

THE LAST POST

70063

SEPTEMBER 1978/\$1.00

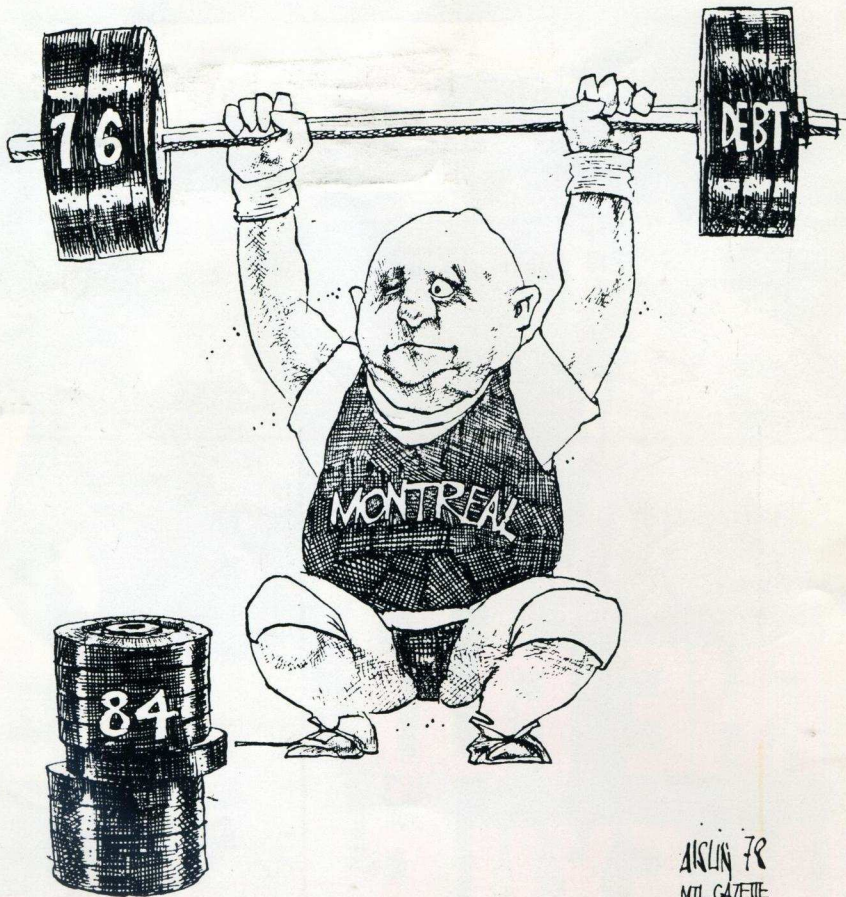
P. 14-
YANKEE
DOODLE DANDIES



THE FLO IN EXILE

Louise Lanctot and
Jacques Cossette-Trudel
in Paris

CHINA AFTER THE GANG OF 4



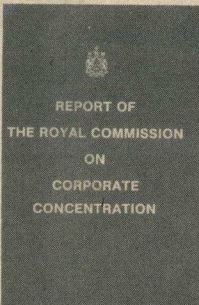
ANSLIN 78
MTL. GAZETTE

THE LAST POST

Sept. 1978, Vol. 7, No. 1

CONTENTS

- Political service 10
by Edward Greenspon
Last Pssst 20
by Claude Balloune
Is bigger better? 29
by Albert Train



- Bilingualism returns 31
by Drummond Burgess
Rhodesian problems 34
by Mitchell Beer

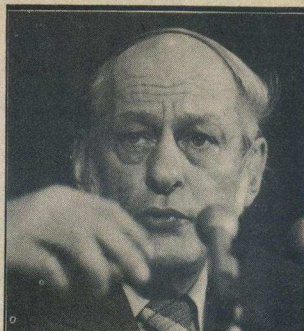


Louise Lancot and Jacques Cossette-Trudel

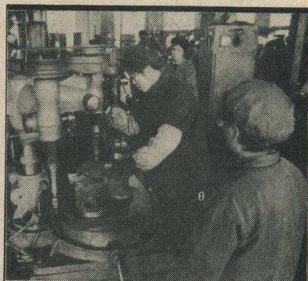
The FLQ in exile
by Carole Orr Jerome
Page 4

REAR VIEW

- Margo Lamont on:
Prisons — p.39
Eliot Holmes on:
Claude Ryan — p.41
Edie Farkas on:
Que.'s new middle class
— p.42
Norman Penner on:
Fullerton's obsession
— p.44
Paul Knox on:
The mass media — p.45
Eliot Holmes on:
The unity debate — p.46
Edie Farkas on:
CanLit — p.49
A. A. Barrett on:
Roy's vignettes — p.50



Levesque: frustrated in the U.S.
The Year of the U.S.
by Robert Chodos
Page 14



China: new emphasis on
industry

China's new look
by Warren Caragata
Page 22

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

The Last Post is produced by an editorial board.
Production this issue: A. A. Barrett, Mitchell Beer, Drummond Burgess, Warren Caragata, Robert Chodos, Edie Farkas, Edward Greenspon, Eliot Holmes, Carole Orr Jerome, Paul Knox, Margo Lamont, David Lloyd, Patrick MacFadden, Terry Mosher, Rae Murphy.

Published by the Canadian Journalism Foundation Inc., 454 King Street West, Suite 302, Toronto, Ont. M5V 1L6. Phone: (416) 366-1134. Address all editorial and business correspondence to the Last Post, 454 King Street West, Suite 302, Toronto, Ont. M5V 1L6. Managing Editor: Drummond Burgess. Business Manager: Elsie Murphy.

Typeset and assembled by Heritage Press. Printed by Les Editions du Richelieu. Contents copyright 1977. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be duplicated in any way without prior written permission from the publisher. Last Post is indexed in the Canadian Periodical Index: CDN ISSN 0023-8651, Second Class Mail Registration No. 2315. Postage Paid at Montreal.

THE FLQ IN EXILE

by Carole Orr Jerome

It is difficult to keep in mind when sitting across a Paris café table from Jacques Cossette-Trudel and his wife Louise Lancot, eating butterscotch sundaes, that these two and their friends were the trigger of the most critical explosion on Canadian soil in the last decade: The FLQ Crisis of October 1970.

You become acutely aware of what a small match it takes to light a forest fire: Jacques Cossette-Trudel and Louise Lancot are about the most unlikely-looking terrorists in town, and in fact they never really saw themselves quite that way, they say.

No one, they say, was more surprised than they when the October Crisis grew to the proportions it did. What they planned was to make a "beau geste" — kidnap a British diplomat, James Cross, and wake everybody up, exchange Cross for 23 of their fellow FLQ members, and maybe even get the FLQ manifesto broadcast.

"It was very naive," Cossette-Trudel says now. "We thought it would be over in a couple of days. We thought we could give back Cross and then somehow we could resurface. It was very naive but it was like that."

"There was no apprehended insurrection. We never even thought of it, of The State. There was no danger to the state."

This is what they have said in recent interviews here for CBC Radio, and further recently in separate talks with the *Last Post*.

After almost eight years of exile, the Cossette-Trudels want to come home. So after almost eight years of silence they have started talking to the press and the politicians.

Last fall they wrote to René Lévesque, putting out feelers for the current climate in Quebec governmental circles as to their legal situation if they returned to face trial. In 1974, former Justice Minister Jerome Choquette had announced that the charges against them had been reduced from 13 to five. Maybe by 1978 mathematics would have reduced it to none. *Reductio ad absurdum*.

On January 3 of this year they wrote an open letter to *Le Devoir*, the Montreal daily newspaper then edited by Claude Ryan, in response to a claim that they had been involved in subversive activities outside Canada, notably working for the Cubans. This angered them and spurred them to write describing their life of exile in Cuba as payment of their debt to society: they wanted to come home, and would if assured that a court of law would take into account their term of exile and regard it as the equivalent of serving a sentence in prison.

The desire to come back home does not seem to include the other FLQ kidnapers of James Cross also here in exile in Paris: Marc Carbonneau, Louise's brother Jacques Lancot and his wife Suzanne, and Yves Langlois.

There have been differences of political opinion almost since the beginning of the affair and they never see Carbonneau, and Lancot only for family reasons.

The split began, according to Louise, at the moment it



Louise Lanctot and Jacques Cossette-Trudel in Paris

became clear that the kidnapping was not going to go off smoothly and quickly, that there was a question of the authorities forcing their hand: would they or would they not kill Cross? In their communique they had said they would. Jacques Cossette-Trudel told me that they had always assured Cross that he would be freed.

There was discussion, and some members of the group were in favour of killing him — the Cossette-Trudels will not say who — but in the end they resolved not to.

Last winter the British Broadcasting Corporation broadcast an eight part documentary series called 'Life at Stake' in which episode five is a dramatisation of the long 60 days of Cross' captivity in the house on the Rue des Recollets, based on interviews with Cross and his impressions of his captors. The CBC is negotiating purchase of the film which will likely be broadcast in Canada over both the French and English networks this fall.

In it, Louise is portrayed as the hardliner, especially during their discussions over what to do with Cross if the government wouldn't meet their demands: "We made a deal: they meet it or he dies... we put a pillow over his face."

I watched the film with the Cossette-Trudels. For the most part they were interested in it, found it funny in parts (where they all cheer while watching Robert Lemieux assure them on TV that he will ensure "good faith"). But Louise says the portrayal of her is just the typical cliché of the female in the group being the hysteric. At one point the film has her

forgetting that it was her turn to guard Cross, rushing into his room with a loaded rifle and yelling at him to keep still or she'll blow his brains out: "I never guarded Cross. I never held a gun even; I was always afraid it would go off and I don't know how to shoot", Louise says.

The film gives the impression that Cross could overhear all their discussions, and that this is what he overheard. "We made sure Cross never heard us talking among ourselves" says Jacques, "and anyway really the most interesting thing that happened, the film never even touches: In fact we all used to talk to him a lot about politics and his life and our lives and even about his friend Jackson who was abducted at the same time by the Tupamaros. I myself used to talk with him for hours, and we began to understand each other.

"Also in the film it looks like Cross just sat there submissive all the time. Well he wasn't; he was quite tricky. He was always cooking up ways to escape and keeping his eye peeled." This is said with an almost affectionate grin.

"We couldn't send out half the letters he wrote to his family. He'd have things like advising his wife Barbara to look after some of his business in England and refer to their property in Riverland. Well, we were right near Riviere des Prairies, where we were holding him. And at night he would sometimes say, (imitating Cross speaking French) 'puis-je avoir de l'eau?' (may I have some water?) very softly, then a bit more loudly, then a bit more, just to see how soundly we were all sleeping, if he was being guarded or not."



James Cross in captivity

It was the abduction of Pierre Laporte by Paul Rose and his Chenier cell that threw a monkey wrench into it all. It was October 10th, at 6:02 p.m., five days after they had taken Cross from his home. On October 13, Trudeau made his famous remarks to a television reporter on Parliament Hill: "Well, there's a lot of bleeding hearts around that just don't like to see people with helmets and guns. All I can say is 'Go on and bleed.'" How far would he go? "Just watch me."

On Thursday the 15th, there was a giant demonstration at the Paul Sauve arena featuring FLQ lawyer Robert Lemieux, labour leader Michel Chartrand and Pierre Vallieres, that backed the FLQ manifesto, if not the kidnappings.

On Friday the 16th, at 4 a.m., Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act.

Saturday night, Pierre Laporte was killed.

That night, the CBC television network announced that Cross had been found dead, and that the government had confirmed it. As they watched this, with James Cross, the Cossette-Trudels and the others were certain that they were in for a police shoot-out any minute. "We thought the story was a set-up so that they could say afterward that Cross was already dead, that we'd killed him and they had already found his body. Nobody would have known he'd died in a hail of RCMP bullets, in that house. Cross thought the same. 'I'm Irish', he said, 'the British won't put any pressure on your government.' He smoked his first cigarette in 14 years. We just sat there waiting for the end."

A beau geste had turned into a death trap.



Premier Bourassa: off to New York

How did it happen?

It was an almost total miscalculation and underestimation of Pierre Trudeau, of his government, of the political power structure, and the people in it. Today, Jacques and Louise Cossette-Trudel don't feel "guilty" in the legal sense. They feel they made "a political mistake", and for that they feel "guilty".

One of their demands was "that the 23 FLQ political prisoners being held in jail be freed and allowed to leave for Cuba or Algeria", which posed the question of what exactly constitutes political prisonerhood. Trudeau refused to discuss the issue: the prisoners were charged and sentenced under the criminal code for criminal acts. "They're bandits" he observed.

Asked if they differentiate *themselves* between a purely political act and what is in fact a crime, committed for political reasons, they said "Yes, it is a crime, but when we speak of political error, it was that we utilized a violent way of imposing a political debate. This is not appropriate in Canada. In Canada you can talk to people and persuade them... terrorism just brings repression. We kidnapped someone and hid in a house and afterwards the trade unions and democrats had to fight against it — the War Measures Act. We couldn't fight against what we had provoked."

There it is. One of the favourite remarks of the time was that it was the "end of Canada's innocence." If so, it was at the hands of people even more politically virgin, naive, as they say themselves. Babes in Pierre the Bear's Woods.



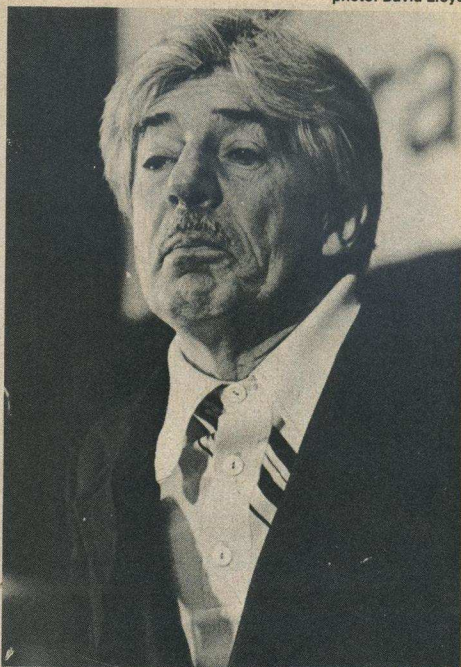
Prime Minister Trudeau: 'Just watch me'

They were 23 years old in 1970.

There is a crucial difference here between the Cossette-Trudels and the European terrorist groups such as Germany's Baader Meinhof and Italy's Red Brigades: the European terrorists have deliberately set out to create a crisis situation to break down the existing system, to incite their governments to repressive measures that they believe will polarize the country and lead to general revolution.

In neither country, of course, is that what has happened. In Italy the chaos is worse than usual and the government is bringing in more authoritarian measures, but the general population, including the communist party, has been polarized *against* terrorism and the terrorists. The killing of Aldo Moro probably did more to unite the population against the Brigades than any single act of the government, as unpopular as it was for not rescuing Moro. In Germany, the government has brought in repressive legislation, dating back to the "berufsverbote" Willy Brandt set up in the sixties, virtually making association with the communist party illegal: Hundreds of teachers and civil servants have been fired from their jobs for even vague association with the communists or "any extreme party of the right or left." The left sustains the majority of the prosecutions. Lawyers no longer have any protection if they defend the terrorists. Baader Meinhof lawyer Klaus Crossant is on trial himself right now for aiding their cause.

If René Lévesque is in power today, it is in spite of the terrorism of the FLQ, not because of it. Terrorism alienates



Jean Marchand: a 'caution morale'?

conservative peoples, sends them into the opposing camp, unless the terrorism is on the part of the party in power, in which case the majority usually simply shut up and submit. As a tactic for gaining popularity and power, it nearly always boomerangs, partly because it frightens the people with the spectre of anarchy, partly because governments hold all the cards.

I remember talking to Leopold Trepper a couple of years ago for the *Last Post*. The head of the Red Orchestra, the Soviet spy network in Europe in World War II, yet an enemy of Stalin, asked about Baader Meinhof said: "Terrorism is a sign of weakness. It means you have no base."

The FLQ cell that kidnapped James Cross, according to two of its members at least — Lanctot, Carbonneau and Langlois are still silent — only wanted to raise the popular consciousness. They did not deliberately set out to invoke the forces of repression.

That was their miscalculation, their fatal error, their amazing naiveté. They misjudged just how vehemently Trudeau would oppose them, misjudged the whole shebang.

They accuse the government of having manipulated the crisis. Jacques Cossette-Trudel: "The government used the kidnaping to create a psychological atmosphere in which it could go to any lengths to crush separatism and separatists, not just the FLQ. It said there were 2,000 or 3,000 of us under arms, ready to start a revolution. Well, we were never more than about 120, including sympathisers, and the police must have known that. They had infiltrated the FLQ from the



The house on the rue des Recollets

beginning. We're also pretty sure that they knew, from November on, where we were holding Cross but wanted to string the thing out to have an excuse to really smash hard."

One of the key members of the government at the time was Gerard Pelletier, then Secretary of State, and one of the main apologists for the use of the War Measures Act, notably in his book *La Crise d'Octobre*. He is now Canada's Ambassador to France.

So far he and the FLQ exiles here have not met, but I asked him what his reply would be to Cossette-Trudel: "Well, it's all very well to say with hindsight that the government overreacted. And it did. But we didn't *know* at the time. According to what we knew, we were faced with a very real threat and the War Measures Act seemed to be our only recourse. For instance, we didn't know then that the two kidnappings were totally separate. All we knew was that we were dealing with people who could organize two major kidnappings, and what else? We know now that there weren't 2,000 of them, but believe me, we didn't know then. We in the government did not know, we believed they were that many."

Perhaps this is the most crucial issue in the whole drama. Did the government act in the honest belief that it was faced with an extreme situation that called for extreme measures? Or was it a manipulated crisis, that they knew to be less than they represented to the public, an alibi for repression?

Pelletier says they overreacted, and in so saying he is the

first of the key government members to admit it. But how even at that time could they justify putting Paul Cliche and other leaders of FRAP (Front d'Action Politique) into jail and holding them there during an election period in which they were the only opposition to Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau? Drapeau being the only strong anti-separatist arm Trudeau had in Quebec, other than Bourassa's justice minister, Jerome Choquette. Bourassa was folding under the pressure, his cabinet divided, himself running about like a headless horseman, or horseless headman, trying to close the James Bay deal in New York.

The justification for it all came from Jean Marchand: "Now all members of the FLQ are not terrorists. But there are enough to create a lot of trouble and a lot of killing and that is what we are trying to prevent."

Ergo Paul Cliche and FRAP and Michel Chartrand and the CNTU and anybody else who sympathises with the *grievances* of the FLQ is fair game.

On a Vancouver hot-line show a week after the War Measures Act was brought down, Marchand actually said that FRAP was an FLQ front. The reaction to this was so adverse that Trudeau had to dissociate himself from it the next day.

It may have been one of those old bi-and-bi problems: Marchand later told Pelletier he said FRAP was a "Caution morale" for the FLQ, which does not in fact translate to "front". It is more like a moral support. Marchand was speaking in English but thinking in French.

After 2,000 raids, the police arrested over 450 people. They dragged singer Pauline Julien out of her home, leaving her children frightened and bewildered, the closest Julien having come to sedition being her refusal to sing for Queen Elizabeth. Eventually, almost everyone was released without charge, including all members of FRAP.

Pelletier poo-pooes the potential political clout of FRAP, and says that FRAP was the last thing the government was worried about. "FRAP! Good heavens."

"Okay," says Cossette-Trudel, "even if we give them the benefit of a doubt, let's say they really thought the War Measures Act was necessary, moi je veux bien, let's look at what Trudeau has done in the last eight years. Look at the legislation. Bill after bill gradually building up *legal* controls the government can exercise over unions and political groups. What's he getting ready for? He no longer needs the War Measures Act and a national crisis to do the same things he did then. It's all on the books."

* * *

Life in Cuba was pretty tedious. Little contact with the Cubans, and the Canadian government put the kaibosh on their work with the Cuban press agency Prensa Latina. Since they came to Paris in 1974, the FLQ have been permitted to stay under what is called "tolerance" by the French. No official refugee or resident status, but tacit hands-off as long as they keep a low profile. The French were co-operating with Canadian wishes: Trudeau did not particularly want a show trial in which all the muck would be raked up again.

Since the Cossette-Trudels have gone public again, though, they haven't yet had any difficulty from the French. But the French these days are being a bit less scrupulous in their relations with Canada over Quebec. In fact the only effort to hush them came from an emissary from the imprisoned Rose brothers, who arrived in Paris to tell them to pipe down on the true confessions.

But the Cossette-Trudels are not "confessing". They are



The Cossette-Trudels want to come home, but if they do, Quebec Justice Minister Bedard says they'll have to face trial like anybody else

...ing to bargain to come home where they can once again take part in the political life of their own country.

How, they are not sure.

"We would have to just work at ordinary jobs and re-learn the political situation and people. But we want to make a

political contribution just like anybody else."

Quebec Justice Minister Marc-André Bédard has said publicly that if they want to come back they're welcome to, but they'll have to face trial like anybody else.

In 1974 Sant Singh ran for the Tories; then his job troubles began

Did politics single him out?

By EDWARD GREENSPOON

OTTAWA — in 1974, Sant P. Singh took a leave of absence from his public service job to run as a Progressive Conservative candidate in the federal election.

Until then, things had been going pretty well for Singh. A government economist in his late 30's, he had left his Ph.D. studies at Queen's University to work as a research assistant for then Conservative leader John Diefenbaker. Singh even earned a mention in the third volume of the Chief's memoirs. In 1967, when the party leadership changed, Singh took a job with the public service.

Singh had prospered since his arrival from India in 1958.

Ran as a Conservative

Then, in 1974, he made the decision to run as a Conservative candidate. Since then, Singh's life has taken a turn for the worse.

Now 41, Singh sits across a bare table in a drab union office and tells how it all happened, trying to be dispassionate, but now and then displaying an edge of bitterness. He charges that he is a victim of political discrimination.

The problem began when Singh was granted a leave of absence without pay by the Public Service Commission in 1974 to contest Pontiac riding, just north of Hull. He was defeated and returned to his job as a research economist for the Health Department.

Since his return Singh has been entangled in a dispute with his employer, subjecting him to four work assessments, two adjudications, and two federal court hearings.

