

THE LAST POST

70063

FEBRUARY 1979/\$1.00

Peter
Newman
and the
Bronfmans

Who's
re-opening
the
free
trade
file?

Can Canada
reform
the Teamsters
union?

Ontario demotes
the environment

WHY
SASKATCHEWAN
SWUNG LEFT

The LAST POST

10th Anniversary Fund

Dear Reader:

It must seem to many of our readers — as it seems to us here — that it was scarcely yesterday that the *Last Post* was a “new” magazine — with all the uncertainties and all the likelihood of a short life that are the fate of most magazines started in this country.

But the *Post* has now entered its 10th year; it is no longer new, no longer an experiment. Whatever its failings, the magazine has established itself as a fixture on the Canadian scene, and now looks forward to a second decade of providing Canadians with stimulating reading on current affairs.

We've got lots of plans and ideas, as we did a decade ago. And the problems in carrying out those ideas will be much the same as in the past 10 years and will be, above all, financial.

With a few obvious exceptions, public affairs magazines in this country don't get advertising. That means they are chronically short of money. That means they fail to do some things they should be doing and want to do — in our case, to take one example, to publish more often, and, to take another, to cover and report on stories we're missing. And it means, above all, that we depend on our readers for support.

Not that we think — not for one minute — that we've done a bad job. We think any reader who has followed our coverage of affairs in Quebec over the past decade has been more

aware of what was going on than practically anyone else in English Canada — including our ‘masters’ in Ottawa.

We think too, that we have done more than our share of pointing out the role large corporations play in our country's life. Again, to take an example of our coverage of our all-important relationship with the United States, we anticipated the recent debate over the Auto Pact by years.

In our coverage of national politics, to take just one case, we were the first in the media in this country to take Joe Clark seriously as a political figure — and as a result reported extensively on Tory politics, even though we are far from being a Tory magazine, at a time when the inane watchword was “Joe Who?”

As we move through our 10th year we will be asking our readers to support our Tenth Anniversary Fund — partly just to help us keep pace with the escalating costs of printing, postage, shipping, rent and so forth. But also in the hope that, with our readers' help, we can make our second decade an even better one — with still better coverage and more frequent publication.

We didn't start the *Post* as a “lark” — even though it has been a lot of fun — and we're as serious now as we were then. We hope those readers who are on the same wave length will do what they can to help us do better.

I wish to contribute to Last Post's Tenth Anniversary Fund

Name _____

Address _____

Donation enclosed for \$ _____

Send to: Last Post, 454 King St. West, Toronto, Ont. M5V 1L6

THE LAST POST

Feb. 1979, Vol. 7, No. 3

CONTENTS

4

Swinging left by *Angus Ricker*

9

The bankers by *Wayne Ellwood*

13

Last Pssst by *Claude Balloune*



Frank Miller

32

Ontario demotes
the environment
by *Mitchell Beer*



Jimmy Carter

15

Who's reopening
the free trade file?
by *Rae Murphy*

41 REAR
VIEW



Sam Bronfman

20

Banquo's children:
rank and file
rebellion
in the world's
biggest trade union
by *Harold Crooks*



James Hoffa

The Bronfmans by *Robert Chodos*
Engel at sea by *Edie Farkas*
Boring, boring by *Eliot Holmes*
Berton's yarns by *Sandy Gage*
Causing cancer by *Mary Neumann*
Go-Boy! by *Don Weitz*

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: Mitchell Beer, Drummond Burgess, Robert Chodos, Harold Crooks, Wayne Ellwood, Edie Farkas, Sandy Gage, Eliot Holmes, David Lloyd, Patrick MacFadden, Phil Mallette, Terry Mosher, Rae Murphy, Mary Neumann, Angus Ricker, Don Weitz.

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.

How Al and the gang did a job on the 'swing to the right'

photo: CP

by **ANGUS RICKER**

Two NDP governments down and one to go.

For Conservative organizers flocking in daily to the small airports at Regina and Saskatoon from their government and corporate nests in Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto and Ottawa, it was a comforting thought.

Knock off the NDP in Saskatchewan and the West is re-won for corporate power. The irony that this re-driving of The Last Spike would occur just as the "rationalized" railways were leaving the West was lost on our young pro:

"That crazy Dave Barrett in B.C. in late '75. Never planned anything except his next joke. Called a \$40 million extra handout in welfare an "overrun" and lost \$100 million on public car insurance.

"We've seen the socialist future and it's for jerks.

"Then Ed Schreyer last year. He was as bland as Bill Davis but right out of Plato's cave. Only a philosopher king would say 'the highest paid should receive no more than three times the lowest.' He should have saved that one for a socialist international meeting in Senegal.

"Now we've got Blakeney to work on with the Liberal vote collapsing just like Manitoba and B.C. He may be smart but there's nothing he can do about Pierre Trudeau. If we crack those Grit seats in the cities and clean up the sticks and hicks vote like we do federally, then Blakeney's just another socialist looking for some university job.

"Can't happen fast enough for me. God this place is flat. Get me back to Toronto, pronto."

As the men with the three-piece suits, crammed attache cases and self-important demeanor strode off the planes there was usually an NDP organizer somewhere behind.



Premier Allan Blakeney: The NDP's 'What are they going to take away?' strategy put the Tories on the defensive

"This is where it all started. Hope I get a better constituency this time. In 1975, it was the 1944 election all over again with the original cast.

"Those rural people sure get set in their ways. No committee rooms, no canvasses, just the old CCF network. Somebody ought to tell them they're dying off or moving to the coast before it's too late.

"They sure can raise money though, never saw anything like it, nothing but cheques for a hundred bucks from the small donors. Somebody must have trained them.

"And we aren't fighting the Liberals anymore either. God, it's tough to fight the Tories when they make up so much of your own vote. But if we've got enough warm bodies we can do the job, we sure won't be short of organizers.

"All the I.O.U.s for Saskatchewan have been called. Everyone who can walk from Tommy Douglas on down will be here. There's going to be some kind of a party on October 18 and it better not be a wake, we've had too many of those."

* * *

In the end, fate's fickle finger pointed at two men.

Thanks to the odd couple of Bora Laskin and Dick Collver, Saskatchewan's New Democrats, running hard and scared, swept back into office for a third term.

Chief Justice Laskin represented the Canadian Supreme Court which ruled against Saskatchewan in two resource case judgments that were handed down like electoral manna in mid-campaign. One way of winning an election in the West is to run against the Eastern Establishment, any Eastern Establishment.

And Tory leader Dick Collver represented Dick Collver. There is nothing like him in Canadian politics. And no horde of slick Tory organizers could save him or the party.

Dick Collver has been represented by others, but in one of the more bizarre twists in his life before the courts he fired the lawyers who were representing him in a \$1.1 million suit brought by the Saskatchewan Government Insurance Office and promptly began an action holding them responsible should he lose the case.

The Saskatchewan electorate, which had increasingly been looking askance at Collver since his day in court began in September 1976, choked on that one. The province went to the polls October

YOU SHOULD SEE HIM WHEN HE'S NERVOUS

Sipping at a cup of black coffee and chain-smoking his way through countless Player's Lights, Levesque seemed at ease while discussing all the other issues.

—Joel Ruimy, *Montreal Gazette*, Nov. 15, 1978

18 knowing who they were voting for, and more importantly, who they were voting against.

The expected coalescing of the Liberal and Conservative votes to toss "the socialists" out of office didn't happen. Nor did the much anticipated anti-government, Proposition 13 wave materialize.

Instead, the New Democrats were back with 47.9 per cent of the popular vote and 44 seats. The Conservatives polled 37.9 per cent and won 17 seats. The Liberals got 13.7 per cent and were wiped out, losing all 11 seats.

The NDP gained five seats and eight per cent of the popular vote and swept the cities by winning all eight seats in Saskatoon and eight of nine in Regina.

All of this was too much for Dick. As he surveyed the lists of his defeated, once-and-future cabinet ministers from the L. P. Miller High School gymnasium in the small northeastern town of Nipawin, Collver said he felt betrayed by the city results.

He surmised, correctly, that the Liberal Party's death wish was that if they were to be wiped out, then better by an NDP government than a Tory one.

Not that the Tories did badly. They gained six seats and increased their popular vote by 10 per cent.

For most parties this represents a substantial improvement, but the Collver party wanted victory not now, but yesterday. At the gym, the victory party band didn't bother to unpack and the lady serving up the sausage meat, pickles and buns had it all figured:

"Nobody's happy, nobody's happy," she told a reporter, "I just don't like the look on people's faces. There's no joy here."

A Collver campaign worker had a slightly altered chord sequence: "What does this campaign prove? It proves that if you tell a big enough lie often enough people will believe it."

She was referring to the number the NDP did on the Conservatives. It was the

opening theme of a nasty, brutish and short campaign. The NDP claimed the Tories would "tax the sick" by imposing deterrent fees on medicare.

The strategem, already tried and proven in the Pelly byelection in June 1977, was set out in a series of newspaper ads after the campaign began September 19. The attack was substantiated by a collection of wishful thoughts by Tory MLAs and candidates, but the statements hardly represented party policy.

The press regarded the NDP attack as a mistake, but they misjudged the impact in the province where medicare was born and where political allegiances in small towns can be traced to the notorious doctors' strike of 1962.

NDP canvassers in rural areas later told of visiting farm houses and being greeted with the question "What are they going to take away?"

The Conservatives had realized the seriousness of the NDP ploy. Their best chance lay in defeating NDP MLAs in rural ridings in the eastern part of the province. This NDP heartland is the smaller, mixed farming parkland area that was settled in the 1900s when the Canadian Northern Railway with its cargo of Slavic immigrants pushed northwest from Yorkton to Saskatoon. As a group they began voting CCF with George Williams, M. J. Coldwell and T. C. Douglas but swung Tory federally in the Diefenbaker years. The provincial Tories came close there this time but blew far too many chances.

Their response to the medicare issue was to prepare thousands of medicare "certificates" that said the program would be maintained and improved by a Tory government. But while the Tories were distracted by medicare an even bigger issue was taking shape, Collver's personal credibility.

Collver's first law suit and counter suit between himself and his former business partners, the medical doctors Baltzan of Saskatoon, had resulted in an undis-

A SHORE TOO FAR, WASN'T IT?

Thirty-one percent of urban Canadians have never seen a Canadian film, and of those who have, 71 percent cannot recall the name of the last Canadian movie they saw.

—*Weekend Magazine*, Aug. 19, 1978

closed out-of-court settlement (See *Last Post*, April, 1978). But the settlement was not reached before there was testimony in open court regarding Colver's Swiss bank account, a tax investigation by Revenue Canada and a fierce debate on whether Colver was siphoning cash from his holding company, Management Associates.

Scarcely had this case been resolved when Colver was back in court last May 4 when the Crown-owned Saskatchewan Government Insurance Office (SGIO) sued Colver and Management Associates for \$1.1 million for alleged failure to make good on personal guarantees given on bonds issued by SGIO. The bonds were called in September, 1976 to meet four contracts defaulted on by Buildall Construction, a former Management Associates company.

Colver plays martyr

Colver's response was that he had sold Buildall and the bond liability with it. He also accused the government of the "most unwarranted political attack perpetrated on anyone by a government."

Colver was to play the role of martyr to the hilt throughout the campaign but he received precious little sympathy even from his own party. Colver's name started to disappear from local campaign literature and his personal appearances were erratic and badly scheduled. His final television commercials showed him as a family man at the piano bench, inviting comparison with another

piano-playing Dick.

It was for the fast-sinking Liberal Party to sound a final knell of warning. Leader Ted Malone, in a vigorous but fruitless campaign similar to the one Charles Huband had attempted in Manitoba a year earlier, pointedly emphasized as his slogan "Leadership you can trust."

Other Liberals began to wonder out loud how a future Premier Colver would instruct his attorney-general to deal with the case of SGIO vs. Colver.

Blind trust set up

In a desperate move to retrieve his image of Mr. Sweetness and Light, Colver had his assets placed in a blind trust to be administered by the most incorruptible Tory of them all, retired Supreme Court Justice Emmett Hall. But even this would-be masterstroke led a skeptical electorate to wonder why the good judge was summoned in the first place.

Colver was in so much difficulty that the NDP could safely switch its campaign to the high road. Blakeney was now presented as the man who spoke for all Saskatchewan to a Canada that listened respectfully. He was, in a phrase coined half in jest by columnist Douglas Fisher in 1976, and since quoted endlessly by New Democrats, "the Bobby Orr of Canadian politics." This image (and the substance) of Blakeney's administrative competence was reassuring to urban Liberals preparing to flee their party.

For Liberals to vote NDP, their sworn enemies of 45 years standing, seemed as likely as their massing on the patios of their comfortable suburban homes to chug-a-lug a Kool Aid-cyanide cocktail.

But after considering the alternative, swallow the NDP they did, aided by the death wish which saw retiring Liberal MLA Tony Merchant tell his Regina constituents that, however much he disagreed with the NDP, it was "the party of the people." That kind of hint helped NDP candidate Clint White win Merchant's seat by turning an 1,800 vote deficit into an election day plurality of 1,029 votes.

While the opposition campaigns faded, the NDP was gaining momentum after a confused start. When the party decided to go to the polls in late August, it knew its own popularity was close to 50 per cent among decided voters. It also knew Blakeney was by far the most credible public figure in the province. One poll showed him as the overwhelming choice of the poll sample with a respectable second place held by none other than T. C. Douglas.

Undecided voters

The only worrisome statistic was the large number of undecided voters. After Pierre Trudeau dithered and did not call a federal election, the NDP had its chance. However, a fall campaign violated Saskatchewan NDP orthodoxy on elections. The reasoning runs that the CCF-NDP has won every election it has called in June since 1944. The exception was in 1964 when they lost to the Liberals of the late Ross Thatcher.

The early poll certainly surprised the opposition parties — the Tories had six candidates nominated and the Liberals only two. While the opposition scrambled, the NDP was well-prepared to handle the one major issue overhanging the campaign, the exploitation of the province's burgeoning mineral wealth.

Recent uranium finds in Northern Saskatchewan have been projected as being far more valuable to the province in the medium term than the potash industry. Extensive heavy oil reserves are likely to replace the rapidly diminishing supply of conventional crude. Although there has been considerable debate inside the NDP on uranium and on the amount of public ownership to be employed in resource development, the government does have a coherent policy of ownership or high royalties.

In some cases public ownership was achieved almost painlessly, as in 1975

First the election, then the fight

Saskatchewan Conservative leader Dick Colver first lost the election, then he lost the fight.

Shortly after the election NDP Revenue Minister Wes Robbins was leaving through the lobby of the Legislative Building in Regina where he came upon Colver talking to the front desk receptionist.

As Robbins recalled the scene later, Colver "became very abusive and started swearing. I've never been exposed to that kind of obscene abuse."

Robbins said he went over to Colver and told him to leave. A short discussion ensued in which Robbins said he hit Colver a good smack in the puss.

When informed of Robbins' story later, Colver said it was "gossip and junk not worthy of comment." He also insisted that as Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition he as "not going to be subjected to union hall tactics."

Wes Robbins, 62, is a non-unionized accountant. Dick Colver, 42, is a management consultant.

Robbins is now known in the building as "Sugar Ray Robbins" and the "Minister of Defence."



Tory leader Dick Collver mainstreeting: as long as he remains leader the NDP figures it's safe for ever

when then Mineral Resources Minister Elwood Cowley simply announced that the government was reserving the option to take up a 50 per cent partnership in any hardrock mineral claim. Hardly anyone said boo to a policy that had given the province a commanding position in northern mineral development.

In potash, the story was quite different. The government had fought a running battle with the potash companies

over taxation levels prior to the 1975 election. The companies brought several lawsuits against the government and then went on strike by refusing to increase production capacity to meet increasing demand.

The government response in November, 1975 was to announce its intention to nationalize 50 per cent of the province's potash capacity. It was the single most controversial action taken by

the government since its election in 1971 and in a very real way the 1978 campaign could have become a referendum on the potash takeover had the opposition so wished.

By this year the Crown-owned Potash Corporation of Saskatchewan had acquired three of the province's ten potash mines and major shares in another two. As each property was bought (with the threat of expropriation implicit) the par-

ent company's participation in court actions was extinguished but several potash and oil cases did reach the Supreme Court.

Each time the Saskatchewan government invariably lost and the loss usually meant that a ruling made by the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal was reversed. As the individual cases were complex, public opinion was usually divided as to whether the government or the courts were at fault. However, a pattern was emerging as successive Supreme Court rulings placed regulation and taxation of any extracted resource beyond provincial power. These rulings increasingly concerned Blakeney as he saw provincial control of resources slipping away.

Resources control sought

He made repeated suggestions at First Ministers' conferences to secure provincial control through the use of indirect taxation as he sought a political solution for his continuing judicial problems.

Then, when the Supreme Court ruled on October 3 that the province's potash production regulations were beyond its powers, Blakeney became very angry indeed. Some persons who travelled on the premier's bus tour as it swung around rural Saskatchewan said his campaign caught fire in the small northern town of Blaine Lake the day after the judgment was given.

Speaking to a crowd of 300 crammed into the Memorial Hall, he voiced his anger about a country that set up special rules for the resources of the West and made none for those in Ontario and Quebec. It was the right message for the large crowds who were turning up at election rallies and, by the final week, Blakeney was addressing overflow rallies of more than 2,000 in both Saskatoon and Regina.

The opposition position on resources was quite different. Their natural tack was to blame government incompetence for losing the court cases, but they also produced fanciful plans to significantly reduce government participation.

Collver, in pushing the Conservative "privatization" line, had promised to sell off Crown corporations that were directly competing with the private sector, and he promised a scheme whereby individual shares in potash and other mineral properties would be given to every resident in the province.

It was a crazy idea, but no crazier than

Liberal leader Malone's desire "to cut government off at the knees" through three referenda on cutting government spending Proposition 13 style, new labour laws, and run-off elections where no one candidate polls 50 per cent of the vote.

Both parties were cultivating the right wing populist vote but they had the effect of making the NDP policy of managing resources through Crown corporations sound like the only sane (and conservative) policy. In addition, NDP speakers found they could play the issue for laughs with references to "funny money" and the "fabulous 50" who would end up with all the shares.

In one of his bravura thrusts, Blakeney told audiences that he could not "fully grasp" Tory resource policy. As he quoted from their campaign material: first, the NDP should not have taxed oil companies to get money to buy potash mines; second, they should not have spent the money on "second hand holes in the ground;" third, this now "valuable resource" should be given away through shares to the public; and, fourth, money received from "giving away" the mines would finance improved senior citizens' programs.

By October 18 it was all over bar the counting. Although it had been a quiet campaign, particularly at the start, the stakes were high. A final NDP survey gave the party more than 50 per cent of the vote and a television poll had placed it at 47.

As the NDP organizers marshalled a huge election day machine to turn out the vote, the party workers found voters did not need much prompting. In a province where political interest is still intense, a 79 per cent turnout was recorded.

NDP victory areas

The NDP organization was strong enough to produce victories in the usual and some unusual places.

- In the southwestern part of the province, traditional Liberal farming and ranching country, a solid NDP core vote picked up three Liberal seats in three way races.

