aloud whether he had it in him to produce another big book — Heller has come up with *Something Happened*, an imaginative, mordant, and stunningly brilliant work which must rank as the major U.S. novel of the decade.

In its own way, the book is a novel of manners and social criticism ... a lengthy and convoluted interior monologue told through the person of Bob Slocum, an "organization man" who is gradually, and aching being organized out of his humanity.

"I suppose it is just about impossible for someone like me to rebel anymore ..." Slocum says early in the book, in reference to the nameless company where he's slithering up the ladder to "success". "I have lost the power to upset things that I had as a child; I can no longer change my environment or even disturb it seriously. They would simply fire and forget me as soon as I tried. They would file me away."

On the surface, Slocum has it made, in the traditional North American middle class sense of the word: good job ... an attractive wife who is still attracted to him (though she drinks too much ... and flirts with his friends), a teenage daughter and two sons (one, however, retarded) and a virtual harem of office girls for extracurricular slap and tickle.

Yet beneath it, Slocum feels unspoken, unspeakable, fear:

At work, where he watches (and participates) in the corporate gutter fighting for a more powerful position:

"In my department, there are six people who are afraid of me, and one small secretary who is afraid of all of us. I have one other person working for me who is not afraid of anyone, not even me, and I would fire him quickly, but I'm afraid of him." At home, where he fights with his wife, ignores and badgers his daughter, undermines (and in a penultimate scene which is at once moving and oddly embarrassing quite literally smothered with love) his normal son, and tries to ignore the retarded boy:

"In the family in which I live there are four people of whom I am afraid.

"Three of these four people are afraid of me, and each of these three is also afraid of the other two. Only one member of the family is not afraid of any of the others, and that one is an idiot."

And in life-at-large, where, like Mel Brooks' 2,000 year old man, he sees everything motivated by one kind of fear or another ... to be combatted only by sarcasm and a kind of nervous-tic laughter (ha . . . ha . . . ha . . .) as dead as the canned laughter on a television set.

"Look at me," Slocum says wonderingly at the end of the book, when he's landed the Big Promotion. "I ascend like a condor, while falling to pieces."

And as we wander with Heller through Slocum's relationships and dreams and fantasies and manipulations the realization begins to dawn (slowly and almost teasingly in the beginning ... and then savagely and mercilessly at the climax) that we're in the presence of a man who has so successfully adapted to the perverse norms of the society around him that he's lost himself.

"I often wonder what my true nature is," he muses. "Do I have one?"

In this novel of entropy, and with a character who makes Sartre's hero in *Nausea* look like Errol Flynn and Camus' *L'Étranger* resemble Norman Vincent Peale, it's a credit to the brilliance of Heller's artistry that he has so successfully used the novel form to humanize what is essentially a dehumanized condition.

And in doing so through the person of a man who is suffering from severe psychic disturbance — but whose condition may well be the most common and even normal condition of our time, in an

era when images of napalmed children are glibly digested before the situation comedy and along with the TV dinner — yet managing to retain his character's essential humanity, Heller has achieved an artistic feat of stunning proportions.

Many people, conditioned by the continual movement of the television screen, the almost hysterical brevity and sensation seeking of the press and the action-packed (but essentially escapist) pages of "popular" novels, have already found this a "dull" book, where (contrary to the title), nothing much happens.

Rather, let us say, it is a book which deals like a brilliant flash of lightning with the very elements in our lives which drive us to escapism.

Although Heller sometimes gets a trifle cute in his writing ("It wasn't so bad living in my old man's scrotum, as far as I can recall ... I had a ball") and his Faulkneresque cyclical approach to the narrative can at times be wearing, *Something Happened* still emerges as that increasing rarity ... the work of a "man of letters".

And if there is a God of Broken Marriages and Shattered Dreams ... he must surely mock us all with what Heller can do with his "love scenes" between Slocum and his wife.

Like this ending to the chapter titled "My Wife is Unhappy":

"... I am the one who now wiggles from and rises from the bed to close and lock the door and extinguish the overhead light.

"You're some girl, I tell her admiringly, after a long, deep embrace during which we are both practically still.

"You did it, she agrees readily, with a boastful laugh, sitting astride me now and rocking back and forth. You made me this way."

And Slocum says to himself: "I can't believe it was all my fault."