Singh received a raise at the beginning of 1975, as he did every year. However, he was not in line for an automatic raise because he had reached a "barrier" in his pay level — a point where he is subject to a work appraisal by an assessment committee. The committee's recommendation is communicated to the deputy minister, who decides whether

the employee will be placed above the barrier.

Singh was placed beyond the barrier without an assessment. William Mennie, director of his branch, health, economics and statistics, says the mistake was a clerical error.

"Every year a list of names is submitted to me to be signed," explains Mennie. "It's a normal, routine process. In 1975, personnel shouldn't have submitted Singh's name because he had reached a barrier and needed a hearing. But the name was among the others and was approved."

Mennie did not discover the error until the next year when he once again received a list of names, including Singh's.

In January 1976 Singh was finally reviewed on his 1974 work performance. In addition to Singh, the committee heard from his immediate supervisor, Arthur Smith.

Smith's report read "I have been highly satisfied and pleased with his performance, competence, initiative, and loyalty throughout his service here. I strongly urge the committee to place him above the barrier..."

Candidacy commented on

During Smith's testimony before the committee, Singh's candidacy was mentioned. Smith told Singh that a member of the committee suggested the decision to run might be interpreted as evidence of poor judgement.

The chairperson of the first committee, Anna Bilsky, confirmed at the first adjudication that comments had been made jokingly about Singh's candidacy.

But Walter Nisbet, one of the government lawyers who has worked on the case, contends that the mention of Singh's political activity was made in a positive context of suggesting that he was versatile and took an interest in the community.

Despite the mention of Singh's political activity, the committee agreed with Smith's evaluation, and recommended

that Singh be placed above the barrier.

At this point in the sequence another curious action took place.

Although the collective agreement states that the assessment committee's report must go directly to the deputy minister, this apparently is not what happened.

"Before it went to the deputy minister an assistant somehow got his fingers on it," charges Singh's former counsel, Alan Prien, of the Economists, Sociologists and Statisticians Association (ESSA).

Gravelle's role unclear

The assistant deputy minister was Pierre Gravelle, an assistant to Marc Lalonde, when Lalonde was the principal secretary to the prime minister. Gravelle was appointed to the assistant deputy minister position by his former boss, the then minister of health, in September 1975. Singh believes Gravelle is the architect of his troubles, which began three months after his appointment with the discovery of the clerical error. Singh says that Gravelle would not have taken action against him without orders from higher up.

What the assistant deputy minister did with the report is a mystery, but the deputy minister denied Singh's advancement beyond the barrier citing the report was "inconclusive".

Singh says that he met with Gravelle in December 1976, and was told the assistant deputy minister had personally rejected the report. But the bottom of that document bears Gravelle's signature with the words, "I concur with the above." The notation is not dated, however. Singh and Prien claim the report in its present form is not exactly the same as when they first saw it.

Because of the inconclusive findings of the first assessment, a second committee was convened in June, 1976. Singh and Smith were not called to testify this time, although the evidence heard in January was available to the committee.



Sant Singh: did his Conservative candidacy lead to his troubles?

The committee did ask for the testimony of Singh's director, William Mennie.

Mennie had declined to participate in the first assessment. He was shown Arthur Smith's report before it was submitted to the committee, but chose not to comment on it. He says he was not asked for his opinion by the committee, and thought it improper to offer it.

His testimony before the second committee, however, was anything but ambivalent. Mennie accused Singh of low productivity and a poor understanding of health costs analysis. Although Mennie disagreed with Smith's appraisal of Singh, he did concede that Smith was in a better position to judge.

Mennie's report reads that he believed

Singh's work had been adequate. "but not of sufficiently superior standard to justify promotion at this time." Mennie explained that this was based on his understanding that a move above the barrier is in effect a promotion to a higher level of responsibility.

In fact, movement above the barrier is not a promotion.

At that point, the committee was confronted with two contradictory evaluations of Singh's work. The advice of his immediate supervisor was ignored, while the opinion of Mennie, whose recommendation was based on an incorrect premise, and who had conceded that Smith had more knowledge about the issue, was accepted.

The committee ruled that Singh should not be placed above the barrier. Besides the irregularities within Mennie's report, Singh charges that Mennie had earlier demonstrated political bias.

Soon after the election, in August 1974, Mennie summoned the economist for a meeting. Mennie suggested the possibility of Singh finding employment elsewhere.

Mennie points out there is no record of the meeting and no witnesses were present, making it impossible to know exactly what happened. But Singh says he remembers the meeting quite clearly.

Singh says he was told he should look for a new job because of his political background.

"The moment Mennie said this I asked him, 'Who told you that?'" Mennie hesitated, Singh says, and then replied that the message came from a senior official.

Mennie rejects Singh's charges. "The statement which I was supposed to have made concerning political bias is wrong. I said he should consider looking for another job. The reason related to the work situation."

Mennie also denies that any senior official told him to speak with Singh.

Mennie claims that later findings by an adjudicator that he demonstrated political bias are wrong. "Instead of being politically biased against Singh, I am more or less politically biased in favour of Singh."

Mennie did not testify before the adjudicator to repudiate the charges made about political bias. He says this was because he was not asked. After the adjudicators' decision, however, Mennie prepared a five-page reply concerning the meeting of August 1974 and the factors bearing on it. But Mennie refuses to disclose the contents of this document, saying he is waiting for the proper forum.

He does say that he was dissatisfied with Singh's work performance during the minority government period between 1972 and 1974. The uncertainty over when an election would be held meant that Singh was devoting himself to politics at the expense of his work, Mennie claims.

"You can't do a heck of a lot of work when involved in the situation he was involved in. You couldn't expect him to do much work," he remarks.

Gossip may travel quickly in the public service, but for some reason information moves excruciatingly slow. Though the second committee met in June, Singh was not informed of its

decision until December, 1976.

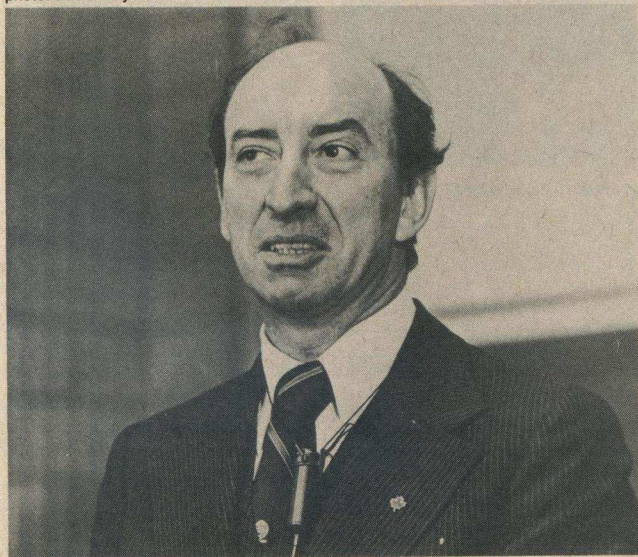
The chairman of the second committee, Doug Sears, says the delay was caused by a number of internal problems. He is reluctant to elaborate, but concedes "outside factors were involved here." Sears admits that it was "not a normal delay" and "the pressure came from other government agencies." Somebody — Sears refuses to say who — was taking an interest in the Singh case. Sears, as chairman of the committee, wrote the report that denied Singh's advancement. He also sat with the Treasury Board lawyer later, at the second adjudication.

"I was wearing my hat as branch personnel advisor — I was representing management interests," he says about his role at the adjudication. Sears says he does not see a conflict of interest in clearing the committee and representing management interests at the adjudication.

Soon after he became aware of the committee's decision in December 1976 Singh requested certain documents bearing on the case. The requests were denied, as was a grievance which he filed.

On April 15, 1977 Singh's union (ESSA) was informed by the deputy minister that the second committee's assessment report was invalidated by an

photo: David Lloyd



Health Minister Marc Lalonde: his former assistant's role remains a mystery

unexplained technical flaw.

Still, Singh was refused advancement beyond the barrier, although the only remaining document was the first report which had recommended his advancement and been dismissed as "inconclusive".

Singh's next step was adjudication. The Public Service Staff Relations Board adjudicator, J. D. O'Shea, was highly critical of management's handling of Singh's case.

The adjudicator agreed that Singh had been denied advancement because of political bias. He chastized management for denying Singh access to documents which he was entitled to have under the terms of the collective agreement. O'Shea was especially harsh on what he called the incompetence of the assessment committees.

Singh was to be placed above the barrier, O'Shea ordered.

Management promptly appealed to federal court.

The appeal claimed that the adjudicator had overstepped his jurisdiction. According to the employer, only the committee and deputy minister can order an employee's advancement.

In an ambiguous judgement handed down January 17, 1978, the court agreed with both parties. It decided that the collective agreement had not yet been

properly applied to Singh because he had still not received a satisfactory assessment. The Court also agreed with management that O'Shea had overstepped his authority in ordering Singh's placement above the barrier. Nevertheless, the Court passed the buck back to O'Shea, instructing him to determine what relief Singh was entitled to.

Following the Court's decision, a third assessment was conducted in March 1978, again chaired by Sears. Singh was once again deemed unworthy of advancement.

The second adjudication accomplished nothing. In an unprecedented move, O'Shea disqualified himself from the case complaining that he did not understand what the court wanted him to do. O'Shea said that the manner the federal court has handled the case makes the public service adjudication process "mere window dressing".

Although ESSA is sympathetic with O'Shea's position, the union has returned to federal court asking that the adjudicator be ordered back on the case. The union says that natural justice can only be served by O'Shea granting relief. If the court fails to compel O'Shea's return to the case the probable route is a fresh adjudication, with both a new adjudicator and a presentation of evidence. Back to square one. As ESSA staff officer Marvin Gandall says, "We're running into blind alleys. We're running out of options."

In the interim a fourth assessment, for the years 1975, 1976, and 1977, has been convened. Singh refuses to participate.

There are a number of intriguing questions still to be answered. What actually took place in Mennie's office in August, 1974? What role did Gravelle play, and did his orders come from higher up? What was the pressure which Sears spoke of, and where did it come from?

Singh is angry at what he calls the humiliation to which he has been subjected. "I participated in the system of government at a very high financial and emotional cost to myself. I don't think I should be penalized."

The fourth anniversary of the 1974 federal election, and the beginning of Sant Singh's troubles, has come and gone. But still, despite assessments, adjudications, and federal court appearances, the end is not in sight. Nor is the answer to whether Sant Singh is the victim of political discrimination or merely the incompetent and irregular machinery of the public service.

BIMONTHLY REPORTS

A new publication with stories the daily and financial press don't report.

In the current issue:

- Three former Ontario cabinet ministers recently testified about the Ontario government relationship with Revenue Properties' ill-fated Century City development; one of them, lawyer Bob Macaulay, tells how he "bargained" with McKeough, Bales and Premier William Davis over projected population figures
- The man who whizzed \$2.9 million out of Canada last year during an adjournment in a court case — the court decided the money wasn't his — has now turned up at Ontario rent review as a landlord. He bought three high-rise buildings in a deal that could result in 30% rent increases, largely to pay for his alleged financing arrangements
- Toronto lawyer Jack Gilbert QC was picked to run "merchant bank" GCA Capital Corporation, an English enquiry report says, but a Florida land deal caused his backers to investigate the operation. They found GCA's assets were valueless, and they also found they had lost money in the E. D. Sassoon Bank, a related Bahamian entity that was also active in Canada
- The Supreme Court of Canada has spelled out what makes a deal "fraudulent" as opposed to merely risky, in a case involving a complicated corporate takeover; the court says economic loss is not a necessary ingredient
- A close look at the operation of the Ontario rent review program shows the biggest rent increases are obtained through so-called "financial loss" calculations; and the basic legislation on illegal rent increases isn't being enforced
- and more.

For a year's subscription for six issues starting with the current issue, sent \$10 (if payment is by an individual) or \$15 (if payment is by company, firm, or institution) to BIMONTHLY REPORTS, PO Box 731, Postal Station "A", Toronto M5W 1G2.

NAME _____

MAILING ADDRESS _____

POSTAL CODE _____ AMOUNT ENCLOSED _____

BIMONTHLY REPORTS
PO BOX 731, Station "A"
Toronto M5W 1G2

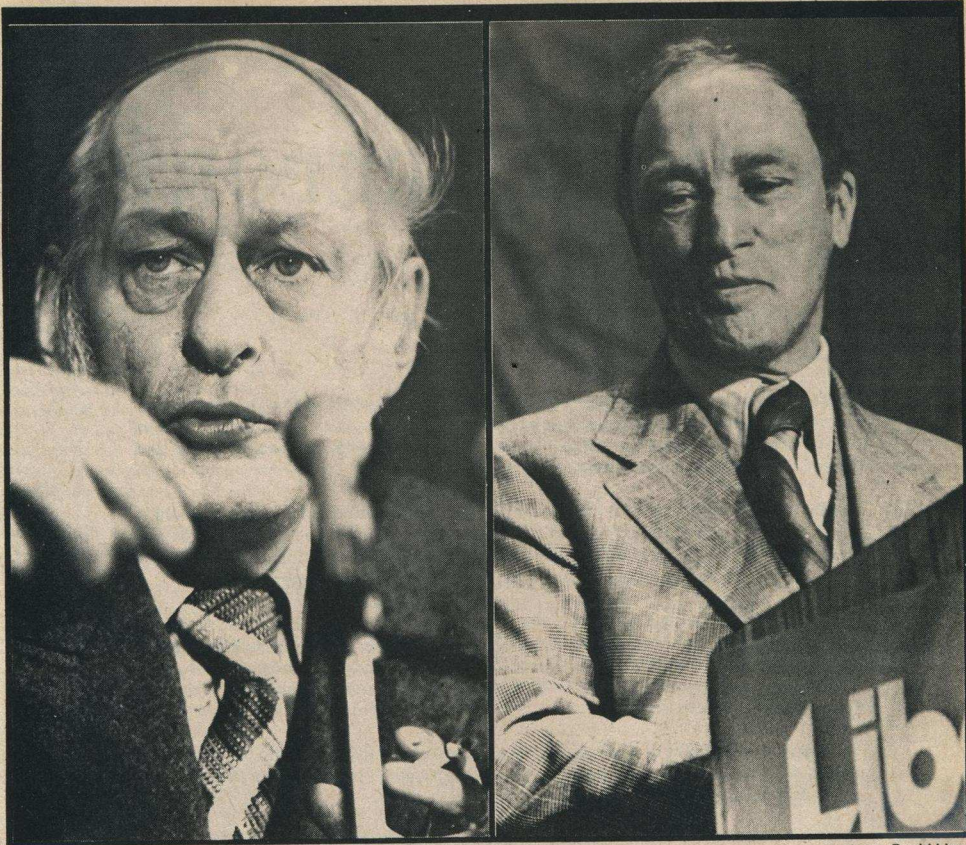


photo: David Lloyd

Yankee doodle dandies

By Robert Chodos

"I've told some of my Canadian friends, 'The moment will come when the U.S. will pay a lot more attention to you, and you're not going to like it.'" That moment may not be too far off.

With all the visits of Quebec cabinet ministers to the United States, grumbled a policy paper presented to the convention of the Confederation of National Trade Unions in Montreal in June, American economic interests probably know more about the Parti Québécois's plans than Quebecers do.

The CNTU may have been exaggerating American knowledge of Quebec, but it wasn't exaggerating traffic of PQ ministers across the border. One week it was Claude Morin. Another it was Bernard Landry. The very day the CNTU policy paper was released to the press Finance Minister Jacques Parizeau was speaking to bankers in Vermont. And as often as not it was Premier Lévesque himself — to Boston to deliver the Jodidi lecture at Harvard, to New York to talk to the Council on Foreign Relations, to New Hampshire for the annual meeting of eastern Canadian premiers and New England governors. For the PQ 1978 is the Year of the U.S., and all the activity seemed to indicate that it meant business.

The high priority attached to relations with the United States had other manifestations as well. A new Quebec government office in Atlanta and a tourist bureau in Washington were opened, joining the existing offices in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Boston, Dallas and Lafayette, La. Information officers were added to the staffs of the New York and Boston offices, in an initial attempt to deal with the previously uncharted depths of American ignorance about Quebec.

And an event that might easily have passed unnoticed, the 370th anniversary of the founding of Quebec City, was chosen as the occasion for a celebration that would remind all North Americans of the role of the Québécois as one of the continent's founding peoples.

"Since when does anyone celebrate the 370th anniversary of a city?" wrote Ivan Guay in *La Presse*, complaining of the extent to which national festivals had become political tools. "People celebrate the 100th, the 200th, etc., or any significant figure, but not the 370th."

Any such considerations, however, were overridden by the circumstance that the 370th anniversary of the founding of Quebec City fell not only in the Year of the U.S. but also on July 3, making it convenient for Americans and especially New Englanders, many of whom are of French-Canadian descent, to spend the long Fourth of July weekend in *la vieille capitale*.

Most of the PQ's attention, to be sure, was focussed not on American tourists, but rather on the diplomats, government advisers, bankers, corporate officials and others who will determine or at least influence the actions and policies of

American business and the American government toward Quebec, independent or otherwise.

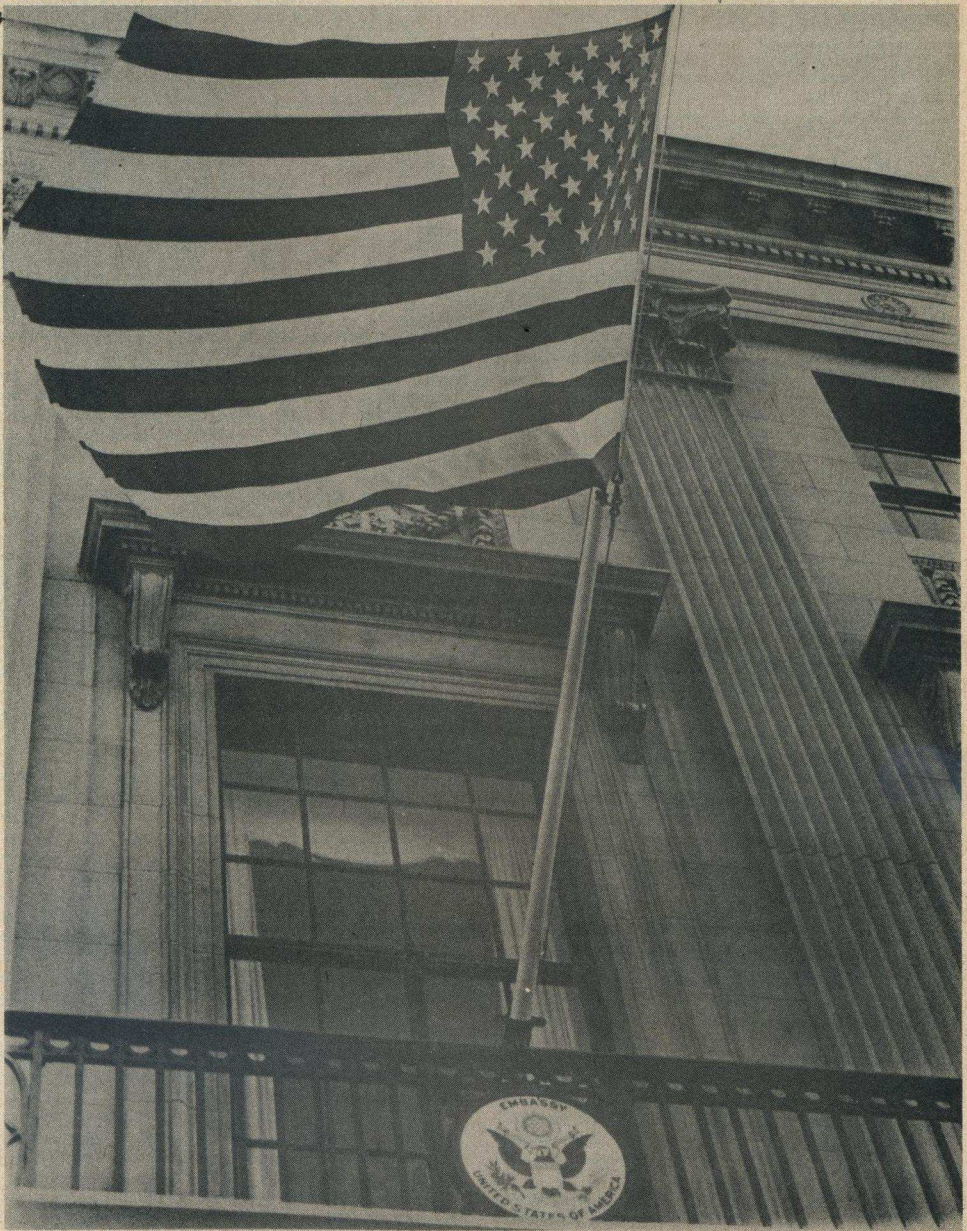
The PQ's initial approach to these people, in the first months of its administration, was not a success (*Last Post*, March 1977 and April 1977). Less than two months after taking office, Premier Lévesque addressed the Economic Club of New York, and drew a parallel between the Thirteen Colonies' aspirations toward independence 200 years ago and Quebec's similar aspirations now. The assembled bankers and businessmen were unimpressed. They regarded Lévesque's address as a plea for support, while what they had come to hear was a statement of intentions. And besides, their concerns ran more to interest spreads than to the lofty principles of the Declaration of Independence.

That anything at all was salvaged from the venture was due only to Lévesque's promise to continue to give Hydro-Quebec, the province's gigantic utility, the free rein under which it had become a favourite of U.S. institutional investors. On the eve of his Harvard address, 15 months later, one observer suggested that Lévesque would be well advised to give his audience "a little more hydro power and a little less Tom Paine."

As it turned out, Lévesque didn't give this particular audience much of either. Blunt, entertaining, expansive, even — for Lévesque — relaxed, the Premier spoke of the differences between Canadian and American federalism, of Quebec's place on the North American continent and its long-standing ties with the U.S. He invited his listeners to come to Quebec City on July 3 while noting that Quebecers flocked to different parts of the United States at different times of the year like migratory birds. He related how the PQ had once been opposed to an independent Quebec's being a member of NATO and NORAD but had changed its mind about that, and said that Quebec is "part of the western world" and "bound by western solidarity."