- In the critical eastern parkland seats, every NDP vote was needed as the small Liberal vote collapsed and swung heavily Tory.

- In the cities, the NDP won with pluralities of 2,000 votes in 12 seats (a huge margin in Saskatchewan where a typical seat has only 10,000 voters). Party workers completed as many as six canvasses in some areas and saw their

numbers swell as trade unionists, civil servants and former party activists became increasingly concerned.

Now the party's problems are those of success. A young and bright contingent of new MLAs has been elected to invigorate an aging caucus but only one cabinet position was opened through the defeat of Education Minister Don Faris.

To give himself and the government more time, Blakeney postponed a planned fall session of the Legislature and this provides a chance both to restructure his cabinet and possibly to invigorate the caucus and the Legislature's dormant committee system.

The party also has major splits over the question of uranium development and the NDP's relationship with organized labour. Both issues were largely papered over with the snap election.

The Liberals have gone the way of the Great Auk and there is no chance of a revival as long as Pierre Trudeau leads the federal party. Malone has agreed to stay on as leader, but the party is heavily in debt and can only hope for an early byelection for a slight chance of returning to the Legislature.

Will Collver resign?

The most interesting intrigue surrounds the Tories. Any "Collver must go" faction must produce an alternative leader and the first choice, federal MP Ray Hnatyshyn, has already said "unequivocally no."

Collver himself has frequently equivocated on when he might resign and was at it again on election night.

"What went wrong?" he mused. "At this point I just don't know."

He added that he had some personal doubts and said that if the cause was now in jeopardy "because of the public's perception of me, then resignation is an alternative."

Statements like that strike terror into the heart of every NDP backroomer. They now firmly believe the NDP is safe as long as Collver is leader.

As one New Democrat diplomatically phrased it: "I certainly like Irvin Perkins (NDP candidate in Nipawin) but I'm sure glad Dick won."

And more reassuringly, Dick himself added: "I now have four years during which to bring the truth out in open courts. When the people hear the truth they might not reward those who perpetuate untruths again."

Atta boy Dick. Real Horatio Alger stuff. See you in 1983.

When the bankers get together guess who wins?

by WAYNE ELLWOOD

It's a languid late September in Washington, D.C. While summer lingers cloyingly in the air surrounding the monotonous slab architecture of the city core, more than 3,500 bankers and government finance officials from 135 countries have come to renew acquaintances, swap stories and maybe do a little business at the annual joint meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

The World Bank — still known in official parlance by its original title, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development — is the single largest financier of economic development projects in the Third World. Lending for 1979 is projected to peak at close to \$10 billion. Its sister organization, the IMF — no more than another ponderous acronym to most people — has been called the "most powerful, supranational government in the world." It was designed as the key instrument in stabilizing the world economy to ensure orderly markets and economic growth.

Both the Bank and the IMF are products of a meeting of major capitalist powers at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire in 1944 that included the U.S., Britain and Canada as the main protagonists. With the war winding down and memories of the Great Depression and growing labour militancy still simmering below the war-induced economic boom, the U.S. especially was keen to put the international economic system in order.

Both agencies proved crucial to the resurgent American economy. The Bank's loans to war-torn European nations, together with the Marshall Plan, helped re-establish markets for U.S. exports and quickly placed some of the U.S.'s major trading partners back on their feet.

The IMF, meanwhile, remained a

low-profile but effective means of preventing competitive devaluations among world currencies. The protectionism and trade wars of the 1920s and 30s had to be avoided at all cost if the world economy was to switch into high gear.

A secondary but much less important role for the IMF was as a "lender of last resort" for countries having difficulties meeting their creditors in the international market place.

The large industrial countries — led by the U.S. — held control over policy decisions in both institutions due to the system of weighted consensus voting. Voting is still geared to the amount of capital contributed; as is a country's access to IMF funds. The richer you are, the greater your say in how the world economy should be run.

Until 1971, the IMF was relatively successful in policing foreign exchange rates. But, since former U.S. President Nixon suddenly surprised the world by removing the dollar from the gold standard in his now-famous New Economic Policy, all hell has broken loose in international money markets. The West — and inevitably the Third World — has drifted deeper into financial chaos. In the interim, the IMF has adopted a new but equally onerous role. It has become the "hit man" for the privately-owned transnational banks and corporations.

In the current international economic order, the IMF wields the universally-recognized financial "good house-keeping seal of approval." Its economic clout means it can strong-arm countries with a severe balance of international payments deficit into accepting its terms and conditions.

The result has been an upswing in the fortunes of transnational bankers — including most of the Canadian big seven — who are making money hand over fist with the expansion of the Eurodollar market. Their main customers have been

middle-income underdeveloped countries still reeling from inflation imported from the West and the bottom falling out of the commodity market in 1975. The free-enterprise oriented "conditionality" that the IMF attaches to its loans has opened the doors even wider for Western-based corporations who are currently falling over each other in their rush to exploit a rapidly-expanding army of cheap, surplus Third World labour.

The recent Washington meeting was nothing if not a vote of confidence in both institutions. The tiny but powerful *Interim Committee* of the IMF — chaired by British chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey — set the main policy issues and presented them to the general meeting.

Together with Jacques de Larosiere — newly-appointed Executive Director of the IMF and former French Finance Minister — Healey announced there would be a 50 per cent increase in IMF quotas. The increase in funds from member countries will be in the same proportions that now exist and will boost IMF resources by 20 million SDR's to about \$9 billion SDR's or \$75 billion.*

The IMF also approved, for the first time since 1973, a \$15 billion increase in SDR's to be distributed proportionately to members over a three-year period. The distribution of SDR's has been a constant thorn in the side of the Third World. The

*Special Drawing Rights (SDR's) were created by the IMF as a new denominator of the international monetary system replacing gold and the American dollar. They have become known as "paper gold" and are valued in terms of a trade-weighted basket of 16 major currencies — including the Canadian dollar. SDR's can be used as money for settling international trade and payments accounts between governments, but are not used commercially.



What a laugh: World Bank President Robert McNamara gets the Christian A. Herter medal from Henry Cabot Lodge of the World Affairs Council

poor nations would like their distribution to be linked to development needs. Yet, SDR's have proved a greater boon to the developed world, which ended up with 75 per cent of the last issue.

Also, the joint *World Bank-IMF Development Committee* agreed in principle to increase the World Bank's capital base by almost 100 per cent to \$80 billion. World Bank President Robert McNamara told the assembled bankers that without the increase the Bank would have to cut lending by almost two billion dollars.

But while McNamara, in one of his now famous flights of rhetoric, predicted that "even if projected growth rates in the developing world are achieved, some 600 million individuals at the end of the century will remain trapped in absolute poverty", any sign of the recently

fashionable *New International Economic Order* was obscured by back room negotiations between the big three — Japan, West Germany and the U.S.

The new economic buzzword is 'convergence'. IMF Director de Larosiere, under strong pressure from Europe and Japan, called for decreased growth in the U.S. and improved growth patterns elsewhere to bring international payments imbalances among major nations into line. The predicted 'convergence' is necessary to narrow the enormous U.S. deficit which is expected to hit \$20 billion this year.

Deficit countries, he said, are going to have to take fundamentally corrective actions, including "reduction in the growth of government expenditures, moderations of rates of increase in wages and other incomes, restoration of incen-

tives to invest, measures in the field of energy and a turning away from devices that undermine economic efficiency, such as subsidies, artificial prices, and import restrictions."

Despite the obvious strains of fiscal and monetary conservatism in de Larosiere's warning, it is doubtful whether the U.S. will be pushed into adopting many of the IMF's austerity measures. The political consequences are just too great. But that does not discount a further tilt towards anti-inflationary measures and a resultant increase in U.S. unemployment. For Canada, with our economic cart still firmly hitched to the fortunes of our American neighbour, the next few years are likely to prove a more uncomfortable ride than expected.

In the end, the main beneficiaries of

the decision to increase the IMF's economic muscle will be the private transnational banks and corporations.

Over the last five years the Third World, especially middle-income countries judged to have economic potential like Brazil, Mexico and the Philippines, have contracted staggering debts from multinational banking conglomerates. Third World nations without income from oil exports were hit by a succession of body-blows in the mid-1970s. Their export earning declined because of the international recession in the industrial countries. The rich world's response was to cut back on buying of the Third World's main commodity exports.

At the same time, inflation in the West meant the prices the poor nations had to pay for their imports also increased. Added to this was the four-fold increase in oil prices engineered by the OPEC nations. The unprecedented current account deficits in the Third World could only be met by debt accumulation. And the international bankers — with vaults crammed with petrodollars and surplus U.S. dollars — were only too willing to step into the breach.

Although most of this debt does not fall due till the early 1980's, many Third World countries are now experiencing debt service ratios over 25 per cent of their export earnings. A figure over 20 per cent was formerly considered dangerously high. The World Bank estimates the debt of the underdeveloped nations to private banks will increase from \$84 billion in 1975 to \$350 billion in 1985. Countries like Jamaica, Peru, Turkey, and Zaire are teetering on the precipice of default, scraping money up from wherever they can just to meet past obligations. Over half the outstanding claims on poor countries are held by about 30 banks in the U.S., Canada, Japan and Europe.

In this context, what de Larosiere calls the IMF's "new surveillance role" will become more critical — not only to the banks but to the poor of the Third World who are forced to bear the burden of the Fund's prescription for economic austerity. With larger financial resources, the IMF will not only be able to increase its power in countries with severe balance of payments deficits, it will also be able to step up its insistence on "sensible economic management."

So, the bankers will be paid back. But, at a drastic cost in human suffering and economic and political sovereignty in the Third World. The Fund's economic stability package routinely calls for cut-

UPWARDLY MOBILE DEPT.



Tiny office

Lee A. Iacocca is now working in a tiny office in a nondescript Ford Motor Co. warehouse. Iacocca was fired from his post as president of the Ford Motor Co. in July.

—Page 36, Chronicle-Journal, Thunder Bay
Nov. 2, 1978



LEE IACOCCA, fired as president of the Ford Motor Co., will be named chief operating officer of Chrysler Corp., a Detroit television station reported Wednesday. Iacocca wasn't available for comment on the report, which came the same day that Ford announced that Iacocca had officially left the company, after reaching a settlement.

—Page 10, Chronicle-Herald, Thunder Bay
Nov. 2, 1978

backs in social services, wage freezes, currency devaluation and measures to encourage private investment.

It may be a long way from the landless peasants of the Peruvian 'altiplano' and the reggae-infused slums of Kingston, Jamaica to the potted palms and antiseptic corridors of Washington. But where distances are concerned, geography has never been a match for money.

In Peru, successive IMF loans have seen average incomes in real terms decline by 60 per cent since 1973. In Jamaica, once at the cutting edge of the Third World's demands for economic justice, plans for "economic self-reliance" have been jettisoned by Prime Minister Michael Manley in response to IMF-imposed belt-tightening. The prices of basic foodstuffs increase daily and painted slogans of "Poor can't take no more" festoon the hoardings of Kingston.

The central African nation of Zaire, ruptured by civil war and government corruption, has become literally a ward of the international financial institutions. IMF staffers now make the decisions in the central bank and hold key positions in the Zairian Finance Ministry. Why use gunboat diplomacy when dollars will do?

The upshot of the IMF's remedy is that it does nothing to alleviate the structural problems at the root of the Third World's

economic dependency. The jolts of the early 1970s only aggravated problems inherent in the export-led growth model of development which most of the poor nations had adopted by 1960.

Although their dependence on the export of primary commodities for foreign exchange varies greatly, in total the Third World still receives 80 per cent of their export earnings from a very narrow range of commodities.

The rush to increase exports of manufactures and upgrade their processing of primary resources meant importing technology from Western-based transnational corporations. In addition, emphasizing this "modern sector" resulted in strengthening those Third World elites — government officials and technicians — who serviced the transnationals. Their demands for luxury imports and lifestyles similar to their counterparts in the developed countries placed further pressure on scarce foreign exchange reserves. To meet both these demands — imports of technology and luxury consumer goods — the Third World had to rely even more on its already fragile export base.

In Latin America and much of Africa the switch to cash crops — tobacco, coffee, cotton, sugar, tea — has pushed thousands of small farmers off the land. Countries once able to feed themselves

have become net importers of food; an absurdity which only the twisted logic of the marketplace could explain.

According to one analyst, "this race against a rigged treadmill forced the poor countries to divert greater proportions of their scarce resources of capital, skilled manpower, and foreign exchange toward an export sector whose origins arose outside their boundaries and essentially outside their control."

By enforcing this cycle of debt and dependency the IMF stands squarely in the way of any efforts by the Third World to achieve global "economic justice." But it does not stand alone. The rich within poor nations allied with the international bankers and their corporate sidekicks have formed a kind of unholy triumvirate.

As the IMF-World Bank meeting drew to a close, representatives of the industrialized nations were reportedly "euphoric" over the unanimous agreement to increase IMF resources. Britain's Denis Healey announced that the enhanced financial status of the IMF "will put it in the centre of management of international economic affairs."

For the poor of those Third World nations who are already adjusting to the painful reality of the IMF's friendly persuasion, the remark is likely to bring more despair than rejoicing.



**A Monthly
Magazine on
World Development**

Caracas to Colombo to Calgary. Farmers and barbers, truckers, drug-pushers and shoe-shine boys. Some sleekly insulated by layers of wealth, others brutally exposed in the daily battle for survival.

The *New Internationalist* lights up an astonishing circuit of connections between them all. It measures the money and power flowing through this global network and argues for a radical rewiring based more on justice than chance.

From multinational corporations to militarism, you'll find just what you want to know. Major writers from Canada, Europe and the Third World come together in the pages of the *New Internationalist* to give you a refreshing international perspective you'll find nowhere else.

^{NEW} Internationalist

THE PEOPLE, THE IDEAS AND THE ACTION . . .

In the Fight for World Development

WHAT YOU GET...

Each month's carefully researched *New Internationalist* wraps up the crucial elements of one's subject vital to world development.

1. **The Overview.** A careful review that brings out all the main points of the argument.
2. **The Facts.** The hard facts and figures you'll want to mull over and return to.
3. **The People.** You'll hear directly from people whose lives are at stake—from Montreal to Mombasa.
4. **The Ideas.** Barefoot doctors to biogas. Exciting new thinking that could help meet everyone's basic needs.
5. **The Action.** Reports on activists around the world that just might spark off a few ideas for things you could do.

WHAT THEY SAY...

"A unique popular magazine with a fighting approach to issues of world poverty and development. It deserves a wider reading in Canada and a growing input from Canadian writers."

—Bernard Wood, Director,
North-South Institute, Ottawa

"An important magazine that speaks to the rich world from a committed perspective of social justice."

—Most Rev. Edward Scott, Primate,
Anglican Church of Canada

"Cuts through the clichés and half-truths to offer insights into the real causes of economic and social injustice."

—Michael Harrington,
US House of Representatives.

NEW SUBSCRIPTION OFFER

YES, I would like to subscribe to the *New Internationalist* at the special introductory rate of \$10, compared with the regular subscription price of \$12 and the newsstand price of \$15.

I enclose payment and would like to start my subscription immediately.

Please bill me.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Prov. _____

Postal Code _____

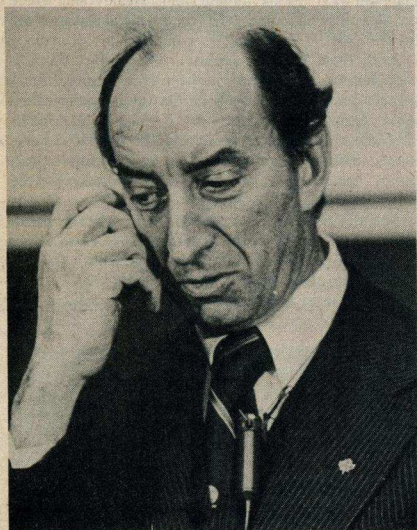
Please return to Wayne Ellwood, *New Internationalist*, 175 Carlton St., Toronto, Ont. M5A 2K3

the Last Pssst



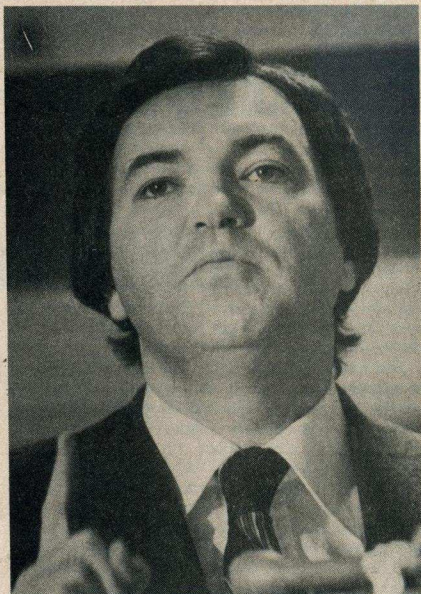
by Claude Balloune

Liberal schizophrenia: Now that Montreal's money-grows-on-trees Mayor Jean Drapeau is back in office for four more years, sight should not be lost of the strange doings of the federal Liberals in that city's municipal election. There, on the one hand, was **Justice Minister Marc Lalonde**, working for the re-election of Mayor Drapeau. But there, on the other hand, was **Urban Affairs Minister Andre Ouellet** throwing his weight behind the Municipal Action Group (MAG) led by Liberal MP **Serge Joyal**. Seems the Libs aren't as all-together as they would like us to believe.



Marc Lalonde: Liberals for Drapeau

More confusing still: But confusion really reigned supreme with Liberals from **Consumers Affairs Minister Warren Allmand's** west-end Notre Dame de Grace riding. Allmand himself was out pumping hands in Cote des Neiges for **Nick Auf der Maur**, the only MAG candidate to survive the Drapeau tidal wave. But meanwhile, Liberal organizers from Allmand's riding were mounting a telephone blitz in another district



Andre Ouellet: Liberals for Joyal

against incumbent councillor **Ginette Keroack** of the Montreal Citizen's Movement. They used red scare tactics by pointing to the 'dangers' of her Communist past. Their campaign paid off and Keroack lost to a Drapeau stalwart.

The Drap and the referendum: Drapeau's smashing victory has led to a lot of speculation about what role he will play in the up-coming independence referendum. The mayor is supposed to have a tacit agreement with the Parti Quebecois to stay out of the debate . . . but that was before the big win that saw him take every city council seat save two.

Count of nine: In that other big eastern city, Toronto's new reform Mayor **John Sewell** has been slapped down so repeatedly that it's a wonder he can still stand up. He's in a minority on city council, a minority on the executive committee, a minority on

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from previous page)

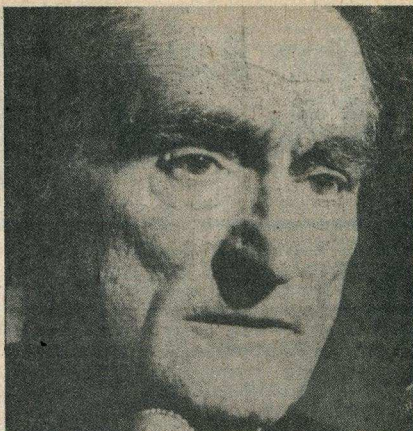
Metro council, lost his bid to dislodge Metro Chairman Paul Godfrey, failed to get on the transit committee, failed to get on the budget sub-committee, failed to prevent the election of a man he didn't want as planning boss. With the City of Toronto on the mat, Metro Toronto (where the City is a minority of the population) is riding high. Good luck, John.

