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TORONTO CLARION

Metro's Independent Newspaper

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Pride Is The Real Key to Québec Vote

By Phillippe Ranger

The Parti Quebecois (PQ) won despite the massive opposition of the federal power, of the English-speaking minority, and of business circles. Under such conditions, the landslide vote for the PQ was more than a vote against bad government.

It is true that the Bourassa government fell because of economic and image problems. No government is popular when the economy is in the slumps. The policies of the Quebec Liberal Party — splurging on the Olympics and James Bay, giving way to Ottawa in several economic tugs-of-war — only exaggerated the situation.

The Bourassa government had no economic and urban long-range policies. It proved impotent in all its dealings with Drapeau and provoked strikes it couldn't end. It appeared out of control and contemptible in the Olympic boondoggle, and, most of all, in dealing with its special supporters — Ottawa and the English minority in Quebec.

When George Springate, a Liberal backbencher, said that his prime minister was one of the most hated men in the province, he was simply commenting on his own handiwork and that of other non-French Canadian supporters of the government.

The three-week election campaign brought these problems into the limelight. New scandals swamped the media. Hydro went on strike because management would not respect the mediation of Bourassa's labour-relations star, Minister of Labour Jean Cournoyer.

North American governments are stable as long as they serve the establishment while remaining popular. Continuing popularity requires compromise in tune with the changes in public opinion.

Ensured of total support from business, from the media and from the legislature after winning 102 out of 110 seats in the 1973 election, the Liberals never developed a process of power-dealing and discussion. They were incompetent in the new situation of one-party politics. The lack of an effective parliamentary opposition kept the party from closing ranks in self-defense.

It had taken a long time for the PQ to find the proper role to play in Quebec politics. In the 1973 elections Levesque and his party had run as if they were the government.

But this time the PQ had revised its strategy. Vague on specific policies, it hammered at the Liberals' multiple liabilities and promised to do better. The PQ made itself into what the Liberals would have liked to be.

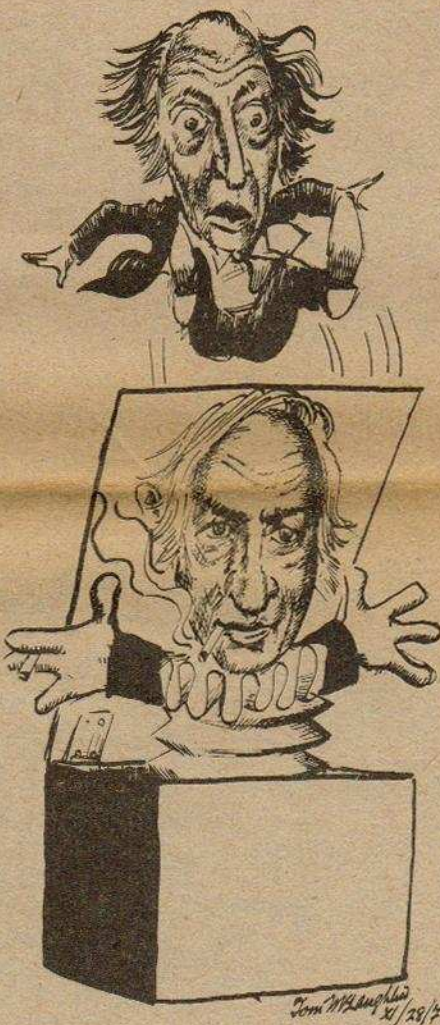
The Liberals' total power during the past three years allowed the PQ to hit wherever it wanted.

Sharp strategy by the PQ

The other essential element in the PQ's strategy was "étapisme." That's the notion that the PQ should proceed by stages — first becoming the government, then cleaning up the administration, then proceeding towards some form of independence. "Étapisme" in the campaign meant the repeated promise to stage a referendum on independence one or more years after gaining power.

As for the Liberals, they put all their campaign eggs in one basket. They did not rely on their own image, but on their capacity to give the PQ a fearful one. That meant blaming past and prospective

(cont'd on page 2)



Federal Gov't Bankrolls Union Busting Drive

By Virginia Smith

The federal government is bankrolling and coordinating an anti-union drive at a plant on the Tyendinaga Indian Reserve, about 120 miles east of Toronto, according to Andre Bekerman, international representative for the United Garment Workers.

A federal government employee, shifted from Executive Services Overseas to work on the drive, has appeared at Labour Board hearings on the case and has retained the company's lawyers, says Bekerman.

Although the United Garment Workers claim that it represents more than 65% of the plant workers, the certification struggle has been difficult, partly because unions can legally be excluded from Indian reserves. "They need not tolerate them," says Sylvia Maracle, a native of the Tyendinaga reserve and former editor of *Ontario Native Experience*.

The Council of the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte Band passed a motion at its October 6 meeting that "no national or international union be formed on the Tyendinaga Indian Reserve No. 38."

President and General Manager of the plant, Carl Brandt, a band councillor for 10 years and president of the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians from 1972 to 1974 said that under no circumstances will he allow a union in his shop and that he would instead fire all the workers.

"The company has consistently taken the position that Indian workers have no right to unionism," says Bekerman, and has, in fact, laid off some workers since the start of the union drive. Some laid off workers, who are "active with the union," still haven't been rehired, according to Bekerman.

The company also "caused anti-union petitions to be circulated through the plant," and, in some cases, "people signed under duress," says Bekerman. In addition, threats were made to some people who had been active in the campaign.

The Union has charged the company with unfair labour practices and the Ontario Labour Relations Board has started hearings on the charge.

(cont'd on page 9)

Metro Elections '76

The End of an Era

An era in Toronto politics has passed. The reform movement which swept middle class neighbourhoods in 1972 has petered out, but its political legacy remains.

Jon Caulfield, a keen observer of urban politics, surveys the election scene, past and present.

Sweeping changes are probably in store for Metro when the Robarts Commission reports in March. In the meantime, Caulfield defines some of the issues that matter in this election.

Bad transit decisions at the city hall level will undoubtedly mean another fare hike next spring.

City hall's involvement in housing, public health, workplace planning, policing, parks, and the regulation of development capital will affect people's lives immediately, says Caulfield. (P. 3)

Labour Council Backs a Development Candidate

Once again controversy has flared at Metro Labour Council over the endorsement of a development candidate. Is the support of candidates who promise jobs through grandiose development projects "opportunistic"? (Page 5)

A Reformer Retires

Michael Goldrick, a key member of the Reform Caucus, is retiring from electoral politics. The Caucus served its purpose, he believes, but never developed a cohesive political analysis to inform its decisions.

Goldrick talked to noted political analyst Loebek Torsen about the origins of the reform caucus and about his new political priorities. (Page 3)

“Little Men Talk of Armies”

To the Clarion:

The triumph of the Parti Quebecois does not, in my opinion, constitute the end of Canada. For a number of years, I have felt that the English media have never really conveyed any of the sophistication of the French-Canadians that we, in English Canada, could and should emulate.

French-Canadians, a minority group, are dominated by a majority of more than 200 million on this continent. The master can never know the slave as well as the slave knows the master. The colonizer can never know the colonized as well as the colonized know the colonizer.

Those in power do not have to deal with minorities unless minorities achieve a victory. Then the majority must listen to the minority until minority is sated and so “normalcy” returns.

The Quebecois know all this. As a minority, they have been stupendously successful in surviving. They know the ways of the English-speaking white man and will be amused by the white man who is so terrified by that which he does not understand. It is time for intolerant English-Canadians, and we are intolerant, maybe very intolerant, to listen. It is interesting that those who fear revolution and

riot, probably know the least about revolution and riot.

The fear of the unknown dark, the Red scares, and the fear of the new is what English-Canadians will have to deal with.

Little men talk of laws and institutions, big men talk of people, peoples and destinies. Little men talk of armies, constitutions, and rules; big men talk of ideas.

There is a sophistication, a wit, a suavity, a vivacity, a charm, a tolerance, and a disarming self-awareness in French-Canadians, that we, English-Canadians, could well emulate.

Confederation will not be won or lost by the Parti Quebecois — Confederation is still an experiment even after 100 years. Confederation will be won or lost by what English-Canadians do, not by what French-Canadians do.

I did not believe the media in their reporting about Quebec before the election, I do not believe it now, but I hope at some time in the future, I may be able to start believing it. And, I should add, I am of the media in a small way.

Simply, put, we, in English Canada, do not know what Canada is. We do not know what peoples are. There is still time to learn, but not very much.

Russel Biggar

P.Q. — Fresher Liberals Without Big Business Ties

(Cont'd from p. 1)

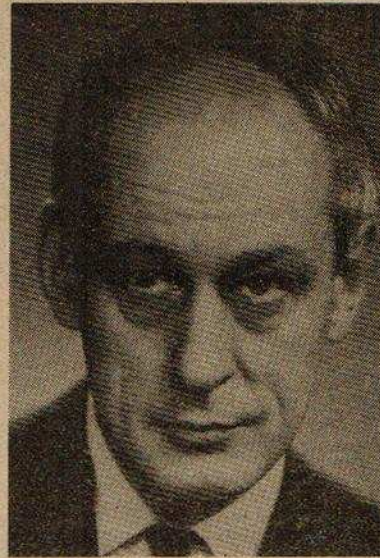
troubles on the labour “bosses”, the social “activists” and lack of investor confidence. The whole sandwich was then named “separatism” and the PQ always called “the separatist party”. The Liberal campaign boiled down to systematic harping on this theme.

The problem was that the PQ, thanks to *étapisme*, mostly wasn't there. It was precisely where the Liberals should have been promising good, strong, sensible government. Which, even in the midst of the campaign, the Liberals were showing themselves unable to provide.

