

**THE LAST
POST**

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FEBRUARY 1980/\$1.25

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THE
ATIKOKAN
NUCLEAR
STORY

ELECTION '80

**Trudeau:
Resigned
to run**

**Ontario:
Joe Clark's
blind spot**



The Bagmen

ARLIN 79
MONTREAL
GAZETTE

THE LAST POST

Feb. 1980, Vol. 7, No. 7

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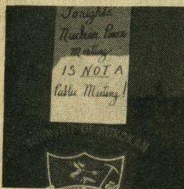
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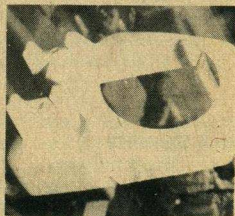
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We wish to thank the Ontario Arts Council for its financial assistance under its periodicals program.

The Last Post is produced by an editorial board.

Production this issue: Fred Adler, Irwin Block, Drummond Burgess, Robert Chodos, Eliot Holmes, Andrew Jankowski, Joan Kuyek, David Lloyd, Rae Murphy, Randle Nelsen, Angus Ricker, Graham Saunders, Patrick MacFadden, Dave Sergeant, Jamie Swift.



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

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

ELECTION COUNTDOWN: THE LULL BEFORE THE LULL

Joe Clark's election kickoff in Southern Ontario:

Veteran Tory observers agreed the crowd was largely made up of party members, with the odd exception. Kitchener MP John Reimer greeted one visitor and asked why he was there. "Everyone likes to see a turkey at Christmas," the visitor replied.

Kitchener Waterloo Record
December 19, 1979.

by RAE MURPHY

This election is receiving a great deal of bad press.

We are told that it is a hardship for the sturdy Canadian people to be forced to struggle to the polls on a bleak day in February. Most of us, the lucky ones, are forced to struggle out to work on all the bleak February days and it seems to be little extra trouble to stop off at a neighbour's home to cast a ballot if we so choose. Indeed, it seems less of us will take the trouble to vote this time, thus negating the hardship factor altogether.

We have also been told that being without an effective government over the crucial winter months will work a hardship on the country. There is no evidence whatsoever to indicate that being without a government hurt anything or anybody. Quite the contrary . . . But that is another story.

It has been suggested that this election merely placates the power lust of the Liberals and the crass opportunism of all parties. Those who look upon the works of Pierre Elliot Trudeau darkly, imply that the whole resignation, government defeat and back at the helm number was a clever, cynical plot.

Who's to say? It may all be true. But politicians are opportunists by nature (at least successful politicians are) and the Liberals will just have to remember that the next time Trudeau resigns they must all gather at dawn and drive a stake through his heart.

It is also difficult to understand the criticism of this election that it is unnecessary. What makes an election necessary? In a parliamentary democracy, what are the criteria that determine necessary or unnecessary? Surely as we have grown used to election platforms totally negated by post election budgets and such like things, a case can be made for having general elections every Friday.

Rather than becoming overly exercised over the fact

that there is an election at all, let us look upon it as a mere interlude before the inevitable campaigns for leadership of the Liberal Party, which was shaping up before the government was defeated and the likely Conservative race which will probably begin the day after the election.

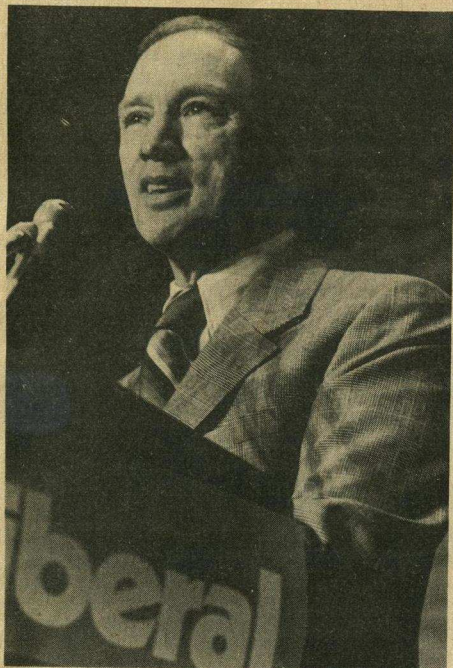
It says here that the NDP will increase its share of the popular vote which should translate itself into a few extra seats. It is hard to believe that the Liberals will receive less votes than they did last time in English Canada and it is equally difficult to believe that the Conservatives will receive as many as they did — thus a very shaky Liberal minority and a deal with Ed Broadbent to get us through until early summer and another election. . . .

Regardless of the outcome of this election, the Liberals need a new leader, and a new policy.

The problems Liberals face are not of winning an immediate election, nor are they connected with defeating the Conservatives. They need to rebuild a new majority party that can win the country. To do that they will have to define the New Democratic party as their strategic enemy — and knock them for a loop before the voters in Western Canada, Ontario and the Maritimes fully realize that in federal, as well as provincial politics, there is life after the Liberals.

Upon hearing that Pierre Trudeau had resigned, NDP leader Ed Broadbent jibed that the Liberals were out of power, out of policy and now out of Pierre.

To turn this around somewhat, the Liberals were out of luck, out of leadership and out of Laurier some 60 years ago. Life and the Progressives were about to eliminate them in the West and they seemed bound to languish in an uncertain Quebec base.



Trudeau: regardless of the outcome, the Liberals need a new leader

In 1919, there was a very lumpy, unattractive and unlikely candidate — William Lyon MacKenzie King. Resolutely unilingual, Mackenzie King never even spoke to French-speaking ghosts. However, Mackenzie King and those who elected him were able to define the essential political truth about Canada — that is, that there are many Canadians who are Conservative and many more who are not.

Those who are not will eventually find expression within or without the Liberal party. When the Liberals reflect and articulate the concerns of this community, they win elections. For example, consider King's social policies through to Pearson and Trudeau, including opposition to wage and price controls. When they move away from this constituency, they lose. Consider again wage and price controls and economic restraint. Worse than losing an election here and there is the ever growing danger of losing their political constituency. The Liberal success story in Canada since Mackenzie King is their ability to defeat the conservative right by their ability to defuse, confuse and co-opt the left.

But they have also been vulnerable. And never more so than now.

The Liberals need — no pun intended — a reincarnated Mackenzie King.

If we eliminate both Turner and MacDonald, scratch Axworthy (the Clark experience has given callow youth a bad name), there is one member of the former cabinet whose name comes to mind: Eugene Whelan.

Whelan, that disarming rube, was not only one of the most effective ministers in the government, but one of the few ministers who developed political clout outside the confines of his own constituency. He was the unsung Liberal hero of the 1974 campaign as he pounded Ontario's 'back forty' and delivered more than a handful of marginal seats. He filled the halls and got the votes.

While it certainly isn't difficult to underestimate Whelan, and there is certainly no point in ascribing subliminal qualities to him, he has proven to be a tough, durable and effective politician on what is perhaps a minor stage. He would be at the very least interesting on the broader field.

And the image!

It needs work, but consider the straight-talking, straight-shooting common man up against the Bay Street monolith. Consider today's urban middle class splitting logs for those new-fangled wood stoves and going back to the land. In a political sense, how close to the land can one get than by drinking cider and voting for Eugene and his boys?

Whelan is unilingual — some may question if he's even that — but his inability to speak French is not necessarily a handicap. Like Mackenzie King he would, of necessity, leave Quebec Liberals and their problems to themselves to sort out. And if Whelan never did speak French, he spoke Marketing Boards to rural Quebec and he has no enemies there.

Above all, Whelan would give the Liberals the least expensive possibility to buy time. He would be able to fight an election if he had to, with chances of success at least as favorable as any of the other candidates. And if needs be, he could also be considered as a transitional leader — warming a seat, like Khrushchev or Pope John.

Whelan also fits in with an increasingly relevant law of political leadership: the Monty Python Law. When the successful aspirant is introduced to the masses, the party should be able to announce: "And Now For Something Completely Different."

Eugene Whelan is.

As for the Tories and their leadership problems: Ontario Premier William Davis, instead of doing his duty and introducing Joe Clark to the faithful in Ontario for the campaign opener, found himself in Montreal with Claude Ryan. They were getting to know each other and exchanging ideas about new constitutional arrangements for all of the Canadas.

Unlike the Tory incumbent, William Davis has both the brains and the guile to do just about anything he wants. He also has the abil... But why go on.

Are federal prime ministers becoming little more than punching bags for the country's powerful premiers? In last May's election Ontario Premier Bill Davis punched out Trudeau. Since last August he's been punching out Joe Clark. Power is shifting in Canada and Ontario's on the warpath.

ONTARIO: THE KILLING GROUND

by Drummond Burgess

On the Thursday night Joe Clark's government was defeated over Finance Minister John Crosbie's 'hard times' budget, Premier Bill Davis of Ontario was at his home in Brampton. Asked for his reaction to the government's fall, Davis said: "I'm extremely surprised." He did not add that he was also extremely pleased because, after all, he too is a Conservative and the proprieties must be observed.

But it's surprising that Davis was surprised because, since last August, he and Ontario Treasurer Frank Miller had done as much as anyone to set the stage for the overthrow of the federal Tories, by preparing public opinion in Ontario for a possible Liberal return to office.

And that represented one of the more interesting political turnarounds in recent Canadian history.

Who stands for Canada?

Back in early April, as the federal election campaign was getting under way, Premier Bill Davis of Ontario let fly at then Prime Minister Trudeau. Trudeau had been calling Joe Clark a "puppet" of, and a "headwaiter" for the premiers and Davis was, as it were, outraged.

"The answer to his question... who stands for Can-

ada... is simply this," Davis told the Empire Club of Toronto, "millions of our fellow Canadians do, and loyal men and women in public life, at all levels, and in all parties, are striving to make this fine and sturdy country work. I earnestly hope that his underlying theme of confrontation between our provinces and 'his' central government is not taken seriously in the weeks ahead. We have enough problems and challenges in Canada without creating phony issues and unnecessary suspicions."

A few days later, Davis was in Calgary speaking to the Canadian Petroleum Association, mouthpiece of the oil industry, and he returned to the same theme. Trudeau, said Davis, was trying to sow "discord and tension" between Ontario and Alberta. This was "an unworthy undertaking and it will not be successful." The idea of confrontation is "unfair and offends me personally. Frankly," Davis went on, "I'm beginning to develop a slow burn toward those who talk about the 'political instability' of our Confederation."

With a little help from the Big Blue Machine, Joe Clark went on to win 57 of Ontario's 95 seats.

Seven months later things had changed (or had been manipulated) so dramatically that the media expressed astonishment when Davis agreed to be present at a \$150-a-

Photo: Bruce Paton

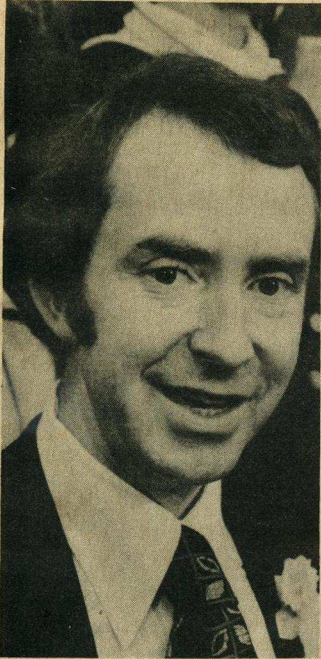
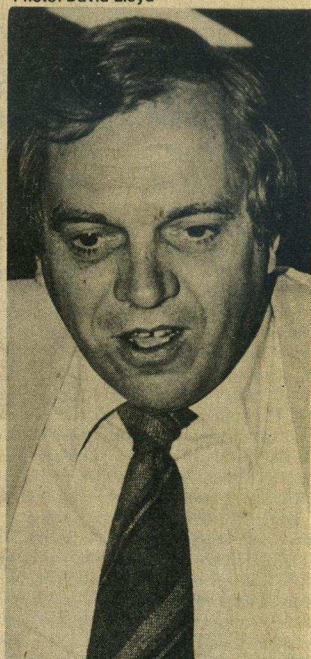


Photo: David Lloyd



Photo: David Lloyd



Less than a year after the last election, Clark, Trudeau and Broadbent are at it again, but this time issues are more clear-cut, with Ontario Premier Bill Davis having set the stage

plate fund-raising dinner in honor of Clark. Davis found it necessary to huddle with Clark for 45 minutes before the dinner, and later to deliver the prime minister a public reprimand on the need to speak for Canada on energy policy.

"There is no question," he said, "that Albertans must have their fair share. But you have the tough task of speaking for 22 million Canadians who also have their rights and expectations."

Sounding more like Pierre Trudeau every minute, the premier declared that "province-building can't be more important than nation-building," rejecting Clark's belief that Canada is a "community of communities" and that power should be decentralized to the regions.

Although only a few months before, Davis had said he was developing a "slow burn" over Trudeau's claim there was "political instability" in Confederation, by late October he was saying he was developing a "slow burn" over Alberta Premier Lougheed's "subtle, and not so subtle, allegations about Ontario's greed," and, by the November first ministers' conference he was insisting that massive oil price increases would be "unjust, unnecessary, and damaging to the Canadian economy, if not to the fabric of Confederation."

Indeed, Davis had been sounding so much like Trudeau over the past few months that he won praise from the old P.M. himself. Speaking in Toronto in November, Trudeau said "Canadians are beginning to be ashamed when the only one who is attempting to speak for Canada... is the premier of your province, Bill Davis."

On the day after Finance Minister's Crosbie's budget was unveiled, the Ontario government rejected it as firmly as did the federal Liberals and the New Democratic Party. "In the four-year period to 1983," said Ontario Treasurer Frank Miller, "Ontario consumers and businesses will have paid a staggering \$15.7 billion more for their oil and gas than they would have without the price and tax increases. The fiscal balance within Confederation will be materially affected by this budget... These increases are going to finance Ottawa's deficit and to increase the already bursting treasuries of the producing provinces."

After the Clark government's defeat, Bill Davis said, that, of course, he was a loyal Conservative and would be supporting that party in the federal election. But that would mean supporting the reintroduction of a budget he had soundly condemned. The heavy betting was that Davis would be spending quite a bit of time at his condominium in Florida this winter, rather than helping Joe Clark. Because,

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if Ontario's voters support higher oil prices by re-electing the Clark government, they will by that act be rejecting Bill Davis' sustained campaign against those price increases — and Davis will be a spent political force, spurned by Ontario's voters in a virtual referendum on much higher oil prices.

Ontario's wealth, power resented

For generations, other Canadians have resented Ontario's wealth and power, especially the province's real boom since the Second World War, which was a byproduct of southern Ontario's geographical location and the postwar expansion of the U.S. private enterprise system, an expansion welcomed by Ottawa and Queen's Park.

Davis had tried to counter this feeling by pointing to Ontario's generosity in contrast to Alberta's acquisitiveness: "Between 1967 and 1977... the people of Ontario transferred, through the federal government, over \$16 billion to help protect and advance other parts of Canada." But reminding people of past or present dependence and need for charity is no way to win friends. At a luncheon meeting during the first ministers' energy conference, Quebec Energy Minister Yves Berube is reported to have told Davis: "Ontario's problem is that nobody likes you."

Ironically, Ontario is experiencing a feeling of exploitation itself these days since it is now, under the country's equalization payments scheme, literally a have-not province. Even though only half of Alberta's oil revenues are counted into the equalization program, Ottawa now owes Ontario almost \$500 million for the last three years. If all oil revenues were counted in the amount would be one billion dollars and Ontario's current budget deficit would be wiped out. Ontario has refused to ask Ottawa for the money, although, in a country that is being encouraged by the prime minister to think in terms of every province for itself, it's difficult to see why not.

At the Ottawa first ministers' conference on energy, Ontario found itself isolated. All heads, including the prime minister's, turned in the direction of Premier Lougheed, as they would once have nodded in the direction of Premiers Roberts or Frost or Drew. This was not because of any affection for the Prairie boom province. Indeed, Quebec's energy minister could as easily have said "Alberta's problem is that nobody likes you," except you don't say that sort of thing unless you know you can get away with it.

Ontario's old suppliers are now Alberta's. Or they are resource rich, or potentially resource rich themselves — for example, Newfoundland; the province may possess huge offshore oil reserves and its premier, Brian Peckford, has recently received from the prime minister a promised surrender of any federal claim to offshore resources rights, in spite of Supreme Court backing of an Ottawa role, without the federal government getting anything in return on behalf of the nation (in Tory Ottawa, "nation" is already beginning to sound like a quaint term).

But a better measure of Ottawa's rush to divest itself of power is Prime Minister Clark's promise to grant provincial status to the Yukon, which presumably would be followed

by provincial status for the North West Territories. This would mean giving ownership of natural resources, including oil and gas, to, in the case of the Yukon, about 25,000 people and, in the case of the North West Territories, some 40,000 people.

If large amounts of oil and gas were extracted, this would not only give the multinational oil companies immeasurably more power than they have even in Alberta, but would effectively make every resident a billionaire in a few years time. A Yukon Heritage Fund with \$25 billion in short term securities?

In its view of the economy, the Clark government has seemed wedded to a belief that the less government did, the more private enterprise would do, and all would work out for the best through some natural harmony of interests.

Similarly, it has seemed to believe that if Ottawa laid low and played dead, leaving the provinces to concentrate on their own self interest and to deal with each other, some natural harmony of interests would take Ottawa's place. Already, comments are being made that the job of prime minister is becoming about as significant as the job of governor-general.

Even before the Clark government took office, much had been said about the declining role of the House of Commons and of the shift of real decision-making to federal-provincial conferences. At these conferences, the prime minister was beginning to sound like just one out of 11. For some time, the premiers have held conferences by themselves without Ottawa in attendance. Soon, they may wonder why the P.M.'s presence is ever needed, except to receive orders how to operate as a transfer mechanism, assuming the provinces ever manage to agree on anything. Ottawa and nine provinces have all rejected sovereignty-association for Quebec; meanwhile, they are instituting it for everyone.

Destabilizing the country

The result of Ottawa's withdrawal is the destabilization of an already decentralized country. Or, perhaps, destabilization has made Ottawa's withdrawal inevitable.

Perhaps it was not so much the Trudeau Liberals who lost in the May 22 election, as the idea of Canada as a country with a strong, central government. And perhaps the overthrow of the Clark government on December 13 reflected a struggle between provinces or regions of the country more than a showdown in the House of Commons.

If the Liberals were to win the February 18 election, would they be any more able and willing to stand up to the multinational oil companies and the Alberta government than Joe Clark was? And if they did tilt strongly towards Ontario, would not Premier Lougheed of Alberta be gunning for them as strongly as Bill Davis gunned for the federal Tories during the autumn?

Perhaps Clark's view of Canada as a "community of communities" is the emergence of an idea whose time has come because it reflects a situation that already exists.

Since the Davis government found it had little influence in Ottawa under the Clark administration, it has been an obvious option for the province to try to revive the old

Photo: David Lloyd



Premier Bill Davis had little influence in Joe Clark's Ottawa; he went on the offensive starting last August

eastern alliance of Ottawa, Ontario and Quebec by working to throw out the 'rascals' in Ottawa, and wait for time to defeat the Parti Quebecois in Quebec City. For months Bill Davis had been sounding like a man who couldn't wait to get Pierre Trudeau, or Donald MacDonald, or somebody, anybody, other than Joe Clark in office in Ottawa. Ontario Tory insiders came back from the November first ministers' energy conference—where Davis was isolated—muttering to anyone who would listen that after the next federal election, Joe Clark was going to find himself minus 30 of his 57 Ontario seats.

That is to say Ontario would invoke the main natural resource at its disposal these days: if Alberta has barrels of oil, Ontario has barrels of voters.

Equally on the agenda would be an effort to rebuild an Ontario-Quebec alliance if Claude Ryan's Liberals defeat

the Parti Quebecois in the next Quebec election, with the hope that finance ministers, top civil servants and others could freely work together again, more or less deciding how the country is going to be run.

But the old alliance may turn out to be an ever-retreating mirage. Claude Ryan is no believer in a unitary state and could prove almost as autonomy-minded as the Levesque government.

And even a federal Liberal government put in office by Ontario's petrovoters would have to adjust to the weakening of the central government as a result of Quebec nationalism and the transfer of economic power to the West, not only because of what the British North America Act has to say about who owns natural resources, but also because, as Ontario Treasurer Frank Miller put it in August, "petrodollars, not constitutional lawyers, are rewriting our federal system. Without referendum or mandate, these money flows are quickly destroying the authority of our federal government to pursue its historic responsibilities. . . . The goals of shared economic opportunity, nation-wide social advance, and adequate employment growth without rapid inflation may soon be unattainable."

The Economic Council of Canada, in its recent annual review, also warned that Ottawa is ceasing to have enough economic power to direct the Canadian economy in any overall sense.