Dash it all: There's been a lot of crowing over the recent orders for government-owned de Havilland Aircraft's slow-selling STOL plane, the **Dash-7**. It's now being plugged as a success story, like Canadair's **Challenger** executive jet. My sources insist otherwise. It seems the plane is nothing more than an expanded **Buffalo**, a 1960s design that's being passed off as a 1980s wonder, but isn't fooling many people. (I'm even told the demonstration project, Ottawa-Montreal run, was a phony that used Twin Otters). Anyway, it seems the plane the world is waiting for is a jet STOL and we haven't got one. Would you believe the Japanese are planning to get there firstest with the mostest?

CanAftDark: The CBC cancelled the **Canada After Dark** late night talk show hosted by **Paul Soles** because, it says, the ratings had only risen from 60,000 to 120,000 and that wasn't enough . . . presumably that means there is no truth to the rumour that the ratings had actually fallen to scarcely above 50,000, which is what any network can get for a test-pattern due to people forgetting to turn off their sets.

Just a hint: The federal election campaign seems to be already under way in this country's **citizenship courts**. Not so long ago one citizenship judge, appointed to the position for compassionate reasons, had some advice for a new citizen. "It's your duty to vote in the next federal election," said the judge. The new citizen nodded, figuring that was fair enough. But then the judge added "and it's your duty to vote for the prime minister, **Pierre Trudeau**." The new citizen was appalled; obviously, she has much to learn about the Liberal machine. Wonder if any judges are saying "it's your duty to vote for **Joe Clark**?"

Good old Claude: Now that **Claude Ryan** is laying down the law in federalist circles in Quebec, it's not just **Marc Lalonde** who has learned that Ottawa's heavy-handed meddling is not appreciated. Now Ryan (who is becoming less popular within his own party, by the way) has put **Maurice Sauvé** in his place. Sauvé, former Liberal MP, former federal fisheries minister and current vice-president of the Consolidated-Bathurst pulp and paper branch of the Power Corp. empire, is chairman of something called the **Quebec-Canada Movement**, which is one of the voluntary groups and political parties that have banded together in an umbrella committee to fight the PQ's independence propaganda. Many of these people wanted the fight to remain within Quebec, but Sauvé got hold of some federal manna and had different ideas. First he twisted arms within his own movement to get them to agree to take the money from Ottawa, and then rammed his *fait accompli* down the throats of some very reluctant committee members, leaving the committee in an upheaval. But some time later Ryan's man **Michel Robert** moved in as head of the committee and made it



Claude Ryan: another back-hand for the Feds

plain that Sauvé could go stuff his federal money where the sun never shines. Sauvé was left whimpering at the door.

And then there's Jeanne: Meanwhile, Sauvé's wife **Jeanne**, the federal minister of communications, is so desperate to get her name in the papers that her office lured Montreal reporters to a speech and news conference with the promise that she would be making a "major announcement" on telecommunications policy. Instead, she devoted most of her speech to the sort of attack on PQ dishonesty that even Marc Lalonde is starting to tire of. Sauvé said the PQ doesn't mean what it says and is conducting monthly polls to check on the popularity of its policies. Talk about throwing stones from glass houses! It's no secret that Toronto pollster **Martin Goldfarb** exerts far more influence in Ottawa than mere cabinet ministers like Jeanne Sauvé.



Jeanne Sauvé: where was the 'major announcement'?

'I know of no serious analyst of the Canadian economy
who would argue that the economic status quo
is any longer viable'

— Carl Beigie, president, C. D. Howe Research Institute

Who's re-opening the free trade file ?

by Rae Murphy

In many respects, the discussions at Toronto's Sheraton Centre Hotel on November 30 and December 1 were quite similar to the talks that took place a week before. The first discussions, during Grey Cup week, revolved around whether Edmonton's American football players would outperform Montreal's Americans. A week later, at a conference entitled *A North American Common Market: A Realistic Option for Canada?*, much of the discussion revolved around the most suitable arrangements for the performance of Ontario's American-controlled manufacturing industry, as against the potential and performance of Western Canada's American-controlled resource and energy industry.

The conference chairman, Prof. John Crispo of the University of Toronto, led 20 or so panelists through a two-day debate on the pros and cons of economic integration with the United States. The panelists included economists, corporate executives, academics and spokesmen for organizations like the Canadian Manufacturers Association, Canadian Construction Association, Federation of Agriculture and the Canadian Federation of Independent Business.

They spoke to a gathering made up of their peers, along with a smattering of civil servants — assistant deputy ministers and directors of this or that directorate. Somebody was watching the proceedings for Tory

leader Joe Clark, and the labour attache from the Swedish Embassy was registered. No one from the trade union movement bothered to pay the \$375 registration fee, and all possible official representatives of the American government were scrupulously and conspicuously absent.

Strangely enough, the press was almost totally absent too. Considering the conference encompassed every bad dream Walter Gordon could imagine, and considering Gordon is on the board of directors of Torstar, the *Toronto Star* didn't report a word. The *Globe and Mail*, which appeared to build the event with an op-ed page piece a few days before the conference, didn't attend. And the People's Network, which put all Canada to sleep with its excruciating coverage of the First Ministers Conference a few days before, didn't bother to pay attention to the people who probably wrote the speeches for the first ministers. Only the *Toronto Sun* came up with some reportage.

All this is a pity, because the issue of Canada's economic, and thus its political relationship to the United States is the central issue — indeed, probably the only issue — we face. This is the issue of Canada any way we wish to see ourselves: whether in a 'sovereignty-association' with Quebec, as a loose

federation of regions, as a federation with its essential economic decision-making at its centre, we will continue to be defined by our relationship with the United States.

If there was one thread that ran through most of the papers presented to the conference, it was that the movement towards freer trade is irresistible. If Canada's chaotic market, indeed, its chaotic pattern of development — determined by a centrally controlled and Eastern-dominated banking system, and by a late-blooming industry which developed to the extent it did with the now moribund British Empire tariff protection — if that was going to survive, then the terms of survival must now be negotiated.

Except for one or two contributions — such as one particularly lucid appeal from the Canadian Federation of Independent Business to reject the idea of a North American common market — the essential distinction between the papers presented lay in area of enthusiasm for the idea, as well as in various methods of approach.

Some of the panelists were positively bullish on the whole idea. Fred Peacock, a former Alberta cabinet minister, listed the present inequities facing Western Canada and waxed so enthusiastically about the glories of North-South trade that, after apologizing to André Raynauld, he declared that "in California they speak our language."

"In my opinion," said Henry de Puyjalon, president of the Canadian Construction Association, "we really have no choice. I do not think that the voters in Canada, clearly presented with the issues here, would allow Canada to become an economic 'might-have-been'. No one likes to live in a quaint backwater country.

"The first step in this optimization of Canada's resources is the North American common market. Canada, in the process, will initially have to shift away from certain uncompetitive areas."

Unfortunately, just about everything turned out to be an "uncompetitive area."

The idea of Canada as a "quaint backwater" was also alluded to by Ron Fraser, chairman and chief executive officer of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Co. Fraser appeared to be a rather blunt-spoken South African — South Africans do tend to be blunt-spoken when speaking to some people.

It was Fraser's opinion that, because Canada was ungraced with the power, the technology, the market, even the bloody American canal system, it could only aspire to the American standard of living because the country has been foolishly squandering the money the mining industry has been making.

He also stated that the country was suffering from an 'H and D Syndrome' (hewers of wood and drawers of water). Apparently it became fashionable in the 1960s that being hewers of wood and drawers of water was not really a nice thing, or at least not the only thing to which to aspire. Proclaiming the indifference of the mining industry to a North American common market, Mr. Fraser nevertheless hoped the Canadian people and

government were sorry for persecuting the mining industry.

Meanwhile back at the conference, the whys and wherefores of the common market were pursued. As the logic unfolded, a number of distressing facts emerged.

Welcoming the conference as a "useful exercise," Patricia Johnston, research director for the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, cited some impressive documentation to show that Canadian tariff policy against American goods was virtually non-existent, and that this was not helping our development a bit.

"As all of you know," she said, "Canada has the fewest and weakest set of non-tariff barriers. What has all this free trade gotten us? The distinction of being the world's pre-eminent importers of manufactured goods and a deficit in end-products of \$11 billion."

Ms. Johnston raised another point: "When three-quarters of our trade is with the U.S., free trade in general is really free trade with the U.S. for all practical purposes. I think the record of the last few years testifies to the folly of such a proposal. Of the \$8 billion deterioration in end-products trade between 1971 and 1977, a full \$6 billion is a reflection of the marked deterioration in our bilateral trade with the U.S.

"Market forces and government policies are pulling U.S. production home and we are an easy target. It is no coincidence that the trade account began to deteriorate when the U.S. balance of payments began its steep descent. And if, as I would argue, tariff cuts will exacerbate this pattern, tariff elimination in the form of a common market would make it that much worse.

"Recently, I asked an executive officer of Firestone Canada whether or not tariff reductions would shift the balance against Canadian production. His response was quick and to the point. He didn't even have to consider his answer. There was no question in his mind. In the absence of safeguards, the complete elimination of protection would see the wholesale withdrawal of significant production."

The complicating factor that both the Canadian and American economies are dominated by the "multinational" corporation was alluded to in other papers. Quoting a Mr. Italo A. Ablondi, U.S. International Trade Commissioner, the executive director of the Canadian Apparel Manufacturers Institute, Peter Clark, stated:

"In my view, the relative structures of production within the United States and Canadian markets are governed by decisions made in the corporate offices in Detroit, which are based on the best interests of the multinational corporations, irrespective of United States or Canadian national interests. While we in Canada might think or suspect that a U.S.-based multinational will always operate in the U.S. interest, we may be a bit xenophobic. Canadian multinationals such as Alcan and Massey-Ferguson do not always act in the Canadian interest. They, like other MNEs, try to act in their own interests which often transcend national interests. Strong governments like the U.S. admini-

stration can, however, engage in jaw-boning and arm-twisting with their multinationals to achieve national objectives."

Perhaps as an example of American government "jaw-boning," Clark continued: "Commissioner Abdoni felt that the Automotive Products Arrangement had not caused outflows of U.S. capital. He stated: 'In fact, among the major motor vehicle manufacturers, virtually all investment in new plant and equipment in

Canada was financed by retained earnings of the Canadian affiliates of the United States manufacturers and Canadian sources. Thus, there was no outflow of capital from the United States for such purposes.'"

Aside from Ms. Johnston, the case against a common market with the U.S. was expressed most forcefully by Don Pollock, speaking from the viewpoint of the metal fabrication industries in Canada.

"There is little doubt in my mind that freer North



American trade would jeopardize a significant part of the manufacturing investment already in place in Canada, whether Canadian or foreign, among the three sectors. Both Canadian and foreign-owned groups would attempt to adjust to what will be a significantly more hostile environment.

"Foreign-owned firms would attempt to maximize their investment, either by integrating their facilities into a broader North American framework and/or assigning world product charters to their Canadian plants. This has already happened to a degree in the machinery sector and there are certain noteworthy examples of world product charters in the electrical industry, such as large air blast circuit breakers and hydro generators in Canadian General Electric and gas turbines at Westinghouse Canada. It is to be hoped that the world product charter route would be pursued rather than the integration route as this will develop a significantly higher level of quality of employment in Canada.

"The response of Canadian-owned firms would be to have a go at the U.S. market with some portion of their product offering in the hopes of identifying a North American market niche. As noted earlier, the cost of such an undertaking would probably be of such a magnitude as to preclude all but those companies with above average financial, marketing and managerial resources.

"Looking at new manufacturing investment, I believe the outlook will be bleak for Canada. Freed of tariffs, new manufacturing investment would flow into those areas providing the highest productivity, and lowest costs, hence highest returns. In an organization which already possessed dedicated plants (usually in the United States) a better return could be achieved from the modest (say 10 per cent expansion) necessary to accommodate the additional Canadian volume, rather than the construction of a new dedicated facility in Canada. Recent events, however, would indicate that until Canadian governments run out of money, this differential can be overcome."

J. J. Shepherd, vice-chairman of the Science Council of Canada, expressed how the weak get weaker in any common market arrangement:

"It is interesting to note, from the example of the United Kingdom and the European Common Market, what tends to happen, even between economic units of relatively equivalent size, when one participant suffers from serious industrial deficiency. Over the period 1977-78, the U.K. visible balance of trade with the European economic community has moved from a deficit of 185 million pounds to one of 1.67 billion pounds. The Canadian-U.S. situation is much worse. Not only is there a vastly greater differential in size and strength, there is also the fact of foreign ownership in Canada which tends to hinder rationalization and regeneration.

"All this experience would tend to suggest that when a strong country meets a weaker one in an open trading arrangement, the weaker party tends to become even

weaker, and the level of dependency tends to increase. For a small, economically weak, under-developed industrial country such as Canada to contemplate the North American common market from its current vantage point, is to fly in the face of all that evidence and to face uncertainties wholly disproportionate to possible advantage. Canada would, therefore, in pursuing such a course, be embarking on a unique and hazardous endeavour, unsupported by experience and unwarranted by potential."

Why, then, are so many serious and presumably intelligent men and women promoting the "unique and hazardous endeavour?"

The issue of economic union with the United States has been around longer than Confederation and the arguments pro and con seem well worn out. Perhaps of more interest, then, are some of the missing elements.

The United States has said nothing about the issue. This, in itself, isn't strange, but at the moment the troubled U.S. economy is uppermost on the mind of the American government. It is in the midst of some very dicey negotiations with its erstwhile allies in Europe and Japan, and anything which would serve to strengthen its position, such as free and guaranteed access to Canadian resources, water and power are probably receiving consideration.

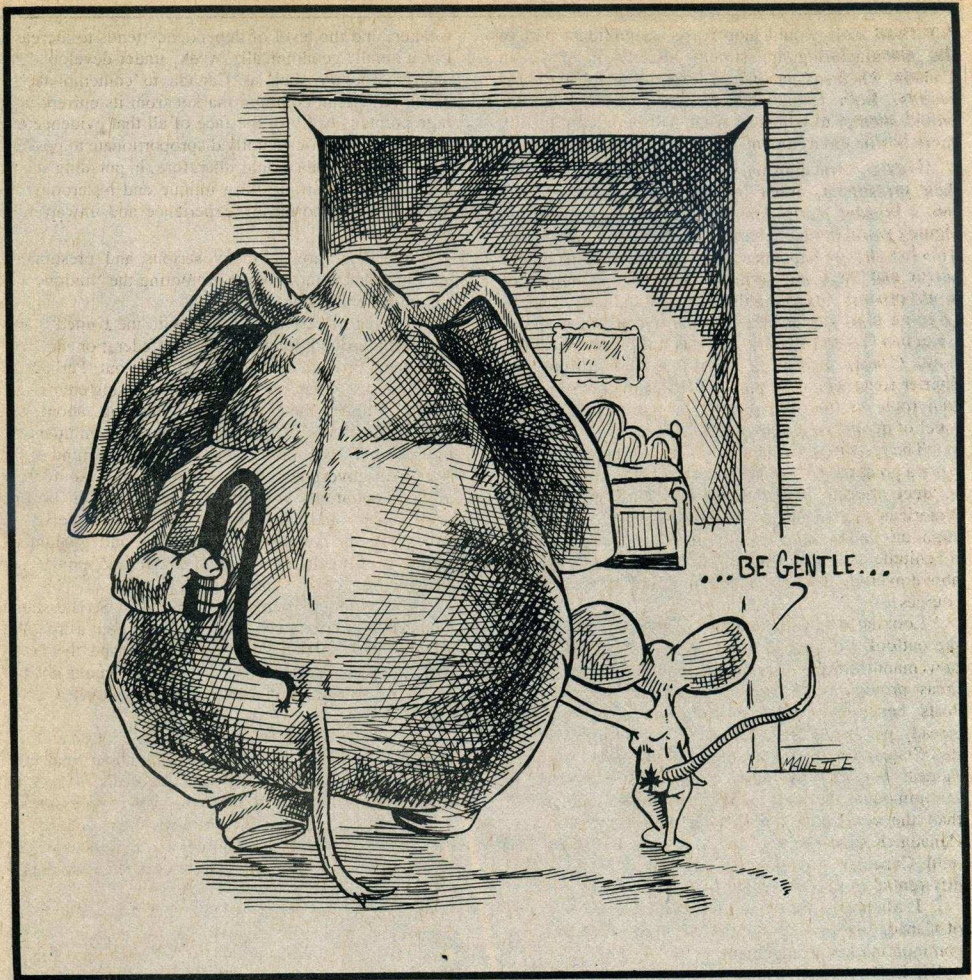
A recent report prepared for the U.S. Senate stated that, "It was premature even to think about a true and full common market between [Canada and the U.S.] . . . the sheer size of the U.S. economy could not but harm the Canadian in completely uncontrolled commerce."

Perhaps, then, the key is in the phrase "true and full common market." Maybe all the talk about total integration merely masks some selective deals — such as arrangements that would soften the growing pressure on American companies to diminish their activity in Canada, pressures to export more and manufacture less abroad, in return for more ready access to Canadian gas and oil.

There may be other irritants that are about to be negotiated away — if Canada "got on the team" at the Law of the Sea negotiations, if we once and for all forgot about the abortive "third option" of increasing our trade with the European Common Market countries, then perhaps certain American tariff barriers would also be eased.

The political element is missing from the discussion. Several months ago, the Canadian Senate committee on foreign affairs released a report which recommended that Canada "seriously examine the benefits to be derived from free trade with the United States."

Nobody responded in government. Meanwhile, the word from Ottawa is that the Prime Minister plans to crusade in the next election for a strong central government. It is hard to see this campaign working unless he puts this issue in context by suggesting, with full justification, that with more economic and political power devolved to the provinces, the process of integra-



tion with the United States would be both brutal and short.

Joe Clark and the Tories have already been smoked out on the issue. While it would be quite out of character, the sight of the Prime Minister rushing about the country shouting "The Americans are coming!! The Americans are coming!!" might well concentrate the minds of defecting Liberal voters. It might even help in the referendum in Quebec.

For a firm believer in the Paranoia School of Social Science the current silence is frightening. Somebody is about to do something.

And the questions remain.

