

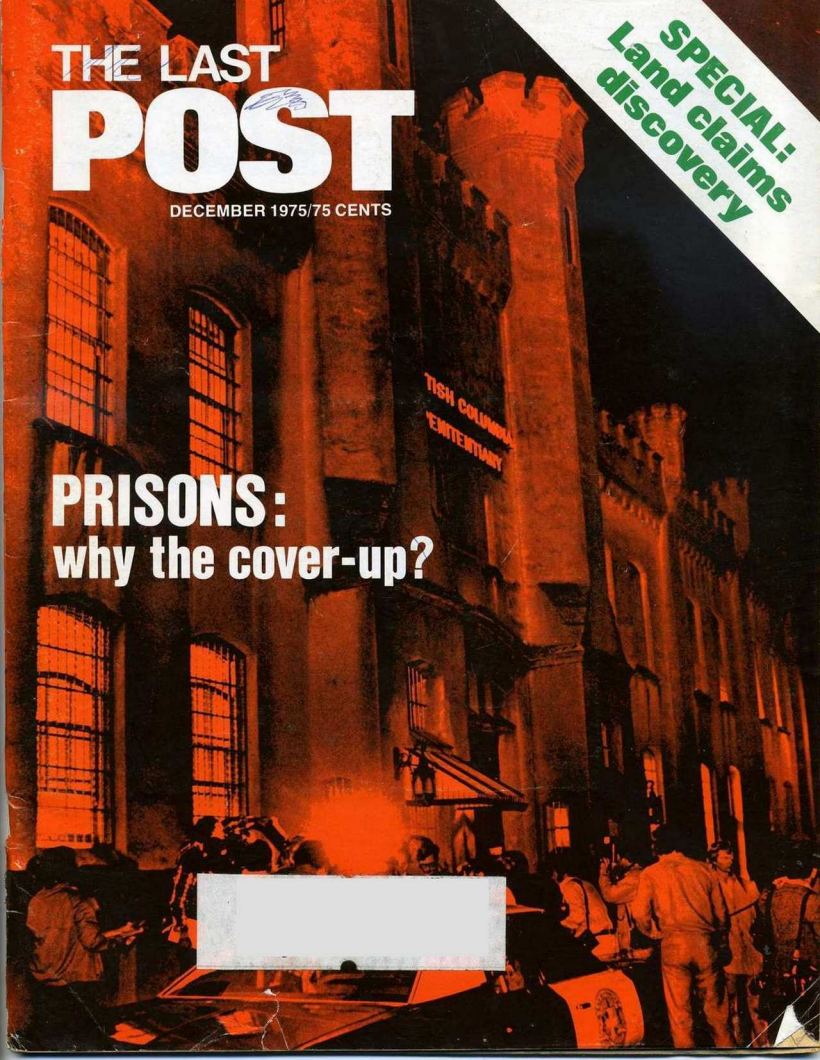
THE LAST POST

DECEMBER 1975/75 CENTS

SPECIAL:
Land claims
discovery

PRISONS:
why the cover-up?

TISH COLUMBIA
ENTERTAINMENT



TIMES ARE TOUGH,
GENTLEMEN! SO
IS THE BIRD...



ANGUS 75.

NEWS ITEM: FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE CALLED IN OTTAWA FOR THANKSGIVING (SIC).

THE LAST POST

December 1975, Vol. 5, No. 2

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THE MONTH

NEW SURVEY SHOWS:

NATIVE PEOPLES USE AND NEED ALL OF THEIR ANCESTRAL LANDS

by WALTER J. TRAPROCK

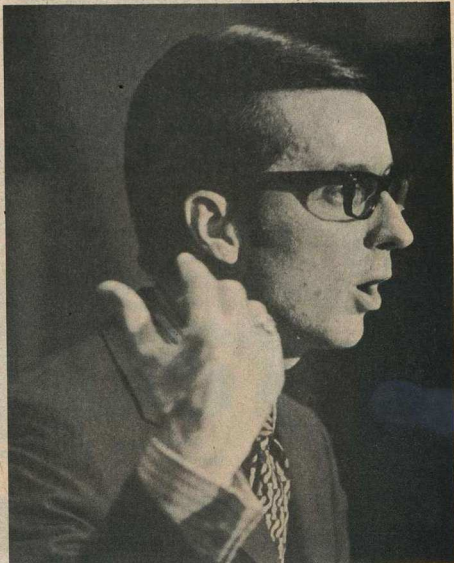
MONTREAL — In 1971, with the resounding, if fatuous, phrase "The future begins tomorrow", Quebec's Premier Robert Bourassa announced the James Bay hydroelectric development project. What he might now point out is that for the province's native peoples, the past ends today. Four years after the inception of the project, Quebec's Cree and Inuit are on the verge of signing an agreement for the full and final extinguishing of their land claims. They are likely to have done so by the time of going to press. It will be just as iniquitous, inequitable and one-sided as any of the nineteenth century treaties.

In planning the James Bay project, mostly for the benefit of the good people of New York State, the Bourassa government did not, in the beginning, take native rights into account at all. Its tune was changed by a well-organized legal and publicity campaign mounted by the James Bay Cree.

By October, 1973, the legal back-and-forth had resulted in an injunction halting all work on the James Bay sites. A week later, the Superior Court reversed that injunction, and the construction and destruction began again. This set-back, although muting the native people's victory, did not turn it into defeat. For what had happened, for the first time, was that the rights of the native peoples had been clearly recognized in court.

Realizing this, the Government of Quebec, the James Bay Energy Corporation (JBEC), the James Bay Development Corporation (JBDC), and Hydro-Quebec, announced that they were now prepared to deal with the Crees.

It was now that government intransigence turned into government pressure, with Ottawa striking the first blow, by letting it be known that although federal money had helped finance the Crees' legal battle ... well, enough was enough.



At first, Bourassa ignored native rights

For the next year, bargaining continued. In October, 1974, negotiators for all the parties — the Government of Quebec, JBEC, JBDC, Hydro-Quebec, the Cree, and the Inuit of Quebec, who would also be affected — announced that they had reached agreement in principle.

The settlement was to include some rights in some land, and cash payments

amounting to about \$150 million. It was hailed as both just and generous. To understand why it is neither, one must go back to 1973, and a separate development that was unfolding in Ottawa and elsewhere.

It was then that Inuit Taparissat of Canada (ITC), the national Eskimo brotherhood, applied for funds to con-

duct a study of land use in the Northwest Territories. In what will no doubt soon be seen by many, if not most, officials at the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs as a colossal blunder, the federal cabinet agreed to make a grant for the study.

What prompted this decision is not known. It may have been taken with the unparalleled success of the Opportunities for Youth and Local Initiatives Projects in mind. Or it may have been the notion that the native peoples, plagued by social scientists, would be less troublesome if they became each other's anthropologists, like Chinese taking in each other's laundry. Or it could have been, as some uncharitable souls have suggested, taken under pressure from Big Oil and other mineral folk who wished to see the damn thing settled once and for all.

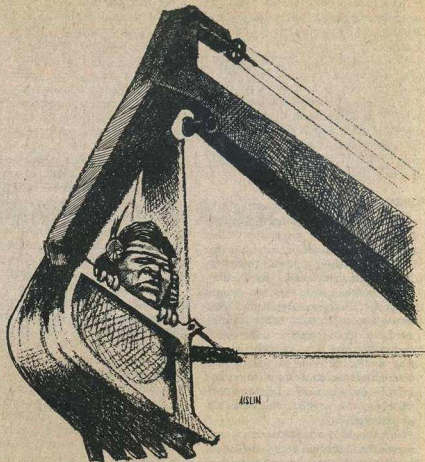
After all, it was around that time that Big Oil found itself in trouble with several of its operations in the North, notably with a seismic sounding project off Banks Island. Seismic sounding involves letting off explosions, and checking the earth's reaction, to see if there are pockets of oil and gas. It turned out that the prosperous and articulate people of the area did not take kindly to having their environment blown to bits without consultation, just as they were planning, as they had done for centuries, to begin hunting the white whale. Particularly so because the whales weren't too happy about it either, and disappeared, meaning that there was no whale hunt that year.

Such tiresome obstacles to progress seemed — and still seem — likely to multiply, especially in view of the various Mackenzie Valley pipeline plans in the works. What could be more useful than a study proving, as everyone had known all along, that most Eskimos were on welfare, and those that weren't soon would be?

In any event, ITC got the grant for a joint ITC/Indian and Northern Affairs research project, and hired Doctor Milton Freeman of McMaster University's Anthropology department to organize it, under the supervision of ITC.

What Freeman, a conscientious scientist, did, was to set up teams of investigators and interpreters, and set out to interview every hunter in the Northwest Territories to find out just who was using what land for what.

His researchers, almost all of them Eskimos, succeeded in all but an insignificant number of cases — those



who could not be found after repeated efforts, the seriously ill, and those unwilling to co-operate because of past experiences with social scientists, civil servants and other nose-y-parkers. For all practical purposes, the study compiled data on every hunter in the 1,304,903 square miles bounded by Aklavik in the West; Port Burwell on Killenok Island off the tip of Labrador in the East; Grise Fjord in the North; and the Belcher Islands in James Bay in the South (the islands of James Bay are in the Territories, not Quebec). An astonishing achievement, considering that the area comprises over one-third of Canada.

With all the data collected, and stored in a computer, the *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study* is now complete and being readied for publication. Its conclusions, which dawned slowly but clearly on the researchers as they compiled it, and on me as I read the manuscript in a hotel room in Ottawa, are clear:

The people of this vast area *used and depend upon today* all of the land their ancestors used and depended upon . . . ALL OF THE LAND.

This finding directly contradicts the assumption under which government,

industry and even northern scholars have been operating — that the North is mostly empty, unused and largely unwanted, except by those who covet the mineral wealth under the land and the sea, as well as, in Quebec's case, the hydroelectric possibilities.

No such study has been done in Quebec, but it's believed that the situation there must be analogous to that in the Northwest Territories. Looked at in this light, the James Bay settlement becomes a good deal less than just and generous.

The agreement in principle provides a cash settlement and certain land rights. Land is divided into categories I, II and III. Category I lands are those immediately surrounding existing communities. Under the agreement, Quebec's Cree and Inuit will get exclusive rights to about 5,000 square miles of Category I land. Exclusive rights are similar to those of municipalities. Category II lands are those in which the native peoples will have exclusive hunting, trapping and fishing rights, and amount to some 60 thousand square miles. Category III lands are the rest, around a quarter-of-a-million square miles in which the native peoples will have no

special rights.

The native peoples are to have no sub-surface rights at all, meaning no ownership of oil or minerals discovered or undiscovered.

What is happening is that people who by all indications use all the land are to get exclusive rights in about two per cent of it, exclusive permission to hunt, trap and fish in 25 per cent of it, and no protection at all against development in the other 73 per cent. And about 150 million bucks . . . a little less than a dollar

Gentlemen's agreement

There are two reasons for this article being the first public discussion of the settlement in a long while. First, the agreement in principle binds all parties to take no legal action until a final settlement is reached. Second, and symptomatically, there was a gentleman's agreement under which the native peoples would stay out of the press on the issue, in return for which the Quebec government would provide a variety of scientific and statistical information unavailable elsewhere. That information probably never existed, and certainly was never delivered.

What should also be made clear is that between the injunction against the James Bay project (1973) and the agreement in principle (1974), the proposed settlement changed from covering the land affected by the project to being the full and final extinguishing of all native land claims in Quebec north of the 55th parallel, and any south of that arising from the project. This means that if the agreement is finalized, the Quebec Government will never again have to trouble itself with native rights or land claims.

Understandably, Bourassa is eager to get the thing signed, sealed and delivered. The government negotiator, John Ciaccia (former federal assistant deputy minister of Indian Affairs, and remembered in Quebec as being one of the two government members of the National Assembly to vote against Bourassa's Official Language Act, Bill 22) has been told to present the final agreement for cabinet approval soon. Negotiators for the Cree and Inuit were strongly urged to have it signed before October 18.

Why October 18? Well, that's when Bourassa was off to Iran and to Europe to get more money for the various grandiose projects, including James Bay, that the province has in train. He has to go there because, since the financial falterings of New York City, Quebec's tradi-

tional sources of foreign investment have all but dried up. Bourassa's messengers said he wouldn't be back before Ciaccia's mandate ran out in November, and that any settlement reached after then would have a hard time getting cabinet approval.

In fact, it's been intimated that unless the final agreement is signed now, future negotiations will be on the basis of a much less generous settlement. In the order of 90 per cent less.

This extreme pressure to settle and settle fast is disproportionate to say the least, since the agreement will affect Quebec's native peoples for at least as many millennia in the future as they have already been living on the land.

One weapon that the government has been using has been a wedge driven between the two native groups affected, the Cree and the Inuit. Faced with the government's stated determination to go ahead with the project whether there is a settlement or not, the Cree, being the most immediately affected, are more willing to sign; the Inuit, whose lands will be devastated later, are more willing to wait. Both groups, however, are clear that this nefarious tactic has not seriously ruptured their solidarity, and that any difference in their positions could be resolved in short order, were it not for the government pressure on the time factor.

All of this points to the likelihood that by the time this magazine reaches the newsstands, the James Bay land claims will have been settled, despite the findings of the *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study*. But there are questions for the future, and land claims in the rest of Canada.

Buchanan reacts

The Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Judd Buchanan, reacted strongly to the recent declaration of the Dene Manifesto, a document stating the aims of native peoples in the Northwest Territories. Buchanan wrongly denounced the Manifesto, which is named for the word meaning People common to most northern native languages, as a separatist document, and said that all future land claims would be based on the James Bay settlement.

So, a bad deal, made under pressure and without sufficient knowledge of what was being sold, is to become the precedent for all future land claims. It would be better if the minister responsible for Canada's native peoples recognized the James Bay settlement for what it is — the latest chapter in a long history of exploitation — and set a new precedent based on the accurate, if startling, findings of the *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study*, which, incidentally,

IF THE CAP FITS, WEAR IT

September 2nd, 1975

Mr. S.M. Gossage,
Chairman,
Metric Commission,
Bonaventure Bldg.,
301 Elgin Street,
Ottawa, Ontario

Dear Mr. Gossage:

As a consultant to a small rubber manufacturing firm specializing in the production of personal prophylactic devices, I am most interested to learn about how metrication will affect my client's operation.

Metrication of my client's products should pose few major hurdles if an early enough start is made in conversion.

Hopefully your office can provide us with some indication how these changes may be effected.

Looking forward to an early reply, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Robert U. Burr

have been known, in a general way, in Quebec for some months.

At press time, the situation of the study is that it's ready for submission to Inuit Taparistat, who will pass it on to the Social Development Division of the Territorial and Social Development Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, which will then pass it on to the department's publications branch, which will then give it to

Information Canada, which will print it.

The time all that will take is anyone's guess, but one might guess it's plenty of time to build half a dozen pipelines, a dam or two, a brace of natural gas and oil wells and a United States air force base, with time left over for the Taj Mahal, the Hanging Gardens of Babylon and the Colossus of Rhodes thrown in.

If I were Inuit Taparistat of Canada, I'd release it right away.

UNSOLICITED TESTIMONIAL

"There is a certain pathos in the decline of William Davis. The days of the old regime are numbered and the bugles are sounding the Last Post."

— Ont. NDP leader Stephen Lewis, quoted in the *Toronto Sun*, September 19, 1975

SASKATCHEWAN'S INDIANS:

PLAYING THE HONEST BROKER GAME

by DENNIS GRUENDING

REGINA — Red Power. Elsewhere in the country the very mention of the words is beginning to have the evocative ability to send chills down white spines, conjuring scenes of rifle-toting young Indians occupying a park or battling with police on that hill in Ottawa.

That kind of tension does not exist here. If the Indian politicians tote anything, it is a briefcase, and their only battleground is the shiny conference table.

The content and style of Indian politics in Saskatchewan is set by Chief David Ahenakew and the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians. Brusque and crew-cutted, Ahenakew runs the show like the army officer which he was. He, his executive officers and some of the chiefs from the province's Indian bands are involved in a constant round of meeting, negotiating and travel to and from Ottawa, where the federal department of Indian Affairs controls the purse strings which keep the reserves, and the FSI, afloat.

Old organization

The federation is an old organization which was rejuvenated by Ahenakew and his cohorts in the 1960s. In Ottawa and Regina it is accepted as the voice of Saskatchewan's 43,000 treaty Indians.

Over the past 10 years the federation has developed its thrust by hammering away at the same points time and again. Indians must maintain their special status as promised in the various treaties and enshrined in the Indian Act. The Indian reserve system must continue to be the focus for cultural and economic development, and the elected chief and council must continue to be the most local level of government for the reserves.

In style, Ahenakew and his followers play the honest Indian broker game. Their rhetoric is strident, but consists mainly of criticizing Indian Affairs at administrative and policy levels. They deplore violence in general, and specifically, they deplore Indian caravans to Ottawa. At the same time they use violence elsewhere to hold out a vague threat that even responsible Indian organizations, relying upon the (proper) channels of communication and negotiation, will not be able to keep the lid on much longer if they are not heard in Ottawa.

New thrust needed

No doubt there is some legitimacy in the federation's attempts to move Indian Affairs and to consolidate its position with the government as the voice of the province's Indian people. Since the responsibility for Indian people rests with the federal government, predominantly with the Indian Affairs department, it is natural the department should be the object of the federation's interest.

But the government has been "negotiating" for a hundred years and it knows just how to deal with a group which arrives briefs in hand to follow Robert's rules of order.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the time has come for the federation to change both its thrust and its style. In 10 years it has developed a cadre of articulate and ambitious people. But even while it is a policy organization, the FSI's politics have remained vague and meek.

There are the constant criticisms of Indian Affairs, the calls for Judd Buchanan's resignation, the refusal to accept a regional director appointed by the department for Saskatchewan. But there has been an inability or a reluctance to analyze what it is, in a capitalist soci-

ety, which creates and maintains poverty and misery among the Indian people.

While unemployment runs at more than 70 per cent among the Indian work force in Saskatchewan, the FSI would sit down with the mandarins in Ottawa to re-negotiate the Indian Act. While the FSI argues for the retention of the reserve system, there is a continuing exodus of Indians from those reserves to the cities of Prince Albert, Saskatoon and Regina.

The reserves will continue to be the home of a majority of Indian people for years to come, but there is no way that the reserves, even if they were developed to their full economic potential, could support the population living on them now. They certainly will not be able to support an Indian population which is expected to double within 25 years.

Clearly, the federation should be doing everything it can to get economic development going, but that initiative has not been forthcoming with the exception of some successful farming and ranching experiments.

Migration to cities

While the federation concentrates upon the reserves, it is estimated that as many as 15,000 treaty Indians have already migrated to the cities in search of the good life which isn't there.

That suits Indian Affairs because once an Indian lives in a city for a year, the responsibility for his well-being shifts from Indian Affairs to the province. Both governments have shown a great reluctance to accept Indian citizens as their responsibility, and those who need help in the cities are shunted back and forth in a mad game of bureaucratic musical chairs.

In the cities, particularly in Regina, which has a population of about 30,000 Indian and Metis people, the racial tension is mounting. The housing situation

here is the tightest in Canada and there are countless stories of discrimination in housing.

Recently there have been parlour brawls in the city core and police have sent in a special night squad for the downtown area. Native spokesmen have warned that such a move will only increase racial tensions. Their desire for a special native patrol to stop trouble before it begins has been turned down by police and civic officials.

The FSI has a good reason not to be too interested in Indians in the cities. Indian Affairs would be happy enough to send them all to the urban areas as a final solution to the "Indian problem" on the reserves. That would also take care of the treaty rights, land claims, and the special

status.

Yet, as the only powerful organization speaking for Indians, the FSI clearly does have a responsibility for the people who leave their reserves for the cities.

There are some indications that the FSI is going beyond policy matters to take action in specific problem areas. With the federation's support, the Thunderchild Indian band in west central Saskatchewan has pressured and cajoled Indian Affairs to finance renovations of old buildings for a school on the Thunderchild reserve. The Indian children were doing poorly in an integrated school in a neighbouring white town and more than 100 of them had to be pulled out of the school for a year before the band got the department's co-operation

in a reserve school. There are similar school experiments occurring on several other provincial reserves.

The FSI has also established the Indian Cultural College in Saskatoon. Its main thrust is cultural and educational. Among other things, the college trains Indian teachers who will staff the reserve schools which are planned.

Despite these modestly hopeful signs, the FSI has yet to make many of the clear ideological choices which seem inevitable given the situation of the Indian population.

The game has been the politics of moderation, but it is a fine line which separates the politics of moderation from the politics of subservience.

WAGE/PRICE CONTROLS: OTTAWA LAUNCHES ATTACK ON WAGES

by ERIC HAMOVITCH

OTTAWA — Not many people like inflation. For some it is a mild annoyance, for others a source of real hardship. Almost everyone would like to see it reduced, provided the cure is no more

serious than the illness. One of the questions now being asked across Canada is whether the illness is any worse than the cure announced by the prime minister in his Thanksgiving Day address, and whether indeed the measures announced will act as a serious remedy.

Bank of Canada Governor Gerald Bouey, who is known to hold generally conservative economic views, stated recently that high prices have a far more direct effect in spurring wage increases than wages have on prices. Figures published in the Department of Finance *Economic Review* show that labour cost per unit of output increased by 12.6 per cent in 1974, running just slightly ahead of the cost of living increase, but at the same time profits per unit of output increased by 23.9 per cent. Nor was 1974 an isolated year: in the three-year period ended in 1974, labour cost per unit of output rose by 24.5 per cent, while profits per unit of output shot up by 80.2 per cent. No doubt the figures for the first three quarters of 1975 will tell a different story since wages have risen and profits have levelled off, but to attack wages as the prime source of inflation is to attack the symptoms rather than the cause of inflation.