Sylvia Ostry, the Council's departing chairwoman, says the federal government is so debt-ridden it has practically lost the power to adjust fiscal policy, and can do little more than play with monetary policy. Ottawa, she says, is almost impotent.

The Council's recent report warns that "the federal government is in a poor position to continue to play its major role in economic management, equalization of provincial revenues, and the conduct of major national policies." If things continue "the government's management of the economy will become increasingly powerless, to the peril of the country as a whole and the welfare of every Canadian."

The Council judges that for the next five years Ottawa will have budget deficits of over \$10.5 billion. Furthermore, half of the budget is locked into transfer payments to provinces and individuals. And the fiscal imbalance between Ottawa and the provinces is growing, with, in particular, Alberta rolling up big surpluses every year.

Petrodollars are certainly part of this, though only part. Alberta's Heritage Fund now has about \$5 billion. If oil prices were to go to world levels next year, that fund would grow to some \$25 billion in five years. So far, Alberta's use of that money has been about as imaginative and productive as that of old Granny, who hides her life savings under the mattress.

If a similar amount continues to go to the oil companies the problems worsen. The National Energy Board says those companies need no more funding than they get now; in any event, they have no plan to give Canada energy self-sufficiency, or if they have, they haven't let the public know. Although the wellhead price of oil had gone up 400 percent, and the price of natural gas 900 percent, the country's proven resources of oil and gas were less at the begin-

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ning of 1979 than they were in 1970.

But Ottawa's money problems also stem from the outflow of branch-plant-economy-dollars and, if blame for Ottawa's economic weakness is being assessed on a provincial basis, that's largely Ontario's contribution to the country's destabilization. Six years ago Canada paid out \$2.9 billion in interest and dividends to foreigners. By 1978 this had risen to \$5.5 billion. For 1979 it will be more than \$6 billion and this year more than \$7 billion. Payments of this order to what might be called the American Heritage Fund are no less responsible for Ottawa's impotence. And this does not take into account other drawbacks of a branch plant economy such as unwillingness to export and lack of research and development.

One of these days, someone at the International Monetary Fund is going to have to pick up the phone to order us to put our country in order, or else, and have a lot of trouble figuring out whom to call.

Leaving aside the unlikely prospect of an NDP victory, the country is for now going to continue to more or less unravel — and how soon could even the most willing political party do something about a distorted economic structure that it's taken 35 years to put in place, to go back no further than the end of World War II?

Whatever form the emerging Canada of autonomous regions takes, the major producing provinces will do all right. Their population size is matched to their resources, which are eminently saleable.

The question is — and this accounts for the long faces these days at Queen's Park — unless present trends get changed, what is Ontario going to do with a population matched to an industrial economy that Alberta Premier Lougheed casually dismisses as "obsolete?"

If past trends are any guide, Ontario will at least look at the possibility of more of the same — more economic integration of southern Ontario with the United States. With the Auto Pact now many years in place integrating the auto industry, a complex of crucial importance to Ontario, the province already competes directly with American state governments for new auto investments, much as if it were a state itself.

Back in September, Ontario Treasurer Frank Miller set out to show how well Ontario was doing at present — the implication being that the national power house should not be hacked away at by world oil prices. He did this by comparing Ontario to American states: "We did an awful lot better than any of the northern U.S. states in recent years and the only state that really beat us was Texas." He handed out a report that talked of Ontario in comparison to Michigan, New York and Texas.

Just about every announced candidate for next year's U.S. presidential election campaign thinks he has an answer — a common market of the two countries — though they are thinking more about access to Alberta's oil and gas than about bailing out Ontario manufacturing. The latest international tariff agreement will go a long way to establishing free trade between the two countries in any event (especially since Canada is a goodie-goodie when it comes to non-tariff trade barriers). And if Canadian oil is going to world prices,

or to close to the U.S. composite price, there will be little competitive advantage there, apart from greater security of supply.

A few days after the first ministers' conference on oil prices and revenues, Premier Bill Davis headed off to the U.S. to speak to the Niagara Institute in Chicago. He there referred to recent proposals for a Canada-U.S.-Mexico common market on energy. Davis recommended setting up a joint Canadian-U.S. energy commission "to pursue common energy and development opportunities... which places politicians and bureaucrats and trade union leaders together in a common effort... and report to the prime minister and the president."

The Ontario government denied that this represented any change in policy or that it meant any support for the idea of a common market.

Time will tell.

Liberal, Conservative flip-flops

Issues like these lie behind the current campaign rhetoric — and they will continue to be there whoever wins the election. With all the talk of Tory times being hard times, it's easy to forget that before last May's election Liberal times were becoming hard times too.

Back in August 1978, after returning from the Bonn economic summit meeting, then Prime Minister Trudeau announced major cutbacks. Bypassing the department of finance and the cabinet, Trudeau pulled economic policy into his own office, with then Privy Council Clerk Michael Pittfield and Principal Secretary Jim Coufts as main architects. Government spending was to be slashed, at first by \$2 billion, which was then upped to \$4 billion. Five thousand civil service jobs were to be eliminated. Ottawa was to cut back on its contributions to hospital insurance, medicare and post-secondary education. Programs like unemployment insurance and family allowances were to be tightened up.

Someone had convinced Trudeau that neo-conservatism was the popular and necessary thing these days and a sure-fire way to win an election.

It wasn't. Trudeau ridiculed Clark's election promises of \$2 billion tax cuts and a stimulative deficit, calling Clark the \$7 billion man. But the voters, except in Quebec, chose the more generous-sounding Conservative program.

Now, having discarded much of his election platform upon taking office, it's Joe Clark's turn to campaign for 'responsible government' and 'tough, honest decisions'. Now, it's the Liberals who are promising the country a break.

Now, the two parties' positions have reversed themselves in less than a year.

Or have they?

Out there in the constituencies, the New Democratic Party is hoping that, this time, voters are deciding they've had enough of both tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum, and are concluding both Liberals and Conservatives are the prisoners of more fundamental problems that neither can deal with.

Hope springs eternal.

The Parti Quebecois keeps losing byelections. Is it all over?

The PQ: victim of the 'quiet generation'?

by IRWIN BLOCK

With publication of *A New Deal*, the Parti Québécois government's proposal for sovereignty-association, Quebec has taken the first official step leading to next spring's referendum.

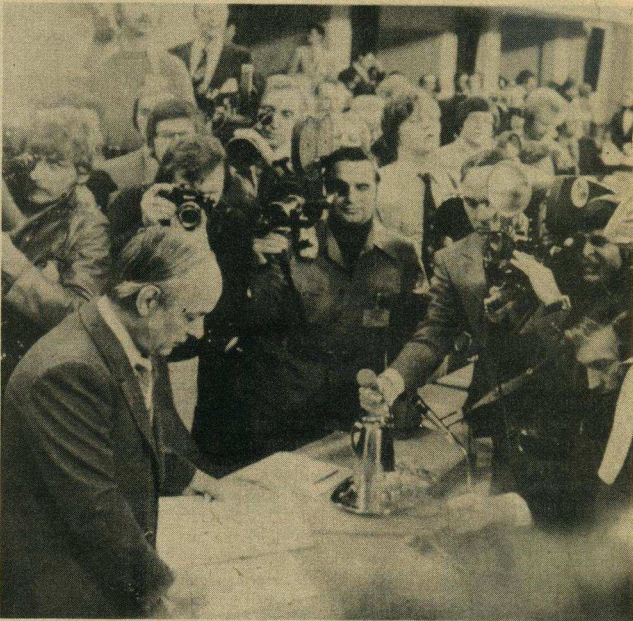
But rather than serve as the spark for a great debate on Quebec's future, the proposal for "a new partnership between equals" was overtaken by the collapse of PQ support in the autumn byelections.

Although the sovereignty-association white paper proved a best seller, it was a flop in electoral terms. PQ candidates in three byelections did their best to talk their way around the white paper and the referendum, hoping to use the good government theme to hold two ridings and make gains in a third.

The Liberal candidates all hit hard with such gut issues as the threat to old age pensions and unemployment benefits should Quebec separate. This would be inevitable, they argued, since the performance of the Quebec economy is ten per cent below the Canadian average and thus unable to sustain the current standard of living without equalization payments.

Somehow, the PQ candidates did not pick up on Premier René Lévesque's emotional closing message in the white paper that "the time has come to be our own masters." This failure is startling since the byelections came barely two weeks after the PQ policy document had dominated headlines and hotlines.

The failure to face squarely the central question of Quebec's place, in Canada or out of it, is a direct outcome of the strategy elaborated by Lévesque, Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Claude Morin, and eight other members of the Premier's Referendum Committee.



Premier René Lévesque: the sovereignty-association white paper was a flop in electoral terms

According to the plan, the PQ would prove itself as able governors before hauling out the big machinery to convince people to vote for sovereignty-association. In the interim there ensued a sometimes hair-splitting debate of Talmudic proportions that may have impressed party technocrats, but served to bewilder the public.

It is during this process that the PQ appears to have lost its momentum. Its leaders have been apologizing and obfuscating now for so long, that when the white paper was made public it was almost an anomaly. Its strong language

and forthright approach were not consistent with more than three years of hemming and hawing.

The byelection losses suffered by the PQ are not in themselves indications of how Quebecers will vote in the referendum. But the closer the province gets to the referendum date, the more important the question becomes. For the voter, alone in the voting booth, knows full well that a vote for the PQ candidate, even in a byelection, is a vote for some form of Quebec independence. And a vote for the only other alternative (now that the Union Nation-

ale is crumbling) is a vote for less radical forms of constitutional change.

This became clear in an earlier set of byelections, also swept by the Liberals, and it was underlined in the November tests — a clear lack of momentum by the PQ whenever the question of Quebec's future is on voters' minds.

The byelections also underlined the play-it-safe approach that Premier Lévesque and the party's central organization sought to implant when they eased the nomination of loyalist candidates.

In Prévost, Lévesque backed Pierre Harvey, the PQ's dry and taciturn program director who lives in upper class

Outremont, against François Thivierge, a St-Jérôme teacher who paid 12 years of dues in the local organization. It was a victory for a PQ technocrat against a participationist (to use the terms coined by Véra Murray in her analysis of the PQ).

In the Montreal working class riding of Maisonneuve, Lévesque upset party workers when he put his prestige behind PQ technocrat Jacques Desmarais, besting popular union leader Michel Bourdon.

In both ridings — PQ strongholds lost to Liberals Solange Chapat-Rolland and Georges Lalonde — longtime activists were so angry at what

they considered Lévesque's interference in the nomination that they refused to campaign.

Ironically, the PQ did better in Beauce-Sud with its millionaire candidate, Raymond Boisvert. He advertised a super sale of "Ray Jeans" during the byelection and got around election expense limitations. He increased the PQ vote in this former stronghold of Social Credit leader Fabien Roy, but fought the campaign on such issues as better roads and more industrial development.

Premier Lévesque and the PQ government managed to score points when they intervened forcefully on the eve of the byelections to block a planned strike of nurses, technicians and support personnel in the province's hospitals. But it didn't seem to help the PQ candidates in the polls.

The collapse of the Union Nationale amid an increasingly polarized political scene in Quebec is another factor that seems to be working against the PQ, despite its call for a non-partisan approach by the Quebec people to the referendum.

The Liberals are getting the UN and Créditiste votes while disgruntled Liberals who voted PQ to protest the weakness of the Bourassa government seem to be returning to the fold.

This is so despite efforts by the PQ to hold on to a more conservative clientele in the traditional middle classes that voted for its candidates in 1976. The PQ has reached out to these voters at the expense of its traditional supporters — workers, students, teachers, the unemployed, small wage earners and social welfare recipients.

For Pierre Drouilly, the PQ's assiduous electoral analyst, the message is clear: "The Parti Québécois is in the midst of losing its privileged electoral support, and the class alliance that brought it to power is about to burst. If nothing changes from now to the next elections, the PQ is courting electoral catastrophe, and thus political disaster."

Symptomatic of the deep concern is the demand to get Lévesque's deputy chief of staff, Michel Carpentier, to return to full-time duties at party headquarters and knock the organization into shape. (He co-ordinated the 1976 election victory.)

His help appears to be needed. *Operation Contact* that was supposed to fol-

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The situation is ten times worse than the earthquake that destroyed Nicaragua in 1972.

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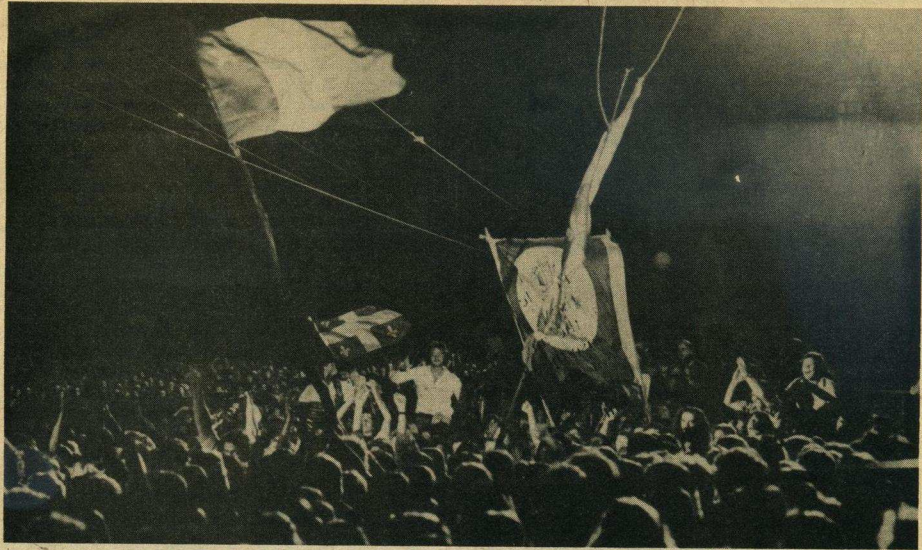
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The momentum for change that produced the independence movement may not be there any more

low immediately on the white paper never got off the ground, despite the advance build-up.

The broad problem is that political surveys consistently show that only around 30 to 40 per cent of Quebecers favor sovereignty-association. About 10 per cent more are willing to give the government a mandate to negotiate.

According to Maurice Pinard, a McGill University sociology professor and expert on opinion polls, the "fear factor" will cause a drop of up to ten per cent in support of the mandate.

This view is reinforced by David Butler, an Oxford University expert who notes, after studying 500 referendums around the world, that results reflect a "strongly conservative" public.

"People are afraid of change", he says, adding that the wording of the question should not make much of a difference in the outcome.

Maurice Pinard agrees: "I don't think it will make much difference in the end because people will come to see that, despite the question, they are being asked to allow the government to realize sovereignty-association."

The white paper makes it fairly clear that the government will ask for a mandate to realize, or achieve, sovereignty-association through negotiations with the rest of Canada.

The hope is to get support from the majority of Quebecers who want renewed federalism as well as backing from separatists.

Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Morin puts it this way: "People might vote 'yes' because they think sovereignty-association is the answer; they might vote 'yes' because they like the way we want to democratically reach the objective, without necessarily being in complete agreement with the objective; or they might vote 'yes' because they feel there should be some kind of unblocking of the federal system."

With Liberal leader Claude Ryan about to unveil his proposals for constitutional change, it is hard to see Quebecers who want renewed federalism giving the mandate to the PQ rather than to the Liberals.

In fact the Liberals are expected to make such a nationalist pitch under Claude Ryan that federalists like Pierre Trudeau have already indicated their concern about working with the provincial leader under the 'no' umbrella committee in the referendum.

But the problems of the 'no' group appear to be minor compared to the demoralization of the 'yes' committee, despite support of such stars as popular monologist Yvon Deschamps and writer Madeleine Ferron, wife of the

late Provincial Court Judge Robert Cliche.

The momentum for change that produced the independence movement and culminated in the electoral successes of the PQ doesn't seem to be there any more.

As philosophy student Mireille Simard of the Université de Montréal wrote recently in *Le Devoir*, the "quiet revolution" of the sixties has bred the "quiet generation" of the seventies.

"The case of Quebec independence appears perfectly controlled and beyond us, in the hands of the PQ's intellectuals... Most of the nationalist stars and FLQ'istes have lost their revolutionary impact to become more quiet. Those who violently challenged preceding governments are today in power and seem to suffer from the sclerosis brought on by the thirst for power."

The irony of the approaching moment is that, on the eve of the referendum, the PQ appears to have lost its soul. Could it be that the ideal of the sixties generation is seen today by Quebec youth as an old man's dream that no longer corresponds with their desires?

If the autumn byelections are any indication, the themes enunciated in the white paper may well be outmoded in today's post-Bill-101 Quebec.

the Last Pssst



by Claude Balloune

Now it can be told dept... If Toronto financial tycoon **Conrad Black** (Hollinger Argus Corp.) succeeds in his bid to take over FP Publications (*Toronto Globe & Mail*, *Ottawa Journal*, *Calgary Albertan*, etc.) he will have the rival newspaper chain of Southam to thank for it all. When FP's *The Montreal Star* went belly-up in September, it had lost so much money that the entire profits-skimpy FP chain was on the skids. Big bucks Southam bailed them out by okaying a life-saving purchase of the *Star's* building and presses by rival Southam daily, *The Gazette*. This followed a tense struggle between **Hawks and Doves** at Southam that the Doves won — they were afraid Southam would be bashed all over the place for having monopoly control of the press if FP collapsed.

Ed and the boys... When Governor-General **Ed Schreyer** was premier of Manitoba he liked to get together once in a while with the boys and drink some beer, just like in the TV commercials. Seems that since he's been in Ottawa he's missed the old gang. Unconfirmed rumor has it that he flew them all in from Manitoba a few weeks back to liven things up at boring, boring Government House. I'm told that things livened up to such an extent that in the small hours a 'How're things going over there?' call was placed to the **Queen in Buckingham Palace**. My source of this story does not know Her Majesty's response.



Governor-General Ed Schreyer: livening things up

Lining up the media... **John Turner** got his Liberal leadership campaign off to a great start Nov. 21 when a flood of reporters and photographers descended on his Toronto office looking for a chance to give him some favorable publicity. Turner kept them waiting for five hours, refusing to even let them use the telephone, and then sneaked out the back way. Serious Liberal leadership candidates trying to drum up media support don't act that way; Bay Street rollers who are going to stay on Bay Street do.

Photo: David Lloyd



Flora: grounded in Europe

Flora goes to ground... When the Tories realized they might be overthrown in the budget vote they tried in a panic to get all their members to Ottawa on time. One of those members was **External Affairs Minister Flora Macdonald**, in Brussels for a NATO meeting. First, Flora tried all the scheduled airlines, but they had all left. Next, the fast-thinking minister tried to hire a plane (public money for a partizan, political use?) but found it would take 10 hours to get one and by the time she reached Ottawa the vote would be history. Still fast on her feet, Flora tried to get an armed forces plane from our air base at **Lahr** — but there weren't any there. More inquiries revealed an armed forces plane sent from Ottawa or **Trenton** would never get back to Canada in time. Finally, Flora made a mad dash for Paris to catch the supersonic **Concorde** — only to find she had just missed it. And so, as Canadians watched the government fall on their TV screens, Flora stayed grounded in Europe. Commented one wag, "I guess it's back to standby on Laker Airways for Flora from now on."

Dog's best friend . . . Quebec taxpayers, who also love dogs, will be overjoyed to learn that their tax dollars are being spent wisely by the **minister of education, Jacques-Yvan Morin**. Morin regularly sends his chauffeured limousine over to his mother-in-law's place so that the chauffeur can walk her poodle.



Claude Ryan: a 'para-religious expression'

Ayatollah so . . . The Ayatollah Claude Ryan (as he is widely known in Quebec) has recently been spending some time away from his Holy City of Outremont. Speaking to an audience in Beauce-Sud not long ago, he let a bit of anti-semitism show through when he said that the Liberal party is so popular these days even Jews belong to it . . . Ryan also deserves a prize for this quote from the byelection in D'Arcy McGee riding: "If I may be excused a para-religious expression, it was owing to the charisma of the Liberal party that the PQ candidate won twice as less votes as his predecessor."

Now who's a separatist? . . . The winner in the recent Quebec byelection in D'Arcy McGee, Liberal **Herbert Marx**, has been telling journalists off the record that when Liberal leader **Claude Ryan's** position on the constitution is made public it won't be much different than **Rene Levesque's**.

Chutzpah award of the month . . . Former Mountie **Robert Samson**, who once had a little problem with a bomb that went off too soon outside the home of a wealthy supermarket executive in Montreal, was in court recently asking for a gun permit because, he said, he

wanted to hunt partridges. **Mr. Justice Mayrand** was not impressed by Samson's lawyer's argument that a stick of dynamite is not necessarily an offensive weapon.