On the whole, it went down reasonably well. But neither Lévesque's courting of Harvard nor any of the efforts of his cabinet ministers had any perceptible effect on the generally negative image of the PQ that is held in the United States. While this is in itself galling to PQ policymakers, it is even more so in contrast to the reception given Prime Minister Trudeau when he addressed the Economic Club in March. The audience, twice the size of the one that came to hear Lévesque the previous year, gave the prime minister a standing ovation as he came in. And then, after a speech even more ethereal than Lévesque's had been, it gave him another one as he sat down. It was clear that the New York economic elite

photo: David Lloyd



U.S. embassy in Ottawa: for now, American policy is that Canada in more or less its present form is a good thing for the U.S.

had come not to listen to Trudeau but rather to give him a vote of confidence.

For not only were Quebec and Ottawa involved in a little game of taking their respective cases to American audiences, but it appeared that the game was being played with a stacked deck.

The problem for the PQ is that American approval for the federalist side is not based primarily on fears that an independent Quebec would act in ways inimical to American interests. If it were, then the PQ could, with some hope of results, take steps to allay those fears. That Quebec would stay in NATO, that American capital would continue to be welcome, that electricity would keep flowing to the U.S. — if all these things were repeated often enough and with sufficient feeling then skeptical State Department officials, corporation presidents and managers of investment funds could conceivably become persuaded that an independent Quebec might not be such a bad thing after all.

(There would still be the question of dealing with the occasional disharmonies between these policies and the wishes of an electorate which the government hopes will both approve its sovereignty-association proposal in a referendum and return it to office at the next election, but there are at least known methods of handling such a situation. The techniques of William Lyon Mackenzie King and his successors might usefully be studied to this effect.)

This is not to say that there are no misgivings about the PQ in the United States, or that the defeat of the PQ would not be welcomed on Wall Street and in Washington. There are, and it would. But far more important in the determination of American policy is the conviction that Canada in more or less its present form is a good deal for the United States, and the independence of Quebec would mean a whole new situation that might be a lot messier for the Americans to deal with.

“Our principal concern has never been with an independent Quebec as such,” said one U.S. government source. “It would be in the self-interest of an independent Quebec to maintain good relations with the United States. The problem we see is in what would happen to the rest of Canada.”

At the very least, this source explained, the independence of Quebec would “complicate the conduct of relations. It’s bad enough now with the power that the provincial governments have.” If a new constitutional arrangement intensified regional differences, it could make things a lot worse. “The north-south pull operates basically regionally. A fragmented Canada could create state-federal problems in the United States. Each Canadian region would always be playing us off against another region. We would always be in the middle.”

Premier Lévesque, in his Harvard speech, addressed himself to this question, saying that “I think Canada has a lot of staying power. Without the foreign body that we’ve become more and more, Canada would do better.” While this is a possibility that Washington has considered, it remains unconvicted. “You could also posit,” said our source, “that an independent Quebec would increase regional differences. The Maritimes would seem to have few choices, except maybe to apply to the United States — and there aren’t very many people here who would want that. Now if it were Alberta it might be a different matter.”

The independence of Quebec would also affect “the role that Canada plays in the international community,” and even now its preoccupation with its internal problems represents “a diversion of Canada’s energies.” The clear message is that the United States is used to being able to count on

Canada, is somewhat distressed that this reliability has been called into question, and would like to see the nonsense stop before it goes any further.

The PQ’s switch on membership in NATO and NORAD was welcomed in Washington, and the State Department has attempted to calm some of the more irrational fears that American businessmen might have about Quebec. But that is about all the help the PQ is going to get. Against Canada’s well-earned good reputation in Washington, it has no come-back.

In business circles, the PQ’s interventionist philosophy of the role of government, its minimum-wage legislation, and (this will surprise the CNTU) its pro-labour stance are widely cited as blots on its copybook.

The language legislation that was so upsetting to many English Canadians is a relatively minor concern. James Lewis, a Canadian, a federalist and president of the Toronto-based Canadian operations of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, one of the largest investors in Quebec government and Hydro-Quebec bonds, said while the language bill was still before the National Assembly that “I’d be amazed if there is any francophone in Canada who did not feel pride in the language charter.” While conceding that there might be a few minor problems with the bill, he said that “these problems do not offset my basic approval of the need for and thrust of Bill 1.”

A year later, Lewis had not changed his mind about the language charter, and even gave it some of the credit for spurring Prudential’s Quebec marketing operation to record sales in the intervening time. But he still regarded the PQ as a “left-of-centre” government, and given the record of such governments elsewhere he wasn’t sure it could be depended on to continue to behave as moderately as it had since taking office.

Nevertheless, Prudential regards its vast investments in Quebec as being safe — enough so that it increased them from \$1,102,344,000 at the end of 1976 to \$1,193,339,000 at the end of 1977. Metropolitan Life, the Prudential’s frequent co-investor in Quebec government and Hydro-Quebec bond issues, also increased its investments in the province, from \$549,484,000 to \$662,386,000. But David Esler of the communications department of Metropolitan’s Canadian office in Ottawa introduced a note of caution. “We’re maintaining a strong presence in Quebec,” he said, “but we’re not plunging as headlong as we are into projects in, say, Calgary.”

For even though Prudential and Metropolitan could find enough of interest to boost their investments by a total of more than \$200 million, Quebec is just not as attractive a place to most investors as it used to be, or as some other places are now. Political factors are only part of the reason for this, and not necessarily the most important part.

Except when discussion turns to the energy sector, the subject of investment in Canada — not just Quebec — is greeted in the United States with a by now familiar litany of complaints ranging from high labour costs and low productivity to the country’s outdated industrial structure. All these complaints apply with particular force to Quebec.

And in addition there is that mysterious factor called ‘uncertainty’: the catch-all term with which businessmen express their doubts about the political stability of Canada in general and Quebec in particular. This is more of a problem for some kinds of investment than for others. Prudential and Metropolitan, with their huge stake in Quebec, are clearly better

BILINGUALISM IS GOING TO THE DOGS

Two years ago I got a dog. The only place where I could have it trained was at the Ottawa Kennel Club. Out of 15 persons with dogs there might have been three or four francophones, and I was the only one among that group who insisted on teaching his dog in French. All the other francophones were so assimilated in this area that they ordered their dogs around in English. It may sound funny but even the dogs are assimilated in Ottawa.

— *Andre Fillion, in Quebec: The People Speak, edited by Rick Butler*

off taking the long view and weathering the current storm. The same applies to companies whose investment is in resources, since such investments cannot be picked up and taken elsewhere as easily as, say, the head office of Sun Life.

Also, any company that is used to dealing multinationally is well placed to contemplate an independent Quebec with equanimity; it is in the very nature of the multinational corporation that borders are of limited importance to it. Prudential's James Lewis says he "can't see why a border would make any difference to us there."

But that still leaves a wide range of American investors for whom such considerations mean little, and these have been the most likely to change or postpone decisions to invest in Quebec. Even after more than a year and a half of PQ government, "wait and see" is still a common attitude, but it is clearer now that what many of these people are waiting to see is the defeat of the PQ. The situation is, however, muddled by the sluggishness of investment activity in Canada as a whole; with political considerations, such as they are, coinciding with strictly economic concerns it is difficult to separate the two. "What would tell the story," says William Diebold, Senior Research Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, "is if there is a substantial improvement in the Canadian economy so that American businessmen would have to make positive moves to keep up"; so far this has not happened.

On the Quebec side, officials continue to hold an optimistic view of what can be accomplished in the United States. Quebec representatives in the U.S. regard part of their job as being to counteract the negative image of Quebec spread by English Canadians, and Guy Brassard, delegate-general in Boston, says that many U.S. firms are "captives of their Toronto management" and make decisions to stay out of Quebec on the basis of information received from Toronto.

The PQ clings to the belief that if Americans are properly informed of the real situation in Quebec they will take a more positive view of it, and might even back up their confidence with dollars. This belief is not shared by Americans such as Diebold and Alfred O. Hero, director of the World Peace Foundation in Boston and initiator of the U.S.-Quebec Committee, which was intended to bring influential Quebecers and Americans together to talk about problems of common interest. As it turned out, the Quebecers and the Americans did not want to talk about the same things, and the U.S.-Quebec Committee has not met since the 1976 election.

If there is a rosy view of the U.S. prevalent in the PQ, there is also a rosy view of Canada prevalent in the U.S. Hero finds this optimism almost as naive as the PQ's, but here he finds

himself in a small minority. Harold Van B. Cleveland, a vice-president of the First National City Bank of New York and co-chairman of the U.S.-Quebec Committee while it existed, says "I'm not basically pessimistic. I think it can be worked out — it's nice to be able to say that about some problem." And if the State Department has given a higher priority to relations with Canada than it did a few years ago, this is not because it sees Canada as a serious trouble spot. Rather with the Canadian government showing eagerness to downplay conflict with the U.S., the State Department regards this as a propitious time to resolve some outstanding issues: in the jargon of the trade, the atmospherics are right.

One State Department official says Americans have "tremendous confidence in Canada as an institution" and sees a reversal of the usual situation regarding political conflicts in other countries: "Usually it's your cynical native who poo-poo's the situation while American tend to get alarmed. But with Canada, Americans figure it's something the Canadians will work out while Canadians I talk to say 'You don't understand how serious this really is.'"

But before federalists take too much comfort from American support for their side and confidence in their prospects, it might be worth pointing out a few mitigating factors.

First of all, the U.S. vision of a future Canada does not necessarily correspond in all its essential details to that held by Trudeau federalists. Diebold defines what the U.S. wants as "a unified Canada with whatever greater powers are needed to keep Quebec happy." Cleveland is more explicit about how a new division of powers might go: "The American preference is for some solution that would retain the unity of Canada in the sense of foreign policy, national security and monetary policy being in federal hands, but that could involve greater provincial autonomy in social and cultural areas and in fiscal policy. A separate monetary system or defence system in Quebec would not be viewed with satisfaction. But there is a lot of room for change that Americans wouldn't trouble at. There is a substantial degree of unity on this question among Washington people and New York people."

The most important thing is that all this be accomplished without undue disruption, and intransigence that stood in the way of an amicable solution would not be looked upon kindly no matter which side it came from.

Already, Diebold is critical of the federal government's attempts to pressure Quebec into holding an early referendum and refers to the PQ's resistance of that pressure as "quite sensible": he regards delay as a good thing because with time "people's understanding of the Quebec situation will become more mature."

Among the people whose views will mature are Americans, who will have a more fully developed view of what their interests are and how best to pursue them. And Cleveland says flatly that "the rest of Canada will have to get used to the idea that things have changed."

The other factor that makes American support cold comfort for the Canadian federalists is that it is conditional. For it is based on — among other things — the American belief that the continuation of a united Canada is the most likely outcome of the situation. Except when other considerations are overriding, the Americans have a preference for backing the winning side.

But this belief could change. And if it does, then American interests may well change too. A peaceful solution that leaves Canada united might be the Americans' first choice, but if

that begins to look unlikely then they will begin thinking about second and third choices, and these might not be quite so favourable to Canadian federalists.

"I hear that in the University of Toronto faculty club," says Alfred Hero, "people are saying that there is a group in the U.S. that would prefer a balkanized Canada. If there are such people here I don't know where they are. But if it looks as if it's going to happen, then the relevant elites will sit down and scratch their heads and say, 'What's our interest now?' Then the whole chemistry changes."

A recurring theme in American comments about Canada is that the parties to the dispute will act in their own self-interest: this is a given of the American view not only of Canada but of the world in general. Quebec will maintain good relations with the U.S. because it is in its self-interest;

Quebec and English Canada will work out an amicable solution because to do so is in their self-interest. It would be well for Canadians to remember that the Americans will act in *their* self-interest, and that they will define that interest themselves and not leave it to Ottawa or Quebec City to define it for them. For the foreseeable future they have defined that interest as lying with a united Canada. If the situation changes drastically then it could lie elsewhere.

"Canadians often complain," says William Diebold, "that the U.S. doesn't pay enough attention to them. I've told some of my Canadian friends, 'The moment will come when the U.S. will pay a lot more attention to you, and you're not going to like it.'" That moment may not be too far off.

HEADLINE JUXTAPOSITION DEPT.

* * * *



Habs-Leafs in semis

Page 55



Today's weather: Cloudy, high 10, low 4

SUNDAY EXPRESS



Montreal, April 30, 1978

Have a super Sunday!

64 pages 35¢

Berserk housewife wields a hammer to injure neighbors

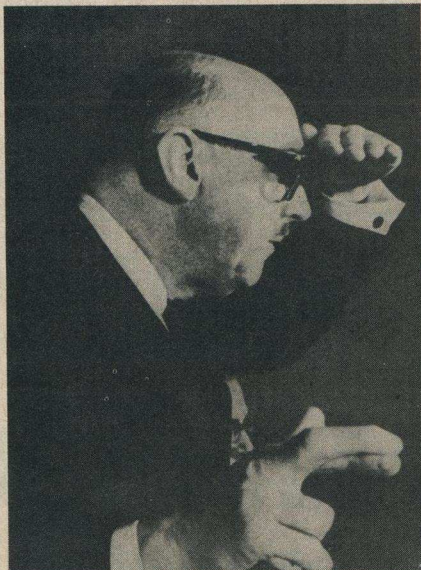
Mrs. Claude Ryan:
More than just a wife

Pages 4 & 5

the Last Pssst



by Claude Balloune



Mayor Drapeau: the Olympics again . . . and again

Olympics: With Los Angeles having developed a very faint heart on the subject of the 1984 Olympics, everyone seems to think that this makes it a natural for Montreal to step into the breach and, this time around, make money off the whole thing. But Mayor Jean Drapeau doesn't feel like waiting that long. He wants the 1980 Olympics. The idea is that with the human rights mess in Russia, the Kremlin's crackdown on dissidents, and so on, Moscow will face a boycott of the Olympics and there will be a panic to find an alternative. Can you believe Montreal in both 1980 and 1984? You can't? Okay, but remember you read it here first.

Maple Leaf spies: The MacDonald commission studying the naughty acts of the RCMP is seriously considering that Canada should have its own "offensive" spy people. Our own CIA. Of course, these people would not actually, uh, spy, or so it's said. They would be evaluators (sic). The idea is we shouldn't

trust American and British intelligence to tell us what's what. Col. Bourne, you've made it.

Joe Who? The Libs have decided that it's a bad idea to go around attacking Joe Clark. They figure the public feels so sorry for Joe that to attack him would be to make the Libs look like dirty bullies.

Jean sounds off: Finance Minister Jean Chretien will tell anyone who will listen that he is totally, ah, um, annoyed at Quebec Liberal leader Claude Ryan. Claude, it seems, has absolutely no humility, tact, patience, etc. He is a 'monarch', he is 'intolerable'. Furthermore, he is 'rigid', 'unbending', etc. etc. Jean, you see, likes to bend people's ears while he's bending his elbow.

Let there be darkness: By the time you read this you may already know that the name of the successor to the Peter Gzowski show "90 minutes live" is "Canada after dark". Oh lord, give me a shoulder to weep on. Anyway, in case you're wondering, the proposed new name comes straight from "Playboy after dark", as in *Playboy* magazine. Johnny Carson, you have nothing to fear.

Lucky Claude Wagner: Now that he has moved to the Upper House lucky Claude Wagner gets his generous Senate salary as well as the interest from the \$300,000 trust fund the Tories set up years ago to lure him to the House of Commons. Claude had been viewed as a possible successor to Hughes Lapointe, who was retiring as lieutenant-governor of Quebec. Instead, the job went to Jean-Pierre Cote, a Liberal whose resignation from the Senate paved the way for Wagner.

First choice: But neither man was Prime Minister Trudeau's first choice for the Quebec post. He had hoped to use the vacant lieutenant-governor's office to say bye-bye to his not-so-popular minister of communications, Saskatchewan-born Jeanne Sauve. But when he put the proposal to her she was so insulted that she ran out and slammed the door of his office so hard his ears must have been ringing for a long time afterward. Pierre did not insist.

The other Claude: Claude Ryan apparently means it when he says he's not going to be ordered around by the federal Liberals. When the sales tax dispute first broke out between Ottawa and Quebec, Trudeau's right-hand man, Federal-Provincial Affairs Minister Marc Lalonde came knocking on Ryan's door with a document outlining the position the feds thought Quebec's provincial Liberals should take. Ryan apologized to his caucus at a meeting the next day for not



Jeanne Sauvé: she slammed the door

being able to show them the document. He explained that it had "fallen" into a wastepaper basket.

On the other hand: But Ryan's caucus wasn't so amused when he showed up with his draft statement criticizing Trudeau's recent constitutional proposals. They had been afraid he would go overboard and agitatedly talked him into modifying his stand. "What it comes down to," said one cognoscente, "is that the guy still has a lot to learn." Said a caucus member, "He's got to learn that he's not writing editorials any more." Said another: "Believe me, it was pretty rough. We were unanimous against it." Will Claude prove a fast learner?

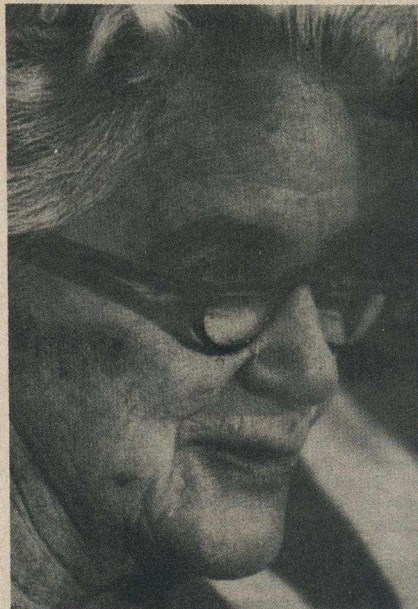
Spotted: Spotted at the opening ceremonies of Regine's discotheque in Montreal (membership fee \$350) were those swinging, zinging federal cabinet ministers, **Consumer Affairs Minister Warren Allmand** and **Indian Affairs Minister Hugh Faulkner**. Hope it was worth it.

Unknown: The **Library of Parliament** won't say who asked it to figure out if **Prime Minister Trudeau** could legally postpone a federal election until the summer of 1980. But it seems the answer to the query was yes. Under the BNA Act parliament automatically dissolves after five years if the P.M. hasn't gone for an election by then. That would be summer 1979. But the BNA Act's minimum requirement for parliament to be in session is only once a year. So the P.M. could govern without parliament for a year minus a day or so.

That's the summer of 1980. If the P.M. still stonewalled presumably the Governor-General's Foot Guards would come and haul him off in irons for incarceration in the Peace Tower. Or maybe the **Queen** would make the Tower of London available ... especially if she's gotten around to reading Pierre's plans for her in his new constitution.

Roaring Lyon: Manitoba Premier Sterling Lyon is the least popular provincial leader in tight little Ottawa Liberal circles. It seems he never misses a chance to sling a bit of mud. He has called the prime minister a "closet socialist", and he said expecting fiscal responsibility from Ottawa is like "expecting a vulture to say grace." The prime minister, he has opined, has a "mid-Atlantic Gallic mind; he doesn't think Canadian, any Canadian." As for Pierre's proposed constitution, it must have come from "the Guatemala constitution or somewhere like that," and the House of the Federation is "a Rube Goldberg affair. Sterling will never get invited to the Ostrys if he keeps talking like that.

Ottawa's finest: Speaking of Ottawa's finest, **Beryl Plumptre** — she of the Anti-Inflation Board, the Food Prices Review Board, the Consumers Association of Canada etc. etc. — has now joined the board of Directors of Dominion Stores. As a result, I confidently expect Dominion's food prices to fall by 25 per cent during the next 12 months. Just as I expect McDonnell-Douglas' price for new fighter aircraft for our air force to fall by 25 per cent now that former Finance Minister **Donald 'Thumper' MacDonald** has joined its board of directors.



Beryl Plumptre: off to Dominion

CHINA'S NEW 'SPRING HUNGER'

by Warren Caragata

For centuries, an integral part of life in China was the "Spring Hunger".

That phrase euphemistically described the yearly mass starvation that came each spring when grain reserves from the previous year's crop had been eaten and before there was any yield from the new year's crop.

During the "Spring Hunger", people would eat anything that would fill their bellies. In fact, starving peasants would fight one another for leaves and even the bark off trees.

That was China before liberation.

Today, there is a new "Spring Hunger" in the country — not for leaves and pieces of bark — people now have enough to eat — the hunger in 1978 is for technology, for the goods that can turn the most populous nation in the world into a modern industrial society by the year 2000.

The Chinese call the new drive for modernization of science and industry the new Long March and refer to the "Springtime for Science."

Recognizing that China is "15 to 20 years behind" the West in most areas of basic research and applied science, there has been a major break with past policies that stressed self-reliance. Chinese scientists will now be encouraged to broaden their horizons beyond the country, "learning from the advanced."

Imports of high-technology goods will now be allowed. But, of course, the Chinese say, they are still striving to produce sophisticated machinery and computers on their own and do not want to become dependent on other countries to do their research for them.

As they have for almost everything, the Chinese have a slogan or two covering the new drive for modernity by the year 2000 — the "Four Modernizations". The four areas of concentration are science and technology, industry, agriculture and national defence.

The goal of a modern, high technology society comes at an important time in the development of post-Liberation China as the leading members of the 30-million member Chinese communist party, exemplified by Chairman Mao and Chou En-lai, who led the nation through revolution and the war of resistance against Japanese invasion, have died, and as many

of the basic problems confronting pre-revolutionary China have been dealt with.

The "four modernizations" is the first major campaign being run by the post-Mao leadership after the smashing of the "Gang of Four." The "Gang" refers to a group of ultra-leftists, led by Mao's wife, who gained ascendancy as the health and vigour of Mao and Chou declined in the mid-70s.

They are now under house arrest and their supporters are being purged. As the Chinese tell it, the "Gang of Four" wrought havoc in the country with their fervent insistence that politics must come before everything else. The implementation of that policy reached the absurd on a rail line controlled by supporters where constant criticism sessions resulted in forever-late trains — but better a "socialist train" that's late than a "capitalist train" that's on time.