Lenin — NO. Trotsky — NO.
Stalin — NO. Mao — NO.
Marx — YES.

Send 50c
for sample literature to
**SOCIALIST PARTY
OF CANADA**
Box 4280, Station A
Victoria, B.C. V8X 3X8

Manpower

by Don McLellan

There are all kinds
of exciting career opportunities
for a young man
with your education
said the man in the green suit

I was in your position once
the man continued
smiling back at me behind his
horn-rimmed glasses on his
clean shaven aqua-velvet face

Then, swaggering down the aisleway
to the Job Placement Board
is the man who was in my position once
singing in a warm bird-like voice:
Good morning Miss McDermot
why, what a lovely dress!
And good morning to you

Mrs. Moody . . .

And turning to me with the enquiry:
Have you seen our other facilities?
The carpets at our Howe street office?
Or what about those legs
at our Dunsmuir location?

Offices very much like this one
with the very same Mrs. Moody
nailed securely to her typewriter
& little men in green suits
pointing triumphantly to a map on the wall
to the jobs that were filled 3 months ago
to the available listings & box numbers
that don't even exist

Perhaps what you really need
is further training he chuckles
You know what a university education
is worth these days . . .

So he draws my attention artfully
to the Training Program brochures
to the 6 month course at Vocational School
in How-To-Be-A-Waitress
And the 12 month course in Auto Mechanics
where students are taught to mend motors
that haven't been made in 5 years

Jobs! Jobs! Jobs!
Good Honest Work!
Clean-Cut Aggressive Young Men
To Fill Executive White Collar Positions
All Company Benefits! & a
24 hour Elevator Service . . .

Jobs! Jobs! Jobs!
Chemists Needed Immediately
To Make Bubbles!
Strong Young Men
Not Afraid of Hard Work
to Melt Snow . . .

And later, outside in the rain
with the 6.5%
who tell their wives it's an off year
that every bust is followed by a boom
lined up right down the block
& around the corner into the alley
Strong young men in patched jeans
hiding in second-hand raincoats
waiting patiently for a food voucher

I'm saying this again
because nobody heard me the first time:
THERE ARE ALL KINDS OF POSSIBILITIES!
And one of them is:
Let this poem be like the rain
pelted the believers with bullets
manufactured & distributed
on the other side of Reality

And let the bullets be
cocked, aimed & fired
by the Manpower waiting in the rain
who walk thru the streets
of their own city
past the towers
that they themselves worked on
shovelling sand or just
nailing up boards
a couple of winters before

Just stop a minute & think
says this man in the green suit
of all the exciting possibilities:
the diamond rings in the window at Birks
& the uniformed guards that surround them
the clothes, the cars, the money
sitting in banks at 9¼%
but locked behind steel doors

Ducking in out of the rain
at one of the entrances to Woodwards
there for people like me
since 1896
Out of the rain & safe
thinking of all the possibilities
when a mannequin with a leaflet comes alive
& suggests that we make a deal . . .

BACK ISSUES

Vol. 1 No. 1: available only to libraries. **\$1.50**

Vol. 1 No. 2: not available

Vol. 1 No. 3: available only to libraries. **\$1.50**

Vol. 1 No. 4: how Time controls the Canadian magazine industry, CPR's attempts to get out of passenger service, and the Ottawa Press Gallery. **\$1.00**

Vol. 1 No. 5:
Special report on the Quebec crisis, 1970
Also, the story of the Maritime fishermen strike, Part I. **\$1.00**

Vol. 1 No. 6: Michel Chartrand profile by his wife, and Canada's economy squeeze: the electrical industry, women, the Maritimes, and Sudbury's labour camps. **\$1.00**

Vol. 1 No. 7: David Lewis and the NDP, the NHL power play, an interview with the IRA chief of staff. **\$1.00**

