

THE LAST POST

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MAY 1979/\$1.00

Policing the world again?

President Jimmy Carter

- BEYOND THE ELECTION
- INCO STRIKE
- B.C.'s VANDER ZALM
- QUEBEC'S 'SCANDALE'





EDWARD I, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF ALL THE CANADAS
happily leads the exodus from Quebec to Ontario during a marathon ski race sponsored by an old hand at these things, Sun Life

THE LAST POST

May 1979, Vol. 7, No. 4

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at the POST...

In our last issue we began a 10th Anniversary Fund, to seek support for the *Last Post* as it achieves its tenth year of existence. We wish to thank those who have responded — some more generously than we expected — and to ask others to do what they can to help at a time when our costs are rising on all sides.

And help can take other forms than sending donations. Every new subscription and every renewal of a subscription is a plus for us, perhaps even more of a plus than a donation since it enlarges our readership. We ask our readers to urge friends of theirs who they think would enjoy reading *Last Post* to take out a subscription, or even to buy someone a gift sub. Similarly, in the case of readers whose subscriptions are up for renewal, every extended sub counts.

Which brings us to the question of news stand sales versus subscriptions. Readers sometimes complain to us that it is difficult to find the *Post* on news stands. There is a simple answer for this. There are some 2,000 magazine titles competing for display space on this country's news stands. Most of these are foreign, and especially U.S., magazines. Many of them are far better equipped to get news stand space than us due to their power, their size, their wealth and even their control of distribution systems. Few, if any, news stores in the country can carry all of these. The average news stand can carry only a fraction.

We do have commercial news stand distribution. But there is no way we can guarantee that your local store will carry *Last Post* more or less automatically as it would *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Playboy* or *Maclean's* etc. One way round this problem is to buy a subscription.

In this issue we present, for the first time, a cover story that is an American story, but one that is of as much concern to

Canadians — an increasing shift in U.S. defence and foreign policy towards a renewed willingness to intervene abroad in defence of U.S. interests, or what some conceive to be U.S. interests.

As the story indicates, if Angola marked a low point in U.S. interventionism after the Vietnam debacle, the crisis in Zaire marked the beginning of a swing back by the pendulum. This is being reflected in U.S. military and rearmament policy, as is made clear by the article's author, Michael T. Klare, a well-known analyst of American policy in these areas, who is a director at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington.

Although we're reluctant to "single out" individual stories for attention, perhaps at the expense of others, we also wish to draw our readers' attention to Rae Murphy's article on the facing page, which gets beyond the bafflegab of the current election campaign and points to some real problems — and to some unfortunate possibilities that could be in the cards once the election is out of the way. We will, of course, be analysing the results of the election in our next issue.

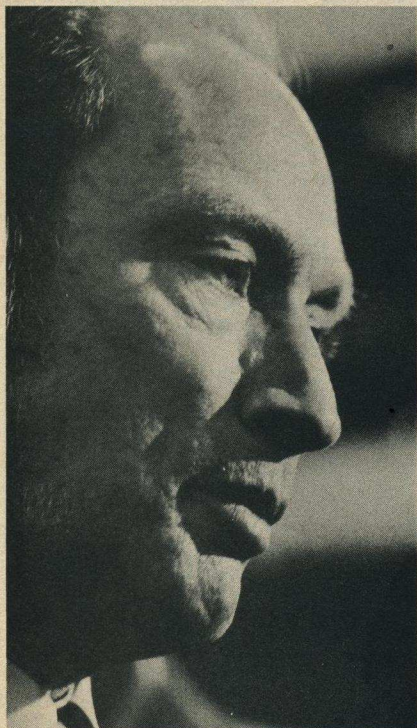
Last Post readers will undoubtedly have been following the growing trend towards massive corporate takeovers in Canada — the most recent being the Weston conglomerate's high-rolling bid to take over the Bay, which itself had earlier taken over Simpson's and Zeller's. We remind our readers that in our October 1975 issue we carried a thorough analysis of the Weston empire written by David Cubberley and John Keyes. Readers interested in the Weston story can order this back issue, like any available back issue, for \$1.00.

Finally, we encourage readers who have story ideas they would be willing to work on, or books or films etc. they would be interested in reviewing to drop us a line. And, as a sidelight, we thank our readers who occasionally send us humorous or pointed excerpts or headlines from newspapers and magazines that are suitable for "boxes" to offer a break from the heavier reading; keep them coming.

If you're moving . . .
Please remember
to send us
your change of address

Maybe no one's minding the shop because there's no shop left to mind

photo: Bruce Paton



Trudeau: is the 'Fuhrer Princip' really the one difference that matters in Canadian politics?

Watching Pierre Trudeau in the election hustle is something like watching the fabled centipede. Shoes keep falling, but the other shoe never does. Eventually it will though, but by then who will care?

In the context, then, of the Pierre and Joe show barnstorming the country, a recent column by the *Toronto Star's* Ottawa columnist Richard Gwyn bears some consideration.

"Canadian politics," Gwyn wrote, "are probably the least ideological of any Western country. Instead of the class struggle, we have a struggle between regions.

"Essentially, odd though it is in a democracy, we believe in the 'Fuhrer Princip' — the leadership principle. At elections, we vote not for issues and policies (wage and price controls, anyone?) but for the leader who most inspires us, or reassures us, or amuses us."

He concluded his column:

"Differences do remain — in attitude and experience. The Conservatives are, well, more conservative. The Liberals are more liberal in their use of the state. The Conservatives are fresh but untried. The Liberals are weary but tested.

"One difference matters. The 'Fuhrer Princip.' Trudeau or Clark. The rest is, in the epic phrase of California Governor Jerry Brown, 'just words.'"

First, some quibbles.

One suspects the 'Fuhrer Princip' as being a bit of media shorthand. A study of voting patterns in Canada will surely indicate the rise and fall from grace of a number of "strong" political leaders. Moreover, there is evidence in our history to suggest us to be about the most ornery and disrespectful of "Great Leaders" anywhere. The benign tolerance of mediocrity in public life for which we are well-known does not indicate a deep desire to be led to our destiny.

Secondly, it's not so much that there's a lack of ideology in our politics, but rather a sameness which relates to the essential truth of Gwyn's observation about the sameness of the Liberals and Conservatives.

The issue isn't merely the old, and probably true characterization of Tweedle Dee and Tweedle Dum. Nor is it that in our Age of Consensus politics meets at the centre.

There is something else going on which desperately requires an ideological debate. A debate which will arise either within the existing political process or without.

Thus, the comforting notion that Canada has a struggle between regions instead of a class struggle should be examined and placed in some context.

What is the context of this regional struggle?

Is it merely Quebec and a reflection of the manipulation of some ambitious politicians?

Why has this struggle become so acute at this particular moment in our history?

What are the economic implications of the debate — how will we measure its outcome in economic terms for Canadians?

Perhaps by approaching the problems posed by impending changes in Canada's political structure in this manner we can remove some of the proscriptions about what can and cannot be debated, and maybe understand some of the social and indeed class pressures in the Peaceable Kingdom.

If the politicians are able to maintain the game that it is somehow unpatriotic for anyone in English Canada to consider "sovereignty-association" then we shall foreclose discussion and debate on the core question of Canadian survival. But by doing so doesn't mean that things won't happen.

The response from English Canada to Quebec has been orchestrated jingoism. Yet, through it all, there are few people who do not recognize that, regardless of the silly games and shows of oneupmanship, relations have changed profoundly. What is less clear is that Quebec-Canadian relations are but one aspect of a process of change that will alter the economic and political geography of the continent.

The proposed association between Quebec and English Canada as outlined by the Parti Quebecois revolves around not cultural, or linguistic questions, but around hard economic arrangements.

How is English Canada to respond to the proposals of association from the government of Quebec?

In order to give any response at all, the state and potential of the economy or economies of English Canada have to be studied realistically.

The question of "sovereignty-association" between Quebec and English Canada poses the inevitable question of "association" of Quebec, English Canada and the United States with even more urgency than when it was pursued in the 1940s. Furthermore, if free trade is to be negotiated, which one gathers is the essence of the "association" package the Parti Quebecois is offering, then political relations must also be considered. In other words, if a new economic and political relationship is going to be established in Canada, why would it, or could it, or should it stop here?

Indeed, it hasn't. Since the election of the PQ marked a revival of Canada's longest running road show, the federal-provincial conference, the centrifugal forces in Canada have developed to the extent that even the great centralizer, Prime Minister Pierre



Clark: not a lack of ideology, but a sameness of ideology in our politics

Trudeau, admitted to "giving away the shop."

Now the government is campaigning in the election on a platform of National Unity, which, given the positions of both the Liberal and Conservative parties, amounts to a battle of semantics. And given the recent level of exchanges in the House of Commons, not a particularly intelligent one at that.

If the existence of a state is determined in large measure by the existence of a market and a national economy encompassed within that state, then the ease with which the "shop" is "given away" may indicate that it was given away some time ago.

Since both parties lack anything that can be described as an economic policy, one must resort to suggesting that the cumulative result of haphazard measures, of benign and, in some spheres, malignant neglect has brought the country to its knees, destroyed any national integrated economy — perhaps even the possibility of one. Is this not at the root of growing regionalism in Canada?

The failure, perhaps terminal failure of Canada's economy is described in the latest report of the Science Council.

Suggesting a "massive failure of the country's industrial system..." the report noted that while "Canada is, in effect, being pushed out of the [world] market by stronger trading partners..." our share of our internal market is also decreasing.

The report also noted that the deterioration is worst in advanced industrial sectors. "Indeed, these changes indicate that Canada is moving... [from] an advanced economy back to one based upon the export of raw materials."

The speed with which Canada is de-industrializing and the effect this is having on our economy is also cited in the report. "If Canada had been able to maintain its 1970 level, let alone increase it, an additional \$8 billion worth of exports would have been gained." These added exports would, according to one of the members of the Council, have reduced unemployment by one-third.

Well, we've all heard and read reports like this before and the fact that the dire predictions are, for the most part, being borne out has impressed our political leaders very slightly, if at all.

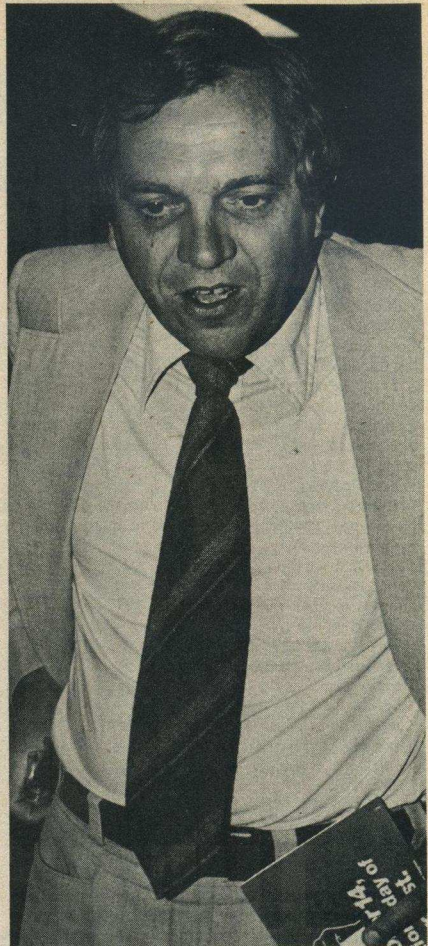
The current strike at INCO in Sudbury is a manifestation of the result of the policy — if one can dignify it with such a term — of de-industrialization. Certainly, one of the essential issues of that strike is the refusal of a community — the workers of that community — to pay for their own economic funeral.

In other words, there seems to be a cause and effect relationship between the historic inability of Canada to develop a coherent economic policy, and the growing pressures of regionalism. And this in turn will be reflected in perhaps unpredictable social and political upheavals.

The response of government has been, on one level, insensitive, inane. What can one say about a government driven to intemperate fury by a few days strike at the Post Office, while sitting idly by as one of our major resource industries — nickel — is sabotaged and dismantled by a multi-national corporation.

On another level, government, not only without op-

photo: David Lloyd



Broadbent: a minority government could place some new ideas in the political mainstream

position from the Conservatives but with their goading, has reacted to the economic crisis by cut-backs and restraints: socking it to, if the term working class is too unnering, "the little guys." Nowhere is this more noticeable than in the former industrial and economic powerhouse of Canada — Ontario — which we are now told qualifies as a "have-not" province. (In Ontario it's the Tories doing it, goaded by the Liberals.)

The disintegration of Canada's economy is reflected in reports like that of the Science Council, a manifestation of it is reflected in the regionalization that is proceeding apace, and its results are reflected in a declining standard of living.



Levesque: English Canada's response has been orchestrated jingoism

The interesting element is that it is not yet reflected on the political hustings.

Unless Newton's Law is about to be repealed there is bound, at some point, to be a political reaction. Perhaps, then, one should not waste too much time on the political fate of either the Liberals or the Conservatives and consider other possibilities.

It says here that Trudeau won the last election by panicking the NDP voters with the spectre of a Tory wage freeze. It seems unlikely that he will even attempt to pull that off again. At the same time, a rush to Clark's Tories has not materialized. In spite of itself, the NDP may improve its position by ushering in a period of minority government or governments.

The hope here lies in the placing of some new ideas in the political mainstream which could at least provide an outline of a survival option — something that is totally lacking in either the Liberal or Conservative outlook.

Being a perpetual optimist, it seems that such an outcome could, possibly, eliminate either Tweedle Dee or Tweedle Dum. This won't mean a battle of Armageddon or even Lundy's Lane, but in this age of declining expectations, even Ed Broadbent looks good.

There are other possibilities, which brings us back to Richard Gwyn's description of the body politic. When times get tough, a nation which is non-ideological and also devoted to the "Fuehrer Princip" tends to get into a lot of trouble.

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Sudbury's workers take on a multinational

photo: David Lloyd

by ART MOSES

It looked like a lonely, futile battle. The miners, smelter and refinery workers of Sudbury launched what had to be their longest strike ever against INCO Limited last September, with some of the longest odds ever faced by Canadian workers against them.

Estimates of INCO's stockpile of nickel ranged from 6 months to a year above normal supply.

"Sudbury has succumbed to madness," wailed former Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis in his *Sunday Toronto Star* column two days after the strike began. "Local 6500 of the United Steelworkers of America has fallen into militant and often unpredictable hands. For some of the leadership, radical posturing resembles some kind of Archie Bunkerism of the left."

The day before the Sept. 15 strike vote Stewart Cooke, director of Steelworkers District 6 (Ontario), had told a *Sudbury Star* reporter that workers should accept INCO's last offer — amounting to a four cent an hour wage increase over one year — and a company demand to weaken the power of union stewards over grievance procedure, with no improvements in pensions.

"Do Not Strike: Steel Director", blared the *Sudbury Star* headline, and managers of Sudbury's television stations ordered slow crawls across the screen bearing the same edict. The reporter's call to Cooke — in Atlantic City preparing for the Steelworkers international convention — was arranged through Steel staff officials in Sudbury. It shocked members of the Local 6500 bargaining committee. The effect: the vote to strike was cut to only 61 per cent, down from an expected 70 per cent, and from 83 per cent against a previous offer before the intervention of Ontario Premier William Davis "squeezed" the four cents out of the company.



Former Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis (with father David behind him): his response to the strike decision was "Sudbury has succumbed to madness"

But by late November it was clear the overwhelming majority of the rank-and-file were digging in for a long siege — even the large minority who voted against the strike. The unprecedented display of solidarity from other trade unions across Canada had a profound impact in Sudbury. Emotions ran high at Christmas as "Wives Supporting the Strike" distributed thousands of toys to youngsters, toys donated by Sudbury merchants and other unions in Ontario.

And when INCO demanded Local 6500 hold a vote on an offer made Feb. 7, the ranks generally applauded the decision that a vote was not necessary, and it was none of the company's business, anyway. The offer: about five cents more an hour than the last INCO proposal in September, but significant improvements in the company pension plan.

Five days earlier, INCO had announced what amounted to a 30 cent a pound increase in the price of nickel, as

buyers scrambled to grab what was left of the world's low-cost inventory overhaul. Falconbridge Nickel Mines brayed in a full-page advertisement in the Feb. 15 *Northern Miner*: "Customers know. For half-a-century there has been no more reliable a source of nickel than . . . Falconbridge. Customers simply call Toronto 416-863-7300." Just like ordering a pizza.

The workers of Sudbury waited to see what their brothers in Thompson, Manitoba would do when their contract expired Feb. 28. INCO's chief negotiator in Sudbury had flown to Thompson, and gave the order to his cohorts: start talking turkey, i.e. money. Nickel markets had improved dramatically. Nickel analysts said INCO was running low on stockpiles of certain products.

For Stephen Lewis, lending slick political legitimacy to the machinations of North American business unionism was nothing new. Some might call it part of a 30-year tradition.

In 1948 it was David Lewis who helped expel from the CCF the first successful organizer of a union at INCO. The problem with Sudbury's CCF-MLA Bob Carlin was he had refused to stop associating with Communist Party leaders of the International Union of Mine,

Mill and Smelter Workers. And when Carlin lost to a Conservative in the provincial election that year — Carlin ran on an "independent CCF" ticket and split the vote against the official CCFer — it began a 17-year drought for the CCF-NDP in the Sudbury area. No seats, few votes, and a working class divided along religious and ethnic lines.

Meanwhile the United Steelworkers of America was granted jurisdiction over mining and smelting in Canada by the Congress of Industrial Organization and its Canadian counterpart, the Canadian Congress of Labour. Mine Mill was expelled from the CIO and CCL. The inter-union battles that followed in Sudbury rank among the most bitter in Canadian labour history.

* * *

"The people who say we were stupid to go on strike aren't the ones who put themselves on the line every day underground," says 30-year-old Dave Patterson, president of Local 6500. "They should come down and watch their buddies carried out of the mine on a stretcher."