But attacking wages is precisely what the government has set out to do. Although a number of exceptions have already been granted, the 42 per cent of the labour force covered by the controls are required to hold their wage increases to 10 per cent for the next year, and those not directly covered are expected to abide by the guidelines anyway. Those earning near the minimum wage are to be allowed an increase of only \$600, while those near the top of the income scale will be allowed \$2400 plus whatever additional amounts their accountants can fiddle for them.



Trudeau: how will he share out the loaf?

Wages and fixed salaries are far easier to control and monitor than other forms of income. The possibilities for hidden raises in the forms of increased fringe benefits and improved working conditions hardly compare in scope with the means which exist for disguising increases in profits, commissions and professional fees.

How the government plans to control prices is not abundantly clear at the time of writing. What the government has done is to set up an unwieldy Rube Goldberg apparatus which shows every sign of being incapable of dealing with its assigned task. New housing and unprocessed foods are apparently to be exempt from controls. Price increases in other goods and services will have to be justified before the Anti-Inflation Review Board, but the number and size of price increases will be limited only by the imagination of the accountants employed in conjuring up increased costs to be invoked as justification. Furthermore, consumer prices can be raised through the surreptitious expedient of reducing quality — who's going to bother counting the peanuts in a chocolate bar? We have wage controls; do we have price controls?

Income controls have a chequered history in Canada. Robert Stanfield, apparently underterred by the meagre success of the U.S. experiment or by the disastrous consequences of British Tory policy, made this his chief election plank in 1974, calling for a 90-day wage and price freeze to be followed afterward by controls. However, the idea of having their incomes frozen did not appeal to wage-earners who had recently suffered a drop in their buying power, and the Liberals, who ran a campaign based on opposition to controls, profited handsomely at the polls.

But the idea was not allowed to die. In recent months Canadians were subjected to a flurry of newspaper editorials and

LAST POST AWARD FOR CREATIVE CASTING

Actor Mark Frechette (who starred in Antonioni's 'Zabriskie Point') is serving time for an attempted bank robbery. He's directing the inmate 'actors' as they play the roles of former President Nixon and his co-stars in the Watergate tapes.

— *Baltimore Evening Sun*, May 26, 1975



Pepin: businessmen's friend at the helm

chamber of commerce declarations clamouring for a statutory incomes policy. Leading business people, conservative economists like former Deputy Finance Minister Simon Reisman, and provincial politicians like Manitoba Premier Ed Schreyer (who really ought to know better) joined the clamour. And many of those who had earlier pooh-poohed the idea began to take it seriously.

At the time of John Turner's resignation from the cabinet, it was rumoured that he had quit partly because his colleagues could not be convinced of the immediate need for an incomes policy. In replying to Turner's letter of resignation, Trudeau noted that there had been no policy disagreements between the two men, but such an observation would have been more convincing coming from the pen of Mr. Turner. Turner's true motives for leaving may never be known; unlike Messrs Hellyer and Kierans, he did not specify his disagreements (if indeed he has any convictions stronger than his urge for self-aggrandizement).

Turner was hailed in some circles as a white knight, a hero of the anti-inflation struggle, who had set out to restrain government spending and to curtail excessive wage increases, and who was frus-

trated in his aims by a misguided leadership in Ottawa. Before this hero-worship is carried too far, it should be pointed out that when Turner became minister of finance 515,000 Canadian workers were unemployed and the consumer price index was increasing at an annual rate of 4.8 per cent. Three-and-a-half years later, at the time of his resignation, unemployment stood at 736,000 and inflation was running at 12 per cent. The blame rests only partially on Turner's shoulders, but the myth of his economic wizardry should not be allowed to get out of hand.

But Turner's departure undermined confidence in the government in some sectors. Trudeau continued to insist, quite correctly, that there existed no consensus between business and labour on effective means of reducing inflation. However, the clamour for controls continued unabated, and Trudeau finally caved in and drew up a program which was at least acceptable to large parts of the business community.

The government admits that it faces a serious problem in selling the program, and it isn't going to be easy. The person in charge is the new finance minister, Donald Macdonald, who during his period as energy minister gave the big oil

companies most of what they asked for, which was considerable. The head of the Anti-Inflation Review Board is Jean-Luc P  pin, who as minister of industry, trade and commerce prior to 1972 became closely associated with the corporate sector and has since sat on the boards of several of the large corporations which benefitted from his department's largesse. Corporate Affairs Minister Andr   Ouellet also has major responsibilities. These are hardly the best people to sell the program to organized labour, which has reacted with initial hostility.

Organized labour is resisting the controls plan because it has no reason to trust the Liberals to implement it in a manner that does not hurt those on middle and

CHRONOLOGY FOR BEGINNERS

Thursday, Oct. 2, 1975: The federal cabinet meets and is given a general outline of the wage and price controls.

Tuesday, Oct. 7: Loblaw's opens with all their new price increases labelled on the shelves; 30 sheets of price increases have been sent out; the normal average is six sheets.

Thursday, Oct. 9: The federal cabinet meets and approves the final version of the wage and price controls.

— *Toronto Globe & Mail, Oct. 22, 1975*

lower incomes in the ongoing struggle for a larger share of the economic pie. Wages and salaries as a proportion of the GNP fell to an eight-year low in 1974, and only began to recover late in the year. Moreover, wage controls rob unions of much of their power by seriously

diminishing their ability to bargain for higher wages for their members.

Part of the clamour for controls was caused by figures showing Canadian wage increases running well ahead of those in the U.S. Wage increases ranging between 15 and 20 per cent a year be-

BRYCE COMMISSION: STACKING THE DECK FOR BUSINESS

by ERIC HAMOVITCH

OTTAWA — Big business has become increasingly concerned about its faltering public image. One of the more tangible manifestations of this concern recently was a \$500,000 advertising campaign which treated Canadian newspaper readers to a series of ten almost full-page "interviews" with top executive officers of some of this country's largest corporations who, not surprisingly, extolled the virtues of big business and vigorously denied that their record profits were causing inflation or that high levels of concentration in some industries were harming competition.

The objective of this program was "to help restore balance to the Canadian society by attempting to rebuild trust and confidence in the business sector among the general public". The Winnipeg-based Investors' Group, which organized the program, entrusted its execution to the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, a U.S.-owned firm which achieved a certain notoriety in Britain last April when it became widely known that CIA agents were being allowed to masquerade as Thompson staff in London.

Investors' and the other participating companies were reacting to widespread public concern about the growing size and power of some corporations. When Power Corporation attempted to take over control of Argus Corporation, which would have resulted in a merger of

two already large and powerful holding companies, the federal government decided on April 22 to set up a Royal Commission to inquire into the concentration of corporate power in Canada.

The commission has been mandated "to inquire into, report upon, and make recommendations concerning: the nature and role of major concentrations of corporate power in Canada; the economic and social implications for the public interest of such concentrations; and whether safeguards exist or may be required to protect the public interest in the presence of such concentrations."

Business fears unfounded

Early fears on the part of the business community that this commission would take sweeping inquisitorial powers unto itself and further wear down business's public image appear at this stage to be largely unfounded. In fact, there is little in the backgrounds of the three commissioners or in their recent public statements that need be of concern to business.

Commission chairman **Robert Broughton Bryce** was clerk of the privy council, the highest of civil service posts, from 1954 to 1963. Later, as deputy minister of finance, he was Ottawa's economic czar from 1963 to 1970, during which period the government yielded to corporate pressure and watered down the Carter Commission recommendations on the implementation

of a capital gains tax. He has subsequently served as executive director of the International Monetary Fund, whose close links with some of the largest multinational corporations have been well documented.

Pierre Nadeau is a former vice-president of IAC Ltd. (Industrial Acceptance Corporation), Canada's largest sales finance company, with assets at the end of 1974 totalling \$2,139,457,000. Through a long series of acquisitions, mergers and consolidations, IAC has absorbed a large number of finance, realty and insurance companies, and now wants to become a chartered bank. From IAC Nadeau went on to become president of the Quebec government-owned James Bay Development Corporation, which has control over the vast hydroelectric, mineral and timber resources of an area larger than France. He resigned after a year, claiming political interference, and became president of Petrofina Canada Ltd., the 70 per cent owned Canadian subsidiary of a large Belgian multinational oil company. Nadeau also sits on the board of the Royal Bank of Canada.

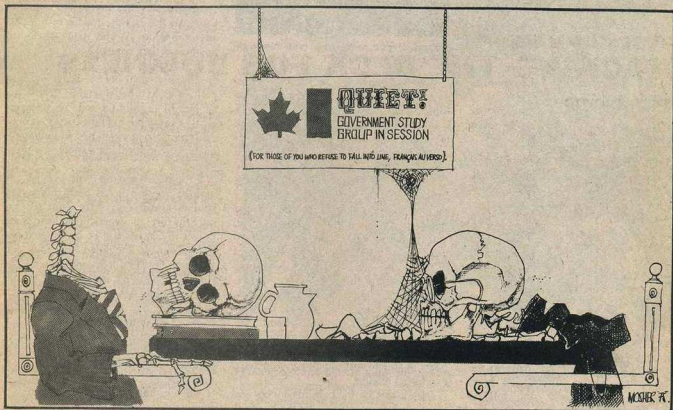
Robert Dickerson was a staff member of the Carter Commission on Taxation, and later became leader of the task force set up to develop proposals for the new federal Business Corporations Act. The study prepared by Dickerson dealt mainly with minor technicalities and did not propose any fundamental

came common here as workers reaching the end of multi-year contracts tried to recoup their lost buying power and to protect themselves against future inflation. U.S. labour leaders have consented to lower settlements because they are more prone to accept conservative economic doctrine than their Canadian counterparts and because the U.S. administration has for several years been painting a gloomy economic picture, whereas successive Canadian finance ministers presented a rosy view of the state of the economy. There were fears that the higher Canadian settlements would seriously harm our competitive position on international markets, but the rise in the U.S. price index has been only marginally less than Canada's, which

only confirms that wages chase prices rather than vice versa.

In assessing the value of income controls, it is worth asking not only if they will be effective, but for whom they will be effective. Without substantially cutting inflation, Trudeau's tight money policy of 1969-71 led to massive unemployment, the main brunt of which was borne by people toward the lower end of the income scale. The recent increase in the prime lending rate, which will push up mortgage rates on much needed housing, is somehow supposed to reduce inflation. And now Trudeau has embarked on a new set of policies which, by all appearances, will further widen the gap between rich and poor in the guise of anti-inflation measures.

Perhaps one of the prime motives behind the controls policy was to allow the federal and provincial governments to appear to be doing something, whether or not it works. There seem to be more professional opinions of the effects of the U.S. program than there are professional economists, and we have only begun to hear professional opinions about the likely success or failure of the Canadian program. If inflation happens to fall, the federal government can pat itself on the back; if not, it can call for stronger measures. Goodness knows that Trudeau needs something to cover up his dismal legislative record. Apart from income controls, the most spectacular achievement of this year's parliamentary session has been the summer adjournment.



changes in the rights, powers or responsibilities of corporations. He practises law with the Vancouver corporate law firm of Farris, Vaughan, Wills and Murphy. The Farris family has had strong Liberal Party connections for three generations, and John L. Farris, current head of the firm, was named Chief Justice of the B.C. Court of Appeals by Trudeau in 1972. More recently he was chosen to head the B.C. penitentiary inquiry (see page 25). Major clients of the firm include B.C. Telephone, which together with Bell Canada has been pushing for a

guaranteed annual rate increase formula; Kelly, Douglas, part of the Weston conglomerate; Pacific Petroleum, which is involved in a joint tar-sands venture with Nadeau's Petrofina; the Toronto-Dominion Bank, and a number of other large corporations.

Whether to entice business cooperation or for other motives, the three Royal Commissioners appointed by the prime minister seem to be leaning over backwards to see to it that the corporate viewpoint receives a more than fair hearing.

"A lot of business people," Bryce told the *Financial Times*, "feel they have a good case to put across. They are not sure it is getting across and are concerned that they are always on the defensive, and only able to respond to criticism. The Commission will give them an opportunity."

Nadeau, whom the *Financial Times* labelled "big business's Bryce commissioner", has been more emphatic. "I see this as the greatest opportunity that the private sector has had or will have in many, many years — and maybe the last

opportunity businessmen will have — to ventilate a bit, to open up the windows and to destroy the myth that exists among the news media, the people at large and the politicians that big business — or business period — is bad," he told the *Times*.

Dickerson is of like mind. "Businessmen always seem to choose the wrong people as their spokesmen," he said to the *Vancouver Sun*. "Perhaps by explaining their position before the commission that situation will change and people will gain a better insight of what business is all about."

While there may well be a role to be played on the commission by even the most ardent business sympathizer, there is also a case to be put for aiming at some sort of balance. By not naming anyone to the commission from organized labour, from the consumer protection movement or from some other sector which may be expected to have at least a mildly anti-business bias, the government has compromised the credibility of the commission in the eyes of many observers.

Nor does the commission staff appear to be entirely neutral. **Martin Freedman**, commission legal counsel, is a partner in the Winnipeg corporate law firm of Aikins, MacAuley and Thorvaldson, and most of his clients have been corporations.

David Thompson, commission research director and economic adviser, is a professor of administration at Toronto's York University. He appeared last year as an expert witness on behalf of General Electric, Westinghouse and Sylvania when they were charged by the federal government with violating the Combines Investigation Act in the sale of large electric lamps, and was a consultant in the preparation of a brief presented by a large food company to the Food Prices Review Board. "I hope [business] organizations will tell us about the positive side of the social implications of large size," he told the Toronto *Globe and Mail* Report on Business. "Business hasn't told that story really It could be that we will conclude, not that there's too much corporate concentration, but that there's too little."

No doubt the knowledge and experience such people bring with them is valuable in any study of corporate power. However, expecting them to have entirely open minds on the matters at stake is expecting too much, and this lack of balance can only be prejudicial to the final outcome of the commission.



Robert Bryce, when he was clerk of the privy council

It would perhaps seem obvious that any Royal Commission inquiry into a topic which so affects the lives of all Canadians would by its very nature seek the viewpoints of all sectors of our society at its public hearings, held in seven Canadian cities in November and early December. However, most of the advance publicity for the commission's public hearings has appeared in the financial press, while the broader public hardly knows anything about the commission, its mandate and the possibilities of presenting other than business views. The invitation for submissions distributed by the commission clearly appeals for "expert" opinions. No special mention is made soliciting "non-expert" but clearly relevant public or consumer submissions, although the commission has been in touch with all those who have expressed interest.

Statements by the commissioners and by commission staff present the hearings of the commission as an opportunity for business to present its case. Bryce himself has described the hearings as "a public airing of views" rather than an inquiry, which it is supposed to be.

The cost of presentations by business is tax-deductible, so that the public treasury is in effect bearing part of the cost of business submissions. However, no funding mechanism is available for non-business groups or individuals to present their views. The commission has even stated that those submitting briefs can expect no assistance in the duplication and distribution of their briefs.

In a press release dated June 24, the commission announced that all briefs for the first set of hearings would have to be submitted by mid-October. This does not necessarily allow enough time for individuals or groups to undertake the documentation and analysis of the impact of so large a subject as corporate power. A second set of hearings has been scheduled for the spring, but the commission has raised doubts as to whether they will be accepting briefs on other than certain specific matters at the spring hearings.

The mandate for the commission as handed down by the federal government is exceedingly broad, but the commission has taken it upon itself to severely limit its purview of action. It has said it will study the formation and activities of conglomerates, the buying and selling of Canadian businesses, and the role of parent companies in the management of businesses they control.

In deciding upon its priorities, it specifically ruled out the study of competition policy because this is now the subject of legislation and has been recently examined, but how corporate concentration can be examined without looking at oligopolies and cartels is a mystery.

Foreign ownership will not be examined because it has been thoroughly studied already, says the commission, but how foreign ownership and corporate power in Canada can be dissociated has not been made altogether clear. Nor will the high level of concentration in the Canadian banking industry fall within the commission's purview, the reason given being that this area is under study by other government bodies.

The commission seems to drop anything examined elsewhere like hot potatoes, regardless of how relevant it may be to its mandate.

The commission has also announced its intention of dealing almost exclusively with the economic aspects of corporate concentration, especially the technical and tax questions. Only passing reference is made to the social impact of corporate power.

While any federally initiated Royal Commission has considerable power to obtain information and testimony, the commission has publicly stated that it does not feel it will have to use the powers granted it. Bryce has said that since the commission is investigating public companies, most of the information required is already in the public domain.

But public interest groups investigat-

ing corporate power and practice have repeatedly found that there is far too little information in the public domain, Canada's rudimentary disclosure laws being totally inadequate. And why bother setting up a Royal Commission to carry out investigations if it is not going

to use the powers granted it to carry out its work?

If the commission is serious in its task of investigating the concentration of corporate power in Canada it has some important questions to answer. If it just wants to carry out a corporate

whitewash, it could save itself a lot of effort by simply running a series of newspaper ads of the type the Investors' Group ran.

The *Last Post* will be following the commission's work closely.

NOVA SCOTIA: STEEL INDUSTRY NEARS COLLAPSE

by RALPH SURETTE

HALIFAX — There was a time when Premier Gerard Regan of Nova Scotia cut a fine figure in the big money circles of the world, as he hussed investment for newer and bigger developments: hosting Edmund de Rothschild, being hosted by Aristotle Onassis, etc. etc.

He is still on the trail, but these days — although nobody sees his face much — he must be a pale and harried figure indeed as he mills about with the investment-seeking multitude outside the closed doors of world money markets.

In happier days, when his travels evoked a bemused curiosity on the part of the Nova Scotia press and taxpayer, there seemed to be no limit: he would get new refineries, a petrochemical complex on the Strait of Canso, Fundy tidal power, super-ports, super-this and super-that bursting out all over.

But as he hopped the globe, no one, it appears, was minding the store back home. Either unknown to him — or willfully ignored as trivial — the backbone of industrial Cape Breton, the publicly owned Sydney Steel Corporation, was moving into an advanced state of decay. This was happening even as a renovation program of anywhere up to \$150 million was being carried out — the end result of which has been that Sysco is less productive now than it was at the start of the program four years ago.

Regan latched on to a report done for the Department of Regional Economic Expansion about a year and a half ago by Steel Company of Canada (Stelco) consultants which said there was room for a world-scale steel operation on Canada's Atlantic coast.

He became determined that it would be in Cape Breton — maybe at Gabarus, 25 miles from Sydney, and maybe at the present Sysco site. Either way a new superscale steel operation — producing semi-finished steel for export to the foreign steel interests that would own the plant — would bail him out of the Sysco



Regan: desperately searching for a Sysco solution

situation. Either Sysco would be integrated into the new system, or at worst even if it were scotched at least there would be jobs in the new mill.

He even formed a new steel company — Cansteel — to act as a framework for the new consortium, and hired steel expert Ralph Hindson away from the federal government to head it. But this may be the ultimate game of pretend. Steel markets have been shrinking (meanwhile throwing Sysco into an even more dire situation) and so have money markets. Regan keeps on expressing "optimism" that he will get investors (he needs a couple of billion dollars), and has apparently been concentrating his efforts in West Germany, but nothing has come up yet. The world economic situation indi-

cates that nothing will.

The possibility of Sysco closing is something that is not talked about in Nova Scotia. In Cape Breton terms it is like asking whether there will be a nuclear war. Economically, it means virtual annihilation. Four thousand jobs depend directly on the plant — and this in an area where Nova Scotia Labour Minister Walter Fitzgerald has predicted unemployment may rise to 30 per cent this winter.

Yet the question presses closer and closer: how long can the province withstand the losses? Even during the years of peak world demand up to the middle of 1974, Sysco was losing \$20 to \$24 million a year. Last year losses were cut to \$16 million, but with the worsening

market situation this year's losses could rise above \$30 million and as high as \$40 million.

Total liabilities are hovering around \$200 million and rising. The province is the underwriter, and is responsible for any losses. The debt is almost twice the losses incurred by the infamous Glace Bay heavy water plant, an albatross around Robert Stanfield's neck since he quit as premier eight years ago.

Estimates are a dime a dozen, but figures leaked from yet another group of experts studying the plant have it that Sysco would require a one billion dollar investment in order to become profitable — and that mark would only be reached in 15 years' time, assuming the steel market resumed the upward climb.

One of the overwhelming characteristics of the Nova Scotia government is its obsessive secrecy. No government in Canada — a country where secrecy in government is the rule — is as secretive as that of Nova Scotia, and in no area of endeavour has it been as secretive as in the Sysco operation.

Although there were rumours from union sources for years that the whole operation was a mess, that open-hearth furnaces were deteriorating to the point where they might break down any time, no one really knew what was going on inside.

The situation is still nowhere near being clear, but last winter the government could no longer keep the lid on completely. The province's Auditor General, A. W. Sarty, in his annual report stated that of the \$140 million that he could establish as having been earmarked for the renovation program, some \$72 million had been spent "without proper authorization" — i.e., without formal approval by the board of directors.

Legislative committee hearings were called amid much expectation. R. B. Cameron, the man who was Sysco's chief executive officer for the first four years after the province took over the plant in 1968 following its shutdown by Hawker Siddeley, testified that the money had been "informally" approved.

Asked why this was so, he chomped on a big cigar, put on his best big-businessman tough-guy front, and barked: "I called 'em the way I saw 'em."

Incredibly, the remark passed without further ado.

The opposition, particularly Tory leader John Buchanan, has made re-

peated attempts to get information pertaining to Sysco, but has been voted down every time either in the legislature or in committee. But one thing that did emerge at the committee hearings was at least the outline of how the renovation was botched.