What is going on in the rarified world of multi-lateral

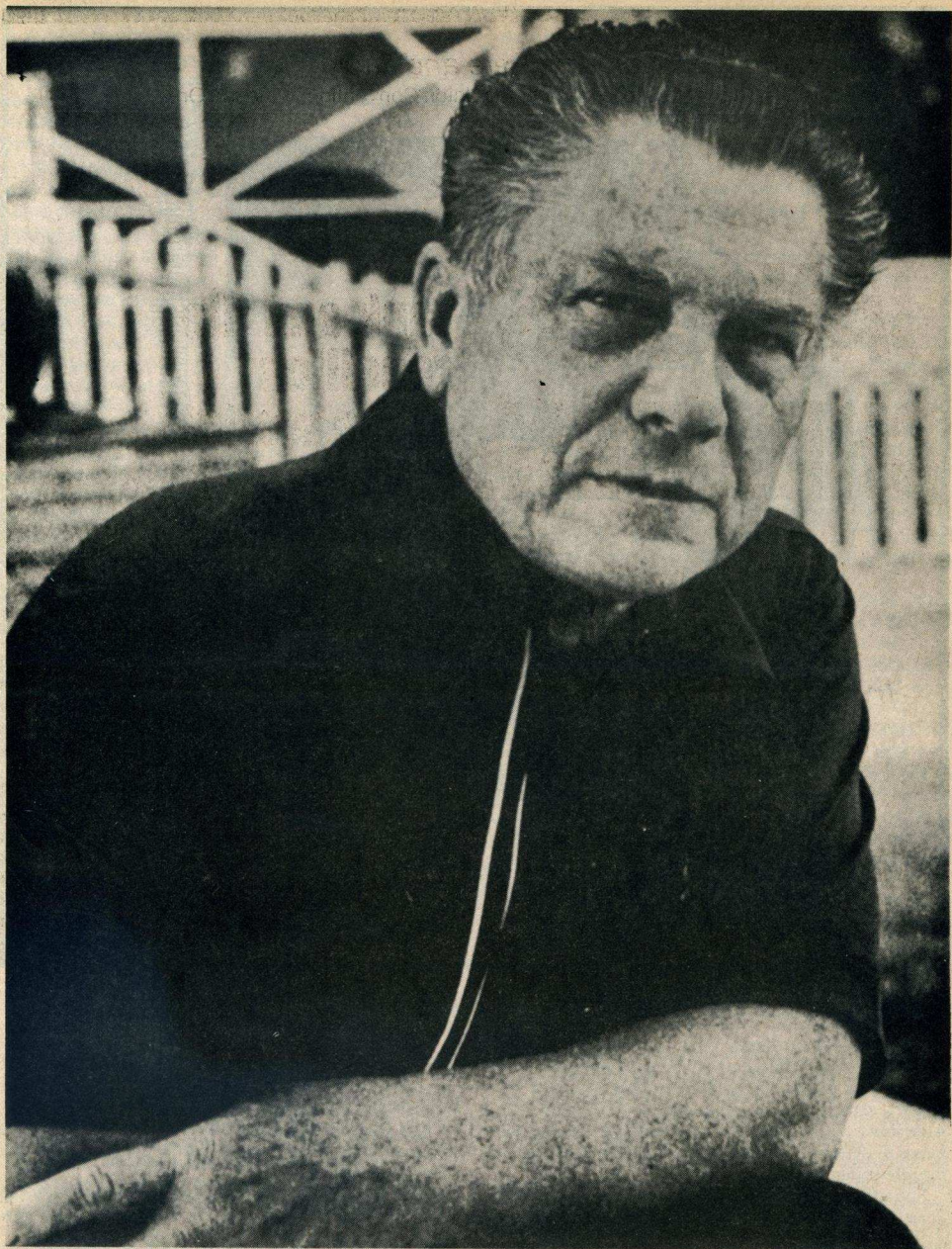
trade negotiations that have raised the option of a common market with the U.S. with new urgency?

Has the emergence of the notion of sovereignty-association between Quebec and Canada sent people off in search of this economic and political entity they call Canada and found that there wasn't one?

And what about the inscrutable Mr. Carter? When his boys get home from Geneva will he tell us what he has in store for us?

Here we are, the proverbial mouse in bed with the elephant. The foreplay may be over. We don't know what will happen next, but it is going to hurt.

Mel Watkins. Walter Gordon. Where are you now that we need you?



Jimmy Hoffa, seen shortly before his disappearance in 1975; his disappearance did not end the struggle to control the Teamsters, as a growing reform movement challenges the establishment

'We want our union back with Pete and Jack'

— Retired trucker, Teamsters for a Democratic Union Convention, Windsor, Ont.,
Oct. 22, 1978

BANQUO'S CHILDREN: rank and file rebellion in the world's biggest trade union

by Harold Crooks

I — Incident at Chateauguay

A few years ago, during a jurisdictional raid on the Brewery Workers, Louis Lacroix led 3,000 beer truck-drivers into the Teamsters. Today, he is president of Local 1,999, president of Joint Council 91, and a general organizer and director of the Canadian Conference of Teamsters.

His office is an island of synthetic opulence in Montreal's east end. The nylon carpet is thick. Framed prints of a big-time European abstract painter hang on the walls. And the young labour boss sits in an upholstered swivel chair behind a large, polished desk wearing tinted aviator glasses and gold costume jewelry.

Louis says the labour movement wasn't built in an office. But you know the decor expresses his cocksure pride in Teamster power. He has a lawyer on a \$1,000 a month retainer. Not the type that goes to management with cloth cap in hand, he'll tell you "when we go to the bargaining table we go in as equals." A 300 pound business agent in white tie and white shoes perches on the windowsill. He nods agreement.

But on this November Sunday afternoon, Louis doesn't have his equals to deal with — he has his own rank and file. Louis is on his way to a modest house in an unfinished housing development on Montreal's South Shore.

In the bare basement of the house next to a school yard, a group of truckers is gathering. They are highway drivers, members of Teamster Local 109, Canada's largest long distance freight local. Each time a trucker arrives at the door, a light from within the shiny maroon Pontiac parked in the school lot winks like a distant star. The men are being photographed by a mean-faced business agent, a paid officer of their own local.

When 19 men have assembled, a meeting begins. This scene is part of a larger drama being enacted all over the continent — in Jacksonville, Kansas City, Tacoma, Chicago, Toronto, Cleveland, Oakland, Roanoke, Miami, Oklahoma City, Atlanta, Youngstown, Vancouver, and dozens of other places.

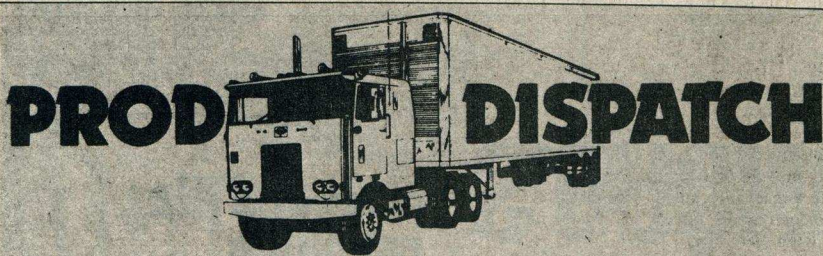
The truckers make a rough circle, some in garden chairs, a few on a bare mattress. Others lean up against the walls between washer, dryer, and water heater. The men are mostly middle-aged. They have mortgages and kids. And a lot of grievances about how their union is run. The guy who owns the place has sent the wife and kids to his mother-in-law's. Harassment was a possibility. Now it lurks in the school yard.

10411.
 Prominent Teamster officials named in the suit include: Ohio Teamster bosses

investment
 transactions itemized by the Labor Department involve up to \$130 million worth of CSPF assets.

"This suit is a victory for PROD, PROD members, and all rank-and-file

for
 prosecut



"Teamsters United For Teamster Reform"

25¢ Per Copy

No. 38

January-February, 1978

Presser Ousted, Rip-Off Halted In Ohio Drivers Fund Clean-Up

A major rip-off of the Ohio Highway Drivers Welfare Fund has been stopped through concerted action by PROD, the U.S. Labor Department, and an individual PROD member, Larry Mueller, of New

Under terms of the settlement, Knee has been forced to repay the fund \$561,950 by the end of January, resign all fund jobs, and agree not to

Washington where fund records are open for public inspection.

Hi in hel these

\$1

Of
 Ele

As
 down
 over
 profes
 of ind
 ating t
 Equitab
 The
 have b
 to det
 which
 \$1.4
 Sin
 money
 of ques
 fund l
 secured
 consid

In
 comp,
 losses
 \$500 m
 Amc
 \$25 m
 Allen
 luxury

The newspaper of PROD, a reform movement that grew out of a conference on trucking safety called by Ralph Nader

The men have met to find out about PROD, one of the two Teamster dissident movements. "PROD," explains the greying chairman, a Quebec Teamster since 1946, "is not a union. This is legal. Don't let the guys out there scare you. We aren't trying to form a dual union. PROD is a rank and file association. It's the guardian angel of union democracy."

In the yard Omer, a grisly bull, gets out of the Pontiac and paces. Until overturned in a recent election he was Local 109's president. He smiles from behind dark shades when you kid him about how grisly he is.

As the meeting gets underway, Louis and his grey Chrysler glide into the yard. Where his henchmen would as soon impale you on the nearby cyclone fence, Louis adds a Gallic elegance to the Teamster style. He's smooth.

A thin blue-eyed driver comes into the yard to invite Louis into the house. Louis declines, and they get into a debate about the Ralph Nader-inspired PROD. As they argue, the meeting continues and the occasional sound of applause rises out of the basement.

Meanwhile, Omer signals two musclemen cruising in a sagging lime Ford to keep to the side. From behind curtains, neighbours peer at a dozen or so cars. Pressing his gut against the fence, Omer reads the licence numbers. Then he turns, and squeezing his brain hard to hold all seven digits in place, returns to the Pontiac, and whispers them to a union officer. He makes about twice as many trips between Pontiac and fence as there are cars.

Louis and the trucker continue their argument. "The last contract was a sell-out. Put us back 15 years. We even lost our cost-of-living clause," Gerry, the blue-eyed driver says.

Louis doesn't deny the charge. He plays with the end of a very long cigar and looks down at his tassled brown Italian loafers. "Listen, I don't care if you set up some slate to run in the local's next election. Call it Action Democracy 109. But don't bring PROD in from the States. I've read the PROD report. It talks about Provenzano [the New Jersey Teamster official suspected of Hoffa's killing] and the pension fund scandal.

We don't have those problems here. Once you establish a parallel organization you are creating a division the employer will play on. We're trying to negotiate wage uniformity and you are bringing in goddamn PROD. It's the wrong vehicle. Go to the government. Ask to see our books."

"I did ask," Gerry tells the union boss.

Louis shrugs. "You let in a monster to clean up the problem and maybe the monster won't leave."

"Maybe the monster is already in," Gerry answers.

In the basement, the men are angered by the intimidation. The photographs. The goons. The licence number taking. Says one pot-bellied driver, "you can't get them to settle a grievance but they're down here with the top brass for our meeting. Shit. That's like Fitzsimmons showing up."

A few hours later. Louis and the goons have vanished. And the 19 Teamsters agree to organize a founding convention of a PROD chapter in early '79.

Originally, PROD was a lobby for trucking safety in the United States. It grew out of a conference called by Ralph Nader, and was supported by his grants. Hoffa's disappearance in 1975, and a PROD study *Teamster Democracy and Financial Responsibility* gave the fledgling organization the status (for the media) of his majesty's loyal opposition.

The PROD report was a detailed analysis of how the Teamster bureaucracy blurs the line between the union's treasury and its officers' wallets. It revealed how the top brass exercise almost absolute power over the union affairs of 2.3 million members.

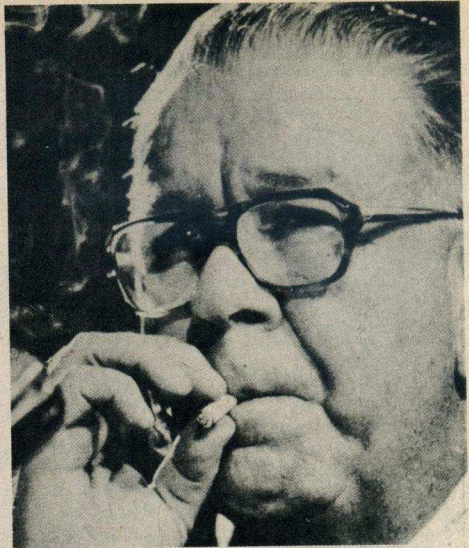
At five bucks, the PROD report is highly recommended for its insights into the reality of the business of selling labour — Teamster style. For instance, you'll learn that General President Frank Fitzsimmons received more money in '74 than the presidents of the Autoworkers, the Steelworkers, and the Machinists combined.

Not that the rank and file has no right to reward its champions as handsomely as the MacDonald's hamburger people do theirs. But an insatiable parasitism feeds on the rich blood circulating through the Teamster body. And PROD points the accusing finger at the 1961 constitution of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT).

Tailored to suit the immediate needs of Hoffa's imperial vision, the 1961 constitution expressed ambitions unheard of since Big Bill Haywood and the Industrial Workers of the World sowed fear and loathing. Gone were the days when Teamsters claimed no more than "if it rolls on rubber, it's ours." The grand design was "to organize under one banner all workmen engaged in industry."

To that end the constitution concentrated authority into the General President's hands. Hoffa could now singlehandedly wield the union like a whip. He could reward loyalists with multiple jobs. And punish, by taking them away.

In different waters, with the tight ship in different



General President Frank Fitzsimmons — more money than the heads of the Autoworkers, Steelworkers and Machinists combined

hands, the whip could as easily be turned against its own crew. And such has been the story on the good ship "Fitzsimmons."

In some ways the man at the helm continued to run the ship as Hoffa had. Fitz also demanded absolute fealty from the IBT hierarchy. For supporting McGovern rather than Nixon, international veep Harold Gibbons, a Hoffa loyalist, had his salary reduced from \$118,000 to \$18,000. This was the first and last public opposition within the international executive board.

When Edward Lawson, President of the Canadian Conference of Teamsters, objected to Fitz's treatment of Gibbons, Fitz handed our Senator from Spy Hill, Saskatchewan a \$15,000 pay cut. For the few years Lawson remained in bad odour, the Teamsters paid Fitz's cook more than they paid Canada's top Teamster and 'labour' Senator.

But the difference between Hoffa and Fitz is that where Hoffa was passing along an increased share of the pie to the rank and file, sweetheart deals, kickbacks, dubious loans, nepotism, and cronyism tend to consume more than their share of Fitz's pie. And that gave rise to the dissident movement.

When Fitz rolled like an 18-gear tractor trailer over dissent at the 1976 IBT convention, PROD changed gears itself. Following the example of the other dissidents, Teamsters For A Democratic Union, PROD shifted from lobbying government to fighting for democracy in the union halls. The new tactic was to organize at the local level to select reformers. They

would amend local by-laws and send delegates to future conventions.

The PROD newspaper continues to publish its investigations into crooked labour contracts and crooked use of local kitties. And its hat is in the rank and file ring in spite of its report's sad prognosis that "in the Teamsters there will be no Jock Yablonski's [a Nader-generated Mineworkers reform candidate] or Eddie Sadlowski's, there will be no one."

II — Teamster Bonapartism, Emperor Jimmy and the Code Hoffa

July 30, 1975. Imagine Hoffa's assassins, in a reeking garbage dump, holding their breaths the time it takes to incinerate a body. These sweating regicides in double knits and snap brims have a vision. Hoffa smiling in the flames. Like murdered Banquo smiling at MacBeth. Not that they read Shakespeare. In fact, one of them came 124th out of 125 at Union City High. Their sweat runs cold. Let's get outta here. A Lincoln screams from the dump. But no sooner has the ash floated over the Detroit River than an international reform movement is born. The dissidents are Banquo's children, that is to say, they are the rightful heirs.

The Teamsters are a union like no other. Larger than the next three major unions, just their factory workers make them the U.S.'s fourth largest manufacturing union. They have organized nurses, cops, stewardesses and garbage men. But the truckers and freight workers, who are united in massive numbers through national contracts, hold the key to Teamster politics.

Unlike the clean, progressive unions, the Teamsters keep growing. Their cocky, flamboyant style haunts liberal America. And Bobby Kennedy, the apotheosis of liberal America, in the most massive legal assault in U.S. history, never succeeded in curbing their power, which in the context of American unionism is the Teamsters' real crime.

Why? Because the Teamsters have played the capitalist's game with a vengeance. The Mineworkers, the Autoworkers and the Steelworkers organized the Giants. And that was that. The Teamsters did something very different.

They organized tens of thousands of small shops in the free enterprise sector of the American economy — its nether world. This fact, more than the endlessly documented co-minglings of mobsters with Teamsters, is what makes the 'truckers' union such a tough nut to crack.

Right from the start the IBT paradox was evident. Local cartage was a fiercely competitive affair. By

being tough enough to monopolize the supply of workers, the union could make or break an individual employer.

A dishonest union officer might take a bribe and sell a sweetheart. But an honest one was not spared a dilemma. He was in a position to regulate the local industry in the union's interest. Did he put the marginal firm out of business to raise wages, or did he let it survive in order to give out as much work as possible?

Without ideology and rhetoric, the 'labour' business had led the Teamsters into the promised land of worker's control. By drawing back from the full implication of their power the Teamsters always walk a fine line between being good trade unionists and criminals.

Every day some officers in the nearly 800 IBT locals are being tempted. A quote from Steven Brill's book *The Teamsters* (1978) illustrates how a labour monopoly among competing businesses creates terrible pressure:

"Another business agent remembered that the owner of one small company had offered him . . . some money to allow his company to go out of business, and re-open under his son's name, without a union contract."

In Quebec, with its 20,000 members in 350 shops, Teamster flesh has known moments of weakness. During the period Denis X. was an organizer, the membership grew by 65 per cent. Denis was so successful one year the *International Teamster* announced his was the fastest growing local. He hung around parking lots and taverns near non-union shops convincing fearful workers to join. Ten, 20, 50 signatures were often enough. Several times, his boss, the local's president, never negotiated a contract. To Denis it was obvious. The companies were making deals. And Denis was fired for objecting too strongly.

Brazeau transport, part of an Abitibi based conglomerate which is trying to buy the Bronfman share of CFCF, owes its competitive edge to a cut-rate IBT contract. And the *Wall Street Journal* claims many of the biggest companies are going along with "a sweetheart contract racket" in trucking and warehousing.

A once powerful Teamster told Brill "that the labour movement had maintained its integrity to the extent it has always amazes me . . . Somebody is always trying to make a deal with you . . . That more guys haven't succumbed is beyond my comprehension."

The typical attitude to sharp practice by Teamster officialdom has changed. In the old days it would be summed up as: "I don't give a damn if Jimmy's shootin' craps on the White House lawn so long as he's gettin' us decent contracts." As the IBT's ranks swelled, and collective bargaining was increasingly centralized, petty local graft was overshadowed by the successes of higher Teamster brass in negotiating enormous redistributions of wealth. In the minds of hundreds of thousands of Teamsters this enormous shift of wealth — from the boss to the men — was Jimmy's doing. And there was more than a little truth to the myth



Detroit local 299 was Hoffa's home base and is Fitz's today; in this 1965 picture of the local's officials, Fitz and Hoffa sit side-by-side in the front row

of Saint Jimmy of the Highways.

Anyone who'd ever seen him once says how awesome he was. Five foot five but larger than life. Large enough to subsume all crimes committed under the umbrella of growing Teamster wealth and influence. He slept with two guns at his side, and perhaps for the first time, hundreds of thousands slept decent, innocent sleeps in warm, clean beds.

The McClellan and Kennedy pursuit of top Teamsters could never hold a candle to the intense loyalty of his constituents. Maybe he was a criminal, but he was our criminal.