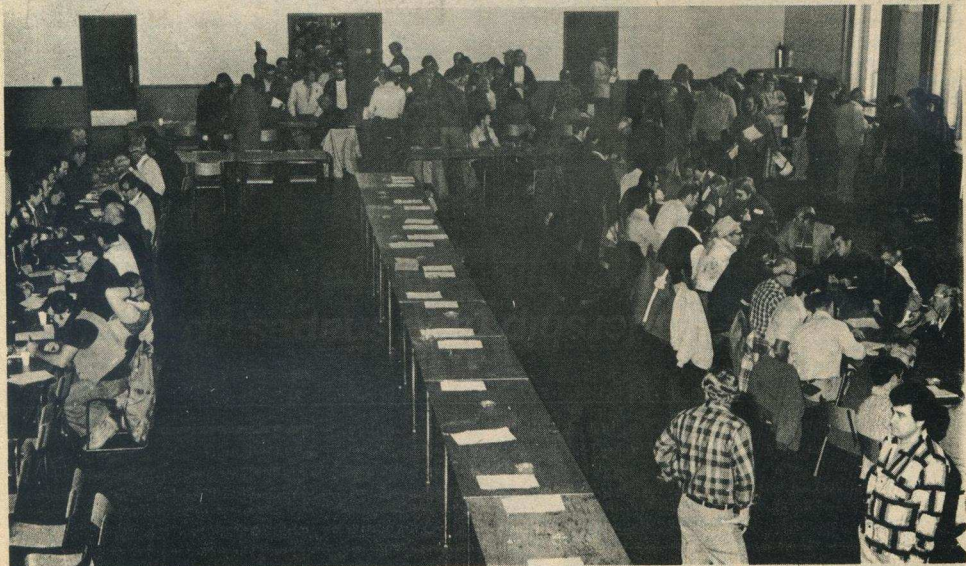
Patterson should know. Joining INCO's workforce in 1968 he worked at Frood Mine, what you might call INCO's chief slaughterhouse after the

company began cutting back on maintenance employees in the early 1970's. Some 16 men have died in the Frood-Stobie complex since 1970.

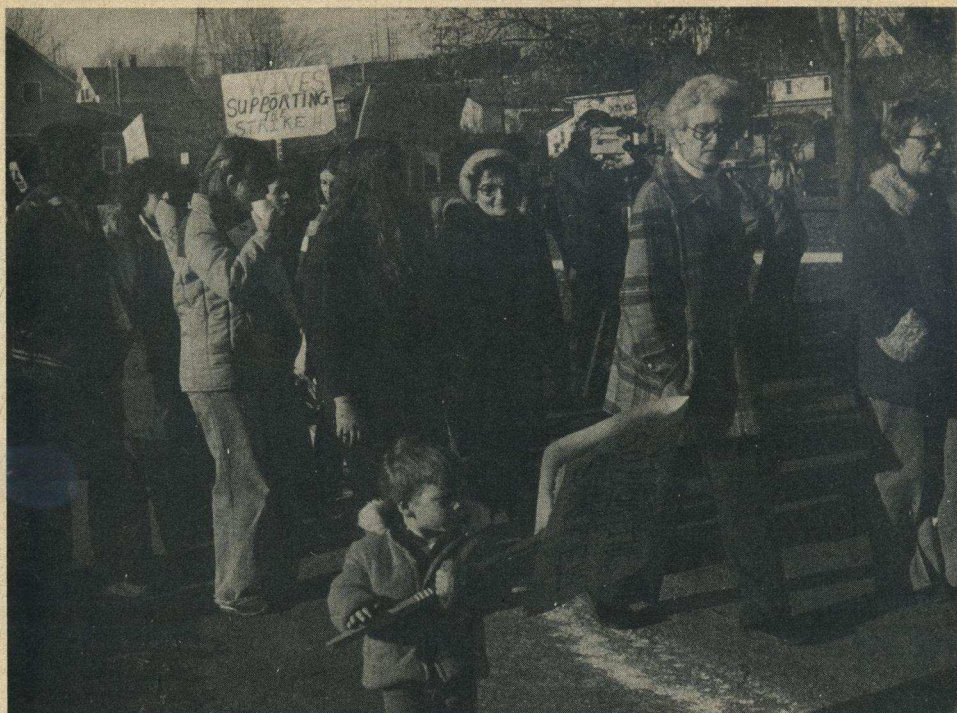
It was into Patterson's "unpredictable hands" that the presidency of Local 6500 fell when he successfully challenged the conservative incumbent slate in the 1976 local elections. Patterson stuck his neck out when he endorsed and worked for the insurgent slate led by Ed Sadlowski in the 1977 Steelworker international elections.

Number two man on the Pittsburgh-establishment slate was Ontario Steel director Lynn Williams, now international secretary-treasurer. Sudbury was one of the few areas in Canada where Sadlowski's slate chalked up convincing victories, except for Williams whose appeal to the Canadian identity scored heavily in the nickel capital as well.

As for Patterson, he led the vigorous opposition to INCO's massive layoffs announced in October 1977 — 2,220 jobs eliminated in Sudbury and 600 in Thompson. And he earned the scorn of more than one traditionalist in his local executive when he called for an end to overtime and to INCO's system of bonus mining. "You'll never get re-elected saying that," Patterson was told. "The



Inco workers register for their strike vouchers



Wives Supporting the Strike picket at Copper Cliff smelter

guys like overtime and bonus. It's lucrative." Never mind that they lead to big stockpiles at contract negotiating time. But Patterson has been scrupulous in avoiding public criticism of United Steelworker officials and of rivals in his local.

* * *

"Sudbury is probably the only community in Ontario where the class struggle is alive and well," was the way Stephen Lewis explained the decision to hit the bricks at Canada's largest mining operation last September.

For Lewis to equate "the class struggle" with "madness" may have been his ultimate political testimonial, as he prepared to resign his Scarborough seat in the Ontario Legislature.

But Lewis' contribution was not appreciated by the four New Democratic Party legislators who now represent the Sudbury area in federal and provincial parliaments.

In a joint statement, Nickel Belt MP

John Rodriguez, and MPP's Floyd Laughren, Bud Germa, and Elie Martel criticized "those who sneer at the workers' struggles and forget that many of the gains of the past have been won by workers fighting against seemingly insurmountable odds. . . . This strike is against the arrogance and mobility of international capital . . . it deserves the support of the entire community."

Michael Cassidy, Lewis' successor as Ontario NDP leader, was quick to agree.

The arrogance and mobility of international capital, indeed. Since 1972 INCO

has invested more than one billion dollars in new mines in Indonesia and Guatemala and bought the second biggest battery manufacturer in the U.S. Meanwhile, its Sudbury workforce has been slashed from more than 18,000 to fewer than 12,000.

At the same time key western policy-makers remembered well the lessons of 1969, the last time Sudbury workers went on a long strike. That was a time of Vietnam War-induced nickel shortages, and the strike by Local 6500 Steelworkers did not assist the American war effort.

Buoyed by loans from the leading western financial institutions, other mining companies developed their own nickel deposits in the third world — Botswana, Philippines, Australia, Dominican Republic. When the bubble burst after 1975, demand stopped growing as quickly and the giants discovered massive excess capacity and stockpiles. The only answer was to make labour pay.

THEY BURN BARN, DON'T THEY?

The RCMP Officer's levee drew its customary crowds of Mounties whose scarlet and gold tunics set the room ablaze with color.

—Argyle McLeod,
Ottawa Journal, Jan. 2, 1979

The NDP plays it cautious

As delegates to the November convention of the Ontario Federation of Labour waved cans marked "Dollars for the Nickel Strikers", they also gave unanimous approval to a motion calling for the nationalization of INCO "under democratic and public ownership".

The OFL soon found itself on different turf than the line taken by federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent, or even Ontario's new NDP leader Michael Cassidy.

After Broadbent's advisors urged he stay away from Sudbury last fall ("the strike's a lost cause"), he toured picket lines in December and presented 17 \$100 cheques from members of the federal caucus "to show we are deeply committed to your cause." It was Broadbent's first public comment on the INCO situation since the strike began Sept. 15.

A local reporter asked the NDP chief about nationalization of INCO.

"I would have to do more homework," came the reply. "But what is really needed is an agency to monitor the export of capital, the same way as

the Foreign Investment Review Board monitors the import of capital." Fresh from rubbing shoulders with social-democrat poobahs at the Vancouver conference of the Second International Broadbent said he was certain Western European leaders had shown they were capable of controlling the activities of multinational corporations without actually taking them over.

Cassidy also equivocated when he was in Sudbury for the strikers' Christmas party. "Our party has always proposed the public ownership of resource industries as part of an overall industrial strategy . . . where it makes sense, we would nationalize."

"What about INCO?," he was asked, a company that has invested almost nothing in Canada since 1972, while ploughing a billion dollars into new mines in Indonesia and Guatemala, and slashing its Sudbury workforce by more than 6,000.

"We would have to take a close look at it. If you are asking whether we would take it over the first day after taking office, the answer is 'no'.

If you are asking if we would take it over if we found there was no ore left, the answer is 'no'."

In fact, Cassidy actually toughened his tune after strong lobbying from members of his party in the Sudbury area. In December, Sudbury East MPP Elie Martel introduced a bill calling for the nationalization of INCO. So too did Nickel Belt MP John Rodriguez in Ottawa.

When Cassidy chaired a meeting of his party's provincial caucus in Sudbury Feb. 1 and 2, he said "we have equivocated on this question in the past and we must be very clear in the future."

The caucus issued a news release calling for public ownership of all resource industries, and Cassidy claimed the NDP would push the policy across the province.

"One thing we have learned is that if we don't talk about nationalization, the Tories will do it for us, and we're better at it than they are."

One analyst of the nickel industry said, "if governments nationalized INCO's holdings in Canada, it would be a very profitable operation. You would be able to produce more nickel because you wouldn't have to worry about balancing off production in Indonesia and Guatemala, and you wouldn't have to worry so much about supply and demand, because you wouldn't necessarily have to keep a price that would make a profit. The problem is one of compensation."

According to Rodriguez' bill, compensation would be for the value of INCO's assets, minus the costs of environmental clean-ups, compensation for injuries and deaths on the job, and tax deferrals.

Martel calculates the amount to be "2.95 and bus fare."

Business analysts agree that INCO's Canadian operations remain the largest and lowest-cost single source of nickel in the non-Communist world. The question is who controls the capital generated from the exploitation of that resource. A quick look at the absence of secondary manufacturing in the Sudbury area will show the effect of the continued control of that capital by New York-based INCO.



Ontario NDP leader Michael Cassidy toughened his line after lobbying from Sudbury area members of his party



The picket line at Copper Cliff just after the strike began

Around the world hundreds of miners were laid off in a drastic curtailment of nickel capacity.

As for INCO: "It's ironic," one nickel analyst said. "But because of the massive debts INCO has accumulated for its new mines in Indonesia and Guatemala, it must produce from there, even though profits will be low, and curtail its most profitable operations, which are in Canada."

A textbook lesson in the mechanics of finance capitalism. For workers in Sudbury, Port Colbourne, and Thompson, not only did it mean layoffs, but thousands of "force reductions", workers transferred to different jobs at lower rates of pay, with lower skill requirements.

The response of Sudbury's commun-

ity to the strike was something of a surprise: generous donations from small businessmen, understanding from financial institutions who look forward to the lucrative day of reckoning when the strike is over, and formation of a Citizens Strike Support Committee under Sudbury lawyer and NDP member Richard Pharand.

Also unexpected was formation of a group of strikers' wives to mobilize visible support for their husbands. The

Strike Support Committee helped organize a corn roast to commemorate the October 14 introduction of wage controls, and began planning a Children's Christmas Fund as early as October, anticipating possible demoralization during the yuletide season. The committee is also publishing the bi-weekly "Strike Support News," circulation 10,000. Wives Supporting the Strike organized two family picket lines, several pot luck suppers, and a massive Christmas Party.

THAT'S FAST, EVEN FOR A FINN

Thunder Bay's Reijo Puiras, a member of the Canadian Olympic ski team, captured the Mattie Maki Memorial trophy for the third consecutive year with his best-ever time of one minute 40.08 seconds over the 30-kilometre men's elite course, running from Port Sydney to Hidden Valley.

—Toronto Globe & Mail, Jan. 8, 1979

Sudbury Local 6500 welcomes donations to cover such things as Ontario Health Insurance and life insurance premiums. Donations should go to USWA Local 6500, 92 Frood Road, Sudbury, Ont.

As children waited to see Santa Claus they were handed copies of the Wives' flouring comic book called "What's a Strike?". In February the wives fed thousands at a beans supper, with beans donated by the National Farmers Union.

Unbelievably, some traditionalists on the Local 6500 executive objected to plans for a Christmas fund. ("You're assuming the strike will last that long.") And many others were suspicious of the wives' group and their plans to join the picket lines.

Suspicious understandable

In some measure the suspicions were understandable. In 1958, Mine Mill was still the union and workers at INCO went on strike, also facing a large stockpile of nickel, and drastic job cutbacks the previous year. Any citizens' movements in 1958 were designed to undermine the strike, and by early December Mayor J. J. Fabbro had organized a massive rally of

women to the Sudbury arena demanding a return to work. It's uncertain just how many of those women were actually wives of strikers, but the rally had its effect. Within two weeks the men were back at work for a tiny wage increase, and a 25 dollar Christmas bonus.

Movement stock-taking

In fact, the solidarity shown during the strike of 1978-79 represents an opportunity for some objective stock-taking of just how the labour movement in Canada has progressed in the past 20 years, not to mention the last 30.

Stewart Cooke visited Sudbury in early October, bearing the first installments of strike pay from Pittsburgh. At \$25 for a single worker, \$30 for married and \$3 per dependent child, it's not much. But Sudbury's working class has come to expect strikes, especially in the bad times. Savings are whittled away, belts are tightened, and loans

re-financed. It's all part of the cost of survival to the allegedly affluent unionized working class.

Help pours in

In fact, Cooke managed to raise more than \$40,000 for his own Sudbury Christmas fund from other Steelworker locals in Ontario. Some \$60,000 came from Local 1005 at Stelco in Hamilton, the largest donation ever from one local union to another.

Then there was \$12,000 from the Ontario Hydro CUPE local, \$10,000 from the CUPE national treasury, \$10,700 from rank and file postal workers, and a donation of \$10,000 a month from the remains of Mine Mill, still representing hourly-rated workers at Sudbury's Falconbridge Nickel Mines.

Sparked by the standing ovation given Patterson by delegates to the Ontario Federation of Labour convention in November, Local 6500 strikers were invited to plant gates across Ontario where they chalked up record amounts in collections from rank and file workers.

There was "Operation Turkey" in which the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union raised from its members money to donate more than 3,000 Christmas turkeys to members of Local 6500. The B.C. Federation of Labour sent 23 tons of Pacific coast herring, after Patterson addressed its convention in Vancouver.

And then there is the country-wide movement that began catching fire among trade unionists and other supporters of the INCO strikers. The Sudbury Strike Support Committee of Ottawa raised \$5,000 at a benefit concert in December, the night after a similar success at a benefit in Toronto sponsored by Organized Working Women. The next night there was another benefit in Thunder Bay, held jointly for the loggers on strike against Boise-Cascade Canada Ltd.

More recently, about 100 people turned up at a day-long educational seminar on INCO and Sudbury in Ottawa Feb. 3. Benefits were held in Hamilton, Montreal, Regina and Saskatoon as teams of strikers fanned out across the country to talk about their strike and the control of Canadian resources by multinational corporations.

When INCO broke off talks Feb. 9, Stewart Cooke finally asked the Canadian Labour Congress to issue a national appeal for support for Local 6500.

Pension shenanigans

When INCO slashed its workforce in Sudbury by more than 2,000 early last year, there were renewed calls for improvements in the company's pension plan, considered among the worst in Canadian heavy industry.

The idea was to encourage older workers to retire early, to enhance the job security of younger employees.

As Local 6500 of the United Steelworkers went into contract talks, a worker aged 55 with 30 years of service stood to make \$460 a month if he retired. When he reached age 65, INCO would pay a "basic" pension of only \$150, with Canada and Old Age Security pension making up the rest. If the total came to less than that original \$460 (called the "alternate" side of the pension table), INCO would make up the difference.

But if that worker died after retiring at age 55, the spouse would be entitled to 50 per cent of the "basic" pension, that is \$75 a month. Last September, INCO negotiators offered no improvements in this plan.

During contract talks the week of Jan. 31 to Feb. 7, INCO made three

separate contract offers. Each time the improvements in the pension plan increased.

The final offer Feb. 7 provided increases of 30 per cent in the alternate side, but only 20 per cent in basic pensions.

The worker aged 55 with 30 years could get \$600 a month, but his basic pension increased to only \$180 (survivor would get \$90). A worker aged 65 with 30 years service could get \$800, up from \$610, but his widow stood to collect only 50 per cent of \$180, up from 50 per cent of \$150.

Local 6500 president Dave Patterson accused INCO of trying to "dress up the alternate side to make the proposal attractive to the public". The union wants a worker to be able to retire on full pension after 30 years service, regardless of age.

On wages, the last company offer provided increases only eight cents higher than the offer rejected when the strike began. Base rate at INCO is \$6 an hour, plus a cost-of-living adjustment of 79 cents.

Rolling out the pork barrel in Nova Scotia

photo: CP

by RALPH SURETTE

When he was in opposition, Nova Scotia's Premier John Buchanan could be counted on to mount a high moral horse and come galloping down hard whenever his keen nostrils caught a whiff of the old Liberal pork barrel being cracked open even the slightest.

Obviously, justice of any kind was impossible as long as the evil Grits remained in power. Thus, the awesome significance of the Tory ascension to power last September. Justice would finally come to pass.

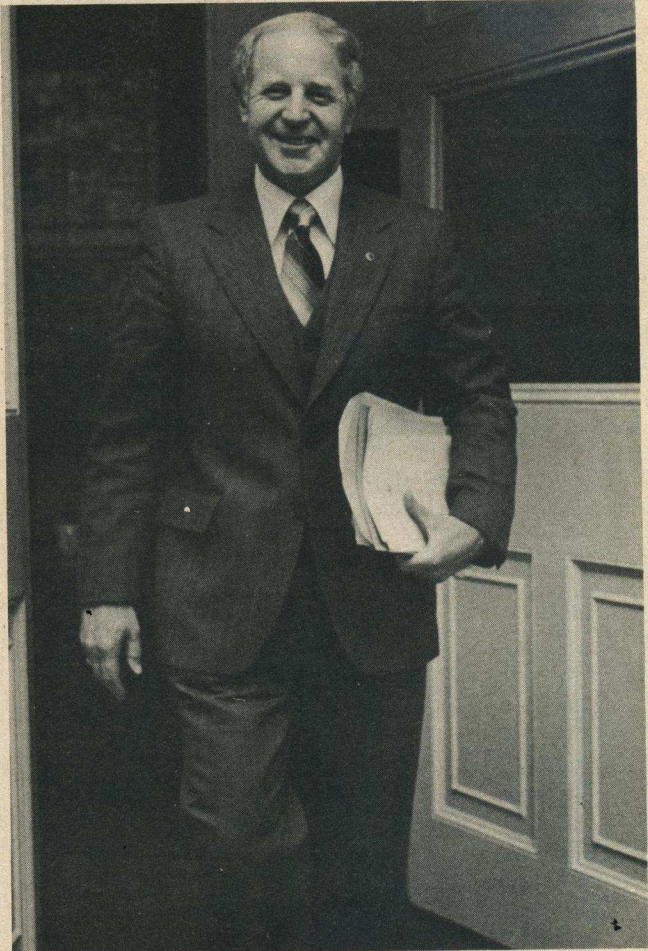
However, no one was quite prepared for the new morality on which this justice was to be based: that a sin is only a sin when committed by a Grit; for a Tory it becomes a virtue.