Basically, the whole renovation was based on the idea that basic oxygen furnaces (BOFs) would be installed to replace the aging open hearth furnaces. The renovation progressed on the assumption that the BOFs would be there. But for unexplained reasons the BOFs were dropped (Sysco management opted instead for a flaky system of its own invention to upgrade the existing furnaces. It didn't work.)

So now a continuous-casting system is functioning at half-capacity because it doesn't have the output of the basic oxygen furnaces to feed it. And a new lime-burning plant, completed last spring, was put into mothballs immediately because its output was meant for the BOFs.

There are other questions too that remain unanswered. No one knows who supplies the plant, what is bought from whom, or anything. Cameron himself owns a foundry, and in a situation of secrecy with millions of unauthorized dollars going down the hole the opportunities for friends of the Liberal Party to make a buck are simply legion.

NEW BRUNSWICK: THE BRICKLIN WAS JUST AN EDSSEL AFTER ALL

by GEORGE PEABODY

O the Bricklin; O the Bricklin,
Is it just another Edsel, wait and see,
We'll let the Yankees try it,
And hope to God they buy it,
Let it be, Dear Lord, let it be.

— (from *Charlie Russell's*
"Bricklin Song")

SAINT JOHN — Boot Records re-released Charlie Russell's "Bricklin Song" a couple of days after Bricklin Canada went into receivership this fall. Whether the record will get much attention elsewhere in Canada is a moot point, but in New Brunswick it's a hot item. Perhaps because many New Brunswickers feel the song is a fitting epitaph for the end of a car that most of them could never have afforded, and the failure of a venture that everyone outside the provincial

Ultimately, Sysco represents a rather awesome loss in the great industrial gamble that has characterized the Regan government. For while Sysco decayed, and while the unions cried out in vain for open information and worker-participation to set things right, Regan was busy running after chimeras: the myth that there is prosperity to be had by landing big foreign investments.

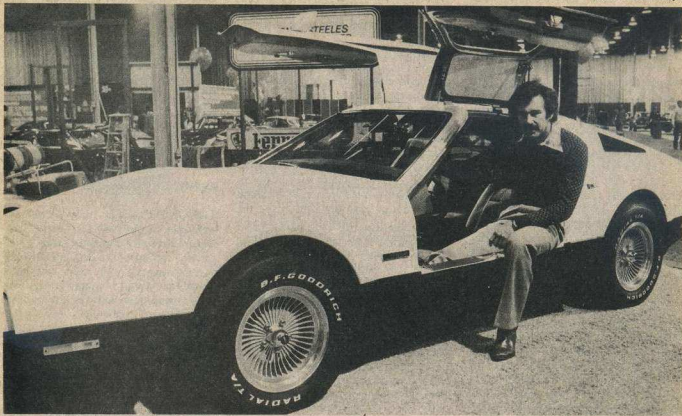
The problem at Sysco, assuming as one must that Regan will not get any big steel money from foreign sources, is now beyond the capacity of the province to handle. The only solution one can envisage is if the federal government steps in — as the NDP has argued it should have from the very beginning, instead of leaving a small province without much money to thrash about with local-boy managers in an international game.

Now, the only thing is to await the next episode. Nobody is saying too much. Even the NDP, whose three MLAs come from that very area and are supported by the steelworkers, is saying nothing. This is apparently in recognition of the extremity of the situation — it's not the time to go around sounding negative. The mood underneath is vile.

The silence is like that quietude in old jungle movies: you knew something awful was about to happen.

government secretly believed to be doomed from the outset.

The Bricklin saga began on June 21, 1973 when New Brunswick's Conservative Premier Richard Hatfield, wealthy scion of an old potato chip family, announced that the province had accepted a proposal from Bricklin Canada Ltd., a subsidiary of General Vehicle Inc. of Delaware, for the location of an automobile assembly plant in Saint John. Not a plant for just any old car either: the facility would turn out the *Bricklin*, a gull-wing (doors hinged in the roof) fibreglass-bodied safety-sports car designed by Malcolm Bricklin, an American entrepreneur and owner of General Vehicle. The Saint John plant would be the first facility anywhere for construction of the car, and the vehicle itself was confidently expected to sell like the proverbial hotcake in the newly safety-



Malcolm Bricklin shows off his car in happier days

conscious American market.

There was some early criticism — particularly when Guy Saint Pierre, then Quebec's industry and commerce minister, some three days after the New Brunswick announcement allowed that Bricklin Canada had been turned down in his province because the scheme didn't seem to have any advantages for Quebec. For the most part, however, the opposition politicians adopted a wait and see attitude, and in general the proposal received the outward support that New Brunswickers always show for new industries. There was, one must understand, the glorious prospect of jobs, well-paying jobs, in an area that suffers from chronic unemployment.

If information about the car itself was freely and eagerly provided, there was a distinct reluctance to reveal details of the financial structure of the company and the economic commitments made to it by the provincial government. Information trickled out: the province was spending \$1.5 million to get the former Simms brush factory in Saint John for the company; the federal department of regional economic expansion was putting up a \$3 million loan, more money was coming from American banks and "private investors".

When the New Brunswick Legislature resumed sittings, the reluctance to give out information became much more noticeable. Opposition questions were shunted aside, ignored, or given evasive and incomplete answers.

In place of answers the government provided news releases; lengthy ones extolling the benefits the province would receive from the presence of Bricklin Canada, and brief ones announcing further financial commitments to the company.

As the financial commitments deepened and the millions rolled into the Saint John plant, the public commitment of the government to the success of the company hardened. Premier Hatfield drove a Bricklin, lauded it on every public occasion, appeared with it at auto shows, and, on one notable occasion took it to a federal-provincial conference in Toronto where the car had the bad taste to perform less than adequately in front of the assembled dignitaries.

Murmurs of complaint from American Bricklin owners began to be heard: the gull-wing doors, one of the car's major claims to uniqueness, didn't fit properly and leaked whenever it rained. When this was corrected, the seal proved to be so tight that the doors were sporadically

unopenable from inside the car. The problems were said to be, and probably were, natural consequences of a new design which would be corrected with time and experience, but they didn't serve as good advertisements. Economic hardships in North American automobile markets and the sky-rocketing price of gasoline (Bricklins have large, thirsty engines) further dimmed prospects for the venture.

All these obstacles could perhaps have been overcome in time, but the financial condition of the company was a problem that time wouldn't cure. More and more money was called for; since private investors and banks were reluctant to come up with the bread, the province ponied up, and up, to an extent that reached \$12 million by the end of 1974, and gave the Conservative government 67 per cent ownership of an automobile factory that employed up to 700 workers and turned out ten cars on a good day. The financial break-even point, which Bricklin Canada never quite reached was estimated to be between 100 and 125 per week.

In January 1975, the government took the biggest plunge yet. Premier Hatfield announced a \$7.5 million loan to Bricklin Canada with the comment that "the

government does not expect to invest further in the project, nor does it anticipate any further requests from the company for financial assistance."

How all this money was to be used, no one outside the government — and, said some, no one inside the government either — knew. Or, if they knew, were unwilling to reveal.

Similar assurances that the company wouldn't need or get any more public funding were repeated by both Malcolm Bricklin and Hatfield at intervals throughout the following months. Until September 15, at which time the government announced that it was providing an extra \$1.2 million as a guarantee against some of Bricklin Canada's outstanding loans. This time it was to be "absolutely the last money available."

The guarantee raised the province's financial commitment to just over \$20 million. Ten days later Premier Hatfield announced that Bricklin Canada was going into receivership.

During its short lifetime Bricklin Canada turned out an estimated 2,800 cars. At a recent Toronto press conference Malcolm Bricklin said that all of them had been sold, but 300 are still in stock in Saint John and 800 others are known to be held by American Bricklin dealers.

At the same press conference Bricklin delivered a proposal for getting the company going again: the federal and New Brunswick governments should ante up an additional \$15 million and control of Bricklin Canada should return to private hands. . . .

New Brunswick Economic Growth Minister Lawrence Garvie, Acting Premier of the province (Richard Hatfield left on a "long-planned" trip to the Orient two days after the receivership announcement) declined to comment on Bricklin's proposal, but later came up with one of his own. He was, he said, talking with a group of Toronto investors who thought that Bricklin Canada could still have a future if only production levels of 5,000-6,000 cars per year could be reached. The proposals and counter-proposals are expected to continue for months, and while a little life

may be forced back into the corpse, there is remarkably small chance of a full-scale revival.

The story of the Bricklin is unique only in the amount of public money the venture received and the emotional depth the government gave to it. The actual events follow a pattern that has been familiar in New Brunswick for decades. The creation of jobs has long been an overwhelming priority with governments in the province. Before that prospect all else fades into insignificance. This attitude had led the previous Liberal administration into such debacles as the Westmoreland Chemical Park which went under with all hands despite extensive government support, and others too numerous to mention. Such failures are seldom publicly recalled in New Brunswick when new schemes are unveiled.

In the wake of the collapse there are questions being asked in New Brunswick, some of them questions that have been asked before by the Opposition, but as yet there is a paucity of answers. Opposition leader Robert Higgins summed them up adequately in a statement released shortly after the receivership announcement was made public.

"New Brunswickers have a right to know," he said, "where the money went, how many cars were sold, who got the money from those sales and where those funds went . . . details of the travel and promotion expenditures, how much Malcolm Bricklin took as salaries, expenses and other profits from the maze of corporations that were established such as Bricklin Northeast, Bricklin Midwest, General Vehicle and so on; what monies were paid to Malcolm Bricklin and Malcolm Bricklin's family from monies gathered or committed by the province — how much and for what?"

Given the present political conditions in New Brunswick, these questions are unlikely to receive answers, but there is one more question that may be answered soon, and, depending on the reply, may provide a clue to the disposition of the rest.

Will Richard Hatfield keep on driving his white Bricklin?

APPEAL LAUNCHED: DOUGLAS FIGHTS DEPORTING

by ROBERT CHODOS

TORONTO — For most Canadians, memories of the 1969 Sir George Williams University computer affair have, perhaps fortunately, faded. Most of the cases arising out of the affair have been closed, and even the computer itself has been rehabilitated and was last reported alive and well in Michigan.

But for Rosie Douglas, the 34-year-old native of Dominica in the West Indies who has become one of Canada's most prominent black activists, there is still some unfinished business. Unless his appeal is successful, Douglas, who has been branded a "risk to national security" by the government, will be deported to Dominica on December 15.

Deportation proceedings

Deportation proceedings against Douglas were first begun in 1971 — a month before he would have become legally domiciled in Canada and immune to such an order — and have gone through an endless chain of legal manoeuvrings and delays. In the meantime, Douglas served 17 months of a 30-month sentence for participating in an illegal sit-in at Sir George before being paroled. His parole ends December 14, the day before he is scheduled to be deported.

Douglas has appealed the order and believes he has a good legal case, but is not optimistic about the outcome. For Douglas's fate probably depends less on legal arguments than on political considerations in both Canada and Dominica.

In Canada, the Douglas case is related to the government's new and more restrictive attitude toward immigration, an attitude Douglas has strongly criticized from a variety of public platforms. And in Dominica, there is considerable doubt whether the government of Premier Patrick John wants to have Douglas back.

In the cooler climate for immigrants that has prevailed in Canada over the last year, Douglas is vulnerable on two

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

Robert Bourassa slouches comfortably in a chair by his immaculate 40-foot private pool. He has just been in for a swim and tufts of his wet black hair stick out at odd angles from his head. In the background two gardeners fuss over a carefully clipped hedge.

"I am a social democrat. It's because, ah, I'm profoundly anti-bourgeois," Bourassa says.

— Weekend Magazine, October 4, 1975



Rosie Douglas

fronts. The new situation has been felt with particular force by black and brown immigrants from the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent, and Douglas is one of the best-known blacks in Canada. Moreover, while the model immigrant is supposed to be docile and apolitical, Douglas has been involved in politics throughout his stay in Canada, in groups ranging from the Progressive Conservative club at Sir George in the mid-sixties to his current organization, the Black Worker's Alliance.

Douglas points out that he is the only one of the West Indians who were involved in the Sir George affair who has fought his case through to the bitter end, and "fighting means not doing what immigrants are supposed to be about in this country."

In Dominica, the northernmost of the Windward Islands, lush, isolated, small and poor, Premier John's government has enough problems without Rosie Douglas. For in the last two years, the self-governing colony of 70,000 people has been the scene of one of the most intense political dramas in the Caribbean.

Confronted by an opposition group called the Movement for a New Dominica and a youth movement called the Dreads modelled after the Rastafarians of Jamaica, John has brought in a series of repressive laws that have turned

Dominica into a virtual police state. The most extreme of these laws gives citizens the legal right to shoot dead on sight suspected members of the Dreads. Another makes it an offence punishable by a mandatory jail sentence to wear one's hair in the "dreadlocks" made famous by the Rastafarians and favoured by the Dreads.

John has launched his crusade in order to stamp out the "pseudo-intellectuals" and "agents of international communism" who he believes are "eating through to the region's organizations and institutions like cancer" and to protect the island's tourist industry.

An American tourist was shot dead in Roseau, the capital, in February 1974 and a member of the Dreads was sentenced to death for the murder. In November, a Canadian couple who had retired to Dominica were found dead in the rubble of their burnt home.

The Movement for a New Dominica condemns violence but provides little comfort to Premier John, advocating self-reliance, an end to foreign domination of the island's economy and immediate attention to its basic social problems.

Poverty could end

This same analysis is contained in a book called *Chains or Change: Focus on Dominica*, published in Canada and written by Rosie Douglas. Douglas argues that an end could be put to Dominica's persistent poverty if proper use were made of its abundant agricultural and timber resources.

Douglas is a member of one of the island's richest families, and his exploits in Canada and advocacy of social change in Dominica have made him a well-known figure there. Premier John is likely contemplating his return to the uncertain and potentially explosive social mixture currently existing in Dominica with a certain amount of unease. Douglas

suspects that it may have been intervention from the Dominican government that caused his parole to be postponed in August of 1974, and that there may be pressure from the same source to allow him to stay in Canada.

If he does go back, Douglas has good reason to believe that his life may be in danger. He thinks that the government "would be cautious in the first instance about killing me. However there are fanatics, in the police force and elsewhere."

Life in danger

As a result of the potential danger to his life Douglas would like to appeal his deportation on humanitarian grounds but no such appeal is allowed people being deported for national security reasons.

Just what he did to win him official recognition as a risk to national security has never been made clear. Solicitor-General Warren Allmand has said only that the certificate giving Douglas that status, which he and Immigration Minister Robert Andras signed in May 1973, was issued on the basis of information supplied by the RCMP. Douglas's lawyers have initiated action in an attempt to get the certificate declared unconstitutional.

If he wins his case Douglas plans to return eventually to the West Indies, but he doesn't want to be permanently barred from this country. "I don't see going back as saying good-bye to Canada," he says, "but as continuing the struggle on another front. If I am deported they would seize my passport, and I wouldn't be able to travel, not only to Canada but to the other islands as well.

"If I'm a risk to national security in Canada, that means I'm a threat to the security of the Canadian bourgeoisie. That same bourgeoisie has investments in the Caribbean, so I'll be a threat to their security there too. They won't be getting rid of me by deporting me."

MISPLACED HEAD OF THE MONTH

Ottawa bans nudity in rub parlors

OTTAWA (CP) — The Government is preparing a program of financial assistance for workers owning equipment which must be replaced because of metric conversion. Industry Minister Donald Jamieson told the Commons Finance Committee that the Government is attempting to devise a method that will be equitable but not open to abuse, considering that only a limited number of employees own tools and equipment needed in their work. Some labor spokesmen have asked that tax credits be given such workers.

—Toronto Globe & Mail, Oct. 22, 1975

International Report

compiled by the staff of the Last Post

Mozambique: the South African connection

By Ernie Regehr

With a critical foreign exchange shortage inherited from the Portuguese, a trade deficit that reached \$255 million in 1973, a 90 per cent illiteracy rate, a grossly inadequate health system, and 100,000 refugees to resettle in the north, the magnitude of Mozambique's development and reconstruction task is not easily overstated. And, as if that were not enough, the country's existing revenue sources are overwhelmingly tied to the two regimes whose contacts are, to put it mildly, politically unacceptable.

Few things, in fact, have fascinated Mozambique watchers as much as Frelimo's likely response to the South African and Rhodesian "connection". The declarations and policy of the Organisation for African Unity, Frelimo's policy declarations (the 1968 Congress condemned the export of labour to South Africa), and President Samora Machel's own statements all demand disengagement; but with 45 per cent of its Gross National Product deriving from services to its

neighbours (primarily Rhodesia and South Africa) and with more than half its foreign exchange earnings potentially coming from South Africa alone, the process is likely to be a slow and painful one.

Transportation, trade and energy links all help to bind Mozambique's economy to that of South Africa, but the main Mozambique-South Africa connection consists of the 100,000 plus Mozambicans who work in South Africa's mines. The miners not only help to alleviate Mozambique's unemployment, but represent a potential windfall to the Mozambique economy.

The Mozambican miners earn, at current wage rates, about \$120 million annually. Of that about \$72 million is held back as deferred pay and then paid directly to the government of Mozambique in gold valued at the official rate. Mozambique then is able to sell the gold on the market at approximately four times the official rate, and from the proceeds pay the miners their \$72 million and put the difference into the government's general revenue coffers — more than \$200 million. Including amounts

transferred home by the miners themselves, the total foreign exchange advantage deriving from the miners amounts potentially to about \$300 million annually.

The terms of the agreement are to be renegotiated as part of the complete review of the Mozambique Convention, which includes a variety of bilateral agreements with South Africa, but given South Africa's need for labour, the new terms are unlikely to be less favourable to Mozambique. For an important, though often neglected, factor is the other side of the Mozambique-South Africa connection — South African dependence on Mozambique.

Labour is crucial

Trade, shipping and power are important elements of this dependence, but the crucial item is labour. One quarter of the African labour force at the South African mines are Mozambicans (they probably represent a higher proportion of underground workers), and of these 400,000 African miners, only 90,000 are South Africans. The underground work force currently stands at 279,000 even though the Chamber of Mines places the underground labour requirement at 325,000.

The labour shortage, in a country with a large force of unemployed and underemployed, can be attributed largely to low wages and influx control (pass laws).

In the early years of South African mining the labour supply seemed limitless. The gold mines, with largely low-grade ore, took advantage of the low labour costs to mine sites that under other conditions might have been considered of marginal value, and little was done to mechanize the operations.

However, as secondary industries began to develop and to pay substantially higher wages, the supply of labour to the mines became scarce. Influx control prevents South Afri-

Glad hand for Italy's fascist leader

Italian neo-fascist leader Giorgio Almirante got a surprisingly warm welcome from the U.S. government recently when he visited Washington. High point of his visit was a one-hour meeting at the Executive Office Building with two staff members of the National Security Council, including Denis Clift, who has travelled to Italy with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Almirante's party, the Italian Social Movement — National Right Wing, is ostracized by every other political group in Italy (it won only 8.7 per cent of the vote in the 1972 elections) and speculation is rife over the visit. It has been noted that a leading official of the Italian Communist Party, Sergio Segre, has not had the same luck in getting a visa; he had been scheduled to address the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

Having obtained 33 per cent of the vote in recent local elections, it is widely regarded as only a matter of time until Italy's Communists gain significant participation in government decisions, though not necessarily through actual cabinet posts. They are stressing moderate policies, have said they do not want to take Italy out of NATO, have said they would respect democracy and party politics and have severely criticized tactics of the Communist Party in Portugal. Their goal is "convergence" — a slow joining with the established political power structure to gain a degree of respectability and acceptance that would avoid a Chilean situation.

cans from the rural reserves from filling the vacancies (the fact that less than three per cent of South African workers are permitted to live with their families at the mine compounds — the rest, like the non-South Africans, being on short-term contracts — eliminates work at the mines as an option for much of the rural unemployed work force), so the mines, instead of turning to extensive mechanisation, turned to neighbouring countries and territories for more cheap labour.

From the point of view of the mines, non-South African labour was cheap and enabled the mining companies to avoid competition with the industrial sector for labour

(despite massive wage increases in mining over the past three years — from 75¢ per shift in 1972 to the present rate of \$3.30 per shift, minimum, plus room and board — such in manufacturing and construction are still higher by a third).

From the point of view of the government non-South African labour was politically less risky (the foreigners could more easily be denied political rights and social services, and could be sent back out of the country immediately upon expiry of their contract).

Still barred by influx control from recruiting a stable and long-term labour force from the rural homelands, the mines are trying again to

expand their non-South African recruitment (a recruitment contract has been signed with the Smith regime to recruit up to 50,000 men per year from Zimbabwe — an attempt to offset losses from the ban on recruitment in Malawi), and are beginning to move into the White farming areas of South Africa. There are 3.7 million Africans living on White farms and agreement has been reached between the Chamber of Mines and the South African Agricultural Union (government approval is still required) to facilitate recruitment in "White" rural areas that now have a labour surplus.

At the same time, South Africa's
(Continued on next page)

Dumping ground for Vietnamese refugees?

by Greg Chamberlain
of Tapa

Nationalist groups in France's rich and jealously-guarded South American territory of Guyane have renewed their charge that a joint U.S.-French plan is afoot to swamp a budding pro-independence movement there by settling tens of thousands of Indochinese war refugees in the colony.

Mr. Olivier Stirn, the French overseas territories minister, has denied that the spectacular plan was being seriously considered by the French government.

A small advance party of Vietnamese has now, however, arrived in the Guyanese capital, Cayenne, to prepare for the expected arrival in a few weeks time of a first batch of refugees in conjunction with the French government's master plan for a crash development of Guyane's huge untapped mineral, forest and agricultural resources.