How did all this come about?

In 1932, total IBT membership was 82,000. Less than the publication runs of today's dissident Teamster press.

Trucking mushroomed during the '30's. Hard rubber-tired Packards and Arrows disappeared. And air-tired rigs moved over improved highways allowing thousands of hard-pressed businesses to operate on low inventories.

West coast long-distance drivers were the first to be organized regionally. But it was the combination of flat-nosed Chicago unionists and the Trotskyists of

Minneapolis Local 574 that first established regional rather than local collective bargaining for highway drivers.

Their 1938 *multi-local* contract set the stage for a vast agglomeration of union power. The highway driver gave the IBT the means to leapfrog-organize all over the continent. And regional contracts eventually funnelled billions into health, welfare and pension funds — each with its own unique history. Consequently, trucking officials still dominate IBT politics today when there are 800 locals in over a dozen different industries.

A few years later, the Nazis were off the leash, and at home, the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) was at war with the American Federation of Labour (AFL). Trotskyism was hardly a winning hand. And Dan Tobin, the IBT president and an AFL loyalist, used his authority to banish the Minneapolis Trots.

The Trotskyite leaders and their drivers bolted to the CIO. So Tobin dispatched Hoffa and "one hundred crack guys" from Detroit to bust the rebellion. When the smoke cleared, the Trots were behind bars for sedition, and Hoffa was the new negotiating chairman for 250,000 highway drivers in 11 states.

Back in Motown, the CIO raided Hoffa's haulaway drivers local. CIO and Teamster toughs wrestled in the streets. And Hoffa resorted to a vicious mobster's henchmen to keep control of his territory.

In his recent book *Hoffa Wars*, Dan Moldea views the Teamster victory as a tragedy for the trade union movement.

"The CIO's defeat," he writes, "became the major factor in Hoffa's rapid plunge from union reformer to labor racketeer. His pact with the underworld, no matter how tenuous at the time, took him out of the running as a potentially great leader of the Teamster rank and file."

The logic seems dubious. Mob connections do not necessarily and by themselves make a trade unionist ineligible for greatness. Especially in a schizoid society where the conflict between Puritanism and "laissez-faire" creates the conditions for mobster power.

Besides, the Teamsters are pariahs anyway. Not only has the union always threatened the status quo between employer and employees, but also between employer and employer, and union and union.

They are a growing union. Growth is their central, and perhaps only, principle. And growth creates conflict. Having organized widely scattered, under-capitalized transport and warehousing companies, the IBT is always at war on a thousand fronts. At times, it turns its war machine on other unions. In 1961, the Canadian Labour Congress expelled the IBT for refusing to stop raiding transport workers claimed by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

In '64, Teamster imperialism bestowed a master freight agreement upon a third of its subjects. It is

Hoffa's claim to trade union greatness.

To sign this first national contract, Hoffa had to surmount resistance inside the IBT. Here was the hardest hurdle. At stake for hundreds of local officials was the loss of their power. For in any union, the right to negotiate is what confers power. Hoffa got 360 locals to give up their individual bargaining responsibilities.

In *Hoffa and the Teamsters* (1965), Ralph and Estelle James describe Hoffa criss-crossing America with his court, demanding the right to conduct negotiations.

"... from all over the country, Hoffa's lieutenants descended upon San Mateo to hear their leader deliver his ultimatum to the Teamster officials of the 11 Western states ... In one of the most forceful, dramatic speeches of his career, Hoffa outlined the history of the powerful Central States Drivers Council ... summed up his expansion into the South and East ... compared the conduct and results of ... negotiations ... and strongly condemned the ... Western contract. He made it clear ... he would not have an inferior agreement held up to him by employers as a guide in future ... negotiations."

By 1964, Hoffa was the negotiator for 450,000 cartage workers. And sat down to bargain with 12,000 companies. His first national contract was the Code Napoleon of industrial unionism.

When Emperor Jimmy was jailed in '67, his imperial design was not fully in place. A high-ranking Hoffa loyalist claims the leader wanted to set up a "clearly structured government for the national agreement" to replace regional committees. He never got the chance.

The central principle of the Code Hoffa — the na-

Crisis in the Teamsters

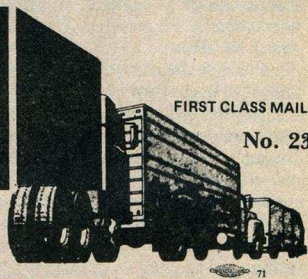
See inside
pages 4&5

CONVOY

Voice Of
Teamsters For A Democratic Union

P.O. Box 99133, Cleveland, Ohio 44199

Phone: (216) 431-6083



MEMBERSHIP SPLIT HURTS
Lose Close One



Convoy, the newspaper of the Teamsters for a Democratic Trade Union reform movement



Jack Vlahovic and Pete Camarata, candidates for General Secretary Treasurer and General President, at the 1978 rank and file convention in Windsor, Ont.

tional contract — was uniformity. Everyone was lumped together. It took a two-thirds vote to reject a contract. And no separate ratification was permitted by region or type or work. Thirty per cent of the entire IBT membership was now in a straightjacket.

With neither Hoffa nor a representative government to negotiate the tri-annual agreement, revolt was only a question of time.

The steel haulers revolted first. They wildcatted in '67, '70, '73, and '74. Ironically, it dawned on reformers dedicated to union democracy that they could use the national contract to build a rank and file movement.

III — Pete and Jack

Michigan is the industrial tenderloin. Its seeds are scattered on every street in America. So here is where the Teamsters' grip is firmest.

Detroit Local 299 was Hoffa's home base. As it is Fitz's today. After Hoffa was locked up, a violent struggle ensued for control of the local. It has been waged with shotguns, dynamite, arson, and murder.

In 1974, as his lawyers were fighting restrictions on his return to office, Hoffa became the one hope for 299's bullied dissidents. And Hoffa saw that rank and file discontent with the entrenched Fitzsimmons bureaucracy was his ticket. Detroit loyalists were making way for Hoffa to hold local office. And young reformers like Pete Camarata were selling tickets for dinners honouring the fallen leader.

When Hoffa disappeared, Camarata's group of activists split up. Some went underground. If "they" could get Jimmy, "they" could get anyone. Camarata, and some others, went to hear a new group based in Cleveland, Teamsters For A Decent Contract (TDC).

TDC was formed by various Teamster militants in '75. It was to be a grass roots movement for truckers, car haulers, and United Parcel Service employees. Ken Paff, a young steelworker's son and TDC founder, said to those who saw Hoffa as a rank and file saviour, "this guy's gone to his grave. What are we gonna have? A resurrection?"

TDC strategy was to apply pressure on the national contract negotiators. After Fitz called off his 3-day national strike in '76, TDC inspired a wildcat. Led by shop steward Camarata, it shut down Detroit a few days more.

For the 1976 IBT convention, Local 299, with 15,000 members, was required by law to elect extra delegates. Camarata, an autoworker's son and college



Detroit teamster Dennis Wade, an ex-paratrooper, speaks at TDU convention

drop-out, polled the most votes. And was off to Vegas.

At Caesar's Palace, Camarata found he was the only elected dissident. He was then a member of PROD, and Teamsters For A Democratic Union (TDU), which the month before was formed out of TDC.

The convention was carefully orchestrated. Neither PROD's nor TDU's, nor Camarata's amendments were on the order paper. They proposed: ceilings on officer's salaries; expulsion of convicted extortionists; rank and file election of the IBT General President and executive board; and special ratification rights to national contracts.

All Camarata could do was object to Fitzsimmon's election being unanimous. He told 2,253 hushed delegates, "I have a right now to say for an old friend — that you haven't seen for almost a year now — that he wouldn't like it if there wasn't at least one dissenting vote at this convention. And I would like to go on record to say that you have it."

For his one discordant note, he got a shit-kicking on a Vegas sidewalk. In his *Hoffa Wars*, reporter Moldea claims it was a botched effort to kill him.

The beating attracted attention. And soon, TDC had 25 chapters, one of which was Local 213. This local has jurisdiction for road, pipeline and heavy construction in B.C. and the Yukon, and is the largest of its kind in IBT. It is Edward Lawson's, Canada's top Team-

ster's rotten borough.

North of the 49th parallel, there are no national contracts. Locals tend to be run like hamburger franchises. And local barons rule the roost. When Senator Lawson's regime faced a reform slate in a January 1977 election, it was a bitter fight. At stake was control of a local about to grow richer and more important on a \$10 billion pipeline job. Sharp propaganda replaced Detroit style bombs and guns. And Jack Vlahovic, a hard-eyed union organizer, won. At least he thought he had. However, the bureaucracy served Vlahovic a dozen charges of misdeeds, \$25,000 in fines and lifetime banishment from union office; it's been claimed he had refused to make a deal to give the incumbent he defeated a sinecure.

Ostensibly, at issue was the power to appoint and fire business agents (B.A.s). Every day, when the industrial clutch is let out, and a Teamster and his job engage, it's the B.A.'s job to deal with any resulting friction. Necessarily he tends to be a rather tough character, as easily sicked on a dissatisfied Teamster as on an unfair boss.

In Camarata's local, attempts to amend by-laws so as to elect B.A.s — part of TDC's rank and file Bill of Rights — led to fist fights. Whenever Camarata's mastery of Robert's Rules of Order proved too much, B.A.s swaggered through the hall exposing handguns. And the meetings were summarily adjourned.



Les Henderson, chairman of the B.C.-Yukon chapter of TDU (left) with Pete Camarata

After the Autoworkers, the Steelworkers, and even Fitz denounced the well-financed right wing crackpot U.S. Labor Party, their anti-TDU literature was reportedly still being distributed in Local 213. Their *The Plot to Destroy The Teamsters* claimed Camarata a gun-runner, and TDU part of a Rockefeller-financed plot to de-industrialize the U.S.

Responding to the circulation of the publication in Local 213, a TDU official said, "it is odd that Ed Lawson would be talking about money. While TDU exists on voluntary donations from Teamster members, he enjoys five salaries from our dues . . . His total in '76 was \$143,617. His salaries were more than TDU spent for a whole year."

One phase of Vlahovic's expensive legal battle ended when the IBT executive dropped most charges. Except he cannot run for office until 1982. This is convenient for the incumbents. It eliminates Vlahovic from the 1981 convention.

From Washington came PROD's attorney's charges. He said "Vlahovic's removal is part of a naked power grab by Lawson and other Canadian Teamster union bureaucrats opposed to militant, honest, democratic trade unionism. They want to keep Local 213 under the thumb of the International and operating just like any other IBT dues-collection agency."

Vlahovic and the B.C.-Yukon TDU chapter are tak-

ing their case to the B.C. Supreme Court. If the court re-instates him as principal officer of 213, along with the president of an Oklahoma City sleeper cab local, he'd become the highest IBT official in the dissident movement.

For now, TDU and PROD, who between them claim 9,000 dues-paying members, are preparing grass roots demands for the 1979 national contract. Once hostile, the two groups have agreed to a contract coalition. And at the local level, both are working to elect reformers.

During the TDU dance benefit in Toronto, Pete Camarata talked about the challenge. "Local elections. That's where the dirty tricks are. That's where it takes guts."

As he spoke beneath a portrait of Queen Elizabeth, pink and green strobe lights played on the bald dome of this Sicilian quarry worker's grandson. Some day it could carry the crown of a blue collar empire. As unlikely as that seems today, a younger, better educated generation of Teamsters may find a more liberal union a strong priority.

When they do a Camarata-Vlahovic slate for the top IBT jobs might be the only creditable alternative.

Whatever the future of the dissident movement, trade union democracy in the Teamsters will be harshly tested in the illiberal marketplaces they have organized.

Read the POSTs you've missed!

Special Offer

The Last Post back issues listed below are available for \$1.00 each. If, however, you order all 44 available issues, there's a special, reduced price of \$30, a saving of \$14.

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**

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: Not available

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**

Vol. 7, No. 1: The FLQ exiles interviewed in Paris; Quebec launches the 'Year of the U.S.'; China after the Gang of Four; news briefs and reviews. **\$1.00**

Vol. 7, No. 2: Exporting drug addicts from B.C.; the political scene in Quebec; Bilingualism in the U.S.; the The men who built the West's railways; The coming Liberal leadership race; and lots more. **\$1.00**

06 17

07 18

08 19

09 20

10 21

ORDER FORM

11 22

12 23

13 24

I enclose

14 25

15 26

\$ _____ for back issues Nos. _____

16 27

17 28

\$30.00 for all the available back issues

18 29

19 30

Send with cheque or money order to:

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

Name
Address

Postal Code

ONTARIO DEMOTES

by MITCHELL BEER

photo: CP

The International Nickel Co. (Inco) has received much publicity for its layoffs, anti-union activities and occupational hazards. But another, less frequently heard side of the story — Inco's abuse of the environment — is as significant as any of the more familiar problems.

The recent relaxation of Ontario's pollution control requirements for Inco is an example of how provincial policy fits the picture. Government's willingness to reset or ignore pollution standards, vacillation on the part of the official opposition to a minority government, and frustration of public interest groups who find themselves with little or no effective recourse, are apparent in this and any number of other cases.

A series of three pollution control orders, issued July 31 by the provincial Ministry of Environment, required Inco to hold sulphur dioxide emissions to 3,600 tons per day. The orders, which included limits for other pollutants and provisions for environmental testing (mostly by the company), replaced a previous order requiring Inco to reach 750 tons a day by the end of 1978.

Sulphur dioxide from Inco and other sources is a major cause of acid rain, which the U.S. Department of Agriculture calls "perhaps the most serious environmental dilemma of this century."

Joe Castrilli, researcher with the Canadian Environmental Law Association (CELA), said the new orders "demonstrate the hopeless irony of Ontario environmental policies," which "encourage industry to pollute, not clean up." Dan McDermott of Greenpeace-Toronto called it a "flagrant miscarriage of the Environment Minister's function — it would seem that his job would be to protect the environment, not hasten its deterioration."

Ervan McIntyre, director of the Environment Ministry's northeastern region, said the new orders were based on studies conducted in the Sudbury area since 1972, when Inco installed a 1,250-foot "super-stack" on its Copper Cliff smelter. The new stack disperses pollutants beyond the immediate area of the



George McCague worried about 'over-regulation' of the environment at a time of high unemployment

smelter, McIntyre said, "but that doesn't mean it's creating harmful effects elsewhere."

Ministry staff "hope to have our studies completed by late 1980" to determine whether emissions from the Inco or Falconbridge Nickel Co. plants are responsible for acid rain, McIntyre said.

However, *Toronto Star* reporter Ross Howard wrote Aug. 12 that the federal Atmospheric Environment Service (AES) had traced the Inco plume as far as Toronto.

"One of the first tests, on Aug. 30, 1976, showed that a mass of air laden with sulphur dioxide hit Metro 18 hours after it left Sudbury," Howard reported. "The plume travels best at night through the calm, cool air. When the ground warms up during the day in Metro —

THE ENVIRONMENT

photo: David Lloyd



Frank Miller, Provincial Treasurer, stresses 'I want to create an environment which will encourage investment'

and everywhere else under the plume all the way back to Sudbury — air currents rapidly break up the plume, and the pollution falls into the lower air masses."

"Everywhere else under the plume" includes many of the areas in Ontario where acid rain is a problem. Inco's Sudbury operations only contribute four to five per cent of the sulphur dioxide pollution in North America, but are still the single largest source, according to the Environment Ministry's McIntyre. Inco accounts for 50 per cent of Canada's emissions, according to a University of Toronto study.

In an Aug. 24 speech, Ray Robinson, director-general of air pollution control for Environment Canada, said "the air quality in the Sudbury area has improved dramatically" since installation of the super-

stack. But "clearly, the provision of appropriate air quality for the Sudbury area has resulted in the transfer of the problem elsewhere."

In a July 31 interview, McIntyre said there's "certainly no scientific information I've seen to indicate" Inco emissions are tied in to acid rain. "I think you have to be rational, and say it's a very big source, it's in a single point, it's got to have some effect — and we're trying to identify what it is."

Globe and Mail reporter Robert Sheppard wrote Aug. 25 that "Ontario environment officials have monitored rainfalls in the Muskoka and Kawartha lakes districts this summer and found them both acidic. In 26 per cent of the cases the rain clouds had passed over Sudbury, and rain from those clouds showed a higher acid

content than other samples."

McIntyre said he didn't see any conflict in Inco conducting the tests on which future control orders (or other action) will be based. "We're not going to pay for it," he said.

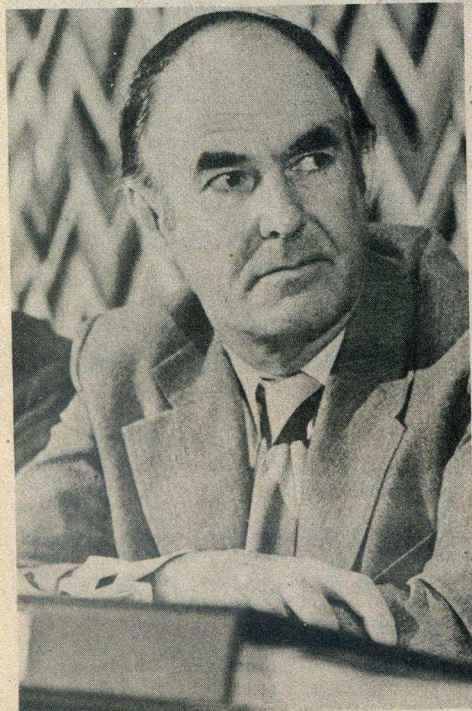
"We certainly hope they'll be objective, because they'll be reviewed by our technical staff and if they're not [objective] they'll be in trouble," McIntyre said. "I think if you're talking to a scientist you'll discover the scientists can't fix results."

But Samuel Epstein, professor of occupational health at the University of Illinois medical schools, told a conference at York University last year "you can buy whatever data you need.

"If you get answers inconsistent with your interests you can destroy, manipulate, suppress and misinterpret. A whole set of scenarios has developed, all of which have the ultimate object of protecting short-term industrial interests at the expense of society.

"It ranges from extreme incompetence, which is commonplace, to deliberate manipulation, setting up experiments so you will get the answers you want. If you get answers you don't like, you can interpret them

photo: David Lloyd



Federal Energy Minister Alastair Gillespie thought Inco layoffs were due to strict pollution control

away or destroy the data," Epstein said.

In an Aug. 2 interview, then Environment Minister George McCague said studies conducted within a 125 mile radius of Sudbury would have some value. "The air mass will travel further than that, but I don't think it means . . . that you're necessarily missing the point."

In his Aug. 24 speech, Environment Canada's Robinson said "what used to be one of the most polluted areas in Canada now has air quality better than downtown Toronto with respect to sulphur dioxide, even though the amount . . . emitted in the Toronto area is about one-eighth that emitted in the Sudbury area."

But, McCague said, while "there is some acid rain in areas outside" Sudbury, "I don't think it's been proven that it comes from Inco. Any results we have are very preliminary."

Asked whether a threat of further layoffs was behind the new control order, McCague said "the layoffs were as a result of the world nickel markets, and this order of course followed those layoffs, [but] there's no connection whatsoever between the two."