Hello? Hello? . . . Bell Canada didn't help itself at all recently when it rigged up a two-way TV gimmick so that Finance Minister **John Crosbie**, vote-bound in Ottawa, could deliver a promised speech to the Canadian Tax Foundation in Toronto. The techno-speak was so ingenious Crosbie would even be able to hear the audience response to his jokes. Just in case, though, he sent along parliamentary secretary **Ron Ritchie** as a second-stringer in case Bell got unplugged. Bell did indeed unplug, the feed-back failed, and for 10 minutes the audience watched Crosbie's anticipatory smile on the screen while Ritchie read his speech and threw away his lines. Then the troubles cleared up, Crosbie started speaking and the audience, deeply impressed by this display of Tory efficiency, got to hear the lines all over again.



Joe Clark: will there be a joke book?

Who'll rush into print? . . . It's occurred to more than one publisher that there might be a book possibility in a country that's awash with **Joe Clark** jokes. Three recent ones I have cribbed from a Conservative newspaper — **Question:** Why does Joe Clark carry a turkey around with him? **Answer:** Spare parts. **Question:** Why does Joe have TGIF printed on his shoes? **Answer:** To remind him that Toes Go In First. **Question:** What were the three happiest years of Joe's life? **Answer:** Grade three.

An energy-scarce future has led government to back nuclear power as a winner. But what if the winner is also a loser? There's a growing list of questions, questions without satisfactory answers. Last summer the people of Atikokan put everyone on notice that public faith in the beneficence of the atom is running out.

“Atikokan is Everywhere”

BY RANDLE W. NELSEN AND GRAHAM SAUNDERS

Until last summer, few people in this country were aware there even was a town in Northwestern Ontario called Atikokan, let alone that it was being chosen to play an important and controversial role in the development of Canada's nuclear industry.

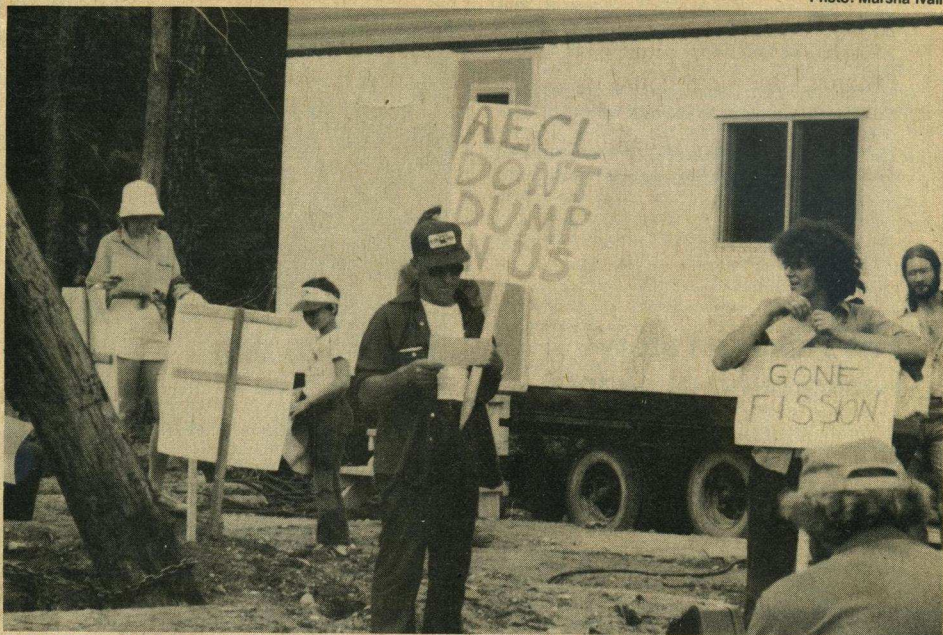
Controversial, because people in northern Ontario today know, from past experience, what can result from close involvement with the nuclear industry. For example, there are the statistics from a study of 90 Elliot Lake uranium miners who died of lung cancer; their average length of work was only three-and-a-half years, and 61 of them had less than the maximum allowable radiation dose according to existing government standards. People pay attention to facts like that.

Then there are more general facts about the industrial-government-crown corporation triangle which currently represents the nuclear industry. Ontario Hydro has overbuilt — 3,400 megawatts of surplus power, 20

percent of the utility corporation's total capacity. Even with current deferrals and cancellations, estimates regarding the cost of Hydro's building plans to its customers run to more than \$7 billion from now until 1983. We have already experienced Hydro rates that have increased by 84 percent during the past five years. What further increases can we expect by the year 2,000, implementing plans for more, unnecessary reactors?

And with what consequences for the people involved? In the case of Elliot Lake, what will the next 20 years of AECL-Hydro partnership bring? There are still no plans to clean up the town — no plans to safely dispose of over 100 million tons of uranium mill tailings which have accumulated there.

It's no wonder that, when the residents of Atikokan heard the term 'nuclear waste and disposal site' being applied to them, they began to react.



Atikokan area residents protest the start of nuclear waste disposal test drilling

The Atikokan story: record of events

- In April 1977, Energy, Mines and Resources Minister Alastair Gillespie commissions chemist A.M. Aiken, geologist J.M. Harrison, and meteorologist F.K. Hare to study and report on "The Management of Canada's Nuclear Wastes". A report (Report EP77-6) bearing this title is published in August 1977 and Northwestern Ontario is fingered as the area for research and development of a nuclear waste disposal site.
- During Winter-Spring 1978, 18,000 people living in Northwestern Ontario begin signing a petition demanding "open public hearings to be held throughout the region" before any decisions are made. At the same time, the Citizens' Committee Studying Nuclear Waste is established in Thunder Bay.
- In April 1978, the Committee on Nuclear Issues in the Community (CNIC) is formed with a federal

government grant and AECL openly begins a public relations campaign in the region.

- On May 8, CNIC holds its first community meeting in Thunder Bay. The audience leaves a message for the expert panel to take back to Ottawa by ending the meeting with passage of a resolution that "a halt to nuclear expansion be declared in Canada".
- On June 5, the federal government and Ontario announce details of their agreement on a plan to select and construct an experimental waste repository.
- By March 1979, AECL has produced Technical Record 30, authored by J. Boulton and E.R. Frech and entitled, "Nuclear Fuel Waste Management Program: An Approach to Community Relations".
- On March 6, 1979 the Atikokan town council agrees to participate in this program, passing a resolution that allows AECL to test drill in the Atikokan area as the start of a two-year geological research project. A total of 1,680 people residing in Atikokan are in the process of signing a petition requesting (1) the council rescind its resolution inviting AECL to test drill and (2) the holding of full public hearings conducted by the federal and provincial governments and a subsequent referendum before any test drilling begins.
- In May the Atikokan town council invites AECL to present its position and a public information meet-

ing is scheduled for May 17, in Atikokan. This meeting is boycotted by many concerned residents and about one-third of the people attending walk out.

- On May 30, AECL announces that it will begin test drilling into Canadian Shield rock formations near Atikokan sometime in July.
- On July 14, some 100 residents from Atikokan, Fort Frances, Thunder Bay, and elsewhere in the Northwestern Ontario region gather in a non-violent demonstration to protest the beginning of test drilling near Eye-Dashwa Lake, 20 kilometres northwest of Atikokan.

The Atikokan story: background of events

The nuclear study as it is now unfolding near Atikokan began well east of this northwestern region of Ontario in March 1977. The citizens of Madoc, Ontario, learn that AECL, as part of its nuclear waste management and disposal plan, has begun operations to test drill at nearby Mount Mariah.

Having already tolerated the construction and operation of an AECL reactor, this latest development is understandably upsetting to local residents, 1,200 of whom gather to voice their angry disapproval in a town meeting well-covered by the media. Evidently, they are taking the provincial public relations message on their licence plates a bit too seriously. Their attempt to "Keep It Beautiful" forces AECL to abandon the Madoc site as Federal Energy Minister Gillespie is obliged to issue a restraining order forbidding AECL to continue its "exploratory" drilling work in the area.

In the month which follows the madness at Madoc, April 1977, Gillespie turns to the supposed emotional neutrality of scientific reporting and commissions *The Management of Canada's Nuclear Wastes*. This report, popularly known as the Hare Report, has been severely and soundly criticized by many scientists (see, for example, the critique by Gordon Edwards and the Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility, *Nuclear Wastes — what, me worry?*) for its incomplete and incorrect information and analysis.

Without repeating detailed criticisms of this scientific research, our interest here is to summarize what the Hare Report authors did to help AECL push the nuclear energy industry into Northwestern Ontario.

First, they shifted attention away from more eastern and southern regions of the province — close to the upper-class homes of a socio-economic elite residing near densely populated urban centres — to the less powerful and populated northwestern region as the prime location for exploratory disposal sites.

Second, the authors permitted AECL representatives to use their scientific credentials to cover the beginnings of an AECL public relations campaign with an ideological cloak of science.

Photo: David Lloyd



Then Energy Minister Alastair Gillespie was forced to abandon the Madoc site

Third, they helped AECL devise a "research" timetable which many scientists less beholden to the nuclear industry consider irresponsible in its artificial time pressure. (In the words of geologists J.A. Cherry and J.E. Gale, "the present schedule for repository site selection and development is unjustifiable on scientific grounds.")

This pressure seemed to be at work in the research and writing of the report itself. That co-author Harrison was formerly employed as a deputy minister by Energy, Mines and Resources (EMR) and co-author Aiken had recently been a vice-president of AECL, may or may not be relevant to the authors' apparent willingness to save time by reducing the complexities of their research to start with the assumption that there is a safe method of nuclear waste disposal.

However, the fact is, as Robert Rosehart of the Royal Commission on Electric Power Planning (the Porter Commission) points out, the report was published after only two months of actual research — only 2 months on what Gillespie admitted is "a very complex issue." In brief, one gains the most fundamental understanding as to the significance of this report by associating its popular title, the Hare Report, not with the meteorologist who chaired the authorship of this hastily produced document but instead, with the reputed speed of his four-legged namesake.

The people of the northwestern region reply to the Hare Report and its disposal timetable with some quickness themselves. By the time AECL begins to draw media attention to its renewed public relations campaign in the Spring of 1978, people who eventually total 18,000 from such places as Atikokan, Dryden, Fort

Frances, Kenora, Sioux Lookout, Thunder Bay, and including about two-thirds of the mature adult population of Marathon and Schreiber, are signing a petition which demands "open public hearings to be held throughout the region" before any decisions are made concerning nuclear waste disposal.

Meanwhile, when time and money permit, representatives of a fast-growing Thunder Bay organization called the Citizens' Committee Studying Nuclear Waste are joined by members of other recently-formed citizens' committees to meet and counter the propaganda of an AECL public relations tour of schools in the northwest.

This AECL PR program is given a shot in the arm with a federal government grant of \$200,000 to the Science Council of Canada. The Council is to begin organizing a series of information meetings and in April 1978 the Committee on Nuclear Issues in the Community (CNIC) is formed, ostensibly to further this end.

CNIC holds its first meeting on May 8, 1978 in Thunder Bay. Co-chairman Pierre Dansereau does not accompany the Committee to Thunder Bay. He is resigning, sharing the fear of many at the meeting that suspicions of a pro-nuclear whitewash may be well-founded given the vague objectives of the Committee. Still, a standing-room-only crowd of over 200 people fills the meeting room of the Arthur Street Library.

The worst misgivings of those who remain adamant that public hearings rather than information meetings should be held are confirmed as panelists, one of whom is Hare Report co-author Harrison, admit that they do not

as yet have the scientific evidence to answer many of the questions being asked.

More important, and far removed from optimistic Hare Report connotations that a simple refinement of *management* techniques is the answer to our worries, is the panel scientists' apparent lack of concern in admitting that many of our questions regarding health and safety issues might never be satisfactorily answered.

It must be emphasized that the poorly-concealed, pro-nuclear leanings of the panelists and the uninformative-ness of the information meeting in Thunder Bay cannot easily be written off as first-meeting jitters or attributed to some other unique condition or occurrence. Rather, the tone set by CNIC at the Thunder Bay meeting is more correctly viewed as characteristic of a discernible pattern repeated with regularity in other information meetings across the country.

Thus, CNIC cancels a public meeting scheduled for Sault Ste. Marie because proponents of nuclear energy from Ontario Hydro, AECL and the Canadian Nuclear Association (CNA) would not be present. It was said that the cancellation was to avoid an unbalanced presentation. Yet, similar concern is not voiced when prominent Canadian nuclear critics are not invited as speakers to a November 1978 Canadian Nuclear Policy Conference held at Carleton University and sponsored in part by the Science Council of Canada.

In March of this year CNIC sponsors a Vancouver conference in which the nuclear establishment — Hydro, AECL, and CNA — is again well-represented and the

"Culture is not something that lies buried in the ground beneath the nation's art centres, waiting to be dug up and shipped out in freight cars. It is a form of information."

— S. M. Crean

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critics of nuclear power and policy are again underrepresented.

Given this *unbalanced* pattern, one is inclined to forgive those who, in identifying strongly with the Committee's acronym (CNIC), pronounced cynic, suggest that the Committee has little difficulty in attracting shivering experts from our land's less hospitable climates who warm to each other's recitals of the benefits of nuclear energy while helping CNIC balance its books at fiscal year's end at a stacked-deck conference in Vancouver.

In short, the Committee's behavior to date does not support CNIC Secretary D. Hunka's claim that "the Committee's primary objective has been to assist Canadian communities in assessing nuclear issues of local concern;" rather, the cynics' cynicism increases as Committee actions continue to reveal the wisdom of the *Globe and Mail's* original assessment that its formation is "aimed at helping communities overcome local fears about nuclear related development."

Local fears were not overcome in the May 8th meeting in Thunder Bay. The meeting ended with near unanimous passage — a handful of abstentions involved representatives of Hydro, AECL, the Atomic Energy Control Board (AECB), and the media — of the following resolution: "Until completely safe methods of dealing with low level waste from uranium mining, high level waste from reactors and final decommissioning of nuclear reactors is proven by neutral scientists (not AECL) that a halt to nuclear expansion (including Darlington) be declared in Canada."

The recommendation contained in this resolution was passed unanimously the next night, May 9th, by the Thunder Bay City Council and again on June 3rd during a one-day energy conference sponsored by the Citizens' Committee and attended by more than 120 residents of the Northwestern Ontario region.

Two days later, on June 5, 1978, the federal government and the province of Ontario announce details of their agreement, a plan calling for selection of an experimental nuclear waste repository by 1983 and the construction of this pilot repository by 1985.

Prominent Canadian geologists criticize the plan as being "absolutely unrealistic" and "totally premature" in terms of both the background information needed and the haste suggested by the proposed timetable; politicians disapprove of the government agreement as having "upstaged" and "overruled" three separate committees.

Significant additional criticism of waste disposal policy comes in a June 7th visit to Thunder Bay of provincial NDP leader Michael Cassidy who notes that the government has failed to acknowledge, much less develop policy regarding the difficult and expensive problem of decommissioning existing nuclear power stations.

An important third party involved in the federal-provincial agreement is Ontario Hydro. There is a good deal of money involved, some \$90 million, and potential benefits for the crown corporation are great. It will pay a relatively small fee to transport spent nuclear fuel bundles to the proposed waste storage and disposal repository, the research and construction costs of which have

been paid for by Ottawa, while retaining ownership of these bundles for possible reprocessing of leftover fuel.

This agreement is well-suited to future plans of both Hydro and AECL who have already joined forces in a February 28, 1977 agreement to proceed with construction of a reprocessing plant as soon as possible.

While Hydro and AECL representatives can afford to grin at the taxpayers' expense, announcements of future mine closings bring grim expressions to the faces of many in Northwestern Ontario. In Atikokan, concern over possible nuclear fallout has to take a backseat to more immediate problems connected with the possible collapse of the town's economic base — a likely result of proposed closings by the area's two major employers, Steep Rock Iron Mines and Caland Ore Company, a subsidiary of Inland Steel of Chicago. (These companies, having extracted all the wealth they profitably can from the hinterland, are now well-advanced towards closing their iron ore mining operations in Atikokan.)

Desperate, on March 6, 1979, a majority of the Atikokan Town Council agrees to allow AECL to start test drilling in the Atikokan area, the beginning of a two-year geological project which is part of AECL's Nuclear Fuel Waste Management Program. Facing economic disaster, Atikokan supporters of the project view the promised creation of 150 jobs (only two truck drivers have been hired so far, to our knowledge) and \$200,000 to \$500,000 worth of local business as simply a small return on the \$90 million they, as taxpayers, helped raise.

Hydro is already spreading its monopolizing grin over the town with a cost inefficient employment project, fulfilling its obligation to the Crown by proceeding with construction of what many believe (and has even been admitted in writing by a government official) is an unnecessary thermal (coal) generating station, in part out of consideration for "the serious social and economic problems facing the Atikokan area". Now AECL is about to join its development partner Hydro in bestowing its largesse on the people of Atikokan.

There is, however, one slight problem for AECL's public relations experts, Boulton and Frech. Even though the AECL project resembles mining operations and promises to help shore up the town's sagging economy, many residents share Town Councillor Moe Shepherd's expressed disappointment that a local referendum has not been called on the issue.

Following announcement of the council resolution, 1,680 people residing in Atikokan sign a petition requesting that council rescind its test drilling invitation to AECL and await the results of holding such a referendum as well as full public hearings.

The 1,680 petition signers looks even larger as an expression of community sentiment when one considers that the entire population of Atikokan is approximately 6,000 people, a figure which includes those too young to have a signature. Ontario Energy Minister James Auld acknowledged in Parliament that the 1,680 figure does constitute a "dilemma" (see *Hansard*, April 27, 1979, p. 1388), since guidelines under which AECL is supposed to operate require community approval before proceeding with waste disposal research.

Photo: Joe Maronic



Trying to hold the public at bay

The 1,680 who signed the petition is nearly twice the number of people who voted in the last municipal election. Thus, the "dilemma": Is the council vote in favor of AECL test drilling an accurate representation of community opinion? Does it mean community approval? Should Minister Auld give his Ministry's approval to AECL's proposal?

Auld's Deputy Minister of Energy, Malcolm Rowan, sends a telex message to Atikokan Reeve Jack Pierce suggesting options for dealing with the "dilemma". The third suggestion on this list is that the town council hold a public information meeting and invite AECL to present its position. Such a meeting is scheduled for May 17th.

Knowledge of a crucial fact is absolutely necessary for a full understanding of events related to this meeting. *It is the first time the public has been invited to a town council meeting in Atikokan at which the AECL is present.* People other than councillors have attended past meetings with AECL representatives present, but the public was not invited. Considering this situation, at least one expectation is not unreasonable: One would think that every attempt would be made to advertise widely and well ahead of time the fact that this meeting is to be held.

However, this is not the case. According to AECL public affairs officer Frech, the decision to hold a Thursday evening meeting was made on Monday evening of the same week. The first advertisement appeared on Cable TV the following day, Tuesday. Official written notice did not appear in the *Atikokan Progress* until late the next day, Wednesday, scarcely 24 hours before the meeting was to begin.

Even so, it was pointed out to Frech that there were many regular readers of the *Progress* who still would not know of AECL's visit because they lived in outlying areas and would not receive their newspapers until the day after the meeting. They might have heard about it on the radio, except for the fact that the local CBC affiliate was not notified.

Contrasting this feeble and late advertising with the oft-repeated promotion AECL gave its nuclear exhibit weeks in advance of opening, many people in Atikokan dismiss the AECL visit as a public relations stunt. Others refuse to attend the meeting because it does not meet the demands of the petition for regional public hearings. Of the remainder who manage to hear about the meeting and decide to attend, one-third leave in protest upon hearing Chairman Pierce respond "no" when questioned as to whether or not a viewpoint differing from AECL's has been invited.

Those who remain hear about AECL's proposal to drill two highly fractured sites near Atikokan. Many are curious as to why a potential repository site should not be as fracture-free as possible.

One whose curiosity had turned to suspicion suggests the following scenario: AECL will drill, examine the results and then reject the sites as not technically suitable. This will serve to demonstrate that AECL is not desperate and is a reputable agency. Armed with this newly-acquired good reputation it could then announce the existence of a technically suitable site. This scenario is easily expanded when PR man Frech shares with those at the meeting his awareness that, "There are also other kinds of rock near Atikokan... that are not cracked" [highly fractured].

Perhaps the site(s) more technically suitable will be found closer to the road being built between Ignace and Atikokan. Perhaps what is being planned is more than a nuclear waste repository — perhaps a nuclear complex, complete with AECL-Hydro's anticipated reprocessing plant and breeder reactors as well.