40,000 expected

It is thought some 5,000 will arrive by the end of the year, and eventually about 40,000 are expected, thus almost doubling the territory's population of 52,000. The nationalists are calling the plan "genocide" against the Guyanese people and a blow to hopes of even limited self-rule.

Questioned during his recent visit to Cayenne, where he unveiled the details of the development projects, Mr. Stirn admitted the existence of

such a plan but said that in the required settlement of sparsely-populated Guyane, priority would be given to French citizens, either from Metropolitan France or from other French colonies.

There is speculation in Cayenne that the refugees, most of whom are in camps in the United States which are due to be emptied and closed by December, will simply be issued with French passports. France has never succeeded in persuading its nationals to emigrate to the unhealthy, sub-amazonian climate of remote Guyane, which won fame only for its dreaded prison colonies, including Devil's Island.

The first group of refugees, whose largely middle-class anti-communist origins would not seem to make them the most suitable of frontiersmen and women, is reportedly being shipped to Guyane in connection with a projected giant pulp mill to be built by the American firm of Parsons and Whitmore. Mining and rice cultivation projects are also planned.

The United States and France will provide several million dollars each to back the mass emigration plan, according to sources in Guyane.

Earlier this year, President Giscard D'Estaing announced that France would step up development of Guyane, its largest overseas possession, in order to build up France's stockpile of raw materials, as a defence against new attempts by poor countries to force the rich countries to pay higher commodity prices.

The 34,700-square-mile territory is almost entirely undeveloped and is 90 percent covered with forests. Valuable deposits of bauxite and gold had already been discovered.

The refugee scheme originated with an exiled right-wing South Vietnamese senator living in Paris, but Guyanese nationalist groups claim there has now been a high-level political agreement between France and the United States.

'Palestinian' situation

The main nationalist group in Guyane, the pro-independence Guyanese Decolonisation Movement (MOGUYDE), has said the plan will create a racially, politically and economically dangerous "Palestinian-type situation" in Guyane, among whose largely-African population there is already a massive 60 per cent unemployed.

Forty-two per cent of Guyane's civil servants are whites brought in from metropolitan France. The new expansion projects will push this proportion even higher.

Guyane erupted into three months of anti-French pro-independence unrest late last year which resulted in deportations and subversion charges against eight nationalist leaders.

Since then, France has discreetly built up her military forces and hardware in Guyane, which is officially a department of France, to a total of some 5,000 troops and police — or one agent of "law and order" to watch over every 10 Guyanese.

(Continued from previous page)

mining industry is undergoing major changes and can no longer afford to rely on the old methods of labour recruitment and utilisation. Wages are climbing and the companies have launched major mechanisation drives to increase productivity. The labour requirement will not be reduced, but a much more skilled labour force will have to be employed. That means training, and no company is willing to train a man and then see him sent off, either to a South African "homeland" or a neighbouring country after 12 or 18 months.

Stable labour needed

Consequently, the mining companies that once took full advantage of the cheap labour, now find that they do not need cheap labour as much as they need stable labour, and they have accordingly been campaigning for an end to the migratory labour system. They want an end to the system which lumps tens of thousands of men in all-male hostels in inhuman conditions, breeding, they reason, unrest that leads to costly work stoppages.

Or, as Anglo-American Corporation's Harry Oppenheimer put it: "Black workers, particularly in the mines, have traditionally been employed largely in undifferentiated gang jobs where little attention is paid to the talents of the individual. They have not, therefore, been motivated to productivity. Low wages, migratory employment and a hire-and-fire attitude, poor housing and transport, minimal education and training have been typical of the conditions of Black employment and they obviously do not tend to produce the motivated worker, and therefore the productive worker."

Hence, the Chamber of Mines is currently negotiating with the government to allow more miners to live in the company of their families, and Anglo-American has for more than a year been campaigning for legalised Black trade unions (most businessmen have concluded the obvious from recurring Black walkouts: making strikes illegal does not prevent them, and if there are going to be mass walkouts, better that they should be conducted under the estab-

lished machinery and discipline of traditional trade unionism — and if Blacks can be organized under White-dominated unions, so much the better, the businessmen conclude).

It is hardly necessary to point out that the motives of the mining companies are not founded on altruism. As long as racism could be exploited for economic benefit, there was no reluctance to do just that, but when the apartheid policies of the central government became a hindrance — interfering in the labour supply — the mining companies had no hesitation in calling for an end to apartheid.

The political implications, which mean rather less to Anglo-American et al. than do the figures on their balance sheets, are extensive and, for the Afrikaner nationalist government, frightening.

The late South African prime minister, Hendrick Verwoerd, once frankly admitted that the "South African way of life" depends upon Black labour, and that obvious fact is now beginning to haunt the Afrikaner nationalist. South African economists have been telling the government that it will, under present policies, become increasingly difficult to secure the co-operation of Black labour: "Capitalists will have to share political power in order to get labour's co-operation — or face the prospect of no growth," a recent symposium was told. And the prospect of "no growth" is not one that capitalists normally warm to.

Rich and mixed

Mr. Verwoerd also once said that "we'd rather be poor and White than rich and mixed," but that is an option South Africans have long since discarded — in short, Afrikaner nationalism has been overtaken by international capitalism.

With the prospect of substantial cuts in the non-South African labour force that is available to the mines, the mining companies are pressuring the government to do whatever is necessary to secure the co-operation of South African labour (the result will not be a revolution, financed by the mining industry, to liberate the masses, but events are moving to replace racial distinctions with class distinctions and for the Afrikaner that represents a revolution).

An apparent way out of the dilemma is simply to replace foreign recruitment with unrestricted recruitment of the cheap labour that still languishes in the "homelands", but such a solution would actually heighten the political pressures on the central government.

In 1974 the Transport and General Workers' Union in the Transkei was formed for the express purpose of protecting the rights and interests of workers in the Transkei homeland and to give basic training and education to contract workers leaving the homeland for towns in the Republic. The implications could be extensive.

Bantustan unions

"Bantustan Unions" have been suggested before and even contemplated by the government — since this would give the unions a tribal character and could be used to further exploit tribal rivalries at the expense of worker solidarity in any particular industry. But a major reason for rejecting the idea, as far as the government and industry both are concerned, is that homeland-based unions could, if they co-operated with homeland "governments", provide a means by which homelands could exercise influence inside "White" South Africa.

In the present absence of Black labour unions, homeland governments and individual homeland leaders have played prominent roles in settling labour disputes (notably the KwaZulu government in the Durban area) — a "danger" already noted by Oppenheimer: "In my opinion industrial problems and disputes are best settled within the industry itself, and any system which makes intervention by the political leaders of independent or semi-independent states inevitable and indeed necessary is likely to prove at once inefficient and dangerous."

But the point is that under the present policies South Africa will always be dependent upon "foreign" labour. If it is not Mozambican or Zimbabwean, it will be Transkeian or KwaZulu. And South African industry, inextricably tied, as it now is, to international capitalism, is unlikely to tolerate indefinitely these "political barriers" to direct access to and negotiations with labour. And the

minimum implications of the removal of those barriers are the extension of collective bargaining rights to Black workers, independence of any tribal homeland, and a permission for Black workers to permanently settle, with their families, in the hitherto "White" urban areas. The implications that

extend from the latter change are themselves extensive and must include some form of political rights for urban Blacks.

In the face of that prospect, South Africa will do all in its power to retain access to Mozambique labour — as a means, for the time being at least, of maintaining the status quo.

The threat to South Africa in the Mozambique-South Africa connection is only peripherally an economic one. The issue is a political one — and in that the odds do not favour the White minority regime.

Ernie Regehr is the Last Post's correspondent in Southern Africa.

Jagan and Burnham: where/to now?

by Robert Chodos

A train of events has been set in motion in Guyana that could lead to a historic realignment of forces in that deeply divided country (*Last Post*, April 1975).

Dr. Cheddi Jagan's People's Progressive Party, the chief opposition political force, has shifted its strategy from non-co-operation to critical support of the government of Prime Minister Forbes Burnham.

In a speech to the PPP conference on August 3 outlining the new policy, Dr. Jagan placed more emphasis on criticism of Burnham and his People's National Congress than he did on support. However, he said that "the PPP cannot close its eyes to the changes" that have taken place in Burnham's policies.

"Have these changes been made against or in co-operation with imperialism in accordance with its changing tactics and strategies?" he asked. "Considering the past deals of the PNC with imperialism, one cannot be too sure; doubts linger. But let us be charitable and give the PNC the benefit of the doubt."

Bauxite nationalized

In the last year, the Burnham government has taken over the giant Reynolds Metals Company's interests in Guyana, thus completing the nationalization of the country's bauxite industry. It has nationalized as well the Jessels sugar estates, although Booker-McConnell, which controls by far the largest part of the sugar industry and has historically been Guyana's dominant corporation, has been left untouched.

The last year has also seen the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and visits by Burnham to China and Cuba, and a considerable intensification of

socialist rhetoric on the part of the PNC.

In July, the PNC-dominated National Assembly (the PPP has boycotted the Assembly since 1973) adopted 'Comrade' as a formal parliamentary term of address, and the PNC has recently added to its vocabulary such words as Marxism-Leninism and dictatorship of the proletariat.

At a PNC congress in August two weeks after the PPP's shift, a panel of leading members of the party reaffirmed its commitment to socialism. According to the government-controlled *Daily Chronicle*, the panel made it plain "that the party did not recognize the possibility of different types of socialism. When the PNC described itself as a socialist party, the panel emphasized that the party was speaking of an established body of doctrine founded on the teachings of Engels, Marx and Lenin."

And in September, Deputy Prime Minister Ptolemy Reid, a leading PNC ideologue, said that "we must not be afraid of dictatorship for we are trying to have fully a dictatorship of the proletariat." He told the Co-operation self-help group that "the people have given the Government the authority to dictate in their name."

Despite what *Chronicle* political commentator Mohamed Hamaludin called the narrowing of the ideological gap, there has still been a substantial amount of caution on both sides. Referring to Dr. Jagan's speech, Reid told a radio audience that "as far as I am concerned, these are still words. In the exercise that we are doing, a man has to prove himself by action."

Dr. Jagan expressed similar doubts about the PNC's apparent leftward shift. "Remember the biblical warning," he said, "Not all who shout Lord, Lord shall enter

into the kingdom of heaven.' We too can say: 'Not all who shout Comrade, Comrade shall enter into the kingdom of socialism.'"

One of the reasons he gave for adopting critical support was that it would "help to frustrate the PNC's attempts to isolate the Party." This is the crux of the PPP's problem. For at the same time as he has adopted a more leftist posture, Burnham has also used ruthless and at times illegal methods to consolidate his control of the state apparatus and other instruments or potential instruments of power.

Assembly boycotted

When the 1973 election, under suspicious circumstances, produced a two-thirds majority for the PNC even though neutral observers believe the PPP might have won a fair vote, Dr. Jagan and his supporters had little choice but to boycott the Assembly, giving up an effective public platform and, almost as important, members' salaries.

In 1974 the government bought the *Guyana Graphic*, so that all of the country's mass media except for the PPP's *Mirror* (which is frequently unable to come out because of government newspaper regulations) are now subject to Burnham's dictation. The main trade-union central supports the PNC, and the government has made it clear that it will not tolerate the University of Guyana's being used as an opposition political base.

In fact, Guyana was becoming a virtual one-party state. Dr. Jagan has now taken steps to reverse that trend. The PPP has not yet resumed its position in the Assembly, although that would be a logical consequence of its new stand. But it has made the first break in the increasingly unproductive stalemate into which Guyanese politics had fallen.

the Last Pssst



by Claude Balloune

Wintario: Stephen Lewis may or may not have been surprised that he unexpectedly won the consolation prize in the Ontario elections, but the **Tories** definitely were not. One Tory poll taken about a week before the election had the Tories winning — but with just a two-seat lead over, of all people, the **NDP**, with the **Nixon Liberals** trailing in a projected minority government. The Tory pollsters now argue that in the last week there was a swing away from the **NDP**, despite their impressive final showing, and that Lewis peaked too early



Lewis: a bird in the hand . . .

Bell wins: Don't count on the Ontario Tories taking any cue from the **NDP** in dealing with **Bell Telephone**, especially in Bell's curious tactic of withholding service from new customers because the **Feds** wouldn't give them a bigger rate increase. Rather the cue will likely come from Ontario Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations **Sidney Handleman**. "We need to look into this matter thoroughly before we take any action," he said decisively during the campaign. His campaign manager, by the way, was **Mr. Joe Copeman**, a high-ranking Bell executive. No newcomer to Tory politics, Mr. Copeman had worked full time at Tory national HQ in the last federal elections. Prior to that he helped organize the 1974 Conservative national convention. Bell Tel, of course, is non-partisan and also provided two execs for the **Liberals** in 1974, a year in which their (Bell Telephone's that is) profits rose to a record \$224 million.

By-election: Tory leadership hopeful **Claude Wagner** met secretly with Parti Quebecois House leader **Robert Burns** to arrange support for the Conservative candidate who defeated **Trudeau's** hope for Secretary of State, **Pierre Juneau**, in Montreal's **Hochelaga** riding. The **PQ** agreed. Many people in the provincial **Liberals** quietly applauded, feeling the federal **Liberals** need to be taken down a notch.

More Turner stories: Look for a profitable relationship developing on the legal front between Alberta's own **Peter Lougheed** and Canada's own **John Turner** . . . Further on Turner, the reason Stanfield savaged him recently was the growing support for a Turner candidacy among some younger Tories, led by, yes indeed, the elusive **Michael Meighen** . . .



Nixon: the 'little NDP chick' won

Now It Can Be Told: One month before the Ontario election, **Bob Nixon** dined with a visiting Ottawa newsman. Nixon wanted to know whether his guest had ever met **Paul Taylor**, Liberal candidate for Ottawa East. Newsman said sure, knew Paul well; Nixon said he was puzzled how Taylor could ever have held down a job as a journalist since he was, in Nixon's words, "the biggest ding-a-ling I ever met." Nixon added he hoped "that little **NDP chick**, what's her name, beats the hell out of him." The little chick in question, **Evelyn Gigantes**, went on to do just that.

Historical notes: The **Gargantua Club**, scene of last

year's grisly mass murder in which 13 Montrealers perished, has been transformed into a day care centre. . . . **Cardinal Montini**, later to make it big as Pope, was in charge of the Vatican's Quebec desk during the **Charbonneau Affair**. **Duplessis** got the Vatican to have Quebec Archbishop Charbonneau shifted out of Quebec after the latter sided with workers during the **1949 Asbestos strike**.

Saskatchewan's NDP government has come under increasing criticism in left-wing circles for its failure to nationalize the potash industry. However, as I understand it, it appears the differences may be more over timing than intent. Members of the highly profitable potash cartel have taken the government to court over what they regard as unfavourable royalty structures. National Resources Minister **Ed Whelan** is prepared to escalate the conflict. Once the potash companies have backed themselves into a corner and public support has polarized around the government, the NDP will make its move and present a bill to put potash under public ownership. Ed Whelan, for many years a left-wing backbencher, is the brother of federal Agriculture Minister **Eugene Whelan**, whom he refers to as "my unenlightened brother."

Auto-Pact: One of the study papers prepared in connection with last summer's **Economic Council of Canada** report favouring **free trade** asserted that the U.S.-Canada auto pact was disadvantageous to Canada and becoming more so. The study was ignored, and the Economic Council now denies that such a document was ever prepared.

A CBC story: When a top CBC exec, who for charitable reasons shall remain nameless, was brought to London by the BBC to view the **Forsythe Saga** for possible purchase, he exclaimed: "You know, you should hire a writer to write a book based on your series. It's fantastic."

A labour note: **CLC President Joe Morris** flew out to Vancouver shortly before **Dave Barrett's** tough back-to-work legislation to see B.C. Federation of Labour president **George Johnson** to plead with him to cool things on the labour and strike front. He argued that if labour didn't slow things down they would assure an N.D.P. defeat and a return to Social Credit government in the next provincial election.

Some vigilance: In Quebec the **Liberal Party's** next campaign slogan for an election expected next autumn will be "Notre gouvernement est vigilante". This is apparently a reference to all the scandals that have wracked the government, which, for the first time in history, the government will attempt to take advantage of by claiming responsibility for uncovering the scandals. By this token, some government somewhere will seek re-election on the basis that they showed themselves to be utterly incompetent on the basis that they themselves revealed their incompetence.

Another 'wise man': **Marc Carriere**, an associate of the **Trudeaus, Pelletiers**, and other federalist reformers of their ilk in the fifties but who opted for business instead of politics, is headed for bankruptcy. His huge Place Dupuis complex, which includes Dupuis Frere's department store — one of the largest in Montreal — is in serious financial trouble. The mortgage bills are overdue, and the whole lot will be taken over by multi-millionaire industrialist **Jean Louis Levesque**. Carriere, who once threatened to withhold construction of a department store

in Sept-Isles if the city persisted in voting P.Q., was once regarded as the business example — Trudeau being the political example — of the new French Canadian man, highly successful, fast rising, brilliant, intelligent, etc. His bankruptcy doesn't bode well for the Trudeau stewardship in Ottawa — what with Pelletier gone and Marchand on the way out.

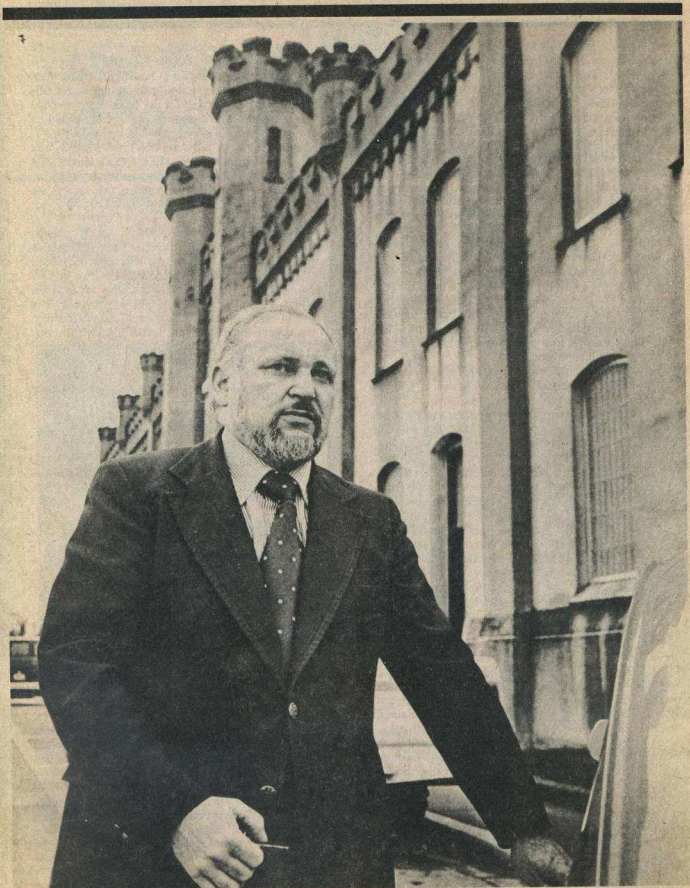
Olympic Beat — A Montreal taxi driver recently had the good fortune of picking up a high **COJO official** who was in a rather boozie state accompanied by a young blonde. The taxi driver overheard things that he was not supposed to hear. The result: he now has a \$19,500 a year job as a COJO limousine driver.

Bounty-hunters: Recruiters are scouting around **Canadian militia** mess halls trying to interest Canadian reservists in careers as **Rhodesian mercenaries**; salary offered is \$24,000 a year plus a \$500-a-head "bonus", as they politely put it. This is actually a bounty for any poor black who is unlucky enough to get within range of a mercenary's gun sights. . . . This reminds me that scalping was not actually an Indian practice until the British and French introduced the system of offering bounties for dead Indians. A scalp was required to collect the bounty. The system was so efficient in Newfoundland that the Beothuks were entirely wiped out, which is why Newfoundland today has no Indians and no land claim problems.



Robert Cliche: will Gay Paree beckon?

Rumours: Calgary business circles — meaning legal and oil — were seized a few weeks ago by a whirlwind rumour that **Pierre Trudeau** had resigned. The oil barons were delighted and flooded the East with phone calls soliciting confirmation. I take the opportunity here and now to deny the accuracy of that rumour, although I would like to take credit for propagating the successful rumour seven months ago that **Gerard Pelletier** was headed for the Paris ambassadorship. At the time I mentioned that former Quebec Education Minister **Guy Cloutier** was angling for the job, but might have to settle for diplomatic status as Quebec's Delegate General à-bas. Poor old Cloutier may have to wait. The ever astute **Robert Bourassa** is trying to move **Judge Robert Cliche** of Cliche Commission fame away from the scene of action by offering him the plum Quebec post in Paris.



Dragan Cernetic, Warden of the British Columbia Penitentiary, stands outside the prison walls.

THE B.C. PEN: Two days last June

by Paul Knox

The clerk of the New Westminster, B.C. provincial court read the charge with a straight face. It was alleged by the Crown that three B.C. Penitentiary inmates wilfully and unlawfully murdered Mary Steinhauser, a prison classification officer. It was August 18, a little more than two months after Steinhauser — one of 16 hostages seized June 9 by the three in a desperate bid for freedom — was killed by a prison guard's bullet in the clumsy, bloody climax to the breakout attempt. Named on the murder charge were Dwight Lucas, Claire Wilson and Andy Bruce.

