

THE LAST POST

AUGUST 1976/75 CENTS

**OLYMPICS:
Now it's become
a War Games**

Canadian Labour Con

11th
CONGRES

Joe Morris:
**'CURSE
YOU,
NASTY
LIBERALS'**



WOW! THIS COST A MILLION BUCKS YOU SAY, PIERRE... ANY BROADS?



ART LINKLETTER '76

THE LAST POST

August 1976, Vol. 5, No. 6

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THE OLYMPICS: THE MONTREAL WAR GAMES 1976

by EDIE FARKAS

MONTREAL—

Nuclear threat at Olympics fear groundless, police say — news headline

A 16,000-member security force, the equivalent of two entire combat battalions, has been mobilized for the Olympic games. This represents one-seventh of Canada's total armed forces.

Diefenbaker wants death penalty in case of terrorism at the games — news headline

The Olympics army is larger by far than Canada's total military presence in the Middle East and Cyprus. It is the biggest operation since the Korean War, says Major-General Roland Reid, chief Olympics security co-ordinator for the department of national defence.

PLO promises not to touch Montreal — news headline

The co-ordinator of Public Security for the games, Guy Toupin, would like an extra 2,000 personnel added to the 10,500 military, 1,300 RCMP, 2,300 Montreal Urban Community Police, and members of the Quebec and Ontario Police Forces. This would make "Operation Olympics", in the works since 1974, Canada's largest military showing since the Second World War.

Toupin has said that his force will be able to handle "anything from a disaster to a catastrophe." He has set up a nerve centre from which to direct all defence units. From here he can order "Operation Alpha", the special anti-terrorist squad, into action with its six eight-member teams of sharpshooters. Also from here, he can disperse the "Operation Delta" team, trained to quell mass



Guy Toupin co-ordinates 16,000 soldiers and police; he'd like another 2,000

demonstrations of any kind. A field hospital and temporary morgue are at Toupin's disposal.

With the FBI acting as security consultant to the defence department, the Canada-U.S. border has become a burglar alarm. Electronic sensors and infrared devices, perfected in Vietnam, have been installed to stop those trying to cross the border illegally on foot. Radar-scanning aircraft, helicopters, and sonar-equipped patrol boats are on the alert.

It is rumoured that at Mirabel International Airport there are almost as many security agents as passengers. The number of regular immigration officers has been doubled. Baggage is checked by electronic detectors and all visitors are required to complete a questionnaire which is then recorded on microfilm.

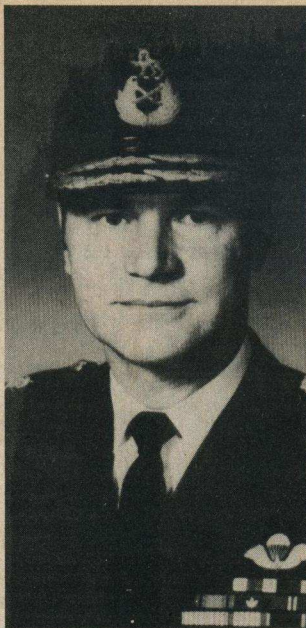
At the Games site, the Olympic Village is surrounded by a 10-foot high barbed wire fence. All letters destined for the athletes are inspected. One can enter the village only through six turnstiles, guarded by armed soldiers. Visitors carrying parcels and bags are checked before being allowed into events.

The security peoples' pride, their piece de résistance, is the brand new computer purchased by the department of manpower and immigration, revolutionizing the inefficient "black book" method of checking out undesirable used in the past. The Computerized Olympic Outlook System, better known as COILS, has been operating at 31 entry points for almost a year now.

COILS, whose terminals are linked with RCMP headquarters in Ottawa, is capable of holding at any one time files on 100,000 people the government doesn't want in the country. And, lest critics complain of yet another Olympics extravagance, B. M. Erb, information officer with manpower and immigration, is quoted as saying that though COILS was bought especially for the Games, it will outlast any mere contingency scheme by being a permanent replacement for the old blacklist.

COILS' sources of information are officially listed as the immigration department, Canadian embassies abroad, and the RCMP. What this means is the aliases, false passport numbers, criminal records, subversive activity lists and so on that COILS spews out come from virtually all the world's national police forces.

Critics of COILS say that it is an over-compensation for the fact that there is no "scientific" way to spot a terrorist. The



General Reid heads the armed forces' Olympics security

government's "When in doubt, keep them out" non-policy is a reflection of its attempt to arrogate greater and greater powers to itself, as it makes the department of immigration an extension of the police.

The non-policy is also the natural outcome of a vicious bureaucratic cycle: the more suspects, the greater the quantity of surveillance; the more surveillance, the more urgent the need to simplify the human endeavour which, inescapably, is the source of that surveillance. Because there's no getting away from it: it is finally the decision of each individual immigration officer whether to talk to COILS or not.

A great deal of time and money has evidently been spent in training immigration personnel for special Olympics security duties. Yet some of the higher-ups in immigration have expressed what are no doubt justifiable fears that certain officers may be incapable of discernment: "We are taking a lot of people's word for an awful lot of things on this one," one of the assistants to Immigration Minister Robert Andras is quoted as saying.

Added to the haphazard nature of entry

proceedings, is the problem of sheer numbers — with over 50,000 people seeking entry every day, the task of old-fashioned police checking (fingerprinting, etc.) is greatly reduced by COILS. But the computer would not fulfill the standards set by time-and-motion experts if people, once rejected for entry, were able as they have been in the past to appeal their deportation through the courts.

That is why the Temporary Immigration Security Act, Bill C-85, has been enacted. It may be the most repressive immigration law ever passed in Canada, but it is a boon to efficiency.

The Temporary Security Act was rushed through the Commons in two hours last March. It allows immigration officers at ports of entry to deport any visitor who is "likely to engage in acts of violence that would or might endanger the lives or safety of persons in Canada." Astoundingly, the official is not required to state reasons for rejection. Nor does the new law allow for recourse to legal counsel or to a formal deportation hearing.

During the House of Commons debate, NDP members proposed amendments that would make it necessary for officials to justify their decision to deport. Immigration Minister Andras, repeatedly urging speedy adoption, said that evidence for rejection often comes from confidential sources and cannot be produced anyway.

The NDP's motion was defeated.

The Canadian Federation of Civil Liberties was naturally concerned with the new legislation and its executive was given a hearing to voice their criticisms. But Andras refused to listen to the amendments they had prepared.

The new law is temporary in that it is scheduled for repeal December 31, 1976. But considering the government's new immigration policies (immigration was down 14 per cent in 1975), there is every reason to fear, says the Federation of Civil Liberties, that the law will be

COME HOME, PIERRE, ALL IS FORGIVEN

OTTAWA, April 15 (AFP) — Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau may visit Canada this autumn as part of a foreign tour which he is planning, according to a high-ranking source here.

— Agence France Presse news service

made permanent in 1977.

All this is the more disconcerting when security people themselves feel the Olympic measures are unnecessary. A Montreal *Gazette* story quotes police sources as saying "most security men believe that any one who is going to be involved in Olympic games violence is already in Canada — except for a few key people who will come at the last minute."

There is, moreover, a great discrepancy between national and Quebec security planning: national fears do not seem to be centred around what is the target of Olympic security in Quebec — the FLQ. It is as though national strategy and Quebec strategy were aimed at different events.

Reported to be the national defence department's biggest headache are the Arabs, with the Japanese Red Army running a close second. The Baader-Meinhof terrorists, members of Weatherman, Canadian and U.S. native people's movements and South American urban guerrillas follow in order of importance. The department has even made allowances for the possibility of violent demonstrations by Cubans living in the U.S. who may wish to demonstrate opposition to Castro.

In Quebec, however, even the quantity of Olympics police is expressed as a relation to the military used during the October crisis of 1970: it is twice the size. Indeed, in Quebec, the special Olympics army is called a protection against a re-occurrence of October 1970.

And while confidentiality is used as the justification for the Temporary Security Act, in Quebec, police harassment is accompanied by a fanfare which would seem to go against all rules of conduct in special security operations.

A sensational new police unit has been operating since 1972, when it was set up to root out members of the FLQ. The Combined Anti-Terrorist Squad (CATS), composed of RCMP, Quebec Police Force and Montreal Urban Community Police, has during the past year been making visits to "all known local terrorists" and to all those sympathetic to "foreign terrorist organizations." During the visits, which a CATS officer



Immigration Minister Robert Andras; when in doubt, keep them out

said were carried out for "psychological effect, to put them on the defensive," people were asked about their plans for the summer and advised that the Olympics period would be a good time for vacations. The officer adamantly denied the visits could be construed as harassment.

While publicity concerning the harassment of groups of Haitians and Chileans who have complained to the Quebec civil liberties union, La Ligue des Droits de L'Homme, is notably scarce, if almost non-existent, propaganda about alleged FLQ hideouts and caches of arms is abundant.

One raid that made all the local papers was that on Gilles Choquette and Jacques Senecal who, according to the police, are well-known in anti-terrorist circles. The two were arrested for possession of firearms and communications equipment stolen in 1971. The CATS spokesman did not explain why they had waited five years before the arrest or how long

Choquette's house had been under surveillance. According to CATS, the theft was part of a plot to revive the FLQ offensive. Choquette had been arrested in October 1970, held for 20 days and released without charges.

The Quebec civil liberties union and members of the municipal opposition party, the Montreal Citizen's Movement (MCM), have been pressing for the implementation of appeal procedures against police.

The MCM has succeeded in having a motion passed in city hall which would set up a civilian review board to deal with complaints against Montreal Urban Community police.

The civil liberties union has been less successful in forcing the implementation of the much-touted Quebec Human Rights Charter, the then Justice Minister Jerome Choquette's farewell piece of legislation.

The Human Rights Charter, Bill 50, was passed in June 1975, yet of more than 100 articles of legislation only nine have been implemented and the Human Rights Commission, without which the Charter is meaningless, isn't even operating.

Spokesman for La Ligue des Droits de L'Homme, Raymond Boyer, feels the delay in establishing the Commission is deliberate. He says that Quebec is rapidly becoming a police state. Indeed, the Bourassa government's intransigence in face of the resurgence of militancy among public service workers seems almost to demand increased use of the police: the government's provocation and stalling tactics with its employees go hand-in-hand with the heightened police powers necessary to maintain its special back-to-work (anti-strike) legislation, such as the recent Bill 23 which forced the province's striking teachers back to work till the end of the school year.

La Ligue has been outspoken in its opposition to the Temporary Security Act — along with members of 21 organizations including Amnesty International, the Quebec Teachers' Corporation and the Quebec Federation of Labour, it sent a telegram to Ottawa demanding the retraction of the law.

La Ligue's sources have rumoured the possible enactment of yet another special law — one that would allow for administrative detention outside the judiciary. It would make possible the same kind of "preventive detention" that occurred during the War Measures days of 1970, when people were held without being charged.

FREUDIAN SLIP DEPT.

OSHAWA, Ont. (CP) — John Diefenbaker, former prime minister, has accused the Soviet Union of attempting to overthrow Rhodesia through a proxy army and called on people in all free countries to stand up to the threat of democracy.

— *Windsor Star*, May 13, 1976

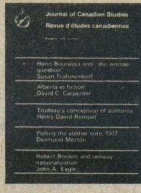
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THE OLYMPIC STADIUM: THINK OF THE POSSIBILITIES

by JOSH FREED

MONTREAL — As the pricetag for the Olympic stadium keeps leaping by hundreds of millions of dollars, it gets increasingly difficult for the average fellow to comprehend exactly what it all means.

After all . . . what's \$800 million — the latest stadium estimate — to a guy who's trying to dig up an extra 60 bucks for a new muffler?

But if you stop and think about it, what could you *really* do with all that money if you didn't mind throwing it around (apart from buying 13,333,333 mufflers)? There must be 800 ways to spend a million dollars when you've got \$800 million to toss around the way Montreal does.

With this in mind, *Last Post* presents a partial but by no means complete list of how to dispose cavalierly of your \$800 million. The prices have been worked out at going rates and should be accurate — give or take a few million.

And after all . . . what's a million?

To begin with, \$800 million could provide an awful lot of entertainment. For instance you could:

- Send 800,000 Montrealers on a two week Club Med-terranée vacation to Martinique, all expenses paid at \$1000 a person.
- Then again, for \$2000 apiece you could have sent half that many to Munich for the 1976 Summer Games — had we been smart enough to hold them there again this year.
- Buy 8 million 'dinners for two' at Chez Bardet, one of Montreal's most renowned restaurants; or alternatively, 400 million 'daily specials' at Moe's, one of Montreal's least renowned.
- At his reputed \$25,000 a night fee you could hire Frank Sinatra 6 nights a week for the next 100 years to croon "My Way".
- Buy out the Forum for every Canadian game for the next nine decades.
- Or simply stay at home, invite over a few friends, and down a hundred million cases of beer.

The 'socially conscious' could also indubitably find a means of spending \$800 million as well. The more serious-minded might wish to spend it building 40,000 family units (120,000 people) of low-cost housing, or providing 300,000 hungry families with groceries for a year.

But with a bit of 'creative' thinking you could also do something like:

- Clean up the city's image by buying every Montrealer two new suits, 50 haircuts and 250 shoe shines.

- Pay the daily bus fare of the entire working population of Montreal for the next 15 years; or instead, let them all take taxis for the next two years.

- Improve North American neighbourhoods by buying up 9000 McDonald's franchises and then closing them all down.

- Buy the best bicycle money can buy for every adult in Quebec, and rid Canada's dirtiest city of a hundred thousand cars.

Political influence could be exercised as well with \$800 million. For instance, you could:

- Pay the salaries (and expense accounts) of the entire Liberal caucus for the next 200 years.

- Pay the postage for every Canadian to send 5000 letters to Prime Minister Trudeau protesting the Olympic Games.

- Buy off 800 senators, at \$95,000, Louis Giguere's going price.

- At the going rate of a CIA coup in Chile (\$6,000,000), you could arrange to have a coup d'etat in 120 countries — virtually every country in the world!

- Or finally, if your view of 'influence' runs in a more sinister vein, a friend in the know assures me that you can still take out a contract on someone these days for as little as \$5000.

At that rate you could 'take out a contract' on most of Ottawa.

But serious thoughts need not prevail. You could also do something frivolous with the \$800 million . . . something like:

- Pay Barbara Walters' salary for the next 800 years; or should you prefer, Lloyd Robertson's for the next 20,000 years.

- Buy 400 million pet rocks.

- Engage in a bit of nostalgia and buy some black balls candies. Despite inflation they're still only two for a penny, allowing you to buy 160 billion of the little beauties and have a ball.

- Give a set of wax lips to every person in North America.

- Buy Prince Edward Island (at least once).

Or, on the other hand, if hospitality was your bag, you could hardly do anything nicer than:

- Buy a cup of coffee for every one of the three billion people on earth.

And finally, if you wanted to do something really idiotic with the money you could always:

- Build an Olympic stadium.

PEACE AND SECURITY: CLAMPING DOWN ON PRISONERS

by MICHAEL MANDEL

TORONTO — Amid all the to-do over capital punishment, gun control and wire-tapping touched off by the government's Bills C-83 and C-84, the so-called "Peace and Security Program", the profound effects which certain aspects of these bills will have on the lives of most of Canada's 17,000 or so adult prisoners have gone virtually unnoticed.

One need not look too far for the reasons behind this neglect. Voteless and disproportionately working class, prisoners have never been a very effective lobby. Centuries of propaganda have fixed the "convict" in the public mind as *untermensch*.

Apart from vague reports about 'providing better control in penitentiaries' and 'strengthening the process whereby inmates are released into the community', floated by the government in its press releases and dutifully reported in the media, the somewhat contradictory effects that "Peace and Security" will have on prison law and life have been studiously ignored.

Yet they deserve the closest attention. For as the material conditions of most Canadians worsen, relatively and absolutely, and as longer prison terms are handed out for murder and for 'dangerous offenders' (a concept much ex-



New rules will harass the average prisoners, not just rioters or escapees

panded under the proposed law), it is likely to be a long time before there is any appreciable decrease in the prison population. This is so notwithstanding the loudly touted recommendations of the Law Reform Commission of Canada for the 'diversion' of minor offenders out of the system.

Most significant among the proposed changes are those in respect of 'remission', popularly known as 'time off for good behaviour' or 'good time'. Currently, this comes in two varieties: 'statutory' and 'earned'.

Statutory remission, amounting to one quarter of the prison sentence or roughly seven days per month, is granted to a prisoner automatically on reception into the system. He may only be deprived of it, in whole or in part, upon conviction in disciplinary court ("Warden's Court") for an offence against the prison rules.

Earned remission, on the other hand, of up to three days per month, is within the total control of the institutional au-

thorities to grant or deny according to the prisoner's 'industry', 'co-operativeness' and 'attitude'.

From the point of view of the institutional authorities it is not difficult to see why earned remission is the preferred control mechanism. As with other 'discretionary' measures (parole, temporary absence passes, the power to transfer to institutions with worse or better conditions, and the power to segregate indefinitely 'for the maintenance of good order and discipline'), one need not bother with proof; suspicion will suffice. Furthermore, the rules can be safely ignored. Activists, organizers, jailhouse lawyers, and troublemakers in general can be dealt with without having to justify this, or even tell it, to anyone.

Naturally enough, this sort of indeterminacy, this unstructured and arbitrary institutional control over the length of imprisonment, is not without consequence to prisoners. Besides deterring them from legitimate, if troublesome, ac-

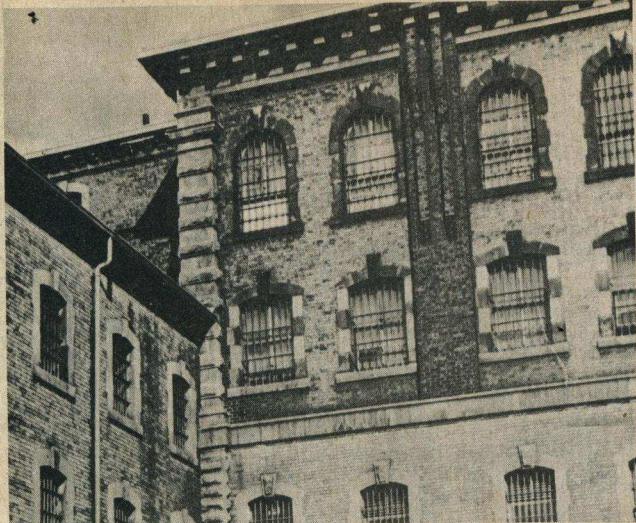
LOOK OVER YOUR
SHOULDER, DUMMY

* * *

*Where can we
see a Mountie
reader asks*

What do Canadians or tourists
have to do to see a Mountie?

— letter to the editor, *Toronto Star*, April 20, 1976



Prison life, already grim, will get worse

tivity in their own interests, it is a major cause of frustration and tension. It leads inevitably to inequality of punishment among prisoners unrelated to the offences for which they have been jailed, and it clothes in secrecy the length of, and reasons for imprisonment.

Before August 1, 1970, the time that a prisoner earned or kept under the remission rules was totally his. His sentence was shortened and he was as free as if he had served it all. This state of affairs was changed for prisoners serving sentences of two years or more in federal institutions by the introduction of 'mandatory supervision' on the date mentioned.

Any such prisoner sentenced since then who is released with more than 60 days remission standing to his credit is, in effect, on parole for the duration. This means that he must report periodically to a parole supervisor, abide by certain conditions, and can be hauled back at any time at the whim of the National Parole Board.

There still remains, however, a crucial distinction between parole and mandatory supervision, namely that parole granting is within the unreviewable supervision of the Parole Board, whereas release on mandatory supervision is something to which a prisoner is entitled when the time comes.

Of course, in either case the prisoner must avoid further offences and stay on

the good side of his parole supervisor.

If the "Peace and Security" legislation is enacted — and there is little doubt that in this respect it will be — its effect will be to abolish statutory remission entirely and to increase the ambit of earned remission by 200 per cent to ten days per month.

The reasons given by the Government for this course of action are two. The main objective is the obvious one of providing 'better control in penitentiaries' through 'greater pressure' on prisoners to 'behave responsibly'. A subsidiary objective, presumably in the interests of 'rehabilitation', is to promote 'greater participation in programs'.

Research and common sense, of course, indicate that this last bit is just so much window dressing. Coerced participation in prison programs, be they group therapy when the pathologies are societal, or perfunctory job training when there are no jobs to be had, will not decrease the crime rate. And lest the recent highly publicized escape attempts and strikes provide a veneer of

justification for increased control of the sort contained in "Peace and Security", it should be pointed out that the criminal law and prison rules deal very seriously with this type of behaviour when it can be proven. Indeed, the proposed law will double the current penalties for escapes.

Two other matters bear mention on the subject of remission. First is the effect the proposed law may have on due process in disciplinary proceedings. Under the law as currently understood (though this point is now before the Supreme Court of Canada for the first time) only when statutory remission is in issue as a penalty for misconduct are prison authorities required by the courts to comply with the fundamentals of due process and afford the prisoner a fair hearing. This is because statutory remission is a 'right', whereas earned remission is merely a 'privilege'. The conversion of the former into the latter may therefore remove even this minimal safeguard against arbitrariness.

Secondly, it appears from the explanatory notes to Bill C-83 that it may have been the Government's intention to break with principle in this legislation and make the change in remission retroactively applicable to prisoners sentenced before the law is passed.

The draftsman has protested that this was not the case and the legislation as drafted does not seem to have this effect. At least one penitentiary director has assured his prisoners that it will not be applied retroactively. However, the bill is ambiguous and once enacted the ambiguity might result in some prisoners doing extra time, whether or not matters are subsequently clarified by the courts.

Remission aside, the other area in which "Peace and Security" will have a major impact is parole. The changes proposed here are somewhat contradictory, with a tendency — and this has been a very well-kept secret — toward liberalization. On the reactionary side, the government promises regulations, as yet unpublished, to delay parole eligibility for certain types of violent offender. On the liberal side, three changes are worthy of note.