It seems that these suspicions were not shared by Energy Minister Auld whose ministry somehow manages to see enough evidence of community approval in the proceedings of the May 17th meeting to okay AECL's proposed test drilling in the Atikokan area.

However, the election results of May 22nd clearly indicate community disapproval. Thus, NDP candidate for M.P., Iain Angus, runs a campaign in which he explicitly opposes both storage/disposal and transportation of nuclear waste in the Northwest, and although he loses the Thunder Bay Atikokan riding by a very small margin to well-financed Liberal incumbent Paul McRae, Angus wins in the Atikokan area.

This fact is apparently overlooked by authorities with decision-making power and eight days later, on May 30, AECL announces that it will begin July test drilling into Canadian Shield rock formations near Eye-Dashwa and Marmion Lakes, 20 and 6 kilometres northwest of Atikokan.

On July 14, some 100 demonstrators from several cities in Northwestern Ontario peacefully protest the beginning of test drilling. From the seven to the 75 year old, everyone is forced to trespass on Crown land which

just days earlier was open to the public but which now has been transformed by nuclear powers into a private roadway leading to the drill site at Eye-Dashwa Lake.

While almost everyone carries a sign, one demonstrator totes a large two-sided placard which probably best expresses the feelings of all. His rather lengthy message reads as follows: "We are citizens of the region, representative of the 18,000 people who signed a petition requesting regional hearings into nuclear waste disposal, and we are no longer content to just stand by and wait. We demand that AECL not only stop this test drilling, but also that they remove their equipment and leave the site. We demand open public hearings throughout the region and that these hearings should be conducted, not by AECL, but by a neutral body selected by, and responsible to, the people of Northwestern Ontario. Until our demands are met, we cannot tolerate or accept any further test drilling, regardless of who conducts it." As of this writing, the test drilling continues.

The Atikokan story: interpretation of events

Prior to the well-publicized nuclear "accident" at Three Mile Island in late March, most North American surveys had consistently reproduced a figure of just under two-thirds of the public as being in favor of nuclear power as an energy option. In Canada, it has been found that the other one-third, those people opposed to the use of nuclear power for generating electricity, are most likely to come from lower socio-economic groups.

Perhaps what this segment of our population, this "under-class" as Sociologist Arthur K. Davis calls them, is trying to tell others about nuclear power is somehow related to who they are? Perhaps today's nuclear news is simply the most recent chapter in their dealings with the industrial-government-crown corporation triangle which has been playing havoc with their lives for generations?

In Atikokan, the elderly, whose youth was spent in back-breaking labor building the mines, now stand helplessly by while their children and grandchildren become jobless because the mines are closing. They are not needed anymore because the plan to profitably develop iron ore found under the Steep Rock Lake — the "Eaton Plan" as it was known in Washington, Cleveland, and Ottawa in 1943 — no longer serves to increase the personal and family fortunes of Cyrus S. Eaton, Joseph Errington, Major General Donald Hogarth, his brother-in-law Senator Norman Paterson and their kith and kin.

It is no longer necessary for the Ontario government to help the Eatons and the others to millions by using the Improvement District legislation (1943) to authorize their control and supervision over the boom-town growth of Atikokan. It is no longer necessary for the federal government to give Steep Rock Iron Mines "war industry" status or to use the Canadian National Railways

(CN) to construct a spur line into the minesite, build an ore dock at the Lakehead, and grant the new corporation a freight rate subsidy, all of which saved Eaton's company over three-and-a-half million dollars worth of capital and operating expenses.

Eaton saved another \$1.6 million in capital outlays when a special act of the Ontario Legislature waived the customary deposit for the Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario (HEPCO), the forerunner of Ontario Hydro, to construct a power line from Port Arthur (Thunder Bay) to Steep Rock.

The workers saved next to nothing as HEPCO later charged an exorbitantly high power rate in order to reimburse itself for its capital investment in the line. The workers, in Atikokan and elsewhere, have always paid the bills for the Eatons and the others, with the government playing its traditional role of supervisory enforcer. Perhaps their scepticism regarding AECL-Hydro's most recent proposals for prosperity is a warning informed not only by their evaluations of current events but also by the cumulative weight of their experiences with boom-bust economies.

Maybe their experiences of destroyed lakes and forests near Atikokan and lung cancer in Elliot Lake do not match up with AECL Chairman Ross Campbell's assertions at the March CNIC Conference in Vancouver that "there have been no major accidents involving substantial public damage" and that, "in the 50 reactor years of Canadian operating experience with power reactors, no member of the public has ever been killed or injured, and no worker in the plants has suffered a serious radiation injury."

They might be comparing Campbell's claim of a clean bill of health for the nuclear industry with their knowledge of the increased incidence of cancers, leukemias, respiratory diseases, hardening of the arteries and several other known radiation-related diseases, all of which are also afflictions associated with old age. Maybe they would like to grow old more naturally, perhaps without the aid of radiation effects.

Perhaps they are better able to match their experiences with the following statement issued by the Canadian Medical Association (CMA) in June 1978: "The CMA considers it irresponsible for the government of Canada to allow further development of uranium mining and reactor construction until a safe, proven, permanent disposal technology is developed for the wastes that have already been generated."

Certainly in Atikokan, an increasing number of people are no longer able to match their experiences with AECL's stated approach to community relations: "Emphasis is placed on a complete, open and detailed program of public information. The major thrust of the information program... will be at the community level." (from the Abstract of AECL Technical Record 30, "Nuclear Fuel Waste Management Program: An Approach to Community Relations")

They are asking, is this statement an accurate description of the emphasis placed upon events leading up to and including the May 17th meeting? In comparing practice with pronouncement, they find a fracture which is certainly equal in importance to those found in the rock

formations at the test drilling site.

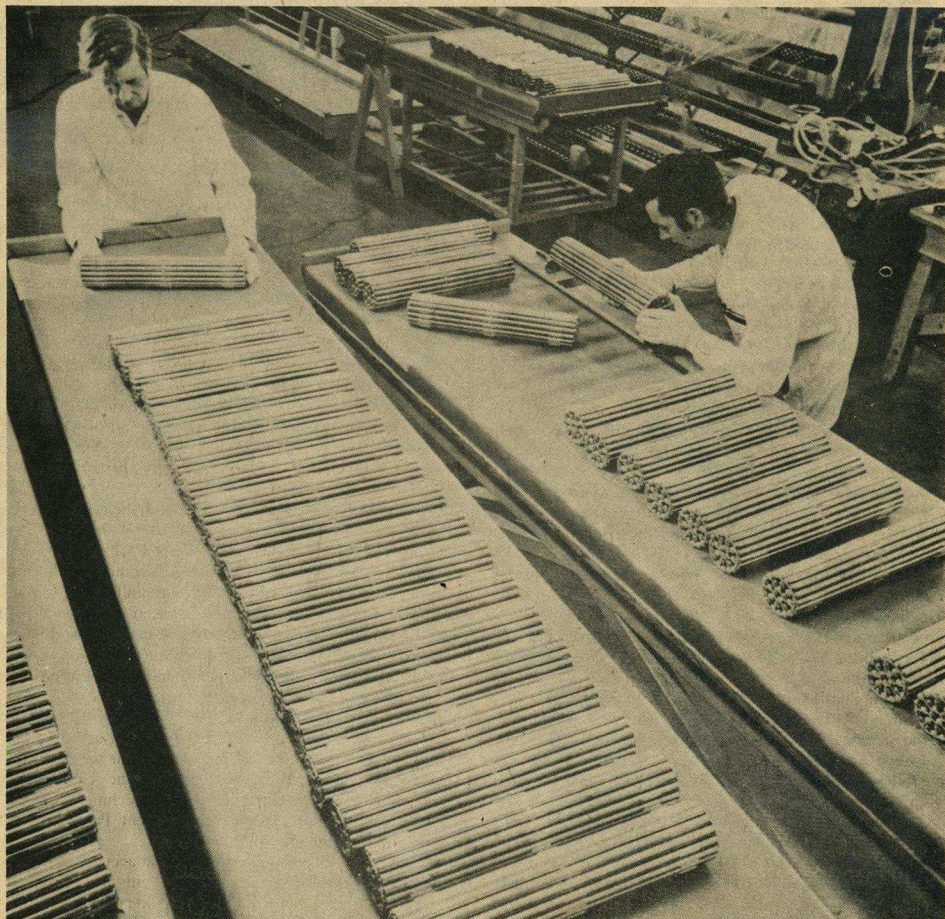
Such a comparison makes it difficult for them to believe that public relations experts, Boulton and Frech, and Campbell's other AECL employees are making adequate attempts to attain the second of their three objectives: "To establish a dialogue with the public at the community level and create an environment of mutual trust and credibility."

To whom, then, can people in Atikokan and elsewhere turn, other than to AECL public relations experts, for answers to their doubts and questions?

Perhaps they should put their trust in experts representing various branches of the scientific community. Yet, it is often difficult not to confuse the scientist experts with those in public relations. Hare Report co-

author Aiken has reminded the public on several occasions — both before, while he was a vice president of AECL, and after publication of the Hare Report — "Disposal is not a technical problem, it is a public relations problem."

Given this statement, J.E. Gander's and F.W. Belaire's concern over "social responsibility" as one of the five "gateways of feasibility" for nuclear power is understandable. (see "Energy Futures for Canadians", EMR Report EP 78-1) However, Gander makes it difficult to share this concern when at the Vancouver CNIC Conference he re-emphasizes the climate of haste suggested by AECL's timetable for nuclear waste disposal: "Canadians face outstanding opportunities if we get on with programs to take advantage of our compara-



Nuclear fuel bundles: will Atikokan have the 'opportunity' of disposing of them?

tively favourable energy position.'

Apparently at least 1,680 people in Atikokan have yet to discover the "outstanding opportunities" their recent energy experience has provided them.

Gander's statement, closer in kind to half-time pep talks and cheerleading than to the reasoned analysis which is supposed to characterize scientific endeavor, might leave them wondering whether Madison Avenue always runs through the heart and head of the scientific community?

Perhaps they should put their trust in government regulation, after all one might argue that for a while the people of Atikokan Improvement District did have their lives improved by government direction — that is, until recently when they lost their jobs.

However, maybe they realize that even if a government committee decides to breathe new life into the nuclear industry by raising provincial to match federal pollution standards and thereby unpollutes the Serpent River, 61 Elliot Lake uranium miners will never breathe again.

Maybe the workers are aware that the Atomic Energy Control Board (AECB) set up to regulate the nuclear industry has only 140 employees, apart from clerical workers, and a 1979-80 operating budget of \$7.3 million — a paltry sum to regulate an industry with operations which run into billions annually.

If so, they were not surprised when testimony in recent Legislative committee hearings in Toronto revealed that inspectors permit "inappropriate action" by nuclear plant operators while carrying out informal inspections which require no specific checklist or formal reviews of operating procedure; that AECB safety standards have been breached consistently at Ontario Hydro's four nuclear power stations; and that at one of these stations, Rolphton, there aren't even any AECB inspectors on site. As AECB official Hugh Spence, giving testimony as to who is responsible for worker and public health, put it: "The board can set up the guidelines . . . but the main onus for safety is on the operator of the plant."

The workers in Atikokan and elsewhere in Northwest Ontario know from personal experience that industrialists, whether they are operating in iron ore or nuclear power, will *not* regulate themselves. Contemplating the testimony of Spence and other AECB officials, it must look to them as if the nuclear industry is already doing an excellent job of monitoring and regulating the regulatory board of the government.

This kind of government is not new to them — they are used to so-called democratic arrangements which leave them without both effective voice and representative government agencies. They are well aware that AECL-Hydro-EMR public relations talk of community involvement, "disinterested" and neutral science, and government regulatory boards is not going to bring the burgeoning nuclear energy industry under more democratic procedures such as public hearings and local referendums, mechanisms which at least allow for some public input and control. In short, what many are aware of and trying to tell other Canadians with regard to the nuclear industry is quite simply just another chapter in

the continuing story of risks shared unequally between themselves and the powerful.

These risks go beyond the kinds of rock formations best suited for the storage of nuclear wastes to the quality of life experienced by relatively powerless and isolated laborers residing in what are essentially working class towns. The energy entrepreneurs evidently believe that the people of Atikokan, Ignace, Thunder Bay and similar places are easier to push around than laborers and white-collar support workers in the more heavily populated centres like Windsor, Toronto, and Ottawa — centres next to which the energy entrepreneurs make their homes.

But, these entrepreneurs might be making a mistake. The workers are not the only ones who realize that the nuclear industry is capital and not labor intensive in the long-run, and that in the short-run it creates highly technical jobs for imported and not local workers. They are not the only ones concerned about the role of nuclear energy in the expansionary logic of boom-bust economies which concentrate power at the centre — centres of power where decisions, made without adequate local input, affect hinterland economies all over the globe. Their numbers are growing and include a good many from the 80 percent of Canadians who identify themselves as "middle class." The continued attempts to divide people — blue collar from white collar, local worker from import, hinterland from urban centre, North from South, etc. — may not work.

The last chapter in the Atikokan story has not been written yet. A growing number of people are seeing beyond Elliot Lake, Atikokan, Ignace and Thunder Bay, and are beginning to understand the significance world-wide development of the nuclear energy industry has for them.

They are part of the non-expert public — part of a recent survey (1978) of Ontario industrial employees, over 90 percent of whom would delay economic growth by banning the use of new chemicals found "harmful"; and more than 75 percent of whom disagree with almost 75 percent of entrepreneurial owners who claim that there is no danger to health and safety resulting from working conditions. Part of a growing number of people who a relatively few energy entrepreneurs must control if they are going to realize what they calculate as potentially huge profits to be made from expanding the nuclear industry. Part of a group of people less interested in the assets of profitability and more concerned with accountability to the public for this expansion.

In sum, they are part of a growing movement of people who are increasingly cynical regarding the global nature of the energy entrepreneurs' appetites — who know that premature deaths due to open-pit mining in Elliot Lake and in Saskatchewan, destruction of the natural environment in Northern Ontario, breaches of nuclear reactor containment in Southern Ontario and the United States, and the introduction of radionuclides into world food chains, connect both workers who pay with their lives and the most powerful energy owners who extract this payment on a world-wide basis.

In the succinct words used by several of the Atikokan demonstrators, they know that "Atikokan is everywhere".

Let's all go to the NDP Convention

Almost 2,000 people, including 1,200 delegates, took time to attend the 10th biennial convention of the New Democratic Party in Toronto on November 22-25. For the 22.98 million Canadians who missed the opportunity, *Angus Ricker* presents an informal alphabetical guide to the NDP in convention. It may help explain why millions continue to forgo the pleasure of attending party conventions.

* * *

APPARATCHIKS, PARTY — Exist only in the third person as in: "I am convention staff, you are a party worker, he is an apparatchik. He does all the wheeling and dealing that we would never consider doing."

* * *

BROADBENT, E. — Leader and unquestioned *uno, numero*. Entitled to make three speeches per convention and does. Rest of convention is entitled to listen and supply standing ovations.

* * *

CAUCUS, OPEN — Media- and self-styled successor to the Waffle Group (R.I.P. — D. and S. Lewis). Can be counted on to keep alive the spirit of the Regina Manifesto and lose critical policy votes.

* * *

COMMUNICATIONS, PARTY — *Establishment, The*, knows the revolutionary value of controlling the convention communications system. Thus everything down to the walkie-talkies on the floor are in "safe hands." Timely for directing the right people into the right debate for the right voting result. See *Establishment, The*.

* * *

DEMOCRAT, SOCIAL — Not to be confused with democratic socialist except during party conventions when everyone is a socialist for a weekend. Social democrat is a term popularized by *Schreyer, E.* and look where it got him.

* * *

ESTABLISHMENT, THE — On the right side of every debate and vote. A.K.A. as "us against them;" "the



THE N.D.P. HAS ALL
OF THE ANSWERS
EVEN THOUGH WE
HAVE A PROBLEM
FORMULATING
QUESTIONS

ED USUAL

AUG 77

moderates versus the radicals" and "the party regulars stomp the crazies." By controlling the convention and its works, the establishment makes certain nothing foolish appears in *Media, The*. Price is absence of neutral convention staff. See *Communications, Party*.

* * *

HUMOR — There is no humor at NDP conventions as only amendments to the main motion are allowed on the floor. Talk of assorted backroom cynics is the unprintable in pursuit of the unspokeable. See *Mather, Barry*.

* * *

ITT — ITT, the corporation that brought you Dita Beard's memo and fun in Chile, also owns the Sheraton Centre, Toronto, the meeting place of the federal NDP convention. The NDP favored the Hilton chain's Harbour Castle but, in the spirit of cut-throat capitalism, the Sheraton Centre underbid by several thousand dollars. Sorry about this play of market forces, Senor Allende.

* * *

LABOUR, BIG — Big labour has big influence with the NDP. This is a function of big battalions with big money. Still missing is the big labour NDP vote. A big pity.

* * *

MATHER, BARRY — Newspaper columnist and ex-*MP*. Last known New Democrat with a public sense of humour, retired 1974.

* * *

McDERMOTT, DENNIS — *Conspicuous by absence, his*. Party most anxious to avoid repetition of slanging between CLC president Dennis and J.C. Parrott, CUPE, etc. Prior intrigue by Dennis to unseat CUPE's NDP vice-president Kealey Cummings unsuccessful.

* * *

MEDIA, THE — *Cover convention, hardly*. Very big on *Establishment, The*, smashing *Caucus, Open*. Happy to substitute Open Caucus for Waffle to complete this year's version of party conflict. Rest too complicated and too boring to do anything about except ignore. With 200 media registered there is a lot of ignoring to do in bars and "hospitality" rooms.

* * *

NAIVETE, SHOCKING — Rank and file delegates occasionally show shocking naivete about their convention importance by crashing the VIP suite and other misdemeanours. To the convention delegate who complained: "Do we have to sit there and look at those (hot, bright TV) lights?" came back this shameless reply from the chairman: "Yes, I guess we do." The chairman has been awarded the NDP Mass Communications trophy for sustained salivating in the direction of a TV camera.

* * *

POLICY, PARTY — NDP conventions exist for the purpose of passing party policy resolutions. To ensure everyone gets a kick at the cat each resolution is debated four times. The prolonged discussion also ensures that ticklish subjects such as abortion, elections, organization, etc., aren't discussed.

I NEVER LET
RIGHT WING NOW
WHAT MY LEFT
IS DOING



* * *

POLICY, QUEBEC — Party has debated the same resolution since 1971 on Quebec "auto determination." It still hasn't passed because this policy was effectively squashed by *Trudeau, P.* in 1968. Thus the party motto has become: "No truck or trade with the separatists (at least until after the referendum)."

* * *

PROFILE, LOW — As in *Blakeney, A.* and *Barrett, D.* Provincial stars are careful to shine dimly (by invitation) in the federal firmament. Helps especially when the major provincial party sections are at each other's throats over uranium, oil and gas policies.

* * *

RAE, NORMA — Will the real Norma Rae please stand up? Convention special guest Crystal Lee Sutton said the

20th Century Fox film was an unauthorized version of her life and she had already told a U.S. television network that she didn't think much of the union that was representing the North Carolina textile workers she organized. And if she had checked around the Sheraton Centre she would also have found some boycotted J.P. Stevens tablecloths that hadn't been "phased out" yet. Sorry about these technical difficulties, Crystal Lee.

* * *

RULES, THE — New Democrats debate rules of procedure with the intricate tenacity of 1,200 Stanley Knowles's. Favourite recourse of the long-suffering chairman is to say blandly: "I'm in the hands of the convention" as he stuffs another challenge to the chair. Delegates can be counted on to rally to some version of the Orwellian cue: "Two legs bad, four legs good."

* * *

SECTIONS, PROVINCIAL — Biggest in members and money are Ontario, Saskatchewan and B.C. and each must be appeased in both party offices and policy. Another vice-president added this convention and Saskatchewan gave up one to B.C. to help retain the party presidency and to assist secondary provinces such as the Maritimes. Comers: Newfoundland, Yukon. Special charity case: Manitoba, in debt to the federal party up to its ears.

* * *

SLATE, THE — Substitutes for the "election process" at NDP conventions. All provincial parties and organized labour and others meet in individual caucuses to designate their candidates. The number of positions available per caucus is divided up by horse trading and power brokerage in the slate committee. Every slate candidate was elected except those who won by acclamation. Since the process is born and consummated in the back room, the slate committee is euphemistically known as "Committee A."

* * *

TELEVISION — Any network, any time slot, welcomed with open arms. Many media events are staged to get TV attention but this year the NDP was upstaged by the *Cup*, *Grey* and the *Party, Liberal*. NDP brainstormers were hoping to recoup exposure losses by getting someone to do a streak. "Uh, Ed. . . ."