The new Chinese leadership is quite sensibly demanding that it should be possible to have "socialist trains" that run on time.

Although Chinese leaders would boast that the revolution was won for the country's workers and peasants, it would appear that the most impressive gains have been made for the peasants and in agricultural production.

The revolution which brought Mao Tse-tung to power in 1949 was a peasant revolution whose main focus was land reform, under the slogan "Land for the Tiller."

It was not until 1958 that communes replaced individual production, modified greatly of course by reliance on cooperatives.

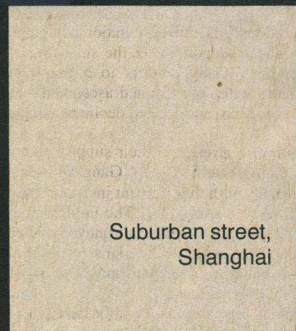
Communes vary in size but generally number between 20,000 and 30,000 people. The Wu Shun People's Commune on the outskirts of Shenyang has a population of 36,000 living in 7,900 households and has about 7,600 acres under cultivation.

The cultivation and other work, such as a chicken packing plant, is handled by the 16,000 workers who are divided into 86 work teams which together form 17 production brigades.

As elsewhere in China, if work can be done by hand, that is the way things get done (reaching its ultimate in one huge gravel pit we saw near Peking where the trucks were being



The heart of Shanghai,
formerly the British con-
cession



Suburban street,
Shanghai



A street in downtown
Shanghai

filled by teams of workers equipped with nothing larger than shovels).

Row after row of seedlings, originally planted in the winter in large greenhouses, are protected, each row, by five-foot fences of corn stalks. When necessary, they are further protected by plastic stretched over arched bamboo poles.

The many large greenhouses on the Wu Shun commune, as well as providing a start for seedlings, were also used to grow year-round crops such as tomatoes. Again, the amount of labour expended is outstanding by North American standards. Temperature in the houses is regulated by large straw mats that are rolled down by hand covering the glass frames and rolled up again. Each flower on row after row of individual tomato plants is hand-painted with a substance which increases yield.

Although the climates of Shenyang and the Canadian prairies are similar, the stores there were filled with spinach, garlic shoots, chinese cabbage, leeks and other fresh produce — goods that in Canada would be available only in summer or imported.

Part of the answer for the abundance of produce also lies in massive underground, brick-lined root cellars, each 100 meters long and wide enough to drive a small tractor through. There were 80 such cellars on the commune.

Although most land on the commune is owned by it there is also private ownership of small garden plots and houses. Inheritance is allowed.

A 12-room house on a commune near Shanghai was recently purchased for 12,000 yuan — the family of 14 (four generations) saved for 10 years to buy the two-year-old residence, built around an open courtyard.

The family, most of whom work, has a combined monthly income of 250 yuan. Commune members are paid about 450 yuan each a year.

On the Shanghai commune, every production brigade had its own television and library and the commune itself ran film showings.

Income is based on the amount of work done, with the number of hours worked counted each day. The income for the commune at year-end is totalled, 14 per cent goes to what could be called a welfare and public works account, Peking gets 3 per cent and all the rest is distributed among the commune membership according to the work done.

Peking sets quotas; prices are set by negotiation between state agencies and local authorities.

The Shanghai commune with a labour force of about 18,000, cultivates almost 3,000 acres, from which it produces 270 tons of vegetables a day. Vegetable production, we are told, has increased three times since 1949. The commune also produces wheat and rice and yearly raises 46,000 pigs, 150,000 chickens, 30,000 ducks and 19,000 rabbits.

The primary mode of personal transportation in China is the bicycle and in Shanghai, its use was extended to bringing loads of vegetables from area communes to the city markets, each three-wheeled bike carrying hundreds of pounds of produce.

The communes also run their own schools, hospitals and clinics and each production brigade has a "barefoot doctor" attached to it — a peasant with some medical training who is "not divorced from labour."

The task of providing enough food for 900 million people is an enormous one, but China is obviously more than our pre-conceived images of vast rural landscapes filled with people planting, hoeing and harvesting.

China is also cities jammed with bicycle- and bus-riding workers on their way to dense complexes of factories. This is true of Shanghai and Peking but is particularly the case in the heavily-industrialized northeast with Shenyang and a giant iron and steel complex at Anshan, where the sun seems to hang in a perpetual prairie sunset, as its heart. In fact, it seemed at times driving through the streets of Shenyang that the equivalent of all of the industrial plants in Ontario and Quebec had been squeezed into one part of this city of four million.

All industrial workers in China are paid according to an eight-grade scale based on skill, with the scale shifting from region to region. Office workers employed by the state and by state companies (such as the food export and import company) are paid on a more complex 20-grade scale. All belong to the same trade union.

The average industrial wage throughout the country is now about \$0 to 60 yuan a month (about Can. \$29 to \$35 at the then-current rate of exchange of 1.68 yuan to the dollar) and although no one was bragging that Chinese workers were well off, wages alone do not tell the whole story.

Few Canadians could imagine living on \$35 a month but just as unbelievable would be apartment rents averaging three to five per cent of income. Medical care and education are free.

Sick pay and compensation for industrial accidents are 100 per cent of salary and old age pensions are 70 to 80 per cent of income. Men retire at 60, women at 55.

Food prices have remained stable over the years, clothing is cheap, although cotton is rationed, movie and opera tickets cost several cents and public transportation is both cheap and highly developed. (We were told 1.5 million people per rush hour ride on the Shanghai bus system.)

Much of the housing in both the cities and countryside was both old and crowded and earth-walled houses with courtyards surrounded by a wall of earth, brick or stone were not uncommon sights, even in the cities. New apartment complexes are being built.

In Shenyang, we were given a tour of a "workers' village" — a self-administered urban commune within the city that housed about 170,000 people. The village ran its own stores, including a large department store, eight restaurants and contained a stadium, an auditorium, several hospitals, clinics, kindergartens, and every street had a place where children could read or watch television.

(Foreign visitors in the northeast are less common than in Peking and Shanghai and our tour group was such an attraction that to mark our visit, all children in the village schools were given the half day off so that at all times our tour bus was mobbed by crowds of curiously-staring youngsters, and some adults. Although we were more of a roadside attraction in Shenyang and Darien, even in Shanghai we were met with curious, but always — almost always — friendly stares.)

Most Chinese women work (nurseries and day care being freely available, with time off given nursing mothers to feed their children) and efforts are made to encourage husbands to do their share of the housework. With the combined salaries, about 80 per cent of the families in the village had a monthly income of more than 100 yuan.

In our de rigueur briefing, always accompanied by great quantities of tea, before our tour of the village, we were told that in their spare time (there's precious little of that — Chinese workers work six days a week, eight hours a day, with only nine statutory holidays and no annual vacations) the



Woman worker on commune near Shenyang



Tractor factory, Shenyang



Mao statue in centre of Shenyang



Young Pioneers touring Summer Palace, Peking

workers read Marxist classics and newspapers, improve their work skills and take part in other social activities.

The one social activity prevalent in the West that appears almost non-existent in China is drinking. There are few, if any, taverns and during the entire tour, we saw no public drunkenness. Liquor, however, is available in restaurants and stores. The explanation for the absence of drinking may hinge on the fact that except for the beer, which is excellent, most Chinese liquor seemed to be slight variants on diesel oil.

In the village, we visited the home of Mrs. Wang, who, with her husband and two children, lives in a small apartment in a concrete walk-up — the most common type of post-Liberation housing.

The family lives and sleeps in the same room, about 18 by 24 feet, and shares a toilet and kitchen with one other family. All the apartments are equipped with gas heat and running water, although Mrs. Wang said water is boiled before drinking.

She works in an instrument factory while her husband, she said, is employed in a gas factory. They have a combined income of 130 yuan a month, out of which they pay nine yuan for rent, water and utilities and about 20 yuan for food. She said she makes much of her family's clothing — she has a sewing machine. They have no fridge so she goes to the market every day. Neither is there a washing machine so laundry, as we saw elsewhere, is done by hand.

She said both she and her husband have different days off. For recreation in the area, she said, people cross-country ski, skate and play hockey.

For the Wang family, the highest priority is more room but she said she would also like a television set, and of course a

washing machine.

Before liberation, her husband worked in the country and they moved to the city in 1954. Undoubtedly, in spite of their cramped, but tidy, quarters, life in the new society is much better. As we were told by the leader of the village committee at the briefing:

"Ours is a developing country. The new society is completely different from the old society but at the present time, our living standard is comparatively low."

Nowhere was that more evident than in Fushun.

And nowhere was the need for the "four modernizations" more evident than in Fushun.

Fushun, some miles north of Shenyang, is a coal mining town, but a coal mining town unlike any in Canada. It has a population of about two million, about 70,000 of whom work in several giant open-pit mines — the one we visited was 6.6 km long, 2 km wide and 260 meters deep.

The housing in the town was some of the worst we saw and although some apartment blocks had been built, it seemed that in large areas of the city, accommodation was still mud-walled huts. The pall of pollution that hung over the city just increased the atmosphere of dreary poverty. In fact, looking at Fushun and comparing what I have heard about coal communities in Wales and the Eastern U.S. and what I have seen of older coal towns in Alberta and B.C., the lot of coal miners seems to be the same everywhere.

The pit itself, which we could hardly see upon first arriving because of the haze of coal dust, employs 16,000 workers who, in 1976, produced 4.8 million tonnes (a metric tonne is slightly heavier than a British ton).

Their draglines are construction-site size and would be

dwarfed by equipment used in Canadian mines.

Instead of using huge trucks to take the coal from the mine site to the preparation plant at the top of the pit, an electric train is used. The train, however, must loop around and around the pit before reaching a tramway that takes the coal up the hill.

Fushun was also the site of a 240,000 bbl/day oil refinery built by the Chinese themselves between 1962 and 1966. The plant, which also contained a sulfuric acid plant and a 2,000 bbl/day oil shale extraction plant, employed 8,700 workers, many times the number that would be employed in such a complex here.

Numbered among the 50 products of the refinery were petroleum coke, paraffin, gasoline, diesel fuel, and kerosene. Crude oil is piped to the refinery from the major Chinese fields at Ta Ching while the oil shale comes from the Fushun coal mines.

While the equipment and manpower levels at the refinery and coal mine points out the need for modernization, the oil shale plant shows how successful the previous policy of self-reliance was, especially when combined with the Chinese abhorrence of waste.

The oil shale plant was built, refinery officials said, because the shale was a by-product of the mining operation and they didn't want to waste it. The plant uses a hot-water method for extraction. The shale residues are used to fill in the few underground mines in the area.

At the coal mine, we were told the miners pay "much attention" to safety, with one day a week designated safety day when all equipment is examined. We were told there were no accidental deaths in 1977 and that there were no cases of black lung either at the mine or the coal preparation plant. Most accidents, mine officials said, occurred among maintenance workers.

Workers have the right to refuse work if conditions are unsafe and in such situations, a safety officer is called in to investigate.

Miners receive a higher wage scale than other industrial workers — the highest wage paid in the mine was 180 yuan while the lowest was 33 yuan. They also retire five years earlier.

Since the smashing of the "Gang of Four", bonus systems have been introduced and if the mine exceeds its yearly quota by 10 per cent, workers receive an extra 16 to 22 yuan a month.

The end of the reign of the "Gang of Four" has meant more than bonuses, though, for the nation's workers.

It has opened the way for the modernization campaign which will eventually mean less reliance on hand labour and probably more consumer goods and has given workers more control of their non-working hours.

Under the "Gang of Four", there was reportedly a slogan that "Leisure Time is not Private Time" — that in their off hours, instead of going to the park, or a movie, workers should meet to discuss production and their manner of work and innumerable other things. If you weren't at work, you were at a meeting.

Politics and class background became more important by far than skill and, in medicine for example, doctors were selected for training not according to skill and desire to practise medicine but solely according to class background.

In factories during the gang's rule, all rules and regulations were abolished — they have been re-introduced, much to the satisfaction, we were told, of the workers. Also abolished

and now back — shift differentials.

The new political era in China has also meant the restoration of various art forms which were banned by the "Gang of Four" even though greatly loved by the people. Traditional Chinese opera, with its heavy make-up and rich costumes, was under the ban, as was the tuba in orchestras — a capitalist instrument — and Beethoven.

Trade unions, or the trade union, in China play a much different role than the trade union movement here, based as it is on acting as adversary to the employer.

In China, the revolution and the nationalization of industry has made the workers the employers so there is not the need, they say, that there is here to have adversary unions. In fact, in China, unions seem to play the role of transmission belts — taking decisions made by the national congress into the plants and offices for discussion and implementation. They are also used to organize political study, improve production, look after workers' welfare and organize recreation.

Leaders are placed in charge of each working group in the mines and factories, but appear to play the role of lead hands instead of foremen, working alongside the workers in their group. There is one further, vital distinction between the Chinese and Canadian lead hand — in China, they are elected by the workers in that group and do not represent management of the enterprise.

Workers also have the right to ask that management be removed but the final decision is made not by the workers but by someone from some higher level of authority who investigates the charges.

With the re-introduction of rules and regulations in factory life, workers, we were told, have the responsibility of policing themselves and if rules are systematically broken, the offending worker is subjected to criticism from his fellow workers. Continued infractions could lead to docking of wages and eventually transfer to another factory.

No one is fired in China and in fact, the Chinese and our interpreters seemed a bit puzzled and bemused at questions based on Western assumptions of adversary trade unions and arbitrary firings and layoffs.

Although we were told at the Fushun coal mine of the low number of accidents and the stress on safety, China's occupational health and safety program seemed a bit lacking.

Our observations of the rudimentary levels of worker safety standards were confirmed by a recent report of the *Toronto Globe and Mail's* John Fraser. Touring a steel mill, Fraser said most of the workers were without safety helmets, safety boots, eye protection or inhalation safeguards.

Fraser must have toured the same factory we did.

In a tractor factory we visited in Shenyang, workers using grinding equipment and lathes often did not have safety goggles, although in some cases, lathes had shields that automatically moved into place when in operation. There were no steel capped boots, with people, who were moving heavy pieces of machinery, wearing the cloth shoes they came to work in.

At a glass factory in Darien, employing 1,700 workers, we were told quite emphatically that in 1977, there were no time-loss accidents, even though the level of protective clothing there was lower than the low level at the tractor factory.

The Darien glassworks officials told us of one major accomplishment in the health and safety field — silicosis, which once afflicted 70 per cent of the workers, has been eradicated due to a change in production methods made possible with a grant of extra funds from the state. Dust levels

are now one-quarter of the threshold limit values set by the state, which are much better than the limits set in Canada.

Despite that, answers to our questions on health and safety were generally evasive and it seemed they were glad when the questioning strayed to another topic. In fact, that was the only subject area where the answers seemed less than complete.

Internally, it would be difficult for even the *Reader's Digest* (although I'm sure they'd give it their best effort) to say that the Chinese have not made tremendous gains since the revolution. People are well-fed, employed and no one is living on the street. Health care and education are free and widely available.

It is China's foreign policy that is perplexing, yet understandable.

Her enmity of the Soviet Union appears to be the driving motive force behind Chinese foreign policy — whatever the Soviet Union does is bad and whoever opposes the Soviet Union is good, or at least acceptable.

We were told frequently by the Chinese that the Soviet

Union is today the main threat to world peace and that friends of the Soviet Union are not friends of China.

A high-level Chinese delegation recently visited Zaire to give comfort and solace (and maybe even guns) to the set-upon Mobutu regime and again took up the American line that the Cubans were assisting the Katangan rebels.

An article in *Peking Review* while we were in China (at the time of the Somali-Ethiopian war) called the Cubans in Africa the "Soviet foreign legion" and a "tool of the Kremlin for world hegemony."

Another article in the same issue says:

"Neo-fascism does exist in the world today and the Soviet New Times and its like, as the disciples of Goebbel's philosophy, are the inventors and purveyors of neo-fascist lies."

The foreign section of *Peking Review* is given over to page after page of denunciations of the USSR and its allies. Generally, if the United States is mentioned at all, it is in the context of giving American intelligence or press reports about dastardly Soviet activities.

Getting there can be expensive

Getting there is less than half the fun and more than twice the cost.

If it wasn't for: (a) the Pacific Ocean; (b) Canadian Pacific Airlines; (c) the International Air Transport Association; China would be almost cheap.

And stopping off in Japan isn't a good way to save money either.

For 15 days in China, the all-inclusive price was about \$700 and that not only paid for all hotels and meals but air and train transportation within the country, our constant companion, the tour bus, and a large (five or six) coterie of interpreters and guides.

It was Canadian Pacific Airlines and Japan that added the other \$1,500-plus to the trip. Some American charter airlines are now offering trans-Pacific flights for about \$500 but that innovation was too recent to do us any good.

In Japan, it is almost impossible not to spend at least \$60 a day for a room in a crummy hotel with no bathroom and skimpy meals. Holiday Inn-type hotels and fancy dinners will push the per-day cost to well over \$100. Even the Tokyo YMCA costs \$25 a night.

Our tour in China included visits to two communes, a hospital, an oil refinery and oil shale plant, an open pit coal mine, a workers' housing estate and various other institutions, plus cultural events and assorted tombs and palaces.

We were in Shanghai, Peking, and Shenyang (formerly Mukden) and Darien (Port Arthur) in the northeast, in what was once Japanese-occupied Manchuria.

From Tokyo to Shanghai, our port of entry and exit from the People's Republic, we flew Chinese Airlines (CAAC) which has Boeing 707s on international routes. Inside the country, flying was more of an adventure, with the longest trip, from Shanghai to

Shenyang, taking a day in the Russian equivalent of a DC-3.

That trip took longer than expected because of engine failure (noticed on the ground in Peking, a scheduled stop) that was not repaired until the following morning. Because our visas did not provide for that extra night in Peking, we had to say the night at the airport, in a hostel for air crew.

Food was good and plentiful — they always seemed to bring two more dishes just as everyone had had their fill — and western breakfasts were provided as a matter of course.

Hotels were always clean but the quality of the beds (twins) and plumbing varied from almost normal to not that swell. In Shenyang and Darien, the supply of hot water was less than sufficient — in fact the hot water was turned off during the day, except for lunch hour. A thermos of hot water and flask of cold, boiled, drinking water were supplied every day. Laundry at all hotels was inexpensive and took only one day, except for Peking where it took two.

Two notes of warning: do not have a Taiwan visa stamp in your passport — one woman in our group did and there was some hesitation before they let her in; do not take American Express travellers cheques, regardless of assurances from your bank. American Express has a large office in Taiwan and is not recognized by the Bank of China. We had American Express, at the suggestion of our bank, and at each stop, money was only exchanged after some hassle and a scolding.

All travel arrangements in China are made through the Chinese International Travel Service, Luxingshe, and as a rule, only group tours are allowed. Ours was organized through the Alberta Canada-China Friendship Society.

Royal Commission on corporate concentration

They think bigger's better

photos: David Lloyd

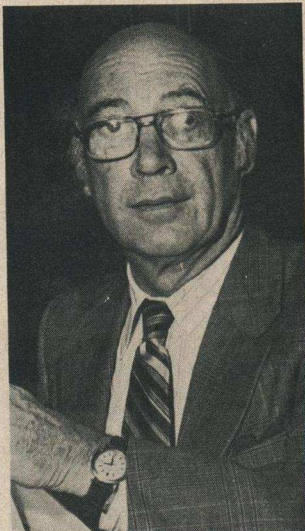
by ALBERT TRAIN

Just what was Prime Minister Trudeau expecting when he named the people he did to run his Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Concentration of Corporate Power?

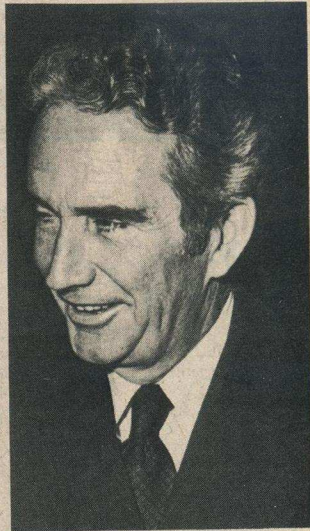
For a start, there was the top mandarin Robert Bryce, who was chairman from his appointment in May 1975, until illness forced him to retire two years later. One of his first moves was to change the name of the commission to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Corporate Concentration. Both titles suggest that corporations are big; the "streamlined" version drops any mention of power and was a precursor of things to come. Bryce, who was deputy minister of finance from 1963 to 1970 and later clerk of the Privy Council, has returned to strong health and is now writing a book on the finance department. Recently he was named to the Economic Council of Canada.

Then there was Robert Dickerson, a corporate tax lawyer with the Vancouver blue chip firm of Farris, Vaughan, Wills and Murphy. He had played important roles on several federal tax studies, and seemed unwilling to drop his insistence on a lighter tax load for corporations. Perhaps it was because of his influence that the commission went well beyond its terms of reference to recommend the abolition of capital gains tax and the elimination of corporate income tax; under his scheme, corporate profits would be taxed only when paid to shareholders in the form of dividends.

These tax recommendations did little to gladden the heart of Bryce, (Bryce by this time had left the commission) who had helped implement Canada's half-hearted capital gains tax, nor of Finance Minister Jean Chretien, who wondered aloud how he would be able to make up the shortfall of billions of dollars in revenues that these recommendations would entail. Dickerson was less lucky than Bryce: he died only weeks after the



Robert Bryce



Pierre Nadeau

commission's report was tabled.

And finally there was Pierre Nadeau, president of Petrofina Canada Ltd. of Montreal and a director of the Royal Bank of Canada. Nadeau was such an outspoken opponent of anything that might annoy big business that he must have been an occasional embarrassment even to his two colleagues.

It was the Royal Bank that had agreed to help Power Corporation chairman Paul Desmarais finance an attempted (but unsuccessful) takeover bid for Argus Corporation (which has now fallen into the dynamic hands of Toronto financier Conrad Black only months after the death of former chairman Bud McDougald). And it was the possibility of a merger between these two giant conglomerates, which between them control an estimated \$7 billion in

holdings in transport, mining, paper, finance, retailing, farm machinery, broadcasting and other industries, that led to the creation of the commission in April 1975, after Trudeau proved too lame to take any other measure.