In the first place, after being told to do so by every group it has set up to study

MODEST AMBITIONS — STRANGE DESIRES

OTTAWA (CP) — Agriculture Minister Eugene Whelan said Tuesday "he would like nothing better" than to have the authority to ban the sale of a shipment of mouldy imported feta cheese in the Toronto area.

—Canadian Press News Service, May 25, 1976

parole, the government has finally decided to abolish the almost unbelievably harsh rule under which a parolee whose parole is revoked gets no credit for the time he has successfully served on parole before revocation. This time must be served all over again, no matter what the reason for revocation. As things stand (and will continue to stand after "Peace and Security" becomes law) there need not even be a reason.

The rub to this mildly progressive amendment comes in the way the Government is going about it. For one thing, it plans to increase the other penalties for parole "failure" by about 30 per cent.

Currently, a returned parolee forfeits only part of the remission which stood to his credit when paroled. When the new law is passed, he will lose *all* of it. The point is that any automatic penalty is out of place because it is unlikely to be at all related to the nature of the breach of parole conditions, even where there is one. If he commits an offence while on parole, the parolee is as liable as anyone to be convicted and sentenced in criminal court. If his breach does not amount to an offence, then hauling him back into the institution is hardly enough.

To further demonstrate its meanness and to avoid any hint of an admission that its current rule is indefensible, the government plans to credit returned parolees with only so much time as they have served on parole *after* the new law comes into effect. This means that it will continue to apply current penalties in respect of paroles granted before the law is passed but revoked afterwards. It is as if the government were to abolish capital punishment and then hang all those sentenced to death before abolition.

The second liberal-type change in parole law is to be the repeal of automatic parole forfeiture upon the commission of an indictable offence. The Board will henceforth have the power in all cases not to revoke if it so wishes. But as one parole officer pointed out to me, this does not necessarily mean fewer revocations, just that the Board will have more control over whose paroles it revokes and over its 'failure rate'. As it will no longer be forced to revoke the paroles of those whom for any number of reasons it is happy to let alone, it will have more cells and percentage points with which to concentrate on others.

Finally, the government promises to introduce some due process into parole, of the sort that U.S. courts have imposed on their legislatures but which the more conservative Canadian courts have re-

fused to impose here.

However, far from binding itself with legislation laying down fair hearing requirements, the government has only gone so far as to enact *the power to make regulations* to this end. And just as the lack of such a power has not prevented the sporadic granting of parole hearings in the past, so the presence of the power does not guarantee its use in the future. Even if regulations are made, of course, unlike legislation they can be wiped out without Parliamentary debate.

In what it changes and leaves unchanged, "Peace and Security" should be understood as a definite response to the rapidly increasing demands of prisoners for the recognition of their rights as human beings. It is a negative response, albeit with some cosmetic gestures aimed at reassuring liberal consciences.

Its main effect will be to erode even further the tattered remnants of the rule of law which shields prisoners from the exercise of naked power. Yet, it is only logical that the government should act in this way; for as Gresham Sykes observed almost twenty years ago:

"Imprisoned criminals are individuals who are being punished by society and they must be brought to their knees. If the inmate population maintains the right to argue with its captors, it takes on the appearance of an enemy nation with its own sovereignty; and in so doing it raises disturbing questions about the nature of the offender's deviance. The criminal is no longer simply a man who has broken the law; he has become a part of a group with an alternative viewpoint and thus attacks the validity of the law itself."

QUEBEC: NOW IT'S RODRIGUE WHO?

by PATRICK BROWN

QUEBEC CITY — It was question period in the Quebec National Assembly. The deputy from Johnson had a question to ask to the minister responsible for police matters. Could the minister explain why an order had been placed for about three-quarters of a million shirts, enough to keep the police well-dressed until about the end of the century, even if they all changed their shirts as often as Premier Robert Bourassa's reported six times a day?

Maurice Bellemare, only lonely sitting member for the Union Nationale, heir to the tattered mantle of Maurice Duplessis, finally had a scandal all of his own.

Since his byelection victory in 1974 (replacing a Liberal who had been bending the rules about accepting Crown legal business while an MNA) the squat

former member of the Duplessis team had been watching a handful of Parti Quebecois members snapping at the heels of the Liberal monolith, exposing scandals and conflicts of interest, conducting filibusters, raising points of order, and generally opposing up a storm. Now it was his turn.

The great Union Nationale exposé of the scandalous police shirt affair lasted about five minutes, until somebody put Bellemare out of his misery. The French word *chemise* means file folder as well as shirt.

No one thought to question why Quebec needs all those police files.

The police shirt affair was typical of what's been happening to the Union Nationale since Le Chef went to the great banana republic in the sky in 1959.

There was the brief reign of Daniel Johnson, but after that it's been downhill all the way. Gabriel Loubier changed the party name to Unité Quebec and led it to the disastrous electoral wipe-out of 1973. Bellemare snuck in in a byelection and has been conducting his lonely crusade as interim leader for nearly two years.

Now, once more, the Union Nationale is attempting a resurgence.

More than 1,300 delegates attended a leadership convention in Quebec City in

DAY-DREAM OF THE MONTH

The total payout of benefits to people registered with UIC offices was \$316 billion in 1975, fully a billion dollars more than in 1974.

— Windsor Star, May 13, 1976



Rodrigue Biron, new Union Nationale chief



Tory leader Joe Clark

late May, and made their choice of the next heir to Duplessis, the man they hope will lead them to victory — Rodrigue Biron. Rodrigue who?

Biron is rather less than a household word in Quebec, but then, his opponents weren't known for regular appearances on the front pages either.

There was Jacques Tetrault, a former mayor of the Montreal suburb of Laval; Gérard Nepveu, who resigned as associate deputy minister of the provincial Social Affairs Department to run; Jean-Guy Leboeuf, a hitherto-unknown Quebec answer to Dale Carnegie, writing books and running courses on personality development; and William Shaw, a dentist from Pointe Claire.

Names to conjure with indeed.

Biron himself, a former Liberal, owns a foundry and has no experience as an elected politician.

The convention was a rerun of the Tory leadership convention three months

earlier in more ways than one. Not least was the fact that it was crawling with Tories.

Biron ran a \$90,000 high pressure campaign not altogether unreminiscent of Brian Mulroney's ill-starred bid for the Tory brass ring. A large number of Mulroney supporters (young conservative nationalist federalists, to pin them down) were working for Biron.

Curiously, the Tetrault team was also top-heavy with Tories — this time the old conservative federalist nationalists who had supported Claude Wagner in his losing Tory efforts. Most prominent among these was Claude Dupras, provincial president of the Progressive Conservative Party.

The other three candidates were never really in it.

The Tories were out in force for two reasons. First of all, there's the long-standing squabble over whether a provincial Tory party should be established

(with Mulroney on one side and Wagner on the other). Since the U.N. is staked out in Tory ideological territory, it's important to both sides. And second, nobody has ever forgotten the Diefenbaker landslide of 1958, in which Duplessis sent 50 P.C./U.N. MPs to Ottawa.

The convention was televised, just like the Tory one, and the benefits of that weren't wasted on the U.N. powerfuls. Ballot counting went swiftly, and inside the counting room the final score was soon known — Biron 764; Tetrault 270; Nepveu 123; Leboeuf 106; Shaw 60. Party officials admit they held up the announcement of Biron's first-ballot sweep for about 20 minutes, to squeeze the last ounce of free publicity on the Tube.

Biron is already getting down to work, recruiting candidates — including anglophones — for the 35 ridings he intends to concentrate on in the next provincial election.

And the Mulroney gang don't appear to be the only Tories coming into the Biron corner.

Shortly after the convention, there was a Progressive Conservative meeting in Hull. The guy who headlined the *Toronto Star* as JOE WHO? on February 23 showed up to meet his followers. ... and so did Rodrigue Who.

BACK TO BASICS DEPT.

"My three spiritual homes are Cape Cod, Rockport, Mass., and the Greek island of Mykonos."

Eva Prager believes that at the present time there's no great art being produced.

"When you think of those lusty giants of the Renaissance, such as Michaelangelo and what they created," she said. "Now, men of genius seem to be discovering the secrets of the universe."

— *Montreal Gazette*, February 19, 1976

THE BIG MOVE SOUTH: FOR WHOM BELL CANADA TOLLS

by the Canadian
News Synthesis Project

MONTREAL —

"At Northern Telecom we're creating an impressive image of Canada abroad ... by doing this we're also creating good jobs for more Canadians..."

—recent Northern Telecom advertisement

The people of Pointe St. Charles disagree. Bell Canada-controlled Northern Telecom (formerly Northern Electric) may be developing a good image abroad, but the "good jobs" that the company boasts must be for someone else. The residents of Pointe St. Charles, one of Montreal's working class neighbourhoods, have just been told that the area's principal employer, Northern Telecom, is closing its Shearer Street factory and dismissing 4,000 workers.

Northern Electric opened its Pointe St. Charles plant in 1914 as a producer of telephone and electronic equipment. The company has employed as many as 6,500 workers in the past, taking advantage of the transportation facilities of the Montreal port and the relatively cheap labour force of the area. But in the post-

The job attrition in Quebec, and at other Northern plants throughout Canada, has proceeded apace since the 1971 arrival of American John Lobb to the upper echelons of company management. Lobb, a former vice-president of ITT, was the driving force in whittling down Northern's line of products, and its work force, to produce a fivefold increase in profits during his five years as company president, and later chairman and chief executive officer (see *Last Post*, Vol. 3, No. 8).

It was John Lobb who enthusiastically applied an old tenet of business to redirect Northern's corporate strategy: "New investments will be made where profit levels are highest and where the labour climate is the best."

Made concrete, this means a new push to break into the U.S. marketplace. As Lobb explained: "We've nearly doubled sales for Northern in the past five years, and we've got 80 per cent of the Canadian market. So if we're to double them again we just have to go the international route." Reinforcing his argument, Lobb told the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration last fall that wage rates in some parts of the United States are significantly lower than those the com-



Northern's boss, John Lobb, is now in Nashville

pany announced that it would be adopting a new name — Northern Telecom — the same name used by its U.S. subsidiary for several years now. And finally, John Lobb, the brash, energetic, "bottom line" figure behind Northern's recent profit boom, moved in early May to Nashville, Tennessee to take charge of all U.S. and international operations.

At first glance, moving Lobb to Northern's U.S. subsidiary might have seemed like a demotion. It was, in fact, the very opposite.

With Lobb at the helm in the U.S., Northern hopes to capture more of the American telecommunications market, which at present accounts for 10 per cent of Northern sales. Lobb would like to see this figure rise to over one-third of total revenue. His strategy is to cut into the business of the General Telephone and Electronic corporation by locating in one of GTE's strong sales areas, Tennessee, and other parts of mid-America. After all, reasons the Northern strategy, the American market is 83 per cent dominated by the American Telephone and Telegraph system (the American "Bell") and so the best pickings for the Canadians would be in the market space



**northern
telecom**

Second World War period the company began an expansion program in other parts of Canada. In 1946, 84 per cent of Northern employees worked in Quebec. By 1971, this figure had been reduced to 57 per cent. As the company opened up new plants at Belleville, Bramalea, London, Calgary, Ottawa and Kingston, the Quebec work force dwindled. Between 1969 and 1975, the number of workers employed by the company at plants in Quebec fell from 20,000 to 9,900. And there may be 4,000 fewer by the end of this year.

pany pays its Canadian workers.

The "Americanization" of Northern Electric, of which the closing of the Pointe St. Charles plant and cutbacks at other Canadian locations are only a part, has been underway for several years now. But the move was put into high gear early this year with a high-level shuffle in the ranks of Northern and Bell Canada management. First, Northern Electric listed its stock on the New York Stock Exchange in 1975 to attract more American buyers. Then, in a flurry of newspaper advertisements across Canada, the

↑ IT'S LATER THAN YOU THINK

EDITORS:

WEATHER AROUND THE WORLD IS UNAVAILABLE AT SOURCE.

—Broadcast News Service,
May 25, 1976

of the "independents" such as GTE. This "independent" market is said to be twice the size of the total Canadian market. All very logical.

But not so logical in the eyes of American anti-trust legislators. Why, they ask, is Northern so interested in the "independent" market when the larger AT&T-controlled market may soon be broken open to outside competition? A U.S. federal court is considering a petition that AT&T divest itself of its manufacturing subsidiary, Western Electric, which currently sells only to AT&T's Bell system. Should the order to divest be given, Western Electric's competitors — GTE and Northern Telecom — could gain part of the Bell market. Why then is Northern Telecom so intent on going after the business of Western Electric's competitor, GTE?

The answer may be that AT&T and Northern Telecom are playing on the

same team without telling the referee. Northern Electric was originally a joint subsidiary of Bell Canada and AT&T's Western Electric. In 1956, Bell Canada took over 100 per cent ownership, but in the last few years has sold common stock of the company to the public to gain new capital while retaining a 62 per cent controlling interest. All the while, Northern acted as Bell Canada's chief supplier of everything from telephones to wire cable. This in itself has been of some concern to Canadian consumer groups which point out that Bell's regular demands for higher telephone rates are based on the claim that equipment costs are mounting. It's a case of Bell asking for, and usually getting, permission to charge higher rates to pay for costlier equipment made by its own subsidiary, Northern Telecom. And both Bell Canada and Northern have been doing well on the bottom line with profits in 1975 of \$317 million and \$67.5 million respectively.

Bell Canada itself claims to be "98 per cent Canadian." What is not said in the company advertising is how important the remaining two per cent is to the company. Because stock ownership of Bell Canada shares is so diversified among small shareholders (over two-thirds of Bell shareholders own less than 100 shares each), the two per cent leaves its

owners — AT&T — with considerable muscle.

So Northern Telecom may not be as Canadian as it seems. Nor is its present process of "Americanization" all that surprising. Rather, it appears to be a case of AT&T and Northern Telecom, still the same kissin' cousins they were in former days, working together to beat down the competition while helping each other to the profit pie.

Beyond its "Americanization" plans, Northern Telecom may presently be considering yet another phase appropriate for a manufacturing giant in a high technology field — multinationalization. There's no doubt that North America remains the world's largest telecommunications market, accounting for over 45 per cent of all the world's telephones. But the residential telephone market in the U.S. is about saturated. Overseas demand, however, is growing by 10 per cent annually — twice the North American rate. At some point in the future, if John Lobb's obsession with doubling sales and multiplying profits is to continue, Northern Telecom will have to gain entry to the lucrative markets of Europe and Japan, and perhaps consider the creation of markets in the Third World.

However, for the moment, the promised land is the U.S. But how does this "create good jobs for more Canadians" as the advertisement promises? Quite bluntly, it doesn't. In fact the whole thing sparkles with a tint of the Ontario Waffle's "de-industrialization" thesis of several years ago.

In an interview in 1972, John Lobb rationalized Northern's move towards U.S. markets by explaining that "every time we get an order in the U.S., it provides three jobs in Canada for every one it provides there." But that's a hard point to make today to the dismissed workers of Pointe St. Charles. It has become clear in the intervening years that Northern's strategy has been to establish plants in the U.S. to supply that domestic market, rather than generating export business for Canadian plants. The Bell-Northern submission to the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration even intimated that in the future the Canadian market may be supplied from U.S. factories.

No wonder then that business commentators have speculated that Northern Telecom may eventually move its head office to Nashville, Tennessee. So much for an "impressive image of Canada abroad" and "good jobs for more Canadians."

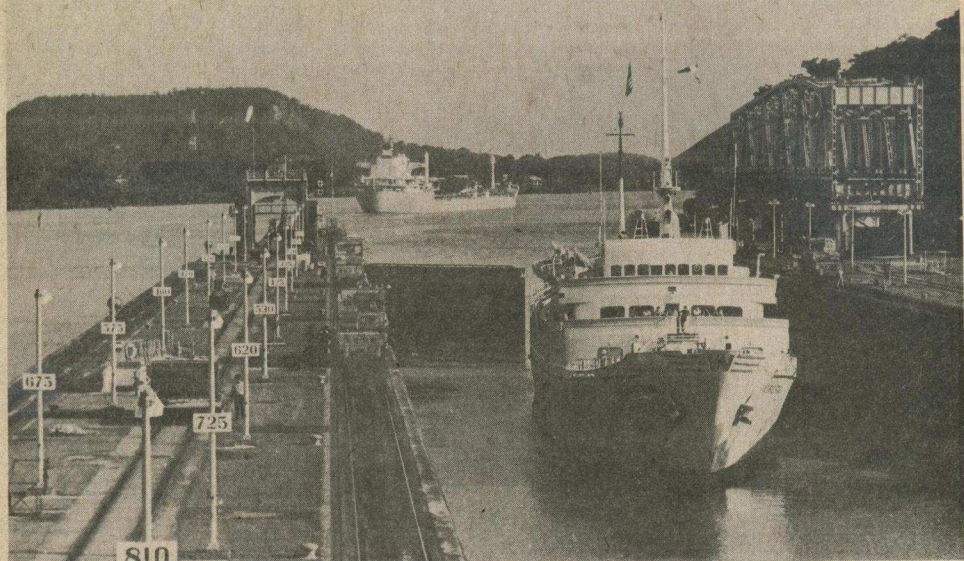


A Northern assembly line

PANAMA:

THERE'S A LITTLE BIT OF CANADA

photo: Prensa Latina



The Panama Canal; traditional symbol of foreign domination

by **BOB CARTY**
of Latin American
Working Group

TORONTO — The Canada Development Corporation found itself in an embarrassing position last fall. There was Marshall Crowe, the crown corporation's former president, being charged by public interest groups with bias in his role as chairman of the National Energy Board's hearings into proposals for the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.

Crowe had originally led the CDC into a five per cent interest in the Canadian Arctic Gas consortium of companies, one of the groups proposing to build the pipeline. He would later be removed by the Supreme Court from his NEB chairmanship duties.

But in the fall of 1975, the CDC was nervous about being so closely identified with the contentious issues of unsettled native land claims that surround the Mackenzie development.

Then, on December 9, 1975, the CDC made a confusing move. The company announced that it would be changing its

status — after paying in \$3.8 million to the Arctic Gas consortium — from full paying member to associate member. It seemed a half measure at best: the CDC would still retain rights to invest \$100 million in the Mackenzie Valley project should the consortium get the government go-ahead.

More than anything, the announcement appeared as an attempt to dissociate the CDC from the heat of the public inquiries. It looked like the corporation wanted to sit out the settlement of native land claims, then move in when its owner, the federal government, had "impartially" decided the fate of the native peoples in the Canadian north. After all, how would it look if one arm of the state was pushing for a major resource development while another arm was trying to weigh the pro's and con's of the matter?

But the CDC's sensitivities to the public process in Canada didn't prevent it from putting its foot into a hornets' nest of native rights issues in another country. Two months after its December announcement, the Canada Development Corporation bought into a new copper

mine in Panama, and the exploitation of the Guaymi Indians of that country. In Panama it is unlikely that there will be any judicial process to prevent the theft of legally-recognized Indian lands without compensation, without consent and without the slightest social and economic planning for the Indian population. The CDC had walked into a project that will mean, in the words of one Panamanian observer, "the extermination of a people in the name of productivity and progress."

The Panama project is the Cerro Colorado copper mine, scheduled to be developed jointly by the Panamanian government and the 30 per cent owned CDC subsidiary, Texasgulf Inc. This "red mountain" in the western highlands of the isthmus is said to be the world's largest undeveloped copper deposit, with reserves of four billion tons of ore averaging 0.65 per cent copper content. And it's also right in the middle of the Guaymi Indian reservation.

The majority of Panama's Indians are of the Guaymi tribe. Traditionally they have occupied most of the western half of the country, but today their best lands are

in the hands of the United Brands banana company leaving only the rugged areas of Panama's central mountain spine for the subsistence agriculture that keeps the Guaymi alive. The history of the theft of their lands and progressive impoverishment is summarized in the statement of an Indian from Gelera:

"Before, the Indians were rich; they used to have cattle and a lot of sowing of rice, corn and beans. Today, the Indian doesn't eat meat; the land is tired; the Indian is hungry and sick."

Because theirs is a history of oppression, the Guaymi people do not believe the copper mine will benefit them as they are told by government representatives. This is the same government that allows 61 proprietors to own one-eighth of all the agricultural land while the Indians scratch out a living on the poorest and smallest plots of soil.

And why, they ask, should they trust the foreign mining companies in the name of "civilization" and "progress"? Did not these same companies already construct a road to the copper mine on Indian lands, and only two years later recognize legal Indian ownership?

With good reason the Guaymi suspect that their lands are again about to be expropriated and another attack made on their way of life. But this time, their bitter opposition is directed at both the government and the foreign corporate giant, Texasgulf.

Texasgulf, however, was a late-comer to the Panama scene. The initial company in on the Cerro Colorado find was Montreal-based Canadian Javelin Ltd.

Led to the deposit by the report of a team of Canadians who surveyed the region for the United Nations, Javelin obtained exploration rights from the Panamanian government in 1970. In the following years exploratory drilling uncovered the tremendous potential wealth of the deposit, not only in copper but also in molybdenum and other valuable metals.

For a while it looked as though Panama had found in the Canadian company an "agreeable" partner — especially in a nation where anti-U.S. sentiment runs high. But the company was soon to prove to be more of a liability than an asset to Panama's hopes for the mine development.

Canadian Javelin and its flamboyant promoter-chairman, John C. Doyle, had quite a history of dirty linen in its corporate closet. As far back as 1958, Javelin had been found illegally selling unregistered stock and touting a bogus iron ore project whose shares Doyle sold to U.S. residents from "boiler rooms" in Montreal. In 1965, Doyle pleaded guilty to violation of securities regulations in the U.S. and was sentenced to serve three years in prison. However, the nimble Doyle refused to surrender himself, jumped bail and lived at large by commuting between homes in Montreal and Panama City without setting foot on U.S. soil.