* * *

SCHREYER, E. — No longer in party vogue because of *Trudeau, P.* and *Kierans, E.* Not thought of as a New Democrat but okay for a Governor-General if there's going to be one. NDP strategists with black dispositions envision him as a future Liberal leadership candidate.

* * *

SOCIALISM, DEMOCRATIC — The guiding light of the NDP is democratic socialism. Most New Democrats in Canada see so little of it they make biennial pilgrimages in the off season just to talk about it. Many disputes over who is true keeper of the true socialist flame, leading contender is *Rodriguez, J.* who led "the number of angels dancing on the head of a pin" argument over whether public ownership is "the" tool or "a" tool for the NDP.

* * *

STAGERS, OLD — Old stagers never die, especially in the NDP. Some party members believe M.J. Coldwell is still alive and he does live on as party martyr and saint. *Douglas, T.C.* and *Lewis, D.* are sources of party spiritual uplift and residual hatchetmanship respectively. *Knowles, S.* has associate status; *Argue, H.* is in the outer darkness of the Canadian Senate.

* * *

TROTS, THE — Run to all NDP conventions brandishing copies of *Socialist Voice* and other publications. The Trotskyist party line is "stop the sell-out to the bosses by the weak-kneed NDP lackeys by supporting the NDP." Schizophrenics encouraged. Anti-Trot medicine regularly dispensed by NDP officers with ultimate deterrent being the Leon Trotsky Memorial Icepick.

* * *

TRUDEAU, P. — Twelve-year curse on the NDP, and even his 'leaving' of politics was so unbecoming as to drag the TV cameras away from the convention.

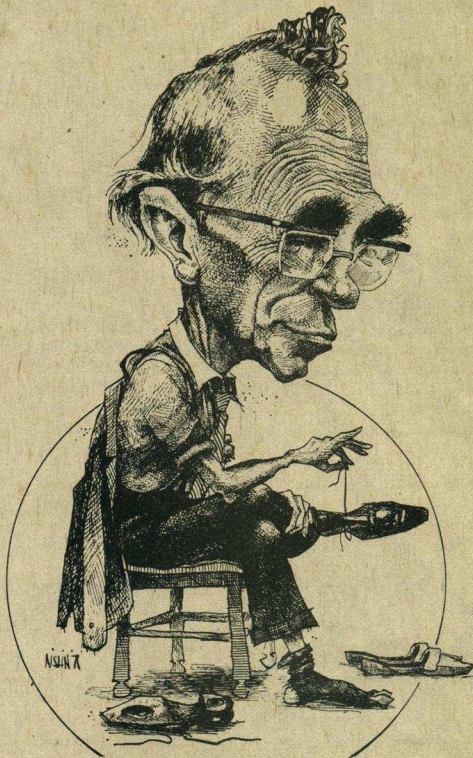
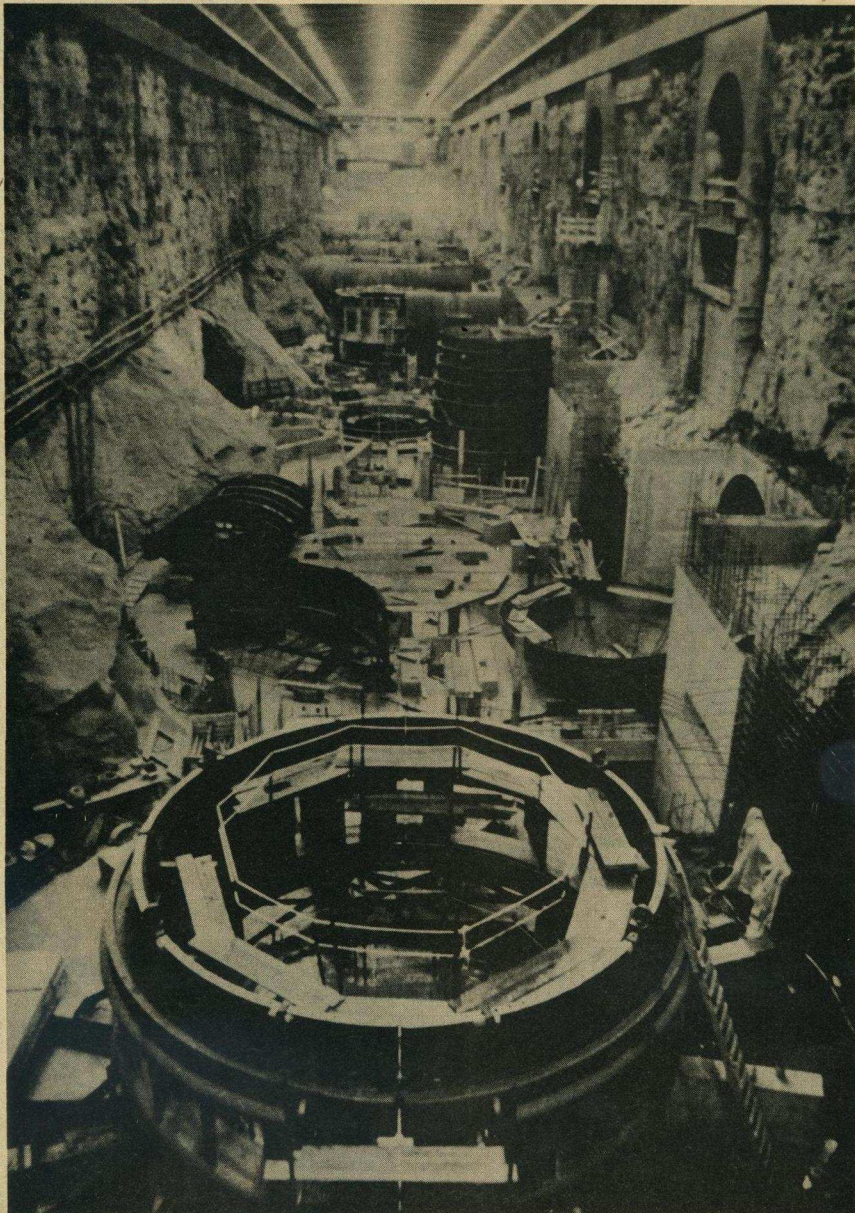


Photo: James Bay Energy Corp.



Turbines being installed during the construction phase of the James Bay hydro-electric project

When power surged south from the James Bay project last Oct. 27, it was a triumphant day for Quebecers, and especially for the man who started it all, former Premier Robert Bourassa. But who will the power go to? How will future James Bays be financed? Phase one of the project is also only phase one of the story.

James Bay: Bourassa comes in from the cold

by Eliot Holmes

Robert Bourassa was looking good that day. It was Oct. 27, 1979, and the oversized cafeteria at the LG-2 hydroelectric site near James Bay was festooned like a Christmas tree gone berserk. The long buffet tables were groaning — nay, squealing — under tons of lobster, roast beef, shrimp, ham, crab legs and a greater profusion of fresh vegetables, fruits and French pastry than has been seen north of the 54th parallel in quite some time.

The room was packed with construction workers, some 1,500 of them, wearing the best clothes they had brought with them to the bush. All around were Hydro-Quebec officials, politicians and Wall Street bankers flown in at public expense to witness the inauguration of the biggest underground hydroelectric plant in the world. French and Italian wines were flowing generously, and everybody seemed to be in an exuberant mood.

In the receiving line, alongside Hydro-Quebec president Robert Boyd, Quebec Energy Minister Yves Bérubé and a select number of other dignitaries, stood a tall, thin man who less than three years earlier was reviled throughout Quebec and was so unpopular that he had to seek exile in Belgium. But this was Bourassa's day.

At the signal, hundreds of construction workers descended upon the buffet tables, putting a horde of locusts to shame, and the waiters whose job it was to serve the VIPs at special tables also sprang into action.

With everyone finally sated, the speech-making began. Lucien Saulnier, the Hydro-Quebec chairman, started listing some of the people present. At the mention of Premier René Lévesque, a great cheer went up, and individual members of the crowd could be heard shouting "oui", the rallying-cry of the *indépendantistes* in this spring's referendum on Quebec's constitutional future. But the loudest cheers of all were reserved for that man with the pointy nose and the horn-rimmed glasses, the one who had been written off after the 1976 election.

A couple of hours later, Lévesque headed over to the huge underground powerhouse for the symbolic throwing of the switch that would send tons of icy water cascading through the first turbine group and unharness countless megawatts of electric power. Lévesque threw the switch, the megawatts surged more than 1,000 kilometres south to Montreal and, before Lévesque could take more than a couple of steps from the big control panel, he was greeted by a man in a trenchcoat with his right arm outstretched. News photographers held their cameras at the ready, Lévesque hesitated slightly, and then he firmly reached out and shook hands with Robert Bourassa, his political foe of the last decade. Bourassa's moment of triumph had come.

It was a very different scene eight-and-a-half years earlier, the evening of April 22, 1971. The scene was the Quebec Coliseum, packed with Liberals who had brought



Former Premier Robert Bourassa; the outcast who's come in from the cold

their party to power exactly a year earlier with the promise of 100,000 jobs. The job-creation record those first 12 months had been none too impressive, and the previous October the Quebec government had appeared to crumble under the combined assault of the FLQ and Pierre Trudeau's War Measures Act.

Those Liberal supporters gathered in Quebec City were hungry for words of encouragement, for some spark of imagination, and slowly the arena was cast into darkness and an elaborate slide show came on, extolling the might of Quebec's northern rivers and promising the creation of many thousands of jobs thanks to the "project of the century" — the James Bay hydroelectric project.

On the road to what he thought was going to be his political salvation, Bourassa neglected a few details. For instance, Hydro-Quebec had long ago carried out hydrographic studies of the James Bay watershed, but they still hadn't produced the sort of detailed feasibility studies on hydroelectric development that would normally have been the horse before the cart in this sort of announcement. Yes, the rivers were there, but which ones should be harnessed first? Bourassa thought it should be three rivers in the southern part of the region, the Nottaway, Broadback and Rupert. Later studies showed, however, that La Grande Rivière, the one the Cree call Chisasibi, would deliver more power at less cost, and plans had to be hastily revamped. Bourassa also neglected to get detailed cost estimates, the sort of thing Wall Street bankers like to see before they're ready to give the go-ahead. Nor had he paid much attention to the environmental impact or to the thousands of Cree people living in the area, who were given no more consultation than a swarm of mosquitos. Years later, Bourassa was to say that if he had waited for all the studies to be done and

all the agreements to be signed, the project would never have got going. But his damn-the-torpedos attitude was to be costly in many ways.

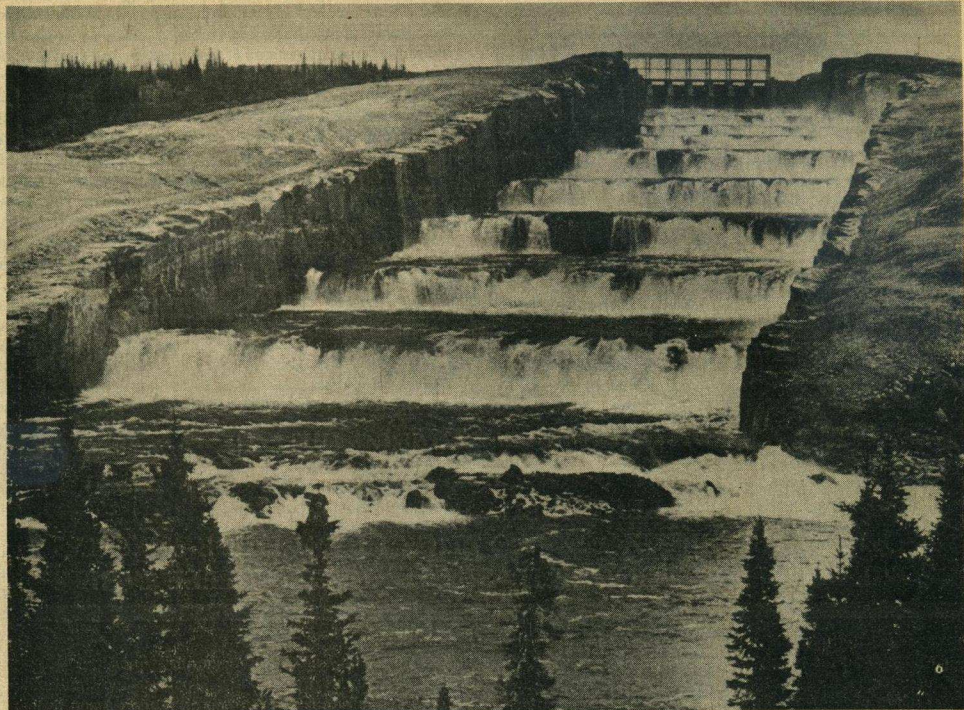
The scene switches again, this time to Montreal's hideous, black-walled *Palais de Justice* late in 1973. Mr. Justice Albert Malouf of Quebec Superior Court has just granted an interlocutory injunction requested by the Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec and the Northern Quebec Inuit Association ordering the James Bay construction sites shut down because the government and its construction arm, the James Bay Energy Corporation, had failed to take account of the native title to the land.

The Quebec Court of Appeal met in the same courthouse a few days later and overturned the injunction, but not before much of the Quebec political and legal world had been stunned by defeat in the initial round of a David-and-Goliath struggle. It was only afterwards that the government started taking the land claims negotiations more seriously.

Something else happened the following February. Workers at LG-2, the biggest of the work sites, were unhappy with cramped living conditions, stuffed two to a room in rows of mobile barracks, with 12 rooms in each tiny unit. They were also unhappy with what they considered the arrogant attitude of their overseers, led by officials of Bechtel Inc., the giant San Francisco-based engineering firm, brought in by Bourassa because he wanted to keep government-owned Hydro-Quebec from taking full control and becoming too powerful. A man named Yvon Duhamel, a staunch trade unionist, took the controls of a giant bulldozer. Like a hot knife through butter, he did away with electric generating facilities that provided power to the work camp. Wham, other support facilities fell by the wayside as the bulldozer continued its relentless march, with security people hardly lifting a finger to stop it. And when Duhamel was finished, he had shut down the LG-2 site more effectively than any court injunction could have done. An emergency airlift was mounted to fly workers out of the stricken camp in the bitter February cold.

Those unhappy days are long past. Following the recommendations of a special commission of inquiry, the government ordered the construction unions to clean shop and put an end to the vicious inter-union raiding which had led to spectacular scenes of violence. The government and employers at the James Bay site took their lumps, too. It appeared that Paul Desrochers, Bourassa's dirty tricks man, had arranged a highly questionable deal which promised supremacy to unions affiliated with the Quebec Federation of Labour — at the expense of the Confederation of National Trade Unions — on the understanding that the QFL would bar strikes. The employers certainly weren't unhappy about that!

At the native land claims talks, negotiators worked hard. The Cree and the Inuit were forced to resign themselves to seeing the project go ahead and the hunting and trapping land that had sustained generations of their ancestors flooded or rendered barren by changes in wildlife migration patterns. But they drove what they considered a tough bargain. They won exclusive hunting, fishing and trapping rights on large tracts of the James Bay territory, they received cash settlements which will total at least \$225 million and, perhaps most important in the long run, the right



A man-made spillway at the James Bay project

to control their regional government, their education and their social affairs and to get out from under the heavy hand of the Indian affairs department in Ottawa.

The Cree and Inuit still aren't happy to see their land altered by the project. But they say the deal was the best they could have got under the circumstances, and they seethe when they are accused of selling out. John Ciaccia, the chief government negotiator of the settlement that was finally signed in November, 1975, says he had to work harder to get the Quebec government and the James Bay Energy Corporation to accept the deal than to get the natives to accept it. The job now is to see that the governments in Quebec and Ottawa stick to their side of the deal, something that may become trickier as memories of the Malouf injunction begin to fade.

Even after labour peace and native agreement allowed the project to push ahead more or less unfettered, there was still some pretty strong opposition from one group of people — the leaders and spokesmen of the Parti Quebecois. The project was costing too much, they said, spending was running out of control, and Quebec's energy future could be assured more cheaply using — you guessed it — nuclear power. The PQ launched vitriolic attacks against the project in the Quebec National Assembly, in the press and even on the hustings in the 1976 provincial election.

But once they got into power, they did a faster about-face than even Joe Clark can manage. Just weeks after his election sweep, Lévesque visited LG-2 and came away saying that he had always liked hydro dams, hardly a surprising confession coming from the man who nationalized the privately-owned power companies in 1962 to build Hydro-Quebec into what it is — North America's most profitable electric utility (1978-79 profits: \$523 million).

Once the PQ had got the nuclear egg off its face, it could start bragging about what James Bay meant to Quebec's economic future — and to Quebec's ability to go it alone. And the numbers are impressive. The three initial hydro dams on the La Grande River will be able to produce 10,269 million watts of electricity. That's enough to keep 171 million 60-watt bulbs glowing all at once. The electricity will cost about 2.8 cents per kilowatt-hour, a lot more than Hydro-Quebec's existing network but considerably less than Ontario will be paying for the nuclear plants it is building (and whose wastes it still has no idea how to handle).

During the summer, when Quebec's electricity use is about 35 per cent lower than in the dark of winter, New York air conditioners are hungry for the power, and New Yorkers pay a stiff price. (Last year's export sales were worth \$134 million for Hydro-Quebec, and that's bound to keep going higher.) But Phase One of the James Bay project

isn't coming cheaply: If all the pennies it's costing to build the dams and transmission lines were laid side to side, they would reach to some distant planet. And if gumballs still cost just a cent each, you could buy 1.51 trillion of them for the same price.

Nobody is suggesting that Quebec needs 1.51 trillion gumballs. But this is where we stumble again upon the man with the slicked-back hair and the big upper lip who used to be in charge of things in Quebec.

Bourassa is going around telling everyone who has the time to listen that what Quebec really needs is as many big hydro projects as it can build just as quickly as it can build them. He's talking about going full throttle ahead with Phase Two of the La Grande project and of building a string of dams right now on the Great Whale River and, for good measure, of moving with vigor to exploit the hydraulic resources of the Nottawa, Broadback and Rupert rivers.

He says the Yanks are paying top dollar for electric power these days and would even be willing to finance an accelerated construction program against promises of supply. The billions that would flow in later could fill the coffers of an Alberta-type heritage fund that could be used to build steel mills and petrochemical plants and all manner of great and glorious monuments to Quebec's industrial future. The scheme has a certain superficial attractiveness to it, and in fairness, it makes more sense that buying trillions of gumballs. Bourassa has wowed business groups with his proposal, and he's being taken a lot more seriously now that the James Bay project he defended through thick and thin is starting to look so good.

But there are hitches, some very serious ones. First of all, the \$15.1 billion that are going into the first phase of the La Grande project, with its three main dams and its diversions of mighty rivers and its thousands of kilometres of high-tension transmission lines, are putting quite a dent into Hydro-Quebec's capital resources. Not even the moguls of Wall Street and Zurich are willing to lend the provincial utility very much more than the \$2 billion a year it's borrowing now. Hydro-Quebec plans to go ahead with all the above-mentioned projects, but at a more measured pace.

As for the argument that eventual foreign customers will be more than happy to pay for an acceleration of work, it fails to take into account that in gluttonous North American fashion, Quebecers are increasing their electricity consumption at a rate of seven per cent a year, with most new buildings being electrically heated and many older buildings being converted to electric heat.

Anybody who's going to tie up a lot of his own money building hydro dams in the middle of some remote stretch of taiga in a foreign country is going to want an assurance that he'll get all the power he wants from the dams for a period of, say, 20 years.

At Quebec's annual rate of increase, power demand will quadruple in 20 years, and Hydro-Quebec's measured pace of construction will just barely keep up with that demand. If that electricity were pre-sold to feed somebody's hair-dryer or vacuum cleaner in New York in the year 2000, a lot of people in Quebec would go cold. The PQ, so quick in the past to accuse Bourassa of mortgaging Quebec's future, is curiously silent on this one. Gumballs, anyone?

Meanwhile, work pushes ahead on the nearly completed LG-2 and also on the LG-3 and LG-4 dams further up the La

Grande River. (LG-1, situated between LG-2 and the mouth of the river, won't be built until later.) Hundreds of giant earth-moving machines and trucks as high as two-storey buildings move mountains of earth and gravel, piling on around the clock like an army of enormous ants.

The men who operate them (women construction workers are few and far between at James Bay) aren't there because they like the little-improved living quarters, or the monotonous cafeteria meals, or the bitter winter cold, or the heavy artillery of summer black flies, or the isolation amidst the stunted northern forest, or the fact they must live away from their families (only bosses can bring their families up), or the strict security, or the lack of feminine companionship, or the 10-hour-a-day, six-day-a-week minimum work week.