Lucas, 20, swarthy, wiry-haired, proud to the point of defiance, heard the charge and spoke out. "How come Hollinger's name is not on there?" he asked. "I want to charge him with murder and attempted murder on top of it." Lucas had been asleep in the penitentiary classification office, outside the vault where the hostages were held, shortly before 1 a.m. on the morning of June 11. The hostages had attempted to overpower Wilson, who was supposed to be keeping an eye on them in the vault, and a squad of guards had rushed to their assistance, opening fire. Bruce, holding a knife to Steinhauser's throat in the outer room, was critically wounded; Steinhauser was dead on arrival at hospital, of a bullet to the heart. There were no stab wounds.

The squad was led by Albert Hollinger, a security supervisor at the B.C. Pen. We know, from testimony at the judicial inquiry into the incident headed by B.C. Chief Justice John Farris (*Last Post*, October, 1975) that Hollinger deliberately mixed up the squad's guns afterwards in an attempt to conceal the killer's identity; we know too that one guard's name is linked with Steinhauser's death in scrawled graffiti inside the Pen. Nevertheless, the three inmates were charged with the murder, under an obscure provision of the Criminal

Code which reads: "Culpable homicide is murder . . . where a person, for an unlawful object, does anything that he knows or ought to know is likely to cause death, and thereby causes death to a human being, notwithstanding that he desires to effect the object without causing death or bodily harm to any human being."

So the cons were holding the hostage, the guards charged the cons, the guards shot the woman, but the cons are charged with the murder. Once again the prisoner takes the rap; once again those in power have tried to justify a bungle by turning public hostility against a convenient scapegoat.

Society has failed the prisoner more than the prisoner has failed society. Most people know that, so prisons tend to be an embarrassment in a nation such as Canada, where an entire culture and ideology has been built around the concept of personal liberty. Prisons are shoved into the recesses of the public consciousness; they exist, but only as a vague deterrent. This is as governments and the ruling class would have it; the prison is not a fit subject for public scrutiny, but the prisoner is there to be conjured up ignorantly, if need be, for political advantage.

At times, however, prisoners demand that society pay attention to them. The matter is invariably approached with distaste, as a family would deal with a drooling insane relative. A lurid interest in the prisoners' behaviour is generally combined with much wailing and breast-beating about the inhumanity of the prison. Newspaper stories inform us of the "indignities" suffered by prisoners, but suggest that the cause is a lack of staff and money, and dwell at length on the "frustrations" of the authorities.

In British Columbia, the current round of half-hearted public examination of the prison system began last January when a 24-year-old B.C. Penitentiary inmate named Donald Oag forced a sheriff's officer at knifepoint to drive him into downtown Vancouver, where Oag disappeared into a shopping crowd.

Serving a manslaughter sentence, Oag had spent much of the last four years in solitary confinement, and he was one of a group of eight prisoners who had sued the Canadian Penitentiary Service for allegedly subjecting them to "cruel and unusual punishment" in the form of incarceration in "the hole" for unspecified reasons and indeterminate periods.

For more than a week after his escape Oag eluded a massive manhunt, sleeping under bridges and in abandoned buildings, emerging every so often to steal food, or money for food. Newspaper reaction was varied; one unforgettable headline screamed "Hungry killer terrorizes city", while a columnist suggested that Oag was acting more like a frightened "trapped animal" than a lunatic killer.

Shortly after Oag was recaptured — he surrendered without a struggle — the seven other convicts who were parties to the lawsuit appeared in federal court in Vancouver for the beginning of the trial. Handcuffed and heavily shackled, they listened as Judge D. V. Heald ruled that they could not be present together in court to hear the trial because, together, they constituted a "security risk". Thereupon, the trial was adjourned until this fall when the inmates were allowed to appear.

The courtroom experience of these inmates is only one example of the restrictions placed on them, which range far beyond the simple fact of incarceration inside prison walls. Once sentenced, they are subject to stringent rules of conduct, arbitrarily written and enforced, which bear no relation to the sins they are alleged to have committed. Some manage to survive the assault on their humanity; others react with violence, or — a more recent development — by trying to fight the system peacefully.

Andy Bruce was one of the eight inmates involved in the lawsuit. He was released from solitary this Spring, but the conclusion that the federal court's ruling (and its confirmation by the Federal Court of Appeal) had a direct effect on his decision to plan the June breakout attempt is inescapable. He's spent nearly two years in solitary confinement. His lawyer tells the story of one incident there in which a guard who mistook Bruce for another prisoner who was making noise ordered him to be quiet, then squirted tear gas in his face, forcing him to crawl to a wash basin to rinse out his eyes. Now he couldn't even be present to hear his own lawsuit; clearly there was little reason to have faith in due process.

During the last few weeks before the seizure of hostages, Bruce became acquainted with a prison worker who did not fit the para-military mould into which most are either pre-cast or fitted: That was Mary Steinhauser, the 32-year-old classification officer, with a master's degree from Simon Fraser University, who developed a curious, intense relationship with the inmate just prior to the hostage-taking. Mary had no close friends among her fellow prison workers; the details of her relationship with Andy come from a California professor named Nat Hickerson, a close friend who made a number of visits to Vancouver on personal business during the last year, and with whom Mary spent most of the last weekend of her life.

According to Hickerson, Andy began to visit Mary a few



Mary Steinhauser: died when the guards changed

weeks before the incident in which she died, and by the week before the hostages were seized he was spending as much as three or four hours a day in her office. A classification officer's job is to interview prisoners regarding their placement in the range of activities offered in the penitentiary service — whether they are destined for minimum, medium or maximum security, and what their "rehabilitation program" will consist of — and to help organize group activities, arrange for prisoners to have the benefit of various services, and testify about them at parole board hearings. Naturally some classification officers take their duties more seriously than others; Hickerson and some ex-inmates of the B.C. Pen say Mary Steinhauser was one of the most accessible.

"Mary's office was a constant hotbed of activity," Hickerson says. "She made it available to prisoners to call their lawyers or to aid in any way in pursuing their legal rights. She refused to perceive her job as simply deciding whether a convict should be playing checkers or weaving baskets."

For Andy this was something new. "Andy found in Mary for the first time a human being, someone in the prison system, I think, he couldn't pigeonhole as a pig, and it intrigued him. He was in Mary's office every day, and he resented anyone else coming in. This was a problem, because he was a powerful figure inside the Pen, and she had other people to see.

"But she recognized in Andy an enormous mind. He just toyed with her. Everything she would suggest, he'd parry it. They had arguments. It developed into a relationship between two human beings that was a very intriguing relationship. They both highly respected each other, and yet they hated each other."

Ironically, Andy even taunted Mary, suggesting that he might seize her as a hostage and asking what she would do.

Hickerson recalls that on that final weekend, Mary was

obsessed with Andy. Like many who are disillusioned with the state of Canada's prisons, Mary had not come to any definite conclusions as to what, if anything, should replace them. "She thought a lot of the inmates were justly convicted," Hickerson says. "But she was always asking why they had to be in the B.C. Pen. Why couldn't they take them up north, somewhere where there was real work they could do, and let them roam around a bit?" With the demands Andy was making on her time and energy, the frustration of Mary's job had reached an intolerable level. Just before Hickerson left Vancouver on the day before she was taken hostage, Mary told him she'd decided to quit the Pen and return to school.

Shortly before 8 a.m. of Monday, June 9, Steinhauser was in her office in a structure known as the "classification building", about 100 yards inside the main gate of the B.C. Pen. With her was another classification officer, John Ryan, a tall, bearded, balding Englishman who had taken photos at a social evening Steinhauser had helped the inmates organize. Ryan had just developed his prints and had shown them to Steinhauser. As he was leaving her office, he told the Farris inquiry into the hostage seizure, Bruce and Dwight Lucas came charging at him. Threatening to cut his throat, they pushed him along a hallway to a room outside a vault used to store old records and equipment. There he found other classification officers and a couple of inmates, also being held hostage. (The inmates were later released, when Bruce and Lucas determined that they were not "rapists" and "child molesters" from the Pen's "protective custody unit". A classification officer suffering from a heart condition was also released, leaving 15 hostages.)

According to the testimony at the Farris inquiry, Bruce was unquestionably the leader of the three, and the calmest during the drama. During almost the entire 41 hours, he sat on a couch in the ante-room outside the vault, holding a knife to Steinhauser's throat. Lucas, 20, flitted back and forth between this room and the vault where the other hostages were held, often erratic in his behaviour and comments, displaying little judgment. Bruce repeatedly told him to "cool it". The third inmate, Claire Wilson, 26, was even more spiny than Lucas; as the hours wore on, he would become progressively drugged and useless. He ventured outside the vault only once. Bruce and Wilson carried 15-inch kitchen knives and Lucas one with a nine-inch blade; the inmates also had dinner knives and a pair of scissors, and a couple of plastic containers of gasoline.

Their demand was simple — safe passage by air to a foreign country — but the inmates had no clear idea as to which nation might be willing to accept them. Bruce was later described as "a very political person" by his lawyer, and there were a few raised eyebrows when the inmates asked for "a member of the Marxist-Leninist party" to help negotiate their release, but it became apparent that this did not convey any political perspective other than the vague notion that such an intermediary might suggest a country which would accept the three.

A team of negotiators requested by the inmates was as-



Andy Bruce: angered by lawsuit problems

sembled, including two lawyers, a reporter, an open-line broadcaster and a radical journalist. They were given access to the vault where the hostages were held, and reported that the authorities were extending every co-operation. The inmates' demands for food, portable toilets, a radio and a television set were met. They also asked for and received an almost unlimited supply of tranquilizers, which they tested on the hostages before using. (Wilson and Lucas appeared unable to exercise much self-restraint in the use of the drugs; hostage Ryan later testified he was afraid the inmates planned to drug and kill their captives.) Journalists covering the event were treated courteously, in contrast to previous incidents at the B. C. Pen.

Meanwhile, the penitentiary laid its plans for ending the siege. A rifleman was dispatched to the prison yard behind the classification building. In the event that a deal had been made to transport the inmates out of Canada, Warden Dragan Cernetic later told the Farris Inquiry, a team of sharpshooters would have surrounded the helicopter landing area with orders to pick them off if possible. Finally, two six-man "tactical squads", armed with penitentiary service .38 calibre pistols, were established. One team was on duty at all times, with orders to move in with "fire power" if any physical harm was done to the hostages. Since the inmates were also in possession of gasoline, a third squad was established, this one armed only with fire extinguishers. How these squads were chosen, and the qualifications of their members for the heavy responsibility which their position entailed has never been made public. It is known, however, that the RCMP volunteered its services; the offer was declined.

The next day, Tuesday, the federal cabinet met for two-and-a-half hours to consider the situation. Some effort was made to contact foreign embassies to see whether any country might accept the three inmates; but Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau later indicated that in any event the government would have gone back on a promise of safe passage. ("We would hound them wherever they were," he told a reporter.) A Canadian Forces helicopter stood ready to ferry the convicts to the Vancouver airport. Nine nations refused the government's entreaties; finally, one as-yet unidentified country offered to take Bruce, Lucas and Wilson, incarcerate them immediately, and return them to Canada.

Any chance of implementing even this dubious solution vanished, however, when Jim Murphy, regional penitentiary director, whom Solicitor-General Warren Allmand reached at home, failed to communicate the offer to his underlings or to the negotiators. "I didn't feel that I was at liberty to do so or that anything would be gained by sharing this information with the negotiators or with the inmates," Murphy told the Farris inquiry.

Nevertheless, on that Tuesday night, the intermediaries noticed a cooling in the authorities' attitude toward them when they returned to the penitentiary from a dinner break. At one point, a broken conversation over a walkie-talkie radio concerning a plan to "go in when they passed the ice in" was heard, but the suggestion was vetoed by Cernetic.

At the same time, however, prison nurse Al Hadvick (who heads the prison guards' union) had received a whispered message from one of the hostages, to the effect that they planned an attempt to overpower the convicts at 11 p.m. Hadvick nodded his approval. He suggested to his superiors that it might be "an advantageous time to move", although he had misgivings because Steinhauser was "getting a bit hysterical" and he was afraid she might interfere with such a

plan. Cernetic claims, however, that the authorities' policy was not to initiate any hostage breakout attempt, and Hadvick managed to signal the captives that the attempt should be called off.

Just two hours later, the hostages apparently tried it anyway. Prison nurse Tom Hudson had relieved Hadvick of his post outside the door to the vault shortly after midnight on the morning of Wednesday, June 11. He told the Farris inquiry that he had asked another nurse, Patricia Graham, to watch the door while he went to the washroom. Bruce was fixing Demerol, Lucas too was in the outer room but was asleep, and Wilson was in the vault but was apparently so out of it that Bruce felt him untrustworthy, and had Lucas confiscate his knife. As Hudson entered the washroom, he heard "a shout, screams and a banging sound", and Graham shouted: "Tom, there's something going on in the back."

What was "going on" was that the hostages had overpowered the dopey Wilson and were in the process of tying him up. From the evidence heard by the Farris inquiry, it seems fairly certain that there was no signal from the prison authorities for a hostage breakout attempt — that it was simply the result of 41 hours of mostly sleepless frustration, and a conviction, as one of the hostages put it, that "there would be several dead by morning" if nothing were done. (It is also certain, however, that the hostages knew any breakout attempt would immediately be supported by tactical action on the part of the authorities.) In any case, once the hostages moved, the authorities considered themselves released from any obligation to stay cool, and the prearranged plan went into effect. Hudson ran out of the building to the trailer a few paces away and yelled "Hit it!" to security director Leech and Albert Hollinger, the guard supervisor who had been designated the "unit commander" of the tactical squad on duty. Leech got guards into position outside the building; Hollinger went into the classification building to rally his troops.

Led by Hollinger, the six-man squad, armed with .38 calibre revolvers, took up their positions in a matter of seconds and smashed the opaque windows to give themselves a clear shot. Without naming Hollinger, Leech testified at the Farris probe that the squad commander ordered the inmates to "throw down your weapons, release the hostages." According to Hudson, Bruce waved his knife at Mary Steinhauser's throat and yelled, "I'll kill her." Eight shots were fired; two struck Bruce in the jaw and spleen and one pierced Steinhauser's heart. Hollinger then collected the guns, on the incredible pretext that Bruce, Lucas or Wilson might have grabbed one of them. (Wilson was bound hand and foot, Bruce critically wounded and there were about 10 guards in the room to subdue Lucas.) No report of which guard carried which gun was kept.

Leech's testimony regarding the surrender order allegedly given the prisoners was uncorroborated at the Farris inquiry, at least in public. No such order was heard, furthermore, by prisoners who have sworn affidavits relating what they saw and heard from their cells as close as 100 yards away. These prisoners did, however, hear something else; as related in the October *Last Post*, they



The Farris Inquiry: Henry Popp, penitentiary service security chief; Chief Justice John Farris; Jack Lynch of the John Howard Society

claim there was an interval between the shooting of Bruce and that of Steinhauser, but the Farris probe ended without hearing this evidence. It also refused to hear testimony from Andy Bruce, who has cancelled his plans to make his story public because his health is not good and he fears reprisals from prison guards. (He will, however, have his day in court at his trial.)

This was only one of the ways in which the power of the inquiry was circumscribed, by the government which set it up and by Farris's refusal to take public evidence into sensitive areas. From the start, the Trudeau cabinet was more interested in deflecting public criticism of the penitentiary system away from itself than it was in a thorough investigation of the Steinhauser killing. The probe was set up under the Penitentiaries Act, which provides only a \$400 maximum fine for an individual convicted of refusing to testify, upon conviction in provincial court. By contrast, a royal commission may hold a recalcitrant potential witness in contempt indefinitely. When the 14 surviving hostages and the members of the tactical squad refused to discuss in public the final moments of the drama at the B.C. Pen, there was little the commission could do, except hear them in private. To initiate a prosecution would have been pointless.

Trudeau also made it clear in announcing the Farris probe that he did not expect it to delve into the actions of his cabinet, or into government policy with regard to such incidents. Although the official terms of reference did not exclude such examination, the commissioners apparently respected the prime minister's wishes in this regard. Therefore the government has not been held to account for its apparent refusal to consider sending the prisoners out of the country with no strings attached, or for its lack of action on penitentiary reform.

Had the prison employees testified in public, we might know who initiated their uprising, whether it resulted from communication with prison authorities, whether indeed Steinhauser was shot several seconds after Bruce and after she begged not to be shot, and whether any of the tactical squad members bore a particular grudge against Steinhauser or Bruce. (We do know, for instance, that security director

Leech hated the leader of the breakout attempt; he testified that "Bruce and I have an understanding that we are just not personalities who get along. He considers me as a hard-nosed correctional officer and I consider him as an inmate of some degree of notoriety.") In addition, the inmates' lawyers were excluded from the in-camera sessions, so the adversary system which is supposed to be the best way of getting at the truth was not in operation during the most crucial testimony.

The result was that the hostages were allowed to pick and choose the questions they wanted to answer, at least at the public sessions, and they stuck to lurid details of their captors' behaviour during the ordeal. Ryan told of Lucas sticking a knife in his ear and tipping a bottle of mercurochrome in his eyes, threatening to shave heads and referring to the hostages as being "on death row". Another said Lucas wore gloves and sneered: "I better keep the gloves on because if we start killing I don't want my hand to slip in the blood." Not exactly the behaviour of polite society; on the other hand, the circumstances were somewhat strained.

This testimony appeared calculated to paint the prisoners as little better than animals, a favourite view even among those who claim to be in sympathy with the prisoners' cause. Radio open-liner Gary Bannerman, a negotiator in the incident, is fond of saying: "You treat them like animals, they'll act like animals." A more astute assessment might be that human beings treated like animals react like human beings — that Bruce, Lucas and Wilson exhibited forceful, decisive, logical action on the mental level at which human beings are supposed to perform, in answer to the cruelty and inhumanity of prison life.

There were other obstacles to a full investigation of the incident. Commission counsel John Rowan was a provincial prosecutor until he recently took up private practice. Too often, he simply led witnesses such as regional director Murphy and warden Cernetic through their evidence, bridging their pauses with such hard-hitting questions as: "And what happened then?" He did not, for example, quiz Cernetic on the make-up of the "tactical squad".

For their part, the inmates' lawyers were bound to be

(Continued on page 32)

Reprisals against activists

Prison authorities can be heavy-handed when it comes to launching reprisals against prison activists on both sides of the walls.

In B.C., the authorities have used a really effective, yet subtle, means of crippling the prisoners' movement. As fast as outside supporters of prison militants can be identified, they are cut off from visits or other business they might have on the inside.

By disrupting these crucial communications links, the authorities at three B.C. penal institutions have generally been able to avoid using more repressive methods, such as slinging militant prisoners into solitary confinement or pressing for conspiracy indictments against their friends on the outside.

It's not that B.C. prison authorities are necessarily any more humane than their counterparts in, say, Ontario, where ten activists of the summer sit-down strikes at Millhaven Penitentiary were sent to the hole.

Blatant reprisals ruled out

Blatantly repressive reprisals are ruled out in B.C. (so far) because the prison struggle here has reached a relatively advanced stage after a year of strikes and the establishment of locals of the Prisoners' Union at all three institutions. Prisoners and their allies on the outside, especially the Prisoners' Union Committee (PUC), have learned how to focus public scrutiny, and sometimes even public scorn, on the more outrageous acts of the authorities.

Still, the more subtle reprisals can be just as damaging. That's why a whole range of defensive responses has had to be undertaken, some of them effective and some not. These are measures that other prison activists across Canada will have to consider as the struggle intensifies and the authorities become more sophisticated.

At the maximum-security B.C. Penitentiary, a federal institution, prisoners were promised by Solicitor-General Warren Allmand that there would be no reprisals if their strike last summer for better conditions remained peaceful. But shortly after the conclusion of the six-day strike, a number of people linked to PUC found themselves barred from making personal visits to friends on the inside.

A prison official even confirmed to a PUC lawyer the existence of an "undesirables list" of alleged PUC members who were judged to be "threats to the security of the institution."

The list, which included at least eight names, was compiled after photographs were taken by prison security staff and police at three PUC rallies outside the walls. Among those included on the list were a PUC lawyer (he can still get in to see his clients, though not without harassment); an articling student (she can't get in under any circumstances); a woman who asked too many questions about the killing of a prison social worker by a guard during a hostage-taking incident; and a member of the American Indian Movement (AIM).

When one official was asked by PUC to justify the barring of individuals who, after all, were only exercising their right of free speech and peaceful, lawful, political association, he replied: "If I came into your home and started to criticize, you'd want me out, too." When it was pointed out to him that the offending individuals had not been criticizing on the inside and, anyway, a federal penitentiary is not a private home but a public institution which must be open to public scrutiny and criticism, he just shrugged: "I don't see it that way."

The Pen authorities are relying on "commissioner's directives" from Ottawa, but these only empower them to control or eliminate visiting privileges of individuals with criminal backgrounds or those who might incite prisoners to commit crimes. In the closed society of the penitentiary, however, the warden and his staff are not likely to tolerate any such restraints on their arbitrary exercise of power. So far, the most effective response to this form of reprisal has been a purely individualistic and non-political one: a few individuals have gained re-entry to the Pen after personally convincing the warden that they were not PUC members.

A legal challenge over visiting rights would be iffy and probably too time-consuming to have much immediate impact. Conceivably, it would hinge on the Bill of Rights' guarantees of freedom of expression, but Canadian courts have been less keen than those in the United States to interpret this guarantee in a broad manner.

While the barring of visitors can weaken a prisoners' organizing drive, it can be absolutely devastating to the individual prisoners who hang on to their brief visits from friends and relatives as a lifeline to the real world. But the authorities have other ways of punishing prisoners as well.

Discussion groups shut down

All clubs and discussion groups at the Pen have been shut down indefinitely, and outside organizations, such as the Native Brotherhood, are still being turned away. A lot of mail from the outside, especially if it is suspected of being tainted by PUC, is returned as undeliverable.