John C. Doyle's involvement in the Cerro Colorado project, beginning in the early 1970s, proved true to character. In June of 1973, Doyle issued a series of "hyperbolic" press releases that falsely suggested the company had obtained

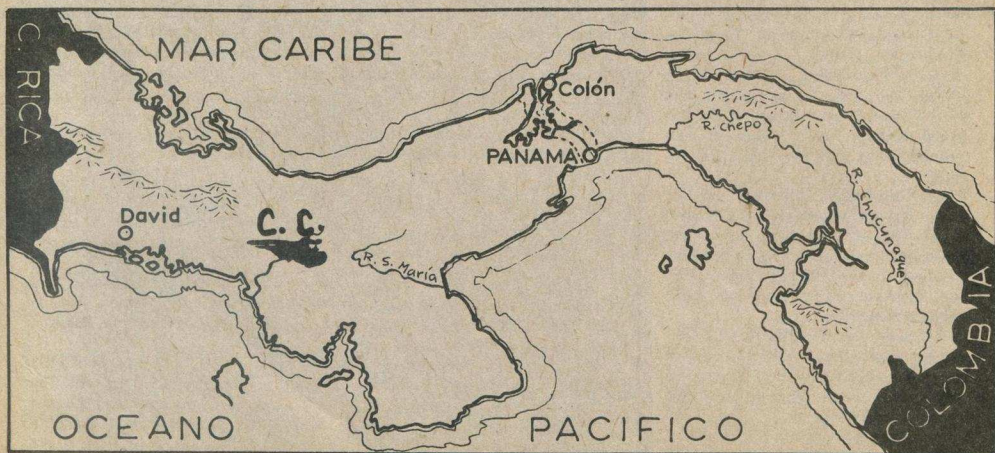
legal rights from the Panama government to exploit the deposit (in fact if only had exploration rights), and exaggerating Javelin's progress in the project. In the doing, Doyle also succeeded in exaggerating the value of Javelin's shares — from \$5.87 to \$18 a share in a period of three months. Such a re-valuation of share prices could have afforded the reaping of handsome profits for insiders smart enough to be aware of what was happening.

Then, in November 1973, the U.S. Securities Exchange Commission moved in, charging Doyle and Canadian Javelin with misleading the public with press releases "all in superlative language more fit for midway carnival hawkers than responsible officials of publicly held companies."

Doyle was arrested in December 1973 and charged with four counts of fraud and breach of trust dealing with Javelin's involvement with the government of Newfoundland in a linerboard mill. The SEC charges were eventually settled — with Doyle denying guilt but agreeing to end the matter to avoid further litigation and expense.

Meanwhile, the Panamanian government was getting uneasy about Javelin's antics and broke off negotiations with the company in March of 1975.

Javelin's apparently illegal activities were not the only reason for the termination of the relationship, however. According to Panamanian officials, Javelin was asking for a 35-year exploitation contract whereas the country preferred a partner who would run the project for



Cerro Colorado, in the western highlands, is in the middle of an Indian reservation.

photo: Prensa Latina



General Omar Torrijos

only 20 years in a minority ownership position. General Omar Torrijos, Panama's military president, felt that Javelin was asking too much from a country long-exploited by its "in perpetuity" Panama Canal Treaty with the United States.

But in ending the Javelin relationship Torrijos went to great lengths to allay fears among foreign investors that the termination of negotiations aroused. "We do not, and will not, alienate foreign investors," said Torrijos, explaining that his government "is neither confiscatory, nor anti-anyone... we are merely pro-Panamanian." A compensation agreement between the government and Javelin was settled on August 27, 1975, granting the company a \$5 million cash payment and an additional \$18.6 million in tax-free, 20-year Panamanian government bonds to cover Javelin's costs for exploration and development to date.

After some scrambling by international companies — including Noranda Mines Ltd. of Canada, Selection Trust of South Africa and Union Miniere of Belgium — for rights to the project, Panama announced in the summer of 1975 that it had chosen Texasgulf Inc. of New York as its new partner for Cerro Colorado.

The selection of Texasgulf came as

something of a surprise to the North American mining industry. Most observers expected Noranda Mines to win the exploitation rights since it is a more experienced company in the field of copper mining and refining. Later in the same year, however, Noranda announced that it would be developing a \$350 million copper project in partnership with the Chilean military government — perhaps indicating that Noranda was more interested in the Chilean opportunity than the Panamanian one.

The agreement signed with Texasgulf in late February of 1976 calls for 20 per cent ownership of Cerro Colorado by the firm and management rights for 15 years. The Panamanian government will retain 80 per cent ownership with an option to buy Texasgulf's share after 20 years. Texasgulf also has rights to 49 per cent of a phosphate fertilizer complex that may be added later. The deal emphasizes Panama's concern that it retain substantial control and economic benefit in the project while gaining the technical capacity that an internationally-recognized corporation could bring.

Cerro Colorado is a discovery that the country is banking on. The government's entire development plan, to a large extent, is based on revenues it expects from the mine beginning in 1980. As General Torrijos explained: "We do not wish both of our principal economic resources, the canal and the copper deposits of Cerro Colorado, to be in foreign hands unless they serve our national interests. . . . Our people profoundly believe they must control their own destiny. The mining potential is far more significant than the canal. . . ."

Panama hopes to earn \$300 million a year in export earnings from the sale of

WHERE ARE YOU, SALAZAR, NOW THAT WE NEED YOU?

"Recent CBC program sales include . . . a second run of *The Whiteoaks of Jalna* to Radiotelevision Portugal." —*Atroscope News*, May 1976

150,000 tons of copper from Cerro Colorado. In effect, the mine could go a long way to relieve Panama of its trade deficit problems by more than doubling total exports. And in the eyes of the Torrijos government, this would be one more step along the road to greater economic independence from the United States.

The "repatriation of the Panama Canal" banner that Torrijos has been carrying since he came to power in 1968 would then have a more solid economic foundation in copper production. Cerro Colorado would earn considerably more than the present \$200 million contribution to the economy from the canal itself.

The choice of Texasgulf seems to have been a wise one when the financing of the \$800 million project is examined. As one of the U.S.'s top 500 corporations the New York-based Texasgulf Inc. can provide Panama with good connections in capital centres of North America. Panama's minister of planning and economic development, Nicolas Ardito Barletta, announced last December that a substantial part of the financing may come from the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. Credits to buy American equipment for Cerro Colorado could come from the U.S. Export-Import Bank. Similar credits are also hoped for from a Canadian source — the crown-owned Export De-

TEXASGULF

Texasgulf is one of the world's largest producers of zinc, silver, sulphur and agricultural fertilizer materials, and is also a leading producer of copper, lead and cadmium. The corporation has secondary involvement in the exploration and development of oil and gas, iron ore, tin concentrate and forestry products.

Although Texasgulf's initial interests were in the United States and Canada, the company has more recently been expanding in Mexico, Panama and Australia with exploratory interests in South Africa, Nicaragua, Pakistan and other Third World countries.

The corporation recorded its second best year in 1975 with a profit of \$103 million, a return on equity of 17.4 per cent and on sales of 23.2 per cent. The corporation has been growing at an annual rate of 19 per cent over the past five years and assets now stand at \$1.15 billion. Income from Texasgulf's Canadian operations accounted for 56 per cent of the total, down from 80 per cent in 1973.



Panama's presidential palace

velopment Corporation (EDC).

The EDC link is an opportune one in the case of Texasgulf. Normally, two high-ranking Canadian government officials are members of the boards of directors of both the Export Development Corporation and the Canada Development Corporation (at present these are T. K. Shoyama, deputy minister of finance, and O. G. Stoner, deputy minister of industry, trade and commerce). Thus, when the CDC bought controlling interest in Texasgulf a few years ago,

the CDC gained a highly-rated resource producer, and Texasgulf gained access to departments and agencies of the Canadian government which could offer substantial financial assistance in a project such as Cerro Colorado.

While the financing for the project is being arranged, Texasgulf has contracted with two firms to help with a feasibility study now underway. If all goes according to schedule, production will begin by the early 1980s.

But while the Panamanian government has compensated Canadian Javelin, and, of course, will see that Texasgulf receives its share of the wealth, no suggestion has been made that the rights of the Guaymi Indians will be heard. Panama's progressive nationalism — especially concerning the canal issue — doesn't go that far. While the government of Torrijos demands justice in its dealings with the U.S., it is not about to disturb the system of domestic inequality, class division and marginalization of the native peoples.

In discussing the oppression of the Guaymi Indians and the Cerro Colorado development, one Panamanian writer concludes: "If ours is a dependent capitalist country and the society is strongly divided into classes, a 'nationalist' struggle will be, once again, a benefit to the dominant class."

Nor can the Guaymi expect a sympathetic hearing from Texasgulf and the CDC. Texasgulf's corporate philosophy does not include a concern for native rights in Panama or elsewhere. While the Cerro Colorado project threatens to destroy the way of life of the Guaymi, the corporation is simultaneously exploring mineral deposits at Izok Lake and Hood River in Canada's Northwest Territories — even while native land claims for the area are being debated.

For its part the CDC continues to pursue its objective to build "a Canadian-controlled presence in international markets". Its investment through Texasgulf in Cerro Colorado is a major step in that direction. Despite its crown-corporation status, the CDC shows no signs of placing social criteria ahead of the profit motive that it has so thoroughly embraced.

After all, it bought into Texasgulf precisely because the corporation's rate of return on equity — an important measure of profitability — is far above the average. And its projects like Cerro Colorado that keep Texasgulf so highly profitable, and the CDC so happy with its "bottom line" accomplishments.

The CDC, Texasgulf and the government of Panama are not the only ones, however, who share a community of interests. The Guaymi Indians of Panama and Canadian native peoples have similar struggles and demands: to prevent the expropriation of Indian lands for resource development; to prevent the destruction of their way of life by the intrusion of private property systems of land ownership and enterprise; to regain control over their own lives and the future of their peoples.

THE CANADA DEVELOPMENT CORP.

The CDC came into being by an Act of Parliament in June 1971, to be governed, in the words of the then minister of finance, Edgar Benson, "only by the need to make a profit." The original idea for the CDC was conceived by the nationalist thinking of Finance Minister Walter Gordon in 1963 as a way to prevent foreign purchases of Canadian companies and to begin to buy back firms in Canada presently owned by foreigners.

According to CDC president and Chief Executive Officer Anthony Hampson, the CDC is aiming to grow into a \$4 billion operation in the coming years (1975 assets were \$1.27 billion) which would make the CDC second in size only to Paul Desmarais' Power Corporation in the field of holding companies. In fact, the Power-CDC links are noticeable. Hampson himself was a vice-president of Power Corp. in the mid-sixties, and another member of CDC's board of directors is Louis Desmarais, brother to Paul and chairman of the Power Corp. subsidiary, Canada Steamship Lines.

In addition to its 30 per cent ownership of Texasgulf Inc., the CDC owns 100 per cent of Polysar Ltd. (plastics and petrochemicals), Conlab Holdings Ltd. (pharmaceutical products) and CDC Oil and Gas Ltd. (the recently acquired assets of Tenneco Oil and Minerals Ltd.). But Texasgulf is still the big CDC money maker. Without Texasgulf's profits the CDC would have experienced a net loss in income rather than its \$26 million profit in 1975.

ALBERTA: THEY CALL IT FLUKER'S FAUX-PAS

by JIM ANDERSON

EDMONTON — It is embarrassing to all concerned to be afflicted with what the British politely refer to as "wind" — but particularly so on ceremonial or public occasions, in the presence of exalted company.

Thus was the dignity of the red-carpeted Alberta legislature seriously affronted recently when one of Premier Lougheed's obscure backbenchers made some very rude noises about French Canadians.

The incident took place before a packed press gallery during an otherwise sleepy question period in the Alberta legislature when Conservative backbencher A. I. (Mick) Fluker posed a question to the province's recreation minister, inquiring whether Mayor Drapeau planned to remove every second seat in the Olympic Stadium, "replacing them with lily pads for frogs."

The legislature reacted with shocked silence interrupted by a few outbursts of nervous laughter. White-faced with rage, Lougheed whirled around in his chair and angrily scribbled a note to the offending Mr. Fluker, whose beaming face immediately took on a distinct expression of dismay when he read the premier's message. Both men hurriedly left the chamber and were absent together for most of the afternoon.

Several hours later, the hapless Fluker, a small town auctioneer and used car salesman, returned to the floor of the legislature to offer an apology for his ethnic "joke" and to request unanimous assent to have it stricken from the verbatim Hansard record. The tiny opposition agreed, but not before Sacred opposition leader Bob Clark labelled the slur "offensive and unparliamentary" and NDP leader Grant Notley chastized Fluker for forgetting his responsibility to refrain from using his position to subject any ethnic group "to ridicule or joke."

Lougheed responded with an appeal for understanding to Quebeckers: "We feel very much the responsibility to have good relationships with the province of Quebec," he said, adding, "we are sure they would understand and accept the apology."

While the legislature approved the motion to strike the remark from the record,



Premier Lougheed was grim, but forgiving

some of the media in the province were less charitable. All three Edmonton TV stations featured the Fluker Faux-Pas in the evening newscasts. The major metropolitan daily in the province, the *Edmonton Journal*, carried the story on the front page — with a lead stating that the many French Canadians in Fluker's home constituency of St. Paul in northeastern Alberta were "shocked and hurt" at the bad joke of their MLA.

Fifteen days after the furor in the legislature, Lougheed made a highly publicized three-hour tour of Mick Fluker's home town of St. Paul. The widely-circulated *Edmonton Journal* reported the Premier's day of "Handshaking, backslapping and how d'ya do's" again on its front page, nicely balancing its put-down article on Peter's boy from St. Paul that it had published two weeks earlier.

The *Journal* left no doubt that Fluker had been rehabilitated by a premier

whose reputation for keeping "the team" intact equals his well-known flair for public relations. "I am proud of how hard Mick has worked for his community," the premier said.

This latter statement may come as something of a surprise to legislative insiders, who know Fluker as the silent member for St. Paul. He is, however, well-known for his ability to sell automobiles, having recently consummated deals with two employees in the legislative building — one a secretary and the other an elevator operator. Nevertheless, bolstered by the renewed favour of the premier, and given the proclivity of Albertans — even those of French origin — for one-party politics, it is very likely that Fluker will be back again selling used cars at the legislature after the next election.

It is unlikely, however, that he will be sharing his favourite ethnic jokes with the premier.

EARTH IN UPHEAVAL DEPT.

Manitoba's New Democratic Party government was temporarily voted out of office Monday, with a little help from Premier Ed Schreyer.

The accidental defeat of the government lasted only 15 seconds, however, before it was hastily rectified by Speaker Peter Fox, to the relief of an embarrassed premier.

— *Winnipeg Free Press*, April 27, 1976

SUDBURY: MINE ACCIDENTS AS A WAY OF DEATH ...

by MICK LOWE

SUDBURY — Two summers ago, with the revelations of a shocking incidence of silicosis and lung cancer among Elliot Lake uranium miners, the Ontario government appointed its first Royal Commission on the Health and Safety of Miners. Under the guidance of the University of Toronto electrical engineer Dr. James Ham, the Commission heard testimony in ten Ontario mining communities, amassed a 6,000 page transcript and even travelled to Sweden and Great Britain to view first hand mining conditions in those countries.

But in Sudbury, where the Commission spent four days in January, 1975, the death and accident rate in the mines of the International Nickel Company of Canada Ltd. has risen alarmingly. As always here in Canada's largest mining community, mine accidents as a way of death continue to be a way of life. In February alone there were three underground fatalities at Inco, the highest monthly rate since the end of World War II. By early April the 1976 death toll had already risen to five, equalling the total for all of 1975 and exceeding the rates of the two previous years.

"I've got a feeling it's going to be a bad year. A very bad year," predicts 32-year-old Keith Rothney, the man in charge of safety and health for the Union at Inco, Local 6500 of the United Steelworkers of America. Rothney has served on the Health and Safety Committee for four years, and since his election to the post of full-time Chairman of the Committee two months ago he figures he's spent 200 hours in joint union-company safety meetings. So far, despite his committee's efforts, he's watched the safety record slip from bad to worse.

"The increase in accidents is drastic basically because the Company still places production over safety. The miner training program is totally inadequate. They hire a guy off the streets, give him

Injured worker at a rehabilitation clinic



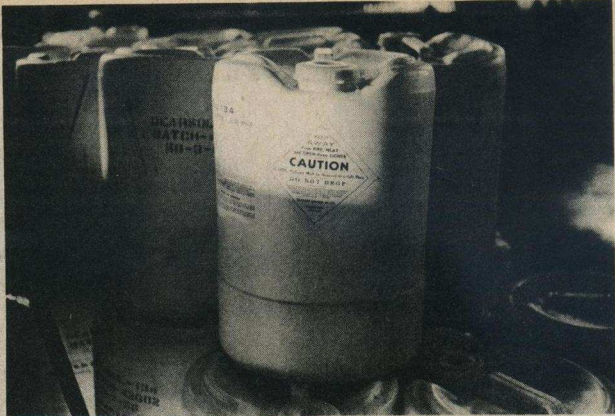
two weeks in a stope school, and then he's considered competent to handle high explosives and assigned to drilling jobs." Rothney contrasts the training in Ontario mines with Manitoba, where potential miners can take a 39 week apprenticeship program at Company expense.

The safety training program at Inco is not much better. For a country whose economy is heavily dependent on resource extraction, the medical science of occupational health is still underdeveloped and under-financed in Canada. But even when new discoveries are made about toxic chemicals or job related pathologies the Company is slow to inform its workers, Rothney says. Despite repeated requests over the years, Inco still refuses to supply its 13,000 hourly-rated employees with even a single copy of the *All Mines Standard Safety Practices*, the basic safety rule book given to supervisory personnel.

Another big killer is the bonus or incentive pay system, Rothney contends. Though such a stand wins him few friends among bonus miners, Rothney firmly believes that the incentive system must be abolished. In theory, the bonus rates "fold in" elementary but time-consuming safety precautions like bolting and screening for protection against falling rock or "loose". "But bonus is really paying men to take chances with their own lives. It's based on personal greed. There's no other way to say it. Miners should be paid a higher wage rate so they could forget about bonus." Average yearly salary for Inco's 7,000 miners: \$13,000 to \$17,000, bonus included.

To earn a wage equal to that of the average high school teacher or non-supervisory civil servant the miner works in conditions unthinkable to the average worker.

On the job, Rothney points out, a miner works in almost total sensory deprivation. He wears ear protection which may preserve his hearing but eliminates almost all sound. Except for a battery-powered lamp on his hard hat he works in total darkness that breeds a false, and sometimes fatal, sense of security. The long term effects of breathing dust and diesel fumes due to poor underground ventilation have yet to be properly studied.



Not everyone lives better through chemistry

Despite technological innovation and improved working conditions, hard rock mining is still an occupation that inexorably grinds down the strongest and fittest of young men, all of whom are carefully screened by weight and health before they are ever sent underground.

"A miner who works underground longer than ten years is going to have bronchial trouble from the dust, and arthritis from the damp. A driller is going to have white hand syndrome, caused by vibrations that destroy capillary cells in the hands and result in numbness and the fingers turning white below the top knuckle. Ore crusher operators and drillers will suffer from hearing problems. Nearly 1,000 cases of job-related deafness have already been documented in the Sudbury area alone by Workmen's Compensation tests that still aren't completed."

The carnage is costing the Ontario mining industry millions every year — Rothney estimates that Inco paid \$6 million in compensation claims in 1975, and the figure for 1976 will be even higher. Ironically, the record February fatality rate occurred in the middle of a million dollar Inco safety campaign in the Sudbury area. "Somebody wants to see you tonight," reads the bland admonition on billboards and television commercials, "be careful for him."

To Rothney, who criticized the campaign in its planning stages, the billboards are symbolic of the Company's attitude toward safety. "There's still a lot of pride that they want to manage the plants and don't really want our input. And it's not practise what you preach, that's for damned sure."

Still, Rothney is honest enough to admit that it's not always the company that's at fault. Too often his fellow workers ignore basic safety practices to earn more bonus or simply save time and energy. And despite everything, Rothney believes that conditions in the mining industry have improved over the decades and will continue to do so, especially with the impetus of the Ham Commission report.

So, for the moment, Rothney will continue to lead union delegations in the regular joint safety talks with the company. But the recent surge in accidents is causing the union to take "a good close look" at the joint safety approach, he cautions.

"I have to say that we won't continue to cooperate just for the sake of cooperation. We're doing it for the health and well-being of our members and their families, and if we have to use other methods we're going to use them whenever we feel that cooperation isn't working."

CONTINUE AS A WAY OF LIFE.

THE LEONARD PELTIER CASE WILL WE GIVE THE FBI ITS MAN?

by PAUL KNOX

VANCOUVER — Claims to the land currently occupied by the Canadian state have had a fair share of the public spotlight in recent months. Vancouver in May got a glimpse of the level to which the feuding between Canadian natives and the Trudeau government might conceivably escalate.

The occasion was the attempt of the U.S. government to extradite 32-year-old Sioux Leonard Peltier, an American Indian Movement activist who fled to Canada after being charged with murder in the deaths last year of two federal agents in South Dakota. Picked up by the RCMP in a remote Alberta native village, he was taken to Vancouver for an extradition hearing which lasted most of the month.

The evidence and arguments will be examined by Justice Minister Ron Basford, who will recommend to the cabinet whether to turn Peltier over to U.S. authorities or to free him.