They're there because unemployment is high almost everywhere else in Quebec and because they make a lot of overtime pay and because if they're the least bit careful they can salt away a bundle of money — an average of at least \$400 a week *after* taxes. Food and lodging are paid for, return air tickets are provided for a few days' holiday leave every two months and the recreational facilities — ranging from indoor hockey rinks to pottery classes — are better than they used to be.

The area under the dictatorial control of the Municipality of James Bay — council members are government-appointed — is immense: 350,000 square kilometres, two-thirds the size of France, five times the size of New Brunswick. Anybody entering or leaving has to have a visa issued by the James Bay Energy Corporation or its sister body, the James Bay Development Corporation (Bourassa had intended these two bodies to be independent of Hydro-Quebec, but Hydro won the day and tumed the energy corporation into a subsidiary).

It's almost like an autonomous republic, with its own border guards, its own security service, its own telephone company and its own airline. It extends from the 49th parallel up to the 55th and from James Bay east to, near the Labrador border; only a few long-established enclaves are free of its authority. It is, in a certain respect, Quebec's Siberia. Even the vegetation is the same — grey spruce, black pine and tamarack forests clinging tenuously to thin layers of moss and to the ubiquitous grey rock.

But the payoff will be handsome for Quebec. As long as the rain falls and the rivers flow, there will be an endless supply of cheap, clean electricity. Enormous artificial lakes — one of them half the size of Prince Edward Island — have formed over the land that belonged to the Indians for so many generations. Nature has been brutally violated, and 60 or so workers have died in work accidents. Quebecers will be paying the interest in multi-billion-dollar loans for decades to come. But they'll be able to cook their meals, heat their homes, light their offices and power their factories thanks to water from the great northern rivers, billions of inexhaustible gallons of it.

If Quebec had listened to the PQ in the early and middle '70s, it would have forsaken "obsolete" hydroelectric technology in favour of "cheap" nuclear power.

We've all learned since that nuclear power isn't so cheap. It looks like Bourassa took the right decision, even though he did it in the wrong manner and for the wrong reasons.

Sterling Lyon's government is faltering, but the NDP can't get on track.

From Ed Schreyer to Howard Pawley

by DAVE SERGEANT

Photo: Grant Wichenko

Two years into its term of office, Manitoba Premier Sterling Lyon's government is springing leaks like the Titanic. The province's population is declining, a Tory MLA has been charged with conspiring to traffic in drugs, the commission on government insurance turns out to include a not-so-former insurance agent, and the government seems to be on the verge of breaking an election promise to the people of Brandon.

Nevertheless, the provincial New Democratic Party, which ought to be riding high, can't seem to get on track, winning only one of the three byelections held this fall and failing to shut the Liberals out of office provincially, despite the fact the Grits have been leaderless for a year.

* * *

During the 1977 provincial election, Sterling Lyon and Brandon Conservative Ed McGill promised that McKenzie Steele Briggs Seeds, a nationally-important, government-owned seed packing company, would not be sold when the Tories started to unload the NDP's crown corporations.

This summer the company was put on the block. Lyon and the minister responsible for the company, Bob Banman, said that what had been meant in 1977 was that McKenzie Seeds was "not one of those silly socialistic" ventures that would be sold off as a matter of course. But, on investigation, the Tories felt it would be best to sell it.

The NDP protested that the decision put the jobs of 250 people in jeopardy because a multinational seed company could buy the firm to gain access to its customers and then close down the Brandon plant. The provincial government turned around and solicited bids from three multinational seed firms.

Lyon assured people he was not in



Howard and Adele Pawley: a victory never in doubt

the business of exporting jobs from Brandon and promised that the company would not be sold if there were a chance the plant would be moved, but people remain worried all the same.

As that affair was clearing up, the government announced the composition of its commission on public auto insurance. The chairman, an ex-IBM executive from British Columbia said that, as far as he was concerned,

Quebec had the most exciting automobile insurance program in the country. The Quebec system allows the government to handle all of the expensive, low-profit personal injuries, while the private sector takes the profitable portion.

While the opposition was demanding Burn's resignation the *Winnipeg Free Press* reported that James Cox, who had sold his insurance business a few

years ago, was being retained "for a nominal fee" as an adviser. Cox said he saw no conflict of interest in his retaining a connection to the insurance business.

Then came the fall clincher for the Tories. Bob Wilson, the MLA from Wolseley, was arrested on charges of conspiring to traffic. While some wondered if this was part of Lyon's plan to create a good atmosphere for private enterprise, Wilson was excluded from the caucus office. When he was under investigation, police had tapped the phones of the Tory caucus.

Wilson's arrest was not without its ironies. In the early seventies, as a city councillor he had requested that the federal government increase the minimum penalty for trafficking. As well, he had been a strong opponent of half-way houses in his constituency.

But if things were not working out for Sterling Lyon, they didn't seem to be looking up for the New Democrats who have lost some of the momentum they picked up during the federal election campaign. They managed to hang on to Ed Schreyer's seat in a close byelection, but the results were not the "rising up angry" that will be needed to win the next provincial election.

It didn't help when J. Frank Syms, who ran for mayor of Winnipeg in June and lost, who ran for the House in May and lost, who sought a provincial nomination in 1977 and lost, quit the party in as graceless and mischievous a manner as possible in late August.

Syms was leaving because the NDP had, he felt, been taken over by Marxist radicals. He cited the support some NDPers had given to Communist Joe Zugen in the mayoral election.

Pressed for the names of prominent NDP Marxist radicals, Syms drew guffaws when at the top of his list appeared CLC President Dennis McDermott (McDermott is himself on a raucous Marxist hunt these days). After him came Manitoba Federation of Labor President Dick Martin, NDP leadership candidate Muriel Smith, Churchill MLA Jay Cowan and the new provincial secretary, John Walsh, whose major crime seems to have been being active in the United Auto Workers union when he worked for Chrysler.

Although Syms' charges had a strong aura of farce and sour grapes about them they did serve to derail some of the momentum built up during the federal election. As well, they contributed

to a public perception that without Ed Schreyer the party is rudderless.

When Ed Schreyer resigned, many people thought the ensuing leadership race would serve to focus interest on the party, increase membership and allow it to break away from the image of tired government that had plagued the last years of Schreyer's administration.

Instead, the convention was an almost painful embarrassment. There were only 800 delegates who barely half-filled the Winnipeg convention centre. And although Howard Pawley's election was never really in doubt, his support was somewhat less than enthusiastic. One delegate quipped that people were voting for Howard "because Muriel [Smith], doesn't have a seat and Russ [Doern] doesn't have a brain."

A series of all candidate meetings were held throughout the province in an attempt to stir up enthusiasm for the race. At them Pawley, the former attorney-general in the Schreyer administration, and Russ Doern, the former public works minister, spent most of their time attacking the Tory government.

Although Muriel Smith did put more time into defining her position on issues, she was never able to establish a broader base of support. The support she did have was more committed. At the convention itself she gave a strong speech asking for support in building a socialist province. Pawley stressed that he was a moderate of the Schreyer mould, and attempted to prove it with a rambling anti-Tory speech full of garbled syntax worthy of the Governor-General himself.

Many feel that Pawley as leader will try to more closely reflect the views of the party — as opposed to Schreyer, who viewed it as little more than an electoral machine.

Doern, who entered the race late and collected only 53 votes, provided one of the conference's few bright spots when his workers distributed a one-page flyer called "The Wit and Wisdom of Russell Doern". Most delegates thought, wrongly, that the witless one-liners were a "dirty trick" by the Pawley camp.

Like the leadership race, the resolution debate showed little sign of adventure or even life. Former cabinet ministers regularly started their speeches by saying "I agree with this resolution in principle, but feel we should not bind

caucus by anything so specific."

The convention's nadir came with the debate on a proposed reproductive health clinic. The clinic, which would deal with all aspects of human reproduction, was attacked by former Health Minister Larry Desjardins as an abortion mill.

Even though it was pointed out that the clinic could not do anything that was illegal, and would ultimately lead to a reduction, not an increase in abortion, through extended counselling and education services, Desjardins claimed that he was being asked to choose between his party and his church. A substitute resolution, stating that the NDP would provide any legal health services, was eventually passed.

On another issue, there was open disagreement between much of the caucus and the convention on the issue of whether scabs should be banned from plants during industrial disputes. Former cabinet minister Sid Green said he thought the motion was unfair and restrictive and would lead to legislation restrictive to labor as well. He said labor should not put its faith in lawyers, judges or legislators — a point another delegate found ironic since Green is acting as the lawyer for management in a couple of labor cases at present.

Green was opposed in the panels by labor critic Jay Cowan, who said it was pointless to try to strike a balance since there could never be one as long as labor was pitted against capital. The question to him was which side are you on. He was supported by Neils Thibault, the past president of the Manitoba Federation of Labor and a party vice-president. Thibault said the legislation would lead to fewer strikes, shorter disputes and would reduce confrontation at the picket lines. The motion passed with a substantial number of MLAs opposing or abstaining.

In December, Green quit the party to sit as an independent, saying the NDP and the Manitoba Federation of Labor were working to unseat him.

On broader matters, while the issue of Quebec's right to self-determination has surfaced at various NDP conventions in recent years, a motion dealing with it at this convention was defeated handsily.

In short, the Sterling Lyon government seemed eminently defeatable, but the NDP seemed eminently slow at the starting gate.

Investigating Them

#1: The Financial Post Corporation Service

"Does Macy's tell Gimbel's?" asks the well-known question, to which the answer is presumed to be "no". But in fact corporations do tell a number of things, either because they have to if they are public companies, or because its in the overall interest of the financial and business community that they do. Who, for example, would want to invest in the shares of a company if there were no way of finding out what it's basic financial situation was?

So there is information available — including to critics who the corporations have no interest in telling anything to.

One primary source for Canadian companies is the *Financial Post Corporation Service*, which is publicly available at many libraries, especially business libraries, and can also be bought by anyone who has enough money.

The service consists of 'cards' — though some of the 'cards' are more like booklets in the case of large corporations. Every significant public company is included. For each company there is a basic, yellow 'card' which is updated only occasionally; secondly there is an interim, white 'card' which is updated any time a significant change takes place.

For example, at the moment the Hudson's Bay Company yellow 'card' is dated Sept. 27, 1978. But a lot has happened to The Bay since then — first, The Bay got control of Zeller's Ltd., and then of Simpsons department store chain at the end of 1978; next, the Thomson family got control of The Bay after outbidding a rival offer by George Weston Ltd. As a result, *Financial Post* sent out a new white 'card' to subscribers summarizing these developments. As well, updated information was supplied on executive and board of directors changes, and on financial statements, new share issue, dividends and debentures.

Hudson's Bay Company

Revised Sept. 27, 1978.

Destroy all previous Basic and White cards on this Company.

CUSIP Number 444204
Stock Symbol HBC

Head Office—Hudson's Bay House, 77 Main St., Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3C 2R1

Telephone—(204) 943-0881

THE COMPANY, directly and through subsidiaries, operates 326 retail stores and 48 wholesale branches across Canada; operates the world's largest fur trading company; and is engaged in the wholesale distribution of products carrying the company's name. Company also has interests in oil and gas and real estate companies in Canada, and in financial services marketing company.

COMPARATIVE DATA

Fiscal Year	Total Assets	L-term Debt	Shldrs.' Equity	Sales*	Net Income	Earns. Per Sh.	Divds. Paid Ordine	Pri
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$		
1978	1,038,847	471,622	275,964	1,427,390	29,881	2.12		
1977	938,999	426,026	254,422	1,346,989	24,510	1.77		
1976	821,895	372,587	236,342	1,189,330	22,004			
1975	771,178	340,578	221,950	1,022,040	18,000			
1974	668,038	268,561	210,289	804,334				

*Previous calendar year.

*Includes revenue from net

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

CURRENT INFORMATION CARD

OCTOBER 3, 1979 (4-1C)

(To be filed with this company's basic card dated September 27, 1978; and to replace previous current information card; for exact corporate name, see top of basic card.)

*** NEW ***

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

Among the information to be found generally on the 'yellow' and 'white' cards is: comparative financial data for several years — for example, The Bay's total assets for fiscal year 1978 were \$1,033,847,000 compared to \$668,038,000 for 1974; capitalization of the company; description of operations; brief history; officers and directors; principal subsidiaries — for example, The Bay controls Markborough Properties Ltd., and for its operations there is a separate 'yellow' card; principal investments — for example, if one wants to know the relationship between The Bay and Hudson's Bay Oil and Gas Co. Ltd., this company was formed as an association between Hudson's Bay Co. and the Continental Oil Co. of Delaware in 1926, The Bay has 21.2 per cent of the common shares and control is in the hands of Continental, not The Bay; capital stock; dividends paid; long-term debt; consolidated statement of source and application of funds; previous earnings and working capital position; consolidated balance sheet.

For those who don't have access to *FP's* full *Corporation Service*, similar information is available in annual *Surveys* published by the company, each covering a sector of the economy such as *Industrials and Oils*.

Of particular interest to many *Last Post* readers is the subject of interlocking directorates and similar relationships amongst the corporate elite. For this, another *FP* publication, a book called the *Directory of Directors* is essential.

This is divided into two parts: one lists companies alphabetically and gives their main executives and directors; the second lists directors alphabetically and lists all their directorships. The idea is to find the directors of a particular company; then check them under their individual personal listings for their other corporate interests; and then back again to find the other directors of those other corporate interests; and so on.

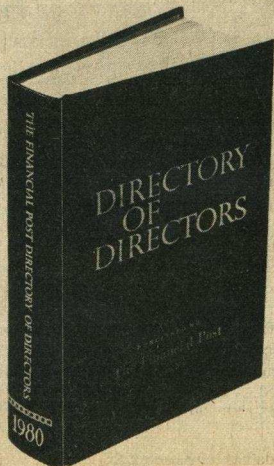
It's not difficult to build up interesting mazes of inter-connections. Can even be fun on snow-bound afternoons. But it's more than just a game. These are, as they say, Very Important People, and they call the shots.

***** NEW *****

OCT. 3, 1979 — THOMSON BID WINS:

Following amendment of its bid to CDNS\$37 cash per share for 75% of the outstanding ordinary shares of the company (with expiry extended to Apr. 17), the Thomson family was successful in acquiring the shares sought by it. No further amendment was made by George Weston Limited to its competing bid. Directors of the company had recommended acceptance of the Thomson offer. (Also see preceding news item.)

Of a total of 21,033,332 shares of the company (91.0% of outstanding) tendered under the offer, 17,319,000 shares or about 82.3% of those tendered were taken up and paid for on May 1, 1979, giving the Thomson family its 75% interest in the company.



Bell used to be thought of as a paternalistic company with loyal employees. That's changing fast, and none too soon as massive technological changes threaten to give much of the work force lots of leisure time in the form of unemployment.

DOES BELL HOLD ALL THE CHIPS?

by Jamie Swift and Joan Kuyek

In 1980 the Bell Telephone Company of Canada will celebrate its 100th anniversary. It would have been quite a feat for one of the country's oldest and largest firms to pass into its second century having achieved that much-sought but seldom-realized management goal — labor peace. But it didn't happen.

1979 has been anything but serene on the labor front at Bell. In June installers, repairmen and technicians launched a series of rotating strikes and slowdowns to protest Bell's inertia at the bargaining table. The company responded with lockouts, prompting the Communications Workers of Canada (CWC) to call the first-ever full scale strike in Bell's history.

Bell was also confronted by the CWC on another front. For the second time in less than a year the union raided the company union which held the bargaining rights for the Bell operators. Within a few days of the craft workers, mostly males, going on strike, the Canadian Labor Relations Board ruled that the women who respond when you dial "0" in Ontario and Quebec, were to be represented by the CWC. At the turn of the century Bell had opted for female operators because women were thought to be "more amenable to discipline than men".

* * *

Bell Canada has long been known as one of Canada's

most paternalistic employers. It's not unusual for workers to be told that their attitudes toward their job and their company aren't as positive as they might be. Bob Butler, a craft worker with twenty-eight years at the Bell, tells the story of the time his supervisor looked over a personnel file and told him that he was "a 20-year attitude case".

Worker attitudes have long been of some concern to phone company management. Over the years Bell has attempted, not without some success, to cultivate the benign image of a concerned parent. And since the twenties "Ma Bell" has been in the vanguard of company unionism in Canada.

Threatened by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in the midst of labor unrest following World War I, Bell was suddenly stricken with a case of corporate altruism. It granted two quick wage increases and initiated the Stock Purchase Plan for Employees in an attempt to foster employee loyalty while raising a few bucks on the side.

Formal worker-management Joint Conference Committees were set up under the watchful eye of the company. Meetings involved matters such as the improvement of productivity and the search for more efficient working practices. According to the Bell, these new

structures were of "mutual advantage" and resulted in "improved morale".

By the forties changing labor laws and a surge of CIO-led organization prompted Bell to treat its employees to at least a facade of organizational independence. By 1949 two new associations had been established — the Traffic Employees Association (TEA) for the operators and the Canadian Telephone Employees Association (CTEA) for the rest of the Bell family. Although the company had initially proposed that the CTEA embrace all its workers, the operators (or those who work in "traffic") opted for a separate body not dominated by men.

The two associations co-existed happily for the next 25 years, never striking, pushing grievances or challenging their mentor's version of co-operative management.

The CTEA was so central that for many years its General Council had the power to ratify contract proposals without reference to the membership. Becoming a militant of the CTEA was generally acknowledged as an important step up to a supervisor's job. Obviously, if you were an association booster, you had a good attitude.

* * *

But times have changed at the Bell since the days when all was quiet on the labor front. And not all the changes have been in the area of worker-management relations.

About 10 years ago the people who run things at the Bell realized that the provision of telephone service to Eastern Canada was a business with limited horizons. After all, you can only get people to phone so often and there is a limit to the number of phones you can install. Some North American cities already have more phones than people.

This ultimate limit on the growth of the *operating* end of the telephone business led to the decision that the future of the Bell family would depend to a great extent on the expansion of the *manufacturing* side of things. This meant looking for offshore markets and transforming Bell's manufacturing subsidiary, Northern Electric, into today's Northern Telecom — "a multinational with fire in its belly" and now a world leader in the manufacture of telephone equipment.

Northern has come a long way from being simply a supplier of equipment to Bell Canada. With its expanded research and development effort (Bell-Northern Research [BNR] is Canada's largest private R&D outfit) and its base as the dominant firm supplying the Canadian market, Northern has moved to greener pastures south of the border. Basil Beneteau, a Northern vice-president, says, "Canada alone cannot digest the technological banquet. . . . You have to sell to the world market to support the R&D".

Says outgoing Northern chairman Robert Scrivener, "I'll sing *The Star-Spangled Banner* if it's going to help my sales by \$100 million." Scrivener must have been rivalling Kate Smith of late, as he predicts that 45 percent of his company's sales will be in the U.S. by 1982, up from 12 percent in 1976. Canadian sales will be 40 percent of the total by then, down from 81 percent in 1976.

Expanding the unregulated Northern Telecom also

gives Bell some autonomy from the pesky CRTC, whose regulatory hand has been interfering of late, allowing independent competitors access to Bell lines and ruling that the profits from Bell's huge Saudi Arabian contract must be treated as income for regulatory purposes.

The spectacular growth of Northern Telecom (sales have tripled in the past five years and are expected to triple again in another five) has hinged on BNR's capacity for technological innovation. This means that the electronics revolution has hit the phone company in a big way as older, electro-mechanical modes of switching and transmission give way to electronic and digital techniques.

BNR has located its important U.S. labs near Palo Alto, California in the heart of the "silicon valley", where the silicon chips which have been central to the most recent developments in the electronics revolution are developed and manufactured. The development of these tiny chips (so-called microprocessors) has been compared in importance to the innovations around the use of steel and steam which were so crucial to the industrial revolution of the 19th century.

The chips are etched with a complex maze whose passages are travelled by electrons. Connected to the outside world by little legs of conductive metal, they can easily outperform (and will certainly outsell) their forebears of the electronics age, the first computers. These unwieldy monsters containing thousands of vacuum tubes and filling entire rooms were soon scaled down with the arrival of the transistor, the solid state replacement of the unsolid tube. Then came integrated circuits, comprised of many transistors in one unit. The more transistors, the more circuits. The more circuits, the better the computer.