These were the men who conducted the commission's work. The research staff they hired reflected their biases. And there was no commissioner who could be considered an *opponent* of big business and who might have provided some balance.

The report they produced elicited the following howls of delight from the *Financial Post* in a May 20 editorial: "It took the Royal Commission of Corporate Concentration three years to produce its report, but it was worth the wait. The howls from those who would like to see all large business reduced to the size of a

corner milk store should not obscure the fact that the commissioners have produced a worthwhile blueprint for economic policy."

Among the "worthwhile" measures it proposes is the withdrawal of proposed legislation that would put mergers under tighter control. Even the government's feeble attempts to remove obstacles to competition — withdrawn, watered down, withdrawn again — are too much for a commission that has made up its mind that bigger is better.

Power Corporation chieftrain Paul Desmarais told the commission he had

been to Saudi Arabia and felt like he was operating a peanut stand compared to some of the international giants he saw bidding on contracts there. Paul's comments were taken to heart, and the commission concluded that while individual Canadian companies hold a larger share of the domestic market than their counterparts in larger countries, they are small on a world scale.

So, is the answer for them to enter into joint export ventures with each other and with companies based in other countries? The commission seems to think an easier answer is for them to become ever larger

and more powerful within Canada. But since many of the largest and most powerful corporations are foreign-owned multinationals that came here to engage in inefficient, small-scale manufacturing for the tariff-protected domestic market or else to ship out unprocessed raw resources, it is unclear how Canadians or their export trade can benefit if such firms are allowed to swallow their competitors unfettered.

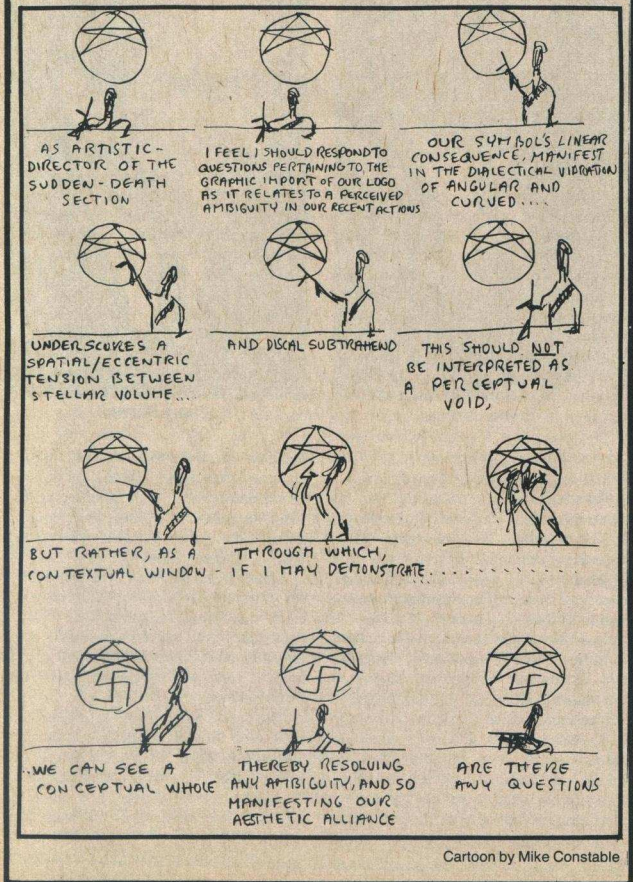
In their ill-explained assumption that what is good for the corporations is good for the public, the commissioners have also failed to explain how Canada's economy, which currently shows many signs of weakness despite the fact that (or perhaps partly because) it is one of the western world's most concentrated, is going to be strengthened if competition is further reduced.

Capitalist myth has it that competition is the motor of any dynamic economy. And social democrats hold that competition is the factor that distinguishes free enterprise — true free enterprise — from monopoly capitalism or, for that matter, monopoly socialism. Competition is admired in principle — if not always in practice — by people of varying political stripes. Even the commission, despite its unhappiness with restrictions on mergers and foreign takeovers, says competition laws should be more tightly enforced.

But again, it is missing the central point that concentrated economic strength confers power — power to expand or cut back production, to open or close plants, to hire or lay off workers. It is a form of power that governments, despite their myriad of corporate bribery schemes, are almost powerless to regulate. When Inco sneezes in Sudbury, governments jump, for the simple reason that Inco has more power over the local economy than government policy-makers. But the commission dismisses the importance of government policy-making with a wave of the hand by saying that government policy "is often no more than the expression of a hope or sentiment, and a particular policy or an aspect of it frequently conflicts with another. It will seldom be possible to draw useful conclusions about corporate responsibility by weighting a corporation's notions against government policy." How foolish of anyone to think otherwise!

Finally, we get down to the narrow but central question the commission was supposed to answer: how to determine when a particular merger goes against the

PUNK ART



public interest. Unfortunately, in its pro-merger zeal, the commission contented itself with recommending that cabinet should examine mergers on a case-by-case basis. Apparently it didn't see any point in answering the cabinet's basic question of how.

Writing in the *Financial Times of Canada*, George Radwanski argues that despite the report's sycophancy, it does

not serve the corporate community well because it leaves open the likelihood that evaluations as to when a merger is good or bad "will be made on an arbitrary, political basis more related to the mood of the day than to objective considerations." Radwanski says the commissioners "produced what amounts less to an inquiry report than to a brief from the corporate community."

Perhaps the reason all this has been accepted so calmly is that in a period of high unemployment, people look wistfully to whatever they think will create more jobs. Will fewer but larger corporations do the trick? Judging by the murmurs of approval outside the Commons following the report's release, many of Canada's politicians would appear to believe so.

Language rights in the new constitution

The son of bilingualism

by DRUMMOND BURGESS

When nothing else is working, draft a new constitution and hope for the best.

Reaction to Prime Minister Trudeau's "Constitutional Amendment Bill" has not failed to notice the obvious.

The prime minister cancelled his plans for a summer election because the polls told him he would lose, or at best win a minority government. The public had cottoned on, not only to the obvious fact that the country had serious economic problems, but also to the fact that the government didn't know what to do about them. Inflation of 9.2 per cent, unemployment — seasonally adjusted and Statistics Canadaized — of 8.6 per cent, and economic growth of 2.8 per cent are not an economic success story to lay before a bitchy electorate.

An attempt to shift public attention to non-economic issues was an obvious ploy and led the prime minister to unveil his 'let them eat constitutions' strategy.

But there's another reason why the prime minister had to propose a new constitution at this time. The government has to have something to lay on the table alongside the Parti Quebecois' referendum proposal for sovereignty-association between Quebec and English Canada.

When introducing his proposed constitution to parliament, Trudeau said: "Why, I ask again, should we tackle once again the constitutional problem? ... especially, and that may be the absolutely irrefutable reason, of importance to all Canadians and

Quebecers in particular, to prove that new constitutions are a possibility before the citizens of that province have to commit themselves in a referendum on their fate, on their political future."

Trudeau entered federal politics in 1965 to fight against any 'special status' for Quebec and to maintain a strong central government. His answer then to the 'French problem' was bilingualism; the French would be able to preserve their language across Canada and hence would not need and would not deserve a province unlike the others.

His answer now is more of the same. Where, a decade ago, it was an Official Languages Act that made bilingualism mandatory in various federal functions, now that requirement is to be placed in the constitution itself and eventually

entrenched.

But there's a new wrinkle. The proposed constitution would also apply bilingualism at the level of provincial governments, with special emphasis on Ontario, New Brunswick and Quebec. The provincial requirement would not apply in any province until that province opted in, but it's there, unilaterally drafted by the Trudeau government.

Further, the language clauses are an integral part of a section called "Rights and Freedoms Within the Canadian Federation" that is to be known as the "Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms", and which, apart from language rights, lists the things usually found in a bill of rights such as freedom of thought, conscience and religion. To

We Keep In Touch With Latin America
Keep In Touch With Us

SUBSCRIBE NOW!
LAWG LETTER

Published by the **Latin American Working Group**
A bi-monthly newsletter with critical up-to-date reporting on:
Canadian government and corporate involvement,
peoples' movements, news events, political analysis,
social, cultural and development issues
in Latin America from a Canadian perspective.

Individuals	\$8.00 for 8 issues
Institutions	14.00
Government Agencies	25.00
AIR MAIL	5.00

Write for free catalogue
L.A.W.G. Box 2207, Station P Toronto, Ontario M5S 2T2

get a bill of rights in the constitution, Canadians will have to accept bilingualism, eventually at the provincial as well as the federal level.

The importance of the language clauses to the government can be seen in a speech by Federal-Provincial Relations Minister Marc Lalonde to the Rotary Club of Trois Rivieres: "...As we have said, if it is agreed that Canada must continue to be governed under a federal system, and if the principle of recognizing basic human rights in the constitution is accepted, everything [else in the constitutional proposals] is negotiable."

Language rights essential

In other words, the status of the Queen and the Governor-General, the House of the Federation, the new Supreme Court can all have their bones picked over, but the language rights cannot.

Since the government is unwilling, or has concluded it is impossible, to make a deal with Levesque — and may feel the same about the constitutional ideas of Quebec Liberal leader Claude Ryan — it is left with no choice but to continue a policy of confrontation, to maintain that the only distinctive thing about French Canadians is language, and that the only special protection needed is language rights across Canada through an intensified bilingualism.

The P.M. may have no choice, but he's dancing on a pretty shaky platform. A decade ago the country was in a hyper mood and prepared to get all feely about the swinging Trudeau, and even about his groovy bilingualism. There are few signs that that mood is still around. For some years now bilingualism has been a dirty word in English Canada. It doesn't take much to get rivers of angry letters to the editor flowing. The *Toronto Star*, which runs a full page of letters every day, would probably have trouble filling the space if it weren't for the weekly or monthly backlash.

Ontario Premier Bill Davis, who has been slowly but steadily improving services for Franco-Ontarians, feels he can only get away with this by making public attacks on bilingualism that have made him sound more like King Billy than Bland Bill.

In Quebec, the Parti Quebecois wants to make the province as French as Ontario is English; even if it is defeated in the next election by the Quebec Liberals under Claude Ryan, much of what it has done will be ineradicable. In

fact, much francization was already underway during the preceding Bourassa Liberal period.

In revving up bilingualism, the government is standing on ground that could start shifting from under it in all directions. This means that if there is to be a fall election it could be one of the dirtiest in a long time. An attempt will be made by the Liberals to cow any criticisms of bilingualism by accusations of racism, whether true or not. This was foreshadowed — in a sort of apprehended insurrection — shortly before parliament adjourned for the summer with ferocious attacks against the Tories along this line by two cabinet ministers, Otto Lang and Andre Ouellet. (The Tories for their part will probably also have a dark-side-of-the-moon issue — bringing back capital punishment).

Trudeau's determination to imbue language rights in the constitution is not, however, just some recent expedient brought about by the need to defeat a Quebec referendum, or to shift attention away from a general record of failure. The need explains the timing, but the idea has been there for years. For example, a 1965 paper presented by Trudeau to the constitution committee of the Quebec National Assembly before he entered federal politics foreshadowed most of the elements of his proposed constitution — and it was not the first time he had expressed them.

"A bill of rights," he suggested, "could be incorporated into the constitution, to limit the powers that legal authorities have over human rights in Canada. In addition to protecting traditional political and social rights, such a bill would specifically put the French and English languages on an equal basis before the law."

He went on to write that "the constitution must be so worded that any French-speaking community, anywhere in Canada, can fully enjoy its linguistic rights." And, as he has done in his proposed constitution, he went beyond the federal jurisdiction and wrote that "at the provincial level, similar reciprocal rules must be applied. In principle, the language of the majority will be the only official one. However, when a province contains a French or English minority larger than, say, 15 per cent, or half a million inhabitants, legislative and judicial functions must be exercised in such a way that the two languages are given absolute equality."

There is nothing new under Pierre

Trudeau's sun where these matters are concerned.

In the early stages of reaction to his constitutional proposals, he has been lucky in that the language sections have been noticed but not yet greatly publicized or criticized — except for the French and English double majority required in the proposed House of the Federation for legislation that is of "special linguistic significance."

Premier Davis of Ontario has noticed them however, which is hardly surprising since Ontario will be the province most affected if it fully adopts the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In Quebec, the English minority has always had considerable protection and, even with Bill 101, is more generously treated than the French minority in Ontario. New Brunswick adopted an official languages act some time ago and its French minority is large and has a strong collective identity. Ontario has much farther to go, has a public opinion that is something less than entranced with bilingualism, and has a French minority so small in relation to the dominant English and so far from positions of financial, business and political power, that it's possible that not even 1,000 constitutions could prevent its eventual assimilation except in Ottawa and the Ottawa valley.

For the other English provinces, the language requirements would be less strict.

Davis on bilingualism

Only two weeks after the prime minister's constitution bill was brought before the House, Premier Davis was in Calgary to attend the Stampede. Speaking to the Calgary chamber of commerce, he departed from his prepared text and made one of his strongest attacks yet on the federal bilingualism program, saying that the millions of dollars would have done more for national unity if they had been spent on teaching the two official languages to school students rather than to civil servants. A few weeks before his Calgary speech Davis had vetoed a private member's bill brought in by Liberal MPP Albert Roy on language rights for Franco-Ontarians that would have legislated most of the language measures required by Trudeau's constitution bill.

The day after Davis' Calgary speech, in Vancouver, Trudeau insisted that bilingualism was unifying, not divisive

and was "the only condition under which we can remain united."

Still, the bilingualism aspects of the proposed constitution have so far enjoyed a low profile compared to the controversy over the powers of the Queen and the Governor-General and the idea

for a House of the Federation. This won't continue indefinitely. At some point Trudeau will have to begin the hard sell in Quebec on those very points while opposing sovereignty-association.

All of which suggests an election sooner rather than later, so that Trudeau

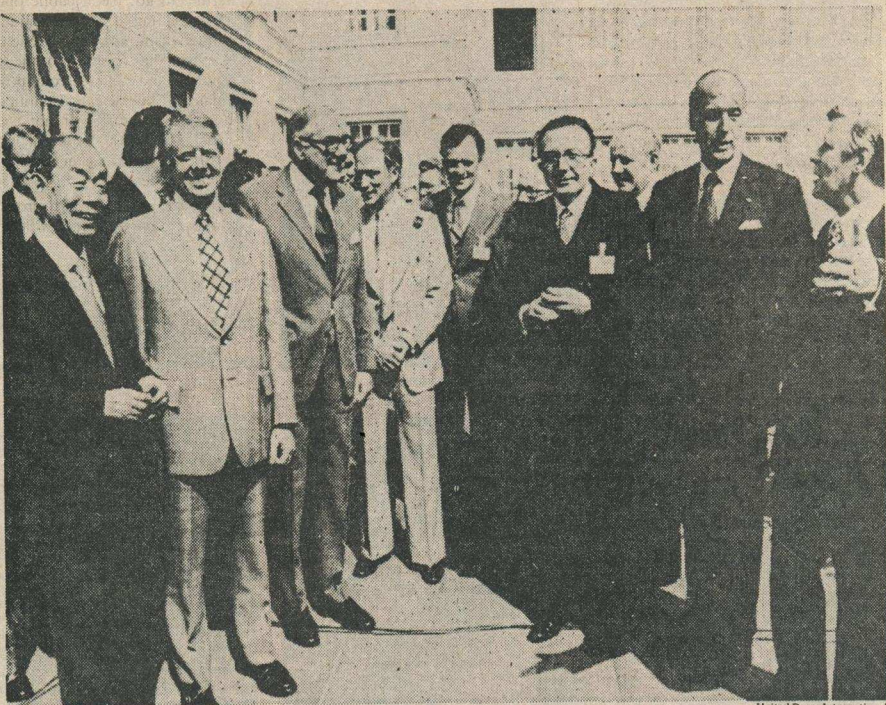
can try to get back for another five years in case there is a backlash against his constitution, whether on language or its other proposals. Assuming the electorate is so obliging as to forget the 9.2 per cent inflation, the 8.6 per cent unemployment and the 2.8 per cent economic growth.

HELP THE NEW YORK TIMES NAME THE UNIDENTIFIED AIDE;
TO THE WINNER, A HEAD OF CABBAGE

New York Times

— NEW YORK, MONDAY, JULY 17, 1978 —

25 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York
Higher in air delivery cities.



United Press International

Gathered for talks in Bonn were, from left, Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda of Japan; President Carter; Prime Ministers James Callaghan of Britain and Pierre Elliott

Trudeau of Canada; an unidentified aide; Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France, and host, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

Will the guerrillas accept a cease-fire?

Rhodesia's internal settlement

by MITCHELL BEER

OTTAWA — Information on the internal settlement in Zimbabwe and the armed struggle currently under way is reaching North America "through very strict censorship," but "most of the travelling Western press just take it hook, line and sinker."

The "major point is that news is manufactured," said David Beer, spokesperson for the Southern Africa Information Group in Ottawa. "You have to search so far for counter-information . . . but how many people trying to get a clear picture will do that?"

Beer, who also works for Ten Days for World Development, said he listens to the BBC and has "spent a lot of money on periodicals" to balance the "numbing, glib nothingness" of the Western press.

Most reports, based on "a couple of Salisbury handouts," conclude Bishop Abel Muzorewa is the most popular of the five black leaders operating in and out of Zimbabwe, "which is just nonsense," and leave the impression "that the level of confidence of the [Smith] regime is much higher than it is," he said. "There's no chance to go out and see what's going on."

The "special forces in Smith's military arsenal," including the regime's top anti-guerrilla units, are the subject of "continued romanticized reports." While "the stalwart, heroic white farmers with their machine guns and dogs" are seen regularly in the pages of North American newspapers and magazines, Beer said, "the slaughter of villages by Smith's forces" has only been covered occasionally by the CBC, more regularly in the African media.

The significance of the reporting of a May 8 guerrilla raid on a hotel near the Mozambique border, in which two whites were killed and three injured, was that the action was even reported as such by the Smith government, Beer said. Reuter described the raid as "one of the most dramatic and potentially damaging

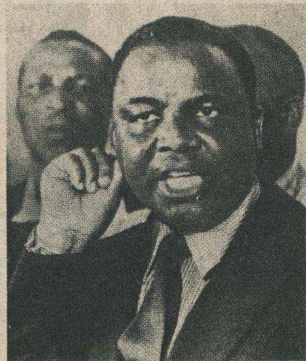
to the economy since black nationalists took to the gun almost six years ago.

Normally, he said, "if you look at ZAPU [Zimbabwe African People's Union] communiques, juxtaposed against stories in Rhodesian papers about accidents and missing persons, you get a picture of a much higher level of military activity" in certain areas than the government acknowledges.

Reports of up to 200,000 people attending rallies to hear Muzorewa are

"given as proof of his statement he has 90 per cent of the population behind him," Beer said. "But what you don't get is that he's allowed to hold an assembly — the Patriotic Front (led by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe), represented inside the country, could never hold a rally."

Beer said the continuing struggle is crippling the Rhodesian economy, with an estimated 50,000 of the country's 250,000 whites involved in the army or



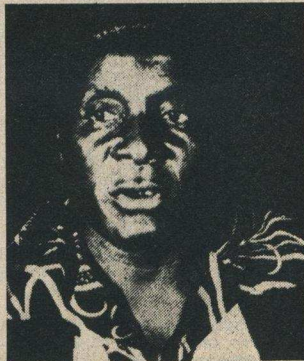
Muzorewa



Sithole



Nkomo



Mugabe

police. The Reuter article reported "vital foreign exchange earnings from tourism" had fallen 50 per cent since 1972, from \$41.5 million to \$21.5 million last year.

The much-touted internal settlement, in which Muzorewa, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau sit on an executive council with Prime Minister Ian Smith, "is a facade and a sop to the West," Beer said, "but it's a brilliant move for Smith to co-opt the so-called moderate leadership." The three black leaders have "no power, no guerrillas," and through a series of recent changes Smith has even tighter control than before over the Rhodesian "security forces," Beer said.

Meanwhile, Muzorewa "is seen as a sell-out," especially in the rural areas. "The real litmus test for the internal settlement," he said, "will be when Sithole and Muzorewa formally announce a ceasefire by allegedly calling the guerrillas back home, and none of the guerrillas will come."

Beer said a split is already developing between Muzorewa and Sithole over when to announce a ceasefire. As for Chirau, "of the three leaders he's the most incredible ... just a puppet of Smith. He's the head of the house of chiefs, and runs a paper party called the Zimbabwe United Peoples' Organization."

Since announcement of the internal settlement the regime has released some political prisoners, but according to Beer most are followers of either Muzorewa or Sithole. Patriotic Front supporters have been arrested in greater numbers since the internal settlement, "so you get this continual intimidation, with a facade of accommodation to the moderates."

The actual number of prisoners "depends on your definition of political prisoners," he said. "Smith still controls the military, the civil service and the police, and he'll maintain that control even after a so-called independent government comes about in September."

An indication of where the power lies, Beer said, is the recent removal of the black co-minister of Justice, Byron Hove. Under the internal settlement each department is run by black and white co-ministers, but when Hove called for an end to racial discrimination in hiring practices in the police and civil service Smith "blew his stack" and had Hove removed.

Muzorewa's United African National Council (UANC) decided not to withdraw from the transitional government,

although Hove was a UANC member, because "withdrawal would result in the immediate collapse of the coalition" and go against the national interest. "Younger and more militant" UANC members had called for the group to pull out, according to the *New York Times*, but the UANC establishment said the Hove affair was caused by a "conspiracy against the UANC within the transitional government."

"If such an innocuous and very obvious statement is going to cause the firing of a minister," Beer said, "it gives us an idea of who's in charge."

Land use is "a most politicizing issue" in Zimbabwe, he said. "Any black who would agree to a status quo ... that gives the whites 50 per cent of it with five to six per cent of the population, would have no credibility."