On the face of it, the issue is whether the charges are criminal or political. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, two of whose agents sat dolefully through the proceedings, taking the occasional note but rebuffing attempts at small talk, says it is a simple case of murder: that Peltier shot agents Jack Coler and Ronald Williams on June 16, 1975 on the Pine Ridge reservation, scene in 1973 of the AIM-led occupation at Wounded Kree. Through affidavits from a woman claiming to be a former girlfriend of Peltier and from another of its own agents, the FBI says Peltier lay in wait for the two agents, who apparently had entered the reserve to serve an arrest warrant on another Indian. The girl, Myrtle Poor Bear, swears she saw Peltier shoot one of the agents with a rifle while he was wounded and that the other was lying in a pool of blood at the time. She also alleged that Peltier was "in charge" of "executing" any agents who ventured into the Jumping Bull Hall area on the Pine Ridge reserve.

Peltier's supporters contend that the American government is waging a genocidal campaign against AIM and particularly its leaders, and that the charges against him are in essence political. Peltier was active in the American



Leonard Peltier in custody

Indian Movement at Pine Ridge intermittently from the Wounded Knee siege until some time in the spring of 1975, when he left to attend a national AIM conference in Arizona.

As such, the North Dakota-born native was undoubtedly a target of the intense campaign of terror and harassment which has beset AIM activists on the sprawling Pine Ridge reservation since the end of the Wounded Knee occupation, in which AIM forces took over the reservation in part of their ongoing struggle against the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Peltier defence effort, both inside and outside the courtroom, has tried to

draw links between the case currently before Basford and the relations between AIM and the FBI since Wounded Knee.

Several Sioux witnesses called by lawyers Stuart Rush and Donald Rosenbloom testified that a state of "civil war" exists at Pine Ridge; one, hereditary headman Louis Bad Wound, said: "The suspicion was that the CIA was trying to create conditions of terror whereby one group would be against another and we would be involved in an all-out war." A week before Coler and Williams were shot, he added, some 200 federal officers dressed in combat fatigues and armed with automatic rifles appeared on the re-

AW THE HELL WITH IT, WE'D SETTLE FOR STATE POWER OURSELVES

"In my comments today I want to show not only that the budget proposals are morally offensive, which they are, but that they are wrong from a purely technical point of view as to what it is possible to achieve now in 1976 in our economy. For if it is wrong to be cruel when it is possible to be magnanimous, it is equally wrong in politics to pretend that more justice should be done if it is impossible to do so. Hypocrisy, I say, cannot be a substitute for callousness."

—Ed Broadbent, House of Commons budget debate, June 2, 1976

servation. After the incident, an official rampage across the reservation left houses windowless and walls riddled with bullet holes.

In the absence of direct government evidence other than the Poor Bear affidavit, the defence hopes this story and the chronology of death, assault and harassment on Pine Ridge since Wounded Knee will convince Basford that the charges have more to do with the U.S. government's anti- AIM policy than with the commission of a criminal act. As plausible as the FBI case, Peltier supporters claim, is the suggestion that the agents got caught in their own crossfire.

In addition, the cabinet must consider whether Peltier can get a fair trial in a South Dakota courtroom. Evidence introduced at the extradition hearing indicated the likelihood would be next to impossible. The Peltier defence obtained an affidavit from Jay Schulman of the New York-based National Jury Project indicating an "extraordinary high level of prejudice and prejudice" among potential South Dakotan jurors toward AIM leaders. Schulman swore that the levels of anti- AIM prejudice measured in scientific surveys of the state's population were higher than those in any survey he had seen in his six years of conducting such studies. In five South Dakota counties, he reported, more than half the potential jurors thought AIM leaders charged with offences were "definitely or probably guilty."

Outside the courtroom, an effective public defence of Peltier and the rights of Canadian and American native Indians has been mounted. Chanting, singing,



Justice Minister Ron Basford



State Troopers at Wounded Knee.

drumbeating and dancing on the courthouse steps during the hearing, Peltier's native brothers and sisters kept the case in the view of downtown passers-by. Support demonstrations attracted healthy crowds of Indian and non-Indian supporters.

As a judge under the Extradition Act, Mr. Justice W. A. Schultz of the B.C. Supreme Court can only transmit to Basford his opinion as to whether the U.S. government has shown a prima facie case against Peltier. The minister must then decide whether to ship him south. The proceeding is somewhat like a preliminary hearing before a criminal case is tried. Observers here feel a prima facie case has been made — but whether it would stand up in a full-dress trial is entirely another question. If Basford rules against the fugitive, the appeal pro-

cess could stretch the case out for another year.

Ultimately, two questions broader than the facts of the case will help determine the cabinet's decision. First, it must consider the effect extradition would have on the Trudeau government's almost non-existent credibility with the natives of this country. (Spokesmen for status and non-status Indians in B.C. have thrown support behind the Peltier cause; allowing Peltier to stay might, in Liberal eyes, be a cheap way of saving a little face.) The second variable is the general state of relations between Canada and the U.S. In fact, the situation might lead a cynic to say that Peltier's freedom — and possibly his life — hinges on how the federal cabinet answers the question: Do we owe them one, or do they owe us?

OH WELL DONE, MOODY!

The main part of the message was that the Levellers were the great precursors of the National Health Service, environmentalism and Clause 4 of the Labour Party's constitution (which insists of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and Raymond Moody, a teacher at Burford school.

—London Sunday Times, May 16, 1976

the Last Pssst



by Claude Balloune

Brian Mulroney, that tribute to instant nostalgia, will be getting a salary well in excess of \$100,000 a year as the new vice-president of the Iron Ore Company of Canada. Not bad for the electrician's son from Baie Comeau, on Quebec's North Shore, locale of the Iron Ore Company's big operation. They say he could well be president of the company within a year.

photo: David Lloyd



Brian Mulroney: instant nostalgia

Goodwill, friendly neighbor dept.: Thomas "Let's-use-our-food-against-their-oil" **Enders**, the new U.S. ambassador to Ottawa, wears patent leather shoes with bows, and stands something like six-foot-six. But despite that, he's not making himself too popular. At a recent Ottawa function he totally snubbed **Dan MacDonald**, the one-armed, one-legged Minister of Veterans' Affairs, a man he had previously met in his office. Enders pretended, or perhaps to be charitable about it, forgot that he knew him, and strutted past his outstretched hand.

Carmel Carrière is Laura Secord's flavour of the month this month.

Late arriving scoop: Perhaps you never noticed before, but while there are Nobel prizes for medicine, literature, physics etc., there is none for mathematics. Reason is that **Alfred Nobel**, in his will setting up the prizes, specifically dictated that none be given. Seems that in his

declining years, he married a 23-year-old beauty who proceeded to have an affair with the head of the local university's mathematics department. Nobel, while noble, didn't count forgiveness as one of his virtues. Eat your hearts out all you mathematicians.

Olympic note: Roger Rousseau, the endearing head of COJO, was on hand in late May for an official journalists' tour of the Claude Robillard Centre, an Olympic swimming facility in Montreal's Rosemount district. He gave an interview on local French TV describing the benefits of the centre, saying something to the effect that what's great about the centre is its location. It was just great being in the North End, he gushed, because if it was in the downtown area, the same people would get to use it over and over again, but whereas since it was in the North End . . . paused, realized that train of thought was a bit faulty, switched and said "anyhow, it's just going to be great."

Tory Talk: Joe Clark will spend two weeks this summer at Laval university in Quebec City studying French. He's supposed to study in the a.m. and spend the afternoons and evenings practising by visiting nearby constituencies.

photo: David Lloyd



Joe Clark: off to school

The **Union Nationale** was pretty desperate trying to entice big names into running for the party leadership. Reportedly, they offered a big-name Montreal lawyer a \$100,000 home in the Laurentians if he would enter the race. He declined.

Meanwhile, **Liberal Party** thinkers and strategists, like **Paul Desrochers**, are quietly urging the U.N. on, hoping they'll win enough seats the next time to make the Parti Quebecois the province's third party. Afterwards, **Daniel Johnson Junior**, Danny Boy's 34-year-old son who works as Power Corp.'s secretary, will probably take over.

Where are they now dept.: Remember **Donald Fleming**, who was Minister of Finance in the **Diefenbaker** government and twice ran unsuccessfully for the Conservative leadership? Since his last unsuccessful leadership bid in 1967 Donald has pursued a business career, mostly with the **Bank of Nova Scotia** in the Caribbean. In March, he turned up at the annual general meeting of a company called **Santo Domingo Motors** in the Dominican capital and got himself elected president and chairman of the board. In the course of this, he also got involved in a raging shareholders' dispute over who owns the company. According to Fleming's side, **Santo Domingo Motors** is owned by a Panamanian company, **Motors Operations**. But according to the daughter of the late founder of **Santo Domingo Motors**, it is still owned by her family; her mother, the founder's widow, is the real chairman of the board; and the board of directors presided over by Fleming has no legal status. I haven't heard further from my informant in **Santo Domingo**, who thoughtfully sent me a clipping from the Dominican daily *Listin Diario* dealing with the dispute, so I don't know who won.

We stand on guard for thee: Fifty-five families living near the town of **Masson, Que.**, on the north shore of the **Ottawa River** about 20 miles east of **Hull**, found their homes totally surrounded by rising flood waters in April and all road links cut off. A local emergency was declared, and troops were dispatched from the Canadian Forces Base at **Petawawa, Ont.**, to remove the beleaguered families.

The troops arrived at night, and were to set out in the morning with large rubber rafts and sophisticated radio equipment. But there was a heavy fog and there were large hunks of ice floating in the swollen river, so they decided to postpone their operation to the afternoon. When they finally set out, 53 of the 55 families had already left their homes, aided by neighbours with boats. A large crowd was on hand to watch the "rescue" of the two remaining families.

Should Canada be attacked on a foggy day, the troops may have trouble finding their way out of the barracks.

Heir to the Newfie joke: **Nova Scotia Premier Gerald Regan**, annoyed by the federal refusal to consider special oil subsidies for electricity production in his province, and miffed by Energy Minister **Alastair Gillespie's** naiveté in swallowing oil company arguments in favour of yet higher prices, was overheard to remark at the federal-provincial first ministers' conference in **Ottawa** on May 6 that in **Nova Scotia** these days, they're no longer telling **Newfie jokes** — they're telling **Alastair Gillespie jokes** instead. One of the favourites goes as follows: as a child Gillespie was so unpopular he had to wear a bone around his neck so that his dog would play with him.

Quebec's own Robert Bourassa also distinguished himself at the conference: he alone among the provincial premiers felt inadequately protected by the uniformed and plainclothes **RCMP** officers who were swarming around. **Bob-le-Job** brought along two extra carloads of heavies.

Collector's item: If you've got an unautographed copy of **Peter C. Newman's** latest book, *The Canadian Establishment*, hang on to it; rumour has it that it could become a collector's item.

Bryceiana: Researchers poking into the **Bryce** royal commission on concentration in industry — studying the threat to competition caused by big mergers like the **Power-Argus** combine that didn't come off — have come up with this tit-bit on the views of **Robert Dickerson**, one of the three commissioners. In 1972 he headed a study group that produced a report that was highly critical of the government proposed **Competition Act**. Among other things the report said: "The worry is that we will have too few mergers, not too many. Canadian industry has to be rationalized and strengthened, and mergers are one of the ways of doing it. The **Competition Act** puts all significant mergers under a cloud and makes the parties to them suspect." It would seem that **Mr. Dickerson's** impartiality as a commissioner is suspect.

... **At last!** A Canadian angle to **Watergate**. We understand **Toronto Star** publisher **Beland Honderich** is a great and good friend to millionaire **Washington Post** publisher **Katherine Graham**. They frequently dine together in **Washington**. There is, of course, we hasten to add, no impropriety — "knowing **Beland**," explains a close friend, "they probably clone."

Mounties checking pre-Olympics threatening nut letters are still puzzling over a missive addressed to **Pierre Prime Minister, The White House, Washington**.



Gerald Regan: Gillespie jokes

Joe Morris and the big blue-collar machine

by Rae Murphy

"This is," said United Automobile Workers Director Dennis McDermott, "a momentous day in organized labour ... [which] ... warms the cockles of my heart ... [which means] ... a rejuvenation ... [and which provides] ... a clear alternative ...". A short while later, Shirley Carr, Canadian Labour Congress vice-president, allowed that she was "moved more than ever before in her trade union life."

This eloquence was directed towards a document entitled "Labour's Manifesto for Canada". Its adoption during the first day of the 11th Constitutional Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress provided the big news out of Quebec City.

In a very real sense, the adoption of the manifesto was the only news to come out of the convention because it provided a conceptual framework around which all the other decisions and statements made and issued from Quebec City must somehow be made to fit.



CLC chief Joe Morris, Labour Minister John Muro and others emerged from a power-sharing meeting in mid-June. decision to seek an equal share with business and gov

Let us say at the outset that for manifesto buffs it was not a red letter day. The only spectre that haunted the halls of the Quebec Municipal Centre was the Ghost of Outrageous Rhetoric. It should be pointed out, however, that the majority of delegates who reached microphones during the rather brief discussion that followed the introduction of the manifesto were not as fulsome in its praise as were its presumed authors. Indeed, as one read the manifesto and watched it being driven through the convention the most interesting and perhaps important aspect of it was not what it says but why it was written in the first place.

The document breathes late-night group thinks driven by a deadline something like "Jesus, all these people are coming to this convention and we gotta give 'em something to read."

I have since learned that the manifesto was basically written by one man — Ron Lang. If this is true he must have spent a lot of time arguing with himself and making all sorts



Munroe and Prime Minister Trudeau were all smiles as they met in mid-June. The meeting followed the CLC Convention's decision on government in managing the economy.

of compromises.

It is riddled with compromises made in haste and formulations of a vagueness that could only be authored in desperation. Moreover, in the context of the relationship between the CLC and the federal government, the manifesto simply doesn't appear to make sense.

For instance, the CLC is, they assure us, in a life and death struggle with the government on wage controls. Their case has been made with eloquence and, given the demonstrations, with some power. However, to date the only response from the government has been, "go stuff it in your ear." And so this convention of the CLC was to mark an escalation of its unremitting struggle.

Verbally it did.

Amidst the anguished speeches all the right and proper resolutions were passed, including the one threatening a general strike — albeit including the all purpose escape clause.

And then this manifesto was adopted which, depending on how you read it, calls for participatory fascism or for a chunk of state power for the working class. Not only that, but this re-ordering of Canadian society should come about through a tri-party agreement between government, industry and labour.

Since this government has often been described by CLC officials as one which merely serves corporate interests, labour is already outvoted two to one. But this isn't the chief problem. The CLC has been unable to develop the clout to move either Jean-Luc Pepin or his colleagues. To project plans now for a chunk of state power seems premature to say the least. To conjure with terms like Social Corporatism and then suggest, as did Joe Morris, that this is interchangeable with Social Democracy, indicates how difficult it is to take the manifesto seriously as a blueprint for the construction of a new and nicer Canadian society.

The idea of direct labour participation in the management

and control of a private enterprise economy has been spoken about and written upon quite widely. Recently the federal deputy minister of labour, Thomas Eberlee, endorsed a report written for the department by University of British Columbia Vice-President Charles J. Connaghan which credits the successful performance of the West German economy with a system of labour-management relations that gives trade unions a direct voice in both day to day management and long term economic decision making of German industry.

In Germany, according to Connaghan, there was, in 1974, one-twentieth the number of days lost through strikes as in Canada and Germany experienced only about one-half the Canadian rate of inflation. Moreover, the standard of living of West German workers has risen to one of the highest in the world, with wages and fringe benefits outstripping those of Canada and the United States.

On this latter point of German wages and benefits outstripping those enjoyed on this continent there is a fair bit of independent evidence. Volkswagen, for example, has been trying for a number of years to establish full production facilities in the United States in order to cut its production costs. But the Volkswagen experience indicates also how difficult it would be to adopt a similar system in Canada. Volkswagen has been prevented from building this American facility because the German auto workers' union in its role in the direction of the company has refused to go along. The facility is being built now only because the union has dropped its objection.

What would happen if union representatives were to be appointed to the board of General Motors in Canada? Nothing much, of course, because General Motors of Canada has little influence in determination of General Motors' policy. In the branch plant economy, Canadians would only be members of branch plant boards.

Connaghan's report raised some other intriguing possibilities as it discussed the West German experience. The labour movement there has connections with all the political parties, a dues checkoff to any single party is forbidden. Furthermore, in Germany, the unions themselves are heavy investors in the economy — a far cry from Canada when last year the CLC found itself in dire financial straits because some International unions refused to pay the per-capita dues collected from their Canadian membership.

So a lot of things must change and a lot of relationships be altered before any of the basic propositions of the manifesto could be considered in any serious light. But the issue as the CLC sees it is whether "it wishes to be in the forefront in planning the structure of the future in a way in which it believes will best serve the worker's interests or not. The game is dangerous but the stakes are high."

All one can add is "that's for sure."

It is difficult to take the manifesto seriously because of its vagueness in any long term. But in a strategic sense in terms of the immediate goals of the CLC — the removal of the wage and price controls and the abolition of the Anti-Inflation Board — the manifesto is a very important document because in at least three crucial areas it provides a framework for the CLC to move in a diametrically opposite direction than all the other statements and speeches at the convention indicated:

- It covers a retreat from the announced toe-to-toe battle with the government against the incomes policy.
- It weakens the concept of reliance upon and support for the New Democratic Party as a political arm of labour.

- It implies a strong, independent role for the CLC in the economic, social and political affairs of Canada — a role much closer to that which has developed in Western Europe and quite different than the previous and indeed current model in the United States.

A corollary of this last point is that the manifesto envisages a stronger centralized direction of the Canadian trade union movement. That is, more power will have to be vested in the CLC and this power must flow from the affiliates.

In essence, therefore, if necessity is the mother of invention — in this case necessity is reflected in the Anti-Inflation Board — then the invention is a new and different Canadian trade union movement.

With this being the supposition then, it is possible to reconstruct the events at the CLC convention.

A word first on the manner in which the manifesto was presented to the convention. Citing the fact that the delegates get upset when statements and resolutions they are supposed to discuss receive prior publicity and comment in the press, the executive of the Congress decided to keep the manifesto under wraps, as much as possible, until it was introduced at the convention. When it finally reached the floor on the afternoon of the first day the discussion was relatively brief, cursory — the only change allowed was the aforementioned unfortunate concession of Joe Morris that social corporatism was interchangeable with social democracy — and well stage-managed by the platform.

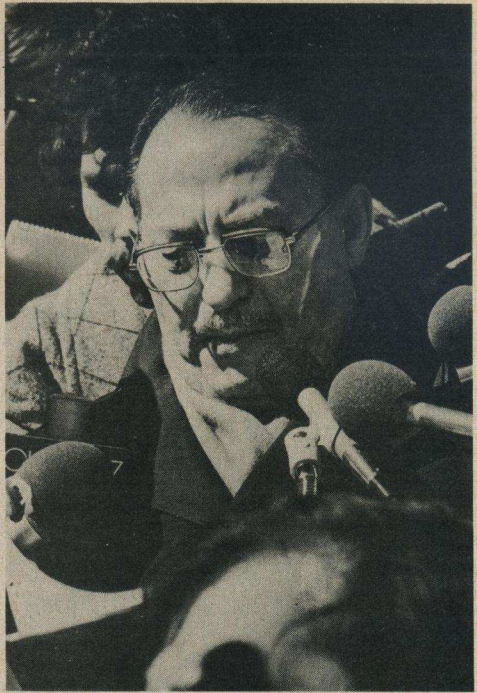
For what was often described as a watershed in Canadian labour history, it was certainly treated as a very routine watershed.

Yet the thrust of the manifesto does not mark a change in the thinking of the Canadian labour establishment, and this should come as no surprise to anybody. It is as if the CLC leadership were now out of the closet. The Canadian labour movement has long seen, and indeed has encouraged, the growing intervention of government in what has been known euphemistically as "free collective bargaining". Railway strikes are always settled by parliament, and provincial governments now routinely end strikes in the public sector and in what are deemed essential services. Thus, over the post-war years, while the right to strike has been enshrined, direct government intervention has made it impossible to either win a strike, or, in many cases, to completely lose one.

However, Prime Minister Trudeau's speech last Thanksgiving Day did more than formalize this relationship of government intervention in labour-management disputes. With the imposition of the AIB and the legislative mechanisms to make its decisions stick, Trudeau also made an end run around the Canadian constitution, by concentrating into an instrument of the federal government powers which hitherto had in the main resided with the provinces.

The CLC immediately challenged the constitutionality of the federal anti-inflation program. Arguments on this challenge are now before the Supreme Court.

Here again, the existence of the manifesto poses a problem if one is to take it seriously. The CLC's challenge to the AIB appears to be based upon solid constitutional grounds, but then, according to its own arguments, it is proposing at least as unconstitutional a sharing of economic powers on a federal level, one which also bypasses the provincial jurisdictions. In a sense, therefore, it appears to be presupposing a Supreme Court decision unfavourable to its legal arguments. The CLC in a policy statement issued on January 10 assumes the permanence of a federally coordinated incomes policy. The



Early in the year this demonstration on Parliament Hill seemed to signal a strategy of confrontation. Now CLC seems to be seeking co-operation. At right is CLC chief Joe Morris.

manifesto adopted at this convention appears to be a distillation of the conclusions reached in that statement and outlines the *maximum* demands of labour — there is always room for negotiation and give and take — for participation in such a program.

In essence then, labour's fight is not against wage controls *per se*, but against this particular set of controls, the manner in which they were introduced and the form in which they are enforced. In spite of all the rhetoric from the platform and floor about no—no—never, the political thrust of the CLC leadership is to negotiate the ways and means by which it can become a partner in formulating policy.

In this context, a re-reading of the kicker in the oft-quoted resolution about a general strike seems in order:

"Therefore, the Executive Council, in full recognition of its responsibilities to the Congress, the affiliates and their membership and our country, recommends to this Eleventh Constitutional Convention that we dedicate ourselves to fight for the principles expressed in the *Manifesto* and to give to the Congress through its Executive Council, a mandate to organize and conduct a general work stoppage, or stoppages, if and when necessary."