Separatism and Dignity

So, it seems the Liberals lost because single-party politics killed their power to adjust, and the PQ won because it finally hit on an effective image — fresher Liberals without big-business ties.

That would only confirm our newest Canadian cliché: “The PQ victory was not a vote in favor of separatism, but a vote against bad government.” The funny thing is that the cliché usually comes from those who, up to the evening of Nov. 15, always equated the PQ with separatism. And from those in Ottawa who enjoyed a symbiotic relationship with Bourassa's “bad government.”



For the average French-Canadian, federalism has always come down either to second-class citizenship or assimilation. Independence means full citizenship without assimilation, and that's what the PQ has always been identified with.

Trudeau had an answer to that: Gain full citizenship in Canada. Ever since October 1970, however, he's failed to convince. That failure was confirmed this year by the Canada-wide outburst of racism — Bill 22, the Air Controllers, Air Canada and Richardson.

Second-class citizenship, combined with the Liberals' weak and corrupt administration and a general feeling of dispossession, meant that the average Quebecker felt demeaned. Voting for the PQ meant working to end that.

The Liberals got eleven of the twelve richest ridings on the island of Montreal — and the most English, of course. They got two somewhat similar ones in the eastern townships, and four of the five ridings close to Ottawa. That's 17 of their 28 seats. They're becoming a socially isolated party, representing the least dispossessed in the province. All urban working-class ridings went to the PQ. Rural ones varied.

In short, the Liberals' propaganda came true.

The “separatist party” has come to represent the strivings of those who are helped by unions and social activism. Its commitment to political, if not constitutional, independence made the PQ into a vehicle for the expression of the dignity of the Québec people.

Some odd things occurred in this

campaign. Créditiste leader Samson, for one, hurt his own party by upholding the Liberal campaign line. The PQ, the unions and the activists are causing all the mess. They're commies and anti-Christian. That brought a quick condemnation from his bishop — Samson said he ought to mind his onions and went on with his campaign.

By far the most important oddity, though, was Rodrigue Biron. A rich man by inheritance, he spent a lot to become chief of the Union Nationale, thought to be a dead party. He then took over not only the UN network of organizers but also a good number of Créditiste, especially south of the River, and he revived the party.

Biron quickly found his own constituency — those who despised the Bourassa government but weren't ready to vote “separatist.” These he very successfully courted, doing the work the PQ couldn't do to destroy the Liberal majority.

Biron's success has much to do with two aspects of the PQ victory. First, the PQ got a lot of seats for its 40% of the vote. Second, it ceased being a Montréal party and swamped all regions of the province. Except for the southeast quarter, where the UN got eight of its eleven seats.

If the UN hadn't been around the PQ would probably have got only a quarter of the UN vote, the rest going to the Liberals, except where the Créditistes were strong. In that case, the PQ would have lost 14 seats to the Liberals and one to the Créditistes. It would have won only 54 of the 110 seats in the assembly.

Moreover, the PQ would have lost 11 of its 46 seats outside Montreal and its suburbs, and 4 of its 23 Montreal seats. Ten of the UN seats would have gone to the Liberals, one to the Créditistes, who would, of course, have supported a Liberal minority government (52 Libs, 3 Créd.).

The PQ got only 20% of the undecided vote in the last poll, ten days before the elections. The UN got nearly as much and the rest went to the Liberals. The strongest objection to that cliché about “a vote against bad government” is that Biron reaped most of the voters who didn't want Bourassa but were really afraid of “separatism.”

It Ain't Cricket, But 31 Go to Court

By Peter Carver

Thirty-one of Toronto's most wanted will go to court December 8 to face charges of trespassing. The charges arise from incidents during a game played by a touring South African cricket team at the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club in early July.

Toronto has the dubious distinction of being the only city in Canada where this team — a pick-up group selected and led by Harry Oppenheimer, son of one of South Africa's leading industrialists — was allowed to stay. Protests launched by citizen, union and church organizations failed to convince the private Toronto Club to respect the international ban on sporting contact with South Africa. Similar protests in Edmonton, Winnipeg and Montreal succeeded in having scheduled matches cancelled.

Approximately 100 people turned out to protest at the July 10th game. When a number of them lay on the cricket pitch to prevent the contest from starting, the Club called in the police.

Arriving in a force of twenty to thirty squad cars, the police arrested 31 protesters for trespassing — including a reporter, a bystander and a 14 year-old boy — one of

their biggest hauls in years. One person was charged with assault.

The reporter's camera, which contained a possibly exonerating roll of film was confiscated and has not been returned. The Toronto Newspaper Guild is investigating.

The Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club has justified its position by arguing, as do most members of the Canadian sports establishment, that politics and sport should remain separate.

Yet this principle is not observed by the South African government itself: a group of whites was recently arrested for playing soccer with Africans in a Black township. Following the arrests, the minister responsible reassured his constituents that the move to integrate some national teams would not be allowed to influence the practice of apartheid at lower levels.

The government has politicized sport in a second way: by using it as an instrument in its desperate search for international acceptance. Anver Saloojee, one of those charged in Toronto and a spokesperson for Canadians Concerned About South Africa, points out that the cricket visit coincided with the beginning of the Olympics — from which South Africa was excluded. Even such a seemingly minor and informal team as Oppenheimer's received extensive coverage in South African newspapers when it managed to play in Toronto: nothing was reported of the protest. Under these con-

S. Africa arrests 4,000

According to a study issued this month by the South African Institute of Race Relations, more than 4,000 persons have been arrested in connection with the political protests of the past five months.

The Institute — a research organization funded largely by American foundations — said about half that number have been convicted of crimes such as riotous assembly, public violence, incitement, theft and arson. More than 500 youths have been sentenced to flogging, while 200 adults have been sent to prison.

ditions, agreeing to host a South African team is itself a political act, one that gives aid and comfort to an abhorrent regime.

The trials of the Toronto 31 will begin 10 am, December 8, in the Provincial Courthouse at 5290 Yonge St. That night, Johnny Makitini of the African National Council of South Africa and Sikose Mji from the Black ghetto of Soweto will be speaking in Toronto as part of a cross-country tour to increase support for the movement against apartheid. Phone 967-5562.

Members of the Toronto Cricket, Skating and Curling Club are especially welcome.

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Civic Elections Underline the End of an Era

By J. Caulfield

Civic elections December 6 will have little effect city hall. Some faces will change, but the political make-up of local and Metro councils will be largely the same, and business will continue as usual in the new year.

This will mean, among other things, a transit fare hike in 1977, probably to 45¢. Metro will continue to plan a Leslie "expressway" and a Lawrence extension across West Don ravine. City hall support for innovative social services and the arts will remain paltry and enmeshed in bureaucracy. Metro will fail to come to grips with the Police Commission.

More important, there will be no change in city hall's dealings with the development industry. Constant rent increases, auto-based sprawl and dominance of Toronto's growth by corporate interests will remain a way of life. A local developer wrote in 1968, "There must be a method of organizing this industry so that from it will emerge organizations of equal stature to the car industry and the oil industry." If you think this is a good idea, you will be happy with Metro's handling of growth and developers. Those in local politics who support corporate dominance will probably increase their strength slightly December 6, if the elections yield any change at all.

Shot Its Bolt

The current round of elections occurs at a crossroads in Toronto's city hall history. The reformist wave of the early 70s has shot its bolt; an occasion commemorated this year by the retirement of several reform politicians. New candidates who call themselves reform, and a "movement for municipal reform", represent a new generation of civil political personalities, not the populist movement which swept the city's middle class neighbourhoods in 1972. The current reformers stand for many of the same things as their predecessors, but they are not the leading edge of a minor political upheaval, as the 1972 reformists were.

Michael Goldrick: Electoral

By Loebek Torsen

Some people with knowing looks in their eyes, are saying, "Now take Mike Goldrick, there's a fellow who's knocked his head against a wall and got nothing out of it. Exhausted, frustrated, he's probably had it with municipal politics." They're wrong. A mid-November interview with Goldrick makes it clear that he did much more than just survive his years as alderman. Dropping out of electoral politics doesn't mean the end of his political efforts.

What was the basis for the formation of the Reform Caucus?

During 1973-74 a number of us were consistently voting together. Often there were divergences between us, but overall as we looked back at our records, we appeared to be aiming at more or less the same things.

That is not to say we were lock-step! Occasionally one or the other of this group of six to eight aldermen would strike-off in an independent direction, catching others unaware. Before the 1975 election, we talked about formalizing

our relationship so that the points of view we shared could be brought together.

After the election, we decided to establish the Caucus and present joint positions to Council. We thought that a cohesive group of people would have a greater impact on the policy-making and opinion-forming function of City Council.

I would say, in retrospect, it was all pretty loose. Not a tremendous amount of thought was given to the process. But it was apparent that there would be major advantages in concerted action between us,

You mention similar voting and similar aims. Did you ever consider that people may have voted the same way for different reasons?

What we saw as similarities in our voting and the basis for them were concepts that had been very much in the forefront of public discussion in the past years. But these concepts were not well defined. There was not any kind of disciplined analysis of politics and power in society.

"Like other middle class reformist movements which have littered the pages of North American city history, Toronto's petered out quickly. The reformists did, however, have an impact on the city which survives their movement."

Among the retiring aldermen is Colin Vaughan, a politician who exemplified reformism, and as a constituent of Vaughan's, I'll miss him, not because we always agreed, but because he was open-minded and fair-minded and because his concerns were those of a decent person who almost inadvertently got mixed up in politics. When Vaughan goes, the ward will be left represented at Metro Council of Ying Hope, a career politician whose major concern usually is how to win the next election.