Ex-prisoners are also being harassed and intimidated. One individual was told by his parole officer that he would be arrested if he continued speaking out publicly on behalf of PUC, and another found himself virtually cut off from his legal methadone supply. One prisoner who had supported the strike learned that his transfer papers to a minimum-security institution had been sidetracked for several weeks.

The three Pen lifers who held 15 hostages for two days in June in a vain escape bid (this incident was one of the precipitating causes for the strike) were later subjected to physical abuse by the very guards who were scheduled to testify against them. One of the prisoners, who had been shot by a guard during the incident, was in need of further medical attention; but the authorities refused to allow an independent physician to examine him. Another of the trio was teargassed in his cell five times and intimidated by

programmed to intimidate

having a gun pointed at his head, and the third was transferred to a psychiatric unit in an attempt to demoralize him.

All three came into court to complain that they feared for their lives while at the Pen. Their lawyers, one of whom was connected to PUC, argued successfully that they should be transferred to a provincial institution, Oakalla Regional Correctional Centre, for safe-keeping. In this case, it was a well-researched and documented courtroom presentation, backed by an effectively-orchestrated public campaign by PUC, that brought results.

However, when the three prisoners were removed to Oakalla, they got more of the same treatment. Within 24 hours they were back in court, covered with bruises and scratches. They complained of unprovoked beatings; the authorities said there was good cause. The judge didn't take sides, but obviously impressed by the evidence brought by lawyers for the prisoners, he reminded the Oakalla staff that they had a duty to "keep prisoners safely and not use excessive force."

Since then, the beatings appear to have subsided. But for a while, the guards were putting human feces in the three prisoners' food, stripping and frisking them in the middle of the night and destroying their letters and reading material, including documents necessary for their legal defence. This form of harassment ceased after the lawyers complained directly to the Oakalla warden, who was obviously under pressure from the NDP.

The Oakalla authorities have also barred a lawyer for one of the three prisoners on the grounds that she is a woman and might be taken prisoner by her own client. And the common-law wife of the same prisoner is being kept out on a trumped up charge put forward by B.C. Pen authorities.

But that's not the end of federal-provincial co-operation. The provincial government has now gone into court to have the three prisoners sent back to the Pen. This clearly takes the pressure off the Pen officials, who might otherwise seem a bit too anxious to get the three back in their clutches if they went to court themselves. Lawyers for the three are fighting the move on the grounds that their clients can't get equal protection before the law while in the Pen; that Pen authorities already presume them guilty with respect to the hostage-taking charges (the Pen warden and security chief visited the three at Oakalla and advised them to plead guilty to non-capital murder to save everybody the trouble of a trial); and that an effective defence can't be conducted while the defendants are in constant fear of their life.

When 150 Oakalla prisoners staged their own sit-down strike early in the summer over conditions within the institution, the warden and his staff put the blame on outsiders. As one high official said, "the prisoners are too dumb to organize anything on their own." Consequently, the authorities have attempted to remove or intimidate visitors and prison workers who they suspected of encouraging or

inciting the prisoners.

One of these was Claire Culhane, who in a previous incarnation was a crusader for Vietnamese national liberation. Culhane had been teaching a women's studies course in the Oakalla women's unit as part of the extension program of a local college, but was suddenly barred after the strike. She complained to the B.C. Human Rights Commission, but so far has gotten nowhere. The commission seems to take a narrow view of the provincial human rights code: it opposes discrimination because of political belief, but doesn't extend this protection to legal and peaceful political activities.

Guards at Oakalla have harassed a teacher (a Catholic nun) who they suspected of harbouring unauthorized sympathies. They have slammed doors in her face and tried to provoke her in countless petty ways. And a woman law student who works on a legal aid project was warned to shape up or be shipped out.

A legal aid worker at Matsqui Institution, a federal medium-security facility, was fired shortly after a one-day strike there. But it wasn't the prison authorities who cashiered him; it was the B.C. Legal Aid Society. The society's main involvement within prisons has been to defuse discontent by focussing on individual legal problems rather than collective grievances. Again, an appeal was made to the B.C. Human Rights Commission, and again the results have been disappointing.

Reprisals have also taken place outside the prisons, but so far these don't seem to have been part of any grand conspiracy. The law firm most closely associated with PUC was visited by auditors from the B.C. Law Society shortly after the Pen strike and told its trust accounts were to be checked. These audits are generally conducted on a random sampling basis, but in this case the timing was too close for comfort: if the accounts are just a few dollars off (they weren't), a firm can be shut down on the spot.

A *Vancouver Sun* reporter who was supplied with a number of newsworthy stories and tips by PUC suddenly found himself under investigation by his own editors on suspicion of cozying up too much with his sources. And a Manpower Outreach worker was told her contract wouldn't be renewed because of her association with PUC.

PUC sees the fight against reprisals as one of the main tasks at this stage of the prisoners' struggle because communication between inside and outside are vital. None of the strategies employed thus far has met with universal success and new measures are being tried. The ultimate defense, though, is to strengthen and expand the organization internally; individuals who are unknown to the authorities will step up their contacts with the inside, while those whose cover has been blown will surface in one or another of the public groups that are forming to bring pressure for change within Canada's prison system.

(Those interested in more information can contact the Prisoners' Union Committee, 207 Hastings, Vancouver, B.C., phone: 669-3723.)



Negotiators make their way inside

circumspect in their questioning. Their clients faced not only the murder charges but counts of unlawful confinement, attempted extortion and possession of dangerous weapons. Their defence might be prejudiced by what came out at the inquiry. With the Prisoners' Union Committee excluded, the only potential opposition was the Steinhauser family, but it apparently lacked either the money or the inclination to do so. The Trudeau government refused to pay for a lawyer to represent the relatives at the inquiry.

Serious lapses in prison security also came to light in the Farris probe, and the commissioners' report undoubtedly makes extensive recommendations in this regard. Security is naturally a major problem in an institution such as the B.C. Pen, and since prisons are not a place on which the government likes to spend any more money than necessary, security is difficult to maintain. There is not enough money to hire enough guards, and the low wages encourage corruption — as Mary Steinhauser found to her dismay. But to suggest the hostage incident was caused by a lack of security is like saying Indochina was liberated because the U.S. didn't have enough troops there; it blames the result on the inadequacy of the precautions. Yet it was on this point, rather than the conditions which gave rise to the incident, that the penitentiary authorities were most extensively grilled.

The only witness who testified about the nature of the prison system was called on July 2, a day when prison workers across Canada walked out to "mourn" Paul Gosselin, one of their number who was killed during an escape by a prisoner he was escorting to hospital. The witness was Inger Hansen, government-appointed ombudsman for the penitentiary service, who described some of the conflicts which exist inside Canadian prisons. Farris agreed with her that

solitary confinement was "inhumane"; she testified further that many inmates thrown in solitary become suicidal and more violent than when they went in. Hansen also offered the opinion that prisons are better located in smaller communities, where townfolk are more receptive to work-release programs and prison guards are more likely to see each other socially and discuss inmates.

One of the most serious conflicts in the larger prisons, Hansen continued, is between prison guards and non-security personnel such as classification officers. The guards see the prison's primary function as immobilizing prisoners; the "bleeding hearts" want to mobilize them to lead useful lives. This apparently prompted the commissioners to ask Cernetic later whether Mary Steinhauser was sufficiently "security-conscious"; he replied that she "implicitly trusted her clients, and if she had any doubts, she tried to resolve them by talking to other inmates."

Cernetic later testified that he would have liked the authority to call in an "outside" tactical squad such as the RCMP which had no "emotional ties" with the Pen or anyone working there. There is no indication, however, that the commissioners were sufficiently interested in conflict within the prison service to ask the hostages or the members of the tactical squad whether it had any bearing on any part of the hostage incident.

At this writing the secret Farris report reposes in the office of Penitentiary Commissioner André Therrien, who has said that if it is ever made public the parts which bear on "penitentiary security" will be deleted. This term, of course, is potentially sufficiently broad to exclude all the major questions concerning the hostage-taking which still remain: who killed Mary Steinhauser, was she shot before or after Bruce, how were the "tactical squads" organized, what is the source of the desperation which leads to such incidents.

As a forensic investigation, the inquiry was a joke. It raised far more questions than it answered. But it was, from the start, an attempt to divert the attention from the federal government's unwillingness to dismantle a prison system which can only give rise to more such tragedies.

As a means of ensuring that public outrage over the Steinhauser killing was restricted to the familiar hand-wringing and tongue-clucking, it appears to have been largely successful. Editorialists who rapped the commissioners on the knuckles when the gaps in testimony became too glaring have been silent since the chief justice fingered Albert Hollinger as the man who tampered with the evidence. And you can hardly say at this point that the prisoners have widespread public sympathy.

The Farris diversion poses the question: why is the Canadian state so intent on seeing the maximum-security institution retained? We are used to hearing that the Canadian system of justice is more interested in punishing crimes against property than crimes against people. The penitentiary system bears out the opposite conclusion: most inmates at the B.C. Pen and other maximum-security institutions have been convicted of violent crime against individuals, often not related to crimes against property such as bank robberies.

The answer must be that the convict is a convenient enemy. War against an external foe has always been a mechanism for unifying a nation behind the leadership of a particular class. War against an internal foe, the criminal, serves a similar purpose — perhaps even better, since the alleged threat is more easily perceived. If the worker is a wage slave, and has not yet found a way out of that position, the thought of someone getting for nothing what he works so hard for is infuriating. The fear of an irrational attack, if skillfully whipped up, can be enough to divert attention from more important political or economic concerns.

In the U.S. Richard Nixon began a war on "crime in the streets" soon after he was elected president. In recent weeks, the Trudeau cabinet is said to be focussing on two main problems: economic conditions and "peace and security" in the streets. Trudeau himself has said the two questions are directly linked; crime increases as the economic situation deteriorates. The retention of the maximum security penitentiary is thus assured, in all likelihood. We are all potential criminals as well as potential victims. A full prison is our reassurance that crime doesn't pay — either for the present-day criminal, or for us, if we should be tempted to transgress.

The role of punishment in the corrections system, in fact, is enjoying renewed attention from criminologists who are disillusioned with the admittedly dismal performance of most "rehabilitation" schemes. "Retribution" is the password to a developing school of thought which holds that the main justification for punishment is to reassure the populace that justice is being done.

"The way that the criminal law operates is to rely on and reinforce the popular view that because the offender committed a crime, it is right that he should be punished," states a recent report on the B.C. provincial corrections system. In this view, punishment should fit the crime — a sacrilege to the rehabilitationists, who believe passionately that punishment should be tailored not only to the criminal act, but also to the circumstances, and above all, to the individual. The retributionists, by contrast, say that "the offender in choosing to commit a crime is also choosing his punishment, and is settling the balance which his unfair intrusion into the sphere of his neighbour's rights through criminal conduct has created."

The reaction against rehabilitation stems partly from a number of studies which show that methods now in use have failed significantly to reduce the rate of repetition of offences, partly from some U.S. horror scenes in which "rehabilitation" took the form of scary behaviour modification, and partly from the fact that indeterminate sentences and other "rehabilitative" techniques put too much arbitrary power over an inmate's life in the hands of prison authorities and social workers. In fairness, it would have to be said that rehabilitation never got the money or the imagination it needed; the disillusionment of Mary Steinhauser would seem to be evidence of that.

But those who now argue for a return to punishment for punishment's sake appear to recognize the value of the prison system as a means of social control. Rehabilitation said: "Society is best protected, in the long run, when the offender is 'made over' so that he will no longer act at the expense of others". Retribution says: "Society (i.e., the social order) is best protected when the offender is publicly dealt with according to a well-defined set of laws, so that everyone can see the consequences of a criminal act." Is it a coincidence that this theory is resurfacing at a time when rising unemployment

and other economic difficulties carry the prospect of a general increase in crime?

The reaction to the failure of rehabilitation has also taken another direction. There are those who argue that a system which did not include incarceration, or at least did not include maximum-security prisons, would be the most sensible way of dealing with modern crime.

A strong advocate of this position is the U.S. writer Jessica Mitford, who argues in *Kind and Usual Punishment* that the vast majority of prisoners could be turned loose and would pose no more threat to society than the average person walking the street. There would be a few repeat offenders (although some of the worst crimes, such as murder, show an extremely low recidivism rate), but in social terms this would be far outweighed by two factors: first, prisoners swallow an enormous amount of tax money, and second, there is much evidence to suggest they create, or at least confirm, criminals rather than steering them on the road to a normal life.

M

eanwhile, life at the B.C. Pen and in Canada's other prisons goes on. It's a life of monotonous routine at times, but the prisons have always been places of ferment, and inmates are becoming resourceful in trying to fight back.

In late September, the federal court resumed its hearing of the lawsuit brought against the Queen and B.C. Pen Warden Cernetic by Andy Bruce, Donald Oag and six other Pen inmates or ex-inmates, alleging that indeterminate solitary confinement on vague grounds constitutes "cruel and unusual punishment" contrary to the Canadian Bill of Rights.

A deposition from Oag, now in Ontario's Millhaven Penitentiary, said he has tried 10 times to kill himself while in prison, including a dive through a third-storey window while he was undergoing treatment for wounds inflicted in an earlier suicide attempt. Another time, he said, he slashed his wrists with bits of razor blade: "I was taken to the prison hospital and stitched up . . . I was sent back to the hole. They just put a bandage around it and I cut up again the same night. I did it with my fingers that time. I just tore the thing open, tore the bandage off and tore the cut open, just tore it open with my fingernails. Then I was taken to a hospital."

Andy Bruce described the psychological deterioration of the people who surrounded him in solitary at the B.C. Pen and Prince Albert penitentiary. "They start to drag you down with them. They're just not there. They're just not in this reality. Pretty soon you start understanding them and you know you're in trouble." One inmate who tried to hang himself "said he had a 'machine' in his head, a thing he called a machine." What bothered Bruce most about solitary? "Not being given a reason why you're up there and not knowing when you're going to come down."

Prison rebellion is clearly a challenge to state power. Whether it is a serious challenge to the economic system will only become clear as the revolt becomes stronger. It will be interesting, and probably chilling, to watch the prisoners who are still in "this reality" as they clash with the Trudeau administration's new-found concern for "peace and security".

Bogus populism: How Lougheed and Syncrude keep the lid on

by Jim Anderson



Syncrude President Frank Spragins poses in the oil sands

In Alberta there exists a long and hallowed tradition of bogus populism among political leaders.

Premier Lougheed's predecessor, Ernest Manning, who now graces the boards of directors of central Canadian banks and insurance companies (not to mention the biggest financial club of all, the Canadian Senate) chalked up whopping electoral victories for decades largely on the strength of his opposition to "eastern financial interests".

Similarly, the populism of the present mayor of Calgary, Rod Sykes, is just a little suspect. Sykes rose to prominence in Calgary as the general manager of Marathon Realty, the real estate arm of the CPR. For generations the CPR has been one of the chief targets of western populists. Nevertheless, the good mayor recently recorded another smashing victory at the polls as a result of his spirited crusade against vested interests in the city.

Premier Peter Lougheed, who is suspected in some quarters of not being entirely unfriendly to the American-owned oil industry operating in Alberta, has evidently perfected the bogus populist formula. Despite his pro-industry stance and patrician lineage, he enjoys a carefully cultivated image as a down-home man of the people. He appears to be fighting the battle of the little guy against an exploitative federal government in order to get a "fair return" on the province's resources "for the people of Alberta." For fighting the people's war against Ottawa, Lougheed and his followers were rewarded with the biggest majority in the province's history in the election earlier this year.

No less an authority than *Oilweek* magazine, the house organ of the oil industry located in Calgary, recently depicted the premier in the popular tradition of protector of the people with a poetic flare that contrasted sharply with the number-crunching and the unlettered rhetoric that is the normal fare of industry journals. *Oilweek* dubbed him "Lochinvar Lougheed" — the white knight — picturing him galloping off to do battle with Donald "Thumper" MacDonald on behalf



'Lochinvar Loughheed', as *Oilweek* dubbed the premier

of the distressed people of Alberta. Unfortunately, this is the exact image of the premier shared by most Albertans. In a recent letter to the editor of an Edmonton newspaper, for example, a reader stated, thanks to Loughheed, she was no longer ashamed of admitting her Western origins to people in "eastern" Canada.

Ironically, while Loughheed — and, by implication, the government of Alberta — have built a great reputation of populism based upon their rhetoric of winning a fair return for Alberta's oil resources, it is precisely in the area of petroleum policy that they have most seriously abdicated their responsibility. They have been out-manoeuvred by the 20th century Sam Slick of the American-based oil cartel, as University of Toronto economist J. K. Rea suggests:

"One does not have to accept the extreme 'left' view of the multinational corporation to recognize that in terms of bargaining power the oil companies now operating in the north may be better equipped than all other interest groups, including government, combined."

The most striking example of the commanding role of the oil cartel is in the development of the Athabasca tar sands where they have, as Larry Pratt says (*Last Post*, Vol. 4, No. 5), "once again used their veto power, their power as monopolists to block oil sands development except on their terms."

As a 'parallel power', the Syncrude consortium not only scored a major victory over the Loughheed government, as a large number of secret company documents leaked to Larry Pratt suggest, but also at the February 3 meeting in Winnipeg Syncrude triumphed once again by inducing the governments of Canada, Alberta and Ontario to put up nearly 80 per cent of the cost of the Syncrude operation in return for 30 per cent of the equity.

Throughout the continuing negotiations over increasingly

better terms for Syncrude, there emerges a clear picture of the Loughheed government constantly prostrating itself before the consortium.

We have, for example, the spectacle of then Imperial Oil Company President J. A. Armstrong prepping the premier of Alberta in advance of his journey to Ottawa designed to wring concessions from the federal government for Syncrude, in which Imperial Oil is a major participant. The leaked company documents also contain a statement by Frank Spragins, president of Syncrude, telling his superiors in the participating companies that Loughheed is not "off the hook" in regard to the negotiations for more concessions from Ottawa.

The government of Alberta appears to play the role largely of a legitimizing agency for the consortium's designs on the oil sands and as an instrument to keep the federal government at arm's length. There are numerous examples of Alberta-Syncrude collaboration in battle with Ottawa and with political enemies within the province.

There is invariably a joint industry-province position worked out for each major concern relating to Ottawa and on almost every aspect of the operation as it affects the province. This collaboration can be well-documented in the related areas of propaganda and environment (in many ways, environmental matters are reduced to propaganda).

The close P.R. link between the Loughheed cabinet and Syncrude is of long duration. As early as September 21, 1973, shortly after the announcement of the "go" decision on the Syncrude venture, Spragins wrote to the participants: "Premier Loughheed called today and personally congratulated and thanked Syncrude on the manner . . . in which Syncrude handled its end of the publicity with regard to the announcement to proceed."

Just over a month later, on October 26, Spragins made the following comment:

"Don Getty [now Energy Minister] attempted to correct some of the adverse publicity in the legislature by answering statements made by Grant Notley (NDP member). Notley got lots of press coverage but Getty's reply received virtually no mention in the press. Syncrude is now preparing a series of corrections in the form of a speech which will likely be presented on November 2nd. The plan, hopefully with full news media coverage, has been discussed with Alberta cabinet ministers and is proceeding with their enthusiastic encouragement."

The promised speech, delivered to a special meeting of the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce in Spragins' soothing Mississippi drawl included the patriotic cliché that "we as Canadians must find rational solutions to the energy dilemma now facing our nation." The 'parallel power' was thus directing the play against Alberta's duly elected opposition. Don Getty found himself in the role of second-stringer, as he had in the past when he served as back-up quarterback to import Jackie Parker of the Edmonton Eskimos football squad.

As good as he is at public relations, Frank Spragins is a crack administrator and must spend much of his time at other corporate tasks. Another Syncrude veteran, John Barr, holds the position of company P.R. manager. Barr's background is perfect for the job of selling the U.S. consortium to his fellow citizens. In the early 60's, he headed the anti-communist student group called Young Canadians for Freedom at the University of Alberta, which was the precursor of the still-active Anti-Bolshevik Youth League. Barr wrote features for



John Barr (left) orchestrates Syncrude's P.R. operation; former Environment Minister Bill Yurko (centre) felt the oil companies always got their way; Dave Russel (right) has been environment minister since last March.

the student newspaper on such topics as "Reds in Guiana" and he successfully completed an M.A. thesis entitled "Communist International Front Organizations: An Analysis of the International Union of Students".

After a stint writing editorials for the *Edmonton Journal*, Barr became a senior political hack in the Social Credit government. As assistant to the Minister of Education, he was once sent to Calgary to pacify a student audience that was incensed about remarks by a Social Credit member of the Legislature who said that radical students should be booted out of the university. Barr reportedly asked the students not to hit him over the head with his party's "cavemen".

No stranger to neanderthal politics himself, Barr wrote the following in a November 16, 1962 edition of *Gateway*, the student newspaper, about British Guiana:

"What wealth there is in Guiana aside from the meagre, questionable assets in rice and sugar (which are not in great demand) has been brought in by foreign capital."

Predictably, Barr is an invaluable asset to Syncrude. He apparently convinced Syncrude to undertake several public opinion surveys to gauge public acceptance of the tar sands venture. This "Social Impact Study", Barr suggested at a June 5, 1972 Syncrude managers' meeting, should incorporate both positive and negative impacts. Cultural breakdown among native people as a possible result of the Syncrude project, he said, might be countered by a "bronze is beautiful" pitch to native workers. In keeping with the conventions of public relations, he recommended silence on any negative information about the company's social impact. He told his fellow managers "remember that we are interested in 'good news' and 'bad news' — the good news (wherever you run across it) is grist for our information program; the bad news is food for thought."