Thus, virtuously, the infidel was slain. Highway workers by the dozens lost their jobs. Although it is customary in the province for some highway foremen who owe their jobs to political affiliation to be fired whenever a government changes, the slaughter didn't stop there.

Some unionized highway workers were fired as well, government boards from Halifax's Metro Centre down to the Nova Scotia Harness Racing Commission were swept clean and, generally, Conservative party patronage committees, in the words of NDP MLA Paul MacEwan, "have been established throughout the province to work on every area where the government has discretionary power."

Just before the election Premier John Buchanan proclaimed a "no firings" policy far and wide. For instance, on a phone-in radio show on CJFX in Port Hawkesbury on September 9 a caller asked if he intended, if elected, to "follow the Conservative policy of firing all the Liberals who are working for you."

"Certainly not," Buchanan replied. "Good gracious, because a person is a



Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan: back to the old-time pork barrel tradition

Liberal or Conservative or New Democrat, if that person is qualified and performing . . . and is in a useful position, that person remains."

CUPE local 1867 was promised specifically, in a meeting between union officials and Buchanan four days before the election, that highway workers wouldn't be fired.

The number fired probably exceeds a hundred — some overt political workers, but some with virtually no link to politics at all except that they obtained jobs during the Liberal reign.

Of these, seven were CUPE members. The union has appealed to both the Highways and the Labour Ministers to have their cases reviewed by an arbitration board. It was turned down on grounds that the workers had been still in a probationary period.

Perhaps the most revealing incident, however, involved the firing of the King's County crown prosecutor, Donald Hall, on grounds that he had served as official agent for the defeated Liberal MLA.

"I consider a crown prosecutor's role akin to that played by a civil servant," said Attorney General Harry How in a revealing statement. "It's fine to have political beliefs one way or the other but there is no room for active participation." To Mr. How's credit he did give the job to a non-active Tory.

Hall commented that the function of crown prosecutor in the province had heretofore been reduced to a niche for party hacks. How said he wasn't on a witch hunt.

Paul MacEwan contrasted the firing with the "precociously rapid advancement of Frank Edwards, defeated Tory candidate in Cape Breton West." Edwards was appointed crown prosecutor in Cape Breton County after only four years on the provincial bar.

Pork barrel politics is an old tradition in Nova Scotia, and perhaps a more open one than elsewhere. Until the 1950s a change in government pretty well meant that everyone working on

the road, in particular, got sacked.

When Robert Stanfield was elected Tory Premier in 1956 there was some reduction of these traditional practices. During his administration the highway workers unionized, and when Liberal Gerald Regan took over in 1970 the more overt practices diminished even more. Although no one would have said that political patronage was dead in Nova Scotia — not by a long shot — it was nevertheless assumed when Buchanan took power that this more recent tendency of weeding out the grosser practices would continue.

Former Premier Regan admits that "we did some things too" in patronage terms, but says he has never seen such a systematic and determined effort by a government to weed out anyone who might be an opponent from within.

Initially at least, the Tories seem to be motivated less by duplicity and political chicanery than by a kind of blundering innocence. John Buchanan gives every indication that he truly believes that party Tories are inherently good and everyone else bad. He — and his Attorney-General, Harry How — seem to be convinced that the populace is demanding that the evil Grits be put to the torch.

For instance, in firing the Kings County prosecutor How cited that he had been under tremendous pressure from the public, which was demanding of him that this overtly political crown prosecutor be removed. It's not entirely certain that How's inability to distinguish between the local Tory committee and "the public" is faked.

Because of the anger that was directed at the former Regan government, and because his own — sometimes outlandish — presumptions in opposition were rarely questioned (mostly because the media didn't take him seriously), Buchanan seems to have duped himself into believing that his political blather was what the people really wanted. The poor man has believed his own propaganda — an understandable failing if,

as his behaviour indicates, he gets all his intellectual sustenance from the crypto-Tory *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*.

What is perhaps more interesting is the defence offered. Buchanan has been quoted as saying that the firings constitute "democracy in action." He has also said that it's "a fundamental principle of democracy" that when a new government comes in anyone in a sensitive position of advising on government policy be changed. You don't want your opponents in top jobs working against you. This seems to mean that everyone in a highly sensitive function, such as carrying a shovel in the highways department, must fear for his job — a state of mind which many civil servants with no connection to politics have been in since the election.

Buchanan brings to power one of the most narrowly partisan attitudes seen in politics in Canada for some time. His electoral sweep, the near-upset of the Liberals in P.E.I., the clinging to power against the odds of Tory Richard Hatfield in New Brunswick, the fact that Newfoundland is Tory provincially seems to have convinced him that a holy Tory millennium is at hand. It will come to earth completely when Joe Clark becomes Prime Minister.

This has led the Buchanan government to take a truculent attitude towards Ottawa and also led Buchanan himself out on a rather presumptuous limb at times.

For example, a few weeks after his election he was in the United States (where else?) making his first major policy speech. The Atlantic provinces, he told a Portland, Maine, audience have plenty of energy to sell to New England — nuclear power from New Brunswick, tidal power and coal power from Nova Scotia, hydroelectricity from Newfoundland. Apart from this being nonsense there was the even stickier problem of Buchanan presuming to speak for the other Atlantic provinces. He was quickly sat upon by spokesmen for Newfoundland, who reminded him they had other plans in mind.

In economic policy, the Buchanan government is off on a program of restraint and is describing itself as a "government of business." Not that this makes it any different from the government it replaced — the difference being that it's admitting it. This minor piece of honesty may be the most auspicious part of the Buchanan government's first six months in power.

THE INs and the OUTs OF IT

* * *

Skeptical about income

OTTAWA (CP) — A civil liberties group told the McDonald commission into RCMP wrongdoing Wednesday it is skeptical about the outcome of the inquiry partly because of the commission's "close political ties with Liberal politicians."

—*Chronicle Journal, Thunder Bay, Jan. 25, 1979*

The NDP seeks a successor to Ed Schreyer

by DOUG SMITH

Pierre Trudeau's decision to appoint Ed Schreyer Governor-General may not get him any Liberal MPs from Manitoba in the federal election, but it certainly has upset the political apple-cart in Manitoba.

The reactions to Schreyer's elevation have ranged from the *Toronto Sun's* 'With a socialist in Rideau Hall can a Soviet state be far behind' to the *Commonwealth's* comment that Ed's place was walking with the workers, not riding in the Queen's carriage.

Since the defeat of his government in October 1977, speculation has raged over whether or not Schreyer would step down. He encouraged the speculation with comments to the effect that he did not have the temperament to be a critic in opposition. This lack of temperament was demonstrated in the legislature.

Then, last spring, in a meeting at Winnipeg's Union Centre, Schreyer said he had decided to hang in and defeat the Tories. Schreyer's personal popularity in the province was such that most people felt it was unlikely anyone would challenge him for the leadership.

While Schreyer was agonizing over whether or not to leave — rumours had him going to the United Nations, the National Energy Board, Petrocan and even 24 Sussex Drive — the party had drifted along with Schreyer's increasingly moderate stance. The convention, which is usually held in the spring, was held off until November allowing Manitoba's Hamlet even more time to make up his mind.

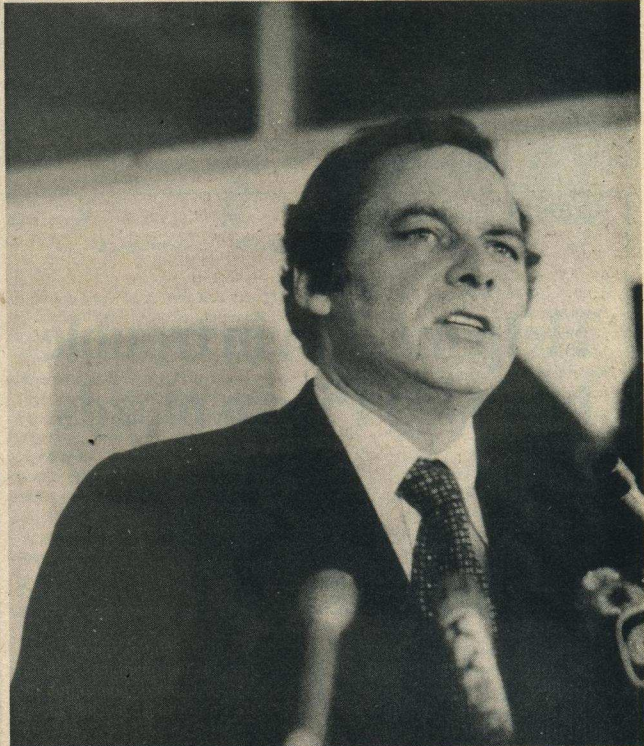
Since the election Schreyer had refrained from attacking the Tories and spent most of his time rebutting charges of fiscal incompetence that the Tories leveled at the NDP administration. Thus, his speech at the last conference, in which he lacerated Lyon and his 'pin-striped friends' was seen as another sign

that Schreyer was going to stay on and fight the Tories.

In referring to their recent cuts in the area of mental health care, he laced his speech with cries of 'Of all the lousy hypocrisy.' Schreyer brought up a campaign charge of Lyon's that 'the only people the NDP represent when they get into office are the people with their own

particular party cards. After eight years they've got most of them on the party payroll.' Schreyer then pointed out that House Leader Warner Jorgenson has been coordinating Tory patronage.

In closing, Schreyer said he felt the pendulum which had swung to the right would swing back the NDP's way shortly, but the NDP must be the party of



Ed Schreyer: his appointment as Governor-General upset the political apple cart in Manitoba

moderate government. And it was clear from the debate and resolutions at the convention the party is not stealing any marches to the left now they are in opposition. Very few motions that dealt with improved social services or health services received any objection. But on the economic issues, the strength of the right was evident.

A motion in the "nationalize INCO" spirit ran into trouble because it spoke of an NDP government commencing the expropriation, with compensation, of all primary mineral resources in the province. Some people objected to the word commence, since it indicated the delegates felt the Schreyer government had not done anything in this area. The motion was referred to committee and came back saying the government would increase the benefits and control of resources.

Another motion, which would have placed the party squarely in opposition to the construction of nuclear generators or the dumping of nuclear wastes, was replaced with one that said the province should only go ahead with nuclear energy if there were safeguards.

One of the most lengthy debates took place over a constitutional change — the addition of a new member of the federal council who would sit on the participation of women committee. The vote on

this motion came shortly after the party decided not to have a seat on the provincial executive reserved for the provincial federation of labour.

Opponents to the motion said affirmative action was only needed when there had been discrimination in the first place — and no one could accuse the NDP of not giving women a fair shake. The motion was defeated by a handful of votes.

Then Sam Uskiw, the former Agriculture Minister, moved reconsideration. It had been brought to Sam's attention that the federal party would be paying the costs of this third councillor, and Manitoba would not have the same representation as the other provinces if they did not pass the motion. So, Uskiw said that although he was opposed to the principle, he thought it should be passed. And in keeping with the party's finely tuned sense of economics and principles, the amendment was approved.

One delegate saw the election of the party officers as an indication that the middle had prevented the right-wing of the party, as represented by J. Frank Syms, from taking over. Syms put out a preconference tabloid that connected him with Schreyer, Stanley Knowles and even, for all those prairie populists, John Diefenbaker. Despite this he was handily

beaten by a Thompson lawyer Bob Mayer.

One promising sign on the Manitoba scene is the new president of the Manitoba Federation of Labour, Dick Martin. Martin comes out of Thompson where he was the president of the Steelworker local. During the CUPW strike, when the Canadian Labour Congress was hemming and hawing, Martin supported the postal workers saying the back to work legislation was a bad law and the workers were "morally right" in disobeying it. Since then Martin has been outspoken and visible in his opposition to the labour policies of both the federal and provincial governments.

It was apparent from both the NDP and MFL conventions that the Tories have been able to provide a sense of purpose and unity that those groups have not been able to develop on their own. Any speaker who had the sense to end his speech with a blast at Lyon was assured an almost standing ovation, no matter what issue was being addressed. In light of this, one of the real surprises was the MFL's decision to have Norma Price, the Tory's feckless then-labour minister, address the conference.

For most of the event anti-Price jokes and comments were rife and there was talk of a walk-out when she spoke. Instead, the delegates reacted like a bunch of school children who have been boisterous until the stern schoolmistress suddenly reappears.

Government reorganization has also seen the demotion of two of the lesser lights among P.C. Cabinet ministers.

Norma Price is now in charge of tourism, and she says Manitoba's waitresses are not friendly enough — probably because they are still receiving the minimum wage she refused to increase during the year she was Labour Minister.

Former car dealer Bob Banman had to be bailed out of Tourism and Cultural Affairs. Last spring Banman got into a fight with conservationists over his decision to let a developer build condominiums in Whiteshell Park. Bob could never get it straight whether he had approved the project or not, and each day the press found a document which contradicted what he had said the day before. On getting a new appointment as Minister of Co-operative Development he let it be known he did not like credit unions and reduced the departmental staff to 26.

Between firing people and creating labour strife, Lyon himself managed to

HUMBLE NO MORE

Help me, I'm in trouble humbled Pierre pleads

—Toronto Star, Two-Star edition, Feb. 22, 1979

* * *

Pierre asks for help: 'It'll be a hard fight'

—Toronto Star, Four-Star edition, Feb. 22, 1979

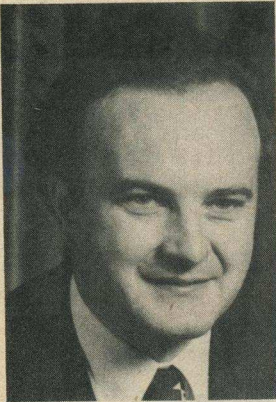
get out to Alberta and address the Alberta P.C. convention. There he warned about the socialist boogie man. Manitobans had thought "we could never have a socialist government. I say to you in Alberta watch your backs because it could happen here. And to turn that kind of rather silly philosophy, that dated,

rather quaint 19th-century philosophy on a province with the resources and the people such as you have, would be like turning a five-year-old loose in a candy store, believe me".

Which left Lyon in a somewhat awkward position when Trudeau decided to turn Manitoba's most prominent

five-year-old loose in Rideau Hall. Lyon did manage to get a dig into his statement of congratulations by noting Schreyer will have "a most important service in representing and reinforcing the role of the monarchy in Canada as the centre of Canadian unity."

The leadership race shapes up



Howard Pawley



Muriel Smith



Wilson Parasuik

The race for the leadership of the Manitoba New Democratic Party is likely to boil down to a race between the new interim leader Howard Pawley and former civil servant Wilson Parasuik.

Pawley's chances for the leadership received a boost when the provincial council picked the former Attorney-General to be interim leader in January. Parasuik supporters had been in favour of selecting Saul Cherniack, the senior caucus member who has indicated he has no intention of running for leader.

Parasuik, and Muriel Smith, another leading candidate, can take some consolation from the fact that the council decided to have the leadership convention in November rather than in spring when Pawley wanted one.

As Attorney-General, Pawley was responsible for a number of reforms including the family law bill the Tories have since repealed.

When the NDP was first formed, Pawley and Al Mickling opposed the move and Stanley Knowles at that time made rumblings about the need for a purge.

In recent months Pawley made a trip to Chile seeking information on the relatives of refugees in Canada.

Parasuik, a Rhodes scholar, was a senior planner for the Schreyer government and, as a backbencher, has succeeded in embarrassing the Conservatives on a number of issues. In the spring he revealed that a government report on rent controls had suffered a major rewrite and much pro-controls material had been removed.

Parasuik draws on the rural ethnic background similar to Schreyer's. With a November convention, he could rally enough support to give Pawley a close run for the leadership.

Muriel Smith, a past party president who was narrowly defeated in the last provincial election, is running,

she claims, to make sure that issues of importance to women are raised. There has been speculation that he will not run if Maureen Hemphill, another defeated candidate, enters the race.

Sid Green, the acerbic house leader who contested the leadership unsuccessfully in 1968 and '69 says he is not as interested now. Green has made as many enemies within the party as without, and many people feel he would have little chance of getting elected were he to choose to run. Others feel Green won't run since he has enough power within the caucus to be the effective leader.

The former Agriculture Minister, Sam Uskiw, could help the party build up rural support, which it is sadly in need of. However, if the party feels the next election is going to be fought in the handful of urban and northern ridings they lost last time around, it could go to one of the Winnipeg candidates.

the Last Pssst



by Claude Balloune

Down the Garden Path: Montreal's Mayor Jean Drapeau has come up with a new idea to add to the glory of the 'world's greatest city.' A bold plan for economic development? Major social welfare schemes? Housing for the poor, perhaps? Well, not quite. It seems the Mayor is up to his old tricks and has gone after the **world olympics of flowers**, last held in Vienna in 1974. Drapeau's idea is to make the Olympic Velodrome and the Ile Notre Dame part of the Man and His World exhibition a sea of flowers — in fact, the largest flower garden in the world. He has successfully conned Quebec's ever-smiling Agriculture Minister, **Jean Garon**, into coming up with a \$4.2 million grant for the flower show, which would be rated as a Category A-1 international exhibition. Garon dreams that as a result Quebec could become a major exporter of flowers. The \$4.2 million is supposed to be the total cost of the show. Problem is, the last flower olympics cost \$34 million. Bets are already being laid on the size of the new olympic deficit.

Calling all Presidents: While I'm on the subject of Mayor Drapeau and his glory, it seems His Honour heard the **President of Bulgaria** was going to visit Washington. The result was letters fired off all over the place demanding that the Bulgarian Pres. pay homage by visiting Montreal either before or after his trip to Washington. Failure to comply, it was hinted, would be a major diplomatic incident.

Edward Schreyer, Governor-General of All the Canadas: When Ed Schreyer was Premier of Manitoba he was happy to be just plain 'Ed', man of the people. But now that's all changed. Right after his appointment his office went after the media to inform them that from now on Ed wanted to be known as Edward. Upholding the dignity of the job and all that. . . . Meanwhile, elsewhere in the National Capitol Region, word is leaking out that **Secretary of State John Robert's** Cabinet colleagues are none too pleased with his performance. He's increasingly being described as ineffectual. . . . However, in terms of administrative competence — such things as answering one's mail, going to caucus meetings, attending conferences, etc. — it's **Trade and Commerce Minister Jack Horner** who gets the lowest rating according to the Prime Minister's Office's internal rating system. . . . Every Cabinet minister has someone in his office whose job is to worry about the government's popularity and problems in a particular area of the country. They meet regularly to report results to the PMO. Until recently they were reporting that what everyone was worrying

about was **Prime Minister Trudeau**. But no more. Trudeau's office has ordered that he be left out of all surveys. So what's the point if you program out in advance the fact that the country thinks the PM is a jerk?

Remember Paul? Former biggie Liberal Cabinet minister **Paul Martin**, now our High Commissioner in London, is writing his memoirs and is expected to resign his job by the end of the year. Guess who can't wait for that to happen? Everyone at Canada House, that's who. It seems everyone on the staff regards him as irrelevant and can't wait for him to go.