To organize a general strike against a specific program and policy of the government would be difficult enough in most circumstances. However, to consider a general strike in

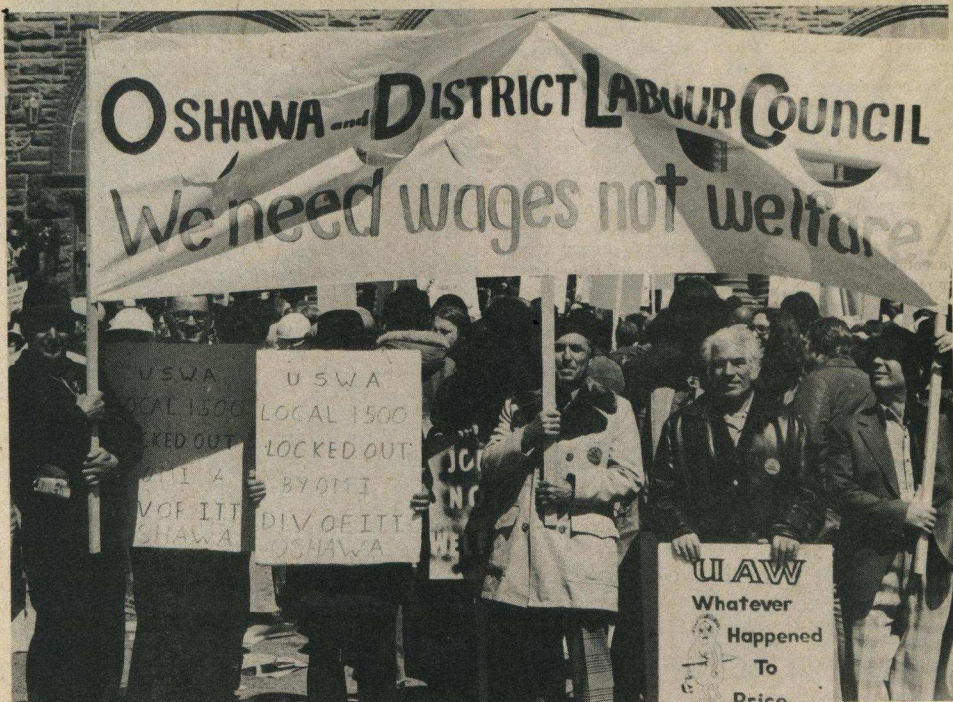
Canada in 1976 "for the principles expressed in the manifesto" is something else again. It is hard to believe that the brothers and sisters aren't putting us on.

In this context it would be most useful to have an honest discussion of how the battle against the controls has developed to this point. Such a discussion seems impossible and one is left therefore, with scattered impressions and these are that the controls haven't been in place long enough to hurt enough workers hard enough.

* * *

[A view from the bar]

The Municipal Convention Centre in Quebec City is dug into the side of a hill. Two new hotels and an office building stand on guard above and these are connected by subterranean passages that on one side appear to be dug into the bowels of the hill, but on the down-slope they are always at ground level. Anyway, for the casual visitor, life in the Quebec City underground is very complicated; no matter where you are there always seem to be corners to turn, escalators and elevators going up and down. And everything, except a liquor store, is available in the caverns. But even this is no problem; in the Hilton every room has its own slot-machine refrigerated bar, and in the Auberge des Gouverneurs, room service is both fast and expensive.



In April, trade union members demonstrated before the Ontario legislature.

Anyway, the long and the short of the matter is that there was really no reason to leave the building complex, indeed it is quite difficult to find one's way out. And so, there always seemed plenty of action at the numerous bars scattered around the lobbies. There was lots to listen to and plenty of discussions to join. But the striking thing, given the formal discussions that took place on the floor, was how little the actual politics of the convention seemed to concern the delegates.

There was no contest, of course, for leadership, but Morris was opposed by a rather popular CUPE staffer, who did his best to get to a mike whenever he could — a tactical error because it became obvious soon that Lofty MacMillan had really nothing to say. A bad image for a would-be militant president.

Nevertheless, it was passing strange that no opposition to the leadership emerged at the convention. The manifesto itself was a provocative enough document to bring forth a challenge. It probably was that nobody had any better ideas which is just as sad a commentary as the notion that Joe Morris represents the best and the brightest of the Canadian labour movement in 1976.

"I heard a story," I told one delegate who would be expected to vote against any CLC administration, "that the CUPE was so upset when they heard Lofty was going to run that they threatened to fire him."

"Yes," he said, "and I bet Lofty is the one who is spreading the rumour, just so they don't fire him."

One union official described the feelings of workers he is in contact with as one of anger and frustration — but unfocused anger and frustration. "They seem just as angry at unions and 'welfare bums' as they are at the boss or government." Another suggested that if the CLC was to really decide to organize a general strike, it would take him a lot of convincing in the shops.

* * *

Another problem with a showdown now is that a number of key unions have already settled contracts within the guidelines. According to the Anti-Inflation Board over 70 per cent of the wage settlements reached this year fell within the guidelines and required no action of the board. Moreover, the board itself has been flexible enough to approve settlements that average 15.8 per cent — about 3 per cent above the guidelines and quite within range of the average contract settlements reached prior to the establishment of the AIB.

O.K., so the existence of the board itself is an affront to organized labour and the free collective bargaining process. The whole "anti-inflation program" is unfair, dishonest, unworkable and, to the degree that the current unemployment levels can be blamed on the program, it is an economic and social disaster. Workers are mad. But how mad?

If one listened only to the discussion and set speeches from the floor one would get the impression that the union leadership is collectively sitting on the lid of a seething, bubbling cauldron of revolution. In informal discussions, the delegates are much more ambivalent.

It is at this ambivalence that the manifesto is directed and this should be separated from the heavy rhetoric and verbal overkill larded in, around and about the whole proceedings.

The people who have been kicked in the teeth first of all and hardest of all have been groups of teachers and other public servants and with all good intentions labour support for these groups has been, to say the least, unimpressive.

And so in the midst of all the congratulations and self-congratulations that were heaped upon the leadership at this convention for its sterling fight against the controls, the problem remains that this fight has not gone well at all. Thus the impression that part of the function of the manifesto was to deflect the pressure for an escalation of a direct campaign to abolish the controls. In other words the Congress didn't meet in Quebec City to organize a general strike, but not to organize one.

This is not to suggest that there are not enough problems with the AIB from the standpoint of the government; that unless some changes are made, and the impasse with the labour movement is overcome, a confrontation doesn't loom somewhere down the road. Enough conciliatory noises have been made by various cabinet members, including statements from members of the AIB, to indicate that not only will their mandate not be renewed but that it is entirely within the range of possibility that the board will be dissolved before its term expires; certainly enough to open the door to discussion with the CLC.

To pose this question, raises some aspects of the philosophical musings contained within the Manifesto.

* * *

[A digression]

One of the more interesting but obscure events of the convention took place on Wednesday, May 19, just before lunch. Lord Alfred Allen, Commander of the British Empire, delivered greetings to the convention on behalf of the British Trades Union Congress.

The burden of His Lordship's speech had to do with something called "The Social Contract": essentially, it is an incomes policy in England which has done as much as anything to reduce the standard of living of the British workers. As Lord Allen put it, the British Trade Union movement must make long term sacrifices to protect the Pound — that unless they did it wouldn't matter how big were the wage increases they could win, they would all be without work. The rationale, of course, was quite well known and there were only two aspects of His Lordship's speech that appeared curious:

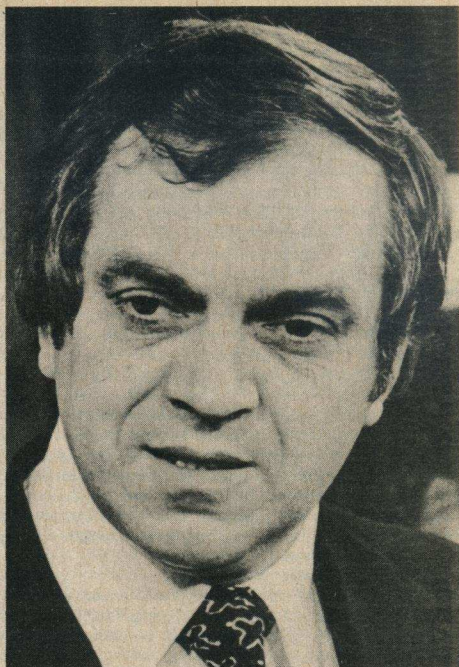
- If John Munro had dared to appear at the convention to express some of Lord Allen's thoughts he would have been trashed.

- Why was Lord Allen given a standing ovation?

* * *

Meanwhile: In the manifesto, the following appears:

"Journalists, politicians and the general public are all speculating as to just what the Prime Minister intends for the post-control society — about the meaning of 'decontrols'.



NDP leader Ed Broadbent: there doesn't seem to be any room at the tri-partite table for the NDP, which is supposed to be the 'political arm of labour'.

There are at least four possibilities:

"1. It could mean that Trudeau has rediscovered his youthful social conscience and is now going to use his position of power to build a more equitable and planned society. This seems an unlikely interpretation but, even if it is true, the fact is that Trudeau does not have the political base within his own party to carry out that kind of change. Perhaps he is looking for a political realignment. However, if that was the case, his initial miscalculation was a disastrous one. You don't draw organized labour into a new political alliance by attacking the very basis of its existence."

The manifesto lists the other possible alternatives in a period of "decontrols", which include what the CLC describes as Liberal Corporatism, a return to "normalcy" — that is the controls just simply disappear, or a decontrol program that ensures that organized labour remains in the weakened position they were placed in by the controls program.

Then the manifesto states:

"Clearly none but the first of these possible meanings is acceptable to social democratic trade unionists. Unfortunately, it is also the least likely outcome. No doubt we should distinguish between intent and outcomes of government policy and perhaps some members of the government do actually have this intent. However, liberal corporatism seems the most likely intent, while the last possible meaning seems to be the most likely outcome."

Aside from a logical problem of stating that the best possi-

ble alternative is the least likely because it is based upon an initially disastrous miscalculation, the idea of a new political alignment led by nice Liberals — presumably like Macksey and Munro — is an intriguing one for a trade union centre which already has a political arm — the New Democratic Party.

It is no secret that the CLC is quite unhappy with several provincial bodies of the NDP. In fact, the CLC must have noticed that the opposition of the NDP to the AIB declines almost in direct proportion to its nearness to government. In fact, Ed Broadbent and his smallish group in Ottawa appears to be the only really vocal support for the position of the CLC. Relations with the NDP, Joe Morris stated at a press conference, were "surprisingly good". Which could just as well have meant surprisingly bad.

* * *

[For the record]

At the political action conference the evening before the opening of the convention, Tommy Douglas explained that it was somehow only by accepting the AIB that the NDP governments in Saskatchewan and Manitoba could somehow protect their civil servants. While he didn't sound too convincing he proved once again that there is nothing between heaven and earth that T. C. Douglas' philosophy cannot dream up an answer for.

But it was really a half-hearted defence.

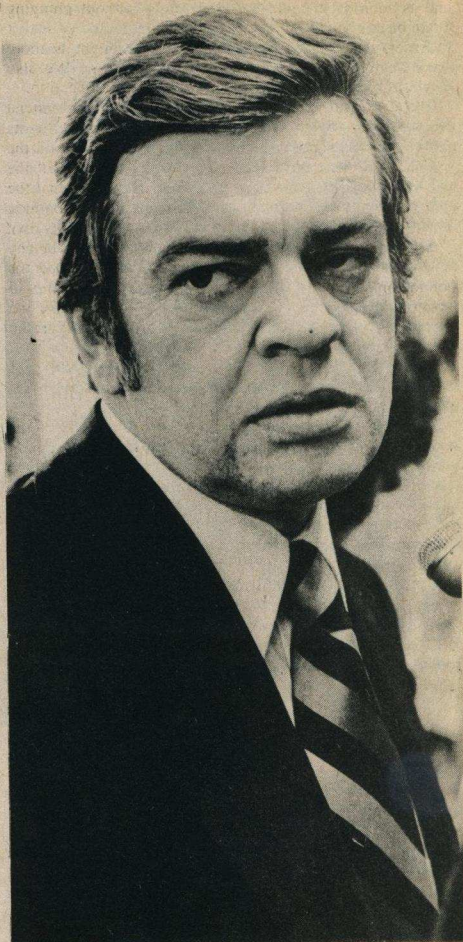
Poor John Munro, I thought, he was thumped at the last CUPE Convention in October for trying to defend the AIB by invoking the name of the British Labour government, and the saintly Michael Foot.

Perhaps, for the record, the pertinent excerpt from Munro's speech would help situate the problem:

"If you need any further evidence, you have only to look at recent developments in Britain, where a Labour government has adoted a similar policy of restraints. Granted, the crisis there had reached a more advanced stage than it has in Canada, and the inflation rate had soared to more than double ours. But the point is that the remedial action of the British government took the form of broad economic restraints on prices and incomes. It is also significant, that after some initial resistance, the British labour movement agreed to conform to the guidelines. Why? Because it became convinced that, though its members might have to make sacrifices along with other groups in the short term, their interests in the long term would be much better served by compliance and co-operation with the government's anti-inflation program.

"One of the most persuasive arguments for union co-operation in Britain came from Michael Foot, a left-wing Labour M.P., Secretary of State for Employment, and a strong union supporter. Mr. Foot was addressing the Labour Party conference at Blackpool, on September 29, during a debate on the severe economic situation Britain is facing. According to press reports of the conference, he persuaded the delegates to reject a resolution which called for opposition to any form of statutory incomes control and opposition to any government interference in established collective bargaining machinery.

"Mr. Foot said, and I quote, 'You cannot say to a Labour government: "You must plan investment, plan to expand the health service, plan for housing, plan major programs, plan to deal with all these things but have no plan at all for any



Labour Minister John Munro: invoking the saintly Michael Foot.

collaboration between the government and the trade unions on questions of wages and these matters."

"He went on: 'People sometimes say we will agree to some arrangement between the government and the trade unions about wages, but only when you have the full panoply of socialist measures actually put into operation and working order. I understand the argument, but I say it is unworkable. For anyone to argue that there should be no concession to a Labour government on such matters until all other measures were in operation was a recipe for its destruction.'

"Mr. Foot then dealt with the question of high unemployment in Britain. He said his government would turn to measures which would expand the economy — and create more jobs — at the earliest possible moment. This would be

done as soon as it could be done safely without plunging Britain back into the 'inflationary quagmire.'

"Except that Britain's current economic plight is more severe than Canada's, we face similar problems. We also face destructive inflation. We must also take drastic action."

With all due respect to labour's pique with some provincial bodies of the NDP, and with all due respect to its reaffirmation of support to the party — the thrust of the arguments in the manifesto, especially the statement of the executive preceding the convention which implied that the whole anti-inflation program was a political, not an economic policy, places labour, or more precisely the CLC, as its own political spokesman and force. There doesn't seem to be any real place at the tri-partite table for the NDP. Ed Broadbent is soon to come up with a real policy of his very own — it will have to address itself to the CLC manifesto or a lot of the assumptions that surrounded the creation of the NDP are no longer going to be "operative".

* * *

No matter how strongly entrenched a leadership may be it seems at every convention they lose on at least one issue. I have been told on good authority that the ability to lose on one issue per convention is one of the learned arts of social democratic leadership. The trick behind this art is to lose early and on an issue of relative unimportance, or at least one whose operative principles, whether pushed through from the floor against your wishes or a proposal of yours which is subsequently defeated on the floor, neither embarrass too much nor cramp one's style.

At this convention, the leadership of the CLC was defeated on one issue — a complicated series of structural reforms within the congress.

By everyone's admission, representation in the Canadian Labour Congress at convention is a very archaic, even undemocratic process. There were about 2,400 voting delegates, for example, at this most recent convention but there were more than 10,000 delegates entitled to represent all the affiliates. This, of course, makes for a large and unwieldy convention — especially a convention of an organization which cherishes lively floor participation and debate. And the CLC alone among all mass trade union centres still manages to be representative, if not of the rank-and-file, certainly local union activists. However, there is a problem. A convention of 2,400 represents barely 25 per cent of the possible number of delegates.

Delegates are, in the main, chosen directly from the locals of the various affiliated unions. This, on one hand, gives a convention of the CLC a particular grass roots aura, but on the other hand, since there is nothing approaching uniformity on the size of locals within a given union, much less between different unions, representation at a CLC conference does not really reflect the numerical strength of the various affiliates, nor, because most locals are too small to afford to send delegates, does it fully represent the actual membership. Needless to say, in many unions there are a lot of unused credentials floating around — which of course can be distributed among various staffers as the need may arise.

Well, no system is perfect.

So it was decided at the last convention that a committee should be struck off to propose some structural changes. The resolution specifically stated that this committee should in-

vestigate "changing representation of affiliated unions so that it will be based on the total membership of an affiliate."

And that is just what it did. The crux of a series of structural changes was that the numbers of delegates be reduced by increasing the size of the unit each delegate would represent and that instead of each local of each affiliate being represented directly, credentials would be issued to the head office of the union involved on a per capita basis and delegates chosen in whatever way the union wished.

Under some conditions this may appear to be an acceptable structural change, but what it means concretely is that a number of credentials to CLC conventions will wind up in the American headquarters of the Internationals. Indeed, there were plenty of rumours to the effect that these structural changes were proposed as a saw-off with some of the Internationals, so that they in turn would comply with the guidelines on autonomy adopted at the last CLC convention. Even those credentials that wouldn't wind up in Washington or wherever south of the border, would, of course, be handled through the Canadian leadership establishments and this naturally invites stacking.

This is not too much of a problem as long as the CLC and its biannual convention is basically a talk-shop — The Parliament of Labour — everybody can get together and pass all the resolutions they want, the CLC has little power and its convention literally none, except to elect officers who have powers only to persuade.

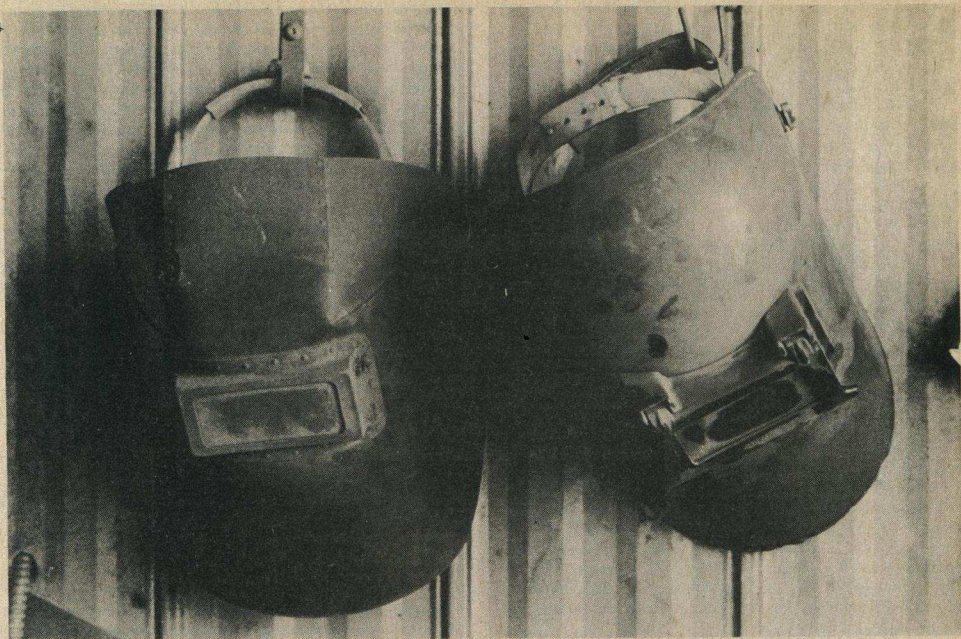
In any case the whole business was referred back to the incoming executive. Everyone knew the structural changes would be defeated on the floor of the convention. It takes a two-thirds majority to pass a constitutional change and there was no way this was going to happen. What was in question for a while was whether the report of the structural committee which contained these constitutional recommendations would pass; this would require only a simple majority. This would have made for a rather murky procedural situation, and, if nothing else would increase the pressure on the next convention to make the constitutional adjustments. But the whole thing was referred back and at the next convention the boys will have to start at square one again.

But it will arise again, because the centralization of power within one trade union centre is a vital component of the manifesto. Indeed, much of the criticism of the AIB, or perhaps a more general criticism of Trudeau's perceived Liberal Corporatism of which the AIB is simply part of the mechanism, leveled by the CLC leadership was that there was no centralized labour body to confront it.

For as Joe Morris stressed in the January statement of the CLC executive, the concept of tri-partite bargaining would fundamentally alter the whole structural premise of the trade union movement in Canada: "It will compel the trade unions in Canada to transfer their powers to the CLC."

Now that the CLC, for better or for worse, has decided to project its own version of corporatism, it simply follows that some very sweeping changes in the trade union movement in its politics and in its structure will follow.

And so the CLC came to Quebec City to organize a battle against the government. Instead of fighting, it seemed to rather switch. And while, perhaps in the longer view, the manifesto will cause many a trauma, in the short run rumours of peace abound. Indeed, even as this article is written, word has reached us of a very prominent, and soon to retire, trade union leader who awaits a summons from Her Majesty The Queen to serve her in the Senate of Canada.



Working is bad for you

by Last Post staff

Canada's 250,000 work places are fine places to work. Bright. Immaculate. well-ventilated. Healthy.

All those who agree go to the head of the Chamber of Commerce. The rest are probably workers, who cough up their blood, wheeze from dust in their lungs and die too early because of unsafe workplaces.

Canada's factories, mines and smelters are death traps. The grisly statistics: 1,400 dead in accidents on the job every year, 25,000 injured permanently — by losing fingers in machinery, having eyes gouged out or entire limbs slashed off by technology.

Another one million are injured badly enough to be forced to stay home. Compared with strikes, accidents and industrial death are twice as damaging to the economy in lost working time. But even these figures understate the carnage. A worker chewed up by machinery, poisoned by a cloud of toxic gas in a smelter or buried under tons of muck in a mine shaft cave-in goes into the industrial body count.