About 17 months later, Barr put principle to practice. When Bill Dickie, then mines and minerals minister for the Alberta government, requested a copy of Syncrude's social impact survey, the managers' minutes of Syncrude dated November 12, 1973 state that "Mr. Barr made a xerox copy

of some of the pertinent data but did not send the whole report." Yet, in a speech to the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce on November 2, 1973, President Frank Spragins claimed that the Syncrude-Alberta agreement includes provisions by which "the Alberta government has access to all of the books, records, contracts and other internal documents of the Syncrude project." When an Edmonton anti-pollution group got wind of the study and requested it for their environmental education program in Fort McMurray schools, Syncrude refused to release it. The government would not even acknowledge that they had it.

Part of Syncrude's P.R. policy is designed to protect the company from charges that it lacks innovativeness — i.e., merely copying the primitive process of its smaller predecessor in the area, Great Canadian Oil Sands (GCOS). Syncrude has attempted to forestall the criticism in at least two ways.

First, John Barr advised his fellow executives at a Syncrude managers' meeting on "answering embarrassing questions" in this regard. The minutes dated Aug. 28, 1972, read in part: "John Barr posed the following question: How should we answer those who ask, why did Syncrude choose almost the same process design as GCOS after all its years of research? ... the answer we give will help to shape our corporate image for innovativeness."

Secondly, Syncrude has taken specific measures to conceal the fact that Esso Research and Engineering, a wholly-owned American firm, does much of the consortium's research. Syncrude's fluid coking technology, for example, is a proprietary process licensed to Esso Research. Syncrude documents show that the participating companies decided that "in no way was it politically acceptable" for Esso Research to issue a press release on the work it was doing for Syncrude (Syncrude minutes, Oct. 29, 1973). Meanwhile, federal authorities complain that the "proprietary" information licensed to ER&E makes fully adequate environmental investigations impossible.

Alberta cabinet ministers are extremely co-operative in allowing Syncrude to cover up normally public information —

especially in the area of pollution. A minor stir was created in Alberta recently when a Syncrude document was made public which appeared to indicate that a deal between the company and the then minister of environment, Bill Yurko, had been consummated which was designed to cover up 'sensitive' pollution information. The offending document, a copy of the minutes of a Syncrude managers' meeting dated Oct. 15, 1973, stated:

"Dr. Goforth met with Mr. Yurko last week to discuss the matter of confidential material which we present to that department. Mr. Yurko had earlier stated that any and all information given to his department would become public knowledge. It was agreed that any information given to the department of environment marked 'Confidential' would be so maintained if that was Syncrude's wish."

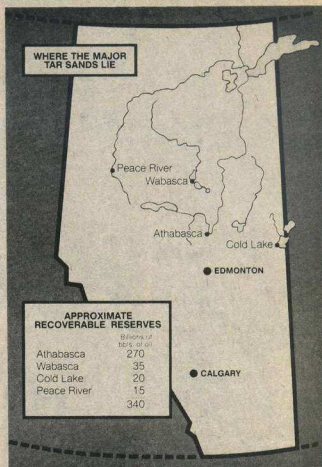
The importance of secrecy of environmental information is obviously of extreme importance to Syncrude and to the government of Alberta. It is not inconceivable that a policy of paying for adequate environmental clean-up would scuttle the project. This prospect is implicit in a series of guidelines on the sands presented to the Alberta cabinet in a confidential report leaked to the Alberta NDP. In a somewhat cosmic metaphor, Lougheed's environmentalists warn that reclamation measures must be beefed up to avoid creating "a vast environmental scar to infinity."

Despite this, the oil sands are the key to Lougheed's dream of an industrial Alberta. Syncrude, the first major plant in the sands, cannot be allowed to fail. Industrialists at the helm of the company as well as provincial cabinet ministers clearly recognize the elementary principle that environmental costs only become expenditures if you pay the bill. Relaxed environmental regulations and maximum secrecy will go a long way to ensuring that ecological 'costs' are absorbed by the ecosystem — plants, animals, humans, air, water and soil — and therefore never end up as a budgetary expense. A thousand dollars spent on P.R. to gloss over environmental problems will easily save a million in eventual cleanup costs.

There is plenty of evidence of the Alberta government's willingness to grant special relaxed pollution standards to Syncrude. During the question period following a speech to the Instrument Society of America (Calgary Chapter) at its meeting on January 23, 1973, Alberta's then environmental minister, Bill Yurko, appears to have virtually conceded this point. A Syncrude 'scout' in the person of senior process engineer R. B. Gorby was in the audience. In a confidential report to his superior three days later he revealed that when the Alberta cabinet minister was questioned "on the possible delay or cancellation of the development because of unrealistic environmental standards," Mr. Yurko (according to Gorby) replied in part:

"The oil companies have an extremely powerful lobby and have always ended up getting their way on environmental standards."

As if to fulfill his own prophecy, Yurko allowed Syncrude to double its proposed emission rate for sulphur dioxide — up from 140 tons to 287 tons per day. Federal authorities insist that the rate should be as low as 40 tons per day (one-seventh the proposed level) if commercially available technology were used. Similarly, Alberta is allowing Syncrude to employ electrostatic precipitations (designed to reduce emissions of heavy metals) which operate at a 75 per cent efficiency rate. Federal scientists point out that these anti-pollution devices "conventionally operate at better than 99 per cent efficiency." Yet both the company and province have fre-

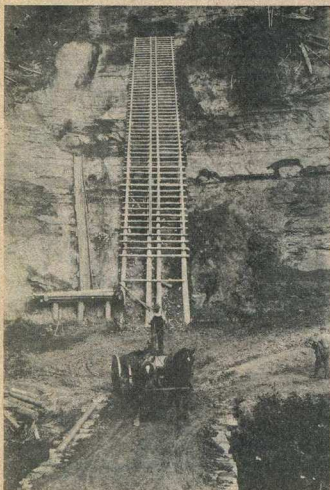


quently declared their commitment to using "the best practicable technology" in pollution control.

The federal environment minister, Madame Sauve, has been making noises for months about her intention to force the province and the company to upgrade its pollution abatement technology to federal standards. Yet as late as mid-August of this year, a senior member of the joint federal-provincial environmental task force said that he was unaware of any concern by Ottawa about disagreement over excessively high emission levels.

There is evidence, in fact, that Madame Sauve's officials based in Alberta are somewhat softer on Syncrude than are their counterparts in Ottawa. A memo to Sauve from her assistant deputy minister, Jean Lupien, for example, stated that when 'Headquarters Staff' received a report on Syncrude's Impact Assessment prepared by Alberta-based federal officials, they "were of the opinion that even greater emphasis should be placed on the likely major environmental consequences." It would take an unusual amount of courage on the part of Alberta-based federal officials to stand up to Lougheed and Syncrude in their self-proclaimed domain. Headquarters of the federal Environmental Protection Agency in Alberta are located in the Imperial Oil Building in Edmonton.

Federal authorities also overlooked the fact that there is no adequate provision in the Syncrude agreement with Alberta to provide for necessary reclamation. In their 70th page "Comment" on Syncrude Environmental Impact Assessment dated August 19, 1974, federal authorities mistakenly claim that the company is subject to the Alberta Land Surface Reclamation and Conservation Act. In fact, according to the



Historical footnotes to the tar sands: at left is the Thomas Draper quarry (known as the McMurray Asphaltum and Oil Co. Ltd.) in 1923, and above is the first production from the Research Council of Alberta plant in the Athabasca tar sands, 1930

Canadian Environmental Law Association and legal sources in Edmonton, Syncrude is not subject to the provisions of this Act because Alberta has conveniently classed it as a 'quarry' rather than a 'regulated surface operation', despite the fact that it is one of the biggest strip mines in the world.

Instead, the government of Alberta and Syncrude talk vaguely of a 'reclamation bond' that Syncrude is at some future date to produce. Former Environment Minister Yurko is on record as saying that such a bond will consist of a levy of three cents per barrel of synthetic crude oil produced. Again Syncrude's minutes of October 29, 1973 appear to contradict him, stating that Yurko "had agreed to a deposit of one cent/bbl. of synthetic crude produced" In a rare show of force, Yurko demanded that the interest on the bond (about \$37,000 per year) accrue to the government. Spragins objected, making a counter-proposal. At last count the issue was still unresolved but in view of the outcome of minor family quarrels between Syncrude and the Cabinet in the past, the outcome is predictable.

The government representatives on the Board of Syncrude do not appear to offer any comfort in terms of even a slight measure of control of the company. Alberta's current representative on the board, Tom Chambers, a petroleum consultant and a member of the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce, is decidedly not the swiftest of Tory backbenchers. In a T.V. interview recently, he had extreme difficulty remembering the name of the Land Surface Reclamation and Conservation Act. He was adamant, though, in asserting that whatever the name of the Act, it would force Syncrude to do

a proper reclamation job. Bruce Wilson, slated to be Ottawa's appointee to the Syncrude board, has now evidently been dropped. Wilson, known for his progressive views on tar sands development may have been quietly dropped as yet another concession to the company.

Available evidence indicates strongly that increased government participation in Syncrude will serve as a device for co-opting governments rather than offering the public a lever with which to force Syncrude to act in a responsible manner.

With heavy public investment, yet no governmental control, the stage is now set for a colossal confidence trick whereby Syncrude can claim that its corporate interest is identical to the public interest. Direct equity investment by government, a promise of a further 20 per cent option by the Alberta Energy Company (a vehicle for investment by the 'little people' in Alberta), and the likelihood of participation by Petrocan, will allow Lougheed and Syncrude to argue that the people of Alberta and Canada have a very real stake in the commercial viability of Syncrude. Counter-claims based on the likelihood of environmental damage or destruction of the native way of life in the tar sands region will not stand a chance against the hallowed right of the small investor to get a fair return on his money.

Having thus staked out their political position based on a bogus but effective pitch to the strong populist tradition of the province, Lougheed need not fear an effective challenge to his policies in the electoral sphere and the Syncrude consortium will have consolidated its position as 'parallel power' with unquestioned supremacy in the Athabasca tar sands.

Bear View



The noble Mountie gets the wicked half breed in this typical 1928 Hollywood movie

- MacFadden on Berton's Hollywood — p. 39
- Orr on porn films — p. 41
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- Democritus on science — p. 45
- Reisler on Cuban women — p. 47
- Cohen on DREE — p. 48

At least you know they're kidding

by PATRICK MACFADDEN

Hollywood's Canada: The Americanization of Our National Image, by Pierre Berton. McClelland & Stewart/Toronto. 303 pages. \$13.95.

"How is it for the Jews in Valleyfield?" asks Richler's Takifman, loitering in Tansky's. Pierre Berton has been out looking at how it is for the Canadians in Hollywood. Mainly it's bad.

Spruce trees instead of pine, Mount Rushmore standing in for the Rockies, villagers along the St. Lawrence skipping around the Maypole, miners north of Calgary dancing the

Paul Jones ("Ees a dance les voyageurs 'av brought to dees con-tree," explains one of them.) And so on. Berton and his considerable team of research people have sat through hundreds of terrible films and our sympathy must go out to them.

Some early voices were heard to suggest that Canada should have its own film industry in order to establish a uniquely Canadian point of view. The Annual Report of the Ontario Board of Censors for 1930 expressed concern about the Americanization of the screen. This caused Ray Lewis, the editor of the *Canadian Moving Picture Digest*, a trade magazine owned by the Yanks, to speak out:

"In respect to the ethics of life, the moral fibre of our Being, I see no difference between the people of the U.S. and

Canada! ... No U.S. picture which I have ever seen has taught Canadians sedition, or disloyalty to Canada, nor to the Empire."

What you might call your good corporate citizen argument; all the more weak, of course, because it is true. If ever a country needed a strong dose of "seditious" films it was the Dominion.

Pierre Berton's book is very funny. His summaries of plot and treatment are uproarious. The photographic stills are splendid. My own favourite is from *McKenna of the Mounties*: "Buck Jones's brother Mounties look on while he takes the traditional lashes of a man dishonorably discharged from the Mountie service."

The real Mountie couldn't take it

An ex-corporal of the RCMP, one Bruce Carruthers, was hired by Hollywood as a technical adviser. He had a really bad time. He kept pointing out things that were all wrong. To the director of *Northern Pursuit*, a 1943 film directed by the great Raoul Walsh, Carruthers observed that a water cooler in a remote northern outpost was "more out of place than doilies on a police desk." By 1947 poor old Carruthers had had it: "I will be very happy when I can bow my way comfortably out of this inharmonious, disloyal and unintelligent industry," he wrote to his commissioner in Ottawa. And so Carruthers came home and quite soon died.

Berton is very good when he talks about the deals made between Hollywood and various Canadian governments. One deal was that everything would be okay between our two great countries if only Hollywood would put in a lot more references to Canada so that we would get a lot of tourists to come here to the wonderland. But sometimes his sense of the ludicrous deserts him. When he asks some Americans what they think of when they think, if at all, about Canada, Gore Vidal replies, "... one thinks of the Queen and cowboys

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James Lorimer & Company, Publishers

... That's a little joke by Vidal and Berton should be aware of it.

In fact it's the serious parts of this book that are disappointing. "Cinema is not a slice of life, but a slice of cake." Hitchcock said. Berton, however, thinks that Hollywood should be faithful to social reality, should not stereotype and should make good movies. This, I submit, is ridiculous. The whole point about Hollywood is that it's a fake. There's not much point in worrying about spruce versus pine in an industry that constructed its sets in such a way as to ensure that Jean Arthur's entrances would allow her to show only her "good" side to the cameras.

As for the Americanization of practically everything, what does Pierre Berton expect? Listen to this exchange between Frank Capra and Dimitri Tiomkin as director and composer discuss in elevated prose the kind of score required for Capra's superb *Mr. Smith goes to Washington*:

"Now, Dimitri! Forget Borodin and Moussorgsky. Only native American themes, hear? Folk songs, Stephen Foster, Sousa, W. C. Handy —"

"Frank, vat you theenk, I'm like children? Papichka, in my head is notes like apple pie to American —"

That was Hollywood. Italians and Greeks putting everybody on. (The montage for *Mr. Smith* was created by another typical Yank called Slavko Vorkapich, second unit and insert layouts by Charles Vidor, just off the boat from Vienna.) There have been a number of what you might call *The Elephant and the German Problem* books in the last decade. This is the result of the idea, popularised by the New Left in the sixties, that there is a connection between anti-imperialism and cultural autonomy. And no doubt there is such a connection but it's hard to get at. Furthermore, there's something bandwaggony about the image of blacks in film, women in film and suchlike. I even saw an article a while ago called the image of the male in Canadian film, surely a bit precipitate. Such taxonomies tend to lead to mechanistic habits of thought and are ultimately reductive. There's a lot more needs to be said, for example, about Willard Van Dyke than that he was responsible for *Rose Marie*. Berton confines his observations on this great film artist to a grudging footnote.

My main concern though is with Berton's argument that Hollywood's treatment of Métis, French-Canadian evil trappers, etc. can be seen as the source of racist feeling in Canada. He doesn't quite say that; but there is a feeling that if only we'd been left alone with our uniquely Canadian point of view, all would have been well. (Agreed, C.B. de Mille did awful things to Louis Riel's image: but think what we did to his windpope.) Let me refer Pierre Berton to those marvellous school texts for the province of Ontario, distributed by the T. Eaton Co., and also mandatory in Prince Edward Island, circa 1910-11. There he may read, as I have been doing recently, of the glories of the 'Aryan Race,' not to mention the congratulatory essays on the 'new Republic of South Africa,' where "all race barriers have been thrown down," a wondrous place entirely except that "... As in Canada, there is to be an elaborate equality of the two languages, English and Dutch. This is looked on as a mistake by many."

On balance, I'd prefer to take my chances with the Hollywood version — Nikki Duval, "the untamed spitfire of the Canadian woods," and the Wicked Half-Breed, Jacques Doré. At least with Capra and those guys, you know they're kidding.

Movie review

Oh!

by CAROLE ORR

histoire d'O [The Story of O] directed by Just Jaeckin

Which of the following does not belong? Why?

1. Tristan and Isolde
2. Casablanca
3. Leda and the Swan
4. Making Hay: The Secret Desires of Farm Girls or Separating the Men from the Goats. (In Full-Bodies Panavision and Technicolour.)

(Ans: No. 3. Bestiality definitely on the way out.)

Who is sensuous? Why? Why Not? Choose one in each category.

1. Mitchell Sharp/The Grateful Dead
2. Beryl Plumtre/Fritz the Cat
3. Jerry Ford/Anyone of your choice
4. Hardly anybody

(Ans to be tabulated.)

Pornographic films are:

1. An excellent method, when coupled with Yogic discipline, of stimulating endo-crinial neuro-spatial protoplasmic corpuscular well-being.
2. A Dirty Trick
3. Boring
4. Pornographic.

(How do you know, if you say you don't go???)

I don't. Just to some, you know, to see what's going on, since everybody's *talking* about them so much. I thought really I should see for myself, just a few, one or two, you know. Incredible waste of time, no plots, appalling acting, even with these new technicolour panavision all-star extravaganzas, like Emmanuelle, o Boring, or The Beast, well I mean ... The Devil in Miss Jones ... not bad ... Exhibition ... The End of Sex well I hope so! Zut!

The latest rage in Paris is to go to all this and more, and then decry how Boring it all is, alors. (Like myself, at the moment, though strictly in the line of duty, alors.) One out of every three films listed in the entertainment guide is a "film erotique" offering everything from soup to nuts, hard-core, or soft-boiled, for every taste.



Corine Clery: Elvira Madigan Sunlit Wash No. 3

We've had the manuals from A to J, now we've got the films to illustrate; all we need are Step-By-Step How-To Records from Reader's Digest Club. To complete the set. Besides All Spock and No J make F a dull lay, they say....

So at the moment everybody, absolutely everybody, is lining up to see the very latest, and supposedly greatest film érotique to arrive on the Champs Elysees (and coming your way SOON. Watch for It!!) *The Story of O*, a film based on the much acclaimed novel by the mysterious Pauline Réage, the now famous writer's fantasy of a woman, named only O, taken and trained in submission by her lover and his friends at The Chateau, trained to obey every command, subjected to chains and whips and every sexual whim of her "teachers", and, within the strange cool tone of Réage's prose, being perfectly content in that.

The book is extraordinary — both repulsive and moving, a Pandoran neverland of things perhaps better not thought, once thought, always a question. It has a grace and a certain flat honesty of style, and a perfect ambiguity of purpose. The

never really know if Réage believes in the masochist in woman, or if, as could be taken from the ending, she believes it is our destruction if allowed full reign, or if, on the contrary, the whole idea is a male myth, a conspiracy of the collective unconscious.

Hence all the mystery surrounding Réage: is she a she? is she a he? is she a they? is Penelope Ashe on the loose again? Réage is in fact a she, a French journalist with a 21 year old son, who finds people do make the strangest remarks at parties about this Réage thing. I was told this by Claude Giroux, a Quebec filmmaker who lives in France and owns part of a film co-production company here, the Compagnie Française Co-Production Internationale. He also owns the film rights to *The Story of O*. (Yes Virginia, there is a Canadian angle to everything. Even in an Agatha Christie a Canadian relative or insurance agent always turns up somewhere along the line.)

The book then, is profound and disturbing, both repulsive and moving. The film is repulsive and boring. Why? Where did we go wrong, Fred?

Perhaps it has to do with the fact that age mellows and

youth rangles: that literature can handle eroticism because it has all the experience and tradition of centuries to call upon for subtlety, passion, whatever, and that filmdom is still in its bathinette, splashing around in celluloid and the NOW world of *Vogue*, *Esquire*, and *Unituttifrutti*.

The Story of O (film version) certainly exhibits a lot of the kind of malaise that peers out at us from the goochy eyes of the Batwomen of *Vogue* or the husky flits in *Esquire* (manfully ignoring rougy females draped hungrily over their shoulders). Director Just Jaekin's *O* is an egg, a yawn, a zero, peopled by Beautiful Mannequins filmed in Elvira Madigan Sunlit Wash No. 3. Corine Cléry, who plays at *O*, is lovely the way fashion models usually are lovely — and miraculously remained so throughout several whippings. Hide of an armadillo, never showed a scratch. Udo Kier looked like he escaped from a Visconti movie. Anthony Steel, resuscitated to play the very, very urbane Sir Stephen, had apparently suffered a surfeit of his former wife Anita Ekberg. He is very tired. They all had the sensuality and depth of a beached mackerel (I think a *Globe and Mail* writer once described Lester Pearson that way).

At the end of *Casablanca*, you feel a deep wrenching tear at your heart, a grand wave of emotion, as the plane takes off into the night, and you know, you KNOW, they'll never see each other again.

At the end of *The Story of O*, you figure they likely all went out to a local discothèque, and hope they showered first. You know, you just KNOW, she is not going to ride like Brunnhilde into the flames of her lover's pyre as Wagnerian brass signals the fiery end of Vidal Sassoon's Hair Salon. Would that it were so. (Have you ever BEEN to Vidal Sassoon's? With big blow-ups of former women barbered into vampires of any sex and weedy coiffuriers hovering about with their scissors anxious to help you join the ranks, the places reek of misogyny, anti-female, anti-male, for that matter. Most hairdressers are like that, actually. *O* is like that.)


Brunnhilde brings another point to mind regarding the whole problem of sex and eroticism. In the whole of the Ring Cycle, Siegfried manages to actually *have* her only once, and it is, appropriately, a magnificent moment. Now try to picture the Gotterdammerung with Siegfried and Brunnhilde and their friends hopping in and out of bed, with great aaahing and grunting and so forth, before every aria, after every aria, in between sometimes, during the choruses. It loses something, no?

Like the unforgettable scene of Alan Bates, in *Women in Love*, delicately and pornographically demonstrating the art of eating a fig. Once is enough. Once is perfect.