If Canada's dynamic third party, the New (where? Tommy?) Democratic (Stanley?) Party (Is David around?) doesn't up its seats (few) and votes (forever 17 per cent) in the federal electoral fandango look out



Photos: David Lloyd



John Roberts and Jack Horner: black marks in Ottawa

for a massive howl from the NDP Cub Scout pack in convention after election day. Some disgruntled provincial parties still hate the ineffectual and free spending Ottawa office from the last campaign and their wrath may be visited on **Cliff (Smoothy) Scotton's** protegee, **Robin Sears**. Sears, whose major claim to fame has been to charm the ineffectual Ottawa press corps on the basis of his experience as night office boy at CITY-TV in Toronto, has sat on the party's burgeoning pile of bucks for four years and has nothing to show except some used airline tickets. More than one NDP mover and shaker on Parliament Hill is preparing to move into Sears' executive suite at J.S. Woodsworth House and may only be deterred if the present pack of MPs is thoroughly routed at the polls. In that case all bets are off and the talent hunt will be on to replace leader **Ed** (Every working man wishes he were his son) **Broadbent**. Since no one particularly wants the job and since organized labour has an effective veto on the choice of a new leader look for the emergence of the new politician in the form of tough talking, smoothly coiffured **Dennis** (Can I get some respect here) **McDermott**. McDermott's high profile term as Canadian Labour Congress president has hardly endeared him to **Jean-Claude Parrott**, let alone the rest of the seniority-minded establishment at the CLC. Dennis, of course, can be counted on to banish any fripperies at the party offices and do the sensible thing by moving both office and convention to the more appropriate climate of Florida.



Ed Broadbent: rumblings in the background

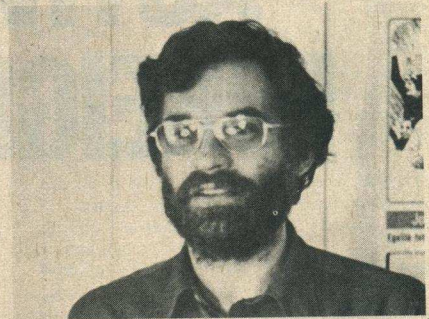
Well, there's still Albania: Remember **Charles Gagnon**? He shared the title of "chief FLQ theoretician" along with **Pierre Vallieres** in the 60s. But the two have since parted ways — Vallieres now an on-and-off Pequist and Gagnon a confirmed Marxist-Leninist more interested in class struggle than Quebec independence. Gagnon is also secretary-general of a Maoist splinter group, In Struggle, which in the past has competed with the rival Communist League for the true Maoist franchise (Peking brand) in Canada. But recent changes in that once-revolutionary wonderland have proven to be too much for even Gagnon. In his

latest tract, he says "the fall of the Chinese Communist Party into revisionism is certainly a setback for the proletarian revolution" and, alas, "teaches us that revisionism has not been defeated." In the never-never land of Canadian Maoist politics, that only leaves him with Albania as the world's last stronghold of revolution.

Tongue-troopers: Quebec's language law is having a few bizarre results. Recently, the prestigious **Chateau Frontenac** hotel in Quebec City was taken to task when it was discovered that the guides placed in each hotel room were bilingual. The Chateau had to destroy them all and replace them with French-only booklets, which must be a great comfort to travellers from the United States and English-speaking Canada. Similarly, the **State of Vermont Travel Bureau** in Montreal was called on the carpet because it was discovered its tourist brochures were in both French and English. Meanwhile, Quebec's vigilant language police has been running ads in the French newspapers urging the public to inform on anyone who isn't complying with the language law.

Selling B.C.: When **Premier Bill Bennett** went ape over Canadian Pacific's takeover bid for MacMillan-Bloedel, proclaiming "B.C. is not for sale," he neglected to mention that B.C. is being sold all over the place. In 1976, with B.C. approval, the Foreign Investment Review Agency approved nine foreign takeovers; in 1977 this rose to 26; and in 1978 to 39. The Premier also forgot to mention that 80 per cent of MacMillan-Bloedel's shareholders live outside B.C. anyway and that the company is busily re-investing a good part of its profits in places like the southern U.S. and Indonesia.

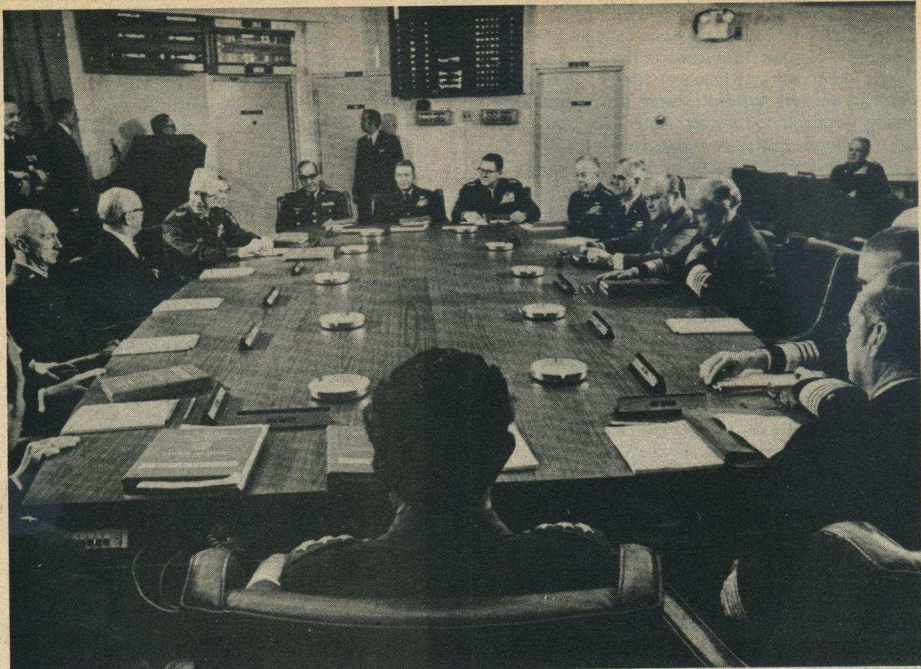
Miscellaneous: Judy La Marsh's thinly disguised "novel" *A Very Political Lady* about a certain Liberal government is a raging bestseller. . . . The *New York Times* has been trying since October to get an interview with Tory leader **Joe Clark**, without success. Most politicians would jump at such an opportunity. What's Joe scared of? . . . Extra staff is being hired at **Radio Canada**, the French wing of the CBC, to 'vet' news programming for 'objectivity' until after the referendum. A very hard line is being taken.



Charles Gagnon: There's always Albania

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON
by Michael T. Klare

**THE U.S.
GETS READY
FOR
A NEW
ACTIVIST
FOREIGN POLICY**



Top U.S. military and defence officials meet in the National Command Centre at the Pentagon to discuss changing strategy

I. The new activism

Washington is rapidly turning into a war capital.

Not in the sense that troops are being called up for deployment to some foreign battlefield — but rather in the sense that top policymakers believe that the likelihood of a war is increasing daily and that preparation for war must be accelerated even if other national goals suffer in the process.

In the past few months, the Carter Administration has committed the United States to a dangerous new round in the thermonuclear arms race, and has ordered a massive increase in spending on conventional (non-nuclear) arms. One State Department officer told me in January, “we are

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now closer to a nuclear war with the Soviet Union than at any time since the Cuban missile crisis.”

As in Washington of the early 1960s, when the Kennedy Administration’s obsession with “counterinsurgency” led us inexorably towards Vietnam, Pentagon strategists are searching for opportunities to test out their new weapons and tactics — except now the emphasis is on desert warfare and on “high intensity” operations in hypothetical European and Middle Eastern battlefields. U.S. combat forces are being completely re-equipped with new tanks, PGM’s (precision-guided munitions, also called “smart bombs” or “smart missiles”), helicopters, and fighter planes, and the strategic nuclear arsenal is being “modernized” with a new generation of missiles, warheads, and launching systems.

All this is being accomplished by a change in U.S. strategic doctrine which emphasizes the “usability” of nuclear weapons in “limited” conflict situations.

With the collapse of the Pahlevi dynasty in Iran — and with it the policy of relying on client powers to defend U.S. interests in the Third World — Washington is heading towards a re-

newed interventionist posture abroad.

"There's no doubt that a basic change is being signaled," Roscoe Drummond of the *Los Angeles Times* observed on January 10th. "President Carter is moving toward a more activist foreign policy designed to protect America's vital interests wherever they are endangered."

Many recent statements by top U.S. policy-makers confirm this finding. Commenting on the Iranian crisis, for instance, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown observed: "I think that it is a worse problem than it was in the 1950s and 1960s. You say how could it be worse than Vietnam? What I'm saying is that our vital interests are more likely to be involved than, in retrospect, they probably were in Vietnam. We're more interdependent; we're more resource-dependent on the outside world."

Given this fact, he added, "We might have a very difficult time in avoiding the choice between participation in conflict . . . or severe damage to our national interest and resources." To demonstrate that he was not talking in abstract terms, Brown revealed that "planning is going ahead for a highly mobile, hard-hitting specialized force for conflicts outside of NATO."

In October, I attended a weapons display held by the Association of the United States Army (AUSA) at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in downtown Washington. According to AUSA officials, this was the largest show of its kind ever held, with more arms firms showing off their wares than ever before. As I strolled past the many displays — most of which were crowded with Army officers and foreign military attachés — I could not help sensing the euphoria communicated by exhibitors and visitors alike over the dramatic upturn in U.S. arms production.

On Capitol Hill, it is hard to find lawmakers who will speak out against provocative new weapons programs or particularly belligerent statements by the Administration. Congresspersons who once approved the War Powers Act and other restraints on intervention abroad are now calling on the Administration to "Stand up to the Russians" in Africa and to enhance U.S. capabilities for combat in Europe and the Middle East.

Hard-liners in the Senate, led by Senator Henry M. Jackson, are campaigning against adoption of SALT-II, and the defeat of Senators McIntyre and Clark in the last election will make it harder for supporters of the treaty to line up the necessary two-thirds majority for ratification.

Equally chilling is the atmosphere in the press, the universities, and the think-tanks. People who applauded the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and spoke of a "new world order" where disputes would be settled peacefully now advocate the

"revitalization of NATO" and planning for a future U.S. "oil intervention" in the Persian Gulf.

Those who stress the urgency of disarmament are treated as impractical dreamers, or are simply ignored. "Realism" — which usually translates to mean a recognition of the "thinkability" of thermonuclear war — is the prevailing logic of the day.

II. What they're doing

Situated as I am in Washington, where the largest employer is the Department of Defense, it is perhaps all too easy to be overcome by the atmosphere of militarism and to overestimate the threat of war. But lest you think I exaggerate, consider the following developments:

1. Item: In line with a shift in U.S. strategic thinking, the Carter Administration has taken new initiatives whose purpose is "to give the United States an enhanced ability to wage a limited nuclear conflict." (*The New York Times*, November 30, 1978).

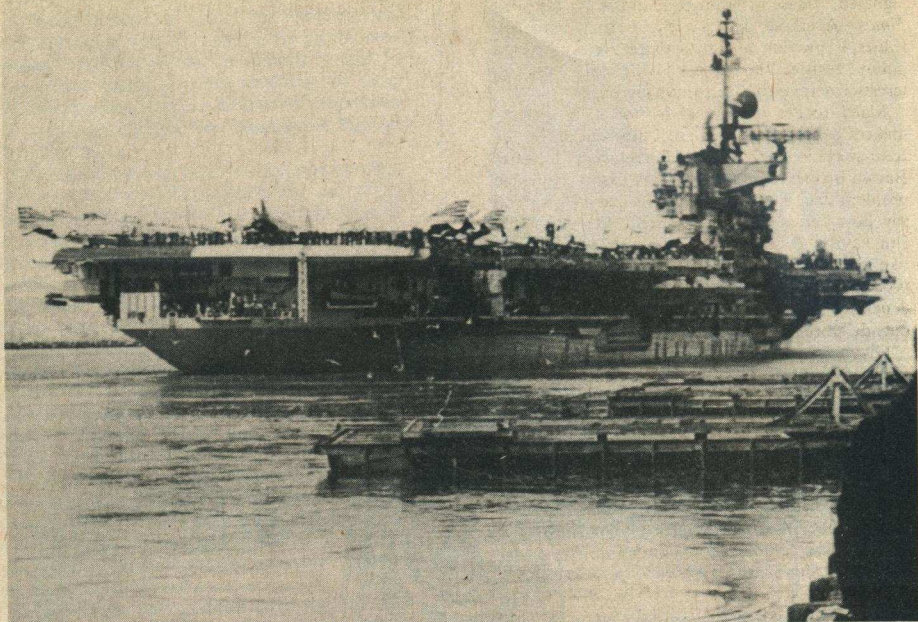
These initiatives include the accelerated development of new "counterforce" weapons (so called because they are optimized for strikes against Soviet strategic forces, rather than Soviet cities) such as the Mark-12A nuclear warhead (to equip the existing force of Minuteman-II ICBM's), and the proposed M-X missile.

Whereas earlier U.S. doctrine stressed the maintenance of an invulnerable second-strike force aimed at Soviet cities to deter a Soviet nuclear assault on the United States (a most unlikely contingency), deployment of counterforce weapons will provide the United States with the option of ordering limited nuclear strikes in response to a variety of Soviet thrusts which fall short of an all-out nuclear attack.

And while Pentagon strategists describe such plans as a "humanitarian" effort, because they theoretically would reduce human slaughter in an actual war, critics charge that the Pentagon's real intent here is to diminish the public's horror of nuclear war and to enhance the presumed "usability" of atomic weapons in a future conflict.

2. Item: In accordance with these plans, President Carter will ask Congress to provide funding for two new nuclear weapons programs in a supplemental military appropriations bill.

According to *The New York Times*, Carter will request \$500 million in Fiscal 1979 (and another \$710 million will be sought in fiscal 1980) to



U.S. attack aircraft carrier heads out to sea; a new interventionist stance is shaping up in U.S. policy

begin full-scale engineering development of the M-X land-based ICBM and the Trident-II submarine-launched ballistic missile. Both weapons will carry multiple warheads (MIRVs) and will be much more accurate than present missiles — permitting offensive strikes against “hardened” Soviet missile silos (which are protected from anything but a direct hit).

Administration officials argue that these new weapons will only be used in response to hypothetical Soviet assaults, but critics point out that they are most effective as *first-strike* weapons (since they are designed to knock out Soviet missiles in *their silos*) and thus will increase Moscow’s anxieties over U.S. intentions and make it much harder to negotiate new arms-reduction agreements.

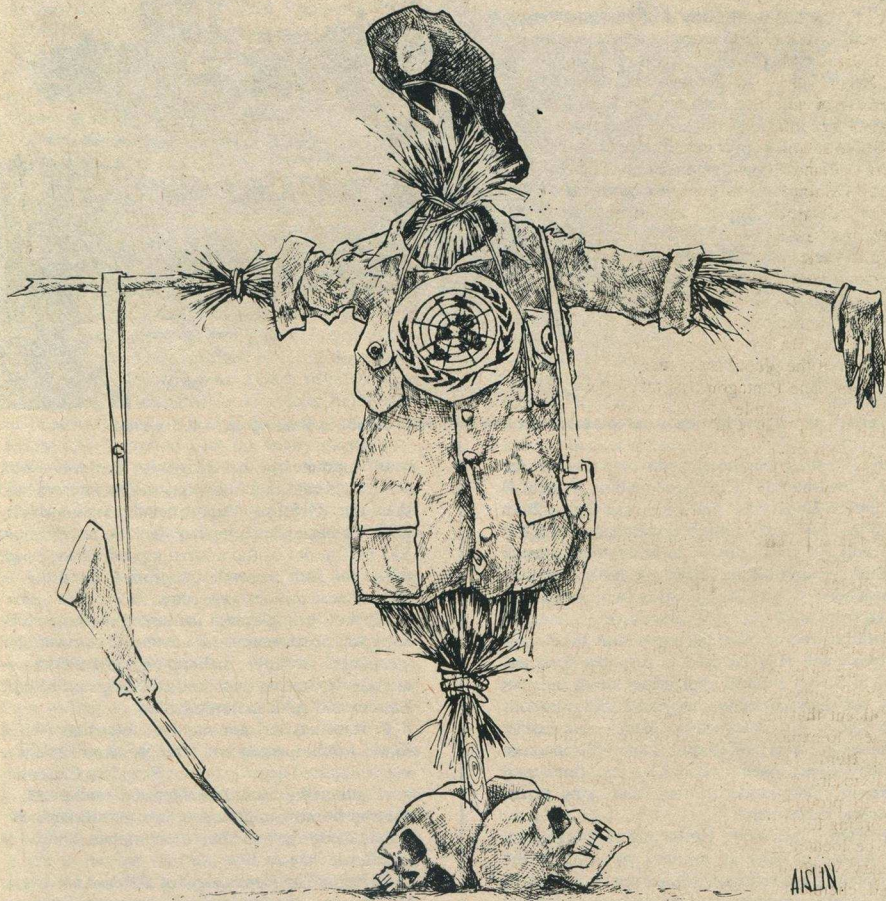
3. Item: The White House has authorized an \$11 billion increase in military spending in the next budget year (fiscal 1980), even though most other federal programs will be cut back or kept at present levels in order to curb inflation. The increase, amounting to 3 per cent in “real terms” (i.e., after inflation is accounted for), will raise the defense budget to a peacetime record of approximately \$123 billion.

In announcing the increase, *The New York Times* reported that “Administration sources said that the Defense Department was especially gratified because Carter has decided to cut about \$15 billion out of the normal growth of the range of social and domestic programs” in order to finance new military programs.

Most of the additional Pentagon funding will be used for procurement of advanced conventional weaponry — tanks, helicopters, and PGMs — intended for use in hypothetical European, Middle Eastern and African battlefields.

4. Item: After announcing that the United States would not proceed with procurement of the much-detested neutron bomb, President Carter has now authorized the production and stockpiling of neutron bomb *components*, thus permitting near-instantaneous production of complete bombs at any future date.

5. Item: The Department of Defense has begun preliminary design work on two intermediate-range nuclear weapons designed for a war in Europe: the ground-launched cruise missile (GLCM) and an extended-range version of the Pershing ballistic missile (Pershing-II). Carter and the Department of Energy have requested a three-



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fold increase in Pershing-II funding in fiscal year 1980.

6. Item: In order to insure that sufficient nuclear explosives will be available for all the new weapons systems described in items 2, 4, and 5, "the United States is today launching its most ambitious nuclear weapons production program in two decades," reported *The Washington Post* on November 19.