The country's history of racial persecution, and more recently of "armed struggle and increased civil disobedience," have led to "this huge escalation of military confrontation, which will go on regardless of what goes on in Salisbury," Beer said. Smith agreed to the internal settlement because of the increasing level of guerrilla warfare, and to play up to Western diplomats

"talking about peaceful resolution when there's a war going on," he said, but "to offer an option that is so-called peaceful is nonsense."

Beer said Smith and the Vorster government of South Africa are both "paranoic about Communism in any form, to a point where its definition includes people like Stephan Biko," the 30-year-old black consciousness leader detained and murdered by South African security forces, "or Donald Woods," the prominent white newspaper editor who recently fled South Africa in the face of increasing harassment.

"Anybody calling for human rights and self-determination" is considered a Communist, he said.

In an interview with a Western journalist shortly before his death, Biko called South Africa "a pawn in the politics of pragmatism, in the game of power between the U.S. and USSR. ... In being so critical of the economic self-interest in the third world on the part of American capitalism, I at the same time have no illusions about Russia," he said. "It is as imperialistic as America."

The black consciousness movement "does not want to accept the dilemma of capitalism versus communism. It will opt

CANADIAN COMPANIES

In June, 1973, involvement of Canadian corporations in Southern Africa was documented in a series of articles by Hugh Nangle, then deputy editorial page editor of the *Montreal Gazette*.

The starting wage for black miners at the Blanket Mine operation near Gwanda, owned by Falconbridge Nickel, was 35 Rhodesian cents a day, then about 52 cents Canadian. Nangle said some black miners, "with as many as 20 years' service ... earn between 27 and 30 Rhodesian dollars per month (Canadian \$43.74 to \$48.60)," and described housing conditions as "appalling and heartbreaking."

In 1972, the Blanket Mine had a profit of \$800,000 Rhodesian, then \$1,296,000 Canadian.

The Rhodesian Bata Shoe Ltd. was accused by the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation of union-busting at its Gwelo plant, although a company official denied the charge. Nangle added that Bata "wholly funds a primary school for all black workers' children" at Gwelo, but on balance "the performance of Canadian companies leaves much to be desired because they represent the active face of Canada in southern Africa."

Although Bata provides its workers with housing and "facilities for education, community activities and sport in most of the countries in which it operates," and "Rhodesian Bata also shows a genuine concern for the welfare of its workers outside the matter of wages," Nangle said, "it cannot honestly be claimed, as Bata does, that upward mobility for anyone with ability is possible in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, where racism is the cornerstone" of society.

Canadian companies operating in South Africa at the time of the Nangle report included Alcan, Falconbridge Nickel, Ford Motors Co. of Canada, Massey-Ferguson, and the Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada.

for a socialist solution that is an authentic expression of black communism."

The South African government is ambivalent toward the Smith regime, Beer said. South Africa "always wanted a buffer to the North," but Smith is

"always an embarrassment" to the extent he doesn't fit the bill as "a regime that wouldn't cause much international attention."

The "major preoccupation" now "is whether the Zimbabwe conflict will

bring the Russians or the Cubans to the scene," he said. "Emotionally, South Africa supports the regime 100 per cent," but Smith's public profile "has caused great strains."

South Africa has supported black

Read Last Post back issues!

Vol. 1, No. 1: Available only to libraries. **\$2.00**

Vol. 1, No. 2: Not available.

Vol. 1, No. 3: Available only to libraries. **\$2.00**

Vol. 1, No. 4: *Time* magazine and Canada; How the CPR treats the public; The Ottawa Press Gallery. **\$1.00**

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

Vol. 1, No. 6: Michel Chartrand and the Quebec labour movement; Phasing out the electrical industry; Women in the labour market; Sudbury's labour camps. **\$1.00**

Vol. 1, No. 7: David Lewis and the NDP; Destroying the NHL; Interview with the IRA chief of staff. **\$1.00**

Vol. 1, No. 8: Jumbo issue . . . **Renegade report on poverty** prepared by members of the Senate Committee on Poverty who resigned. Also, the Liberals' youth-spy program; War games in the Arctic. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2, No. 1: Canada's press and the Vietnam war; The Lapalme drivers' story; Special section on Canada's resources; Vancouver's war on 'hippies'. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2, No. 2: The story of Stompin' Tom Connors; Farmers, Ottawa and the food industry; Canada-U.S. relations; Aislin's best caricatures. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2, No. 3: The *La Presse* affair; Quebec labour mobilizes; The story behind the Auto Pact. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2, No. 4: Portrait of Joey Smallwood; Civil Service unions. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2, No. 5: Pierre Vallieres' story; The *Toronto Star's* deals; Canada's book publishing crisis. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2, No. 6: The May '72 labour revolt in Quebec; Jean Marchand's regional development program. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2, No. 7: The Claude Wagner phenomenon; Bennett's

defeat in B.C.; The Waffle-NDP war; Claude Balloune's 1972 election portraits. **\$1.00**

Vol. 2, No. 8: Professional strike-busters; The NHL cosmetized; Invading the U.S. **\$1.00**

Vol. 3, No. 1: Special Report: The Parti Quebecois' independence scenario; The report everyone ignores. **\$1.00**

Vol. 3, No. 2: Canada and Brazil — Brascan Ltd. and the Liberals; Canada's energy crisis. **\$1.00**

Vol. 3, No. 3: The James Bay deals; The 'greening' of Toronto; Yvon Dupuis and the Creditistes; The Caribbean's dead season. **\$1.00**

Vol. 3, No. 4: ITT — the Catch-22 experts move in on Canada; The food prices scandal; B.C.'s Land Act battle. **\$1.00**

Vol. 3, No. 5: Pierre Laporte, the Mafia and the FLQ crisis; Cambodia; The multiculturalism boondoggle. **\$1.00**

Vol. 3, No. 6: Special Section: The military putsch in Chile; How the CPR still rules the West. **\$1.00**

Vol. 3, No. 7: The James Bay court battle; Our ambassador's secret cables from Chile; Sports and drugs; Aislin's caricatures '73. **\$1.00**

Vol. 3, No. 8: Bell Canada's multinational plans; The tar-sands rip-off; Ontario's 'Bland Bill' Davis. **\$1.00**

Vol. 4, No. 1: The James Bay labour revolt; The CLC's orderly transition; Oil promoter John Shaheen; The Crisis in Trinidad. **\$1.00**

Vol. 4, No. 2: Election '74 special report; The Hudson Institute in Canada; The housing mess; Jean-Luc Pepin; Invasion plots; How to survive an Annual Meeting. **\$1.00**

Vol. 4, No. 3: The Mountie's strange activities; The Bata empire; City reformers revisited; Rhodesia under attack. **\$1.00**

majority rule in Zimbabwe "while at home they wouldn't even dream of it," because they "want a moderate government as a buffer against 'Russian expansion'." Beer said Vorster & Co. are currently "concerned that Zimbabwe is

becoming a flashpoint to increase the major evil as they see it — Soviet influence in Africa."

Beer said the Patriotic Front is backed by the Soviet Union but "that's not their reason for being." He said constant

reminders of the Moscow connection, after Western nations refused to support the Front, have "the connotation of Cold War rhetoric — we saw it in Angola, we saw it in Namibia and we're seeing it now in Zimbabwe."

Vol. 4, No. 4: Canada's food industry moguls; Nova Scotia as the 'power cow'; Dr. 'Strangeoil' in the tar sands; Last Post comics. **\$1.00**

Vol. 4, No. 5: Not available.

Vol. 4, No. 6: The story of the Syncrude deal, with exclusive documents; The CIA in Canada — it's only business; Guyana's takeovers **\$1.00**

Vol. 4, No. 7: Bourassa awash in scandals; Columbia River deal revisited; Trinidad's 'Carnival'; Death Squad cop in Canada. **\$1.00**

Vol. 4, No. 8: Quebec's meat scandal; Canada's banks in the Bahamas; The Liberals' budget; International Women's Year. **\$1.00**

Vol. 5, No. 1: The Weston conglomerate; National energy report; Undersea mining; Aislin's Belfast sketches. **\$1.00**

Vol. 5, No. 2: The B.C. Penitentiary cover-up; Land claims discovery; Lougheed's populism; Trudeau's controls. **\$1.00**

Vol. 5, No. 3: Politics of the 'New West'; Blakeney's resource takeover; Cuba, the end of isolation; Racism in B.C. **\$1.00**

Vol. 5, No. 4: The Montreal Olympics mess; Canada's housing czar; Nuclear power safety; Dave Barrett's defeat. **\$1.00**

Vol. 5, No. 5: Not available.

Vol. 5, No. 6: Joe Morris and labour's big bid; Working isn't safe; Olympics security; Watergate — dirty tricks all round. **\$1.00**

Vol. 5, No. 7: The airline pilots' strike and the backlash against bilingualism; Quebec: the politics of confusion; The 'Joe and Pierre show'; The McCain family; Black consciousness. **\$1.00**

Vol. 5, No. 8: Joe . . . When? . . . Why? The Tories since the leadership convention; Reed Paper's record in northwestern Ontario; Otto Lang's wheat policy; the PQ's election win. **\$1.00**

Vol. 6, No. 1: Special Quebec issue: The P.Q. Cabinet; the P.Q.'s American policy; Understanding Quebec, a special review article; English-Canada's reaction; also, enlarged reviews section. **\$1.00**

Vol. 6, No. 2: Racism, the Canadian way; Trudeau and Levesque woo the U.S.; Canada's rearmament plans; the farmers' predicament. **\$1.00**

Vol. 6, No. 3: Pierre Pourquoi? — the changing Liberal line; B.C.'s accident-prone cabinet; Industrial development failures in the Maritimes. **\$1.00**

Vol. 6, No. 4: The Trudeau government and the RCMP: The Noranda file; The Rothschild connection; Five federal systems compared; Books about the P.Q. reviewed **\$1.00**

Vol. 6, No. 5: Yesterday the Congo, Today Canada; Deep sea mining; Israel's new government; Canada's fisheries dilemma. **\$1.00**

Vol. 6, No. 6: The Tories' Quebec City convention; the immigration crackdown; the new continentalism; Aislin's cartoons; news briefs and reviews. **\$1.00**

Vol. 6, No. 7: Sun Life's big move; the Inuit; a background paper; Bell Canada's expansion; news briefs and reviews. **\$1.00**

Vol. 6, No. 8: Remembering 'Zap, You're Frozen!'; the anointing of Claude Ryan; Inco's Guatemala caper; Canada says 'Hello to arms'; news briefs and reviews. **\$1.00**

***If you order all the available back issues,
there's a special price of \$30.***

ORDER FORM

I enclose

\$ _____ for back issues Nos. _____

\$30.00 for all the available back issues

Send with cheque or money order to:

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

Name _____

Address _____

Postal Code _____

Rear View



Claude Ryan biographie — page 41



Jacques Parizeau: technocrats and participationists — page 42

- Lamont on our prisons — p. 39
- Holmes on Claude Ryan — p. 41
- Farkas on the Que. state — p. 42
- Penner on Fullerton's obsession — p. 44
- Knox on the mass media — p. 45
- Holmes on the unity debate — p. 46
- Farkas on CanLit — p. 49
- Barrett on Roy's vignettes — p. 50

Dogs and pigs have it better

by MARGO LAMONT

Cruel and Unusual, by Gerard McNeil with Sharon Vance, Deneau and Greenberg/Ottawa. 179 pp.

Cruel and Unusual is among the most disgusting books I have ever read. Researcher Sharon Vance and journalist Gerard McNeil who toured Canadian prisons with the Commons Subcommittee on the Penitentiary System, have compiled a stomach-turning indictment against our federal and provincial lock-ups.

From the testimony of inmates, administrators and guards we get an inside look at what it's like to do time in Canada. "As Subcommittee member Léonel Beaudoin, a dairy farmer M.P., so often put it, the conditions of solitary confinement in federal maximum-security prisons are not fit for livestock, let alone human beings."

People are held — completely alone — in concrete cells, 10 ft. x 6 ft., with solid steel doors that have peepholes which can only be opened from the outside. No windows. A continuously-burning electric bulb. Poor ventilation — freezing in winter, stifling in summer. Sleeping on a foam mattress over a concrete slab, their heads only inches away from an open toilet bowl. Food and drinks spattered over the walls, litter on the floor. "In these places, men often die," McNeil writes. "They commit suicide. They have heart attacks or strokes at unusually young ages. . . . These men may be denied not only regular food, exercise and companionship but other needs as well. They cannot very well go out and buy toilet paper. . . . (They) may or may not get a change of clothes or a weekly moment in the shower. . . . This is imprisonment in its most extreme."

Canadians are imprisoned in these circumstances for months and years at a time, depending on their 'crime' — and the offence may be as little as 'blowing up at a guard' or as serious as killing an official, or sometimes no crime at all: they may be in protective custody "because they had committed crimes that made them prison outcasts, subject to beatings and murder by prison thugs and

mental cases."

Stephen Fox, a psychologist and authority on sensory deprivation told the Subcommittee that the "conditions in solitary confinement in British Columbia Penitentiary were akin to those employed in international torture. They were the worst he had ever seen." B.C. Pen's solitary units have been ruled 'cruel and unusual punishment' by a Canadian judge — but the B.C. Pen's setup is not unique, it is only the most extreme example of Canada's inhumanity to man. Members of the Subcommittee and their entourage had nightmares after visiting prisons in our fair dominion. McNeil reports that he once found himself "thinking (he) would renounce (his) citizenship, move out of the country, and write a letter to the editors of major newspapers explaining why."

The Subcommittee was charged with making its investigation after the widely-publicized prison riots in the autumn of 1976 — one of them in the B.C. Pen which has been slated for closure 26 times over the last 30 years. "This was by no means the first investigation of Canada's prison system," writes McNeil. "Nor were most of the recommendations new. They had been made so often in the past that some people in the system assumed they had been adopted. On paper, they often had. The reality, of course, was different." The familiar echo of the scores of penal investigations over the years has been: close them down and start again.

Prison costs are now over \$300 million a year, and have "increased 300 percent from 1961 to 1973". According to the Deputy Solicitor-General, Canada will soon be "financially unable to support the criminal justice system as we know it."

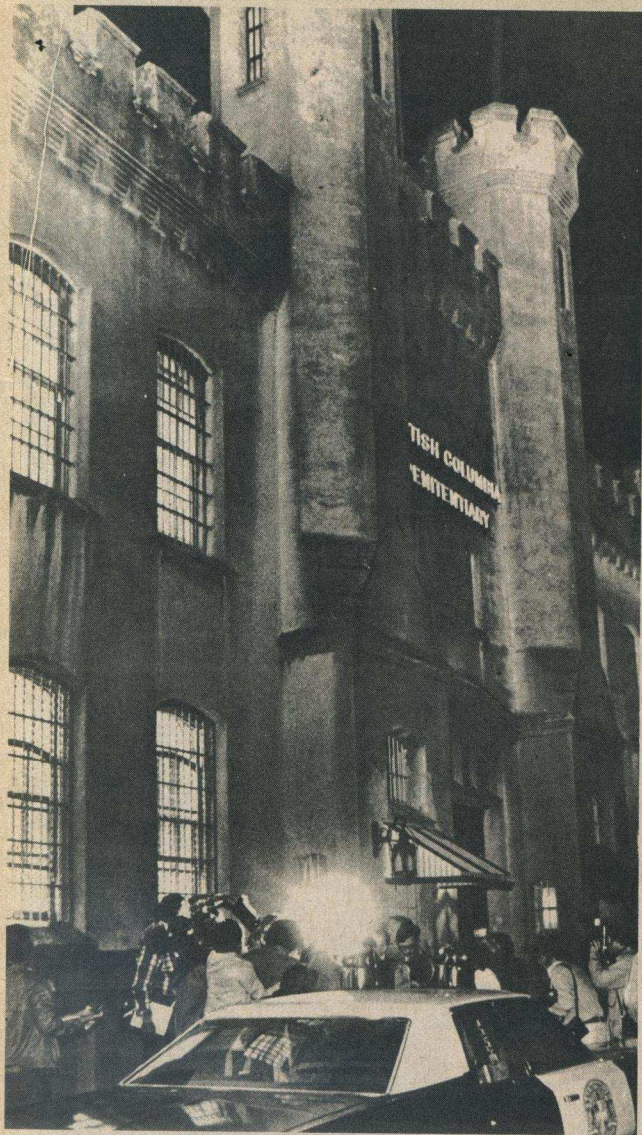
No wonder the crime rate is going up. Nine thousand people rot in the federal system alone — 9,000 souls who are being treated so criminally themselves that when and if they ever emerge onto the streets again, the only accomplishment of their incarceration has been to turn them against the system and to reinforce their supposed criminality. And the highest percentage of crimes (80 per cent in our major cities, says Ron Basford) are drug-related.

The crackdown on drugs by police has made the drug business more hazardous, the supplies scarce and the costs high. McNeil quotes a B.C. authority on street drugs: "Harking back to about 1950, a cap (of heroin) . . . was about two dollars and a four cap habit or something would be about eight. A man could actually go to work and he would earn enough to put the illegal stuff up his arm." In 1977 the four-cap user was paying about \$150 a day, and only executives and criminals earn that kind of money. The crackdown has largely created the drug problem.

Except for federal cabinet ministers: *Cruel and Unusual* relates several anecdotes about marijuana-smoking in high places — for instance, the 1976 Christmas party where "a joint was passed from a reporter to a politician (all political parties were represented) to the next reporter until it ended in the hands of Francis Fox, who was responsible to Parliament for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The solicitor-general did not call the police. He simply butted the joint in an ash tray."

According to the Subcommittee, another, much more insidious problem festers in Canadian prisons: the tyranny of the guards via the Public Service Alliance. In Millhaven prison, guards had what the Subcommittee called an "overtime racket" going in 1976-77. Their union contract "allowed them to take seven days sick leave a year without a medical certificate" and during a dispute where the guards wanted to be able to take that time off, sick or not, and were refused, "they discovered that for every guard off sick another had to be brought in on overtime. They began to organize the use of sick leave to reap maximum benefit from the overtime. . . . It took two million dollars' worth of overtime in the 1976-77 fiscal year to pay for them." Guards also discovered that with the muscle of the Public Service Alliance behind them, they were able to overturn disciplinary actions against themselves, sabotage innovative programs for the prisoners, and block investigations.

The Subcommittee heard horror tales of prisoners being gassed in their cells, of German Shepherds being set on them in the exercise yards. At night, all the



The B.C. Pen: it's been slated for closure 26 times over the last 30 years.

administration people (like the Warden) go home and the prison is completely controlled by the guards. At present the ratio of guards to prisoners in federal lockups is 1:1. Nighttime is presented as

a terrifying interval during which it's man against man — but half are armed and dangerous, the guards.

What about "rehabilitation" programs? The prisoners insist these are at

best useless, often just plain silly. For instance, federally-awarded trade certificates are not valid in the provinces, so a fellow comes out thinking 'he's a welder, but he can't get a union card in his home province. Many prisoners reported that after release they just weren't prepared for life on the outside: some did not know how to do even simple things like open a bank account. Prison life prepares them only for prison life.

Look at Dorchester Penitentiary (or any of the others) — stuck 20 miles out in the middle of nowhere, an armed fortress where the paying public cannot gain entrance, where even relatives of prisoners can be turned away on the whim of a guard, where prisoners are not allowed to receive books from friends, where rehabilitation programs are a hoax and living conditions are preposterous, where hundreds of men are cooped up together in a totally unnatural environment, where if they do work they get about 7 cents an hour, where they are maltreated with no recourse except to be thrown in the hole if they object too strenuously, where if they do accept a parole they can be thrown back in prison to serve the entire remainder of their sentence on the mere *suspicion* of having done something illegal: the whole notion that that sort of lifestyle is going to make a person healthier than before they entered it would be laughably absurd if it weren't so morally squalid to begin with.

I don't know which disgusts me more — the conditions described in *Cruel and Unusual* and the blind stupidity of the system, or the fact that cries for reform from dozens of investigations have been ignored for decades while human beings continued to be treated like pigs. Worse: at least farmers *care* about their pigs.

I don't want any part of all this — and probably you don't either. *But what do we do?* The German public excused themselves about Auschwitz and Bandau, pleading ignorance. We have no such excuse. With the publication and promotion of books like *Shaking It Rough* (writer Andreas Schroeder's description of life inside a Canadian big house) and *Cruel and Unusual*, and with the submission of the Subcommittee's damning report on the penal system to the House of Commons, *we know*. Even dogs have the S.P.C.A. to look out for their welfare. Canadian prison inmates have only us — and we have let them down damnably.

Cruel and Unusual makes me ashamed.

The search for Claude Ryan

by ELIOT HOLMES

Claude Ryan, l'homme du devoir, by Aurélien Leclerc. Editions Quinze/Montréal. 224 pp. \$6.40.

Une société stable, by Claude Ryan. Editions Héritage/Montréal. 383 pp. \$10.95

It is amazing how many people who have never read a Claude Ryan editorial expect the new Quebec Liberal to (1) save Canada, (2) establish more harmonious relations between majority and minority groups, and (3) restore vigour to the Quebec economy. But perhaps more amazing is the number of people who *have* read Claude Ryan editorials who claim to

have a firm understanding of his constitutional and economic positions.

Ryan has been labelled in different circles as a crypto-separatist and a traitor to Quebec nationalism. On other issues the labels have been just as varied and colourful, but this should come as little surprise to regular readers of *Le Devoir*. Ryan's editorials often ran to 1,500 words and more, and started by defining a problem, proceeded to give a marvellously lucid elaboration of various aspects of the problem and of the opposing views, and ended with a terse and carefully worded conclusion. But how many readers, five minutes after reading such an editorial, could actually remember what it said?

Ryan is a man of strong views, but he has an almost chameleon-like way of hiding the rough edges that should prove enormously useful in his political career. It is no secret, for instance, that he favours a renewed Canadian constitution which would take greater account of Quebec's special character, but are his ideas on special status any less fuzzy than the Parti Québécois's ill-defined notion of sovereignty-association?

For his biography of Ryan, Aurélien Leclerc, described on the book cover as a political science graduate and journalist, chose a title that is a play on words. *L'homme du devoir* can be taken to mean either the man of duty or the man of *Le Devoir*, the Montreal morning newspaper that Ryan controlled for 14 years.