Vaughan's case pretty well sums up reformism. By and large the reform aldermen and activists were not political careerists, but just a bunch of angry people who got mixed up in politics. The city is better off because they did. Metro Centre is dead, Spadina Avenue isn't an expressway, a lot of cheaper housing has been saved from the wrecker's ball, two polluting lead plants are being cleaned up, and downtown will not become a corporate mausoleum devoid of neighbourhoods. Reformists helped with these and other things, often at severe cost to their private and personal lives. If there's a moral to the story, it's that ordinary people who haven't political ambitions should think twice before getting sucked into politics.

Like other middle class reformist movements which have littered the pages of North American city history, Toronto's petered out quickly, leaving a political legacy of only a few aldermen at city hall who call themselves the Reform Caucus. The reformists did, however, have an impact on the city which survives their movement.

A Big Difference

Confusion of reformism with the left continues. The Star, I'm told, has assigned a story on the collapse of the left at city hall. Most leftists didn't know there was much there to have collapsed. There has been some congruence of reformist and leftist positions, but reformism has been characterized by conservationist and "good government" values, while the left is committed to radical changes of values. On the fundamental crunch issue in urban politics, the left seeks socialization of growth while reformism has sought more benign capitalism. That's a big difference.

New Set of Rules

And so a mini-era in Toronto politics has passed. Ahead lies a new era which will be initiated from a very different direction. The Robarts Commission, scheduled to publish its report in March, may recommend the most sweeping changes in Toronto local government since Metro was set up in 1954.

A notable feature of the December 6 election is the absence from the ballot of the names of the politicians who will make up Toronto's most important council next time around. Metro council is a potpourri of local politicians who get their seats by local appointment and happy accident; none gets there because voters put them there. Robarts may change this, and if so, the next civic election will be played by a whole new set of rules.

However, while Robarts may recommend some big structural changes, he is unlikely to suggest any "reforms" of real

substance — for example, 100% taxation of speculative real estate profits. He is, after all, a former Tory premier. Since 1954 Tory policy has supported the Toronto region's booming growth and development in whatever way big corporations have found most profitable.

Metro has promoted this policy quite nicely, and Robart's structural changes will probably be consistent with its maintenance.

Issues That Matter

It's sometimes said that it makes no difference who's elected to councils because city hall doesn't matter. True, city hall has had little to say about energy, wage controls or the regulation of capital. But while the bigger governments do deal with bigger issues, and while the cutting edge of politics is rooted in the economics of the workplace, there are still issues that matter at city hall.

A five-cent transit fare hike next spring will cost a transit-dependent household more than \$50 yearly in addition to the nearly \$100 yearly last year's fare hike cost. A good part of working people's hard-won pay raises may be chewed up just paying to get to and from work.

Transit fares are going up for two reasons. The first is the way city halls have encouraged Toronto to develop; a dispersed, car-based sprawl can't be served economically or efficiently by transit. The second is a series of very bad transit decisions by city hall. Two miles of an unneeded Bloor-Danforth extension is costing \$40-million. The Spadina subway will cost property taxpayers \$5 million in first year of operation because the line won't even cover half its operating expense.

These decisions aren't as important as the big stuff at Ottawa and Queen's Park, but they affect people's lives very directly. City halls are involved in other bread-and-butter issues including housing, public health, the planning of workplaces, policing, parks and the regulation of development capital, all of which affect people's lives immediately, tomorrow. It's hard to see why some people believe they don't matter.

A Reformer Retires Politics

to introduce any kind of social analysis — other than a conservative one — into city politics.

Our primary aims were to see if we could work together and if what we sensed to be shared values and objectives could stand up to two years of intensive interaction. The Caucus arrangement stood the test of time well. I am less confident that we came out of the experiment together in terms of ideology and analysis.

"Significant gains cannot be made through electoralism"

In the future the role of progressive aldermen must be clearly defined. Significant gains cannot be made through electoralism. To think otherwise is to think that social change happens through elections and that the contribution made by a handful of elected people is going to be decisive. Not only is that faulty in terms of social change theory, it's ridiculous when one considers the subordinate position of municipal government.

(Cont'd on p.9)



International

France:

General Strike Against Control

Hundreds of thousands took to the streets of France October 7 to protest the anti-inflation plan of premier Raymond Barre. The strike, called by the largest French labour unions, completely paralysed the country.

The turnout was the largest popular mobilization since May, 1968. Schools were closed, factories empty, newspapers did not publish and the buses, subways and trains stopped.

Paris was filled with demonstrators as were many of the provincial centres. Traffic remained blocked for hours by the demonstrations which included large numbers of farmers and small business people as well.

France's plan to deal with inflation, like those in other western capitalist countries, places the load firmly on the shoulders of the workers. A ceiling of 6.5% has been placed on wages and prices for the upcoming year.

But income taxes will rise up to 8% while corporate taxes will go up 4%.

Gasoline will cost 15% more and automobile registration fees are expected to rise as much as 43 to 125%. And all workers will pay 0.7% more to maintain France's social security system. The government plans to increase savings by floating a public loan of 350 million francs.

Until now, France has not had a strict system of wage and price control. The most recent attempt at bringing about wage and price reductions in small and medium factories was a 1974 "anti-inflationary" emergency tax, which was eventually rejected by owners.

Barre has the difficult task of adjusting his plan to the many conflicting interests and demands of the French bourgeoisie. For example he has to avoid hurting those sections of the middle class which provide the popular support for the government. As a result, the plan does not have any effective measures to deal with the widespread middle class crime of tax fraud, which is estimated to reduce government revenues by 500 million francs a year.

Criticism of the plan has come from many sides. According to Socialist Party leader, Francois Mitterand the logic of the plan is simple: it transfers consumer resources to business in order to support capital accumulation by heavy industry. Mitterand added that the plan would also mean increased unemployment and inequality of incomes.

(Newsfront International, October 29)

Chile: With a Lot of Help From Its Friends

Chile's brutal military dictatorship, after three years in power, now appears to be more firmly in control thanks to its Canadian friends.

The \$350 million investment by Noranda Mines of Toronto; the \$125 million loan by a consortium of banks including the Royal Bank of Canada, the Toronto Dominion and the Bank of Nova Scotia; and the recent use of the port of Montreal as a conduit for U.S. arms shipments to Chile have bolstered Pinochet's regime and established Canada as an invaluable ally to his government.

Noranda Takes the Lead

The first and largest investment in Chile since the coup has been offered by Noranda Mines. Noranda plans a partnership with the junta to develop a \$350 million copper mine and smelter at the Andacollo deposit several hundred miles north of Santiago. Noranda agreed to put up 49% of the capital required and will help the junta finance its share.

Noranda's decision was a landmark for the junta, and may encourage several other copper investments by lending the country some international respectability. It is critical to the junta that other corporations follow Noranda's lead. Without the influx of foreign exchange, the Chilean balance of payments deficit would be severely aggravated. The junta, already unpopular because of its repressive economic policies, might face still more widespread opposition.

Noranda's announcement of its Chilean investment sparked immediate protest from church and community groups across Canada. Noranda simply turned a deaf ear to the protests.

The Chilean deal will bring Noranda big returns. W.F. James, Noranda's executive vice-president, boasted that the company had acquired the "plum" of the existing untapped deposits. Because of the richness of the deposit and the availability of cheap Chilean labour (which the government forbids to unionize) Noranda officials admit that copper will be mined more profitably in Chile than in Canada.

Canada to the Rescue

But speculation has been growing of late that the junta is having difficulty financing its share of the project, and Noranda is looking to help out.

The corporation's contacts in numerous financial institutions and friends in government departments like Industry, Trade and Commerce will no doubt make the task easier.

Noranda vice-president Adam Zimmerman, who sits on the board of the Export Development Corporation — which lends development assistance for projects such as these — already puts Noranda on the inside track.

(Chile report; LNS)

MPs Investigate South America Canadian Complicity Charged

By Peter Davies

Andrew Brewin (NDP-Toronto Greenwood) and David MacDonald (PC - Egmont, PEI), two members of a three-man parliamentary group that last month made an on-the-spot investigation of the plight of South American political refugees in Argentina, were in Toronto November 25 speaking about their experiences.

The meeting was arranged by the Canadian Inter-Church Committee on Chile, which had also sponsored and paid for the MPs' investigative tour. George Cram, of the Inter-Church Committee, who led the group to South America, was the only one to gain entry to Chile. The MPs, whose proposed visit had been reported in the Santiago press, were refused entry to Chile at the last moment.

Cram referred to the ban on the Canadian MPs entering the country at the Thursday evening meeting. Cram said that despite the earlier urgings of the Pinochet regime that foreign critics of the dictatorship visit the country and experience the "true" situation at first hand, the Canadians' visit would have been highly embarrassing to the Chilean government.

The MPs would have seen the clear evidence in city streets and the surrounding countryside of a 20 percent unemployment rate and a 900 percent increase in living costs over eighteen months. Nor would it have been possible, Cram said, to conceal from the Canadian visitors the fearfulness of the population, the callous attitude of the government to its own workers and

the intolerable restrictions placed upon trade unionists.

Andrew Brewin said that he and his colleagues went to Argentina with two purposes; to study the refugee situation and to look at the matter of fundamental human rights. "The situation in Argentina is very, very grim. We were told that at least 1,000 people have disappeared," Brewin said.



The Toronto MP said that two weeks ago, he and Mr. Duclos, the third MP in the group, had met with External Affairs Minister Don Jamieson. Brewin said, "I thought I heard him say that he was not disposed to see Canadian corporations making loans to the military dictatorships."