Vol. 1 No. 8: Jumbo issue ...
Renegade report on poverty ...
prepared by former members of the Senate Committee on Poverty, who resigned in 1971. Also John Munro's youth-speech program, the Arctic war-games, and the N.S. Fishermen, Part II. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2 No. 1: the Canadian press and the Vietnam war, the Lapalme drivers story, and Jim Laxer on Canada's resources. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2 No. 2: the saga of Stompin' Tom Connors, the rural revolt against farm policies and Aislin's best caricatures. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2 No. 3: the story behind the Auto Pact, and five stories on developments in Quebec in the Fall of 1971. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2 No. 4: portrait of Joey Smallwood, and the Ontario Civil Service non-Union. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2 No. 5: Pierre Vallieres, the Toronto Star, the crisis in Canada's book publishing industry, and Trudeau's 'different' ideas on foreign economic domination, written in 1958. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2 No. 6: Jean Marchand's Dept. of Regional Economic Expansion, the May labour revolt that shook Quebec. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2 No. 7: Claude Balloune's 1972 election portraits, the Waffle-NDP war, the Claude Wagner phenomenon, and W. A. C. Bennett's defeat. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2 No. 8: Canadian Driver Pool - professional strikebusters, Canada's plan to invade the U.S., and the pollution of Canadian hockey. **\$1.00**

Vol. 3 No. 1: the politics of separation — report on the Parti Quebecois, and the Science Council of Canada on branch plant technology. **\$0.75**

Vol. 3 No. 2: Canada and Brazil — the Brascan Corporation and the Liberals, and Jim Laxer on the energy crisis. **\$0.75**

Vol. 3 No. 3: the deals behind James Bay, Yvon Dupuis and the Creditistes, Toronto reformers and Ontario's Tories. **\$0.75**

Vol. 3 No. 4: ITT: the experts on Catch-22 move in on Canada, the food prices scandal, and B.C.'s Land Act battle. **\$0.75**

Vol. 3 No. 5: New information on Pierre Laporte, the Mafia and the FLQ crisis; the battle for Phnom Penh; the Haidasz-Ostry affair. **\$0.75**

Vol. 3 No. 6: special section on the military putsch in Chile and the ensuing terror; how the CPR still rules the West. **\$0.75**

Vol. 3 No. 7: The court battle over the James Bay project; Our ambassador's secret cables from Chile; football and drugs; the Last Post Yahoo awards; Aislin's caricatures. **\$0.75**

Vol. 3 No. 8: Bell Canada's scheme for Northern Electric; the tar sands rip-off; Bland Bill, the king of Ontario; Grenada's joyless independence. **\$0.75**

Vol. 4 No. 1: The James Bay explosion; the CLC's orderly transition; oil promoter John Shaheen; the crisis in Trinidad. **\$0.75**

Vol. 4 No. 2: The Hudson Institute in Canada; the housing mess; Jean-Luc Pepin's spirit lives on; the Queenston invasion plot; some people have more shares than others. **\$0.75**

Vol. 4 No. 3: The Mounties' strange activities; Bata's empire; City reformers revisited; Rhodesia's last years; plus news briefs and reviews. **\$0.75**

Vol. 4 No. 4: The food complex; Nova Scotia as the 'power cow'; 'Dr. Strange-oil' in the tar sands; Last Post comics; national and international reports. **\$0.75**

Vol. 4 No. 5: Lougheed and Syncrude: the pollution cover-up; Developing B.C.'s north; Monopolies legislation; the CIA in Canada; Last Post Comics. **\$0.75**

Reduced price for all back issues except Vol. 1 Nos. 1, 2, 3 **\$15.00**

Bulk order discount on any issue except Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2, 3: 30 per cent on orders of 10 or more, 50 per cent on orders of 25 or more.

I enclose:

- \$5 for a 1-year (8-issue) personal subscription (Foreign rate, including U.S., \$7; Institutional rate, \$7)
- \$5 for a 1-year renewal (Foreign rate, including U.S., \$7; Institutional rate, \$7)
- \$_____ for back issues _____
- \$9 for a subscription plus the new Last Post book, Let Us Prey
- \$8.95 for a subscription plus the 2 earlier Last Post books, Corporate Canada and Quebec: A Chronicle
- \$7.95 for a subscription plus Aislin: 150 Caricatures
- \$_____ contribution to the Last Post
- \$50 for a lifetime subscription

ORDER FORM

Send with cheque or money order to:

THE LAST POST
454 King St. West
Suite 302
Toronto, Ontario M5V 1L6

Name _____

Address _____

CONNEXIONS
P.O. BOX 158, STN. "D"
TORONTO, ONT. M5P 3J8

CBC TELEVISION

presents

A NATIONAL FILM BOARD PRODUCTION

ATLANTICANADA

A full evening of entertainment featuring the people
and color of Canada's Maritimes

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9 at 8 P.M.



CBC Television