The worker who collapses outside the gate doesn't get into the death records. U.S. Occupational Safety and Health Administration officials feel about 10 times as many deaths are

directly caused by conditions at work — though the victims expire in beds or hospitals instead of dying "in harness" at the workplace.

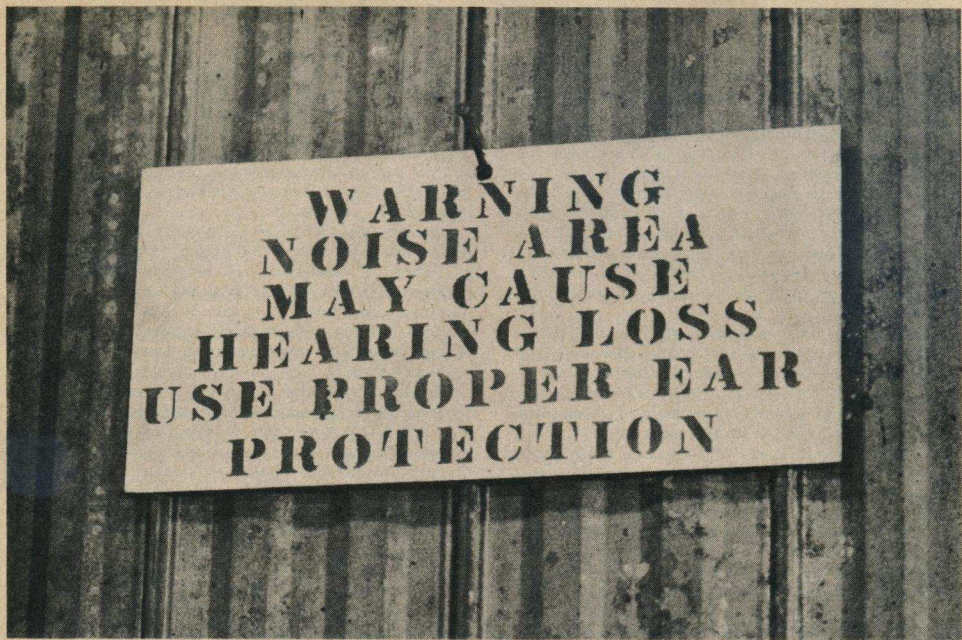
The public never sees all this death on *The National News* (or the local news for that matter). One reason is the 1,400 don't die all at once. One falls off the payroll every six hours.

While police organizations demand "an eye for an eye" when officers get killed, miners, woodworkers and construction workers are 10 and 20 times as likely to die in the line of duty.

Curiously, there is no counterpart in industry to the law enforcement business's debate over capital punishment. Rarely is a company executive charged or sent to court for breaking the weak industrial safety laws. Typically these laws only require owners to supply "adequate ventilation" or to "operate safely."

An exception is the manager of Noranda-owned Canadian Copper Refiners in Montreal who was charged with criminal negligence after two employees were killed last year by arsine gas, an arsenic compound.

In a society that worships progress, there has been little



...and it's getting worse

advancement in preventing job injuries and death. In fact, in the past 10 years the country's work-place blood-letting has gotten worse.

The rate of disabling injuries was 3.9 per 100 workers in 1964, but a decade later was 4.6 per 100.

In these times of fear about "over-regulation" of business and "massive bureaucracy" occupational health is typified by *laissez-faire*.

Saskatchewan has a staff of 93 hygienists, inspectors and other field workers in its Occupational Health and Safety Branch (part of the labour department). But with 17,000 work places, it would take them six years to visit every mine, factory and plant just once. Even so Saskatchewan has the only true occupational health department in the country, and is recognized by organized labour as a model for the bare minimum of a true attack on industrial slaughter. Ontario has only one inspector for every 600 work places. There are five times as many fish and game wardens as occupational health workers, showing on a priority basis animals matter more.

British Columbia handles occupational health through the Workers' Compensation Board. But the huge mining field is out of the W.C.B.'s jurisdiction. And even in its jurisdiction the board's powers are limited to fines and occasional inspections.

Cominco Ltd. is one victim of board regulation. For unsafe conditions in its giant fertilizer and lead-zinc smelter at Trail, Canadian Pacific-owned Cominco is being fined \$28,000 a month. For a corporation with sales of three-quarters of a billion dollars a year, those fines are the equivalent of parking tickets.

There is no reason, given the country's high industrial accident rate (worse than most heavily industrialized countries) to doubt that the analysis of Sheldon Samuels, director of the AFL-CIO's occupational health department, applies to Canada as well as the U.S.

"Even if all the identifiable costs were placed on the employer, we cannot always be sure that it would not be cheaper for the employer to replace dead workers than to keep them alive," says Samuels. "It may even be profitable," he says, "if only dollars and cents are counted. In the case of chronic occupational disease, it may be cheaper for any nation to sacrifice a life that has already achieved peak productivity."

Companies steadfastly insist safety is "management's rights". The manager of a northern Ontario mine summed up industry's view tersely when he said last year, "It is not a good thing to legislate safety." When governments hesitantly move to protect employees' health, industry's response is tantamount to economic blackmail: "push too hard and we'll

close up shop. That attitude has largely worked to fight off environmentalists outside the plant, and it's a powerful restraint on pressure to clean up inside, too.

When Ontario health inspectors found asbestos fibres far in excess of "guidelines" at the Johns-Manville Reeves Mine in Timmins last year, the company closed the operation, exterminating over 200 jobs. Timmins mayor Leo Del Vellano reacted the way business wanted: "This environmental stuff," he told a reporter, "is going too damn far."

Understaffing and a casserole of jurisdictions are some of the reasons for government's slow response to the occupational health crisis. Another is attitudes. Ontario Health Minister Frank Miller held back an ocean of demands for job-safety protection last year. He blurted, "Until one-and-a-half or two years ago, whoever heard of occupational health?"

Attitudes like his make union safety officials boil. The first occupational diseases were discovered over 300 years ago. Asbestos — one of the few publicized industrial killers — was a known killer 40 years ago. Unions began demanding safety improvements almost from the birth of unionism on the continent, before the turn of the century.

The United Steelworkers of America, testifying at Ontario's royal commission on mine safety last year, pointed to contract language on safety negotiated in the 1940s.

Some unions, notably the United Auto Workers, Steel, and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, have safety departments and have negotiated good contracts on industrial hygiene. But they have almost no support from government and face near total opposition from management.

Merely getting information on chemicals, fumes and dust levels around most assembly lines, mills and other plants is impossible. Workers who refuse to work a job they consider

unsafe can be fired. When several refuse, it's an illegal strike. (Except in British Columbia, where militant asbestos workers in a Steelworker-organized mine at Cassiar stopped production for two weeks in December. The company's bid to outlaw the strike was denied by the B.C. Labour Relations Board, which reinstated 13 strike leaders who had been fired.)

Some managements themselves have no idea what's in the air their workers breathe, how loud the noise is and what are the effects of resins, cleansers, paint, dyes and solvents used ubiquitously.

Open-pit iron ore miners in northern Ontario recently learned that dust counts of 700 parts per cubic centimetre of air (about a thimbleful) are everyday happenstances. Management's own goal for air quality is 300 p.p.c.c. The local union president was astounded when the counts were divulged. For years, he said, mine managers told him he couldn't have the counts because the employees "wouldn't understand them."

The only penalties on corporations with unsafe work records are higher assessments from provincial compensation boards. But this is too tardy for the worker who suffers a job-related disease. Proving that workers died of conditions on the job is difficult. Workers with unions have representation and sometimes access to capable medical experts. But management has doctors who will swear it can't be proved that cancers, deafness or other afflictions were caused by working conditions.

In one chilling case Ontario union members have fought for eight years to get compensation for a Port Colborne machinist diagnosed as suffering pre-senile dementia. The man worked at Algoma Steel's Canadian Furnace Division, a blast-furnace operation that makes iron. He lost his memory

Upjohn

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Workers are the guinea pigs as thousands of industrial compounds are 'tested'

Nearly 1,100 workers have died at work on the average in every year in the past decade. Though classified as "accidents," investigations and inquests point to a pattern: industry puts production ahead of safety.

The law has followed industry's demands. In most provinces, workers who refuse to work in conditions they consider unsafe can be fired. Only one province, Saskatchewan, requires labour-management safety committees.

Here is how one death occurred at Denison Mines in Elliot Lake, Ont.

On July 29, 1975, a union safety committee pointed out the lack of platforms for employees to stand on near a new leaching operation, used to discharge the valuable ore from the waste rock.

Minutes of the joint tour of the premises two days later show the company was told "a platform is required for the operator to stand on while taking samples. . . ."

The same day the company replied that a work order

would be issued for steps or a platform at the dangerous areas.

At the regular monthly meeting on Aug. 6 the platforms still were missing. The company replied in writing: "Work to start on August 12. . . ."

On August 27 the union, Local 5762 of the United Steelworkers of America, raised the matter again — the third time in five weeks and said the area is "completely unsafe." The company had not built the platforms.

On September 4, employee Franz Bach, attempting to take a sample from discharges in the leaching area, fell 45 feet and was killed at the exact area the union had demanded a platform.

The next day the company replied to the union's complaints of August 27 and said about the missing platform: "we realize we must make some changes here but do not agree with the statement 'completely unsafe.'"

Bach, 48, is survived by his widow and two children.

after he was doused by carbon monoxide gas in 1968. Though he worked for 23 years at the plant, the Ontario Workmen's Compensation Board refuses to consider his case an occupational disease, or give the man the benefit of a doubt. The lame are given the impossible burden of proving what science probably can't corroborate.

But insensitivity in government and management circles isn't new. When Conservative M.P. Allen Lawrence was Ontario mines minister in 1970 he complained that he had over 100 complaints about safety on his desk and that 97 were from one local union in Sudbury at International Nickel. He dismissed the local's 97 complaints as "political."

When Liberal Allan MacEachen was federal minister in the late 1960s he was urged by unions to enforce a model code for workers exposed to radiation. The code had been drawn up by experts, including Canadians, under the auspices of the International Labour Organization, a United Nations agency.

MacEachen refused, saying the code was only in its draft stages. Though one of the biggest uranium producers in the world, Canada lags in health research and protective action in the nuclear field. Until recently the federal Atomic Energy Control Board had no standards for protecting workers from radiation, which causes birth defects, cancers and other misery. But the Board contracted out its safety work to the provinces. Ontario permitted uranium miners to be exposed to more than 12 times the amount of radiation in a year recommended in 1968 by the I.L.O.

Health Minister Frank Miller's department clearly doesn't know which makes better sense these days in politically unsettled Ontario. One day he proclaims all is healthy, the next he's crusading and promising safer conditions. His real feelings were probably summed up in a pamphlet his department issued last year. It says, "Most people work today in safe, healthy surroundings. But conditions haven't always been so favourable. . . ."

Company safety officers often carry production duties, too, and face a conflict of interest in weighing profits against caution.

Corporate safety campaigns are deprecated by the workers for their condescending approach. In most plants the colour posters (often provided free by compensation boards) warn of back injuries from lifting improperly or falling from broken ladders. The whole effort aims to make the workers feel they're at fault for death or accidents.

The year 1975 will be remembered for the gusher of occupational deaths linked to everyday conditions.

- "By-stander's disease," in the words of New York industrial health campaigner Irving J. Selikoff, continued to strike the wives and children of asbestos workers. A Scarborough, Ont., woman who carried her father's lunch to the Johns-Manville plant in the Toronto suburb was found to have asbestosis, a lung condition that is often fatal.

- The American plastics industry — after declaring new standards for exposure to the deadly vinyl chloride gas were "beyond the compliance capabilities of the industry" — met the standards. In six years 17 workers had died of angiosarcoma of the liver, which is unheard of in anyone who doesn't work with vinyl chloride or its main derivative, polyvinyl chloride (PVC), which is used in a variety of plastic products from salami wrapping to pipe. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration has set a limit of 2 parts per million in plant atmosphere. Concentrations had run to 50,000 parts per million. PVC, also used in a number of Canadian plants, has also been linked to birth defects.

- Lung cancer deaths in Elliot Lake, Ont., among uranium miners, passed 60 — three times the rate expected in the rest of the population. The killer: radioactive dust and radon gas, emitted when rock is broken in mine tunnels.

- A U.S. study disclosed that steel industry workers at coke ovens have 10 times the rate of lung cancer as other

steel workers. Just working in a steel mill means living two-and-a-half years less than other workers from exposure to the gases, fumes and heat. In Ontario the Workmen's Compensation Board allowed a widow's claim for a pension because her husband had worked at coke ovens at Algoma Steel Corp. Only four years earlier provincial health department officials said they could find nothing particularly dangerous in the coke-oven atmosphere.

Most workers get little or no training in safety before they're hired or after. For over 70 years the mining companies of Ontario had no films, pamphlets or posters warning about excessive noise. Hearing-loss claims for compensation are so common the industry has started testing employees and occasionally will not hire even young people who show some sign of weakened hearing.

Dusts and chemicals are rarely mentioned in company safety campaigns. But a list of industrial compounds compiled in 1973 by the U.S. Health Department showed 25,000 in use, and some safety campaigners say the total now is over 45,000. What effects these compounds have is never known till workers begin to die.

"They're guinea pigs," says Paul Falkowski of Sudbury, a staff safety specialist for the United Steelworkers. "Every chemical should be tested and proved safe before industry is permitted to use it near workers."

The unions' worry is that some chemicals, while safe enough by themselves, could be lethal mixed with other elements in typical industrial air. In the short run one solution is shielding the worker from the hazardous condition with protective clothing and air-packs.

But the only sure way to keep workers alive is prevention: setting standards, testing in-plant environments, and paying for engineering to improve ventilation. Industry warns the cost will be prohibitive, and with Canada's unemployment rate already the second highest in the major industrial countries, the threat of mass lay-offs and plant closures can stifle clean-up campaigns.

What the corporations are ignoring is that occupational health has reached the crisis stage. An American doctor, Samuel S. Epstein, has noted that despite scientific progress the cancer death rate is soaring, having tripled since the turn of the century. Twenty percent of all Americans die of it.

Dr. Epstein has traced the dramatic rise in cancer deaths and showed that it parallels the increasing boom in chemicals in the past 40 years. "There seems to be strong grounds," he says, "for associating recent increases in cancer mortality with the increasing . . . usage of industrial chemicals." Over-all, use of pesticides, plastics, synthetics and other chemicals in U.S. industry went up 32 per cent in only three years, 1967-1970.

The vinyl chloride massacre, he says, "may well be a harbinger of other carcinogens. . . ." Indeed, says Dr. Epstein, industry's introduction of new chemicals at a rate of several thousand a year outdistances the capability of researchers to test them all.

He also says that workers have few advocates. Pressures on scientists, says Dr. Epstein, are to develop chemicals and test them for "marketing interests," not their impact on the nation's health.

A Toronto doctor, David Parkinson, fought Cominco-owned Canada Metal Co. for more than a year over emissions from its lead smelter in the city's east end. Parkinson argued lead is a danger to the workers and especially to children near the smelter.

But he could get little support from Ontario's government, and he found corporations more interested in highly visible "good works," such as art exhibits and scholarships than funding occupational health projects. Dr. Parkinson told a health seminar in Niagara Falls in March he was leaving Canada for the U.S. because the political climate in this country isn't ripe for doctors who want to protect workers from deadly work.

Despite proof that exposure to some chemicals for even short periods leads to a variety of cancers, companies still try to evade responsibility for dangerous working environments. Ontario's royal commission on mining dangers was told smoking is the real culprit behind the plague of lung cancer and other chest diseases in Elliot Lake's uranium mines.

The facts, however, are that three times as many men have died of cancer since 1958 as would be expected in a typical population of smokers and non-smokers. One in six workers has silicosis, chronic bronchitis, emphysema or what doctors call "Pre-silicotic" conditions or "dust effects." They don't all smoke. Some never have.

Are there more Elliot Lakes in Canada? Probably.

But nothing will have been learned from the Elliot Lake experience if attitudes toward occupational health don't change quickly. For a glimpse at what's wrong with those attitudes, it's hard to beat the transcripts of the Ontario royal commission, headed by James M. Ham, a University of Toronto engineering professor. On the one hand the companies rejected the suggestion that workers should have the right to monitor their work places, which the unions want, or that government should take control of inspections from the corporations. The mines take their own tests, which NDP legislator Elie Martel compares with putting "Dracula in charge of the blood bank."

The commission learned from Ontario New Democratic Party leader Stephen Lewis that the uranium mines had covered up just how bad conditions were until the miners started dropping dead. Reports that air-borne dust from the heavily silica-laden rock were above the companies' own guidelines were dispatched to the Ontario government natural resources department and to the industry-run Mines Accident Prevention Association. Nobody cared.

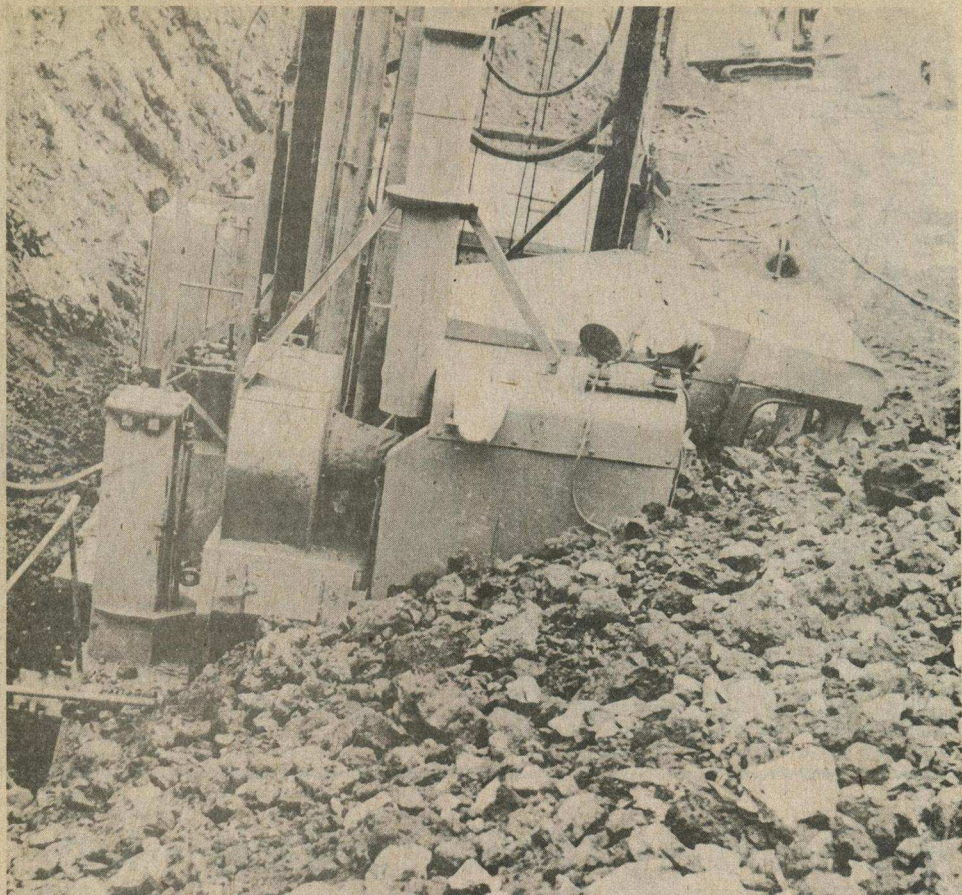
"Five government ministers in the mining portfolio had the figures in their files, but none acted. How is it that they could know that silica dust and radiation levels were consistently above the recommended limits and never intervene?" asked Lewis, testifying at the royal commission hearing.

The dust and radiation counts were taken by the companies and "cannot possibly have been inflated," Lewis said. So much for self-regulation.

Yet the mining association's chief spokesman at the hearings, ex-International Nickel executive Norman Wadge, managed to tell the royal commission without smiling that "the miner is safer when he's underground than he is at any time of his day except when he is home in bed asleep."

Yet Wadge couldn't explain why unsafe radiation levels were permitted in the uranium mines — and are permitted today.

One of the Elliot Lake uranium producers, Rio Algom Mines, sent vice-president E. W. Cheeseman to the hearings to plead, ". . . We are operating what is generally conceded to be within safe limits. . . . In that we operate under the Department of Mines, one must conclude that they concur." An ex-Rio Algom vice-president is deputy mines minister.



Luckily, no one was killed when this steam shovel was crushed in a mining accident

Asked if his company would permit the head of the union safety committee to tour the operation on company time with the provincial inspectors, Griffith Mine manager J. D. Jeffries said no. "The safety committee chairman has been hired as an electrician, and we expect him to perform his regular job..." Jeffries said.

Inspectors are a problem, and they were almost universally condemned by miners who testified. A letter from one inspector written in June, 1974, agreed with union complaints about the lack of sanitary facilities to wash up and eat away from dust and fumes. "I realize the company may not be providing sanitary conveniences and lunchrooms exactly as required by the Mining Act," said the inspector. "But in my opinion I do not think the company is creating any hardship for the employees."

At another hearing, an inspector vigorously cross-examined a local union leader, who was harshly criticizing

the company for dusty conditions and a variety of unsafe practices. The inspector defended the corporation. "Have you nothing good to say about this company?" he asked.

Elliot Lake's other uranium producer, Canada's biggest, is Denison Mines. Denison's appearance at the royal commission was left to the local mine manager. He said "mine management and staff have fulfilled their obligation to the workers in the Denison mine. . . Improvements were made to environmental and safety conditions on a continuous basis to the best of their knowledge and abilities."

Denison executives and the rest of the mining industry steadfastly argue that safety is "management's right and responsibility." Asked repeatedly in an emotional cross-examination by a Denison miner just who is "directly responsible for the silicosis and the lung cancer victims," the Denison manager sat mute.