But, he said, "the only way that is known at this time to cut emissions is to cut production," and "it would, yes" result in lost jobs.

Several observers have said pollution control would instead create employment. According to one, Pollution Probe researcher Linda Pim, the "misconception is that we want something society can't afford."

Pim said Inco recently retained 50 additional employees for work related to pollution abatement.

When he was named to the environment portfolio in January, McCague said in an interview the government would "have to be careful about the restrictions we place on any project" in times of high unemployment, while "making sure, within the limits of money, that it's environmentally safe." The government would not "kill all chances of attracting industry," he said.

In a Jan. 23 statement after he was sworn in, McCague said he was concerned about "over-regulation" of the environment. He told reporters environmental protection laws in Ontario might be impeding industrial development in the province.

At the time, Pim said McCague's comments indicated "he's not going to be firm in his ministry, even though he's supposed to be there to protect the environment." The Ministry of Industry and Tourism already exists to defend business interests in Cabinet, she said, so McCague "should argue for and defend the environment, or he shouldn't be there."

Richard Pratt, environmental specialist for the Canadian Nature Federation, said McCague's comments about saving jobs were similar to a statement by federal Energy Minister Alastair Gillespie, that the Inco layoffs were due to strict pollution control. He said that notion was "invented to see if they could start using the environment as an excuse" for unemployment.

Pim said "never has Inco said the reason for the layoffs was pollution control."

McCague's successor, former Colleges and Univer-



Harry Parrott said he wouldn't 'get carried away with the glamour issues of today' like acid rain and mercury pollution

sities Minister Harry Parrott, said shortly after his appointment that he wouldn't "get carried away with the glamour issues of today" like acid rain and mercury pollution.

The new Provincial Treasurer, Frank Miller, was less guarded than Parrott. "It's been a common belief that anything which is good for companies is not good for the average working man," but "investment in the province brings jobs," the former Natural Resources Minister said in an opening statement. "I want to create an environment which will encourage investment."

Perhaps most interesting, however, is McCague's comment that "a control order is fine, to stick to 750 tons per day," but "undoubtedly the order would have been appealed by Inco . . . our staff is satisfied they couldn't prove at a hearing that the 750 was possible short of shutdown." Beyond asking whether Inco could afford proper pollution control equipment, with 1977 profits down to a mere \$99.9-million from \$196.8-million in 1976, it's interesting that Inco even had a right to appeal the order.

Because nobody else did.

"There's little a citizen can do besides lobbying for the kind of law changes" recommended in a letter by the Canadian Environmental Law Association's Joe Castrilli, according to CELA lawyer Ann Lancaster.

The letter, published Aug. 1 in the *Globe and Mail*, called for:

- Amendments to the Environmental Protection Act to allow public involvement in all pollution control negotiations before decisions are taken.

- Compensation for victims of pollution.

- Allowing any person to use the courts to protect the environment.

- Shifting the burden of proof from the victims to the polluter.

- Reducing court costs which frustrate citizens from exercising their rights.

- Granting access to information."

Lancaster said the only possible challenge to a company's right to pollute would come from the provincial Attorney-General, because "this is a matter that affects the public generally, as opposed to something that affects any individual."

It's "one of the problems with legislation in Ontario," she said, that "if the government doesn't want to enforce its laws against polluters there's not much we can do.

"There's no legal ground on which an individual could sue" government or industry except for a private damage suit against the company, Lancaster said, and those are "expensive, difficult to prove, and similar to

the case against Dow [concerning mercury on Lake St. Clair] that was recently resolved by the government" where the province dropped a \$35-million suit against Dow Chemical Ltd. and settled for a \$250,000 payment to commercial fishermen.

"This case is sort of like a repetition," she said, of the Inco orders.

So while CELA "might be doing the lobbying . . . as usual for a change in the laws," Lancaster said, as far as court action is concerned, "the answer is simply no — it's not possible." An attempt to sue the Attorney-General for breach of duty would be "expensive and probably failing."

And "as long as they're under a control order," according to Pollution Probe's Pim, Inco "can't be prosecuted, they can't even be taken to court over the issue," even if they're exceeding the limits of a control order.

In a prepared statement, Inco called the new order "a practical approach to a complex situation," which "recognizes that significant improvements were achieved in the Sudbury environment during the life of the earlier order." But beyond that, the statement simply summarizes the new order and ends, with no comment.

Asked to elaborate on the statement, Inco public relations officer Tom Dodgson said he was "not in a position to answer questions" on the order.

The Canadian Nature Federation's Pratt said the only response to the control orders he could see was to attempt to put pressure on Premier William Davis. Attempts to gain federal intervention in the construction of the Atikokan coal-fired generating station, expected to acidify rain over Quetico Provincial Park and Minnesota's Boundary Waters Canoe Area, were unsuccessful.

"The federal people have taken a hands-off approach due to the political situation," Pratt said. Charles M. Godfrey, doctor of rehabilitative medicine at Toronto's Wellesley Hospital, suggested Inco's "refusal to accept responsibility for acid rain" is "most likely the reason why [Ontario] Hydro is not planning to install scrubbers" at Atikokan.

While the purpose of the Greenpeace Foundation is "to take the global ecosystem from the ecological holocaust" through non-violent direct action, Dan McDermott said Aug. 1 the "problem in terms of taking action against Inco is that we're virtually being overwhelmed with targets." Unfortunately, he said, Greenpeace is "not overwhelmed with personnel to approach those targets."

The organization "would be responsive to any local group's suggestion that we become involved," because Inco "is as good a target as any," he said. But while "my gut reaction is that I'd really like to do something towards both McCague and Inco," Greenpeace wouldn't be likely to respond without a call from local residents.

Speaking in August, opposition environment critic

Murray Gaunt (L-Huron-Bruce) said the Liberal's main course of action would be to press for an early recall of the Legislature — but the final decision rested with Davis. Asked about a motion of non-confidence against the minority Tory government, he said, "I think we have to take one step at a time. I certainly wouldn't rule that out, but I really couldn't say at this point in time."

Little has been said since.

An issue McCague dealt with in the Aug. 2 interview was the question, raised by CELA and others, of funding intervenors to prepare public-interest submissions in cases like the Inco order. "The government has resisted that up to this point," McCague said, because "it's felt that anybody who wishes to intervene can do so with their own forces."

Most government ministries "will intervene on behalf of the public if they feel that something a company is doing . . . is incorrect," he said. "Sure, there are groups who are opposed to . . . any particular project, but to fund some research and to fund their appearance at hearings, I think they have avenues by which they can do that."

The minister said he thought funding of intervenors would be too expensive in the long run. "It would become a business to some people, at a very, very extreme cost — and I think you have to weigh whether those things are positive," he said.

In a submission on public participation in decision-making to the Royal Commission on Electric Power Planning, written for the Ontario People's Energy Network (OPEN), community organizer Jake Brooks identifies a continuum of eight levels of participation, as allowed by government or other bodies. The continuum ranges from "manipulation," where "decision-makers control [the] public's choice [and] proceedings are mystified," to "citizen control . . . not just control over [decisions], but actually providing facilities and services by and for the community."

"It's clearly a case of manipulation," Brooks said of McCague's attitude. "He's actually trying to discourage participation."

Something of an exception was the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment originally headed by provincial Supreme Court Justice Patrick Hart. But the Chiefs of Grand Council Treaties Nos. 3 and 9, representing Indians in northwestern and northeastern Ontario respectively, subsequently withdrew support from the Commission over the appointment of Ed Fahlgren, president of Cochenour Willans Gold Mines Ltd., to replace Hart.

The Commission is responsible for proposing a development strategy for Ontario "North of 50°" — an area of more than 200,000 square miles. Hart was originally mandated to investigate the Reed Ltd. proposal to clearcut 19,000 square miles of forest in the Cochenour-Red Lake area, north of Kenora, but the mandate was extended as a condition of Treaty 9's participation in the Commission.

By the time Hart's interim report was tabled in the



Treaty 9 Chief Andrew Rickard accused the government of 'sneaking around all over the place' trying to undermine the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment

provincial Legislature April 4, Treaty 9 Chief Andrew Rickard was accusing the government of "sneaking around all over the place trying to undermine the Commission" while claiming to be letting Hart do his work.

"The politicians literally used Justice Hart to stall on a lot of things and in the meantime decided on projects like Onakawana . . . and the strategic land use policy they're trying to develop," Rickard said.

The Onakawana power development is a two-part project in the James Bay lowlands of Ontario, for which the provincial Ministry of Natural Resources granted an

exclusive 21-year lease in late February — a month after Rickard called on Hart to recommend a suspension of all major developments until publication of the Commission's final report.

The lease permits Onakawana Development Ltd., a subsidiary of Manalta Coal Co. of Calgary, to strip mine soft coal (lignite) from 12,000 acres of land, at a cost of \$12,800 for each of the first five years. The lease is subject to review after each five-year period.

The coal will feed a 1,000 megawatt power station on the site, about 95 kilometres south of Moosonee. Heather Ross, Treaty 9 researcher, said environmental

assessment hearings on the project, "promised by just about everyone," will begin "in about a year."

By the time his interim report was published, a month after the lease was announced, Hartt could only recommend that Onakawana Ltd. and the Ministry of Environment "take immediate steps to discuss fully and openly the planned environmental assessment . . . with local communities and affected groups, and that the company undertake to meet their concerns in its assessment."

Rickard had already criticized the project, saying Treaty 9 members "do not know how any group of people can be so shortsighted as to advocate any non-renewable, one-shot ventures such as Onakawana."

The land use policy Rickard referred to is the West Patricia Land Use Plan (WPLUP), a Natural Resources Ministry study whose vast area of reference in North-western Ontario takes in the so-called "Reed tract."

With reference to WPLUP, Hartt's interim report identified "an evident need for a planning process which is not only sensitive to community goals and priorities, but also provides an integrated and comprehensive response to problems that northern resource and industrial development can generate."

Speaking in mid-April, Spence Hill, then a WPLUP planner and public participation officer in Cochenour, said the planning group was looking for more than mere input. "The more dialogue we can have . . . the more people who know about us, the more we get discussion back and forth, the more meaningful [the planning process] will be."

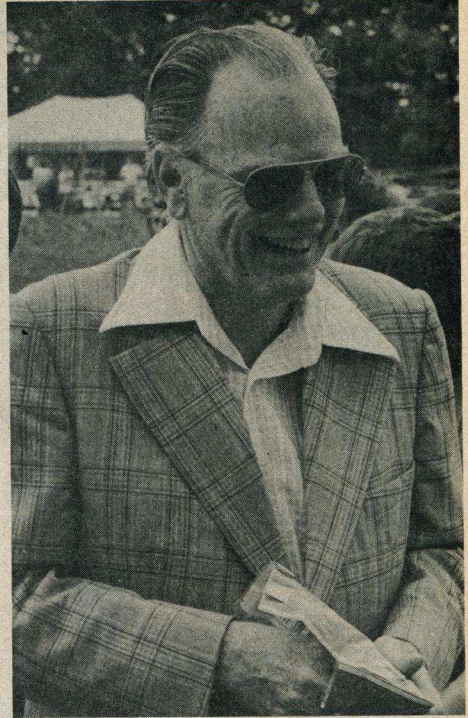
Hill said she was "excited about what the Hartt report said about West Patricia, and the implications of the high profile it gave us, in terms of public participation." But asked whether the provincial government would accept the community-oriented approach she'd expressed, Hill said "that's a political question . . . I can say how we intend to conduct the planning process, but once our recommendations go into the political forum, they're subject to political pressures — and that says how much noise various groups are making."

The outcome "is strictly political," she said, "and it depends on . . . making everyone aware of West Patricia and the land use plan, and what Hartt might mean to the land use plan."

Spence Hill resigned from WPLUP and the Natural Resources Ministry Sept. 8, without saying whether the planning process was going according to her earlier prediction.

Other development issues falling within the Royal Commission's mandate include mercury poisoning on the English-Wabigoon river system, the Atikokan power station, the wild rice harvest, the proposed Polar Gas pipeline, and a tentative plan to develop the hydro-electric potential of five major Northern Ontario rivers.

When Fahlgren was named Aug. 2 to take over the Royal Commission, a reporter commented he "probably set up the battleline . . . when he [said] that God



Environment Minister George Kerr said Reed would get no extensions; but the fine was only \$5,000

gave the world natural resources to have them developed, acknowledged paternalism toward Indians (but for their own good) and praised Northern Affairs Minister Leo Bernier."

Fahlgren, who has held a variety of top positions in the mining industry and the Red Lake Chamber of Commerce, is past president of the Progressive Conservative association in Bernier's riding of Kenora.

A senior Commission official, who declined to be identified, said Fahlgren "is honest, he has integrity, [but] he has a definite industrial bias and he thinks development will solve all our problems." If the new commissioner faces the problems brought to him with honesty and integrity, "maybe those things will win out," the official said.

But "if the biases and paternalism win out, I think it's a dead Commission."

The official, who has since left, said northerners could continue to support the Commission "if it can become something that will move people to where they want to be, and [should] use it as long as it's moving in that direction." But another possibility "is that this



Liberal leader Stuart Smith says the government 'rolls over and plays dead' when companies threaten loss of jobs

thing could just grind itself down into the dust, moving faster and faster in smaller and smaller circles."

The problem of mercury poisoning re-emerged as an issue unto itself in mid-August, when the government extended a clean-up order issued to Reed Paper Ltd. eight years ago. NDP environment critic James Foulds said Environment Ministry studies conclude that "most pulp and paper mills can afford to control their pollution to a much greater extent than they are presently doing."

Liberal leader Stuart Smith said the government "rolls over and plays dead" when companies threaten a loss of jobs. He called the Reed decision "an abject surrender and a disappointment."

Reed's plant at Dryden, Ont. has received extensions since 1970, when it was ordered to stop releasing 28 million gallons a day of untreated effluent into the English-Wabigoon system. The latest, announced by then Environment Minister George Kerr in January 1977 after Reed failed to meet a December 1976 deadline, gave the company until 1979 to comply. "Take it from me," Kerr told the *Toronto Star* then. "This time there'll be no extensions."

In mid-1977, Reed was fined \$5,000 on five counts of water pollution.

Continued consumption of mercury-contaminated fish causes Minimata disease. Named after the Japanese fishing village where it was first documented, the disease attacks the brain, and can cause crippling damage to the nervous system and death.

The Reed plant discharged 10-20 pounds of mercury a day in the water from 1962 to 1970, and similar amounts in the air.

Frank Miller, then Minister of Natural Resources, refused early in 1978 to close the English-Wabigoon system to sport fishing "until there is a clinical diagnosis of mercury poisoning" in the area.

"I suppose if we went out and tested the water today we'd find them polluting just the same as we found them when we laid the 1976 charges," Ron Goots, acting director of the Environment Ministry's Thunder Bay region, told the *Toronto Star* Aug. 11. "No, we are not collecting evidence for any further charges," he said.

A month later, Liberal leader Smith broke the news that Canadian International Paper Co.'s pulp and paper plant at Hawkesbury, on the Ottawa River, would receive an extension of a clean-up order — the third in six weeks. The new Environment Minister, Harry Parrott, said then he thought a new order was being prepared, but claimed he needed time to find out.

"The Ottawa River has been historically one of the worst examples of pollution, especially caused by paper companies," Smith said Sept. 13. "It looks like one more piece of evidence that Ontario is abdicating its responsibilities for pollution control."

In the summer of 1977, the Ministry of Environment actually polluted a lake itself, and neglected to notify a nearby Indian band whose fishing grounds were affected.

It decided to run a research project on Buckhorn Lake, near Peterborough, comparing the effectiveness of two commercial forms of the toxic herbicide 2,4-D in controlling underwater milfoil. "It's a very serious problem as far as recreational use of the water is concerned," said Geoff Carpentier, the ministry's district pesticide specialist in Peterborough, who co-ordinated the project.

Fish samples taken in July and October, 1977 showed slightly elevated 2,4-D levels, Carpentier said, even though the chemical has a breakdown period of 10-14 days. Water and sediment samples showed normal levels within 30 days. The herbicide was applied to the lake "no later than July 19, 1977," according to Mike Whetung, a councillor of the Curve Lake Indian band.

The July and October samples, as well as a later series taken in May, 1978, were analysed at the Pesticide Residue Testing Lab in Guelph, Ont., Carpentier said. But the lab isn't equipped to distinguish between 2,4-D and gasoline. Motorboats were used to take the fish samples.



NDP leader Michael Cassidy says "it is astounding, but the ministry of the environment simply does not know where it is going"

"There are tests that are more efficient, but I don't think we're set up in the province to run any of them," Carpentier said. More sophisticated test facilities in the U.S. aren't normally available in Ontario, he added.

The spot chosen for the research project, near Fox Island, was a "nice area to work," Carpentier said, with no waves or current, little wind, no boats and no habitation. However, Curve Lake residents had always used the area for fishing.

It was "just an oversight" that the band was never consulted before the tests were conducted, Carpentier said. "Unfortunately, that was the one mistake we made," but "it never occurred to us to get approval from the band to use the water surrounding their island."

In 1977, the Environment Ministry issued a permit to the Emerald Isle Ratepayers' Association, a cottagers' group, to dump 10,000 pounds of commercial 2,4-D in the milfoil off their properties, located across from the Curve Lake fishing area, according to a member of a Peterborough environmentalist group.

Carpentier said only 3,000 pounds of the permitted amount were used. The ministry research project used 100 pounds.

The chemical, 2,4-D, is a suspected cause of genetic damage, while a related herbicide, 2,4,5-T, has caused liver and lung cancer and leukemia in laboratory animals.

Dioxin, a component of 2,4,5-T, kills animals and deforms their offspring at smaller doses than practically

any other toxin.

Vol. 1, No. 1 of *Dow Canadian Insight*, a slick, glossy magazine published by the company of the same name, said 2,4,5-T has "less potential for causing birth defects than aspirin, some vitamins and common table salt." A letter from a B.C. agrologist said 2,4-D, "along with other herbicides are excellent partners in an integrated approach to vegetation management."

The International Joint Commission first warned of possible environmental hazards from development along the Great Lakes in the late 1940s. Since then, countless reports at various levels have documented the impact of government negligence (again, at various levels) on the environment.

In Ontario, the Ministries of Environment, Energy, Natural Resources, Northern Affairs, Agriculture and Northern Affairs, among others — in cases too numerous to list, let alone describe — have helped the IJC's prophecy come true.

As NDP leader Michael Cassidy said, referring to the province's problems with industrial waste disposal, "people can sleep quietly tonight, but this is such a time bomb we want to make sure that nothing happens in the future."

Cassidy was talking about one specific problem, but the comment can be applied to many others — "the potential dangers are not being taken near seriously enough by the government of Ontario." And "it is astounding, but the ministry of the environment simply does not know where it is going."

Bear View

Sam Bronfman, Peter Newman and the Establishment

by Robert Chodos

Bronfman Dynasty: The Rothschilds of the New World, by Peter C. Newman. McClelland and Stewart/Toronto. 318 pp. \$17.95 cloth.