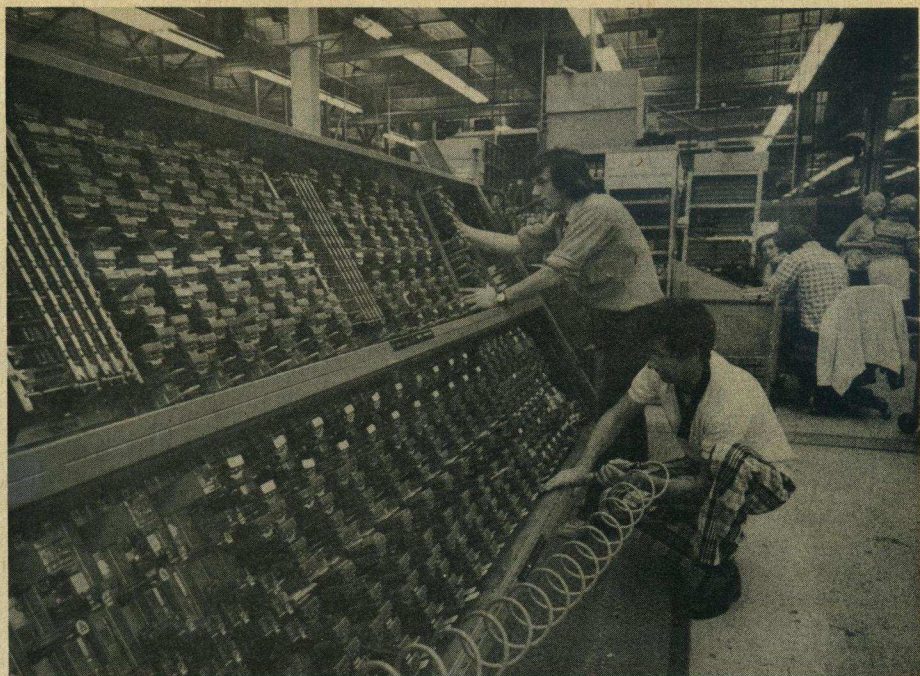
With the development of the tiny chips, each containing as many as 100,000 transistors, the miniaturization process was taken a step further, bringing us everything from digital pocket calculators with their own memories to the advanced Cruise missile.

These new developments have important implications for the telephone industry. Not only can advances in miniaturization technology be incorporated into all types of telephone equipment, but the telephone system will be an increasingly important link between computers.

The Bell, along with Northern Telecom and via BNR, has been right with the pack in the race for the profits presented by recent advances in technology. Northern has been one of the first companies to market a fully digital product line. Its Digital Multiplex System (DMS) of switching equipment is already enjoying a lively market and seems destined to duplicate the immense success of its SP-1 line, an earlier electronic switching system.

One of the principal advantages Northern enjoys over its competitors in the fight for markets for new telephone equipment is its traditional role of supplier of telephone equipment to Bell Canada. Northern sales people can use Bell as a showcase for its newly-developed technology, boasting of Bell's efficiency and profitability to other phone companies eager to spruce up their own systems. The successful application of Northern technology to the Bell is an important ingredient in the success of Northern's expansion programme.

But the digitalization of the Bell has implications not



Technological change has Bell workers worried that 'there's no job in the future'

only for the growth of Northern Telecom. Many Bell workers fear the same fate that befell workers employed in the once-proud Swiss watch and clock industry which in recent years has reeled under the onslaught of the cheap, mass-produced digital timepiece.

In many industries technological change has led to decreased employment opportunities and the degradation of the work which does exist. The telephone industry has been no exception and striking Bell workers expressed the fear this past summer that "there's no job in the future."

This type of uncertainty, coupled with the relative decline in Bell wages in recent years and the obvious unwillingness of existing company unions to do anything about the situation, were important factors leading Bell workers to seek the protection offered by a more combative union.

They viewed with alarm the difficulty which non-company unions in the U.S. have had in dealing with rapid technological change in the telephone industry and compare it with their own situation in which an official of the TEA was eagerly up there along with Bell management at the inauguration of Bell's new Traffic Operator Position System (TOPS - a new work station), cutting the ribbon while the membership worried about cutting of jobs.

Workers like Bill McMahon, who services switching equipment at Bell's Simcoe Street office in Toronto,

were central to the EXODUS Committee which led Bell craft workers out of the CTEA to the more promising land of the CWC. "I hate the SP-1-TOPS. I like nothing about it. Therefore I'm an attitude case", says McMahon.

The CWC raid on the CTEA and the TEA (later renamed the Communications Union of Canada) was initiated from the bottom up by dozens of attitude cases in Ontario and Quebec, where the Bloc-Action group crystallized opposition to existing union structures beginning in 1974.

The move to the CWC differed from the last big push to organize at Bell, an IBEW effort in the mid-sixties. Although the IBEW had the financial strength to do the job, it wasn't sufficiently rooted in the workforce to pull it off. Members of Bloc-Action and Exodus actually chose the Saskatchewan-based CWC because of its small size and Canadian character. The major part of the work was undertaken by CWC staff people and Bell workers who put in time on days off and after work.

The certification of Bell craft workers into the CWC was facilitated by growing discontent among a workforce once paid at levels competitive with top industrial wages and increasingly concerned with major technological change.

In the early seventies, just as inflation was beginning an upward spiral, Bell management broke with its tradition of paying competitive wages to craft workers. Auto-

There's a lot more to choose from this year

A selection of Bell products and services for home and business



One of Bell's new wrinkles is the Phonecentre where the public can buy a \$175 Mickey Mouse phone

mation had led to lower skill requirements for many jobs and, with Bell and Northern turning their attention to offshore projects, the Canadian workforce was no doubt deemed of diminishing importance in the overall scheme of things.

In 1970, a top-level Bell installer pulled down \$182 per week, while the rate for the same job at the government-owned Saskatchewan Telecommunications was \$175. By 1978 the same installer in Saskatchewan was getting \$396 while the rate at Bell had only increased to \$339. According to one Bell craft worker, "We used to be one of the better earners on our street, but we have been steadily falling behind."

The Northern Telecom equipment recently installed at Bell has shaken the confidence and security of many senior workers who have seen skills acquired over many years rendered obsolete overnight. Much of the new electronic and digital equipment requires little servicing, so the trouble-shooting skills necessary for the older,

electro-mechanical equipment are not needed. It's easy to fix a piece of equipment which can tell you that it's sick and diagnose the problem in a matter of seconds.

While Northern advertisements in trade publications crow about products which are "less expensive to maintain" and require "very little training to learn how to diagnose the problem and take corrective action," Bell workers worry about not being retrained on the new equipment. It seems Bell is now more interested in young people with some knowledge of computers than it is in its existing staff.

At the Simcoe Street office 12 men now work on the maintenance of a major switching operation where 60 used to be required. According to one of the survivors, "There's more concern over the SP-1 than there is over the human being. The job is no longer interesting . . . it's a boring job."

Another of Bell's new wrinkles is the Phonecentre or Teleshop which enables subscribers to trundle down

to the local mall to pick up a phone or have one repaired (those too sick or elderly to go must pay a service charge). Now we have the advantage of being able to buy a \$175 Mickey Mouse phone, while Bell has the advantage of cutting back on the number of installers and repairmen it needs. Much of the in-home installation of the new jacks necessary for the "travelling telephone" to be plugged in and taken out has been done by untrained part-time workers, leaving the men in the green trucks wondering what the future holds for them.

Northern Telecom is currently pushing the development of fibre optics, an important wave of the future in communications technology involving the conversion of electrical impulses to light signals and their transmission along hairlike glass fibres. Infinitely more efficient than copper wire, one fibre can carry up to 4,000 voice conversations and also relay television signals and computer data.

The eventual introduction of fibre optics will hit the jobs of the men in the manholes, the cable splicers who presently occupy some of the highest-skill, top-paying jobs among all Bell workers. If past practice in the introduction of new technology is any indication of things to come, Bell will be eager to train younger people in the new field rather than retrain older workers whose skills lie elsewhere. Bell has already begun the world's first fibre optics residential field trial in Toronto's trendy Yorkville district.

The success of the 1979 CWC campaign to take bargaining rights for the operators from the company union was directly related to technological change. Before the introduction of Northern's TOPS (built right into its DMS line) at the Bell, both the company and its union, the Communications Union of Canada, did such a complete selling job for the new system that many operators were looking forward to getting away from the old switchboards to the promise of "a highly appealing work environment".

But when TOPS was introduced in Toronto in 1978 the operators discovered a completely different reality. Spending an entire shift peering into a video display terminal (VDT — similar to a small television) and having call after call fed automatically into their headsets soon resulted in increased mental fatigue, migraine headaches and people breaking down on the job. Operators compare TOPS to the "Chinese water torture" and some have stopped watching television altogether after a day in front of the VDT.

The former switchboard system of cords, plugs and jacks allowed each operator at least some flexibility and autonomy on the job. "On the cord you could take a breather and choose the type of call you wanted. But now you have no control."

The introduction of TOPS has completely fragmented the operator's job to the point where she now only comes in on part of a call rather than seeing it through from beginning to end. Operators have been reduced to data entry clerks for Northern equipment while Bell has enjoyed a productivity boom. Operators have now been speeded up to the point where they routinely handle 500 calls per shift, up from 120 on the switchboard.

According to one operator who was a principal organizer of the CWC certification drive in southern

Ontario, "If it hadn't been for TOPS, we would never have won the campaign."

* * *

In spite of the obvious effects of technological change on employment levels, Bell still boasts that it has never laid anybody off (though it does transfer people to lower-paying jobs). Traditionally, force reductions have been achieved through "A&P" — attrition and pregnancy.

But gone are the days when Bell Canada was constantly expanding its levels of service in Canada and thus absorbing workers affected by technological change. The next decade will see increasing attention being paid to Northern Telecom and markets like Saudi Arabia.

Forced early retirements are increasing as senior workers in metropolitan centres where the new technology is first installed are being told that, though their jobs have been eliminated, there are still openings in smaller centres, perhaps several hundred miles away. Many older workers whose skills are being arbitrarily made obsolete have paid off their mortgages and are well-established in their communities. They are reluctant to pack up and move to a new city knowing that the same technological changes which displaced them in the first place may soon strike again.

Among the women operators, who at a *maximum* of \$194.29 per week do not come close to the male craft workers, the worry is that TOPS will result in higher levels of attrition. "They make it so miserable that you leave." Those who do leave are increasingly being replaced by temporary, part-time workers (shades of the Post Office). Part-timers can easily weaken the union and give the company flexibility in hiring, enabling it to avoid embarrassing layoff announcements.

Against this background of lower labor requirements at the phone company looms a larger issue of growing concern to workers in the advanced industrial world — the impact of cheap, mass computerization.

A 1978 report to the French ministry of finance predicts that French banks and insurance companies will cut employment by 30 percent within 10 years as they take advantage of data-processing equipment and automatic tellers. The giant German corporation, Siemens, says that 40 percent of office work can be automated. Such a development would mean the loss of two million jobs in West Germany alone. Many jobs in this sector which cannot be automated will be turned over to part-time workers.

The office workers dislocated by automation will not have the same options held by manufacturing workers hit by automation in the fifties and sixties. At that time the service sector was expanding and could absorb the surplus. Today, it is the service sector which is feeling the squeeze from the new technology. According to a spokesman for the electronics firm of Negretti and Zambra, "You're a journalist. Leisure, that's what you want to get into. Because there's going to be a lot of it around."

Although Bell workers have won the protection offered by a trade union, an important task for CWC members and countless other workers will soon be protection against forced leisure in the form of unemployment.

'Lettergate' and other troubles just won't leave Bill Bennett alone

The Sacred art of letter-writing

by FRED ADLER

The British Columbia media dubbed the 'dirty tricks' scandal 'Lettergate', yet it was only one sore thumb sticking out of B.C. Premier Bill Bennett's troubled government. For land dealings and poorly drafted legislation also have tarnished his recently re-elected Social Credit administration.

The Canadian media love to find American parallels in this country's own politics. Yet the whole 'Lettergate' affair involving tapes, signing letters to the editor with false names, and cover-ups does uncannily recall Watergate.

U.S. President Richard Nixon did far worse things than have aides who hired burglars to break into the 1972 Democratic Party national headquarters. But the ensuing outcry and the continued attempts by Nixon to cover-up the whole thing toppled him from power.

Bill Bennett's Social Credit government has burned B.C.ers in far worse ways than hiring caucus aides who wrote forged signatures on letters to various newspapers. But, just like Nixon, the more the Socreds try to cover-up the whole thing, the deeper they bog down in scandal.

'Lettergate' has outraged the normally pro-Socred media more than any other issue. Still, so far no one has been able to link any Socred MLA or cabinet minister directly to the whole mess.

'Lettergate' began in September when Jack Kelly, a researcher for the Socred caucus in Victoria, revealed some of the Social Credit tactics to the Socred riding association of Esquimalt - Port Renfrew, an area west of Victoria.

Kelly admitted that he had advised party members to send pro-government letters to the editor, signed with signatures drawn from telephone books.

"We checked the telephone book and say we decide to use 'G.' Smith, who lives at a certain address," the *Goldstream Gazette*, a local paper,

Photo: Kini McDonald



Deputy Premier Grace McCarthy: her assistant, George Lenko, put together most of the cassette tapes

quotes Kelly as saying, "then we change the 'G' to something like 'B' and we use the same address."

Commented the *Goldstream Gazette*: "Kelly admitted that at one time his office was using 50 aliases to sign letters to the editor."

Next, Kelly's voice soon turned up on a cassette tape titled *Effective Media and Constituency Organization*. And this tape effectively blew the lid off the whole 'letters to the editor' caper.

For the cassette, which was obtained by the *Vancouver Sun*, was taped in September 1978 at a Social Credit Party seminar at Vancouver's Bayshore Inn.

"The other question was 'Do we play dirty?' " Kelly rhetorically asked the conference. "And quite honestly, the stakes are extremely high and we do play dirty and we don't really worry about that too much."

The future of B.C. was at stake in the next election, Kelly warned his amused audience. The Socreds would meet the NDP on their terms, and do better, because Socreds are smarter.

Kelly said the research staff of the Socred caucus would help party members in this task. "As I said, we specialize in doing dirty things and we don't mind."

Meanwhile, Ellen McKay, another Socred caucus researcher, informed the seminar that it was far easier to write phony names on letters to the editor than most people thought.

Yet were Kelly and McKay acting on their own? Maybe, but Deputy Premier and now Human Resources Minister Grace McCarthy (then provincial secretary) arranged the seminar at which Kelly's remarks were taped. Past Socred president Les Keen admitted that 170 cassettes with Kelly's voice on them were distributed in April in the interior of British Columbia to party faithful during an election rally. Who was responsible for the cassettes' distribution?

Keen pinpointed Dan Campbell of the Socreds' general election committee, as the man responsible. A long-time Socred warhorse, Campbell served as minister of education in the late W.A.C. Bennett's cabinet in the 1960s.

Most of the tapes that made up the cassette were put together by George Lenko, Grace McCarthy's executive assistant, who, it is claimed, never listened to their contents. Lenko recently resigned his job, saying he should have been more diligent in making up the cassettes.

Soon, newspaper editors were scouring old letters to the editor columns and forged signatures were popping up everywhere.

Ron Grieg resigned his job as assistant to Bill Bennett's communications adviser, after he was alleged to have written an anti-NDP letter to the *Victoria Colonist*. Grieg signed the name of a well-known local NDPer, Gordon Townsend, to his letter.

Another forged letter turned up in the *Vancouver Sun*. It attacked Kathleen Ruff, the past director of the B.C. Human Rights Commission, and Bruce Eriksen, president of the Downtown Eastside Residents' Association. Ruff, an NDP appointee, had by then resigned her job but had criticized the Socreds for their policies on human rights. Eriksen had continually attacked the Socred government for ignoring the poor.

The letter was signed by Jane Hudson, an associate professor at the University of British Columbia. Hudson said she was shocked to see her name on the letter because she never wrote it.

Photo: John Bentley



Premier Bill Bennett: returned from the Far East to find a scandal on his hands

Meanwhile, Lorne Nicholson, NDP member for the riding of Nelson-Creston in the Selkirk mountain range, 700 kilometres east of Vancouver, turned back the pages of the *Nelson Daily News*. He found more than 20 anti-Lorne Nicholson letters, nearly all of them using forged names. Most of the letters, Nicholson pointed out, had appeared just before the May 10 provincial election.

Another letter, using the name of NDPer Gordon Townsend, turned up in another Vancouver Island newspaper, attacking four New Democrat MLAs for opposing Bill Bennett's B.C. Resources Investment share distribution.

At first, the Socreds just shrugged off the uproar. Lyle Kahl, the past Socred MLA who had gone down to defeat at the hands of an NDPer in the riding of Esquimalt-Port Renfrew on May 10, blustered that the NDP manipulated the media too. "Editors have told me they continually get reams of letters from within the party. I know a lot of NDP members who are told by their constituency office that so-and-so is going to be on a radio hotline show so they'd better get to those phones."

Yet the dirty tricks supposedly floored Jack Kempf, Socred MLA for the northern riding of Omineca and the Socred caucus chief who oversees the work of caucus researchers. "What you're saying," he told a *Vancouver Sun* reporter who read him parts of the tape transcript, "astounds me... My God!"

Was Kempf playing it straight? Could be, but in any case heads had to roll — and they did. A member of the Social Credit Party in Nanaimo, a growing Vancouver Island town of 20,000, some 110 kilometres north of Victoria, resigned from the local party executive, after admitting he put the address of a vacant lot to an anti-NDP letter he wrote to the local paper.

Jack Kelly, the caucus researcher who first revealed the dirty tricks, resigned his job when Kempf forced him to.

But the second caucus researcher, Ellen McKay, refused to quit. Soon she was feuding in public with caucus chief Jack Kempf about her tactics, saying she had just carried out orders when signing faked signatures to letters. She hired Vancouver lawyer Robert Gardner to protect her job and legal interests.

Meanwhile, Kelly hired Gardner too, and threatened the Socred caucus with legal action for wrongful dismissal from his job.

A third caucus researcher, Glen Mitchell, who oversaw McKay and Kelly, escaped unscathed. He had by now moved over to work for Education Minister Pat McGeer. Mitchell claimed to have rebuked one of the two for their

comments at the September 1978 seminar at the Bayshore Inn. But neither McKay nor Kelly could remember any such thing.

When the affair first blew up in October, Premier Bill Bennett was scouring the Orient, looking for investors in B.C. coal projects. Strangely, neither Deputy Premier Grace McCarthy nor any other cabinet minister tried to contain the scandal in Bennett's absence. Were they trying to make the premier look bad, or point out that his one-man, top-down style of government had left him dangerously out of touch with the voters?

If so, their tactics backfired. Upon returning to B.C. the premier at first downplayed the whole thing. Then, soon realizing how bad it made the party look, he took responsibility for the whole scandal.

Had he been in B.C. when 'Lettergate' first erupted, insisted the premier, he would have ended the matter quickly. Bennett claimed he first heard of the 'dirty tricks' tape after returning from the far east. "I have no intention of personally prosecuting anyone," he told reporters. "What I am trying to do publicly within our party is to cut out the cancer before it develops."

On the orders of Attorney-General Garde Gardom, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police launched a province-wide investigation into the faked signatures. But then Robert Gardner, lawyer for Jack Kelly and Ellen McKay, implied that somebody in the cabinet had his hands in the investigation. This could mean that the cabinet was trying to clear the government, in advance, of any involvement in the 'dirty tricks'. An RCMP spokesman denied any cabinet involvement in the investigation.

But had Tony Tozer, Bennett's closest aide and brother of Bennett's brother-in-law, tried to pressure Ellen McKay after the investigation was underway? Opposition leader Dave Barrett charged that someone in the premier's office had, while the premier demanded that Barrett apologize for his statement.

But letter-writing was not the only problem dropped in the lap of the Socreds. There was also the case of the 626 acres of farmland in Langley, a township of 41,000, 24 kilometres southeast of Vancouver. The B.C. Land Commission had ruled that the land involved

should stay as farmland. But the cabinet's Environment Land Use Committee overruled the commission and decided that the 626 acres should be released for development by Gloucester Properties, a company with Chilean connections. The land was released for development in October, just as 'Lettergate' was breaking.

And who was sitting on the board of directors of Gloucester Properties? A Ms. Ainslie Loretto, who had worked out of Health Minister Bob McClelland's office during the last provincial election. McClelland is the MLA for Langley, a riding that includes the 626 acres of farmland. As well, the one-time paunchy but now slimmed-down health minister also sat on the Environment Land Use Committee (ELUC) the day it heard appeals from the Land Commission and Gloucester Properties.

A conflict of interest? McClelland would deny it, because he claims that he didn't vote on the issue of releasing the land for development. But what was later revealed was that this long-time admirer of the late W. A. C. Bennett had made a lengthy, impassioned speech on behalf of Gloucester's proposal to develop the land.

Admitting he knew little about soil conditions, McClelland still told the four other cabinet ministers, who included Municipal Affairs Minister Bill Van Der Zalm, "I have lived in the area for a long time and I've watched the land. . . [and it] has never been considered anything else but either commercial or industrial farmland."