U.S. bomb-making facilities are now gearing up for production of warheads for the M-X, Trident-II, the air-launched cruise missile (ALCM), the Lance battlefield missile, new strategic and tactical bombs, and a whole family of atomic artillery shells.

7. Item: Following the announcement of resumed diplomatic ties between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China, the American press was full of speculation about a future U.S.-P.R.C. military alliance aimed at the Soviet Union. Already, Washington has given its approval to the sale of advanced French and British arms to China, and the sale of U.S. arms is sure to follow.

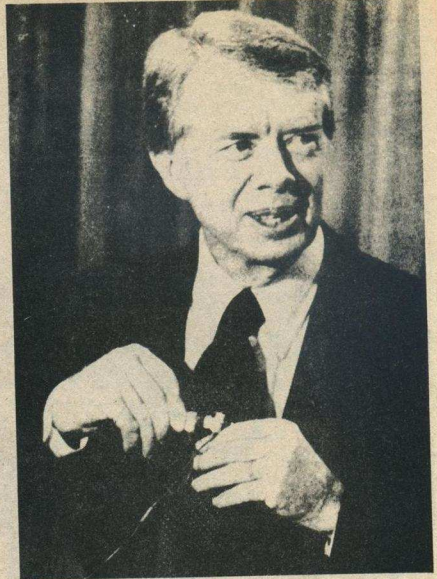
While Carter asserted that the normalization of ties was a contribution to world peace, it is obvious that any moves toward a formal or informal military alliance would be viewed with extreme uneasiness in Moscow and could result in a further escalation of the global arms race.

8. Item: The Pentagon has taken the first step towards the possible development of a new manned penetrating bomber, to replace the B-1 bomber cancelled by President Carter in 1977. According to *Defense/Space Daily* the Air Force has begun evaluating potential contractors for preliminary design work on the proposed bomber under the so-called "Strategic Bomber Enhancement" program.

9. Item: The Carter Administration has approved a significant increase in civil defense spending in order to develop blueprints for emergency urban evacuation programs. Although these plans are apparently not as grandiose as those originally reported in the press, it is obviously significant that the White House has chosen this moment to expand U.S. civil defense spending.

10. Item: The White House has ordered the Army to draw up plans for construction of a factory to produce "binary" nerve gas weapons. According to *The Washington Post*, the new plant will be located at Pine Bluff Arsenal, Arkansas. (Binary weapons would use two separately encased chemicals which would mix together to form the deadly nerve gas only after the shell or bomb was on its way to a target.)

At the same time, the Army has once again, after a four-year hiatus, used nerve gas in outdoor troop-training exercises. During the exercises, held at Redstone Arsenal, Alabama, small quan-



If President Carter doesn't support the new activism, national security could be a major issue in the next U.S. election

tities of nerve gas are released and then decontaminated by chemical weapons specialists.

11. Item: In November, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General David C. Jones, urged the creation of a stand-by draft system to shorten the time for a full-scale mobilization in a crisis. Under the proposed system, young men and women would be registered, classified, and given physical and mental examinations so that those eligible could be inducted more quickly if war were to break out. Jones stated that he was not calling for the resumption of conscription *at this time*, but suggested that we may someday "have to go back to a draft or some sort of national service."

12. Item: If all these weren't enough, Carter's choice for the new director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), General George M. Seignious, has called for the acquisition of new nuclear weapons. Even if a SALT treaty is adopted, Seignious told reporters in December, the Pentagon will "require additional money to modernize the strategic systems we have."

The appointment of Seignious to replace Paul Warnke as head of the ACDA has drawn heavy criticism from disarmament activists, who point to his membership on the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, a pro-military lobby that has



U.S. help during the 1978 Zaire crisis showed a swing of the pendulum back towards interventionism

campaigning against adoption of the SALT treaty.

These developments have been accompanied by a shift in attitudes about the use of military intervention to solve U.S. political-economic difficulties abroad. Whereas after Vietnam many U.S. leaders argued that we should spurn military means in favor of diplomatic and economic measures in future Third World crises, today many of these same figures are suggesting that intervention may be appropriate in some situations.

If the Angola crisis of 1975 (when Congress voted to block U.S. participation in the civil war there) can be seen as the high point in the pendulum's swing towards anti-interventionism, then the Zaire crisis of 1978 (when Carter placed the 82nd Airborne Division on alert for possible deployment in Zaire's embattled Shaba Province)

was the mid-point in its swing back in the opposite direction.

As one State Department official said at the time, "we are now at the Tonkin Gulf stage in Africa." And while it would be foolish to predict a repetition of the Vietnam entanglement — with many thousands of U.S. troops involved in a protracted ground war. — it is not so unrealistic to envision a U.S. "lightning strike" to topple a radical Arab regime that blocks U.S. oil supplies or to overcome some other threat to U.S. economic "survival."

By now you must be asking: Why this dramatic upturn in militarism and interventionism at this time? Of course, there is no simple or definitive explanation for what is obviously a complex and changing situation, but I will try to identify at least some of the underlying causes:

First, U.S. military preparedness has become a

major political issue, in that potential presidential candidates such as Senator Jackson and Ronald Reagan have used the "Soviet threat" issue to embarrass and discredit President Carter. And since Carter feels that the electorate might be vulnerable to such "scare" tactics, he has moved steadily to the right on military issues — thus forcing his rivals to release even more alarmist statements in order to stay in the game.

Carter has also come under attack from former "national security managers" like Paul Nitze who seek a vehicle for renewed political influence (hence the "Committee on the Present Danger"). These developments suggest that the "Soviet threat" will be a major issue in the 1980 presidential election and thus will trigger a continuing increase in hawkish, Cold War rhetoric.

Next, we can discern a split within U.S. ruling circles on foreign policy issues that tends to be expressed through the debate over the Pentagon budget. This split revolves around the question of how best to preserve U.S. global power in the wake of the Vietnam disaster.

Whereas some leaders — especially those in the business and financial community — emphasize the solidarity of the capitalist world (especially the "trilateral" powers of North America, Western Europe, and Japan) in the face of mounting demands from the underdeveloped world, other leaders — particularly those in the national security bureaucracy — emphasize the expansion of U.S. military strength and the "containment" of Soviet power.

III. Traders vs. Prussians

The former group, (which I have elsewhere called the "Traders") believe that the USSR will become increasingly dependent on Western technology and will be less prone to challenge U.S. interests, while the latter group (which I call the "Prussians") argues that only a massive build-up in U.S. military power will discourage aggressive Soviet moves.

While this debate normally takes place behind the closed doors of corporate board rooms and government offices, it surfaces regularly during the annual debate over the U.S. defense budget, when the hard-liners release exaggerated data on Soviet strength in order to win Congressional support for higher military spending. Given the political climate already mentioned, this process naturally tends to result in ever-increasing military budgets and the acquisition of more potent hardware.

Economic factors also play a role in this pro-

cess. Inflation in the defence industries is running at about twice the rate as in the economy as a whole, with the result that arms firms must receive an even larger slice of the federal budget pie (their principal source of income) merely to stay in place. Since Carter has vowed to reduce the federal deficit in order to curb inflation, increases in military spending can only come at the expense of cutbacks in social services.

Such cutbacks have been opposed by unions, minorities, and urban leaders, touching off a bitter debate over national priorities (or, as this debate is usually described, guns vs. butter). To ensure their success in this struggle, the arms producers have launched a multi-million dollar "scare" campaign to convince American voters that they need missiles and bombers ("guns") more than they need basic social services ("butter").

There are also some sectors of the population which feel threatened by the political gains made by women, Blacks, Chicanos, gays, and other minorities in the 1960s, and who yearn for a return to the conformist, repressive atmosphere of the 1950s.

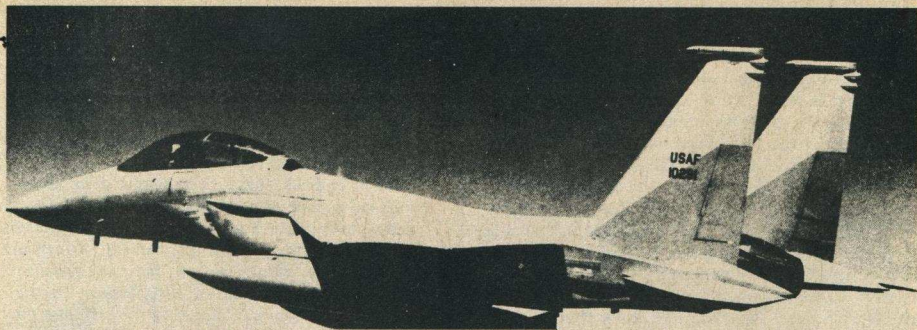
Such constituencies are naturally receptive to calls for a new Cold War, and tend to link "military preparedness" with other conservative causes (anti-abortion, anti-Equal Rights Amendment, anti-affirmative action, anti-gay rights). If this analysis is correct, we can expect that any further tilt towards a war-footing in this country will be accompanied by increasing repression against reluctant sectors of the population — labour, feminists, Blacks and other minorities, environmentalists, etc.

This is only a partial explanation of what lies behind the current upsurge in militarism, but at least gives some indication of the political factors involved.

All of these developments are likely to come to a head in the upcoming SALT-II debate and the 1980 presidential election, when conservative politicians of both parties will try to unseat Jimmy Carter.

In a dramatic expression of what is to come, former Deputy Secretary of Defense and current Governor of Texas William P. Clements Jr. recently noted: "If [Carter] does not recognize and act on the dangers of a stop-and-start weapons policy; if he does not start afresh with SALT; if he does not unambiguously support our friends overseas, national security will, for the first time, become a prime issue in a presidential election. Specifically, national security could become the No. 1 issue in 1980, and it will destroy this President politically." (emphasis added.)

This does not mean one need be hopelessly pessimistic about the chances for reversing the tide of militarism in the United States. If we look



Increased U.S. defence spending will go for new weapons purchases

carefully, we can detect *some* hopeful signs.

Many people — including some prominent labour, religious, business, and municipal leaders — are finally beginning to realize that any increase in war preparation will inevitably produce a decline in the quality of life enjoyed by most Americans. These people recognize that a new Cold War will probably result in:

- Reductions in health, education, and welfare benefits;
- Increased taxation and/or inflation;
- Diminished political freedom along with decreased tolerance for non-conforming social and cultural behaviour;
- The resumption of the draft;
- Restrictions on trade with the socialist countries;
- The further deterioration of the older "core" cities.
- And, of course, increased exposure to the risk of nuclear war.

And since these leaders are responsible, in one way or another, for the well-being of their constituencies, they have taken a more active role in opposing the trend towards higher military spending. Their efforts are reflected in such developments as:

- The ardent support given to proposed conversion legislation by William W. Wimpinger, President of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers and a rising star in the American labour movement;
- The growing commitment of U.S. church groups to action on behalf of peace and disarmament, as reflected in the naming of Rev. William Sloane Coffin to head up a new Disarmament Program at New York's prestigious Riverside Church;
- The opposition to costly new weapons systems voiced by influential members of the Na-

tional Conference of Mayors and other municipal organizations.

These efforts had their biggest political impact to date at the mid-term convention of the Democratic Party in Memphis, Tenn., where opponents of increased military spending derailed what had been expected to be a near-unanimous endorsement of Carter's fiscal policies. Although most certified delegates finally voted to support the President's budget proposals, participants report that White House aides explored a variety of threats and promises to prevent adoption of resolutions which called for increased social rather than military spending.

While it is too early to predict when and where such efforts will be renewed, it is obvious from the Memphis event that there is much more opposition to Carter's "guns over butter" approach than was initially believed.

What lies ahead? In the near term, we can expect bitter debates over SALT and proposed Pentagon budget increases. From what I've learned about the proposed SALT treaty, it incorporates so much of what the hard-liners have demanded in the way of options for U.S. force modernization that it should survive a Senate vote. But the vote will surely be close, and it is certain that the White House will promise still more nuclear weapons spending in order to gain the support of borderline Senators. Even with such promises, there is a chance that the treaty will fail — in which case we will quickly move into an even more volatile arms race.

Governor Clements may well be right when he says that "national security could become the No. 1 issue in 1980." And while it's too early to predict the demise of Carter, the mounting Cold War hysteria could destroy the chances for meaningful arms-reduction efforts while imposing an even more rapacious war-economy on the U.S.

BILL VANDER ZALM: HE'S ALWAYS ON TO THE POOR

by Kerry Segrave

British Columbia's 'colourful' Bill Vander Zalm, currently Municipal Affairs Minister, and formerly Human Resources Minister, has been maintaining his customary high profile lately.

In January, Vander Zalm successfully sued the Victoria Times which, in response to the minister's social policies, had run an editorial cartoon that showed him gleefully picking the wings off flies. He claimed the cartoon implied he was a cruel and sadistic person who enjoyed inflicting suffering on innocent people. The paper said the cartoon was not done with malice and was fair comment.

In a decision that could seriously inhibit effective political cartooning in Canada, the judge held in Vander Zalm's favour, saying the minister's decisions were made in good faith and an ordinary person couldn't conclude he was sadistic during the course of his duties.

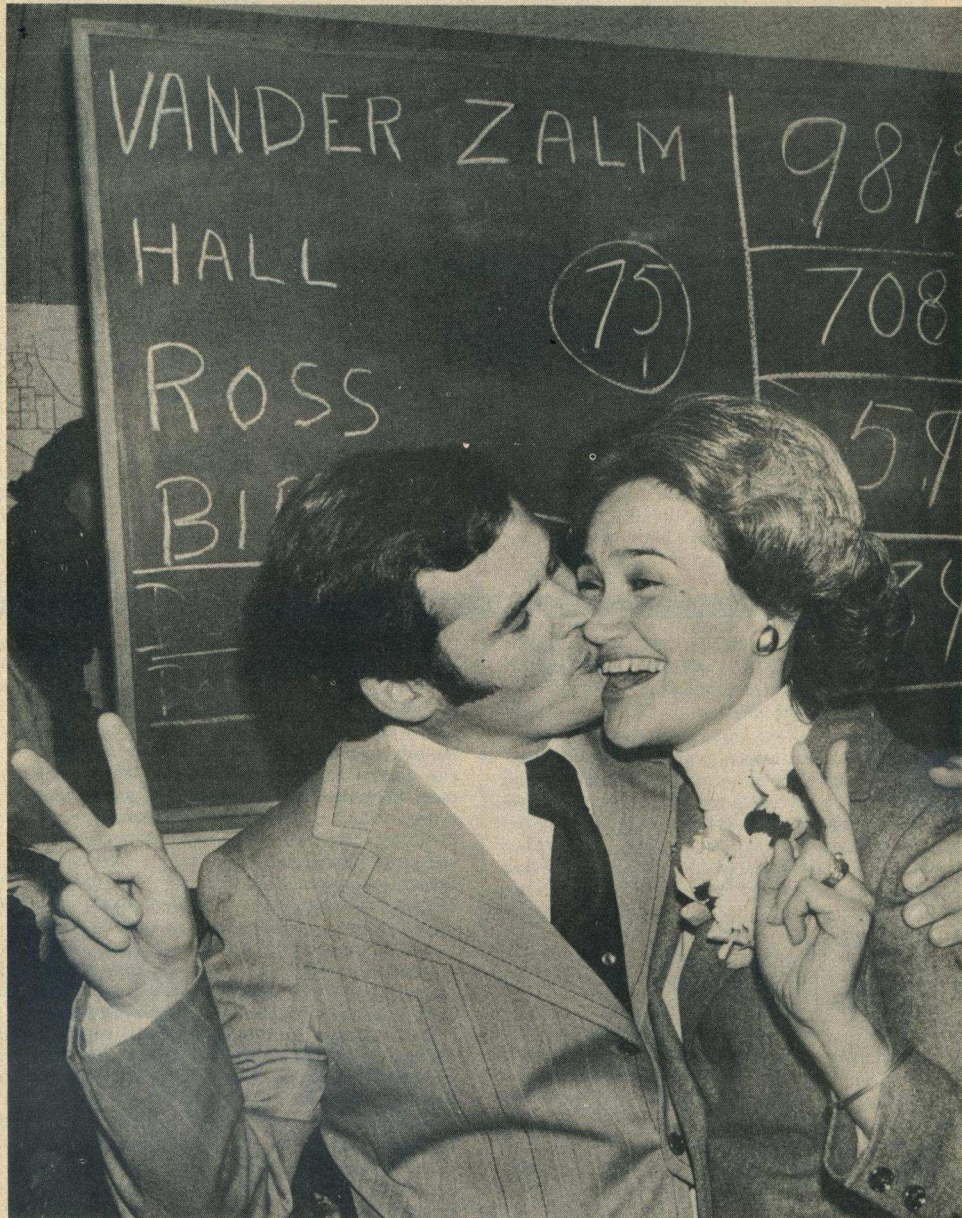
Later in the month, at a Social Credit gathering, Bill composed a little song. This ditty referred to Quebeckers as "frog." A storm of protest arose and Vander Zalm offered to apologize to anyone who personally said he was offended, but refused to make a wholesale apology. It had been, he said, "a fun thing." In response, the Edmonton Journal published a cartoon showing him pulling the legs off frogs with the caption "It's a fun thing, you see."

* * *

In the collection of people who formed the new Social Credit government of Premier Bill Bennett in 1975, one stood out as more extreme than the others. A man who, judged by his past actions, has never looked kindly on the poor. He was Bill Vander Zalm, until recently the Minister of Human Resources, the provincial government department responsible for, among other things, the various types of social assistance dispensed in B.C., including welfare payments.

Vander Zalm has been described as a handsome, self-made millionaire. Handsome — maybe, a millionaire — probably, self-made — well, not quite. His father actually gave him his start in business, and while his father may not have been a man of enormous wealth, it's hard to say if Bill would have gone as far without his father's help, a break very few welfare recipients were ever afforded, and a group that would soon experience Vander Zalm's tender mercies.

Bill was born in 1934 in Holland, one of seven children. His father and two uncles had a bulb business there and they used to travel through Europe and North America selling their bulbs. The father was on one of these trips when the Second World War broke out and he became stranded in Western Canada. He started a daffodil business in B.C. and brought his family out. Bill began working in the family business when still a teenager and then went into the nursery business in 1954 as a co-owner of Art Knapp Nurseries, a firm he



B.C.'s Bill Vander Zalm and his wife celebrate his election to the legislature after switching from the Liberals to the Social Credit Party

owns to-day.

His political career is checkered with almost as many losses as wins but, like a cat, he always seems to land on his feet, and has moved steadily up the political ladder.

He first ran as an aldermanic candidate in Surrey (a municipality adjacent to Vancouver) in the early 1960s, and lost. In 1965 he tried again and this time was elected. In 1967 he was re-elected and topped the polls. He ran for Mayor of Surrey in 1969 and easily beat the incumbent. He held this post until 1975.

Scattered amongst these municipal wins were a series of provincial and federal set-backs.