Mr. Brewin concluded by referring to the recommendation that the group of three parliamentarians had made to their fellow MPs: "That Canada should make

clear to South American governments that positive actions on the matter of human rights in their countries would have to be a precondition to the granting of loans to those countries by Canada."

David MacDonald spoke of a conversation members of the group had had with a senior government official in Buenos Aires. The official had defended the actions of the military regime on the grounds that the country was under a state of siege and was fighting an international Marxist conspiracy. One of the chief conspirators, the Argentinian official told the MP, was the New York Times.

David MacDonald described his experience in Uruguay, the other country visited by the MPs. "My impression was of a nation and a people suffering from a serious depression as a result of a total oppression by a military regime. There was an almost total fear to speak out by politicians, church people and trade union leaders", MacDonald said. He went on, "Limitations on human rights and the abandonment of parliamentary practices were even worse in Uruguay than in Argentina."

"Canada cannot sit idly by," the Conservative MP told his Thursday night audience. "We are not neutral. These countries have committed themselves, as Canada has, to supporting international human rights agreements. We must bring before the international investment community, their involvement also," concluded Mr. MacDonald.

Argentine Guerillas Tactics Are Now Critical

For about six months the Argentine government has been claiming that it was winning the war against the guerrilla organisations, the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) and the Partido Montonero. Recently in Chile President Jorge Videla went one step further and claimed that the guerrillas had actually been defeated.

The argument is that the organisations can no longer mount massed attacks on military barracks.

Their recent emphasis on killing police officers and executives of car manufacturing companies is seen as an indication of weakness.

This does not make too much sense. Material published by the guerrillas clearly shows the Montoneros have calculated that they paid too high a price in lives for the few guns they obtained.

The Montoneros are more active militarily than the ERP at present, and their tactic is to concentrate their attention on the police, who dispute control of any given urban territory with the guerrillas. It is only when a house is identified as being occupied by the guerrillas, or a major search operation undertaken, that the army is engaged.

The Montoneros seem to be calculating that they will be able to demoralise the police to such an extent that the army will be forced to undertake more and more police duties. At that point the army will

begin to suffer all the disadvantages of dispersion which currently hamper the police. The campaign is not unpopular, as the police have an unenviable reputation for brutality and corruption.

Similarly, the campaign against executives of the car manufacturers is conceived as a way of demoralising a key group of men, who play an important part in identifying and blacklisting suspected subversives in their factories. It is also an attempt to take reprisals for the kidnapping and murder of workers' delegates in these factories. Some six executives were killed during the six weeks from October to mid-November.

It's the Real Thing

Georgia has a particular advantage over some states in that we have our own built-in State Department in the Coca-Cola Company. They provide me ahead of time with much more penetrating analyses of what the country is, what its problems are, who its leaders are, and when I arrive there, provide me with an introduction to the leaders of that country in every realm of life in which we have an interest."

— November 12, 1974:
Jimmy Carter's Speech to the
Commission on Foreign
Relations

However, the guerrillas have also been suffering heavy casualties. The Montoneros say they are losing people at twice the rate of last year. How they are losing them is another matter. The armed forces claim to have killed 152 guerrillas during the same six-week period mentioned above, and to have lost 12 from their own side during that time.

Sabotage is increasing all the time; last week a thick pall of smoke hung over the Buenos Aires dock area, where bales of cotton were burning fiercely.

With the press tightly controlled by the government, the major coups of yesteryear, designed to demonstrate the daring and technical skill of the guerrillas, have ceased to be so important. What is crucial today is the extent to which the working class will support and participate in this kind of resistance.

If the military succeed in convincing the workers that resistance brings tougher repression and is ultimately doomed, then the Montoneros will indeed go the way of the Tupameros and the Bolivian ELN. They might survive, but would become quite irrelevant.

If, on the other hand, the Montoneros can succeed in transmitting their confidence in victory to the people at large, then the military government could face defeat.

Tripartism

How Much Is One Third of Nothing?

By J. W. Rinehart

The Canadian Labour Congress' manifesto advocating tripartism, or joint management of the economy by business, labour and government, has grabbed the headlines, but it was the Trudeau government that initiated discussions about new ways to manage the economy.

The government is taking a hard look at countries like Sweden and West Germany, where there appears to be more cooperation and less conflict between labour and business than in Canada. Tripartism is only one of several techniques being used to reduce industrial conflict and to increase productivity and profits.

Based on their observation of the European experience, business and government leaders here are also considering introducing changes at the level of enterprise. In the speech from the Throne last month Trudeau announced plans to form a national council devoted to improving the quality of life at the workplace.

A look at how the West German and Swedish systems of worker participation and job enrichment actually work will show what business and government find attractive in these schemes.

West German Co-determination

The West German system of co-determination involves a works council (consisting solely of workers' representatives) in each plant, which has consultation rights on issues like hiring, transfers, and discharge of personnel. Employees and management also have equal representation on the firm's economic committee. This body has the right to demand information on management decisions concerning production processes and the financial status of the enterprise.

Each firm also has a board of supervisors, one-third of which is comprised of labour delegates (one-half in the state-run coal and steel industries). According to the West German Trade Union Federation, this body can "exercise effective influence on major policies of the firm."

The important terms here are "consultation" and "influence", which refer not to the capacity to make decisions but simply to have an effect on them. The subsidiary and ineffective role of workers' delegates is approved by the West German Trade Union Federation, which has stated: "It is by no means the intention of co-determination, to destroy the authority of management. Nor is it intended that workers, acting through their delegates, should take over management."

Workers' representatives, absorbed as they are in managerial routines, constitute a privileged group quite isolated from shop floor workers. Rank and file workers remain in the same subordinate position they have always occupied at the workplace.



Swedish Job Enlargement

Sweden has laws (a) requiring that two employees sit on company boards of directors; (b) restricting the right of employers to dismiss workers; (c) giving workers' safety representatives the right to shut down any area of a plant which they regard as unsafe.

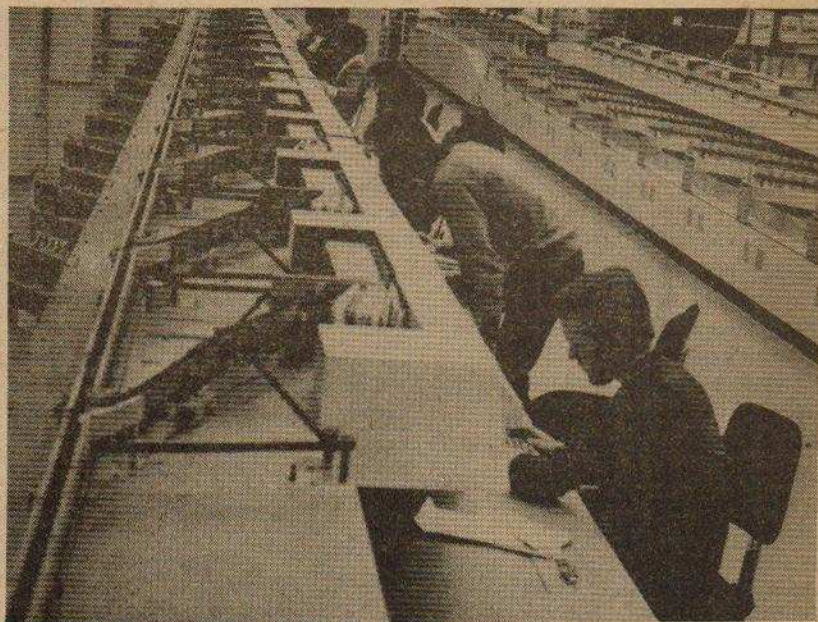
The Swedish employers' Confederation (SAF) and the union (LO) have agreed that all companies with over 50 employees must have a works council of elected worker representatives and representatives and company-appointed representatives. A works council discusses matters like the working environment, health and safety, and expansion

programmes. The financial sub-committee of the council also has the right to inspect the company's books. However, the works councils are only consultative bodies; from the point of view of the SAF, they are "valuable aids to communication."

Apart from these laws and agreements, many Swedish firms have introduced job enlargement and worker participation schemes. One way jobs are expanded is by adding more production tasks to a single job. Take, for example, a situation where an article is assembled by eight persons, each person performing one of the eight operations. This process can be re-arranged so that each worker does all eight tasks. In this way the time of work cycles has been extended from one minute or less to 25 or 30 minutes — "with", the SAF points out, "no loss of efficiency."

Jobs are also enlarged by adding minor housekeeping (sweeping and cleaning one's immediate work area) and maintenance duties (doing routine machine maintenance and repair) to production tasks. Finally, work is broadened by what the Swedes call decentralizing authority and responsibility. This involves worker responsibility for quality control. In addition, management's production quotas are given to workers, who then plan how they will meet the quotas. Workers decide on such matters as job assignments and pace of work within the limits of the quota.

This decentralization of responsibility is regarded both as a kind of job enlargement and of worker participation in decision-making. Participation also entails the works councils and "employee directors" as well as the common practice of gathering workers together with management to discuss efficient ways of organizing and improving production in the workers' immediate job areas. As the SAF puts it, "the opinions of lower-level workers should be listened to not merely because they like being consulted but because they have valuable knowledge about how their jobs should be done."



No Assembly Line

One of the most famous job modification programmes is in operation at the Volvo plant in Kalmar, Sweden. When I visited the plant last summer I was impressed by its physical and technical environment. It was remarkably

clean, and the noise level was similar to that of an office. There were ample cafeterias and coffee-break areas — and even a sauna bath for workers.