The first section of the book relates the now familiar story of Ryan's financially-strapped childhood under the firm guidance of his mother, who instilled the bourgeois values in which she had brought up her three sons, including Gérard, now a Superior Court judge, and Yves, mayor of a Montreal suburb. Claude showed his independence of authority at an early age, occasionally taking liberties that infuriated the teaching brothers at the classical college he attended; they expected stricter obedience from scholarship students than those whose parents could pay their way, but they kept him on because of his brilliant marks.

Instead of following the expected route to the priesthood, Ryan studied social sciences at university, and then headed for a career with a lay Catholic group. He was influenced by the writings of Cardinal John Henry Newman, a nineteenth-century Englishman, who advocated a more active role for lay members of the Church and a clearer separation of religious and secular life. Ryan travelled widely during his years with Action Catholique, and he refused to budge when the ecclesiastical authorities presumed to tell him how the organization should be run.

Ryan entered *Le Devoir* in 1963 at the invitation of outgoing publisher Gérard Filion, and soon moulded the paper into a personal mouthpiece, betraying, in the eyes of some, its traditional support for French-Canadian nationalism.

Leclerc has evidently done his research into Ryan's past, but perhaps the more interesting part of his book is the section where he distills his subject's writings and condenses them into sketches of his views on a number of issues. Leclerc emphasizes what he considers the spiritual foundation of all Ryan's thinking. He suggests that Ryan brings a



Claude Ryan: a fuzzy synthesis of Quebec nationalism and Canadian federalism

Catholic humanism to his examination of public issues, stressing social peace, stability and the worth of the individual.

That doesn't make it any easier to get a grasp of Ryan's views. On the national question, we see his fuzzy synthesis of Quebec nationalism and Canadian federalism. Democracy, in his view, requires a strong political elite serving the aspirations of the base. To prevent the impersonal forces of the state and big business from growing too powerful, he favours an intermediary role by the church, the press, the co-operative movement and the union movement, provided none of these grows too powerful in its turn. Ryan's attitude toward business, as portrayed by Leclerc, appears almost bizarre:

"... the state must not assail it with exaggerated pestering. In return, this group [business] has the duty to participate with the state in economic development to counteract ideologies which seek to modify the system. This is its principal role: developing the economy to give individuals a level of well-being which alone can thwart all-encompassing or totalitarian ideologies."

That sounds almost spooky enough to have come from David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission!

By and large, Leclerc's honest work of journalism presents Ryan in a more appealing light than the puff job compiled by Ryan's former protégé and employee, Robert Guy Scully.

Une société stable is a big red book containing a selection of Ryan's editorials and public speeches presented along the lines of Encyclicals of Chairman Claude. Subtitled "Quebec after the PQ", this collection presents Ryan as a rather nasty and reactionary PQ-bashing, union-bashing egotist, using his own words to do it.

Scully seems to have selected a preponderance of writings in which Ryan attacks change and its proponents. While it's true that Ryan turned sharply against the PQ, after it came to power, Scully might at least have included Ryan's famous pre-election editorial backing the PQ, along with the attacks. Or maybe in these reactionary times it is considered more expedient to present a solidly hard-core conservative image.

Still the book is not without its redeeming features. It contains a fascinating 1973 editorial attacking abortion as a moral evil but calling for changes in the law to allow the final decision to be taken by the pregnant woman and her doctor. It includes a fresh and probing look in 1976 of the difficulties immigrants face in seeking integration in French-Canadian society. And it contains Ryan's courageous 1970 editorials attacking Trudeau's imposition of the War Measures Act.

For Ryan fans who can't read French, the big red book is now available in English translation under the title *A Stable Society*.

Quebec's new, state middle class

by EDIE FARKAS

Politics in the New Quebec, by Henry Milner. McClelland and Stewart/Toronto. 275 pp. \$6.95 paper.

In publishing for wide distribution, the writer must explain his or her terms of reference; readers' assumptions must not be taken for granted. Considering the extensive research Henry Milner uses in *Politics in the New Quebec*, he has succeeded remarkably well in writing a closely-reasoned Marxist analysis, jammed with theories from a variety of social sciences and history.

Certain background events are merely sketched, others illuminated; strategies of presentation are justified; hypotheses are tested; and conclusions reached. There is no exercise for sloppy thinkers. Though rather dry — written in the lumpy white sauce of academic prose — the book is an example of distilled scholarship with only occasional false notes, as in the author's fastidious reference to himself in the regal first person plural.

Milner looks at the Quebec state, and the class composition of those groups which have run the state, but rejects from the start the orthodox Marxist view of the state as the instrument of a consciously organized ruling class. The elite is not a homogeneous mix of capitalist owners; rather than dividing society into capitalists and workers, Milner distinguishes between the kinds of property the dominant groups own, and how directly they own it.

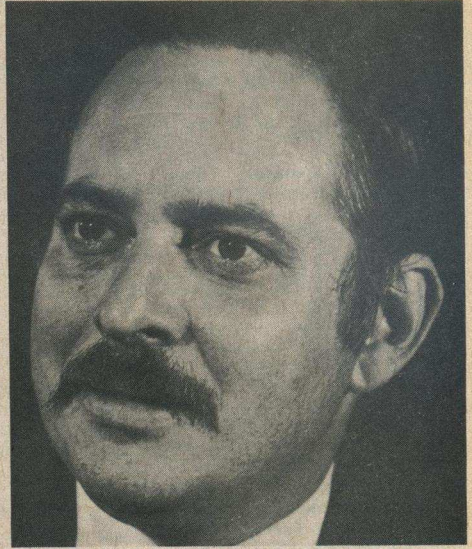
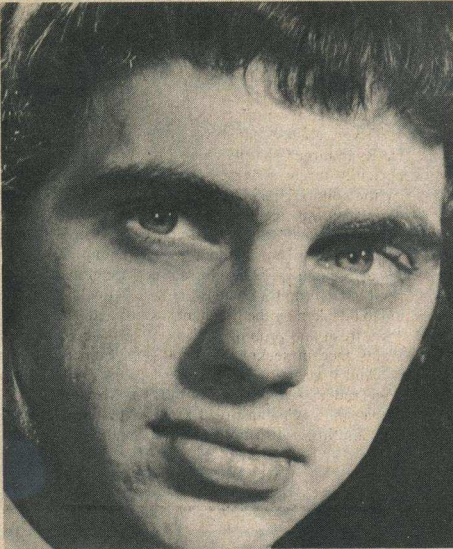
He says that the Quebec state, having grown rapidly since the Quiet Revolution, is now the representative of collective needs and is seen positively by most Québécois. He concen-

trates on Quebec since the second world war, following the expansion of the state under the monopoly system of capitalist economics. In 1951, total state employment at all levels of Canadian government was 334,840. In 1974, it was 1,186,067. But, Milner maintains, "nowhere else in Canada did the emergence of the state to embrace monopoly capitalism snowball into such a revolutionary social phenomenon."

The consequence of expanded state control has been a new group which has emerged from the middle class — the state middle class, in Milner's term. These people work in the production of ideas. They are teachers, psychologists, technicians, journalists, broadcasters, planners, economists, nurses, social workers, social animators, trade union officials, artists, scientists, and so on. The state has trained and employed a great number of these "legitimizing" groups through such institutions as the Quebec ministry of education, local community health centres, and advisory commissions.

Milner describes the members of the new state middle class. They are young, in their thirties; they speak French and were educated — mostly in the social sciences — during the Quiet Revolution. And they are supported, directly or indirectly, by the state. They were the community organizers, social animators, popular movement militants, student radicals, and radical sympathizers of the sixties. Vera Murray in her book on the PQ calls them "participationists".

Milner seems to imply that this group is "progressive" — to use the latest buzzword — almost in spite of themselves. He feels their background has made them anti-capitalist, as they have had little to do with private enterprise. Even though their knowledge of capitalism is commonly based on college



The PQ is divided between participationists, like Claude Charron (left) and technocrats like Jacques Parizeau

courses and discussions in trade unions," these people are social democrats, at least. Their commitment to participationism leads them toward decentralization and the building of co-operatives. And they support the PQ.

* * *

After the November '76 election, the media pundits as usual analyzed the PQ victory in immediate campaign-management terms: people were fed up with Bourassa; the well-publicized corruption of his regime, his weak, manipulative leadership was set in relief during the public service strikes. For Milner, the Liberals' loss showed how much popular support of the PQ had grown.

Milner sees Bourassa's campaign policy of profitable federalism as a final mark of his withdrawal from the Quiet Revolution's aims, creating a political vacuum which was filled by the PQ.

He follows Véra Murray's division of PQ militancy into technocrats — interested in using the state to make business run more smoothly — and participationists. The technocrats were originally those dissidents who split, along with Lévesque, from the Liberals in 1967 to found the *Mouvement Souveraineté-Association*. Within the cabinet, Jacques Parizeau and Bernard Landry would qualify as prototypes of technocrats, while Claude Charron would be a participationist. Milner sees the party as severely factionalized, with the participationists' input being limited by the technocratic spirit.

A good example of the latter is a comment made by Parizeau in 1970, when he was finance minister-in-training: "In Quebec, the state must intervene. It is inevitable. It is what gives the people the impression that we are more to the left. If we had in Quebec, 25 companies like Bombardier, and if we had important banks, the situation might be differ-

ent. We have no large institutions, so we must create them."

Milner predicts a split in the new Quebec middle class, with the highest technocrats moving in as managers of industry, through state institutions, and the participationists moving nearer the working class. When this happens, he says, the PQ will disappear as a party. He has little faith in trade unions but predicts that the CEQ will merge with the CNTU to add further support to the "socialist project". This last prediction has been proved wrong, as the CEQ, after replacing leader Yvon Charbonneau with a better media-man, voted against merger at its recent congress.

Milner follows Pierre Vallières' stagist conception of revolution, seeing independence as the first step to an alliance of the left in Quebec. From his chapter on the Montreal Citizens' Movement, it seems as if he envisions a revolution led by the MCM, whose problems in the past he attributes to its inability to articulate a clear socialist platform, which would have protected it from the deliberate misrepresentations of the media on one hand, and the lunatic fringe *gauchistes*, on the other. He criticizes the PQ participationists on the same ground — they have not developed a strong socialist policy.

Developing a clear party line from which to mobilize opposition may strengthen the party even as it weakens electoral support, but it is hard to imagine that the state middle class will ever identify its interests with those of the working class. Milner does not say why this should happen. Since many participationists are also unionists, it is hard also to know why they should align with the MCM, rejecting unionism, but supporting "trade union actions in the workplace and in the community." Though Milner mentions neighbourhood councils as the binding force among the disparate leftist organizations, he does not discuss their function, leaving the "socialist project" far vaguer than the analysis of the background of the state middle class.

Obsessed with Que.'s 'obsession'

by NORMAN PENNER

The Dangerous Delusion — Quebec's Independence Obsession, by Douglas H. Fullerton. McClelland & Stewart / Toronto. 240 pp. \$14.95 cloth.

The author tells us at the outset that his book is "an attempt to combine autobiography, historical reporting, and editorial journalism," and asks his readers to judge whether he succeeds in this attempt. My answer is "no". His autobiography is not too interesting, his historical reporting is superficial, and his editorial journalism ends up in a frenetic burst of hysteria. From the title and the dust jacket, which tells us that the author was an adviser to René Lévesque and Jean Lesage, we are supposed to understand that the book is the work of an expert on Quebec. He may well be an expert, but his chapters on Quebec are so drenched in prejudice, that his expertise does not help him, nor the reader, to an understanding of the situation there.

For most of his working life, Fullerton has been a free lance civil servant, mainly for Liberal governments, heading or participating on boards, task forces, and commissions on a wide gamut of subjects ranging from the National Capital Commission to study of a proposed electric rail link from Montreal to Mirabel airport. He has also been an investment dealer, and presently is writing a weekly column for a number of newspapers. He quotes a remark made about him by Mayor Drapeau who said that Fullerton was "an expert on everything and a doer of nothing."

During the course of his busy life, he has met a lot of important people and he drops their names with careful abandon. He tells us, for instance, that he is a friend of Trudeau and has spent many delightful hours lunching with him at 24 Sussex Drive and "found him appreciative, receptive, and about as gracious a host as one could find." Good.

But it is only in the last four chapters out of the 18, that he gets down to the business at hand, which is to denounce the PQ, René Lévesque, separatism and above all the language law which would make Quebec a unilingual province, just like the others. He reserves his main hate

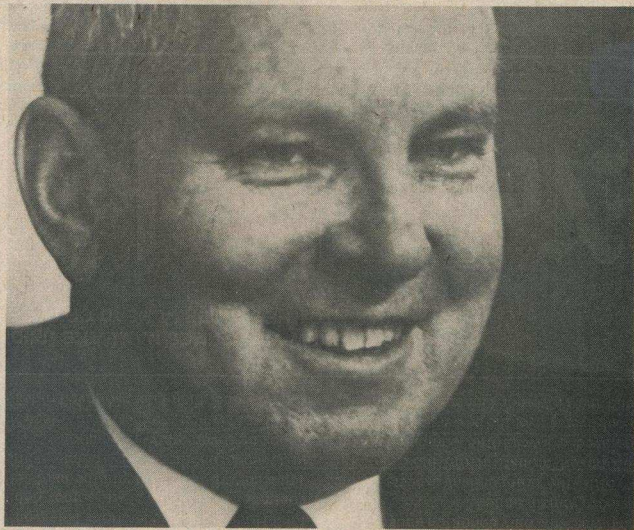
for this bill which he says "is no political battle on which the Péquistes are embarked, it is a holy war." But if it's a war, he knows that the English have most of the advantages, including the federal state power which, as Trudeau has already intimated, may be brought into action against the PQ if all else fails.

One of his major arguments against Bill 101 is that it really is not necessary, because without this law the number of French Canadians who have entered the higher echelons of business has increased dramatically since the Bi and Bi Commission reported on the wide gap that existed 15 years ago. He quotes a recent Montreal Board of Trade survey and a study by a Quebec sociologist, Francois Vaillancourt to prove that contention. What he does not mention is that the Vaillancourt study places the major emphasis for this on nationalist policies: the nationalization of Hydro-Quebec, the creation of a plethora of government-run agencies intervening in the economy of the province, the great expansion of the provincial civil service, as well as the upsurge in post-secondary education of the Francophone youth. These develop-

ments create new opportunities for French speaking people, at the same time as they increase the demand to make French the language of everything in Quebec. Who can doubt that such policies create new opportunities for Francophones at every level, in private business as well as in provincial enterprises?

Fullerton's approach is that the French in Quebec should be patient and allow natural evolution to gradually work away and eventually the French will come up to the level of the English in terms of economic status. Patience has always been the advice of the *colons* to the colonized. He says that the rejection by a large numbers of French Quebecers of this option is a "delusion" and "obsession."

Regardless of the outcome of the referendum on whether Quebec separates or not, the language policy of the PQ government will set the pattern for future Quebec governments. There is no turning back. Call it a delusion, or an obsession, or whatever. It appears to be accepted by the vast majority of Francophone Quebecers as a matter of



Douglas Fullerton

simple justice.

Towards the end of his book Fullerton suggests that the PQ has been following a deliberate policy of provoking angry comments from the Anglophones to serve two purposes:

"One is to build a case for separation; and the second, to provoke angry retaliatory comments from the rest of

Canada or the Quebec anglophone minority. These could then be exploited to show francophones in Quebec how unwilling the anglophones are to relinquish their historically privileged position." (page 200)

If that was their tactic, they have indeed succeeded with Mr. Fullerton, for his book — or at least, that section of it

that pertains to its title — fits the category of an "angry retaliatory comment." However, anybody looking for an updated objective study of Quebec nationalism will not find it by reading this book. The author is too obsessed with what he considers Quebec's obsession.

'Happy consumer' of the media

by PAUL KNOX

The Making of the Canadian Media, by Paul Rutherford. McGraw Hill Ryerson/Toronto. 141 pp. \$12.95.

Paul Rutherford claims to be a "happy consumer" of what the Canadian mass media offer. He says we should all quit carping and trying to impose our "peculiar tastes" on the fourth estate. It would be nice if his book were proficient enough to forestall the kind of criticism he abhors. Sadly, he brings only a random, superficial approach and annoying imprecision to the topic.

In his opening section, Rutherford surveys the rise of the newspaper in Canada straightforwardly enough, discussing attacks on press freedom and describing the close ties between newspaper proprietors and the political factions of the rising national bourgeoisie. Even in such relatively uncontroversial territory, however, there are inexplicable omissions: not once does the author mention Amor de Cosmos, the Victoria editor who fought and won one of the country's greatest press freedom battles and later became the second premier of British Columbia.

The closer Rutherford gets to contemporary times the more uncertain he becomes. By the middle of the book the press is allied no longer to a class, but to a collection of individual entrepreneurs and to something called the bourgeois ethos, a term of such vagueness that it cannot illuminate the relationships between a class, its values and the form of their dissemination. The author attempts with some success to refute the contention that the media shape history, but in his eagerness to demonstrate that Canada's press barons were politically

and socially impotent, he ignores or glosses over several other questions: the nature of the ties between the media and other enterprises, the difficulty of distribution and the problems of scale which inhibited growth on either the British or the U.S. model.

Rutherford's stance as an "addict, not a critic" of the media makes him extraordinarily gullible. He clings to a myth junked long ago by even bourgeois economists — that the free market is the purest expression of democracy. The media simply reflect consumer preference, he says: we get what we want, or what we deserve. Well, we all know about the freedom to choose between the *Daily Liar* and the *Daily Prevaricator*, and how different it is from free access to the resources that help to do a good job of saying what needs to be said. But such grumbling has no place in this wide-eyed treatment, for "the multimedia are subject to the discipline of the marketplace wherein the consumer's dollar is, at bottom, sovereign."

Equally ingenuous is the author's belief that larger newsrooms lead to greater control by journalists over content. Their "sphere of authority," he says, "however limited, allows them to control the flow of information according to their own presumptions without much managerial supervision." The possibility that "spheres of authority" might become so limited as to be meaningless does not seem to have occurred.

Such muddles are characteristic. This is a slapdash production, lacking the style and originality of insight which might have made it at least entertaining. Since it is an apology for the state of Canada's bourgeois media, it's hardly surprising that Rutherford apes some of their worst linguistic excesses. "Victor Sifton and his prime minister, R. S.

Malone, parlayed the Free Press into a magnificent empire (FP Publications)..." he enthuses. Television "slipped into sensationalism by offering up weird interviews..." The media display "a consumer's paradise of delights." Canadian and U.S. programs "interweave in an incredibly complicated fashion;" a page later we read of the "incredible cult of beauty." There are tattered clichés like "moral pollution" and "a struggle for men's minds," and such dubious or incorrect usage as "culture-vultures," "newspaperdom," "the equally ravaged moviedom," "sufficient people," "unnumbered Harlequin romances," "finalized," "horror flicks," "ad monies" and "ad money" (same paragraph).

Syntax, grammar and style suffer cruel and unusual punishment. "What stands forth now, for instance, are human rights." "Roy Thomson proved a voracious consumer first of radio stations and even more of small city weeklies." "The editorial staff of CP have a peculiar importance." And what would the reader make of the following: "The nationalist crusade, likewise a reawakening puritanism, have now merged with the third wave of reaction to save the Canadian democracy."?

Finally, the book is littered with mistakes in names and proper nouns (Sam Pekingpah, p. 87; Gommorah, p. 59; R. C. Irving, p. 92; General V. W. Oldham, p. 52 — his name was Odlum), other spelling errors (forebearance, p. 99; commitment, p. 102) and typos: stata for strata (p. 78), conservatism for conservatism (p. 50) and Mutimedia for Multimedia in each of the 24 right-hand page headings in the final section, entitled, ironically enough, The Triumph of the Multimedia.

Canadian publishers spend a lot of time moaning about our alleged lack of

enthusiasm for Canadian books. Yet efforts like the one under review, sloppy from conception to completion, are all too common. But to Rutherford, such a

complaint would sound like "reform hysteria" aimed at substituting "peculiar tastes" for the perfect operation of the media market. In his value system, only

one negative comment about a production is ultimately valid, and that is: "I wouldn't buy it." If we must put it that way, I don't think I would.

Trying to cash in on national unity

by ELIOT HOLMES

Must Canada Fail?, edited by Richard Simeon. McGill-Queen's University Press/Montreal. 307 pp. \$5.95 paper. \$13 cloth.

Divided We Stand, edited by Gary Geddes. Peter Martin Associates/Toronto. 216 pp. \$7.95 paper. \$15 cloth.

Canada Without Quebec, by John Harbron. Musson/Toronto. 164 pp. \$6.95 paper.

The Dangerous Delusion, by Douglas H. Fullerton. McClelland and Stewart/Toronto. 240 pp. \$14.95 cloth.

Le temps des otages, by Jean Paré. Les Editions Quinze / Montréal. 260 pp.

It should come as little surprise that the invited speaker at this year's presentation of the National Newspaper Awards was Quebec Premier René Lévesque, the one person who has sold as many newspapers as Margaret Trudeau. The newspaper publishers may hate Lévesque, but they know there are people who like to read about all the nasty things he's doing, and their invitation for him to speak to them was one form of recognition.

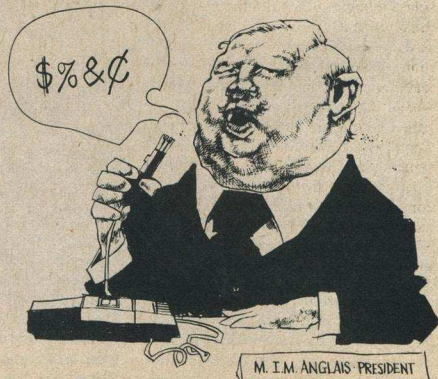
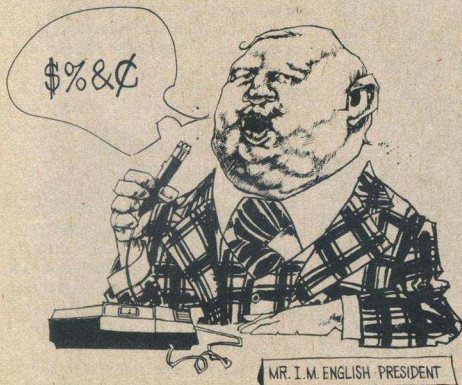
Canada's book publishers also have been attempting to cash in on the national unity craze, but disappointing sales figures indicate either that interest is waning or that some of the books they've turned out haven't been too good or maybe both. Looking at this batch of books, it's easy to see why.