Peter C. Newman's latest book seems to be intended for people who have already read his previous *The Canadian Establishment*. Without the necessary background provided by the earlier book, reading *Bronfman Dynasty* is a bit like seeing *Godfather II* before you've seen *Godfather I*. The book becomes a series of unrelated anecdotes, badly organized and not held together by any real unifying theme, although some of the individual anecdotes may be well told. (Even at that, one of the most vivid passages in the book is a description of the murder of Paul Matoff, a Bronfman brother-in-law, in Bienfait, Saskatchewan, in 1922. The description is by Ken John, a resident of Bienfait at the time, whom Newman quotes for more than three pages.)

Bronfman Dynasty is not primarily a book about business. The only phase of the Bronfmans' business career that Newman deals with in any detail is their bootlegging activities during the 1920s when Prohibition in the United States provided lucrative opportunities for Canadian whisky-traders. Their rapid penetration of the legal American market after the repeal of Prohibition, which was crucial in their drive to the top of the international liquor industry, is only sketchily described. There is little about the growth of their real-estate empire, and even less about their recent successes in the oil industry.

We are, on the other hand, told the complete menu of Sam Bronfman's 80th birthday party and what everybody sang at the 1976 reception for Frank Sinatra given by Leo Kolber, the "non-Bronfman Bronfman" who runs Cemp Investments, the family's principal holding company. This emphasis can in part be ascribed to Newman's preference for *People*-magazine trivialities over serious issues, but there is also something more complex involved.

The Bronfmans are Jews. Newman implicitly recognizes the importance of this circumstance by comparing them to the Rothschilds in his subtitle — the comparison has meaning only in relation to the Jewishness of both families. He also devotes considerable attention to Sam Bronfman's dogged

attempts to win admission into Canada's WASP-dominated Establishment, and the failure of those attempts right up to Bronfman's death in 1971. "He conquered the world," Newman writes, "but never Westmount."

But Newman attaches little importance to Bronfman's Jewishness in explaining his rejection by the Establishment. Instead, he blames it on the Bronfmans' being in the liquor business in a country where "sufficient vestiges of puritanism remain within the national psyche that booze is still regarded as an invention of the devil," and continuing suspicions that they did not operate strictly within the law during their bootlegging days, even though no Bronfman was ever actually convicted of anything.

Whatever the country's attitude toward booze, being in the



Allan Bronfman, Sam's youngest brother



'Mr. Sam' with his son Edgar in 1961

liquor business didn't prevent the Gooderham family from being accepted into the Establishment (we can thank Newman's earlier volume for this information). The eminently respectable Molsons have been brewing beer for well over a century, while E. P. Taylor, long the symbol of the WASP Establishment, got his start in the big time by putting together a beer cartel. Or is beer considered to be somehow less evil than whisky? (This reviewer, who has experienced both, would dissent from such a judgment.)

As for suspected illegality, Sir Hugh Allan was the key

figure in the Pacific Scandal, but he was still able to hold the "most prestigious receptions" (*Canadian Establishment* again) in late-Victorian Montreal. And while it might be argued that Sir Hugh's career was indeed tainted by his central role in the scandal, the same cannot be said for John Abbott, who according to Pierre Berton was "immersed to the ear lobes" in the very same caper. Abbott remained one of the country's top corporation lawyers and went on to become Prime Minister of Canada. And while Sam Bronfman yearned to have a building at McGill University named after him, Abbott's name has been attached to an entire college in Montreal's West Island district.

Newman undercuts his own argument about illegality by writing that "the value of the legally produced Canadian product soared as contraband in the United States and the profits of the illegal American trade gave birth to an underworld that meted out death as standard disciplinary action. It was on this brutish trade that the Bronfman family's fortune was squarely based." So now the issue is no longer illegality, but "brutishness." Was the fur trade, on which so many early Canadian fortunes were built, not "brutish"?

This is not to say that no Jew has ever won acceptance into Canada's Establishment. Sir Mortimer Davis, the Jewish "Tobacco King" of Montreal in the early twentieth century, was a member of the Mount Royal Club, which later refused to admit Sam Bronfman. Sir Mortimer's receptions, according to *The Canadian Establishment*, were on a par in prestige with those of Sir Hugh Allan. The Joseph brothers, Henry and Horace, were also early members of the Mount Royal Club, while much later Lazarus Phillips, a lawyer and Bronfman associate, Sam Bronfman's son Charles, and other Jews were admitted. David Croll was named the first Jewish Senator — an honour Sam Bronfman had hoped and even campaigned for — in the 1950s, and Phillips was appointed to the Upper House a decade later.

So neither booze, nor illegality, nor "brutishness", nor a Jewish background in itself is a sufficient criterion for rejection by the Canadian Establishment. What then did other Jews, who were accepted by the Establishment, have that Sam Bronfman lacked? British origins seem to have helped: Sir Mortimer Davis was the son of a prosperous British cigar merchant while the Josephs were a branch of the Hart family, whose founder in Canada, Aaron Hart, came to Quebec from London in 1760 on the heels of the victorious army of General Wolfe. It also seems to be better to have been around at certain times — before Jews were visible enough to be considered a threat or after they had accumulated too much clout to be excluded any longer — rather than others. And part of the truth is no doubt contained in Newman's description of Lazarus Phillips:

"As his reputation grew, Phillips somehow managed to fill the difficult role of being a token Jew without becoming a token. He discovered the secret of making non-Jews feel all warm and pleased with their tolerance, a way to remain Jewish and successful without appearing threatening. Very low key, intellectual, modest, deep, and virtuous, he lent his aura to business deals almost as if his presence were blessing them. . . . He embodied the very best way a Jew can prosper within the Canadian Establishment." In other words, Phillips made it by being willing to play the tame Jew — something Sam Bronfman never could or would do.

But there is no detailed or satisfactory examination of these questions in Bronfman Dynasty. Instead Newman simply endorses the Establishment's view of the Bronfmans. Sam's



Edgar Bronfman, with bride Georgiana Webb

generation is considered vulgar. Then, once they have made so much money that they can no longer be ignored, and once the money has been laundered by inheritance, they become acceptable. Close to half the book is devoted to profiles of the current generation of Bronfmans, and the profiles are uniformly sympathetic, ranging from the near-adulation showered on Charles to the kid-gloves treatment of the unfortunate Mitch, whose injudicious choice of friends won him some rather sordid publicity.

Newman's acceptance of the Establishment's view of the Bronfmans is not surprising in the light of Newman's more or less wholesale acceptance of the Establishment's view of itself. It is here that a reading of *The Canadian Establishment* is particularly valuable to an understanding of what he is trying to do in *Bronfman Dynasty*, and here that the new book fills out and clarifies the picture presented in the earlier one.

In both books, Newman attempts to give the impression of an adversary relationship between himself and his subjects. This takes the form in *Bronfman Dynasty* of a recounting of how Charles Bronfman got hold of a set of early galleys of the book and "expressed considerable dismay" with it, thus placing Newman in a moral dilemma since he considers it "an iron rule of my craft" never to show anything he has written to the person directly concerned prior to publication. (Interestingly, when this reviewer did a profile of Newman several years ago, Newman indicated that he would rest more comfortably if he saw the piece before publication, and when he did, recommended certain changes, so that his "iron rule" doesn't seem to apply in quite the same way when he is being written about as when he is writing.)

But it is now clear that to the extent that this adversary

relationship exists it has more to do with the distaste of the very rich and powerful for having anything at all written about them than with anything Newman actually says.

In *The Canadian Establishment* Newman permitted himself some mild and tolerable criticism of his subject, suggesting that it was too slow to adapt to changing times. On the whole, however, the book, as one reviewer said at the time, turned out to be more a peep-show than an exposé.

Bronfman Dynasty is slightly more complex, in that Newman is trying to ingratiate himself not with the Bronfmans themselves but with the Establishment that initially rejected them. Hence the relatively full treatment of the questionable aspects of the Bronfmans' rise to wealth (and the Bronfmans' understandable displeasure at that treatment). Hence also the absence of any suggestion that other large fortunes may have equally questionable origins, and hence the notion that Charles and Edgar and Peter Bronfman are worthier of our respect and admiration than were Sam and Harry and Abe.

Peter Newman is himself a Jew (which doesn't prevent him from seriously misrepresenting the Jewish concept of *yichus*). He has himself risen to a position, however marginal, in the Establishment, and in doing so he has been extremely reticent, almost secretive, about his origins. Upper-class anti-Semitism in Canada and the sometimes pathetic, sometimes absurd struggle against it by Jews with Establishment ambitions are subjects of more than academic interest to him. If he has not dealt with the questions raised by the story of the Bronfmans, it is partly because there is better sales potential in gossip than in analysis, and partly because he cannot come to terms with those questions without first coming to terms with himself.

A ride that promises everything

by EDIE FARKAS

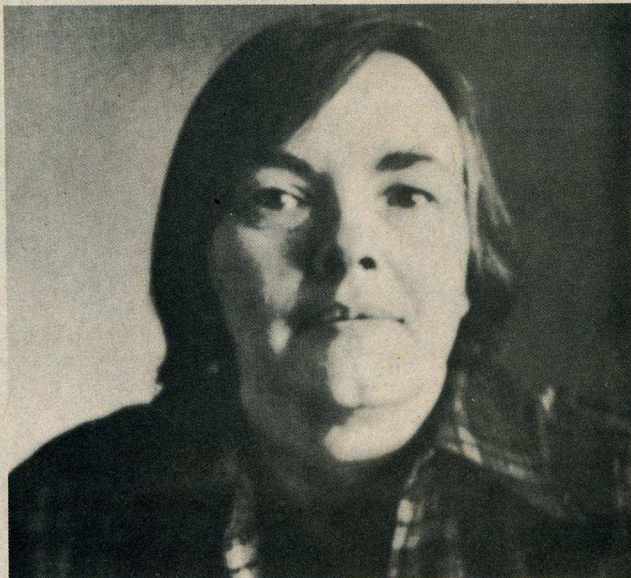
The Glassy Sea, by Marian Engel. McClelland and Stewart/Toronto. 167 pp. \$10.95.

As an author with a generous gift for making the most of her shortcomings, Marian Engel, riding the comet's tail of her success with *Bear*, has given herself a privilege only the famous and fully-subsidized can afford: she takes her readers for a ride that promises to lead to everything — to Faith and Love and Community and Death — and after an improbably short trip of 167 pages leaves you with a beautifully-written fraud, a hoax more disturbing than the middle-class mysticism purveyed by her previous novel.

It is not enough to say, as several critics have, that Engel's heroines repeat one another, are essentially the same kind of person — lonely misfits hiding from social conventions that were never meant for them in the first place, since in their suffering, constricted lives they are not even eligible for conventional safety. It is not in her heroines that you feel the central lie of her fiction. Her heroines are easily recognizable, grim, earnest women you might meet at an evening course, a consumers' association meeting, at a bazaar. That one seduces a skillful teaser of a bear by spreading honey over herself, that the other shares her identity more seriously with Jesus Christ than with any living person — these oddities can be folded away somewhere in the compact parcels of their eccentricity, for it is Engel's talent to create believable if prosaic outcasts within a brief literary space — for her novels are really extended short stories.

Most of the book is written as a letter by Rita to her friend, Philip Yurn, Bishop of Huron. By way of a prologue we have learned that Rita Heber is Sister Mary Pelagia, superior of an order of Anglican nuns, which in the final section of the novel becomes the metaphor for a feminist community.

The letter, a monologue of confession and despair written at the seaside, is a clever device with which Engel tries to solve many of the aesthetic problems her character's life presents.



Marian Engel

There is, for instance, the difficulty of time, of capturing the span of a 42-year-old woman's life and laying it whole before the reader. As Rita Heber's life has been less than momentarily eventful, the task is not insurmountable, but even those events which have occurred — breaking away from her United Church family, discovering poetry and philosophy, joining the Eglantine order, and then, marriage and motherhood — these remain dim, hurriedly paraphrased and, except for the peaceful life of the convent, seemingly inconsequential.

It is as though nothing but her own voice were central, final, and the letter-device carries her voice by conferring the ostensible intimacy between herself and Philip. Philip, though, is never realized; nor are any of the other secondary characters: only Rita Heber is a person with sensibility and desire. The rest serve as props and worse: as vessels for Engel to fill with her knowledge of Life.

What, for example, does Philip Yurn offer author or reader? He offers, most of

all, a chance to confess lyrically the inwardness which is not depth that Rita Heber guards with an animal protectiveness. It is the part of Rita that you feel she treasures more than anything, for she is her own child. Philip is a listener, no more than a receiver; early on you suspect that he may as well be anyone and you begin to resent this scarecrow of a character. For Philip the heroine reserves her truest confessions: "Philip, I'm like a bird up there, whirling around the old stories and booming with my wings on the downrush, trying to find a meaning the way he is hunting insects, then getting excited and further and further from the point, forgetting in the end that there is a point, Philip, a point or a pattern. I wouldn't feel I could go on living if I didn't feel there was a point."

Even without Philip listening she is capable of similar profundity. In the last oceanic segment of the novel — here she speaks directly to the reader — she maintains the pointlessness but celebrates the struggle: "Life, I decided, is a

sentence between brackets: these brackets must be seen to contain what is, not what might have been. It is useless to ponder on what might have been, but entirely proper to map the future in terms of the real past." After 146 pages she turns into a grown-up Holden Caulfield.

Her letter describes the idyll of the convent; in these passages *The Glassy Sea* becomes alive with a yearning for the harmony and ease of a sheltered community. But sickness and financial troubles set in, and Rita is thrown unwillingly into the world, that is to say, into Toronto. Here she meets and marries a Tory politician who loves neither her nor the hydrocephalic child she bears him, and finally leaves her for one of his young campaign workers. He is remembered in this novel much the way Lou remembers men in *Bear*.

Men seem mysterious to Rita Heber when she desires them, but as her desire is always held in check by an almost

vulgar prudence, she can only use their mystery for literary purposes: Engel's imagination needs men, but her rational, teaching, authoring, marketing self solves their problem by positing that all middle-aged males want to replot their earlier fields with young, beautiful women. *Bear*'s Lou had the same grudge. And thinking back on it, so did the heroine of Margaret Atwood's *Surfacing*. After the spiritual junkets, the repose in meditation and oneness with the One and with her sisters, Engel's heroine discovers what is, after all, a middle-class truism — that the "free" market must always offer shinier, better products and it offers them to those who can afford to pay. So what? How is this such a revelation to these authors?

In only one way is Rita radical: she violently resists traditional, marital rootedness in favour of a self-projecting vision of sorority that finally dissolves into mirage. Be reinforcing her will with

a disdain for men in general and young unripened women in particular, she tries to suppress the uncertainty of secular life. Failing this, she trades it in — as you would any effete commodity — for the hazy security of a convent that will serve as a refuge for downtrodden, but vintage, women.

The solution does not work in life or in art and the Rita we briefly see married to a political opportunist and even more briefly see crazed after he deserts her, have little to do with the Rita who reads the devotional poets and decides, acknowledging that her decision is provisional, to devote herself to helping other women. No formal devices, no repetition of images, no self-conscious fusion of the sacred and profane can make it seem so. In the end her vision is nothing more than a tolerance of ambiguity.

'La passion' turns out rather boring

by ELIOT HOLMES

La Passion du Québec, by René Lévesque. Editions Québec - Amérique/Montréal. 240 pp. \$6.95

L'Option, by Jean-Pierre Charbonneau and Gilbert Paquette. Editions de l'homme/Montréal. 620 pp. \$12.95

The Parti Québécois celebrated its tenth anniversary last October, and the party seems to be getting more boring with age.

It still seems intent on leading Quebec into some form of independence, and after two years in office it continues to produce interesting and popular legislation in areas such as labour law, automobile insurance and protection of farmland against speculation.

But when a book titled *La Passion du Québec* can't come up with anything more passionate than lines such as "we don't see anything else on the horizon that's likely to break the vicious circle in which two distinct peoples are enclosed," you have to wonder whether this Lévesque fellow is as much a firebrand as some of Canada's editorial



Premier René Lévesque

writers would like to have us believe.

✦ In fairness to Lévesque, he didn't actually write the book but recorded a series of interviews with French journalist Jean Robert Leselbaum. Leselbaum was interested in presenting European readers with a few generalities about recent Quebec history and PQ policy, and the version sold here is an adaptation of that effort.

We learn that although Lévesque doesn't think too highly of federalism on a Canadian level, he would like to see some mild form of federalism on a world scale. We also learn that his favourite politician was Franklin Roosevelt and one of the federal MPs he most respects is Stanley Knowles, who tried to get him to join the NDP in the early 1960s. But there's nothing of substance that Canadian readers aren't already familiar with.

To add to the book's shortcomings, the publisher has chosen a navy blue cover with a positively funereal photo of Lévesque that makes him look more ghostly than anything in a wax museum. If you're still interested in the book and can't read French, an English translation is expected soon.

Another sign of the PQ's aging process is a book called *L'Option*, written by PQ back-benchers Jean-Pierre Charbonneau (author of *The Canadian Connection*, a best-seller on the illicit drug trade) and Gilbert Paquette. The book is 620 pages long and phenomenally boring. If there's anything you ever wanted to know about PQ policy or about a typical Péquiste intellectual's views on picayune facets of history, economics and constitutional law, it's all here. (But it will be hard slogging to find it, because there's no index.)

One redeeming feature of the book is that it attempts to explain the mechanisms under which sovereignty-association would operate. For instance, to govern areas such as monetary policy which would continue to be administered jointly even after Quebec declared independence, there would be a Quebec-Canada assembly with each Parliament sending 50 members and another 15 members coming from proposed groups such as councils of native people and ethnic minorities. The new association would allow free circulation of goods and people, and Air Canada and Canadian National Railways would remain much as they are now. Indian treaties would be upheld and administered jointly. And so on and so forth.

But since the association would have

to be negotiated with Canada, Charbonneau and Paquette aren't taking anything for granted. Nosirree. With every timid step forward in clarifying what sovereignty-association really means, they take two steps backward, confounding us with a bunch of hypotheses. You see, if you hypothesize enough, you don't have to take too many hard and fast positions. And so I must correct myself and say that their explanatory attempts

might have been a redeeming feature.

Since its creation the PQ has gone in for book-style compendiums of its views, starting with Lévesque's own *Option Québec* written just before the PQ founding and rolling right along with *Quand nous serons vraiment chez nous* in 1972 and several others between and since. *L'Option* is by far the most comprehensive and also the most somniferous.

Pierre Berton still spins a good yarn

by SANDY GAGE

The Wild Frontier, More Tales from the Remarkable Past, by Pierre Berton. McClelland & Stewart/Toronto. 250 pp. \$14.95 cloth.

The Lost Patrol, by Dick North. Alaska Northwest Publishing Co./Anchorage. (Distributed by Hurtig/Edmonton.) 138 pp. \$4.95 paper.

Bookstore browsers across the country will already be aware of the enactment of an annual Canadian ritual — the prominent display and marketing of the Pierre Berton Christmas pot-boiler.

This year's production is *The Wild Frontier, More Tales from the Remarkable Past*. The promotional material explains that this is book number 25 by the author. It is not clear from the preface exactly what prompted Berton to write *The Wild Frontier*, but at number 25 who would presume to ask?

(In the acknowledgements at the end of the book we get a hint — the stories Berton re-tells are the same ones he narrated not long ago for Global Television.)