But the most striking innovation was that cars were being built

Unions Support Native Movements

By Virginia Smith

The Metro Labour Council staged a public meeting November 18 about the impact of the federal government's Indian Affairs policies. The meeting is one sign of developing ties between trade unions and the native peoples' movement.

One non-native and three native speakers talked about jobs — an issue that plagues native people as they struggle with the welfare recipient role long assigned to them by government.

Paul Williams from the Union of Ontario Indians pointed out that Indian reserves are a developers' dream.

They aren't subject to taxation. There are no zoning restrictions. "You can do anything you want with the land."

But a lot of native people are wary of development schemes conceived by outsiders. "People are particular about who they let in," panel member Sylvia Maracle told the *Clarion*.

The Department of Indian Affairs has done little to foster development compatible with traditional native life. The Department has decided that "Indians should get into economic development," said Williams, "but its schemes are badly conceived and executed."

"Indian businesses invariably lose money", said Williams. Indian affairs may set up a motel or a ski lodge, but they never give enough money to make a go of it. Even worse, "they bring in an outside manager from Indian Affairs and import white collar workers from the outside." These "attempts at development don't work because they don't come from the community", according to Maracle former editor of *Ontario Native Experience*.

Too often, the only alternatives presented for Indians are "a stone-age economy" or "jobs" in the white man's style, said Graham

Beakhus, of York University's Environmental Studies Department, the only non-native speaker on the panel. But native people are "interested in jobs and their traditional ways." In the Northwest Territories, "people are seeking long term part time jobs." But "the basic work week on the Alaska pipeline is 70 hours." These jobs, which are used as "the justification for northern development last only for three or four years."

Forging links between unions and native groups will take time and work. "People are afraid of unions," says Maracle. "They are a bogeyman because they were originally dominated by WASPS and reflect the interests of the dominant culture."

But, in the long run, trade unions could offer valuable support to the native movement by "helping to bring unions into the reserves." But "it would have to be a different kind of union with a different ideology," says Maracle.

Unions could be "forefront runners in stopping prejudicial hirings" and "they could ensure that native people get jobs by putting pressures on employers."

This cooperation is already happening to some extent. Spokesman for the Ontario Federation Human Rights Committee said that "the unions up north have indicated that they are doing everything possible to open doors to native people" — in some cases, seeing that job qualifications are lowered so that hiring will be possible. Trade unionists and native people have joint problems. Assistance must be forthcoming in every way," said the spokesman.

The labour movement has generally shown more interest in the native struggle during the last year or two, says Maracle, partly because northern development issues have made "Canadian society more aware."

"In Bed With the Developers"

By Virginia Smith

At the Metro Labour Council's November 18 meeting, Jim Buller of the Toronto Typographical Union charged the Council with "ignoring the criteria" it established for endorsement of candidates in the December municipal election. He called the proposed endorsement of Scarborough borough Mayor Paul Cosgrove "opportunistic."

City Ward Six Alderman Dan Heap also protested the endorsement, calling attention to Cosgrove's "generally anti-labour position."

Clive Ballantine of the Toronto Building and Construction Trades Council insisted that Cosgrove's record on development is more important than his support for labor. "Our issue is jobs for the people we represent and you can accuse us of jumping into bed with

the developers," said Ballantine. "Scarborough has a development plan," while "there's hardly any significant projects in the City."

After heated discussion, the Council endorsed Cosgrove by a vote of 41-39.

Buller was also angry that Council didn't endorse York alderman Oscar Kogan, "despite his good voting record." Kogan is a member of the Communist Party. City school trustee candidate Pat Case, another Communist Party member, was also left off the endorsements list, though the Council supported him when he ran for alderman in 1974.

"I'm a member of a trade union and I've been working in the community for years," Case told the *Clarion*, "but it doesn't mean a damn in the face of Communist party membership."

"I don't think we have to endorse every goddamn subversive move-

ment that exists," said Ballantine at the meeting, but didn't mention the Communist Party.

In most other endorsements, the Council favoured members of the City's reform caucus and candidates who can generally be categorized as "reformers."

Earlier this year, the Council prepared a Municipal Programme and asked prospective candidates to endorse it. The Council also checked the candidates' attitude toward organized labour and asked for full disclosure of funding sources during the campaign.

The Council's Municipal Programme calls for provincial subsidies of TTC deficits, the construction of low and moderate income housing, the extension of rent controls, the use of income to pay some municipal costs, and salaries rather than fee-for-service payments to doctors, among other things.

Cheap Eats The Chappaties Are Hard to Beat

By Buzz Burza

After serving in the Peace Corps in India, I was fortunate enough to be able to return several years later to Govalior where I had been stationed. The point is that I have more than a passing understanding and interest in East Indian foods and that's one of the reasons I enjoy living in Toronto. There are more East Indians living in Metro than any area in North America and consequently the chappaties are hard to beat.

When the Star mentioned the **Oriental Indian Restaurant** at 1014 Queen Street East in a short review with a rather ho-hum conclusion, I was disappointed. I intended to write about the very same restaurant this week and was afraid of sounding copycatish, but this restaurant deserves more than mere mention as a quaint gastronomic alternative. The fact is the Oriental remains the best value in Hindustani cooking in Metropolitan Toronto.

The best indication as to the ethnic composition of any business establishment is the contents of its juke box. Three years ago when I first ate at this better than good eatery I was struck by the fact that the juke box's contents consisted solely of Indian popular music. It's still the same. So are the stainless steel water tumblers, constantly refilled, and the stainless steel-compartmented trays the food is served on, both authentic touches of back home. Outside of two portraits of Sikh saints, the decor of the

restaurant, both inside and out, is in keeping with typical plasticine sameness, found in business establishments of new Canadians. Except this one has some remarkable food.

One distinguishing characteristic of Indian food is its complicatedness. The whole business takes times so if one is looking for fast food, let them eat hamburger.

The Oriental's menu begins with the admonition: "...order please complete meals..." which will "avoid prolonged waiting and get good service." What they are saying is to order the whole shot initially because later additions will be dealt with in turn. Although this restaurant is a bit pricier than the usual beaneries I write about, it was well worth returning to.

Ideally Indian food should be ordered *a la carte* for at least four, in the same fashion as Chinese food. There are a wide range of appetizers, salads and sweetmeats that should accompany whatever curries and breads are eaten. When I was recently at The Oriental, it was for lunch with a friend.

Although not a raging feast, it was all more than adequate. Hindustani meals consist of curried entrees, surrounded by whatever condiments, dishes and breads are desired. Curried entrees are either vegetarian or not, with the former usually being a dollar or so cheaper as well as being more traditional. This food is eaten with the fingers using pieces of round, flat, unleavened bread approximately 10

inches in diameter. Various foods as well as sauce are sopped up in a sweeping motion. One's involvement with East Indian food is more visceral than not.

The other day Lunch consisted of a single appetizer (45¢) Samosa, deep fried pastry with a sauce, two vegetable curries, cheese and peas and potatoes and spinach, both at \$1.90, a single order of plain on-the-premise-prepared yogurt (a necessary part of any East Indian meal), five chappaties which currently are going for .40 and two pieces of barfi, which is a remarkable Indian confection made of boiled down milk, spices and slivered pistachios that ends up looking like albino fudge. The repast was topped off with a couple of cups of spiced tea.

The whole schmeer came to \$8.25 and for me was as pleasant as seeing an old friend. Ideally though this is a place for a more involved dinner that would allow a wider sampling of the meat curries, rice dishes and sweets.

The Oriental Indian Restaurant is closed Monday. Tuesday through Friday they are open for lunch 11 to 2 and 5 to 10 for dinner, Saturday and Sundays 11 to 11. There is a house special advertised for Sundays only that consists of the complete meal for \$2.95. Such things usually merit consideration. Be prepared to spend six dollars a head and don't be afraid to ask questions. It'll be a lot cheaper than going to New Delhi.

Finally a few words on processing. Milk is standardized, preserved, clarified, homogenized, pasteurized, stabilized, hydrolyzed, vitaminized, antioxidantized... get the picture?

Shopping For Dairy Products

● The only decent milk in Toronto is goat's milk from Capracore Co-op. The law forces them to pasteurize it, but otherwise it's good stuff. Available at most health food stores at 99¢ to \$1.15 for a 40 oz. quart.

● Avoid commercial ice cream like the plague. Some of the chemicals in it are also used by the leather and metal industries. Only hot dogs are worse.

● Watch for aseptic milk. New on the market, aseptic milk will last 6 months without refrigeration. Long shelf life for food means a shorter life for you!