Must Canada Fail? is one of the better ones. It describes

itself on its back cover as "a collection of essays by a group of distinguished scholars, based for the most part at Queen's University, which explores . . . questions posed by the current challenge to the federal system." The blurb writer says it is not an optimistic book. "It offers no blueprint or panacea, no magic solution of the national crisis, but instead equips the reader with an essential guide to thinking through the choices before Canadians in the years immediately ahead." And that seems a pretty fair description.

The essays in one section of the book deal with attitudes toward the Quebec situation in different parts of Canada. But perhaps the most interesting contribution is Peter Leslie's study of English Quebecers. He presents them in much the same light they probably like to see themselves, as people who by no means are all members of a privileged group or dominant élite. He points to surveys showing the majority of Anglo-Quebecers are using more French in their work and in their daily lives, and many seem happy to accept it. But at the same time, they feel politically powerless and uncomfortable at changes that are making them more a Quebec minority than part of the Canadian majority. The English Montreal business community has been undertaking painful and long overdue adjustments that are made easier by the fact that Montreal increasingly is becoming a regional commercial and financial centre and losing its national role.

An essay by Edwin R. Black examines some alternatives to Canada's current constitutional framework but concludes that attitudes will be far more important to future relations between Quebec and English Canada than formal structures. "The legal part of the problem is probably the easiest. Rearranging governmental powers and sharing out the different taxes has already been worked out on paper many times in



this country. The difficult part has to do with the way these new proposals are dressed up, and what will be the labels and symbols that will be attached to them by the supporters and opponents of change." Black also warns against the naive idea that constitutional change will do away with all or even many of our problems.

Charles Pentland examines the various types of link that could exist under the Parti Québécois's ill-defined policy of *souveraineté-association* and says Quebec could end up weaker and more dependent as a sovereign but associated state than it has ever been as a Canadian province. "A simple free trade area or customs union would not remain for long. In addition to common policies desired for their own sake, there would be pressures for integration, harmonization and redistribution flowing from the existence of the trading arrangements themselves. Such policy links would not only restrain Quebec in important fields but also permit various kinds of Canadian intervention into its 'domestic' affairs. Moreover, if such common policies are an inevitable consequence of interdependence and of the customs union, they would be a prerequisite of any effective monetary union. The result would in all probability be a relationship which would grate on some Canadians because of Quebec's sovereign and equal status, frustrate others who hoped it would lead to redefederation through the back door and, most significantly, prove intolerable to those Québécois genuinely concerned to gain mastery over their own destiny."

This sort of argument could be attacked as wishful thinking on the part of someone who opposes separatism or *souveraineté-association* or whatever label you want to attach to it. But still it may have some merit. Virtually all the authors who contributed to the collection hold the view that Canada's future can best be served within the context of a revised federalism. They recognize why it is that so many Quebecers favour independence and they examine some of the options. Many of the contributions contain much of what is best in academic essays — a thoughtful, sensitive and dispassionate presentation of ideas — without lurking into the absurd hypotheses or drawing on the masses of useless statistics that so many academic writers seem to fall prey to.

In *Divided We Stand*, another collection, the poets get their chance to speak out on where this country is headed. Alberta poet Robert Kroetsch tells us that we Canadians "fear that we are a people without a beginning. Canadians as old as those in Quebec prepare, now, again, to give themselves a beginning. Like the new people on the prairies, they dream a next-year country against all the crop failures of the past." Newfoundland writer Harold Horwood is decidedly more down-to-earth about the whole thing. "If Quebec ever leaves the Canadian union, it will probably be after fighting a war of independence. New nations are born in blood. Established nations do not dismember themselves voluntarily, and Canada isn't likely to be an exception. In discussing Quebec separatism, Canadians treat the subject of violence as taboo. It is high time they learned to be less squeamish, and began considering at what point they may be ordered by their various governments to begin killing one another." Al Purdy of Ameliasburg, Ontario, wants to avoid the blood and enter into communion with his soul brothers in Quebec.

Proposal:

Let us join Quebec
if Quebec won't join us
I don't mind in the least

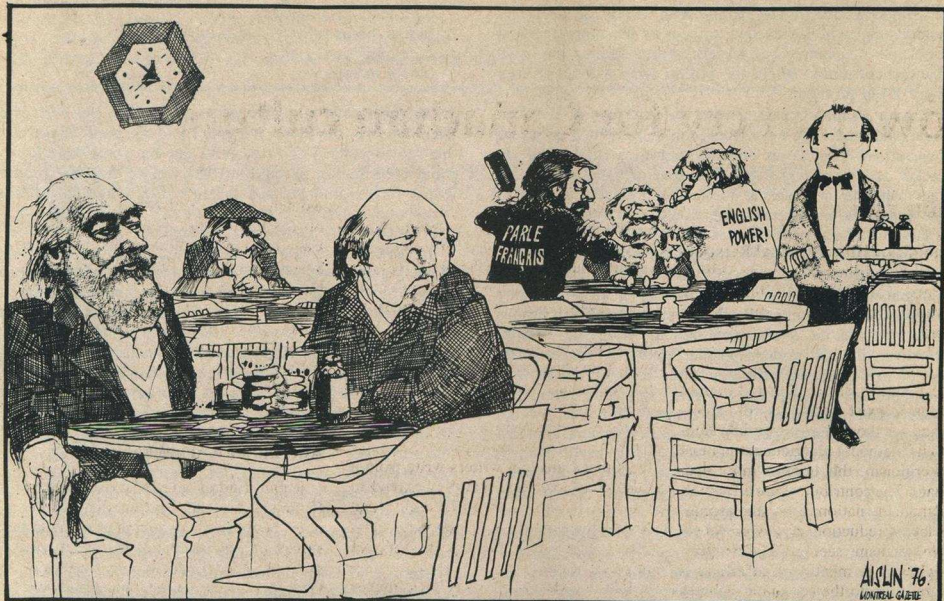
being governed from Quebec City
by Canadiens instead of Canadians
in fact the fleur-de-lis and maple leaf
in my bilingual guts
bloom incestuous

Maybe I have a terrible personal hangup, but even after clearing away the blood and guts I find the poetic idiom a bit hard to stomach. I don't mean to say that poets don't have a valid contribution to make or that they're not very good at expressing sentiments and the like that humdrum political writers have trouble putting into words, but let's face it — they're writing in a different language.

In fairness, only a minority of the contributors to *Divided We Stand* are poets. The collection contains a hodgepodge of essays by the likes of Richard Rohmer, Abraham Rotstein, Mel Watkins, the late Abbé Lionel Groulx and René Lévesque. Silver Donald Cameron expresses Atlantic Canada's grievances against central Canada, George Woodcock expounds on the type of decentralization he would like to see and Eric Kierans writes in his usual perceptive way of the changes that can bring about a new federalism. There are 32 contributions altogether, but the only thing that draws them together is that they are concerned in vague ways with the essence of Canada and Quebec.

John Harbron's *Canada Without Québec* is definitely one of the sillier contributions to the whole national debate. Harbron is described on the back cover merely as "an English Canadian", but I strongly suspect he is the same John Harbron who writes on international affairs for the Thomson newspaper chain. Leaning on a rather peculiar form of historical determinism, he proceeds from the assumption that because most Latin American republics have gained their independence, albeit in the early part of the nineteenth century, Quebec is found to follow. He quotes from some of the spookier French-Canadian nationalists of the past to buttress his contention. Then he compares Quebec to Mexico, listing the similarities between Hydro-Québec and Pemex, the Mexican state petroleum monopoly but pointing out that Quebec's Société Générale de Financement is far less powerful than Mexico's Nacional Financiera. Harbron, a veteran anti-Communist, warns of the possibility that Quebec could take an, ugh!, leftward turn. "A military and revolutionary Quebec republic could become a socialist Chile of the north with all its ramifications, including American intervention. Canada would be next door to a socialist state with intimate ties to the Marxist world. How soon after independence would the first Algerian, Libyan and Cuban embassies, with their world-wide contacts among terrorist and guerrilla movements set up shop in Quebec City?" Harbron says Canada could live quite happily without Quebec. He suggests moving the capital to Edmonton, "a Brasilia of the north" (Harbron seems obsessed with Latin America in discussing Canadian affairs), "next door to the dynamic business and investment climate of Calgary. . . . The kinds of new relationships between multinationals and governments which are already emerging in other countries around the world could be more quickly developed in the West than in the present atmosphere of Ottawa." Enough said?

Douglas Fullerton's *The Dangerous Delusion* is subtitled "Quebec's Independence Obsession: As seen by the former adviser to René Lévesque and Jean Lesage." But the book tells us a lot more about Fullerton than about any independence obsession. It is basically a Fullerton autobiography,



"THAT POOR FELLOW IN THE MIDDLE MUST BE BILINGUAL."

replete with name-dropping of the illustrious government and business figures the author had personal dealings with over the last two decades, with a couple of chapters tacked onto the end warning of the evils of Péquiste policies.

Fullerton has proved himself a talented bond broker, civil servant and writer. He is perhaps best known as a syndicated newspaper columnist and former chairman of the National Capital Commission. But it was through his intricate knowledge of international bond markets that he made contact with many of the leading lights of Quebec's so-called Quiet Revolution, including Lévesque. He worked closely with Lévesque in planning and carrying through Hydro-Québec's takeover of the privately-owned electric utilities, and he bestows upon himself much of the credit to go ahead with the Hydro nationalization. He also helped arrange financing for other government projects.

Fullerton doesn't spare us the details of his stuttering problem and suggests it made him understand oppression a little better since he at times felt himself a victim. The early chapters of the book are set in the Montreal of two solitudes where Fullerton grew up in the 1920s and 1930s. The first French-Canadian he knew was the streetcar conductor who saw him home after school each day. Later chapters are filled with copious detail about his career.

It is hard not to like Fullerton the writer however much one may disagree with some of his views and some of the decisions he took. He always shows an awareness of the alternatives, and it is plain to see how Liberal governments, with

servants of his cunning and charm, have been able to stay in power so long.

Le temps des otages (The Time of Hostages) is a collection of magazine pieces written during the Bourassa years by Jean Paré, now editor of *L'Actualité* magazine. He begins with the War Measures Act in 1970 and ends with Bourassa's ignominious defeat in 1976. The "hostages are all Quebecers, held hostage by a stupid and corrupt government, and Montrealers in particular, whose mayor Jean Drapeau has shown an especially perverse set of priorities. Paré is cutting in his portrayal of Bob-le-Job's "managerial" system.

"It used to be that when someone dreamed of politics, he would become a candidate. For management, he went to CN, Alcan, ITT or even Marine Industries (owned by Bourassa's in-laws). Today, in Quebec, it's the reverse. Under the reign of Robert the Manager, efficiency, profitability and rationality are officially exalted. In actual fact, we have rarely seen public affairs in such chaos.... The quality of life, the happiness of individuals, the respect of cultural values, the environment, the safety of workers — nothing holds before profit, pompously rebaptized *rentabilité*. Life, however, is not *rentable*."

Paré's sardonic wit seems to touch on everything from abortion laws to tourists in the Gaspé, but the end result is a loosely tied collection of vignettes, polemical rather than informative. It fails to present a coherent picture of the absurdities of Bou-Bou and his era.

Powerful cry for Canadian culture

by EDIE FARKAS

In Our Own House: Social Perspectives on Canadian Literature, edited by Paul Cappon. McClelland & Stewart/ Toronto. 208 pp. \$5.95 paper.

These essays are in the tradition of orthodox-Marxist sociology of literature, and for those wanting an introduction to its methods, predominant in most social criticism, this book is more than adequate. The contributors are all socialist Canadian nationalists; the sometimes take a reductionist view of American imperialism, seeing Canadian politics (when it is mentioned at all) as a direct reaction to the economic policies of the colonizer's ruling class as it dominates through the colonial state.

Hard line on socialist realism

Editor Paul Cappon has chosen to organize his material with a two-chapter introduction outlining the history of liberal thought and historical materialism, and with separate introductions for the essays in which he points out what he considers their salient features, observing how they accord with his own analysis. Following established rules of literary sociology, Cappon says that the only socially significant literature is that which deals with social collectivities; he awaits the day when Canadians will create socialist realism. Patricia Marchak and Robin Endres do not take this hard line and discuss actual Canadian writing, while James Steele writes engrossingly about Margaret Atwood's literary theories.

Read all in one span of time, these passionate essays are a powerful, angry cry for Canadian culture. Still, it is hard to know quite how to approach Robin Mathews' foreboding rigidity when he calls Canadians "a people who are drugged, dragoned, down-trodden, dominated and nearly drowned in the false consciousness of a colonial dependency in a bourgeois, capitalist,

imperialist system."

Mathews here discusses briefly what he develops in his *Canadian Literature*, recently published by Steel Rail. He talks about the influx of Americans to Canada since 1945, about the heavy American influence in Canadian universities, and the dominance of U.S. literary standards over Canadian writers and critics. For him Canadian parochialism is something writers are accused of, and accuse themselves of, when they are compared with their American counterparts. Mathews feels that Canadian writers write from a false consciousness, that they extend to their readers those views of reality that foster the status quo, denying class values, and strengthening the rule of imperialist ones.

Patricia Marchak's witty style makes her essay on Canadian literature-associated-document, "A (Hinterland) Sociologist's View of Anglo-Canadian Literature" invigorating to read, despite its compressed detail. She sets out to find how Canadians present themselves in their literature, and what this teaches us about Canada's development under first British, then American imperialism. She notes that a Canadian elite has developed its own metropolis-hinterland relationship between Toronto-Ontario and the other provinces. She describes differences between the regional and the metropolitan novel, and makes a case for regional criticism.

Stresses petit-bourgeoisie

John Fraser, in "The Production of Canadian Literature" looks at the relationship between the writer and the state, the reading audience, and the publishing market, under monopoly capitalism. Fraser moves in grand theoretical sweeps, very much in the style of Christopher Caudwell, so one is not shocked when he states quite matter-of-factly that the "theme" of new Canadian literature is the petit-bourgeoisie. What he means is that there has not been much writing on the Canadian working class. He says that writers in Canada have taken as their subjects the exploitation of

women, nature, and others, but not the oppression of workers under capitalism. Canadian new literature is not that of "a society which feels itself in ferment, thus the literature itself increasingly ceases to be in ferment." It is tempting here to remark on the great quantities of ferment in literature generally, but in keeping with Fraser's terrible solemnity, one refrains.

Anti-modernist viewpoint

Robin Endres in "Marxist Literary Criticism and English-Canadian Literature" begins with a brief but illuminating survey of Marxist dialectics. Next, she ranks the leading sociological critics as George Lukacs, Christopher Caudwell, and Frederick Jameson, and proceeds to apply some of their ideas to Canadian literature. She makes many fresh observations, especially on Caudwell's "illusion of freedom" as it applies to Canadian poetry. Her essay is weighted, however, with the anti-modernism shared also by her fellow contributors.

In my opinion, the great failure of contemporary social criticism is that it has not been able to appreciate modern literature. This is not the place to debate individualism in modern art, or socialist realism, or even its modified version, "social realism". Endres, and most orthodox Marxist critics, use criteria for modernism set down by Lukacs in his essays on contemporary realism written in 1955. Modernism meant Freud, James Joyce, Beckett, and Kafka. In these essays, Lukacs who was still ideologically a Stalinist, applying a doctrinaire notion of alienation, accused the modernists of "subjectivism" for depicting the modern individual as inert and psychologically mangled. Lukacs was against the formal experimentation of the impressionists and surrealists. He hated Faulkner. Perhaps it is the integrity of Lukacs' earlier, pre-Stalinist writing that earns him his contemporary accolades. Let's remember that the first tenet of social criticism is to question all established principles.

Gabrielle Roy's prairie vignettes

by ANNELI ANDRE BARRETT

Garden in the Wind, by Gabrielle Roy. McClelland & Stewart/Toronto. \$10 cloth.

If a picture paints a thousand words then Gabrielle Roy's words paint the landscape of Canadian prairie life. *Garden in the Wind*, her latest collection of short stories, is made up of literary vignettes of Canadian prairie life which prove Roy's artistry.

Roy, author of the famous Montreal novel *The Tin Flute* (*Bonheur d'occasion*), which has sold more than one million copies, has once again shown her mastery of the narrative of ordinary life. The four short stories (the longest being 52 pages) are about ordinary Canadians with unusual backgrounds: a French Canadian family in Manitoba, a Chinese in Saskatchewan, Doukhobors in the west, and a Ukrainian couple in Alberta.

A vignette is by definition a subtle or delicate depiction of life; Roy has chosen to portray life at its most ordinary level. Yet, in spite of their familiarity, the portraits are not without colour or meaning.

"A Tramp at the Door" is the story of a man claiming to be everyone's cousin from the land of Quebec. A Manitoba French Canadian family takes him in, and for three weeks accepts him as part of the family. With his stories, he feeds their fantasies as the family embroiders on their own memories.

Roy shows psychological insight in portraying Gustave, the tramp, not as a manipulative con artist but as a fulfilling visitor to the family. Through their

interaction we see the barrenness of the family's life, the scantiness of their joys.

The characters are ordinary yet admirable persons; ultimately, they are splendid in their simplicity. "A Tramp at the Door" is a touching story, characterized by sparse prose and evocative understatement.

"Garden in the Wind" takes place in Volhyn, Alberta, a place that "once upon a time tried to be a village." As a literary landscape artist Roy is perhaps at her best here, conveying her love for the country in unforgettable images. The flowers, in a dust storm, resemble "lopsided butterflies"; the "long, grassy plain" appears "like some endless reverie on man and his destiny."

Marta's flourishing flower garden is a striking contrast to Roy's affectingly painful picture of Marta and Stepan's broken-down, dried up marriage.

Although these flowers become the world to Marta, there is a danger in attributing too much power to them. Roy is at her best when her writing is understated; in "Garden in the Wind", however, she is too philosophically explicit. Not enough is left to our imagination.

In "Hoodoo Valley" Roy leaves the ordinary world to describe the Doukhobors' visionary settlement of the west. But somehow the story seems short and unreal, their vision fleeting. The reader is left frustrated, awaiting a return to an ordinary reality.

"Where Will You Go, Sam Lee Wong" is the most effective story in Roy's collection. Part of its appeal lies in its deceptive simplicity.

Instead of an intricate plot, the story is the poignant portrayal of a misplaced

Chinese who, for 25 years, runs a restaurant in Horizon, Saskatchewan.

As a study in both culture shock and basic human nature, "Where Will You Go, Sam Lee Wong" is an intriguing piece of literature. Roy is keenly observant of human nature and its quirks; Sam Lee Wong is never seen without a broad smile on his sad face, having intuitively realized that "a Chinaman who didn't smile — that might have shocked" the townspeople.

As an artist strives for just the right colours, the appropriate painting technique, Roy aims for especially apt verbal images. Sam Lee Wong sets up shop and home "much as a bird makes its nest, at world's whim." "Good molnin! Nice molnin!" is Sam Lee Wong's greeting to his customers; Roy is not laughing at him as much as she is accurately and affectionately portraying him.

All of Roy's characters appear as integral parts of their surroundings. Nowhere is her character development more insightful than in her portrayal of this Chinese conforming to his restaurant, clients, and the awesome prairie landscape.

Sam Lee Wong attracts all the woe-begone losers of Horizon, strange discontented customers, all with stories to tell. Here is human need and the growth of friendships at their most moving.

Ironically, the final blow is dealt by prosperity. Sam Lee Wong's story has not been unique, but it deserved to be told.

The story of Sam Lee Wong remains to haunt the reader like a once seen but fondly remembered picture at an exhibition.

Don't forget!
If you're moving, please send us
your change of address

THIS MAGAZINE TAKES A STAND

Canadian Theatre- Who's Out There?
by Margaret Atwood

Two-Headed Poems
by Margaret Atwood

Since Beating Bourassa
an Interview with Gerald Godin

The Berger Report
by Mel Watkins

The Culture Vulture
by Rick Salutin

The Very Last Word on the Canada Cup
by Judy Steed

The Praxis Affair
by Ian Adams

SUBSCRIBE!

BONUS OFFER

This Magazine
3 Church Street, Suite 401
Toronto, Ontario M5E 1M2



Only in This Magazine-
a set of ten Survivalwoman cards (with envelopes)
inexpertly drawn by Margaret Atwood (alias Bart Gerrard),
if you subscribe for two years or more.

- 1 yr \$4.50 Cdn./\$5.50 US Cdn. Institutions \$7/yr
 2 yrs \$8 Cdn./\$10 US US Institutions \$8/yr
 3 yrs \$11.50 Cdn./\$14 US New Renew

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Prov. State _____ Postal Code _____

- Cheque Enclosed Bill Me

I understand that This Magazine is published six times a year



WE'RE TACKLING
HUNGER AT ITS ROOTS

GIVE US A HAND

WE'RE WORKING
TO CHANGE THINGS

OXFAM supports small, self-help projects in developing communities around the world. OXFAM projects stress self-reliance and seek maximum participation by the local population. OXFAM is more than a charity. It is a movement for social justice.

SEND YOUR
CONTRIBUTIONS TO
BOX 18,000

TORONTO
OTTAWA

HALIFAX
ST. JOHN'S

Why Postpone It?

Don't take the chance
of missing the Post on the news stands.
Get every issue,
and get it sooner, by subscribing.

8 issues for only \$6

Last Post

ORDER FORM

I enclose:

- \$6 for an 8-issue personal subscription (Foreign rate, including U.S., \$8; Institutional rate \$8)
- \$6 for an 8-issue renewal (Foreign rate, including U.S., \$8; Institutional rate \$8)
- \$ _____ for back issues _____
- \$ _____ contribution to Last Post

Send with cheque or money order to:

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

Name _____

Address _____

Postal Code _____