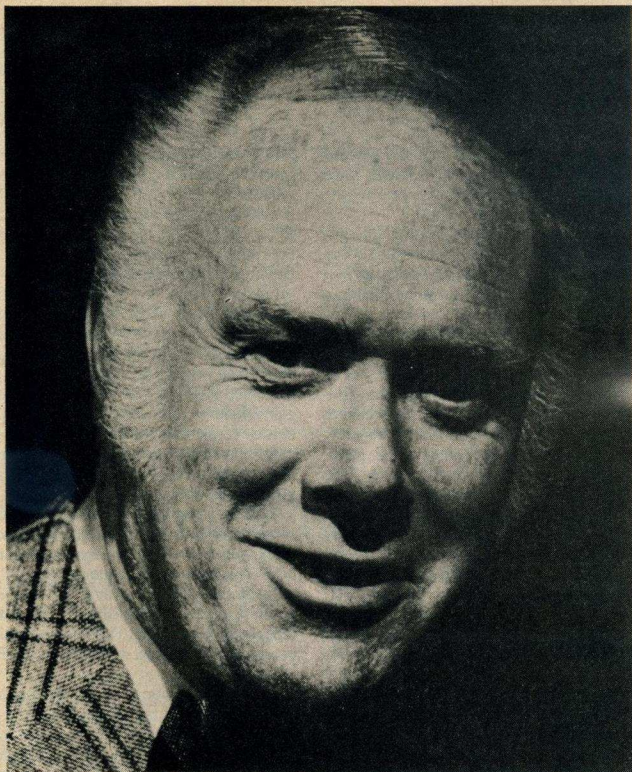
Berton prefers to use his preface to set us in the proper mood to marvel at the tales of seven rough and ready characters who won their places in history in the Canadian bush. The proper mood turns out to be a blend of Molson Canadian beer commercials and Margaret Atwood theories on "survivors." The characters

turn out to be people such as Father Jogues, the masochistic Jesuit missionary who was roughed up by Indians from Lake Huron to the Hudson River; Wilfred Grenfell, who founded a system of missions in Labrador, and Almighty Voice, who was the last native person to direct violence against the establishment until recent times.

As we read through the stories of Sam Steel, Cariboo Cameron and others we are forced into an admission about book number 25. Pierre Berton can still spin a pretty good yarn. This book should outlast number 24 (*Drifting Home*) and it is less of an apology for things as they are than number 18 (*The National Dream*).

With the help of assistant Barbara Sears, Berton has thoroughly researched his subjects, putting special emphasis on archival source material where available. He says that five of his stories contain new information that has never been published before, and that the other two deal with native people "from a viewpoint that differs from the conventional."

Essentially, Berton is writing history as made by "personalities." A work of this kind is helped immeasurably if the subject was good enough to keep a lively record of his or her adventures. The result is that many of Berton's characters were not simply diarists, but people who came away from the frontier with the intention of flogging their stories. Grenfell played up his brush with



Pierre Berton

death on a Labrador ice flow for all it was worth. John Jewitt was involved in the writing of two books, a melodrama and a sea shanty about his 28 month captivity at the hands of the Nootka people of Vancouver Island.

The trapper, prospectors and voyageurs who moved about the frontier, but who didn't strike it rich or who didn't write everything down get short shrift in

a book such as *The Wild Frontier*.

Personalities make better copy. And occasionally the copy gets a little purple. Berton says of the name Sam Steele, "The alliteration echoes with the sibilance of a great whisper down the canyon of history." Later the author comments on the killing of Almighty Voice and the end of an era: "On the steppes of Eastern Europe and along the

muddy Danube, men in sheepskin coats were marching to the beat of Sifton's insistent drum. The human tide was on its way; the wild frontier was gone forever."

Berton is so taken with his own prose that he introduces each chapter with an italicized quote from his own writing in the pages that follow.

* * *

Dick North writes about another frontier adventure. He writes in a simple, more straightforward style than Berton, but the sense of adventure is not lost as a result.

North tells the story of the North West Mounted Police Patrol which left Fort McPherson on December 21, 1910 bound for Dawson City under the command of Inspector Francis J. Fitzgerald. The patrol never reached its objective.

North is a former Fisheries Protection Officer for the Northern Yukon who heard first hand accounts of the *Lost Patrol* in the area where he worked. North added carefully researched documentation to his oral history sources and produced the definitive study of the patrol.

The actual recounting of the fate of the lost patrol takes North 25 pages, but he augments the story with Fitzgerald's biography, the history of the Mounties' northern patrols and a description of life on the trail.

Berton fans will probably find this book too detailed and specialized. However, readers interested in the north, the Mounties or wilderness survival will appreciate North's excellent maps and his discussion of such issues as the nutritional value of the lost patrol's rations, hypothermia, wind-chill factors and the care and feeding of a dog team.

One would be inclined to say that of the two, North is the more serious historian. But credit must be given where due, and North's bibliography includes *The Mysterious North*, Berton's number 3.

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

The plot to give you cancer

by MARY NEUMANN of Ontario Public Interest Research Group — Peterborough

The Politics of Cancer, by Samuel S. Epstein. Sierra Club Books. 583 pp. \$15.95.

A book has just been published which will probably force a change in public attitudes to cancer. *The Politics of Cancer* by Samuel Epstein, M.D. is now on sale and, as I quickly found out in Toronto, often sold out.

The major thrust of this book is that cancer is preventable: It is prevented by not exposing people to carcinogens. We are probably aware that smoking causes cancer, and that some other substances such as asbestos and vinyl chloride are carcinogens. However, when we hear that someone has cancer (and one quarter of us will get it) we don't automatically wonder what it was that they were exposed to. Well, as Epstein makes clear, we should.

We are informed that from 70 to 90 per cent of all cancers are caused by substances in our environment, and that probably 30 to 40 per cent are caused by industrial pollution both inside and outside the factory. That environmental factors are responsible is clear when one compares the cancer rates of groups of people from the same genetic stock living in different countries (e.g. Japanese in Japan and the United States) and observes how they approximate that of the surrounding culture. How far this is due to industrial pollution is harder to gauge. Whatever the correct percentage, Epstein produces case studies of industrially produced carcinogens to show how poorly they have been controlled in

the United States. Non-industry sources agree that a great many people have contracted cancer from exposure to just these few substances.

Why are carcinogens so often unregulated or inadequately controlled? Why does most cancer research money go into seeking cures for cancer rather than into the much simpler field of cancer prevention? Epstein believes that industry, which has found some carcinogenic substances to be highly profitable, has so confused and pressured both the government and the public that they cannot react to the immense hazard of cancer.

Epstein charts the course of this paralysis. He shows how animal studies have been subverted by groundless attacks on their validity; how many seemingly independent laboratories and university researchers are funded by the manufacturers of the substances they are researching; how industries conceal, destroy, manipulate and subvert information on the health hazards of their products; how many supposedly objective health officials in government and non-profit agencies have direct ties to the industry they are regulating; and how industries stave off proposed regulations with unfounded predictions of huge losses in jobs and industrial output.

Through case studies of substances such as asbestos, benzene, tobacco, saccharin, female sex hormones, and pesticides, Epstein makes a persuasive case that industry, far from trying to remove carcinogens from the market, has campaigned vigorously to ensure that exposure in the U.S. continues. Industry's success has come through its close ties with some of the regulatory agencies, and a highly sophisticated

public relations campaign in which the facts are distorted and the dangers downplayed.

Saccharin is perhaps the best example of how industry has succeeded in getting the public to believe that banning a carcinogenic substance is far more harmful than keeping it. The industry has advanced three main arguments: that saccharin is needed to combat the severe medical problem of obesity, that the ban was based on just one Canadian study, and that doses fed to test rats were equivalent to someone drinking 800 bottles of diet soda a day. These arguments have been accepted by much of the public and press, as well as by many government officials.

Epstein's replies are illuminating. First, he shows that saccharin lowers blood sugar levels in humans by 16 per cent. This increases appetite and hunger, inducing people to eat more — not a good way to combat obesity. Other reports have indicated that dieters who use saccharin lose no more weight than those who do not.

Second, the worry about saccharin does not rest on just one Canadian study. There have been over a dozen studies in the last 30 years showing that saccharin is a carcinogen, in some instances in doses as low as the rat equivalent of one or two bottles of diet pop daily.

As for the 800 bottles of soda a day, high doses are essential when a relatively small number of animals are employed. Suppose that the substance which is being tested will produce one cancer in every 10,000 people under normal use. Suppose also that there are 50 rats on whom the substance is tested; 50 is the average size of a test group. If rats are as

HEADLINE OF THE MONTH DEPT.

Nothing is quite so French
as delicious open-faced tarts

—Montreal Gazette, Oct. 18, 1978

susceptible as humans (and they may be less so). The chances of even one cancer occurring in the test sample are only 1/200, leaving a 99.5% chance that the carcinogenic property of the substance will go undetected. To compensate for the small sample size the dose is increased. It is assumed that the number of cancer cases increases linearly with the amount of the carcinogen consumed. Therefore in the above case the rats would require the rat equivalent of 200 times the dose under normal conditions before one could definitely expect to see one case of cancer.

However, one case of cancer is not statistically significant. The test dose, therefore, should be increased further to perhaps one thousand times the normal dose if the researcher wants to be sure to catch a carcinogen that under normal

circumstances would give cancer to one in every 10,000 people. Surely this level of detection is important since such a carcinogen would mean 2,400 cancer cases in Canada alone.

There is nothing 'unfair' about these large doses. It is not true, as many people believe, that anything causes cancer if you ingest enough of it. Only a few substances are carcinogenic even at very high doses; the tests are designed to warn us about just these substances.

The case of saccharin is highly revealing, but so are the others. If you want to understand the politics of cancer in the United States this book is invaluable. Unfortunately, its conclusions are highly applicable to Canada as well. Most Canadian regulatory decisions are based on the same research, the same industry information, and often on the same U.S.

government reports. They are just as influenced by industry propaganda, particularly when Canadian jobs are at stake. A recent Science Council of Canada report on hazardous substances even suggested that although the Canadian authorities are already very dependent on American research, they should make increased use of these sources.

The Politics of Cancer exhorts its readers to become politically active in public interest groups and unions. By the end of the book such encouragement seems almost superfluous. It is a pity that Epstein concerns himself almost exclusively with events in the United States. One can only hope that we do not have to wait for a Canadian version of his work before his advice is taken seriously here.

Surviving Canada's prison system

by DON WEITZ

GO-BOY!: Memoirs of a Life Behind Bars, by Roger Caron. McGraw-Hill Ryerson/Toronto: 264 pp. \$10.95.

Going 'stir-crazy' in prison is just a matter of time, and usually results in inmates doing more 'hard time'. Or getting sent to a psycho ward to be experimented on like a guinea pig or rat. Prisons, like 'mental hospitals', are classic Catch-22s. To survive years in the punishing, dehumanizing prison environment and retain one's sanity and humanity takes incredible physical and mental strength and courage. Very few of us have it.

Roger Caron has both — awesome physical strength and sheer guts. He's a genuine survivor of the Canadian prison system, still locked up in medium security Collins Bay Penitentiary in Ontario. Now 40, Caron has spent over half his life, almost a quarter century, in no less than 13 jails and prisons. He has sampled some of the toughest: Guelph Reformatory, Kingston Penitentiary, Millhaven and Penetang (for the 'criminally insane'). He started his prison career at 16, when he was convicted and sentenced for a 'B & E' (breaking and entering). Caron has seldom been free for more than a few weeks or months at a time. Thefts, armed robberies and escapes inevitably led to doing more 'hard time' in the 'Big Joint'.

It's amazing that Caron has survived this long with his sanity and humanity intact. But what's even more amazing is that, while locked up, Caron produced *GO-BOY!*, an autobiographical account, covering roughly 22 years, of many of his prison experiences. Undoubtedly the act of writing the book helped Caron remain sane: "Through it all I was reborn: I found out all about myself, not stretched out on a shrink's couch but rather through the inner therapy of writing my life story. . . . I really do think I would have gone crazy if I hadn't been permitted to scribble away. . . ."

Go-boy, as the book jacket explains, is "prison slang for a runner and the prisoners' chant of encouragement to those who make the desperate break for freedom." Caron escaped six times from

about as many prisons. His vivid description of these daring and ingenious but futile break-outs surpasses almost anything on TV or in the movies. Caron's keen sense of the dramatic is tempered by his compelling need to stick to what happened to him, to tell it like it was, which was horrible enough. If it were not for a few brief interludes of black inmate humour, and for moments of real sharing and love with his girlfriend and family, *GO-BOY!* would be a real horror story.

Of course, much of it is: guards beating and gassing inmates in cells and corridors; near-fatal fights with other prisoners; the brutal and maddening experience of solitary confinement in 'maximum deadlock' where sewer rats sometimes emerged through open toilets; the terrifying psychiatric 'treatments' he

MAYBE SO, BUT WE'RE STILL GOING TO SIT THIS ONE OUT

In punk, the dance floor is strictly male territory. When a woman does make a rare appearance on the floor, it is limited to being dragged around by her male partner by a chain wrapped around her neck. Doesn't seem too equalitarian at all on first glance.

However, in some ways it's an interesting contrast to the usual couple-oriented dancing in most rock. At the very least, the male melee of the punk dance floor has pushed the phallocentrism of heterosexual machismo to the brink of a Boys Together Outrageously parody which implies a massive breakdown of male rock roles.

—Kay Armitage, *Toronto Globe & Mail*, Oct. 17, 1977

IT MAY NOT BE NEWS
BUT AT LEAST IT'S BRIEF

re cam-
a scaf-

Composer died

Composer Cole Porter died in 1964.

cele
cati
Rar
lists
ber.
sinc

—Regina Leader-Post, Nov. 23, 1978

was forced to endure in the psycho ward; and the flesh-cutting torture of the 'paddle' or strap in the 'Limbo Room'. This passage describes sadistic treatment by a guard while Caron was near madness from one continuous year in solitary confinement:

"But it was the gorilla who took the greatest delight in scaring me into climbing the walls of my cells. Always pussy-footing around and observing me through the peephole, he would wait until I got spaced out and then with a brutish grin boot my door with great force! I'd come right up off that concrete pallet with arms slashing, eyes rolling, and my mouth twisted open in one long shuddering scream. . . ."

Caron's account of forced psychiatric treatment with, I believe, Indoklon gas administered while he was in a strait-jacket, is equally horrifying. Caron was subjected to this by the prison psychiatrist as an alternative to the 'paddle':

"The mask clamped firmly over my mouth and nose and suddenly I found that I could not breathe! . . . Then I heard

the ominous hissing of gas. . . . Horror-stricken, I started thrashing about while the hands that were gripping me squeezed more tightly than ever. There was an eerie buzzing in my ears like an angry horde of wasps trying to chew their way into my brain. And I still couldn't breathe. . . . Now, the faces of the doctor and Miss Carter were getting all hairy and the room was spinning around in a maddening circle and I was being engulfed by a big wave as thick and dark as molasses, a wave that was carrying me off into a shadowy world full of lurking horrors, a universe of flashing lights and buzzing sounds, sounds that were getting louder and louder until I was being consumed."

On two occasions, Caron was sentenced to the 'paddle', administered to him naked in the 'Limbo Room':

"The eerie ritual began when the dozen witnesses ominously scraped the soles of their shoes on the floor in unison, deliberately done to confuse my sense of direction. "ONE!" I clenched my teeth and my body went rigid as the strap

sliced through the air. "CRACK!" Like a pistol shot, it made solid contact with my buttocks, my head snapped backwards, while violently driving my shackled body forward. White searing pain exploded throughout my being and blood gushed from my lips as I struggled to stifle a scream. It was brutal and it was horrible. . . . Over and over again I heard the scraping of the shoes, the sharp command, the long seconds, the strap cutting through the air, the explosion and then the crazy-out-of-this-world pain that struck terror into my very soul. Finally it was all over. Ten strokes of the paddle and I didn't scream or beg as so many did. That was very, very important to me. When they pulled the hood from my head I stared at them with blood dripping down the corners of my mouth, angry and yet proud, asking myself how they would have fared in my place. They just stood there in their gestapo-like uniforms talking among themselves and not looking at me. . . ."

In his supportive foreword to the book, Pierre Berton comments on this brutality: "It is not good enough for Canadians to say that they did not know these things were going on inside our prisons. They did know. They were told about it over and over again. Some of us have tried over the years to protest; but the Canadian public, in spite of the clear knowledge that physical torture of the most painful kind was part of official policy, continued to accept it, and indeed, in some cases applaud it. One of the reasons that the Canadian penal system has yet to emerge from the dark ages is because the people continue to demand revenge rather than rehabilitation. . . ."

GO-BOY! can be read as a major social document which cries out for long-overdue prison reforms in Canada. It's a major contribution to prison literature and criminology. But *GO-BOY!*, like much concentration camp literature, can also be read and appreciated as a forceful witness to survival in hell. Caron has been there and come back to life whole, human and still fighting. The public and critics will judge whether Caron makes it as a writer. I say he will, and I'm eagerly awaiting his next book on the Kingston Riot. *GO-BOY!* deserves to attract wide readership and public acceptance. And Roger Caron deserves at long last to be accepted when he is released from Collins Bay Penitentiary — very soon, I hope. Go-Boy!

(Roger Caron was recently released to a half-way house in Quebec.)

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	\$10.00 (for 8 Issues)
Institutions	17.00
Government Agencies	30.00
Air Mail, add.	5.00

Write for free catalogue

L.A.W.G. Box 2207, Station P Toronto, Ontario M5S 2T2

ORDER FORM

Please send me:

- An 8-issue personal subscription for \$7 (foreign rate, including U.S., \$8; institutional rate, \$8)
- A 16-issue personal subscription for \$13
- An 8-issue renewal for \$7 (foreign rate, including U.S., \$8; institutional rate, \$8)
- A 16-issue renewal for \$13

Method of payment:

- I enclose cheque or money order payable to The Last Post
- Please charge my Chargex/Visa account, as indicated:

Chargex/Visa Card No.

□□□□ □□ □□ □□ □□

Expiry date of card □□□□

Signature _____

Send to The Last Post, 454 King St. West, Room 302, Toronto, Ont. M5V 1L6

Name _____

Address _____

Postal Code _____

Subscribe now!

FREE

Subscribe now with an 8-issue subscription for \$7, or a 16-issue subscription for \$13 and we will include, free, a copy of the Last Post book 'Quebec: A Chronicle', edited by Robert Chodos and Nick Auf der Maur.

THE LAST POST

FILLS THE INFORMATION GAP

8 issues for \$7
16 issues for \$13

CHARGEX



Please note: You can now subscribe by using your Chargex/Visa account — see details on the Order Form.



HARMONY TRAVEL LIMITED

Group tours



Vietnam

including

HANOI HO CHI MINH CITY VUNG TAU
NHA TRANG QUI NHON
DA NANG
HUE

For details of 1979-1980 departure dates and price

call: HARMONY TRAVEL LIMITED
871 Bloor Street West
Toronto M6G 1M4
phone: (416) 537-2165

or mail us the following coupon

Please send me details regarding your tours to Vietnam:

Name _____

Address _____

Postal Code _____