Rear View



All the President's Men — page 40

- Troyer on Woodstein — p.40
- Chodos on "Singin'" — p.44
- Morey on The Parlour Rebellion — p.45
- Democritus on Science — p.46
- A view of "Intrepid" — p.47
- Anderson on Stinson — p.48
- Eliot Holmes views of the North — p.49

A few dirty tricks of their own

by WARNER TROYER

When I drove home from seeing the film my arms ached on the steering wheel: The palpable tension of the developing narrative had left me physically sore and emotionally stunned. *All The President's Men* does for journalism what *Or I'll Dress You In Mourning* did for the corrida. El Corodobes' bull ring had no more tension, conflict, triumph and pain than the *Washington Post* city room so exactly duplicated for Robert Redford's production of Carl Bernstein's and Bob Woodward's book on Richard Nixon's whoredom and the agony it spilled across a nation.

The film is gritty, gutsy; a supremely slick replication of precisely how-it-really-is when dedicated reporters smell blood. No graduate or survivor of any city room or radio/TV newsroom could help but respond with a surge of whatever glands still function; no journalism student, TV researcher, copy-person could leave the theatre unaware that, "Yes, by God! That's how it really is! That's reporting at its pinnacle!

That's what I do/will-do/must-do -if-I'm-to -breathe!"

"Churchill," one responds, "was right when he wrote his mother, from his post as correspondent during the Boer War: 'I would far rather be at this end of the telegraph wire!'"

It's a helluva film. And that's a damned shame. Because it celebrates the work of two very fine reporters who, in the course of their quest for truth, betrayed just about every ethic ever discussed, considered, accepted by any reflective journalist.

The irony of the triumph of book-and-film is that both hold a carnival mirror up for the education and emulation of those young men and women who, as next year's journalists, hold a substantial chunk of our fate in their collective hands. If they copy the team known familiarly as 'Woodstein,' they will betray *our* trust and our need and destroy a good many babies with the bathwater.

The first thing I did on arriving home from the theatre at which I saw 'All The President's Men' was to look up the speech of which I was most reminded by the film and its chief

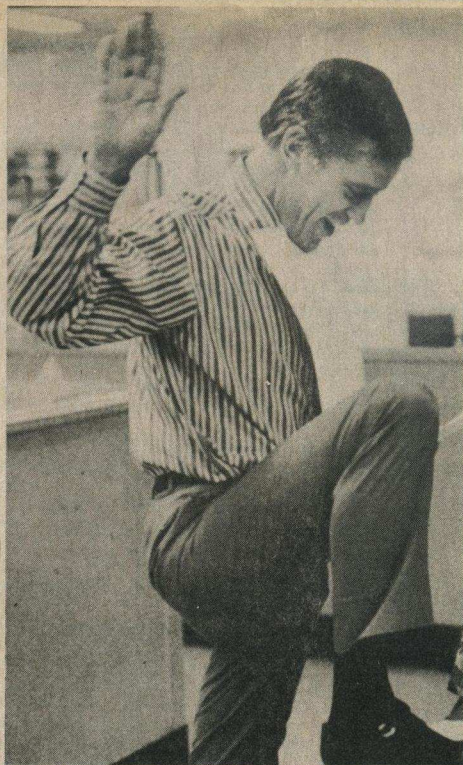


Donald Segretti: Woodward and Bernstein got his credit card records

protagonists: It was made, on the evening of July 16, 1964, before 5,400 reporters and 1,308 delegates in San Francisco's Cow Palace: I heard it on my car radio, and felt sick; maybe you did, too:

"Extremism in the defence of liberty is no vice," was Barry Goldwater's message that steamy night. "Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue!" Ironically, Goldwater's acceptance speech at that Republican presidential nominating convention had been introduced by the man who described himself as "a simple soldier" in the party ranks: Richard Nixon. But the philosophy and the sentiments survived Goldwater's electoral humiliation; they appeared in the Nixon White House, four years later; and four more years had passed before they were clearly stitched into the curious devices flying from the lances of our heroes, Woodward and Bernstein. They, too, would have flunked ethics 200.

Practitioners of journalism, like those in every other service industry (advertising, politics, medicine, law, whoring — name your own favourites) are inclined both to navel-gazing and pomposity. We take our trade, when we are being honest with ourselves, very seriously indeed; because we must. Without something closely approaching a medieval sense of 'vocation,' we'd have no reason to endure the frustration, tension, bone-crushing weariness and all-round abstinence from 'normal' life and leisure that the serious practice of our craft demands. If the story — the byline, the scoop, revelation, break-through weren't the most-important-thing-in-the-world — the grinding effort of producing them would destroy us. We would, in the words of my favourite cartoon (of a graphics card on a home TV set), 'Temporarily lack the will to continue.'



Executive Editor Benjamin Bradlee kept the pressure on: 'What have you done for me today?'

And there's the rub: Because to build and maintain the energy and morale needed to pursue 'the truth' one must clutch not just firmly, but desperately, to that truth. We don't need much reminder of the fearful righteousness of those possessed-of-the-truth, whether their names be Tomás de Torquemada, Calvin, Marx or Goldwater. All of which tempts me to one final quotation from Churchill; this from a speech in the British House of Commons between the wars:

"No man is free," said Churchill, "when one man is imprisoned unjustly." There's a point there.

So what about 'Woodstein'? Well:

They are, in their own book, self-confessed liars. They broke the law in pursuit of their story, and seduced others to break the law. They destroyed the careers (perhaps the lives) of men entirely innocent of wrong and they breached the ultimate (if, in comparison with their other offences against ethical decency, slightly silly) canon of every reporter since Dickens, and before: They failed to honour their own personal and freely-given promises of confidence.

The film, as a film, has almost no discernible flaws: Excepting only this, that it misses or glosses over the offences I've cited. There are some silly anomalies in the film:

Example: In their book, Woodward and Bernstein explicitly say they 'never' used notebooks when interviewing employees of CREEP and other sources. In the film they never stop taking notes — even ask permission so to do.

Example: In the film, editor Bradley, responding to White House claims the *Post* lied, block-prints (during an editorial conference) his 'non-denial denial' on a scratch-pad and passes it around: "WE STAND BY OUR STORY." In the book, Bradley types draft after draft before coming to his final phrase: same phrase, but typed, not hand-printed.

No big deal. Though I'd rather have had that sort of fidelity to reality than Hollywood press releases telling me that the paper in the wastebaskets in the film was specially flown to the west coast from the *Washington Post* newsroom to maintain "Authenticity".

But about the serious allegations I've made concerning 'Woodstein's' ethics and the practice of their trade — and mine:

Two examples show up, briefly, in the film:

- On a return visit to a secretary who has information about the disbursement of CREEP funds, and who fears for her job and future, and believes she is under surveillance by the President's servants, Woodward and Bernstein stand on her porch as she says, fearfully, "They'll see you."
"Not," says Woodward/Redford, "if you invite us inside."

Sounds simple; sounds, too, like a particularly cheap bit of intimidation by Woodward.

- A scene in Bernstein/Hoffman's apartment: Intent on tracing Donald Segretti's movements as a Nixon 'plumber', Woodward and Bernstein are poring over credit card receipts showing that Segretti criss-crossed the nation, touching down where Democratic presidential candidates were conducting primary campaigns. In the words of the book (page 121), "Bernstein . . . called an employee of a credit-card company who, if promised anonymity, said he could obtain records." And he did. Kinda illegal, though.

Of course every reporter knows that what's left out of a story has a helluva lot more to do with 'editorial slant' than what's actually written. So what was left out of the film?

Example: In the film, an FBI agent who has given the dauntless duo information 'on deep background' and with assurances that his confidences will never be revealed, is braced by the reporters when, under pressure, they need more confirmation of a story. When he refuses to help they threaten to breach his confidence and try to intimidate him by saying they'll go to his boss. He tells them to "fuck off." They shrug, and walk away.

But did they? Not quite. It wasn't mentioned in the film, but Woodward and Bernstein did go to the agent's boss, did reveal the man had broken his oath and given them confidential data, did try to screw an extra confirmation out of the agent's supervisor by betraying his employee.

What the book doesn't tell us is what happened to the FBI agent's career. One assumes he was fired. So much for those myths about courageous reporters facing jail and homosexual gang-rape rather than 'reveal a source'. It all depends, it seems, on whose ox is being gored.

And the other charges?

- Check pages 109 — 111 in the book: You'll read of three men smeared; their careers probably destroyed, by an incorrect story written by our boys. The book reports, ingenuously, that "Three men had been wronged. They had been unfairly accused on the front page of the *Washington Post*, the hometown newspaper of their families, neighbours and friends." Tough. One of the three was fired from two jobs successively because of the adverse publicity; another had domestic agonies; 'Woodstein' went from strength to strength.
- Both reporters lied regularly: To CREEP employees whom they told they'd been 'referred-to' by colleagues; to members and hangers-on of the 'plumbers' whom they told they were seeing only to confirm FBI reports already in possession of the *Washington Post*, 'because the FBI so often screws things up.'
- Woodward even lied to his informant 'Deep Throat', 'claiming he had hard information to persuade his most crucial informant to confirm what was, at that point, only speculation.'
- Bernstein agonizes, on pages 35/36 of the book, that he "had several sources in the Bell system," but, "was always reluctant to use them to get information about calls because of the ethical questions involved in breaching the confidentiality of a person's telephone records. It was a problem," the book piously states, "he had never resolved in his mind."

The hell he hadn't! Check the next paragraph:

"Without dwelling on his problem, Bernstein called a telephone company source and asked for a list of Barker's calls." (And got them.) His problem! What about the phone company employee, persuaded to break the law? What about Barker?

You can make your own list: There's Bernstein using a Pentagon contact as a favour, to find out whether the political enemy of a man from whom he wanted information had any army record blemishes, such as homosexuality; there's Woodward, trying to persuade Grand Jury members to break their oaths, and the law, and tell him about secret hearings. ("Ideally," the book notes, "the juror" — whom Woodward would subvert — "would be . . . a person who was accustomed to bending rules, the type of person who valued practicality more than procedure.") Procedure, in this context, being shorthand for legality.

A final, sad note in respect both of ethics and legality: Benjamin Bradley's consistent pressure to be first notwithstanding, ("What have you done for me today? 'That's not a bad story; what have you got for tomorrow?") the *Washington Post* has no monopoly on corner-cutting: On October 18, 1972, the *New York Times* published details of telephone calls made by Donald Segretti; details obtained — you guessed it — from confidential telephone company records and from the trustees of Segretti's credit cards.

As I've said, you can plot your own steps through the labyrinth of the Woodward/Bernstein puzzle; in all I found 37 major breaches of ethics or law in their book, all displayed and discussed with the disarming candour of a child who simply didn't know the gun was loaded.

The irony, maybe tragedy, is that none of the dumb and venal tricks performed by the pair was necessary; none contributed substantively to the development of their story; they'd have gotten it anyway, and without invoking the spirit of the Cow Palace, or the Plumbers, whom they were trying

(continued on page 44)

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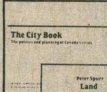
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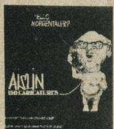
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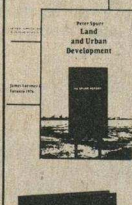


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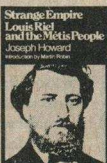
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(continued from page 42)

to dis-connect.

The final paradox: Woodward and Bernstein are both, clearly, damn good reporters. They had dedication, obsessive persistence and the strong legs and thick skin unique to police reporters and chronically-failed politicians. They didn't have to cheat to make it.

There are many lessons in *All The President's Men*. The most important for me is that it raises more questions about the ethics of journalism than the conduct of public men, and

their servants.

A.J.P. Taylor once told me he'd seen no evidence, in a lifetime as a historian, that man has ever learned or profited from experience. I thought him wrong then, and still do. I hope the editors, producers, publishers and journalism teachers who tell their employees/students about Watergate and the slingshot wielded by 'Woodstein', will prove both Barry Goldwater and A.J.P. Taylor wrong — and Churchill right.

Good songs, superficial intro

by ROBERT CHODOS

Singin' About Us, edited by Bob Davis, compiled by Bruce Burron. Toronto/James Lorimer & Co. 144 pp. \$5.95.

Singin' About Us is, first of all, a good idea. It is a book of songs by contemporary Canadian songwriters, most of them in the country field with occasional excursions into folk. The quality of the songs varies widely, as one would expect, but it is clearly high enough to

justify the editor's contention that there are "fine contemporary songs being written and sung across Canada today." The book is marred only by an attempt on the part of the editor to put his material into a political perspective that the songs themselves don't really justify.

Davis is a nationalist of the build-a-wall-along-the-forty-ninth-parallel variety. He describes a party in Toronto where at the high point of the evening everybody is singing "Country roads, take me home, to the place I belong, West Virginia, mountain mama, take me home, country roads."

"Now none of these friends and neighbours partying in Toronto are from West Virginia," Davis says. "None have ever even been there! And if you asked them sober the next day why they enjoyed so much singing about being from West Virginia, they'd say it's just a great song. It doesn't matter where the place is.

"But it does matter. It matters a lot when you're born and you live mostly in one place and you're always singing about *another* place. Especially when that place — the United States — controls so much else in our lives from magazines to energy to cars."

As a result, there is a deliberate emphasis on songs with Canadian place names in them: there are songs about Esterhazy and Tillsonburg, about Manitoba and Newfoundland, about the Mackenzie River and James Bay. "We're so starved to hear Canadian place names," says Davis, "that Tom Connors can have many audiences shouting and clapping for hours simply by rolling out long lists of Maritime towns or places in Northern Ontario."

The idea that a Canadian place name makes a Canadian song with which Canadians can, or should, identify, is at best simplistic. Part of the great strength



Dick Nolan

of folk music is its universality, its ability to span borders and centuries and adapt to changes of place and time. The particular development of it known as country music is North American, and grew up in parts of Canada as well as parts of the United States. There are good Canadian songs, and for a whole complex of reasons they don't generally get the public acceptance they deserve. But Canadian songs, on the whole, are not that different in form, mood and spirit — all of which are much more important to a song's appeal than the place names it mentions — from American songs. Any



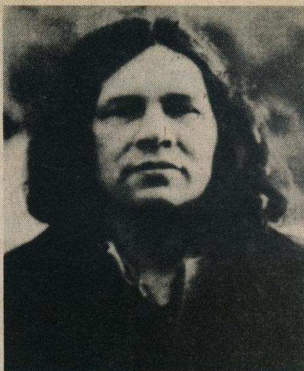
Roy Payne

attempt to impose the kind of separation between the two that Davis seems to want is bound to be forced and artificial.

Davis's attitudes are not generally shared by the songwriters who are interviewed in the book. Here is Roy Payne: "A writer should be almost universal. If you write a song that's accepted all around the world, they still know where you're from. Gordie Lightfoot, he does good stuff. There's an example of what good Canadian music is all about. It's the whole thing. Like I said, if you've got good music, they're going to play it anywhere." And Stevedore Steve: "It's nothing against the Americans whatever. I haven't got anything against them at all — or their music or their singers or anything. It's that I *have* got a little something going for Canada and Canada's singers and music." And David Campbell, an Arawak Indian songwriter from Guyana: "For me anyway, the songs that work best of all are songs that evoke feeling, that stir something. Rather than say: blood, guts, freedom, freedom, blood, guts, slogan songs. They turn me off, man. They almost repulse me."

There are a number of songs that will turn Campbell off in this collection. An overabundance of abstract nouns is a common flaw. But the best songs are ones that evoke a specific situation in concrete terms, and generally one close to the songwriter's own experience — songs such as David Campbell's "Kodid", which unfortunately is not included in *Singin' About Us*. The selection of Campbell's songs here represents only part of his range, and not the best part at that. It might have been better to include "Kodid", even if it has nothing to do with Canada, than, say, his song about James Bay.

A few others deserve specific mention. Dick Nolan's two songs present an interesting contrast to the rest of the book. Nolan is a Newfoundland singer and sings within the Newfoundland tradition: in fact both "Aunt Martha's Sheep" and "The Unemployment Song" are set to thinly disguised versions of old Newfoundland tunes. As Davis points out, the distinction between old and new music is not as clear in Newfoundland as in the rest of Canada. Nolan's amusing and high-spirited songs are a good example of how contemporary music can acquire strength from traditional roots. These are, however, Newfoundland and not Canadian roots and Davis's attempt to appropriate them for the rest of us is as presumptuous as anything the Americans do to our culture.



David Campbell

Gordon Lightfoot, two of whose songs are included here, has a polish and professionalism that is rare among Canadian songwriters, and nothing need be added to Roy Payne's praise of him. And Wade Hemsworth's songs, have an ease and lightness of touch that set them apart from most of the others in the book.

It is not only unnecessary to shout from the rooftops how wonderfully Canadian these songwriters are, but counter-productive as well: it creates the impression that their work doesn't stand on its own. What is encouraging about *Singin' About Us* is precisely that so many of the songs do stand on their own, and that people will listen to them and learn to sing and play them because they want to, and not because someone is telling them that they should.

Coffee-table liberation

by TRACY MOREY

The Parlour Rebellion — Profiles in the Struggle for Women's Rights, by Isobel Bassett. McClelland & Stewart/Toronto. \$10.

The promotion fellows down at McClelland & Stewart are probably still drooling over this slim volume. You wrap up your debt to International Women's Year in a powder blue cover; then tie it up with a \$10 price tag and the best of pre-Christmas marketing.

It can't fail. Colour stories about adventuring Canadian women — always from the best of homes, a sort of haphazard survey of notables — and how they plowed their way into academe, medicine, journalism, writing and politics. Show the women's struggle was a safely respectable thing... write it up in amiable grade nine textbook style... and stick an 8 by 10 glossy of the fashionable authoress on the back cover.

The Parlour Rebellion is pretty much a harmless bore after that. Except for one thing. However lacking in ambition this particular survey, it has ferreted out some figures who may have gone unnoticed in the flimsily written history of the Canadian women's movement (i.e., from McClung and McPhail and back again).

What about Kit Coleman, who defied her editors at the *Mail and Empire* to wangle passage to Cuba to cover the

Spanish-American war in 1898. And Emily Murphy, who wrote the first study of the drug trade in Canada in 1922, after touring Canadian opium dens to get her research.

At a time when 4,000 in book sales was considered successful publishing in Canada, Nellie McClung's early novel *Sowing Seeds in Danny* sold over 100,000 copies. Not bad for an author who was trying to use her writing to describe "the pitiful plight of women in a world as made by man".

Then there was E. Cora Hind, an agricultural journalist at the turn of the century, who gained a reputation for her amazing ability to estimate wheat crops. She apparently travelled across the West on crop inspection tours in high laced riding boots, riding breeches and a long duck coat. "She would often cover a couple of hundred miles a day and climb fifty fences as she would estimate a crop only after she had marched into the field to examine it in various places." Miss Hind's expertise finally landed her the job she wanted, as agricultural editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, the newspaper which originally refused to hire her because the business was too rough for women.

These are among the fascinating individualists who are part of the history of the Canadian women's struggle. They deserve more in-depth and insightful coverage than this frail volume provides.

ELEMENTS

SCIENCE REPORT BY DEMOCRITUS

Earthshaking news

Some days it just seems as if it's one **earthquake** after another. They've been coming on hot and heavy in the past couple of months, in Soviet Central Asia, northern Italy, Peru. Why, even the stodgy British Columbian geology that holds Vancouver up shivered its timbers a couple of times recently, registering a modest next to nothing on the Richter scale.

So what's going on? Is the **Planet Earth** finally cracking up, like its erstwhile neighbour (see below)? As a matter of fact, no.

The U.S. Geological Survey says that global earthquake activity has been normal for the first half of the year, and if you take the average predicted earthquakes for the whole past 12 months, we're running slightly behind schedule.

What's going on is that more of the quakes have chosen to happen in populated areas, so that Canadian relief teams and hosts of newspersons are rushed to the spot. Those lonely tremors that strike uninhabited areas don't have media appeal, and are reported on page umpteen of the *Globe and Mail*, along with the Indian ferry disasters.

Marching from Georgia

Earthquakes may not be on the increase, but they can cause more than geological upheavals. One such may contain the answer to the mystery of the **Basques**, the folk with the unpronounceable language and independent spirit who live in the Pyrenees between Spain and France.

Evidence is piling up that that the **Basques** originated in what is now Soviet Georgia, and left their homeland in about 1500 BC after a powerful earthquake.

Among the points in support of the theory are:

- The **Basque** and **Georgian** languages have more than 360 words in common, and a similar grammar.
- A strain of wheat previously only found in Georgia has been found in northern Spain.
- **Chota Khvedelidz**, a Georgian linguist, has deciphered an inscription unearthed near the Basque town of Bilbao, and reports a similarity in language. One sentence read: "Fate has dealt us a terrible blow. In 4100 [1500 BC] the earth began to tremble with roaring noises. The wise man, **Rio**, told his fellowmen . . . that they should leave the area and follow the sun."
- A **Basque** legend says that the **Basques** came from the East following "a huge battle between Fire, Earth and Water."

We rest our case.

Losers, weepers

Various **objets**, or rather **endroits, trouvés**, in recent weeks include a Soviet version of Atlantis, the second Spanish settlement in the New World and **King Solomon's Mines**.

The Tass news agency says that Soviet archaeologists

have discovered the remains of a once-inhabited island at the bottom of Lake Issyk-Kul, near the Chinese border. They believe the island was used as a prison by the 14th-century Tartar conqueror **Tamerlane**.

A team of British and American explorers has discovered the ruins of an ancient city on the Atlantic coast of Panama. They believe it to be **Acla**, founded in 1509 by **Vasco Nunez de Balboa**, better known for taking the first European squirt at the Pacific Ocean in 1513.

And, American and Saudi geologists report that **King Solomon's Mines** are at a place called Mahd Adh Dhahad, (meaning the cradle of gold) midway between Mecca and Medina.