Why is it then, that the era of sexual liberty is producing, increasingly, a genre of a kind of oversexed sterility, while other more repressive eras produced the great romances? (to make perhaps a vulnerable generalization). But what is there in Erica Jong's "candid" *Fear of Flying* and love of saying "fuck" to compare with the moment in Henry James' *Portrait of a Lady*, when Isabel finally, and once only, feels the "white lightning" of Caspar Goodwood's kiss? The heartache when she leaves London and Mr. Goodwood to bury herself in her matrimonial tomb in the ruins of Rome.

Ah Agony!! Exquisite, profound, soul-tearing, the force that through the green fuse drives the flower.

The agony of *O* and her porn playmates is equally exquisite, unimaginable torture, the force, one might say, that through the blue movie bores the beholder.



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305-280 Bloor St. W. Toronto, Ontario

A central figure in the OBU

by NORMAN PENNER

Survival: Labour's Trials and Tribulations in Canada, by Mary V. Jordan. McDonald House/Toronto. 292 pages.

This book is *not* about labour's trials and tribulations in spite of its title. It is mostly about the life and times of Robert Russell, the leading figure of the Winnipeg General Strike, one of the principal founders of the One Big Union (OBU), and its main officer up until its dissolution in 1956.

This misleading title suggests what is all too apparent in reading the book, namely, that the author, who was Russell's private secretary for 39 years, set out to write his biography but seems to have changed her mind in midstream. The result is at times painful and frustrating, because she constantly interrupts some interesting details about the life of Russell to wander into territory that has already been explored and to which she adds nothing. This is a pity because she does have personal knowledge about Russell and the OBU from a unique vantage point, and she also seems to have in her possession valuable primary documents of which we only see fleeting glimpses.

Yet, in spite of the manifest and sometimes maddening weaknesses of the book, it does manage to tell a story of one of the pioneers of Canada's labour and socialist movement that has not been told before.

Russell was one of a remarkable group of workers, most of whom came from Britain in the first decade of this century, who did the main work of establishing socialism in Canada, and also played a prominent role in the building of the Canadian trade union movement.

Russell one of a remarkable group

Russell, a machinist, arrived in Winnipeg in 1907 and shortly after got a job in the CPR shops. He soon became chairman of District 2 of the International Association of Machinists, a regular columnist in the *Machinists Bulletin*, and delegate to the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council. He also joined Local 1 of the Socialist Party of Canada, the main Marxist party in Canada at the time. Working during the day and bringing up a family, he devoted all his spare time to these labour and socialist activities, as well as engaging in serious reading and study of the socialist classics of Marx and Engels. He was an effective organizer, propagandist, and platform speaker, and quickly became one of the most prominent radicals in Winnipeg, which already could boast of an outstanding constellation of worker-intellectuals.

As head of the IAM in Winnipeg he fought the local manufacturers in the metal fabricating shops who were a particularly vicious anti-labour group, and who exercised considerable power in Winnipeg politics. He began the movement to coordinate all the craft unions in these shops to establish collective bargaining on a factory-wide basis, and this led inevitably to the idea of industrial unions and the OBU. He fought the top bureaucracy of the AFL, particularly Samuel

Gompers who preached and practised class collaboration on a wide scale, and who regarded the Canadian branches of U.S. unions as vassals of his fiefdom.

He fought the passivity of many of the top officers of the Trades and Labour Congress for their failure to lead struggles against the onerous burdens of the war which the working class was being forced to bear. In common with a great number of Canadian labour figures, he greeted and was stimulated by the Russian Revolution which he saw as an historic turning point in the fight for socialism. Out of all these currents came the explosive events of 1919, the Western Labor Conference which laid the basis for the OBU, and the Winnipeg General Strike, to mention the two most outstanding events of that period.

Russell found himself at the very centre of this upsurge of working class militancy and as a result, he was a prime target for Meighen's vengeance. Arrested by the RCMP on June 16, 1919, he was sentenced to two years in the Penitentiary, the stiffest sentence meted out to any of the Winnipeg strike leaders.

When he came out of penitentiary, he found himself under attack from various sources. The Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council was back in the AFL saddle, and many of

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CALL ME A GOOD THIEF



Donald Pollock

CALL ME A GOOD THIEF

By Donald Pollock

Donald Pollock was 18 years old. He was hungry and cold. He stole \$12.75. He was caught by the police, charged and sentenced to 3 years in federal prison. The place was Montreal. The year: 1958.

Some people wouldn't have believed Donald Pollock's incredible but true story before . . . but now he has written and published a book to tell the world. . . . Now believe him.

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Russell's erstwhile colleagues in the General Strike attacked him for refusing to give up the OBU. So did the newly-formed Workers' (later Communist) Party which included many of his former comrades of the Socialist Party of Canada. Under directives of the Communist International they now regarded the OBU as "secessionist" and made it mandatory for every Communist to oppose it. They even ran a candidate against Russell in the federal election of 1921 who garnered just enough votes to defeat him and elect a Liberal. During his incarceration, the Federal Department of Labour under Senator Gideon Robertson worked with employers and AFL officials to oust the OBU from many industries in which it had gained a foothold.

But Russell persisted and although the OBU disappeared in most of the country, it remained a strong body in Winnipeg with Russell as its main officer. When the CCL and TLC merged in 1956 to form the Canadian Labour Congress, Russell agreed to disband the OBU and have it join the united labour centre. He became the executive-secretary of the new Winnipeg and District Labour Council, CLC. He died in 1964 at the age of 75.

Key role in the early period

How to evaluate the man and his place in history? Mary Jordan tends to idolize him and to exaggerate his role. Certainly he played a key role in the first period of the Canadian socialist movement, and in the formative years of the Canadian labour movement. But after 1921 his importance declined because the OBU, which he continued to regard as the main vehicle for the Canadian trade union movement, did not measure up to those expectations. Thus he played no part in the great growth of the trade union movement, particularly in its take-off period in the thirties. Though he remained a Marxist to the end of his life, he ceased to be active in the socialist movement because he could not accept either of the two main socialist organizations, the Communist Party and the CCF.

Yet successes and failure are the stuff of Canadian labour and radical history. The cause of militant trade unionism, Canadian trade union autonomy, and labour political action which Russell was among the first to fight for, owe something to his pioneering efforts.

This is the first product of a new publishing house which will have to bear responsibility for many of the glaring errors and inaccuracies in the book. There appears to have been no editing whatsoever, and very poor proofreading. Thus J. S. Woodsworth is credited with founding the CCF in 1943, a year after his death; cut lines under some photographs are wrong; there is considerable confusion as to the names, dates, and characteristics of the socialist parties which existed prior to 1921. A reference to Sam Scarlett, popular IWW leader who turned Communist in 1924, is absolutely false. The author says "He went back east with Tim Buck. After that he was never seen again. Rumours hinted, about 1924, that he may have been murdered . . ." (page 185). Sam Scarlett was a very popular lecturer in the thirties. I myself heard him speak in Winnipeg many times. He died of a heart attack in Hamilton in 1940.

Yet the book is worth reading in spite of its faults, for the effort that is made to tell the story of one of Canada's early labour leaders, and because it does convey something of the flavour and spirit of labour in those days, as well as portraying rather vividly the hysteria that radicalism engendered in the government and ruling circles of Canada.

ELEMENTS

SCIENCE REPORT BY DEMOCRITUS

Dept. of sundry plugs

This month, **Democritus** presents a things-to-make-and-do-the-whole-day-through practical experiment in socio-ecological environmental studies. With a little political action thrown in.

Mister Justice Thomas Berger is conducting an inquiry into various undesirable pipeline schemes in the Mackenzie Valley. He has agreed to hear submissions from special interest groups in southern cities. Apparently the inquiry will go on — and the pipelines be delayed — until he's heard them all. Clearly, the longer the better, especially from the point of view of the native peoples whose lands and lives are to be raped, and who have unsettled land claims.

So ... if you don't belong to a special interest group, form one, and write to the inquiry asking it to visit your city to hear your submission.

The address is:

Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry,
124 O'Connor Street, 5th floor
Ottawa, Ont.

Ideally, submissions should not be frivolous, and should be co-ordinated with others, so the inquiry has as many reasons as possible to recommend against the pipeline schemes. **The Southern Support Group** has been formed to co-ordinate efforts.

Drop them a line too, at:

c/o Canadian Assn. in Support of Native Peoples,
251 Laurier Ave. W., Room 904,
Ottawa.

Every cloud

Thalidomide, the drug that crippled thousands of children, is still in constant use in a number of hospitals around the world.

The drug is proving highly effective in treating a reaction that strikes many **lepers**, controlling the intense pain, damage to nerves, skin sores, and blindness that the reaction can bring. The beneficial side-effect was found just before it was discovered that many pregnant women who took **Thalidomide** gave birth to deformed children.

The drug was prescribed as a tranquilizer, and doctors in the **Hadassah hospital** in Jerusalem found dramatic improvements in leprosy patients who had been given it. Research since 1966 has shown the benefits to be indisputable.

Curiously enough, the property behind the leprosy treatment is likely to be the same one that left thousands of children with awful deformities, and the negligent distributors of the drug with billions of dollars to pay in damages.

Many researchers believe that **Thalidomide** acted by

preserving the lives of deformed fetuses that would otherwise have miscarried, rather than by causing the deformities themselves.

Shake, rattle and roll

Two Soviet engineers have patented a new type of vehicle, which appears to be a cross between a flying saucer and a kangaroo.

The development was announced in the railway magazine *Gudok*, of which **Democritus** researchers are all, of course, faithful-readers. The rather more than somewhat enigmatic report said that the vehicle is a hemisphere on top of a dome-like chassis, powered by a mechanical vibration generator offset from the machine's centre of gravity.

The vehicle has been named **Katolyot**, meaning something which rolls and flies. According to *Gudok*, **Katolyot** rolls on its dome, with the mechanical vibration generator (some sort of piston, one supposes) bouncing it up into the air.

Pilots will be relieved to learn that the driving seat is fitted with shock absorbers.

Reefer madness

At times, it seems as though more people are studying dope than smoking it. The latest in the apparently endless contradictory studies of **Marijuana** use says that the only significant effect of smoking the killer weed occasionally is gaining weight.

The study was prepared by the **United States Army**, and released by a **Marijuana** law reform group who obtained a copy under the U.S. Freedom of Information Act. It found no significant effects on cognitive or neurological function, and no reduction in the male hormone **Testosterone**, contradicting any number of other studies on those same effects ... and supporting a similar number.

Take your pick.

B.C. breakthrough

A research team from the **University of British Columbia** believes that it is on the trail of an important breakthrough in Cancer research. However, **Professor James Kutney**, who has headed the 12-year-old project, believes it will be at least another year before their synthesized compounds will be available to sufferers of leukemia and **Hodgkin's disease**.

The man-made compounds, known as analogues, are similar to naturally occurring alkaloids derived from the

(continued on next page)

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Periwinkle plant. Such Alkaloids have been used for ten years to treat patients with **Hodgkin's disease** and acute leukemia. Tests using the synthetic analogues on animals have shown similar beneficial results.

Doctor Kutney said a major problem with both the natural alkaloids and the analogues is their toxicity, which causes harmful side-effects. The B.C. research team is trying to put together an analogue in which the chemical structure is effective in combatting cancers, but is not toxic.

Sarmatian nation excavation

Archaeologists in Yugoslavia are beaming over a discovery in the northern part of the country.

Workers on a dam project came across the ruins of a 19-hundred year-old city. Archaeologists working the site think it is a **Sarmatian city**, which, if true, would shed a great deal of light about the **Huns** and other predatory neighbors of the **Roman empire**.

Human bones, pottery shards and other artifacts have so far been dug up in a sugar-beet field near Yugoslavia's border with Hungary and Romania. Very little is known about the **Sarmatians** except that they dominated the area northwest of the Black Sea before being overrun by the **Huns**.

Doctor Laszla Szekeres, director of the excavation, even thinks there is a chance of finding the burial place of **Attila** — the king of the Huns who died in 435.

The twilight zone

According to a surgeon from the **University of Wisconsin**, psychics can diagnose illness with as much accuracy as doctors using medicine's most sophisticated tools.

Doctor Norman Shealy has completed 18 months of study, and says his results show that psychics can make accurate diagnoses three times out of four — about the same success rate as doctors — using no risky techniques such as X-rays. **Dr. Shealy** says if you put three psychics together, and they agree, there's a 98 per cent accuracy rate.

His study involved more than 200 patients and the services of a variety of **clairvoyants, palmists, numerologists and astrologers**. Most of the work was done by mail, with the psychics receiving photographs, birth dates, palm prints, and vague complaints of symptoms.

Dr. Shealy says the results he received were between three and ten times more accurate than chance.

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Mother Was Not a Person edited by Margaret Anderson

Canadian women became persons in 1929 when, after four days of debate, His Majesty's Privy Council overruled the Supreme Court of Canada which had decided in 1928 that under the BNA act of 1867, women were not persons.

This and other interesting facts peculiar to the situation of women in Canadian society are described in this anthology of writings by women.
258 pages, soft cover, \$3.95, hard cover, \$9.95

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Four typical Cuban women

by SUSAN REISLER

Buenos Dias Compañeras (Women in Cuba). Directed by Aviva Slesin; produced by Vivienne Leebosh, an Octopus Presentation.

You wouldn't leave yourself out on a limb today if you were to say that International Women's Year in Canada has not been a raving success. Little in terms of concrete projects has come out of the official recognition of 1975 as Women's Year. But there have been a few notable successes, and one of them has to be a new film, produced by Canadian women, about Cuban women.

Buenos Dias Compañeras is a portrait of Cuban women, as seen by Canadian women. It's an hour long documentary (57½ minutes to be exact), in colour. It's striking for its simplicity, and revelations.

The film focuses on four women from different milieus, but with a common bond. There's Haydee, in charge of a construction site and a construction worker herself; Gladys, her sister, who is a housewife; Angelita, a peasant who works in the cane fields; and Sara, one of Cuba's most popular singers.

The film makers capture a short bit of the lives of these women, with as much spontaneity as possible. The photography by Joan Churchill is sensitive and smooth. She makes even the bumpiest rides on the back of a truck look like the road is paved with fresh asphalt. The

cameras follow the women into their homes, to their work places and political meeting centres. We hear the opinions of the husbands, male friends and children, as well as the women.

The Cubans talk for the most part in Spanish. The translations and interviews were done by Selma Bryant-Fournier, a woman now living in Montreal who spent eight years in Cuba during the sixties.

Instead of having a word-for-word translation, the filmmakers chose, in the English copy at least, to have one woman not translate but just capture the essence of what the people say. This avoids the confusion of two people talking at once and a lot of voice-overs. It also permits viewers who understand Spanish to hear the Cubans.

Critics of the film have already said "it's too positive", "it makes life appear too good"....

Sure, life is great when you get up at five o'clock in the morning, prepare breakfast for your family, wake up your kids and get them ready for school, get yourself to work by 7 a.m., work a full day on a cattle farm, in a cane field or on a construction site, return home, prepare dinner, clean the kids (with the help of your husband), take in a political or social evening and then retire about midnight.

That's what this film is about. Typical life in Cuba, for women and men. It talks about building a strong country and strong people. But there's little glamour.

What the film shows throughout is the spirit of these women, their dedication to their way of life and their country.

You couldn't say it was a heavy political film, not in the sense that everyone discusses the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism or membership in the Communist Party. But socialist values underlie the spirit and dedication of these people. They talk about co-operation and collectivity, and progress.

For one old couple in their 70s, this means a move from their one-room thatched house into a new apartment complete with refrigerator, stove and indoor plumbing, and perhaps most amazing of all for the woman — a view, from all the windows.

The film portrays Cuban women, typical women, not the exceptions. As a frequent visitor to Cuba, I have met these women on farms, on the construction sites, and in the streets of Havana.


There are memorable scenes in the film — two older women talking about their role in the revolution, or Angelita, a 70-year-old peasant explaining why she likes to work in the cane fields; memorable conversations — about machismo, what is it and why it is still around. The people explain "it's going down" but then there's a shot of Cuban men driving in old 1950s cars or walking down the street, ever-ready to pay a compliment to a woman.

And there are memorable songs, by Sara Gonzalez, a member of the Grupo Experimental — Cuba's most popular

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Mumbles and Snits
Brewer Atkinson
illustrated by Ann Passell
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musicians.

The film has yet to be shown commercially. The producer, Vivienne Leebosh, is trying to get it distributed. If the usual conduits, such as television, don't get frightened by the film's reality, you may have a chance to view it at home on your screens.

It is also expected the film will be

shown in a number of centres across the country, coinciding with the visit of author Margaret Randall, a woman living in Cuba who has written many books about women in Cuba, Latin America and Vietnam.

If you have a chance to see *Buenos Dias Compañeras*, go, it's a good production.

crease employment as much as a neutral or labour-biased subsidy. Indeed, it may even decrease it! Output will be increased. This will have a positive effect on employment. But the price of machines has declined. This will have a negative effect on employment. The net effect is the sum of these two effects and can be either positive or negative.

DREE grants have all been capital-biased.

For modernization or expansion of existing factories, DREE will pay a fraction of the costs of plant and equipment. The actual amount is determined through negotiation on a case-by-case basis.

That these grants are capital-biased is obvious. They lower the cost of machines but leave labour costs unchanged.

For new plants, and for expansions to produce new products, DREE will pay a fraction of capital costs plus a certain amount per new job. Here, the capital-bias is not obvious.

However, Woodward has calculated that for most industries the formula lowered the capital costs significantly more than labour costs. He examined all of the grants made between November 1972 and April 1973. Depending on the method of calculation, he found that between 76 per cent and 100 per cent of these grants were capital-biased. (The low figure is reached by assuming that firms stay in business only four years. If we assume that they stay in business for at least ten years, then at least 94 per cent of the grants were capital-biased.)

In April 1974 DREE modified its formulas and added some new restrictions. These changes have increased the capital-bias, in part by reducing grants to relatively labour-intensive industries, where job creation per dollar of grant would otherwise be relatively high.

The fact that DREE grants are generally capital-biased is contrary to DREE's publicly stated goals. But it is not contrary to the general thrust of the Liberal government's policies.

In recent years it has become the responsibility of the federal government to maintain a high level of employment. Thus any policy whose stated aim is the creation of jobs earns the government votes. But the Liberals still have to please their business friends. Thus when there is more than one way of creating jobs, the one that creates more profits is almost always chosen. The choice of formulas for DREE grants is evidence of this.

THE LAST PAGE

THE GREAT MYTH ABOUT OTTAWA'S DREE GRANTS

by STEVEN D. COHEN

The Capital Bias of Dree Incentives, by Robert S. Woodward. Canadian Journal of Economics, May 1974.

The Effectiveness of DREE'S New Location Subsidies, by Robert S. Woodward. Canadian Public Policy, Spring 1975.

The Department of Regional Economic Expansion was created in 1969 "to provide incentives for the development of productive employment opportunities in regions of Canada determined to require special measures," according to the enabling legislation. Time and again, government ministers and civil servants have emphasized that the basic purpose of the department is *Jobs*. However, evidence was quickly available (see *Last Post*, July 1972, Vol. 2, No. 6), that the basic effect of the department has been *Profits*.

Recently, Robert S. Woodward, an economist at the University of Western Ontario, has shown that even if there weren't all the conflicts of interest and outright corruption in the department, the very formula used for calculating DREE grants leads to higher profits and fewer jobs than would other formulas.

There are many ways for the government to calculate the size of the grant a company will receive when it locates where DREE wants. As we shall see, different grant formulas will induce the receiving firms to hire different numbers of workers.

Not surprisingly, the government uses a formula which creates fewer jobs, per dollar of grant, than alternative for-

mulas. In effect, the government is buying jobs at a higher price than necessary. This is great for profits.

Before building a factory a firm has a fair degree of flexibility in deciding how many workers it will hire, how skilled or unskilled the workers will be, and what type of machines it will use. There are many factors which influence the decision. Among the most important are the relative prices of labour and machines.

If wages are high, the firm will use more machinery and less labour. If wages are low, the firm will use less machinery and more labour.

A subsidy or grant lowers the cost to the firm of producing its product. A subsidy can be labour-biased, capital-biased or neutral.

A neutral subsidy does not affect the relative prices of labour and machines. A labour-biased subsidy lowers the cost of labour more than the cost of machines. It induces the firm to hire more workers than a neutral subsidy. A capital-biased subsidy has the opposite effect. By lowering the cost of machines relative to the cost of labour, it induces the firm to hire fewer workers than a neutral subsidy. All subsidies lower the cost of producing a given output. Under most, but not all, conditions, this will induce the firm to expand output.

A neutral subsidy will increase employment only because output is increased. A labour-biased subsidy will increase employment both because output is increased and because the firm will hire more workers and purchase fewer machines to produce any given volume of output.

A capital-biased subsidy will not in-

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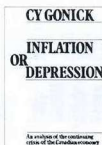
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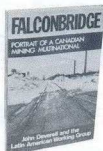
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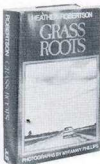
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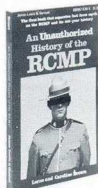
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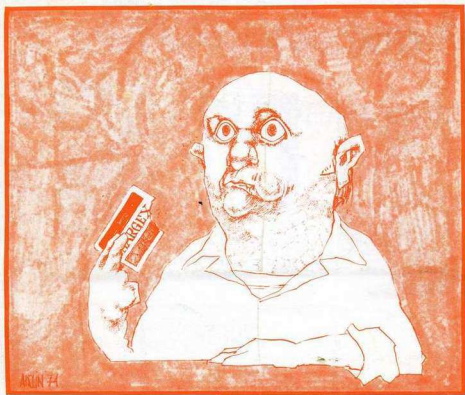
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