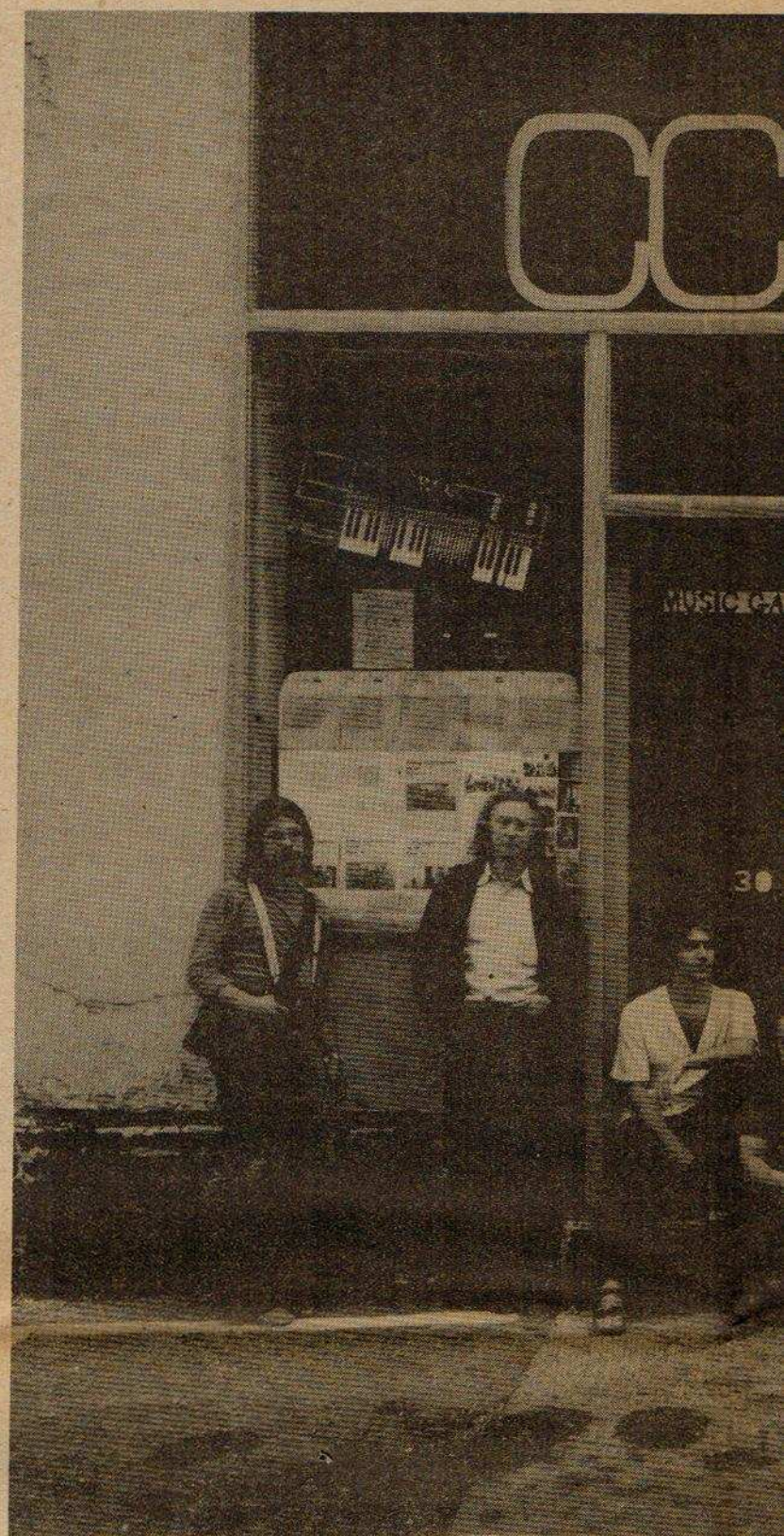
● Avoid toppings, desserts and other convenience products. They're a ripoff and are loaded with chemicals, especially phosphates.

● Processed cheese is tasteless, hydrogenated, and contains lots of gelatin. Buy the real thing.

Note To Vegetarians

Cheese is usually made with rennet, a coagulant taken from the stomach of slaughtered calves. Pepsin from butchered pigs is also widely used, even though vegetarian enzymes are available. Baldwin St. Natural Foods has a good vegetarian cheese flown in from California, along with other organic goodies.

Next Issue: Eggs



The Canadian Creative Music Collective props up its premises at The Music Gallery, 30 St. Patrick St. The CCMC is a group of musicians devoted to the use of free improvisation, creating their pieces as they play them. Their home at the Music Gallery in the downtown warehouse district offers a starkly defined playing area where

The Barflies

Marilyn Burnett & Buzz Burza

Located at the mish-mash intersection of Dundas, College and Lansdowne is a hotel, long an institution in Toronto's west end. The name of this area used to be Brockton and the Lansdowne Tavern was built almost 100 years ago to serve the needs of the area which included a good deal of rail traffic. Now an overpass carries automobiles soaringly above the tracks. While the Lansdowne Tavern hasn't rented out rooms in years they are still mustily waiting on the third floor ready to be inhabited.

The outside of the building still has its original lines although the brick is disguised behind layers of white paint. During the "Great" War (as our grand fathers mistakenly referred to it) the hotel was pressed into service as a barracks for armed forces. And during

BRUNCH IT
AT

TIGER'S
SUNDAY
10 til 1

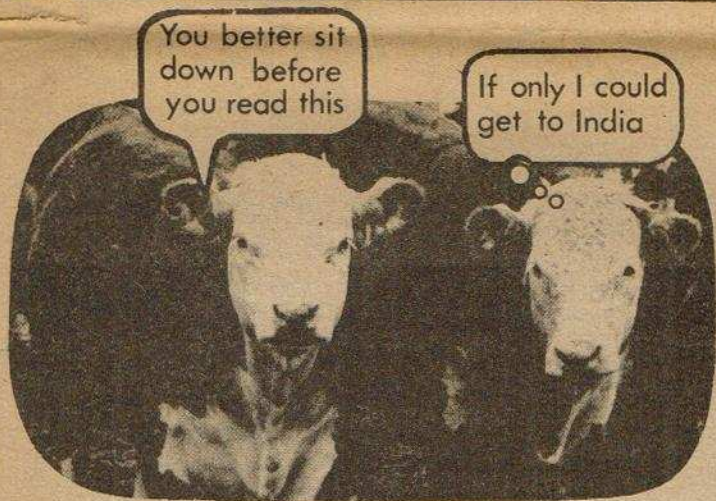
NATIONAL DISH OF
JAMAICA
Seasoned Mackerel
Boiled Green Banana

Warm hard dough bread
Unlimited coffee

\$2.99

51 Kensington Avenue
Kensington Market

368-3148



By John Sullivan

Can you imagine feeding cats and dogs to dairy cattle? It happens in Holland. Stray cats and dogs are routinely processed into food for the Dutch dairy industry.

Now imagine a cow bored to tears with her diet of grass, grass and more grass. She wades into a nearby stream and chomps her massive jaws at the fish. Don't laugh. Deodorized fish products are actually fed to cattle. England pioneered the use of fish in dairy feed but quickly outlawed it when children got sick from the milk.

Here in Canada livestock feeds generally are sold by the slaughterhouses, so not surprisingly, animal remains are recycled back into cattle feeds. Thus the majority of Canadian cattle have become carnivores and cannibals.

This is very alarming to vegetarians who, health and biological arguments aside, believe the milk is non-vegetarian. Earlier this year the Toronto Vegetarian Association petitioned the government to ban slaughterhouse wastes from dairy cattle feeds.

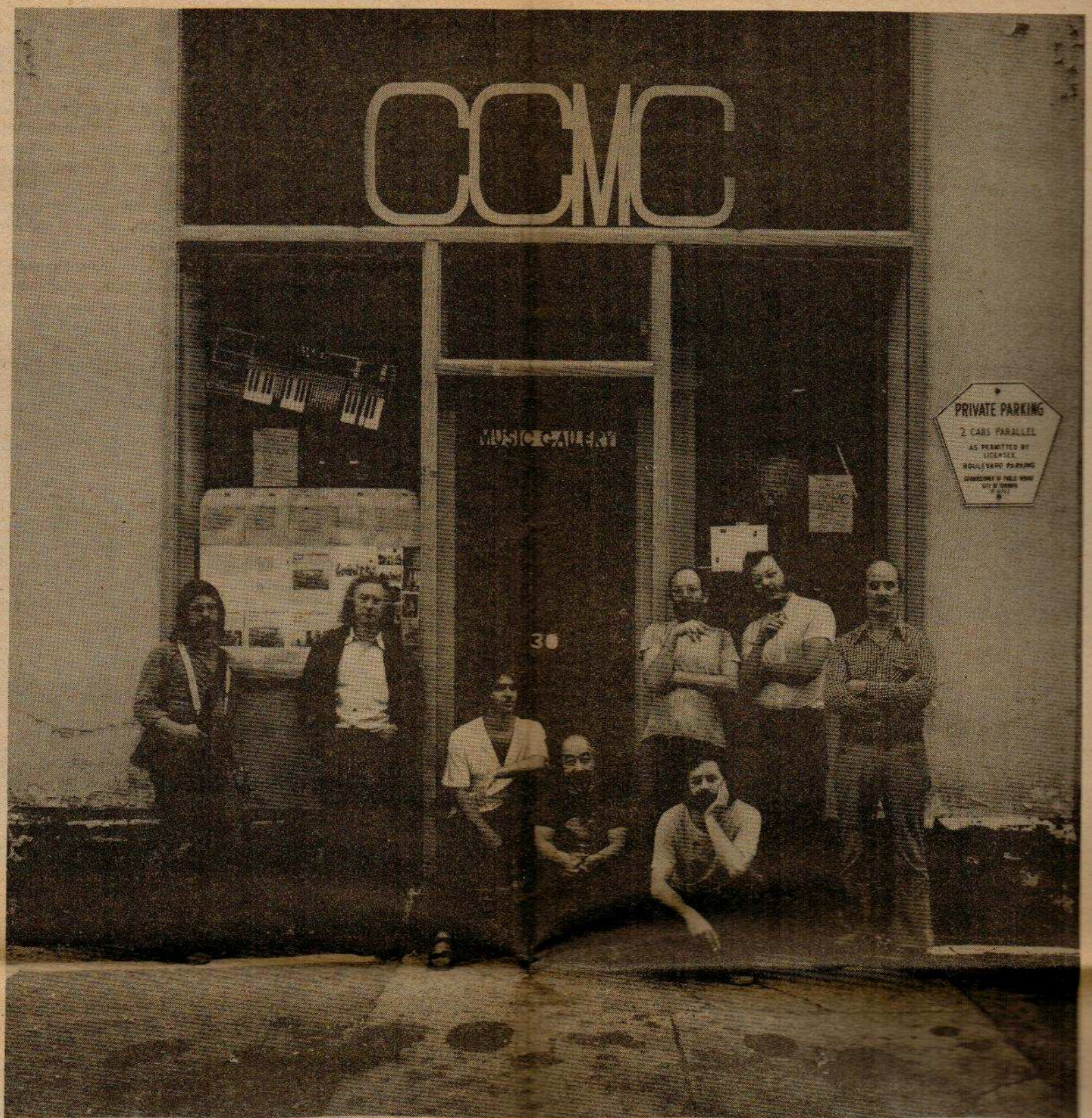
Eugene Whelan, Minister of Agriculture, wrote back to them:

"At one time most of these products were used as fertilizers until it was shown that they were excellent food for livestock." Whelan claims he's interested in wholesome food but says Canada would be in an "indefensible position" if it rocked the boat.