They say the workings were as rich as biblical accounts claim, and are the logical site for the mines. The bible recounts that **King Hiram** and **King Solomon** brought about 31 metric tons of gold to Jerusalem from a place called Ophir, but the location is never given. The amount would be about half of the ancient world's known gold supply.

And then there were nine. . .

The finding of long-lost mines is small potatoes compared with a recent U.S. discovery — a lost planet.

Observations at the U.S. Naval Observatory tend to confirm a theory first proposed by the German astronomer, **Johann Bode**, two centuries ago and reiterated in 1972 by **M. W. Overden** of the University of British Columbia — that a tenth planet once existed between Mars and Jupiter.

Mathematical calculations suggested the existence of such a planet, and now **Dr. Thomas Van Flandern** of the Naval Observatory says direct observations seem to confirm the theory.

Dr. Van Flandern plotted the orbits of some 60 comets that have only been seen once from earth. Tracing the orbits backwards showed that they all originated at a common point between **Mars** and **Jupiter**, where chunks of debris known as the **Asteroid Belt** are still floating about.

The observations suggest that our tenth neighbour cracked up about six million years ago.

Why not?

The **Stomach Ulcer**, once a status symbol reserved for the male executive under high pressure, has become the latest target of women's liberation. The University of California Center for Ulcer Research and Education reports that 20 years ago, the ratio of male to female ulcer patients was twenty-to-one. This gastric example of discrimination is gradually being corrected, the current ratio being two-to-one.

In another development, the brassiere, it seems, may now be an ally of women, rather than a symbol of en-

(continued on next page)

(continued from previous page)

slavement.

The Third International Symposium on Detection and Prevention of Cancer was held recently in New York City. Dr. Richard Starx of the Guttman Institute told the meeting of an early-cancer-warning bra based on the principle of the mood ring.

The mood ring, a jewellery fad, contains **liquid crystals** that change color according to their temperature. Wearers believe that the color changes — caused by changes in skin temperature — indicate shifts in mood.

Doctor Starx's bra contains the same **liquid crystals**. Women are examined by a doctor, and if no cancer is detected they are photographed wearing the special bra. At each monthly breast examination, the women put on the bra and compare its color with the photograph. Changes of color alert the patient to cancerous possibilities, since cancerous tissue tends to be hotter than normal . . . and alters the hue of the **liquid crystals**.

Similar strides of progress in women's affairs are not being made in Belgium, if the Flemish-language daily, *Het Laatste Nieuws*, is to be believed. Perusing a recent issue, **Democritus** discovered a statement from the Belgian Ministry of health blaming Women's Liberation for the proliferation of lice, fleas and cockroaches in Belgian homes.

Lesser causes cited were long hair, central heating and the popularity of wall-to-wall carpeting. Seems to have been downhill all the way since the Congo.

Like taking a shower at the American embassy

Finally, the **Democritus Golden Diaphragm Award for Advances in Birth Control** goes this month to the French trade union movement for its courageous stand at a recent congress, as reported by *Agence France Presse*:

Paris, May 25 (AFP) — The social attaché at the American embassy here, John Condom, was expelled today from the congress of the left-wing C.F.D.T. trade union.

Intrepid: the mysteries remain

A Man Called Intrepid, by William Stevenson. Longman Canada/Don Mills. 486 pp. \$14.50 cloth.

A Man Called Intrepid, written by William Stevenson and described by *Globe & Mail* critic Kildare Dobbs as "surely the most exciting read of the year", is surely the most puzzling "read" to those of us who lived through World War II working personally with "Intrepid", wartime Director of British Security Coordination.

Many writers have already narrated diverse "special operations" of BSC. The well-kept secret of ULTRA was published at least two years ago. H. Montgomery Hyde, a brilliant and witty barrister, wrote *Cynthia*, the daring exploits of the beautiful spy of that name, and *The Quiet Canadian* about "Intrepid" himself. (Hyde must have worked assiduously on these books to succeed in eliminating from them every vestige of his own wit and brilliance.) Then, too, we have *The Man Who Never Was*, a fantastic and successful tale of BSC deception of the Nazis. And Madeleine, that gallant and lovely agent who gave her life — the Edith Cavell of World War II. These are all "as a tale that is told."

What, then, is the purpose of publishing *A Man Called Intrepid*? Is it to make incurable cynics of us all — not only of the despairing and disillusioned public, but also of us who knew "secrets", holding that only in wartime was such Jesuitical philosophy justifiable? A foolhardy purpose, and all too certain of success. Is it to arouse again the aging but inveterate anti-British Roosevelt-haters and isolationists . . . those, who, without hard evidence, felt instinctively that Roosevelt was guilty of impeachable offenses? All too easy to do, and diabolically dangerous. Is it to validate the current operations of the CIA? Hopeless. Or is it to give the reader a picture of that unbelievably brilliant and dauntless Canadian "Intrepid"? Impossible.

To those who didn't know him, no words are adequate; to those who knew him, no words are necessary. "Intrepid" is

still the greatest mystery of all; no release from the Official Secrets Act "thirty years after" will solve that one. Mercurial . . . magic . . . masterly . . . magnificent . . . these were the epithets used to describe him. Yet no one has ever properly defined him, and we cannot do so now.

His most conspicuous quality was an inherent capacity to disappear, swift as summer lightning; or, if he were confined, say, in an elevator, to make himself invisible. We knew he had escaped from a German prison camp in World War I, but we didn't know it had been so easy for him! Like the magician's rabbit, he could-melt into the mists of the night, or into the maddening crowd of Fifth Avenue with the speed of a jet, without a sound, without a breath. No; he was not the magician's rabbit; he was the magic. Everyone felt it; no one could explain it.

He once asked me to meet him at the airport; taxis were scarce, and his appointment was urgent. I failed to find him when his plane landed; after a thorough search, I returned to my office to find him there, motionless, still as death, one eyebrow quizzically quirked.

"Where WERE you?" I almost bellowed.

"Did you see a fat woman carrying parcels?" he quietly asked.

"Yes, yes! YES!"

"I was behind her."

It took me seconds to realize he had seen me; he had hidden from me; he had escaped again.

Shy, reserved, devoid of mannerisms, but all-seeing as the gods, "Intrepid's" marked motionlessness struck one with the force of a physical blow; it was a mighty weapon. Indeed, it was Churchill who called "Intrepid" "God". At the very moment Roosevelt died, "Intrepid" was en route by bomber from Gander to Prestwick and Churchill. On meeting, "Intrepid" was asked why he wasn't in America "at a time like this." Intrepid explained that Roosevelt had been alive when the bomber took off from Gander.

"You've always known these things ahead of time!" the great man roared.

Why did we all admire and love this extraordinary, imperturbable enigma called "Intrepid"? Why did we all give unstintingly of our loyalty? He demanded nothing of us, either by word of mouth or in writing. Yet we all voluntarily jumped through huge hoops of our own making; leaped hurdles high as Haman's gallows; and worked our imaginations overtime to do what we thought he was going to want. He fanned our loyalty as unconsciously as breathing, and as effortlessly. Men and women, old and young, rich and poor, all changed in the presence of his quiet, controlled power; became taller and stronger than they would ever be again; were drawn by his subtle magnetism; and were forever lost to it.

But about the book. . . . Who was author Stevenson? Kildare Dobbs states he was "assistant director of operations." "Intrepid's" Canadian representative, T. G. Drew-Brook, who was with "Intrepid" in the Royal Flying Corps in World War I, has never heard of author Stevenson's work at BSC; neither has either of "Intrepid's" New York secretaries, Grace Garner or Eleanor Fleming. This is not to doubt that author Stevenson did "jobs" for Intrepid; but "assistant director of operations"? . . . ? Another mystery.

A Man Called Intrepid certainly makes very entertaining reading; the operations are factual and vividly narrated. The book contains, however, minor inaccuracies and major puzzles. To mention only one bit of trivia, "Intrepid's" New York secretaries did not, repeat not, as the author states, attend the Quebec Conference. Furthermore, they had no "secrets" in their shorthand notebooks; they had no shorthand notebooks; Intrepid never dictated.

Infinitely more important, the exploits and derring-do described are for the most part about the "knife in the dark", the dirty tricks. We are saddened that so many "one-night stand" operators are portrayed as though they had won the war single-handed. While they undeniably had their important successes and long-range consequences, why is there not more of the day-to-day dog's-body jobs of ordinary secret intelligence? What of the dreary, frustrating liaison work between BSC and the State Department, the White House, the OSS, the FBI, the Combined Chiefs of Staff, etc., etc., ad nauseam? The author gives approximately a line to Gilbert Highet, internationally-respected scholar, and to the late Alex Halpern, Kerensky's legal adviser in 1917. What about the Canadians' contribution — those Canadians who did not

actually work in New York or Washington with BSC? Far too little is said of them, notably T. G. Drew-Book of Toronto, and the late Charles Vining of Montreal, whose work in Canada made "Intrepid's" work immeasurably less difficult.

And the unmentioned are legion. Why mention Garbo, and omit the late Professor Bernal, whose scientific research made possible the wildly successful gamble *The Man Who Never Was*? Why mention Noel Coward, and omit the late Geoffrey Pyke, whose genius Mountbatten likened to that of the man who invented the wheel? It is true that Pyke's work has been described in earlier writings, but so has the work of many others. If we are now to have the full breadth and scope of the "facts" behind BSC's activities, then *A Man Called Intrepid* is incomplete. On the other hand, this writer holds that the book tells too much too soon.

Lastly, what of the late Bartie Pleydell-Bouverie? Bartie, the last of the gently-bred, who still believed in fair play, whose word was as good as his bond. . . . Bartie, not highly imaginative, but steady, faithful, and true. . . . "one who never turned his back, but marched breast-forward. . . ." Was he a front for perfidious Albion, his own beloved country? If he was, he never knew. Another mystery. . . . and not a line about him.

So have we now learned "all"? The writer has one or two little "secrets" which he will carry to the River Styx; if Charon, in response to his silence, makes dire threats, he'll hie happily to Hades, holding his tongue.

Then what do I, this writer, think of the "war job", the "operations" thirty years on? With my reason, I know that in war from earliest times there is no true victor. I am the child, years after the Battle of Blenheim, asking in those saddest of verses:

"But what good of it came at last?"

Quoth little Peterkin.

"Why that I cannot tell," said he,

"but 'twas a famous victory."

But in my heart? In my heart, I can still give thanks that "Intrepid" was there, a trusted friend of Churchill, when Britain (and who else?) was about to be finished.

Sir William Stephenson is now eighty years old, but he has lost none of his uncanny capacity to be invisible. A few weeks ago, just when excellent reviews of *A Man Called Intrepid* were being published, Sir William and Lady Stephenson were in Toronto; no reporter had wind of it. Intrepid has escaped again.

D.L.B.

Praise the man, not his book

by JIM ANDERSON

Political Warriors: Recollections of a Social Democrat, by Lloyd Stinson. Queenston House Publishing/Winnipeg. 356 pp. \$2.95 paper.

Politicians seldom make good writers, and memoirs published by prominent politicians are rarely a pleasure to read —

unless, of course, they are written with the help of capable writers.

Alas, nostalgia is in these days and politicians, even those of lesser rank, are now expected to write their memoirs. Thus, prairie politician Lloyd Stinson, who served as CCF leader in the Manitoba legislature for eight years and then went on to spend a decade as a Winnipeg city council member, has given us his reminiscences, entitled *Political Warriors: Recollections of a Social Demo-*

crat.

Stinson, now 72 and living in retirement in Kelowna, B.C., was once described as the "best heckler" in the Manitoba legislature in the 1950s, during his years of opposition to the tight-fisted regime of Premier Campbell. His recollections of his eight years as CCF leader in Manitoba — before he was succeeded by Russ Paulley — are interesting and occasionally humorous. His account of his ten years as a Winnipeg City councillor

also adds some useful insights into the behind-the-scenes manoeuvring in the bitterly partisan Winnipeg Council which has been split into warring factions of left and right since the Winnipeg "General Strike" of 1919.

Aside from these highlights, the book is marred by his disorganized treatment of a jumble of topics, many of which have nothing to do with the professed intent of the book which — as the title indicates — is to provide an account of Stinson's "recollections" of his active life as part of the Manitoba political scene.

We are given, for example, a civics-book account of the rise of the CCF and of J.S. Woodsworth, its first leader. Both topics have been treated by many other writers, most brilliantly by Walter Young and Kenneth McNaught respectively. Since Stinson was not even politically active during this early period, he makes do with a second-hand account based on other sources. Similarly, we are treated to a lengthy discourse on the Winnipeg General Strike which not only falls outside the time-frame of Stinson's political career, but has been analyzed by a generation of scholars.

The large number of inexplicable and confusing flashbacks and forward leaps would rival the defunct CBC *Jalna* series. Equally as annoying for the reader is the author's habit of ending an anecdote prematurely, just at the point where he has finally captured our interest. We get, for example, the intriguing statement that "strongman [David] Lewis" rammed the Winnipeg Declaration through the CCF convention in 1956. Since the Winnipeg Declaration significantly watered down the explicitly anti-capitalist content of the historic Regina Manifesto, Stinson might well have thrown considerable light on the process of moderation of the party philosophy if he had told us how Lewis went about pushing the Declaration through the convention.

This summary treatment of the 1956 Winnipeg Declaration illustrates another obvious weakness of the book — the absence of clear appreciation by Stinson of philosophical currents in his own party. He uses the terms "social democracy" and "democratic socialism" interchangeably, for instance, even though a debate between the self-proclaimed socialists and social democrats has been raging in the NDP for many years.

The impact of Stinson's message of humanism and Christian socialism is

weakened by his excessive partisanship. The author is still trying to score points on his old opponents, long since departed from the political stage. Re-reading his press clippings seems to have kindled anew the fire of partisanship in the old warrior's breast, stirring him to the point where he speaks glowingly of some particularly effective election literature he produced back in 1969 — in which he had written "a pithy condemnation of the Tories in their ruthless drive for absolute power."

The style in which the book is written does nothing to enhance the author's message. In fact, Stinson writes like an insurance agent — his occupation in private life. At one point he refers in an offhand, somewhat sophomoric manner to "Stanley Knowles and the NDP boys in Ottawa." Old Stanley as one of the "boys" is just a little hard to imagine!

There is also a self-righteousness to his style — an assumption that merely asserting a view is enough to prove its merit to all right-thinking persons.

There are parts of Stinson's book which are instructive and even pleasing to read. However, his inclusion of a great deal of largely unrelated background material, disjointed organization and a rambling style will likely mean that the book will be ignored by all but the most persistent of readers. Yet Stinson obviously has something to say.

Twenty-four years of verbal battles during his admirable public career has not endowed Stinson with the skills necessary to produce a book on his life. His has not acquired the writer's art. One is forced to side with Premier Ed Schreyer who, in his three page introduction to Stinson's memoirs, wisely chose to praise the man but not the book.

Some new views of the north

by ELIOT HOLMES

Nordicité canadienne, by Louis-Edmond Hamelin. Hurtubise HMH/Montréal. 458 pp. \$9.95

The People's Land, by Hugh Brody. Penguin/London. 249 pp. \$2.95

People From Our Side, by Peter Pitseolak and Dorothy Eber. Hurtig/Edmonton. 159 pp., large format. \$8.95

Perhaps one of the more beneficial aspects of the pipeline which Imperial Oil and its pals in the government have been aching to thrust down the Mackenzie Valley is that it has aroused a far greater number of people to take an intelligent interest in the Canadian north and its people.

The true north strong and free has helped shape the Canadian psyche, or so we are told, but subconscious notions of *lebensraum* notwithstanding, we are by and large quite an ignorant bunch when it comes to what lies north of us.

Instead of the old, grade B movies

showing funny people living in igloos and riding around on dog sleds, we now have television commercials talking of "the big, tough, expensive job" of northern oil exploration and newscasts faithfully reporting the latest rantings of the Indian and northern affairs minister. The image has changed but is scarcely less distorted.

Happily, there are people working to provide us with a less clouded vision of the north. One of these is Louis-Edmond Hamelin, founding director of the Centre for Northern Studies at Laval University in Quebec City and a former member of the Northwest Territories council.

In *Nordicité canadienne*, he presents a comprehensive overview of the Canadian north — and not just that part of the north which lies beyond the sixtieth parallel. One of his main themes is that the northern parts of the provinces have a good deal more in common with the territories than they do with the southern parts of the provinces. The arbitrary dividing line between the territories and provinces is in some respects as unfortunate as the nonsensical colonial boundaries which are a continuing source of difficulty in Africa.

Hamelin has devised an index of

"nordicity" which takes into account not only latitude but also such factors as climate, communications, level of economic activity and so on. By this index, Inuvik, which lies inside the Arctic Circle, is less nordic than Reindeer Lake, Saskatchewan, which is far to the south, below 60 degrees of latitude.

The north is far from uniform, and Hamelin divides it into distinct zones (lower north, middle north, etc.). Some of the geographic detail may be heavy going for the general reader, but is interesting nonetheless.

Nor is the population homogeneous. While a sharp dichotomy between white exploiters and downtrodden natives is perhaps overly simplistic, the fact remains that the people who run key local institutions — the welfare offices, the Hudson's Bay stores, the schools, etc. — usually happen to be whites, even in areas with large native majorities. As elsewhere in Canada, the coming of white "pioneers" has led to the disruption of the traditional economy and the rapid degradation of native lifestyles.

Northern consciousness

Northerners are very conscious of their status as northerners. They have to put up with astronomical food costs, poor public services and unresponsive southern governments, and they tend to see themselves as almost a breed apart from people in southern Canada.

Hamelin points with some distaste to the colonial system of government which persists in the Yukon and Northwest Territories. Each has an elected council, but areas of jurisdiction are very limited, and votes are subject to the veto power of the federally appointed commissioner. The territorial governments are run as extensions of the Indian affairs department in Ottawa, and are answerable not to elected representatives but to distant federal bureaucrats.

In what was touted as an important step on the road to greater autonomy, the feds agreed to a minor reform of the Northwest Territories council which, following the 1975 council elections, eliminated the federally appointed members who until that time had served as a further reminder of the colonial nature of the whole outfit. At the mere mention of provincial status, the senior bureaucrats who run the show are likely to fall into a swoon. (Hamelin himself was one of the appointed councillors, but he did make it clear to his elected colleagues that he was prepared to second a motion calling for the abolition of appointees.)

The question of just who controls the economy of the north is another matter of some interest. Although Hamelin avoids delving very deeply into particulars, he deplores the dogmatic attachment of the federal government to big business "development" of the north — and as an active former councillor he knows whereof he speaks. The scandalously low mineral and petroleum royalties set by the feds and the minimal economic benefits which accrue to native northerners hardly justify the enormous expenditures of public funds needed to provide support services.

Nouveau-Quebec

Hamelin deals at some length with the little noticed jurisdictional dispute in Nouveau-Québec, that most northerly part of Quebec inhabited mainly by Inuit. In the early 1960s the Quebec government moved into what had been a federal preserve in an effort to bring the region under provincial control, but because of an often poor understanding of the area's problems and its inhabitants' concerns, it has largely failed in this endeavour.

Nordicité canadienne is a winner of a governor-general's literary award, if that means anything. Unfortunately, it is not available in English translation.

Hugh Brody's book *The People's Land* has been subtitled "Eskimos and Whites in the Eastern Arctic", for it is as much about white attitudes to the Eskimos, or Inuit, as it is about the Inuit themselves.

Brody, who is now with the Scott Polar Institute in Cambridge after living several years in the Canadian Arctic, has harsh words for the arrogance of the whites who have gone to the north as administrators to take up where the fur-traders and missionaries left off.

He attacks whites posed in the north for making little serious effort to learn northern customs, bringing their southern suburban values with them intact. Northern whites are frequently scornful, Brody says, of what have basically come to be their colonial subjects, applying some of the usual colonial double standards. For example, an Eskimo woman who is shy and retiring is considered stupid, whereas one who is outgoing is thought to be promiscuous.

Brody describes Eskimo life today in the settlements, and compares it with the life led by the *inumariit*, the "real" Eskimos, a breed which has almost vanished. It was not many decades ago that the majority of Eskimos lived in camps far from the settlements, and it was not

until the 1960s that the last of the camp-dwellers were lured by the amenities of settlement life and by government pressure and gave up some of the more distinctive aspects of their way of life.

Many people in the settlements still return to the camps, sometimes for months at a time, to engage in the traditional hunting pursuits. But others, debilitated by dependence on welfare and alcohol, do not.

"Many Eskimos are very aware of their ambivalence about old and new," Brody writes. "If their traditional life was hard and occasionally brought hunger and distress, many of its qualities and some of its dignity depended on a patient resistance to hardship. For this same reason, many of the older, most traditional-minded men and women warmly accepted the new ways. Now that they find these new ways are not what they had hoped, they wish to recover their own tradition."

He sees a certain hankering after tradition by both old and young as part of a developing consciousness which has led them to seek to regain some control over their own lives through land claims and other means.

Autobiography

People From Our Side is an autobiography in words and pictures of Peter Pitseolak of Cape Dorset, Baffin Island, who died in 1973 at the age of 71.

Pitseolak provides a vivid recollection of his early life and of the many changes he and his people have undergone in the course of his lifetime. Through intimate personal reminiscence, keen observation and a rich store of anecdote, he brings us not only a fascinating picture of himself but also an invaluable record of the mutations which have shaped the eastern Arctic over the years.

Much of this large format book is taken up with a collection of his photographs — he was one of the first Inuit to own a camera — which form a sort of visual history. The text is a mixture of Pitseolak's own written accounts, translated by Ann Meekitjuk Hanson of Frobisher Bay, and a supporting narrative prepared by Dorothy Eber of Montreal after many hours of intensive interviews with Pitseolak.

As Inuit of the older generation disappear, it will become increasingly difficult to construct as compelling an account of a vanished lifestyle.

Several recent books on the Mackenzie Valley will be reviewed in a future issue of the *Last Post*.

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