In 1968 he ran as a Liberal Party candidate in the federal election. That was the year of Trudeaumania, but Vander Zalm went down to defeat anyway. In the spring of 1972 he set his sights on the B.C. Liberal Party, and ran for the leadership. He was handily beaten. In August of 1972 he ran as a Liberal Party hopeful in the B.C. provincial election. Once again he was soundly beaten, placing a distant third.

As a Liberal, Willy now had the proverbial three strikes and at this point he must have decided his route to the stars didn't lie with the Liberals, for in June of 1974 an announcement was made that Bill would switch rather than fight and was now a member of the B.C. Social Credit Party.

Vander Zalm never did explain very clearly why he had switched. He was heard to mutter that the people of B.C. needed a choice between socialism and non-socialism (the NDP was then in power) although the Liberals offered that same option. Opposition Leader Bennett had now acquired for himself the far right wing of the Liberal party.

In the provincial election of 1975 Vander Zalm was elected to the legislature and named Human Resources Minister in the Cabinet, a post he held for three years, until December of 1978 when he became Municipal Affairs Minister.

His hard-line stance against welfare recipients came as no surprise to anyone who had followed his political career; he'd been kicking the poor around for years.

In early 1971 he spoke of a welfare blitz his-Surrey staff had gone on and was now about to lay fraud charges against the culprits. He used this bit of drama as justification for his intention to hire a private investigator for a three month trial to check all suspicious welfare cases. How many were caught in this blitz? Charges were to be laid against 7 or 8.

While he was Mayor of Surrey all single employable welfare recipients under 45 received letters in the spring suggesting they work in the fields as berry pickers. Vander Zalm fully expected most of the recipients in this category to leave the area instead of picking berries. Cheques were to be cut off from June 1 until there were no more berries to pick.

Vander Zalm himself said, "I am in the horticulture business myself and I know there isn't much money in it for a worker in the fields."

Nevertheless he was proud of this scheme and pointed out the system had worked for the last few years in Surrey and each time the majority of eligible welfare claimants had left the area. "So it works well here and it should be tried elsewhere too."

In early 1972 he threatened to cut his welfare staff by 75 per cent, from 40 to 10 to reduce his budget. At that time all municipalities over 15,000 population were required by law to provide welfare administration. Willy was hoping this move would force the provincial government to take over administration, with, as always, the poor caught in the middle. He felt a loophole existed in the law, since nowhere did it say what level this welfare service had to attain. The provincial government pointed out that adequate service must be provided and this plan had to be dropped.

In the spring of that year, while campaigning for the provincial Liberal leadership, he saw himself as offering the party an alternative on the right. In his speech to the delegates he warned of rebellion and communism and advocated the return of the lash for those who trafficked in drugs to children.

He reminded delegates of his crackdown on welfare recipients and promised more crackdowns in the future: "Cutting off the easy bread should eliminate a few of the hippie colonies and communes." Many delegates were reportedly upset by his anti-hippie comments and one gave a Nazi salute at the end of the speech. He ran a distant second in the two-man race.

At the end of the summer of 1974 the Surrey council announced that all employable adults under 45 with no dependents would be cut off the welfare rolls. Vander Zalm felt up to 1,000 people would be affected, and he saw it as an extension of the Surrey summer policy. This time, however, the recipients didn't even have the dubious option of engaging in low paying farm labour.

In January 1975, after he had switched to the Sacred Party, he formally announced he would not run again for Mayor of Surrey, but seek a provincial seat: "I guess I am a bit of an egotist and maybe a little power hungry."

He expressed a desire to be a cabinet minister, in either municipal affairs or human resources. He hoped eventually to replace Bill Bennett as party head and become Premier. He also admitted his right wing stand on welfare might cause some surprise that he wanted the Human Resources ministry. But that was the best place to continue his policies.

In Surrey he continued his attack to the end of his term. In November he announced that employable people awaiting UIC benefits could collect welfare benefits for a maximum of two weeks, cut in half from the previous four weeks.

In December he won election to the provincial legislature and realized one of his dreams when he was sworn in late that month as Minister of Human Resources. If it was a dream for him it would prove to be a nightmare for those on welfare.

After being sworn in he made one of those quotes

that got him country-wide publicity. "If they (welfare recipients) don't have a shovel, they should get one, because otherwise we're going to give them one. If anybody is able to work but refuses to pick up the shovel, then we will find ways and means of dealing with that person."

In his first full year in office, 1976, he went after the poor with a vengeance. The previous NDP government had set up community resource boards throughout the province which provided local input into social services, and actually had a decision-making function in the allocation of funds.

In January, Bill said he supported this community level concept of resource boards. The members of these boards received no pay for their work. Just six weeks later Vander Zalm turned full circle and announced these boards were being relegated to a strictly advisory capacity, from a decision-making one, and government funding to them was withdrawn.

He said that while support was being withdrawn he hoped they would continue to exist: "Community resource boards as we know them now will be non-existent, but they can form and work as advisory groups."

In March, he announced he would designate certain areas of the province where employable people would be cut off welfare. Those who were able to work but chose to live in remote areas were to be cut off. Welfare for those awaiting UIC benefits was limited to two weeks, and those who quit jobs were to get no welfare. Because he felt some people opted for welfare instead of UIC since it was easier to get, job hunting requirements were to become more rigorous. "The field day is over for those who want to live in remote areas or communes."

The next month a list of places not to go for welfare was announced, and included 175 specific areas. This list included a number of areas known for their communities of young people, and many places that were within easy commuting distance of much larger centres that weren't on the list. Willy said this rule applied to people moving to an area, not established residents.

Vander Zalm had always been up tight about the supposed fraud by welfare recipients and used figures of 20 to 39 per cent ripping off the system. This is somewhat hard to believe when you consider that 50 to 60 per cent of recipients are children.

Bill didn't even trust his own staff and he set up two-man audit teams to tour the province and go into regional welfare offices to make sure these new guidelines were being carried out. He also announced that dress and grooming regulations would be applied and those not shaping up would be cut from the rolls.

Travelling youths 16-25, who came to his department in the summer of 1976 would not get welfare. They would be put up in hostels for a maximum of three days and then put on the road, sometimes with bus fare, the modern equivalent of being ridden out of town on a rail.

He set up a provincial job finding program to get

people off welfare. People would have to take these jobs even if trained in another field. Thus the technician could be forced to pick berries. Bill stated, "the jobs will mostly be of a low paying nature." The province was now in the business of supplying forced, cheap labour.

A program existed whereby welfare recipients were eligible for up to \$500 per year for extraordinary and outstanding needs, such as fixing a leaky roof, or providing basic furniture for a couple who had separated. These grants were made by the welfare administrators at their discretion. Vander Zalm suspended this program entirely pending evaluation to see if a new arrangement should be introduced or the old one continued under tighter control. He admitted he didn't know if the program was being abused.

By the summer of 1976 welfare payments had not been increased for two years. Willy announced an increase to take effect that October, an increase for some, single parent families and 55-60 year olds.

These increases, \$50 a month for couples with one child, to a total of \$320, would only take effect after the people had been on welfare for four months. No increase was to be given to singles and couples under 55, who would continue to get \$160 and \$270 a month respectively, despite the impact of inflation.

In the fall, he said he would launch an investigation into possible abuses of welfare services by immigrants. He was concerned about the number of immigrants who applied for welfare soon after their arrival in Canada.

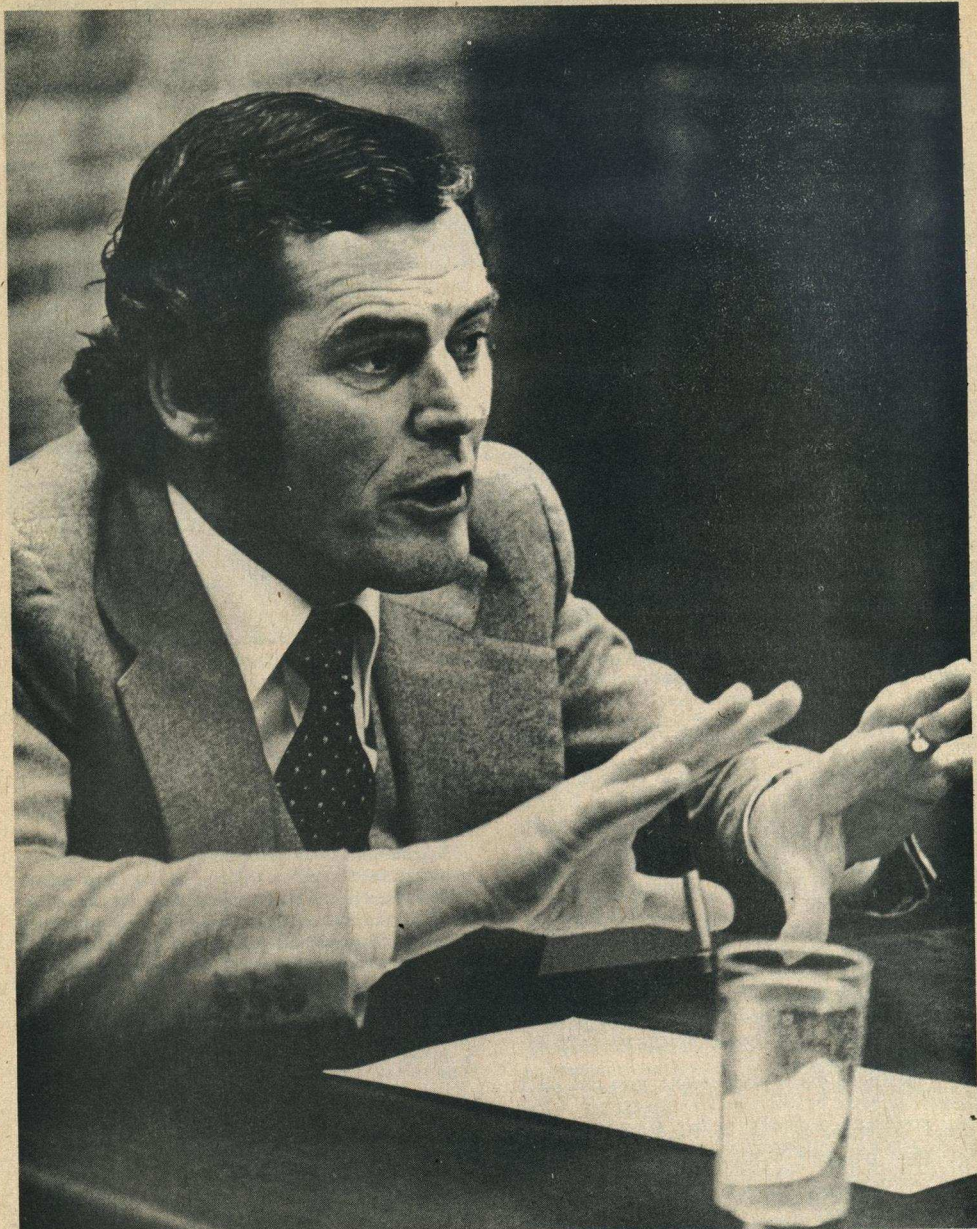
After the Parti Quebecois victory in Quebec in November, 1976, Vander Zalm said he wouldn't lose any sleep if Quebec separated because, among other things, it would mean cheaper cereal without a bilingual message on the boxes. Also, it could mean the establishment of a border with passports which would cut down on the number of transients coming to B.C. from Quebec seeking welfare, although he didn't know how many came presently, or how much they collected. He later said he was speaking partially in jest.

This time he had gone too far even for the Socreds. A few days later Premier Bennett called a press conference to describe Vander Zalm's remarks as unfortunate and to say he was speaking for himself and not the government, and that Bennett didn't share those views.

These anti-French sentiments can be compared with Vander Zalm's views in June 1968 when he ran as a federal Liberal candidate. He said then that there should be two civil and two criminal courts in B.C., one in English and one in French. "I believe there should be two official languages in this country, and that includes British Columbia."

Just eight years later he didn't even want French on cereal boxes.

In March of 1977 it came out that Bill had refused to pass on an extra \$22.50 a month provided by the federal government to the disabled since the previous October. He said all federal monies go into provincial general revenues and don't come under individual ministries'



Vander Zalm thought it was "a fun thing" when he referred to French Canadians as "frog" †



Even Premier Bill Bennett had to disavow Vander Zalm after he said he wouldn't lose any sleep if Quebec separated because it would make cereal cheaper without bilingual labels on boxes

budgets. A furor broke out and he was forced to pass the money along.

Later that month he cut off aid to crime and drug prevention programs run by volunteer groups that had been set up by the former NDP government. At a rally in Victoria at the end of March, when women asked for equal training opportunities with men, he put forth the opinion that women made better homemakers than electricians or plumbers.

If the high unemployment levels were a worry to many Canadians they didn't faze Willy. He suggested, in May, that the number of unemployed were overinflated because the figures contained people unwilling to move to a job, and married women on UIC. He also threatened further crackdowns on welfare recipients living in remote areas.

"Some clients live in such remote areas that these people can never be available for employment. I feel they should not be entitled to welfare. If you don't want to live with me don't expect to live off me."

In July of 1977 the welfare payments for single people were finally increased, to \$175 a month from \$160. Even though B.C. is one of Canada's richer provinces the welfare rates for singles were lower in only two other provinces, Manitoba and P.E.I. Food

costs in Vancouver are among the highest in all of North America. The NDP once pointed out to Bill the amount of money he would get on welfare for his family size and asked him if he could survive on it. He said, "No. I am sure my family could not."

Typical of his policies were the special funds. Rent overages were available to those paying more for rent than allowed by the book. But this overage was only 75 per cent, and inadequate as it was, it was not available to singles. Of their \$175 a month, \$75 was for shelter; in Vancouver there is virtually no accommodation for this price.

One job search a day was required of employable welfare recipients, and done by bus this would cost \$15 a month. The maximum allowance given for this was \$10.

In August, after the federal government had changed the rules for UIC so claimants had to work 12 weeks instead of eight, Vander Zalm became, worried this might increase the welfare load so he announced that people awaiting UIC, who used to be eligible for two weeks of welfare, would henceforth get none, except in emergencies. "The new regulation would ensure that those waiting for UIC will use their final pay cheque or

own savings before coming to the human resources for welfare."

That same month, Vander Zalm proposed a plan called 'Operation Vandal Stop' where welfare recipients would become guards in B.C. schools to discourage vandals. They would get their welfare cheques plus extra money for doing the job. He said no one would be forced to join the program but pointed out legislation gave him the right to cut off those who refused.

Bill felt the job would be ideal for older and slightly handicapped persons and he stressed he wanted no physical confrontation with vandals. "It seems most likely only men will qualify for the jobs — although, bearing in mind human rights, some women will want to join the program."

This idea had originated in Surrey when he was Mayor. After he cut off people for not picking berries, rocks were thrown through the windows of the municipal hall each night. Hiring welfare recipients to guard it put an end to that. This time, however, he failed to consult the school boards and unions involved and the idea died.

Another thing that died that year was the Vancouver Resources Board, which had managed to survive this long. Legislation to kill it was introduced and passed in September. There was reportedly some dissension in the Secred caucus about whether or not to hold back the legislation for a time. Vander Zalm threatened to resign if it wasn't introduced then. He got his way.

Late that year his department was showing a surplus of \$110 million and he refused to plough the money back into the welfare system, fearing the province could become a mecca for non-productive Canadians.

Bill gets more than a little upset if anyone, even the courts, interferes with his department. Once, a claimant had been cut off and it had been ruled that no appeal was allowed. This person went to the B.C. Supreme Court which ruled she did have a right to appeal. Vander Zalm said he had the right to determine which of his decisions could be appealed and he threatened to re-write the Act as a result of the Court's decision to restrict his right to interpret the Act.

In March of 1978 he said his ministry had begun talks with the federal government with the ultimate goal of reducing UIC benefits. Bill felt they were too high, with the maximum being \$160 a week. He thought for a single man, \$140 might be too much, but if the man had two or three kids then \$140 would be required. If people were willing to work for no more than \$4 or \$5 an hour, Bill was certain industries could employ thousands and thousands more people.

The people who lived in remote areas and heard Bill talk about 'living with him' had apparently taken him too literally, for in June of 1978 Vander Zalm announced his department was studying ways to encourage and force, if necessary, young welfare recipients to leave downtown Vancouver, to save them from a life of drugs and liquor. He wanted to encourage them to leave

by providing more social services in other parts of the province, but if they were not persuaded, their welfare would be cut off.

Just a year before Vander Zalm had ordered them out of small outlying areas. Vancouver was the logical place to go. Now he wanted to drive them out of Vancouver.

Bill was uniquely adept at creating his own problems.

A spokesman for the federal welfare department said this proposal apparently violated the fundamental principles of welfare. Bill couldn't understand what the fuss was all about and felt the federal government was upset only because they didn't fully understand his plan. Nevertheless, as a result of the publicity, this plan, too, died a quiet death.

In July of 1978, Vander Zalm was greeted by demonstrators at the opening of a new welfare office in Vancouver's east end. One said he had been in Vancouver for months and was forced to eat at the Salvation Army Mission because of low welfare payments. Bill asked him why he had chosen to live there, why didn't he go north. He also commented, "We've always had this problem of some people being more fortunate than others."

A community group, the Downtown Eastside Residents Association (DERA) was agitating for an increase for single people on welfare, to \$230 per month from \$175. Bill said revisions were under way and that figure was not unrealistic. He mentioned that these revisions had led his department to deduct recent federal cost-of-living increases to pensioners and veterans. He wished to avoid a piecemeal approach.

Even this modest figure suggested by DERA proved to be too modest, for in December of 1978, the United Way released the results of a year long study which showed a single person's allowance of \$175 needed to be increased to \$301 just to provide essential services. Their proposed increases would still leave the majority of welfare recipients in Vancouver below recognized poverty lines. Vander Zalm dismissed these figures out of hand and termed them not realistic. As of early 1979 the rate is still \$175 per month.

By the spring of 1978 Premier Bennett and most of his Social Credit cabinet ministers had disassociated themselves from the federal Social Credit Party and Lorne Reznowski, then the leader, and his policies.

Vander Zalm, however, said he "backs Reznowski's aim to rid the country of abortionists, homosexuals and unscrupulous bankers. I don't disagree with those particular attitudes. I have to concur with the majority of things that he said."

During a Cabinet shuffle last December, Vander Zalm moved from the Human Resources Ministry to become Minister of Municipal Affairs, attaining the second of his Cabinet ambitions. Becoming Premier of British Columbia in succession to Bill Bennett remains his third ambition in B.C. politics.

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Rear View

'Les Fées Ont Soif' stirs up the right wing in Quebec

by PENELOPE AUBIN

The most controversial theatrical production of the 1970s in Quebec — indeed, perhaps the most controversial artistic work of any sort — has been *Les Fées Ont Soif*, a play by a first-time playwright, Denise Boucher.