The last remaining NDP appointee on the Land Commission, soils expert Gary Runka, urged the ELUC to keep the land as farmland. When his plan was over-ruled, Runka quit his job on the commission in disgust.

Meanwhile, former Socred Minister of Agriculture Cyril Shelford, who went down to defeat on May 10 in the northwest riding of Skeena, accused the ELUC of not paying enough attention to agricultural considerations when releasing the land in Langley for development.

Bill Ritchie, a former Socred appointee on the Land Commission and now the new Socred MLA for Central Fraser Valley, said he was puzzled by the ELUC's decision. He demanded an explanation.

"I would say that the greatest part of

[the land released for development] is very suitable for farming," Ritchie told reporters.

But just after Ritchie puzzled over the ELUC's decision, a Fraser Valley farmer bogged down Ritchie in some troubles of his own. The farmer, Henry Friesen, filed a brief with the RCMP accusing Ritchie of trying to bribe him in 1978 by offering to free some of Friesen's land for development if Friesen would help Ritchie get the Socred nomination for the Central Fraser Valley.

Later Friesen withdrew his charge. But the flap over the 626 acres in Langley refused to vanish as easily.

Premier Bennett told reporters after he returned from the Orient that the land was 'frozen'. But that needed a decision from the cabinet and the lieutenant-governor had to approve the cabinet's decision. Neither had happened — or was likely to.

The B.C. Supreme Court made the government look even more like bunglers when it handed down two decisions in October.

It struck down three important sections in the government's Family Act. It also declared that Health Minister McClelland's much-touted Heroin Treatment Act was invalid. The reason? The act's compulsory features forcing addicts to be treated, said the court, infringing on federal narcotics control. But Ottawa's new Tory government promised to amend its own act by Christmas and so bail McClelland out of his mess.

Of course, this did not add up to the defeat of Bill Bennett's government in the next election, which is at least three years down the line. During that time, prosperity, apathy and forgetfulness may well ensure the premier's reelection.

But for now, he has to distract the electorate. And he did, at the recent Socred convention.

"God help democracy," Bennett warned the more than 900 delegates and 83 media people in attendance, "if [the media] becomes the final court in the land."

With that Nixonian note ringing in their ears, the delegates, with a few exceptions, followed the premier's urging and voted to set up an 'ethics committee' to stop a 'Lettergate' erupting in the future.

It was B.C. politics — as usual.

Bear View

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- Jankowski on World War III — p. 50

White elephants of the airport age

by WARREN CARAGATA

Paper Juggernaut: Big Government Gone Mad, by Walter Stewart, McLelland & Stewart / Toronto. \$14.95.

A reviewer faced with a fast-approaching deadline to tell all about Walter Stewart's newest offering has a tough job. Is a discussion about the planning of airports in order or should the reviewer pass off the job to a professor teaching creative writing? Or is all the talk about the botched-up job of planning and building Mirabel and planning Pickering just a cover to discuss the need for a freedom of information act, and if so, why does he wait until the last page to get to the point?

There is even one more thing a reviewer has to figure out — maybe Stewart is really pointing out the need for increased support of rail transportation, another point left to the book's conclusion.

The one good thing about *Paper Juggernaut* is that contained within it is a mass of information about, in particular, Pickering. Pickering was to have been, and one day may be, the new Toronto International Airport. Unlike Mirabel — the new Montreal International Airport — Pickering hasn't got off the ground yet but, as Stewart shows, it isn't for lack of trying by the planners at Transport Canada and their consultant friends.

However, one of the bad things about *Paper Juggernaut* is that Stewart seems to have started reading and believing reviews of previous books. Walter Stewart has a talent for getting off the well-turned phrase, of making you giggle while you read non-fiction. But in this book, he writes like someone fresh from creative writing school.

His wit and well-turned phrases and silly invented words (baffed — meaning hit; she baffed him) get in the way of the story he is trying to tell. (Figuring out just what is the point of the story is another problem.)

There is no doubt that Stewart thinks the whole issue of how governments can screw things up deserves telling to as wide an audience as possible. Someday an academic might sit down and write an account of how governments don't know how to plan airports and all the other academics will love it. Stewart is writing for a wider audience. Fine. But he either got so wrapped up in his choice phrases and little funny asides that he forgot he was telling a story or he thinks that the "wider audience" will only read non-fiction if it contains such lines as "It was baloney and baloney cut in the very thickest slices. . . ."

For much of the book — perhaps it is just a reaction to the subtitle — the reader labours under the incorrect impression that this is another tract calling for the dismantling of government. Not so, but after pages of scathing attacks on government planning, or lack of, or deliberate avoidance of, it is not good enough for Stewart at the book's close to say "We have big government because we need it. . . . the

current demand to dismantle government agencies and departments is mean spirited. . . . bank presidents call for the closing of hospitals. . . . corporation executives denounce government regulations for the same reason sharks dislike nets."

Walter Stewart has dredged up all this information about the completed mess at Mirabel and the mothballed mess at Pickering to make the point that government secrecy leads to government blunders and those blunders cost us hundreds of millions of dollars.

The real flaw is that too many people will read *Paper Juggernaut* and join the chorus of the sharks complaining about the nets. The only criticism of the private sector, and it is implied criticism, is that consultants know as little about what they are supposedly doing as the folks at Transport Canada.

A reader could finish *Paper Juggernaut* and reasonably assume that only government operates in secrecy, that only government makes blunders or decides it wants to do something (build airports) and then plans how best to do it, never questioning the wisdom of the decision to do that particular something.

Of course, corporations operate in a secret world that would make government bureaucrats blue with envy and are responsible only to the few who own enough shares to count. It is here that Walter Stewart lets us all down; by leaving the central question of freedom of information to the last page, by his failure to look for the corporate interests who wanted two new airports and the pressure they exerted to get them, Stewart has given the sharks a hole in the net and then denied it.

To go into all the detail about Mirabel and Pickering is unnecessary. Suffice to say that government planners

seemed so intent on having new airports to replace Montreal's Dorval and Toronto's Malton that they ignored a lot of evidence, trampled on the rights of a lot of people and got away with at least one new airport.

Mirabel (a typical Stewart touch: the name for the airport comes from the name of a farm now covered by tarmac, the farm name a combination of Miriam and Isobel, daughters of a one-time owner) should not have been built; the traffic didn't justify it. The original error was then compounded, Stewart says, by placing it where it is. Mirabel's location was dictated not by considerations of where best to build an airport but where best to direct development and how new development could best serve political ends.

Pickering, northeast of Toronto on prime farmland, was selected as the site for a new Toronto airport for very much the same reasons.

So much was Pickering a compromise political choice that the site wasn't even examined when Transport Canada was studying where best to build a new Toronto airport.

Stewart says Transport Canada planners have not yet finished with Pickering, that they still plot how best to resurrect the project. The farm land expropriated for the airport remains expropriated.

But to discuss how Pickering was the wrong site falls into the very trap Transport Canada wants people to fall into. The real point about a new airport is that one isn't needed — Malton can be expanded to handle the traffic quite well.

And one nice point that he makes very well is that one of the reasons for not expanding Malton was that Metro Toronto and environs have grown up around it and people don't like living next to airports. What was the companion project for the new airport at Pickering? A new city.

So it goes.

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The barley grew up again

by PATRICK MacFADDEN

The Year of the French. by Thomas Flanagan. Holt Rinehart & Winston/New York 516 pp. \$15.95 cloth.

Ten years ago in the first issue of this magazine I wrote a piece about Ireland. It was done as an affectionate parody of Myles na Copaleen, on whose later daily column, "Am Cruiskeen Lan", in the *Irish Times* I had been weaned. Myles was Flann O'Brien when he had written novels, one of which, *At Swim-Two-Birds*, found its way into Penguin Modern Classics. Flann O'Brien was Brian O'Nolan and his book elicited a rave review from Grahame Greene; a much-read copy of it was found among Joyce's effects after his death. But World War II had intervened and the book went nowhere. Since I wrote that article, *Time* magazine also intervened to resurrect Myles, ("won praise from no less a boyo than Jimmy Joyce.")

The confluence of war and media is important in the history of publishing. Which is a long-winded way of saying that Thomas Flanagan's fine novel is up against it in Canada. Atwood, yes. Rohmer, yes. Flanagan, no.

You could be exonerated for finding this a bit odd. Over the life of this magazine or thereabouts, I can think of books such as James Plunkett's *Strumpet City*, Ellis Dillon's *Across The Wide and Bitter Sea*, Michael Farrell's *Thy Tears Might Cease*, Francis Stuart's *Black List Section H*, Thomas Pakenham's *The Year of Liberty*, Jennifer Johnston's *The Shadow of Our Skin*, Benedict Kiely's *Proxopera*, John McGahern's *The Barracks* and *The Dark*, John Broderick's *An Apology for Roses*. How many of these have you seen reviewed or talked about in mainstream Canadian publications? Perhaps there are no Irish in Canada.

"Countless thousands died, shaking their scythes at cannon," wrote Seamus Heaney in a chilling line from his poem *Lament for the Croppies*. You are not to be blamed if you've never heard of Seamus Heaney. He was talking about

the doomed rising of 1798, when at Enniscorthy in Wexford the "men of no name" went out to save their island from the Huns across the water. "The pockets of their greatcoats stuffed with barley," wrote Heaney. They died in their thousands, impaled on mercenary pikes. "And in the Spring," Heaney ended his poem, "the barley grew up again."

The most quixotic element of the '98 uprising was to be found among the men of Mayo on the West Coast of Ireland. It was an Irish-speaking area. And when the French landed in Killala's bright bay, they wrote their proclamations in both Irish and French. The continental tradition of the Bonny Bunch of Roses, the amalgamation of France, Ireland and Scotland, was what sent them out to die. Colonel Bellew of Killala had gained his commission in

Europe. He had eleven uncles in the Irish Brigade who had fought in France. The O'Dowda of Bonniclonon was born in Austria and his godfather was Emperor Joseph II. John Moore had been born in Spain. Bartholomew Teeling was descended on his mother's side from the leading lights of the Jacobite rebellion against the loathsome Sassenach, and George Blake was descended from the defiant warlord Shane the Proud.

It was the job of the imperial power to the East to destroy this connection. The thought of an off-shore island that might become a launching pad, in modern parlance, for a competing power was anathema. In the event, after the battle, the French and the English officers shook hands. They were, after all, gentlemen. The mere Irish, protestant and catholic, were hunted through the bogs and bayoneted in the throat to

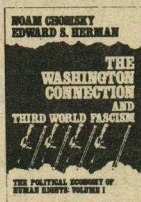
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of the two-part work, *The Political Economy of Human Rights*, Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman analyze the forces shaping U.S. neocolonial involvement (in Indonesia, Brazil, Iran, the Philippines, among others), the nature of these client states, and the processes and rationales used to maintain them. The authors examine the role of the media in obscuring atrocities in "client states" while exaggerating and even falsifying them when it serves U.S. interests.

Together the authors present a devastating case of cover-up by liberal periodicals like *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and *The New Republic*.

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make sure that neither their persons nor the language they spoke would continue to defile the imperial earth.

One of the historic peoples of the world was being left to bleed to death.

Holt Rinehart's blurb winter talks of 1798 as "a minor historical episode." I

think of him or her, either from one of the Seven Sister Schools or from the Ivy League, faced with having to dunk out five hundred words for the dust jacket before a spinach salad lunch in Manhattan. And then I think of the people of Mayo and Galway and Donegal, with

hardly a shirt to put over their asses, who went out to fight and die against the thugs who destroyed their culture, their life and their language.

And in the Spring, the barley grew up again.

Remembering the Douglas era

by ANGUS RICKER

Till Power is Brought to Pooling: Tommy Douglas Speaks, edited with an introduction by L.D. Lovick. Colichan Books/Lantzville, B.C. 288 pp. \$12.95.

After 44 years in electoral politics, T.C. Douglas has taken an honourable retirement.

Of course he will still be actively promoting democratic socialism through the Douglas-Coldwell Foundation and will be as close as a telephone call to scores of New Democrats who will be seeking his political advice.

The superb platform and political skills that carried the Douglas message to five generations of Canadians are reflected in this substantial collection of his speeches that date from his maiden House of Commons speech in 1936 to a final warning on energy in 1978.

Although Douglas varied the materials as the issues changed, his underlying socialist concerns are the thread that links this collection. There is breadth and a surprising depth throughout, an indication of how the early CCF felt it

must teach and preach as well as entertain.

Equality, liberty and fraternity is perhaps a crude way of summing up Mr. Douglas's lifetime of concerns, but these socialist fundamentals keep recurring whether he is discussing the effects of the Depression, Canada's war effort, socialist planning, medicare or the energy crisis.

His economic thought is consistently Keynesian and early Galbraithian and his social concerns are those of welfare state Britain and central planning Sweden. Yet there is a distinctively Canadian belief in co-operation and co-operatives that is interwoven in his political thought and that is still stamped on the province of Saskatchewan.

Douglas was Minister of Co-operation and Co-operative Development in Saskatchewan from 1949-60 and the encouragement and propaganda that the department provided has done much to provide the idealistic and practical sustenance for the NDP in the province to this day.

But this collection would still be just a bunch of speeches if it were not for

another great Douglas gift, his sense of humour.

Many of his celebrated catch phrases turn up consistently, particularly the good one-liners such as "Every man for himself said the elephant as he danced among the chickens" and "In Washington they have their hawks and doves and in Ottawa we have our parrots."

Mr. Douglas was not prepared to let the devil have all the good tunes and, indeed, much of his reputation as the concerned CCF pastor in Depression-wracked Weyburn was built on his ability to tell jokes to a crowd that had no money and no entertainment. He got them laughing and they started voting CCF.

It was in his Saskatchewan years as party leader and premier that he became a great debater and parliamentarian. As the CCF was consistently shut out of the red-baiting Sifton press, the party used extensive speaking tours and private radio networks to link a growing movement.

Tommy Douglas and M.J. Caldwell were the radio stars and when the CCF was elected in 1944, radio followed the party into the Saskatchewan legislature. A fair selection of his legislative speeches are included and so are two of his funniest, "The Cream Separator" and "Mouseland". These last two are transcriptions from Douglas's recorded speeches and are the kind of easily grasped parable that is too often missing from the socialist rhetoric of today.

To read once more Mr. Douglas's stands on some of the more contemporary issues such as Vietnam, student unrest, the energy crisis, the Columbia River treaty and especially the War

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Measures Act (complete with Liberal heckling) is to have confirmed how many times he stood on the side of the angels.

Yet many of these battles, now believed won, are becoming issues again as the Conservatives trot out medicare cutbacks, "privatization", "incentives" for corporations as the answer to Canada's political problems.

The newly elected New Democrats who will be replacing Tommy Douglas, Andrew Brewin and Stu Leggett in the coming session of the House of Commons could do well to strengthen their arguments by reading this book.

The book has been splendidly illustrated and produced by Colichan Books, a small press in Mr. Douglas's former Nanaimo constituency. A thoughtful essay by editor L.D. Lovick serves as the introduction and a short bibliography is included.

Douglas's career has not been adequately recorded to this point, although Doris Shackleton's recent biography was a brave start. It is to be hoped that Douglas will produce his own memoir and that the recent Canada Council provisions assisting political memoirs will make the effort much less financially arduous for all Canadian political leaders.

Unlike the U.S. or Britain, there is no established tradition in Canada that a retiring politician publishes memoirs as a matter of record and usually at a handsome profit. Not only is such a writer likely to illuminate some part of public life but he may also, as in Mr. Douglas's case, have a great deal to pass on to others.

The title "Till Power is Brought to Pooling" is from a poem by F.R. Scott, the McGill law professor and pioneer CCFer, dedicated to T.C. Douglas. It is a remarkable tribute to a remarkable man:

From these condemned to labour
For profit of another
We take our new endeavour.

For sect and class and pattern
Through whom the strata harden
We sharpen now the weapon.

Till power is brought to pooling
And outcasts share in ruling
There will not be an ending
Nor any peace for spending.

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Gen. Hackett writes a boring war

by ANDREW JANKOWSKI

The Third World War, A Future History, by General Sir John Hackett and others. Sidgwick & Jackson/London. 368 pp. \$16.95 cloth.

Many adjectives could no doubt be used to describe the Third World War but dull isn't likely to be one of them. With this book, however, General Hackett and his collaborators may just have pulled off the feat of coming up with a boring war — even if it is only a fictional one.

Hackett was assisted in his task by a corporal's guard of generals, admirals and air marshals as well as other heavy-calibre military experts who are not identified except for a mention that German and American generals are included in the group.

This committee of high-priced military help has put together what they think a conflict between the two big power-blocks might look like.

It begins in August 1985 with the Russians, who have gotten themselves into hot water with their satellites, making a sudden lunge at the NATO forces in Germany. The strategy behind this move is apparently to grab West Germany without bringing France into the fight and by this humiliation of their adversary to restore their political fortunes in eastern Europe.

The attack is overwhelming. The Soviet formations apparently sweep all before them. All that the allies can do is to fend off a few blows before being overrun.

But wait! Western forces aren't annihilated. Their military planning is

sound after all. Their forces are just able to hold (having been re-equipped in the nick of time with weapons that are equal to, or better than, those of the Russians). Most importantly, vital reinforcements from the United States get through despite heavy losses inflicted by Soviet air and submarine attacks. The Russians are checked and driven back. Their leaders, unable to reconcile themselves with these reverses, obliterate the English city of Birmingham. Naturally this invites retaliation and Minsk is then incinerated in its turn.

The entire length of this unpleasantness is only three weeks. Not able to withstand the humiliation of defeat, the leaders in Moscow are overthrown while their empire falls apart under political pressure from within. Virtue has triumphed.

The scenario itself is fairly plausible and, in the area of the authors' expertise, rather interesting. Where it tends to go off the rails, though, is in the political background as visualized by its creators. For instance, one finds it particularly difficult to imagine Soviet leadership sinking to such a low level of credibility that the only thing which will restore it is an external war. Sending tanks into whatever satellite happens to be misbehaving has always worked before, and, as they say in football, you go with the play that's working.

A far more serious problem with the work is its woeful lack of characterization. Except for a few of the top men mentioned, there is an almost total absence of the human element. There are units and machines of war but hardly any men. Consequently the storyline is weak. In fact, the few passages where characters are introduced are by far the most interesting part of

the book. Unhappily they are a tiny portion of the whole. The story drags from one dreary technical detail to another; from one undecipherable acronym to the next.

This is not to say that the book is without value. It does make an important point. This seems to be that NATO must be strengthened so that it can successfully withstand the possible onslaught from the east. Its present level of preparedness apparently is not enough to do this. What is more there is a warning included that the Soviets will attack if they can be reasonably sure of winning.

“Those who argue for the reduction of defence expenditure in the countries of the West not only seem to live in the land of total make-believe, but they refuse to give the Marxist-Leninists who govern the USSR any credit either for meaning what they say (and have been saying for a long time) or for knowing what they are doing. What they have been saying, and have not ceased to say, is that the capitalist countries of the West are doomed to go down before the inexorable advance of communism, with the Red Army playing a major part in their overthrow.”

This is a legitimate point of view and the authors certainly cannot be faulted for trying to give it as wide a hearing as possible. Where they do fall down is in making the presentation so dreary as to invite the loss of readership through sheer boredom.

It is perhaps appropriate to paraphrase Talleyrand in saying: writing about war is much too serious a thing to be left to military men. On the other hand, the authors might have something there after all. If war can be made boring enough perhaps we might have a little less of it.

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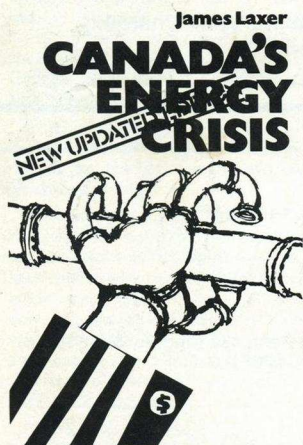
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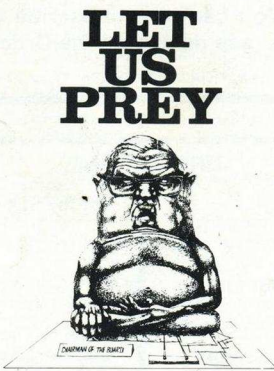
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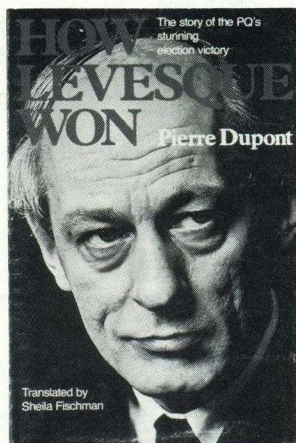


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