Not all politicians are preoccupied with the status quo and helping big business, though. When milk pasteurization was first introduced, an MP in the House of Commons protested, "If God had meant milk to be pasteurized he would have made cows which worked at boiling point."

Pasteurization, by the way, is on the way out. The dairy industry has new toys to sterilize milk with: Cobalt-60 and Cesium-137 electron ray guns. Sounds harmless enough.

Pesticides, cattle antibiotics, Strontium 90 and nuclear fallout — everything that goes into the cow — also gets into the milk. An Ontario government survey in the late sixties found over 17 dairy herds were contaminated with various insecticides. Consequently, in 1970 all cyclodienes were banned, and the use of DDT and TDE was restricted.



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From left to right are Peter Anson, Michael Snow, Casey Sokol, Nobuo Kubota, Graham Coughtry, Bill Smith, Alan Mattes and Larry Dubin. Peter McCallun took the picture.

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prohibition the public rooms of the hotel were closed and weren't reopened until July, 1934.

Originally the building was sexually stratified with men on the ground floor and escorted ladies and the likes on the second level. But with the advent of that nefarious institution affectionately referred to as a "cocktail" lounge, Jimmy Ryan, the establishment's colorful proprietor remodeled the building putting in the present 2nd floor lounge and dining room. The terrazo staircase and restrooms date from this time.

While the Mallon Block on Dundas is long gone and The National Cash Register plant across the street has become the latest Knob Hill Farm, the Lansdowne Tavern still caters to the needs of the surrounding neighbourhood. The kitchen has a Portuguese cook, the juke box has the usual variety of pop-sop while the live band electronically twangs. Sweet young things occasionally cavort nakedly and the beer's cheap. Both the College and Dundas Street cars go there. So don't miss it.



ON THE LINE

Upholsterers

By Beth Gaines

Harriett McIntosh and Elizabeth Whitton are two of the four women upholsterers working in Ontario. They met at George Brown College and started their own upholstery business in October. McIntosh & Whitton Interiors Ltd. is located at 250 The Esplanade in Toronto.

LIZ: I got involved in upholstery because I wanted to do something creative and also make money. I also wanted to work for myself, this was the major motivation.

HARRIETT: I grew up in the field, so to speak. My father is a furniture manufacturer in Jamaica and I came to Canada four years ago to learn furniture making. I found out that I must prefer upholstery to woodworking or finishing. And Liz is correct. Upholstery is creative. You can get an old couch to reupholster and change it into something else. Restyle it completely.

CLARION: Have you run into any sexist attitudes because you are women in a traditionally male field?

LIZ: Yes, definitely. We get incredible reactions from our suppliers. For example, our sewing machine broke down and I phoned up the sewing machine company to find out how to fix it. The foot wasn't working properly and I knew that there was something loose and asked the guy what needed tightening. He asked me if there was a man there that he could talk to. I told him no, that if he could just tell me what to fix I could handle it. It turned out that we needed a special tool, so the repairman had to come down anyway. As he was leaving he turned around to me and said, "See, you can't do everything a man can do."

HARRIETT: People just can't believe that we lift the couches ourselves or that we drive the van ourselves. Upholstery is hard work and you need a lot of strength and people don't believe we can do it because we don't look like big robust women. Well, just because we're women, period. It makes me angry, but it also makes me want to prove to them that we can do it. If I

go to a customer and get a sexist reaction I will try twice as hard to do the best job I can.

CLARION: When and how did you decide to start your own business?

LIZ: Well, right near the end of the school term I had a job doing office furniture. It was a terrible job and dangerous too because we had to spray glue. It's called feather glue, and the "feathers" are actually little particles of fiberglass. You're supposed to wear a mask and have regulation fans. No such thing at this place. I was stoned after four hours and sick for a month after doing it for one day. My chest was so constricted, I couldn't breathe. I was also getting hassles from my boss and the other upholsterers. They were all men and spent the entire time trying to gross me out. They were just trying to squeeze me out because I was female. So I thought, fuck you, I'll start my own business. I'm not going to put up with this shit. That was the seed of the whole idea and really motivated me to go into it.

HARRIETT: We had friends who tried to work for other upholsterers and they kept getting laid off. When we heard people who were in the course talk about the field... you don't get to create, you don't get to do custom stuff when you work in a large production store.

CLARION: What were some of the hassles of starting your own business?

LIZ: Mostly just running around. You have to go to two different places to get licenses. There's the Stuffed Articles Act and the vendor's permit, the Retail Sales License. They're both provincial licenses. The Retail Sales License is free and the other one costs 25 dollars. The Retail Sales License is free and the other one costs 25 dollars. We also had to go to a lawyer 2 or 3 times because we're incorporated and had to get the proper papers drawn up. That cost us 700 bucks.

CLARION: Did you use any professional help other than a lawyer?

LIZ: We went to the Senior Executive's Advisory Council for

advice. They're all old retired geezers who advise people starting small businesses.

HARRIETT: They're free the first visit and charge after that. We only went once, so it was free advice. At the time we thought it was a very good thing and planned to go back, even if it cost us money because they really gave us a lot of good information.

LIZ: For example, I didn't know anything about commercial leases. There are net leases and gross leases. Net leases include everything except your heat and hydro while a gross lease includes everything. They advised getting a gross lease which is what we got here. The Senior Executives also told us to locate in the suburbs, where our customers are. But we couldn't afford the rents there. They all started around \$500.00 a month, which is ridiculous for a new business.

CLARION: What was your initial capital outlay?

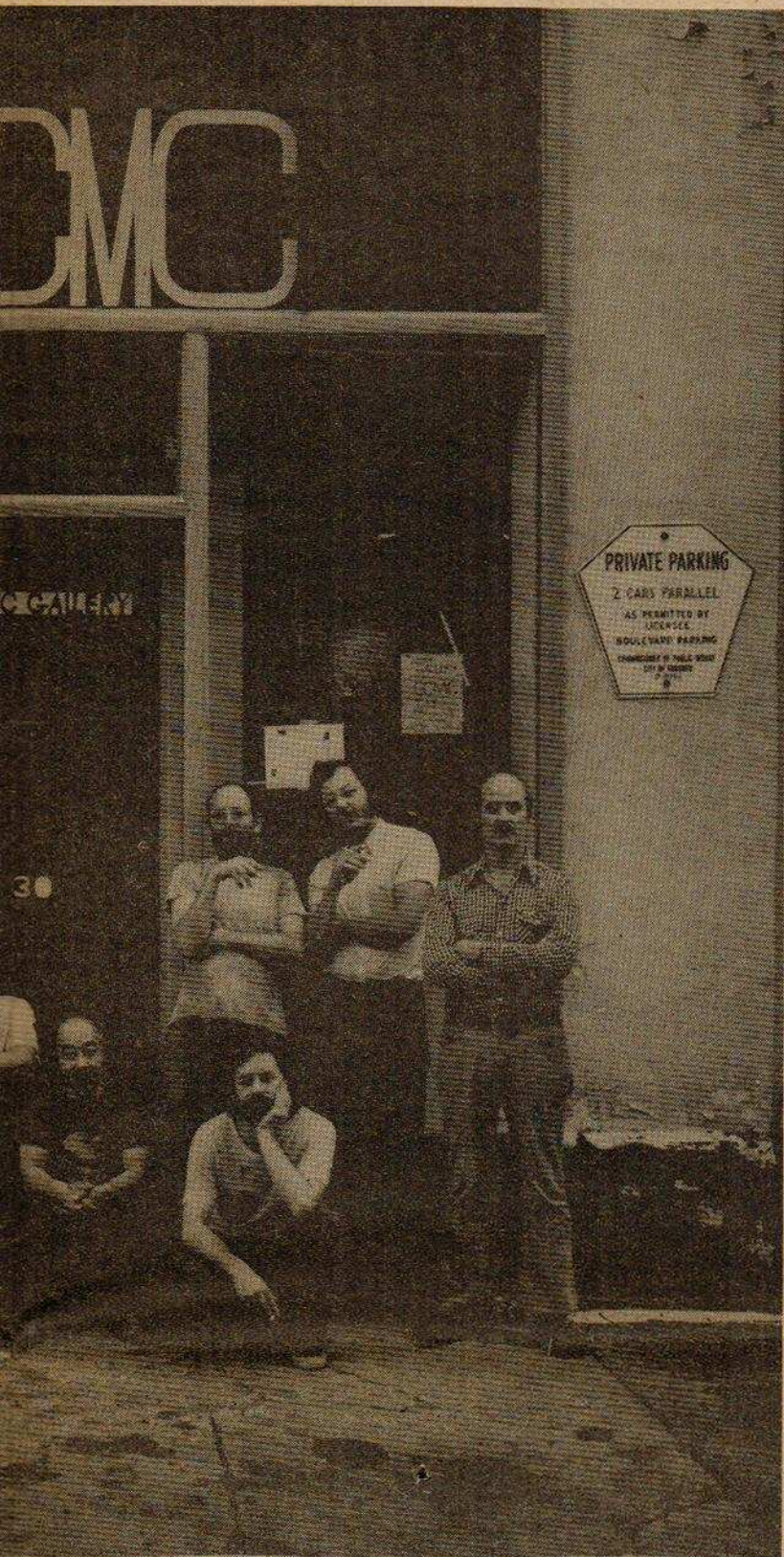
LIZ: We each put in \$2000, which we both had to borrow.