The only cultural event which has generated quite so much ink in the press the last several years has been the Parti

photo: Pierre Cote, La Presse



A relaxed and enthusiastic Denise Boucher last Spring while writing the play

Québécois' language law, Bill 101 in 1977. Then, it was the English who were complaining loudly that their freedom of expression was being impeded by progressive Québécois. Now, in this current controversy, the shoe has been on the other foot. With the court-ordered censorship of the play script, it was progressive Québécois who were protesting about the threat to their freedom of expression by that other main historical suppressor, not the English, but the Church.

At face value, there is little that would seem shocking about this play. Its basic feminist themes have been written and rewritten during the last ten years of the women's movement. What is new — and, according to the censors, blasphemous — is Boucher's denunciation of the over-exploitation of the cult of the Virgin in Quebec.

She sees the popular stereotyped imagery of the Virgin Mother, largely invented by celibate men — priests — as a means to subjugate the wife, the mother, the daughter, the maid, the housekeeper and the prostitute. Stop adoring in a statue what you humiliate in each woman, she is saying.

That criticism of this image could have set off such conflict within Quebec says much about those undercurrents which have been obscured by the publicized momentum toward industrial development and sovereignty.

For one thing, the dispute throws new light on feminists' complaints about the plight of women in Quebec. The *Fées* has focussed far more attention on these issues than has the provincial government's own report on the status of women which was released last fall at about the same time ("Revolutionary," Premier René Lévesque called the report).

For another thing, the conflict between the play's supporters and its forceful critics, the conservative Catholics who sought to have it banned, demonstrated to many people's surprise that the right in Quebec is considerably more vigorous and rapidly growing than had been assumed.

As Madeleine Gagnon, a feminist author, wrote in one of the articles which dominated *Le Devoir's* op-ed page for most of November, December and January, "The production of *Les Fées Ont Soif* has raised a lot of dust, called back ghosts and reawakened old irritations that we had been able to believe were asleep forever."

Actually, there were two conflicts over the play. The first — a kind of warm-up for the one this winter — came last June, six months before the play was scheduled to open at Montreal's Théâtre du Nouveau Monde. Theatres in the reg-



The acclaimed and condemned cast of "Les Fées." From left, Louise Dussault (The Virgin), Michelle Magny (the housewife), and Sophie Clement (the prostitute). They'll be back in May.

ion have for years been receiving vital subsidies from the Greater Montreal Council of Arts. These subsidies are customarily dispensed quite routinely.

But this time the Council, whose thinking reflects Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau's, denied the Théâtre du Nouveau Monde a subsidy of \$17,000 for staging the play on the basis of the script. As a matter of fact, this was the first time that the Council had demanded that the text of a proposed production be submitted along with a grant application. Jacques Vadeboncoeur, the Council's chairman, told the press, "We have to stop showing *merde* on our stages."

It was an unprecedented action. Denying a play a grant would ordinarily not become front-page news. But these Council grants represent the lifeblood of Montreal's none-too-sturdy theatrical world, and to deny a grant to a theatre could force it to either (a) lose tens of thousands of dollars and perhaps go out of business, or (b) simply replace that play with another one that was acceptable to the Council. Ms. Boucher and the TNM's highly-respected director, Jean-Louis Roux, called a press conference and cried censorship.

Adding dimension to the dispute was the fact that *Les Fées* *Ont Soif* was the only one of the TNM's six scheduled productions for the 1978-79 season which was written by a Quebecer. All the rest were from abroad. And elsewhere around Montreal virtually no other new indigenous play was being produced either, which says a lot about the state of the arts in Quebec today.

The Association des Directeurs de Théâtre, which repres-

ents 41 Quebec theatre companies, closed ranks with the TNM. ADT members have in effect been refusing municipal subsidies by refusing to comply with the demand for texts, which they say amounts to censorship. Member theatres have had petitions in their lobbies asking their audiences to support their stand that the Council's withholding of subsidies is tantamount to censorship.

The Council can even refuse a grant retroactively, that is, request return of its money if it does not approve of a production. The arts community across Canada may be lamenting the scarcity of available money, but this year the Council's budget shows a \$247,000 surplus — money that hasn't been given out.

The second, and by far the biggest fuss, came after the play actually opened November 10, with full houses every night compensating for the lack of subsidy.

The play's attack on the Virgin-stereotype so offended one traditionalist right-wing Catholic organization, the Jeunes Canadiens Pour une Civilisation Chrétienne (Young Canadians for a Christian Civilization), that they set up a picket line one afternoon outside the TNM. They marched up and down the sidewalk wearing red capes and carrying gilded blue-robed statues of the Virgin, quite oblivious to the porno flicks — "SS girls," "Body Love," — playing a few doors away.

No one really took the parade seriously — indeed, no one had even heard of the group — until they sought a court injunction against the play. In their request they were joined by six other Catholic organizations and eight individuals.



Young Canadians for a Christian Civilization demonstrate outside one of Quebec's leading theatres, the Théâtre du Nouveau Monde

Montreal prelate, Monseigneur Paul Grégoire, made a statement in support of their "right not to accept affronts . . . their right to protest, in the name of the elementary respect due to human and religious culture in our society, against the scorn and ridicule with which it is being covered." But the Church itself stopped short of calling for censorship.

So why all the fuss? Not so long ago everyone involved in such a production would have been excommunicated and the theatre padlocked by the civil authority. Times have changed, but even so, there was something about the play's iconoclasm which upset even protesters who did not see the play.

The provocative fairies in the play's title (which translates literally as "the fairies are thirsty") refer not to Tinkerbell-type fairies, but to the "fées" of French history. Legend has it that these were women who did not kneel in adoration at Christ's birth, who rejected puritanism and who wanted to sing rather than pray. Many were burned as witches, or as Michelet wrote in the 19th century, were imprisoned in containers that would only be opened at the end of time.

Representing these imprisoning containers in the play are three roles, emphasized by a triptych set, reminiscent of niches for saints. These roles are: Marie, the wife-mother, household drudge, played by Michelle Magny; Madeleine, the prostitute, played by Sophie Clément, who like the housewife has a cubicle of her own, surrounded by the props of her stereotype, and the Virgin, represented by a plaster statue. It's a roomy statue, inhabited by Louise Dussault

(well-known in Quebec for a decidedly non-threatening role — as a green mouse on a popular children's TV program). She alternately opens her mask and steps from behind the image to philosophize and criticize the role that she says has been forced upon her.

Complaining that men invented the cult of the Virgin to deprive women of their sensuality, Dussault wiggles suggestively enough to shock some. "They gave me a bird as a husband," she gripes, referring to the Holy Spirit. "I'm not for men, I'm not for women, I'm not for money, I'm for the birds."

The play's dialogue is more properly poetic monologues by the three as they describe the loneliness of the roles which entrap them. Marie has turned to Valium for solace, Madeleine to alcohol. They commiserate across the back fence of their cubicles, deciding to abandon their roles.

The language throughout is raw, appropriately so, and often surprisingly funny, despite its bitter irony. The intensity of the acting is at such a pitch the entire length of the play that it becomes exhausting and when Dussault finally tears off her statue's robes, the climatic effect is almost lost.

One of the most shocking scenes was the rape of Madeleine by a former client, symbolically acted out with a huge black vulture which descends from the ceiling, as Marie and the statue watch, imitating men's voices to speak the words of the rapist. A ballad follows, describing a trial for the rape of a prostitute, almost in the Weill-Brecht tradition, like several other musical pieces interspersed throughout the play.



Intensely involved in the controversy herself, the playwright leads a demonstration of her own in December in front of the Montreal courthouse: "They shall not have my hide. . ."

The play's feminist and religious issues have been all but drowned out in the noisy fracas about censorship. Women's rights have taken the back seat as everyone rallies round to protect more immediate rights, like freedom of expression. While all eyes were on *Les Fées*, the Quebec Council on the Status of Women received nowhere near the same publicity for its 335-page study, "Equality and Independence."

Lise Payette, the minister concerned with the status of women in Quebec, raised hopes when the portfolio was created for her, for the PQ had claimed to favor equality of the sexes. However, she was given the Consumer and Corporate Affairs portfolio to cope with as well, and just holding her own amongst her fellow Cabinet members must severely tax her energies. And so Quebec women are still waiting for some concrete proposals to come out of her office, based on such "revolutionary" recommendations as equal pay for equal work and paid maternity leave.

The court hearing faced off two old enemies: the lawyer for Boucher and the Théâtre du Nouveau Monde was Claude-Armand Sheppard, a civil libertarian who had defended Dr. Henry Morgenthaler, the abortionist, while the attorney for the JCCC was the champion of the Right to Life cause, Emile Colas. The argument of the JCCC was that their religious rights as stated in the Declaration of Human Rights were being abused. The TNM called on the same document as protection for freedom of expression. The JCCC lawyer's tactics included drawing attention to Sheppard's Jewish faith, which not all observers considered cricket.

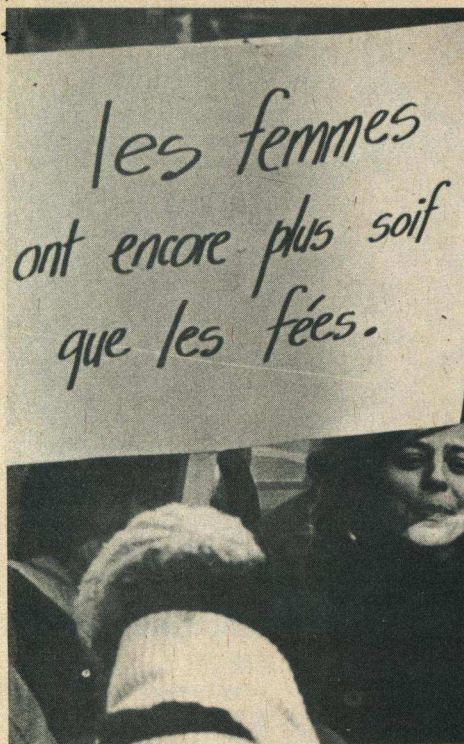
Judge Paul Reeves granted a temporary ten-day injunction

December 4. He said it was futile to stop performance of the play since it had almost finished its run. But he did ban sale and distribution of the script. The charge was not pornography or obscenity, the usual motives for censorship these days. It was blasphemy, a word right out of the history books. In rendering his judgment, Reeves described the play as denying "the supremacy of God," and attacking "the Catholic faith for its dogmas and its mysteries."

Judge after judge extended the ban, ten days at a time. After a month and a half of ten-day extensions on the original ban, Superior Court Justice Gabrielle Vallée made the final ruling January 25, rendering her decision in writing "because whatever ruling I come to will probably be appealed to the higher courts."

She ruled that the petitioners, "to succeed in their action would have had to show that the attack was aimed at them personally, rather than by osmosis from the group being attacked. We can say immediately that nothing in the annoying writing is aimed at any of the petitioners individually. The attack is general and nothing in it permits one to identify any of the petitioners. It is not sufficient to say simply that one was affected by the writing. At this stage of the procedure the apparent existence of individual prejudice must be shown."

Colas has not accepted defeat. In February he wrote off an appeal to Quebec Justice Minister Marc-André Bédard, asking him to act on the case in his capacity as Attorney General with the duty of assuring the free enjoyment of public freedoms. To the Quebec Commission of Human Rights he



"Women are even thirstier than the fées," says this placard at the courthouse where an injunction banning sale of the play's text was being granted

appealed for an investigation. And he sent to the newspapers copies of a letter to his clients. All three letters contained such ominous statements as: "If we are incapable of resolving peacefully the quarrels of dissident groups in our society, we will quickly fall into internal wars of opposed clans and will watch, powerless, a laughter of enemy brothers."

"If we do not act quickly," he told the papers, "Quebec will become a dictatorship in the hands of the new clergy, laics, libertarians and cynics. . . . Self-censure demands maturity, logic and good sense."

Now the TNM has announced the play will reopen May 31. Colas called this "a new provocation."

While temporarily at bay, the JCCC has made Quebec leftists sit up and take notice. What little the media has been able to discover about this hitherto unknown organization is hardly reassuring. The French TV program *Télémag* reported that it is linked with an extreme right Brazilian group called Tradition, Property and Family. Mentor for this organization is Plinio Correa de Oliveira, an apologist for dictatorship, for whom the Virgin is "the great general of the counter-revolutionaries." The JCCC held a launching party for the French translation of his book shortly after *Les Fées* opened.

Among the guests were consultants from such arch-Catholic, Latin American governments as Argentina and Uruguay.

Boucher calls them fascists. At the time of Judge Reeves' original decision in their favor, she left the courtroom vowing, "They burned witches in the Middle Ages, but they shall not have my hide."

Gagnon, who collaborated with Boucher on a book of feminist writing, *Retailles*, in 1977, says that the technique of injunction used by the JCCC is merely a refinement of the old religious index, or blacklist.

The index disappeared along with the rejection of traditional values which Quebec, like the rest of North America, experienced during the 1960s. Everyone was so caught up with the idea of sovereignty during that period, however, that they scarcely noticed. Recently, there seem to be signs that the Church's power is no longer on the wane. Quebec has shared in the universal blossoming of cults and sects which have filled the vacuum in the lives of a generation who grew up without definite values. But the cults represent the fringe.

Other indications seem to add up to a comeback — or, at least, a semi-comeback — for Catholicism. For example, the priesthood is attracting more postulants than it has for years. Montreal's Grand Séminaire, whose enrolment fell from 80 graduates annually 20 years ago to only five graduates in 1973, accepted 24 candidates out of 50 postulants this past September.

Another area of strength for the Church is the public school system, which is still divided into Catholic and Protestant boards. As the number of clergy dwindled during the years of the Quiet Revolution, the school system remained a Church stronghold, so to speak. When the Parti Québécois was winning elections hands down in Quebec ridings in 1976, it had no success in the school commissions in 1977. Traditional Catholic candidates won the school board elections, defeating PQ candidates handily.

While the Church prefers to keep a low profile, like most other landowners, few Montrealers realize that it is still the island of Montreal's number one propertyholder. Perhaps the only city in North America where a religious institution owns more land is in Salt Lake City, where the Mormons hold sway.

Some certainly would include Claude Ryan's capture of the Liberal Party leadership among signs of strength for the Church. The former editor of *Le Devoir* has down-played his closeness to the Church and this is paying off in that the mainly Protestant anglophones in the province are backing him en masse.

One cannot discuss the power of the Church in Quebec without touching on the issue foremost in everyone's minds — sovereignty. What if the Church were to take sides actively in the sovereignty debate? Lévesque and his party are banking on the Church keeping its distance from the referendum battle. They have been ever so careful not to offend. There is little doubt which side the Church would pick, were it to enter the fray.

The Parti Québécois have kept their opinions to themselves about *les Fées*, but they must be aware that the defenders of the play — that is, the feminists, the intellectuals, the artists and writers — are for the most part their own supporters.

In the highly charged Quebec atmosphere with its language differences and political differences, the addition of religious differences as an issue could prove volatile.

The last thing the PQ needs is to have God enlisted on the other side.

Crucifying indictment of I.G. Farben

by PAUL KNOX

The Crime and Punishment of I. G. Farben, by Joseph Borkin. The Free Press/New York. \$13.75.

Joseph Borkin has written a book that will delight materialists. The choice of the individual, while not completely absent, plays a distinctly subordinate role in this tale of the alliance between Germany's giant chemical manufacturing cartel and Hitler's war machine. The story marches from one military-industrial atrocity to the next, according to the logic of capital and capital alone. These are not the author's words, and he draws no political conclusions, but there is precious little nourishment in his book for the idealist view of history.

I. G. Farben (in full, Interessen Gemeinschaft Farbenindustrie; for short, I.G.) had its origin early in this century as a price-fixing organization for the largest German chemical companies, including Bayer, BASF, Hoechst and Agfa. A scientist employed by one of

these firms won a Nobel Prize for discovering a cure for syphilis, but with the First World War the industry turned to less lofty goals: the manufacture of synthetic nitrate, to lessen Germany's dependence on foreign supply, and the development of poison gas.

In these the companies were successful, but it was not enough. After the German defeat the chemical firms managed to escape the destruction of their war production plants which the Allies at first insisted on. By the time Hitler came to power they were consolidated under the name I. G. Farben, had developed the art of producing oil from Ruhr coal, and were working on a synthetic rubber process.

I.G. with a number of Jews on its board of directors, was not among the many sectors of German capital which came to Hitler's aid late in 1932 in order to forestall the advance of the Communists. Its chief executive officer, Carl Bosch, earned the Fuehrer's lifelong hatred for his efforts to stop the forced exodus of Jewish scientists from the

Reich. (These were motivated not by moral sentiments, but by Bosch's conviction that physics and chemistry would be set back 100 years if Hitler's plan was carried out.)

Nevertheless, the logic of German re-armament — which in turn was the desire of German capital in general — demanded I.G.'s participation. The firm, even though classified as "non-Aryan", was enlisted, in Borkin's words, to help "free German diplomacy from the bonds that shackled it to the oil wells and rubber groves of its enemies." In return, I.G. saw the prospect of world dominance in the production of these synthetic commodities, and of the takeover of the chemical industries in the countries which the Nazis might overrun.

"For five and a half years," Borkin says, "Hitler's tanks, trucks and planes were propelled by I.G.'s gasoline, their wheels made of I.G.'s rubber. . . . Never before in the history of warfare had an industrialist and an industrial concern occupied such a crucial place in the military planning and preparation for a

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Slave labourers at I.G.'s Auschwitz plant lasted a maximum of three months

great war."

This could only be a partnership without pity. As Hitler prepared in 1941 to attack Russia, I.G. prepared to attack the Russian and Asian markets for synthetic oil and rubber. For the huge new complex that would turn out these commodities, I.G. chose a site in Polish Silesia with numerous advantages: a coal mine, a good source of water, good communications, and — most important — a supply of the cheapest labour in the world: a nearby concentration camp which the German S.S. was planning to expand. The name of the village near the site was Auschwitz.

Slave labourers at this I.G. plant lasted a maximum of three months before the

hard labour and starvation diet left them dead or fit only to be gassed. "By adopting the theory and practice of Nazi morality," Borkin writes, "I.G. was able to depart from the conventional economics of slavery in which slaves are traditionally treated as capital equipment to be maintained and serviced for optimum use and depreciated over a normal life span. Instead, I.G. reduced slave labour to a consumable raw material, a human ore from which the mineral of life was systematically extracted."

The "theory and practice" proved next to useless, in that little oil and no rubber were ever produced in the plant. But they were no less a product of the manic expansionism of German capital

for that.

Called to account at Nuremberg for their deeds, the directors and top managers of I.G. pleaded that they were following orders, or that they were ignorant of the atrocities committed by the corporation. Four were convicted of slavery and mass murder, seven of plunder and spoliation, and one of both crimes, but the stiffest sentence was only eight years and the shortest was one and a half years.

One Nuremberg judge filed a dissenting, harsher verdict, but by that time, as Borkin notes, "the interest of the press and the public in the punishment of war crimes had almost disappeared, and the cold war was rapidly heating up."

I.G. no longer exists, but the three firms into which it was broken up under Allied supervision after the Second World War — Bayer, Hoechst and BASF — were among the 30 largest industrial companies in the world in 1977. Not only that, but the General Aniline and Film Corporation, a U.S. concern which Americans thought had been confiscated as alien property when they entered the war, reaped a considerable profit for its original I.G.-linked German owners when in the early 1960s, through the intercession of Robert Kennedy, its stock was put on the market by the U.S. alien property custodian.

Last year, it managed to sell its dye manufacturing plant in New York State back to BASF — in apparent contradiction of the U.S. Trading with the Enemy Act. The postwar history of the I.G. cartel, and the comparatively light war crimes sentences given to its principals, illustrate the transitory nature of competition among the world's corporate plunderers: yesterday's bitter enemy, if not today's ally, is at worst a source of indifference.

Borkin calls I.G. his Moby Dick. He began to trace its sordid history as a fresh-faced New Deal investigator in 1934, and has spent more than 40 years arranging this grim procession of meticulously documented outrages, uncluttered with excessive moralizing or personal asides. The sometimes monotonous recitation of facts is more of a strength than a weakness, particularly in a time when personal outpourings seem to make the best sellers.

The unnumbered fact is still the most persuasive thing in print, and the facts of I. G. Farben add up to a crucifying indictment of the logic of capitalist expansion.

Watch Judy become Prime Minister

by DRUMMOND BURGESS

A Very Political Lady, by Judy La Marsh. McClelland and Stewart/Toronto. 207 pp. \$12.95.

"Everyone knows that women in their middle years can get a bit silly."

— *Very Political Lady*, page 178.

Judy La Marsh wants to be Prime Minister of Canada. The problem is, the Liberals haven't asked her. Well, they'd better ask her soon before she writes another novel because this one may be just a warm-up.

It's an appalling book, a bad *roman a clef*, with many of the characters thinly disguised versions of prominent Liberal politicians. But fascinating too, especially for anyone who enjoys seeing Liberals fall on their faces or get pushed in the mud. Judy falls disastrously herself, by the mere act of having written this book, and she does a lot of pushing of others along the way.

La Marsh has a history of eccentricity. When she was the only woman member of Prime Minister Lester Pearson's Cabinet, first as Health and Welfare Minister, then as Secretary of State, her indiscretions were legion and made her a well-known, even a rather popular figure.

This time, she's gone overboard.

Judy La Marsh appears in the novel as the hero, Kathleen Marshal (Marshal — La Marsh, get it? it's a very subtle book). Marshal has already been Prime Minister once, but only in a caretaker role as head of an interim government while a leadership convention is held to elect a successor to Sandy Sinclair (i.e. Lester Pearson). At the end of the book she is Prime Minister again, this time in her own right, having dethroned Sinclair's successor, Jean Jacques Charles (no problem guessing who he is in real life).

The important thing to keep in mind while reading this 'novel' is that La Marsh is serious about wanting to be Prime Minister; she wants it so badly she had to go off and write this phantasy about how she does it.

Now, anyone who wants to become leader of the Liberal Party has a problem. The party already has a leader, one Pierre Elliot Trudeau. Not only that but there's a well-known heir apparent waiting in the wings, namely John Napier Turner. Obviously, they must be disposed of before La Marsh can take over. But there's a further problem. La Marsh has decided to portray Kathleen Marshal as a sympathetic and attractive figure. A good guy, or, as I suppose one must say, a good gal. This is hardly surprising since she's portraying herself, and is not likely to present herself as power-hungry.

This means that Marshal cannot knife her way to the top — nothing dirty, slimy or sleazy, just blazing honesty all the way, a slightly reluctant hero who will answer 'ready, aye ready' when the Liberal Party calls and asks her to do her duty to her country. Since Marshal cannot herself actively scheme to destroy her rivals, the P.M. and the heir apparent, an obvious ploy is to have them become tragic figures who



Judy La Marsh, a very political lady

destroy themselves. And self-destruct they do, in spectacular fashion.

When Jean Jacques Charles first becomes Prime Minister he dances away with the country and this is called "Doing the Charleston". At first, everyone loves it when he appears in the House of Commons wearing sandals without socks and a scarf instead of a tie, when he slides down a bannister in London at a Commonwealth Conference, when he dates beautiful young women of the international set, and when he thumbs his nose at the opposition.

But this stuff doesn't work for long and the public gets turned off when he tells Quebec unionists to "V'au Diable" and asks Western wheat farmers "Why should I sell your wheat?" People catch on to the fact that he's "enigmatic and haughty," like "a high priest except that he believed in no one but himself," and is plain bad-tempered.

Furthermore, he's not doing much of a job of running the country.

If all this sounds familiar, it should.

When disaster really strikes it does so in the form of abortion (abortion strikes frequently in this book).

Jean Jacques Charles gets married. His wife becomes pregnant. This presents a problem because at a young age his wife had a botched abortion. There are complications. Another abortion is desirable. But Charles has learned that if his own mother had followed doctor's advice she would have had an abortion and Jean Jacques Charles would never have been born, let alone become Prime Minister. So he is totally opposed to the idea. His wife submits, goes ahead with the pregnancy and dies in childbirth. At first the country turns to Charles in sympathy, but then word gets around that he could have saved his wife's life and his popularity plummets as he becomes seen as a wife-killer. Things go from bad to worse all round. As a result, "The Seven" who are the power brokers of the Liberal Party "come together for a grim purpose: to dethrone a king."

One of Kathleen Marshal's rivals up for the chop.

The other rival is Hume Frazier, the Minister of Finance. He seems to be a composite of two people. First, there is Francis Fox, who had a little problem over abortion a while back and has it all over again in this book. Secondly there is John Turner who fits the physical description — handsome, strong chin, silvery hair, startling blue eyes — as well as the office.

Anyway, early in the book we encounter Hume Frazier in paradise:

"The bells rang, too, in the West Block office of Hume Frazier, the Minister of Finance.

"The bells rang but Hume Frazier, unlike the hurrying diners or the M.P.s already in their seats, was happily oblivious.

"With one ear wedged against the leather of his office couch, and the other protected by the warm left breast of his versatile secretary, Molly Paradis, Hume was serenely unaware."

Hume, you see, has a problem. He's a real randy andy, but his wife Sybil, she of "cool, perfect looks," is rather frigid. Things are out-of-sync "from the first, touch-me-not night of their honeymoon." Hume concludes "If a man can't get it at home, he's entitled to look elsewhere," so he chases around Ottawa looking for it. Along the way he gets a married woman pregnant, accompanies her when she goes to a hospital for an abortion and ends up forging a signature on the papers. Prime Minister Jean Jacques Charles' office finds out and Frazier has to resign, making a detailed public statement

of the reason in a tearful scene in the House of Commons.

Thus does Kathleen Marshal's other rival self-destruct.

Meanwhile, things have been happening to Marshal that leave her waiting, a little, but not too reluctantly in the wings.

At the beginning of the book she is Minister of Justice and is piloting an abortion bill through Parliament where its fate will be decided by a free vote. Jean Jacques Charles has developed strong views on the subject having recently learned the circumstances of his own birth. He wants Marshal to withdraw the bill and, when she refuses, it's enmity for ever.

Next, Charles comes home to 24 Sussex Drive to find Marshal there discussing pregnancy problems with his wife. In a tirade he fires her and orders her from the house. Marshal goes off to private law practice, finds a loving husband in the form of a newspaper publisher and herself becomes a loving wife while things conveniently collapse in Ottawa.

When "The Seven" who control the Liberal Party decide to demand a leadership convention to dethrone Charles they choose Kathleen as their only hope. They go to call on her at her rugged country hide-away, driving up in chauffeur-driven cars and wearing black suits, black socks, black shoes and black hats. Marshal receives them in a state of "near-nakedness in the skimpy halter," and, after a decent interval, allows her arm to be twisted, for the good of the country.

A leadership convention takes place. Charles and Frazier also run but, of course, any nonsense from those corners can't be permitted so for good measure they are made to self-destruct all over again right on the convention floor. Kathleen Marshal wins, "alert, in control, her face full of light and hope."

And there it is, the great political comeback in the form of the great Canadian novel.

There are lots of other familiar characters in this book. Otto Lang is there as Stan Findlay — "chief bottle-washer and hatchman." Senator Keith Davey is Senator David Kirke. Trudeau's principal secretary James Coutts appears as Boots Jamieson — "a pleasant smile on his cherub's face." Jack Horner is Bentley Palmer, "the most recent member of the Charles Cabinet. He was an Albertan, a tall cowman with a receding hairline and a pugnacious chin." Robert Stanfield is there as Robert Shearwood, and Walter Gordon is Carter Warden. Even Toronto financier Conrad Black doesn't escape; he's in the book as Blair White, "the business world's boy-genius."

Most of the characters in this book get rough handling, and in some cases venomous treatment. This is not surprising in the case of Jean Jacques Charles since it is well-known that Judy La Marsh's opinion of Pierre Trudeau is about as negative as an opinion can be. The surprising thing is that her hit list is so extensive. You get the impression that if you cross La Marsh once, be the cross ever so slight it will be borne to her grave.

Needless to say, however, there is one group that is not on the hit list and which gets surprisingly delicate treatment. This is "The Seven" who manipulate and ultimately control the Liberal Party behind the scenes. The omission is necessary and inevitable. If Judy wants to run for the leadership at the next Liberal leadership convention — and this book reads as if she has declared her candidacy — she's going to want "The Seven" to come calling on her.

And if they don't, well, she can always clean their clocks in a later novel.

The great broadcasting sellout

by ANGUS RICKER

The Public Eye: Television and the Politics of Canadian Broadcasting 1952-68, by Frank W. Peers. University of Toronto Press/Toronto. 459 pp. \$25.

For phoney glitter, rank hypocrisy and misleading advertising there are few shows like the ones private broadcasters put on before the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission.

In late February, the CTV network donned its showbiz mask to try to convince the CRTC to give it a five-year licence renewal instead of the paltry three years the commission gave last time. With a one hour TV show made especially for the CRTC and such CTV superstars as Helen Hutchinson and Harvey Kirck grinning flintily in the audience, how could the commissioners resist?

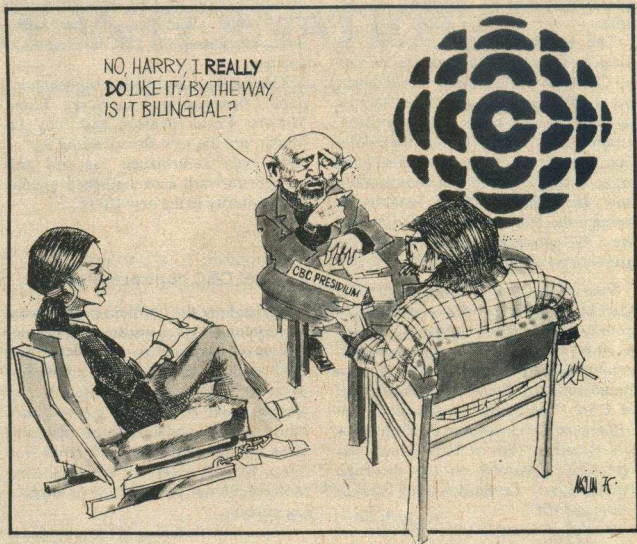
Not that CTV didn't have a few sidelong kicks for its detractors and competitors such as the "subsidized" CBC and the commission's own "inappropriate and simplistic" Canadian content rules.

As for other substantial complainants, such as Kirwan Cox of the Council of Canadian Filmmakers who said CTV's Canadian content in the 8-10 p.m. prime time was a whopping four per cent, the network snapped that such a brief should not be heard because it was filed late.

Not only public bureaucracy seeks to strangle its foes.

No doubt CTV will get its licence renewal; no doubt, too, that it scarcely deserves one. But idealistic words like "deserving" have little place in the world of private broadcasting and it is some measure of the achievement of Frank Peers's book that any interested layman can now trace the history of CTV or most any development in broadcasting in the 1952-68 period and can learn how Canadian broadcasting has reached its present nadir.

Prof. Peers, formerly with the CBC in Ottawa and now with the Department of Political Economy at the University of Toronto, has done a thorough job of



researching the political aspects of broadcasting and not much gets past him.

One should not have great expectations for CTV, for example, if it is realized that it owes its beginnings as a vehicle for carrying Canadian football telecasts.

I was also thrilled to read that John Diefenbaker once appointed his dentist to the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG) and that the great Canadian nationalist, John Bassett, once attempted to flog part of CFTO to the ABC network.

He was stopped mainly by an impassioned letter from the historian Arthur Lower to BBG chairman Andrew Stewart which read in part:

"You must face this. You surely do not wish to go down in Canadian history as the man who sold out our major instrument of nationalism to the Americans, that is, who sold out his country.

"I cannot make it too emphatic: that is what you and your Board are facing — betrayal. You have to choose."

For his part, Bassett no doubt

shrewdly thought it better to welcome the Fred Silvermans at the front door rather than merely importing their programs through the back, but Lower was essentially right — private broadcasting is about sales, all the rest is philosophizing.

(Lower's earlier interest in the Canadian Radio and Television League led broadcaster Finlay MacDonald to attack him and the league with the McCarthyite smear "I do not infer that such an organization is Communist dominated.")

Throughout the book the behaviour of the private broadcast lobby is such that one turns to F.R. Scott's poem "Audacity" to find the words to describe their methods:

"You may follow the hucksters and admen compiling their budgets, planning the assault on 'public opinion', setting the poll questions, Writing editorials for weeklies, letters to editors, telegrams to senators, articles for journals, Day after day on the job of confusing the issue, baiting the eggheads,

laughing at the 'culture kids' of CBC, fixing the giveaways, Posing as democracy's friends and admirers, while undermining the concept of government and welfare, Singing the praises of free enterprise that relies on high tariffs, defence contracts and floor prices."

Not to mention such plums as government-created broadcast monopolies.

The unequal struggle between the idealists and the money men for the soul of Canadian broadcasting resulted in a peculiarly Canadian compromise of public and private radio and television. Despite the complexities of the evolution, Peers is able to focus narrowly and argue at length a case that demonstrates how the public primacy established through the 1929 Aird Commission and the CBC gradually gave way to the grinding private broadcast lobby.

Peers takes the narrative through political Ottawa as it responds to pressures of government, MPs, regulatory authorities, the CBC, two reports on broadcasting headed by Robert Fowler, two Broadcasting Acts and the establishment of CTV. The single most critical development turns out to be the Conservative Broadcast Act of 1958 which was ostensibly patterned on the thorough Fowler Royal Commission on Broadcasting of 1957.

While appearing to follow Fowler, the new act in fact greatly diminished the CBC by taking away its regulatory authority, its control over networks and reduced its independence from political pressure by making funding available only through annual grants.

The door was now open for the route to today's programming mess which as Peers notes, "offered less choice under the guise of more." He continues:

"More subtly, the character of its [the CBC's] program mix gradually changed. This was hardly noticeable in any two successive years, but over a period of a decade, the CBC television schedules seemed to apply more commercial standards, the programs became less distinctive, were less likely to appeal to minority tastes, particularly in prime time."

The Americanization of air time was underway and, for example, the benefits which could have been provided by the superior BBC programs were delayed a generation until they were proven popular to Americans on the PBS network.

However, it is not fair to blame the Tories entirely. The broadcast lobby was

active in both major parties and Peers illustrates the capers of such prominent Liberals as Jack Pickersgill in his part in attempting to move the Barrie television station into the rich Toronto area and the successful pressure of Premier Ross Thatcher in getting the CBC to buy a clapped out TV station in Moose Jaw so that his political allies, the Siftons, could disaffiliate from the CBC and become the CTV outlet. That decision has effectively hamstringing the CBC in Regina to this day.

The Liberals had their proponents of public broadcasting, including Prime Minister Lester Pearson and Judy La Marsh, but the new Broadcasting Act of 1968 only refurbished the old and brought forward a strengthened regulatory authority in the new CRTc.

Internal CBC controversies

Throughout the 1952-68 period Peers is very much alive to the internal development and controversies inside the CBC such as the Montreal producers' strike of 1959, the cancellation and reinstatement of *Preview Commentary* the same year, and the biggest ruckus of all in the cancellation of *This Hour Has Seven Days* in 1966. All are fascinating footnotes to our political and broadcasting history.

Implicit in the telling of these stories is some indication why the CBC was unable to fight harder and more successfully to preserve itself as the leading broadcast force in the country.

Yet if the CBC was being damaged by the continual yowls over programs from the party caucuses in terms of support on Parliament Hill, it had already lost its ability to fight back because of its dependence for funds. Peers cites enough instances of direct government pressure on the CBC and the BBG to put to rest any misapprehension that such institutions are free from political interference. (The British are subtle enough to appoint one minister to take all the government's beefs to the broadcasting authorities.)

What has sadly disappeared in Canada in recent years is a strong countervailing lobby for public broadcasting, a lobby which used to respond to the attacks on the CBC. Peers gives numerous examples of the successes of the old Canadian Radio League and the more recent Canadian Radio and Television League (still in existence as the Canadian Broadcasting League) in mobilizing

voluntary organizations in favour of public broadcasting. The efforts of such men as Lower, Eugene Forsey and particularly Graham Spry proved what determined and dedicated persons could accomplish.

But if there has been a slackening of this volunteer effort on behalf of the CBC, it must be said that the corporation has proven far less worthy of support. The trends that Peers detected in television have most certainly spread to radio where despite the advantages of two networks and a non-commercial policy the CBC is assuming that its typical listener has the attention span of the average hummingbird.

CBC-AM programs are being increasingly managed by those who are interested in the same thing as private radio station operators, namely big ratings. In such hot houses the goals of public information usually lose out to those of audience titillation and emphasis on controlled sound effects.

What this approach overlooks is that the CBC is systematically alienating its traditional constituency, the kind of people who would rally to the corporation's defence when it was under attack. Today such people tend to look at the CBC as another bureaucracy and when the big slash in the budget arrived last August few indeed bothered to protest.

In his short conclusion, Peers looks ahead and sees the challenges to the Canadian broadcasting system including increased U.S. influences, new technologies and more demands for provincial and local control. He calls for a different and better balance between public and private broadcasting and new answers for the question of who best serves the citizen.

At the very least, another large scale public inquiry is required, not the rush job now being pushed by Communications Minister Jeanne Sauve.

Frank Peers has done a masterful job in bringing forward the evidence from a comparatively recent period. Despite the obvious difficulties, he has produced a scholarly and comprehensive look at an area that is usually the purview of the Ottawa politician, mandarin or lobbyist. He is to be congratulated for letting the interested public get an insider's view.

One closing note. I have long appreciated the standards and the craft of the University of Toronto Press. I was therefore more than a little startled to see so many typographical errors in this expensive book.

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