HARRIETT: I don't think we've gone through all of it yet. We've touched just over \$3000 of that money, because we've had jobs and money coming in.

LIZ: Yes, we've really been busy and we haven't done any advertising at all. I think we might do some advertising after Christmas if it gets a little bit slow. Send out flyers in a selected area like Forest Hill or Rosedale. We might as well go for the biggies because they've got the bread.

CLARION: What's the one big problem of starting your own business?

LIZ: Money and confidence in yourself. I get bouts of depression and fantasies about failing. But if you're determined to do it you can if you have faith in yourself. Women usually don't have that kind of confidence. They lose it after all the putdowns and hearing people say you can't do this or that. Well, fuck you, yes I can. I just regret that I wasn't in this head space ten years ago. Christ, I could be retired by now!



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From left to right are Peter Anson, Michael Snow, Casey Sokol, Nobuo Kubota, Graham Coughtry, Bill Smith, Alan Mattes and Larry Dubin. Peter McCallum took the picture.

prohibition the public rooms of the hotel were closed and weren't reopened until July, 1934.

Originally the building was sexually stratified with men on the ground floor and escorted ladies and the likes on the second level. But with the advent of that nefarious institution affectionately referred to as a "cocktail" lounge, Jimmy Ryan, the establishment's colorful proprietor remodeled the building putting in the present 2nd floor lounge and dining room. The terrazo staircase and restrooms date from this time.

While the Mallon Block on Dundas is long gone and The National Cash Register plant across the street has become the latest Knob Hill Farm, the Lansdowne Tavern still caters to the needs of the surrounding neighbourhood. The kitchen has a Portuguese cook, the juke box has the usual variety of pop-sop while the live band electronically twangs. Sweet young things occasionally cavort nakedly and the beer's cheap. Both the College and Dundas Street cars go there. So don't miss it.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

Women's Press, in conjunction with Cinema Lumière, launches its new book, **A Harvest Yet to Reap**, with a vivid look at our own past:

A Prairie Evening

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9:30—**Great Grandmother**

10:00—Discussion with author and film-maker Lorna Rasmussen

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Thursday December 9, 1976
Cinema Lumière
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Equal Value, Equal Pay

Bette Turns Down Equal Time On Equal Pay

by M. Langton

Ontario Labour Minister Bette Stephenson has refused an invitation to address the public on the government's position on equal pay for work of equal value. Though given a choice of a number of dates for the meeting, Stephenson turned them all down, claiming that she was too busy.

The invitation was issued by representatives of a coalition concerned with implementing the equal value principle, which is seen as a means of elevating the economic position of women. Included in the coalition are CUPE, the OFL, the Law Union of Ontario, and the Toronto YWCA.

The meeting, scheduled for December 2, will be addressed by Stephen Lewis and Margaret Campbell from the opposition parties, union spokespeople Grace Hartman and Madeleine Parent, and lawyer Mary Cornish.

Though no government representation has been confirmed, indications are that a cabinet minister will be there to defend the Davis administration.

The idea of equal pay for work of equal value has received renewed attention recently. It was one of the key points in Trudeau's throne speech and the subject of a "discussion paper" just published by the Ontario Ministry of Labour.

The concept was first formulated in a resolution passed in 1952 by the International Labour Organization, a UN affiliated body. The delegates then took the resolution back to their respective countries for ratification. In



If adopted, equal value laws would begin to free women from traditional job ghettos.

Canada, federal ratification followed provincial approval in 1972.

Although both federal and provincial governments have gone on record as agreeing with the equal value principle, they have been slow to act.

"The government would like us to believe that equal pay for work of equal value is only semantically different from equal pay for equal work," says Laurel Ritchie, an organizer with the Canadian Textile and Chemical Union, one of the sponsors of the Dec. 2 meeting. But in fact, she feels, the

equal value concept would go far beyond the equal pay laws now on the books.

Job Ghettos

Equal pay for equal work laws, first passed in 1951, provide that employees of the same company doing the same job will receive the same wage. This still allows much room for discrimination. Since women are so often clustered in all-female job ghettos, they rarely do the exact same work as men receiving a higher wage.

An often cited example is a garment factory in which skilled female sewing machine operators

earn less than unskilled male floor sweepers. Under present pay laws there is nothing to prevent this wage differential.

A law providing for equal pay for work of equal value, explains Ritchie, would mean that a job would be evaluated on the basis of the skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions involved. Jobs assessed as being of equal value would have to be equally compensated.

How is such a law going to strike at the economic subordination of women? Laurel Ritchie feels that it would "get at the hidden factor of

sex which goes into the determination of women's wages." Women, whose earnings average 60% of men's are in low-paid jobs not because they do only unskilled work, but because a job is defined as being worth less if women do it.

In this way, employers can take advantage of women as an abundant pool of cheap labour. Proof of this is given by occupations, such as office clerk or bank teller, which used to be held by men, and dropped greatly in status and relative pay when they were taken over by women.

No Real Appeal

If passed, equal value laws would probably be implemented in much the same way that equal pay laws are now. A complaint must be filed by an employee and investigated by a government officer. If a violation is found, a settlement is worked out between the officer and the employer. Often, the employee is not consulted during the proceeding. There is no real appeal system for an employee — she can only request a review by another officer. The employer, however, may appeal to an outside arbitrator.

Mary Cornish, who has represented women filing equal pay complaints, admits that equal pay for equal value would "not be a revolutionary step." But as a wedge to upgrade the value of women's jobs, it is a better tactic than affirmative action programs which advance only a few individual women into higher paid jobs and leave the majority where they are now, she believes.

On November 18, federal Justice Minister Ron Basford introduced a revised human rights bill which includes an equal pay for work of equal value clause. If passed, the principle would apply to employees under federal jurisdiction, which includes about one in ten employed women.

Repressed Discussion

In Ontario, it's a different story. The Ministry of Labour's discussion paper on equal pay for work of equal value followed the report of a subcommittee composed of government and non-government representatives. The subcommittee's report was not made public, but a copy was leaked to the Toronto Star, which reported last August 18 that the group had recommended equal value legislation.

Despite this recommendation, the discussion paper which was ultimately issued avoids taking a stand on the issue. In a letter accompanying the paper, Stephenson claims that they do not have enough information to recommend policy changes just yet.

The discussion paper's concern with the cost to the employer entailed in equal pay for work of equal value is a clear indication that this is a major factor in the government's hesitance to act. Too many profits are based on the exploitation of women as cheap labour.

"We're only asking that we stop subsidizing the economy," says Laurel Ritchie. "That's not very much to ask — we could be demanding back pay."

(Cont'd from p. 5)

The Purpose of Production Doesn't Change

without an assembly line. The line had been replaced by moving dollies that carried cars from one work station to another. Each dolly is equipped with a button that allows workers to control the speed at which it moves. Work is done by teams of from 15 to 25 workers. Each team is responsible for assembling a whole unit of a car, such as the entire electrical system. The teams decide among themselves how work is to be distributed.

Job modification and worker participation schemes appear to make work less unpleasant. But this is not the reason why these programmes are introduced.

Swedish employers believe that "happy" workers are "better" workers, and the SAF can demonstrate that their programmes have reduced personnel turnover and absenteeism and increased worker output.

Even the scheme at Volvo is not without its catches. For example, while workers can control the speed at which the dollies move, they rarely do so. The reason is simple. The company sets production quotas which are high enough that workers do not care to speed up their work pace. And if they slow down they will fail to meet the quota and be penalized. In effect, the speed of the dollies is

controlled by a management-fed computer which sits regally above and in the centre of the plant.

The new work modification programmes are introduced only if there is no sacrifice in efficiency or profits. Participation and job enlargement are designed by and for management. They are not meant to eliminate managerial control over the process and purposes of production.

As one student of work has recognized, these schemes "represent a style of management rather than a genuine change in the position of the worker. They are characterized by a studied pretense

of worker 'participation,' a gracious liberality in allowing the worker to adjust a machine, replace a light bulb, move from one fractional job to another, and to have the illusion of making decisions by choosing among fixed and limited alternatives designed by a management which deliberately leaves insignificant matters open to choice." The intent of these kinds of changes is clear — to reduce worker dissatisfaction in order to increase productivity and profits.

(J.W. Rinehart, a professor of sociology at the U of Western Ontario, is the author of *The Tyranny of Work, an analysis of work in America.*)

Super Spy Squad Under Penthouse Cover

By Alan Meisner

Rumours that **Penthouse's** special Christmas issue had been banned in various centres around Ontario, including Toronto, have proven for the most part to be just that. The issue which contains a spread on Britain's Pet of the Year, looking playful despite recent pound devaluations, also features an exclusive by George O'Toole on *America's Secret Police Network*, in which he reveals the existence of a continent wide semi-secret network of 225 law-enforcement agencies, including 6 in Canada.

The **Clarion** undertook a telephone survey to various magazine outlets around Metro and learned that **Penthouse** is still available.

Some outlets assured me that the censor's hand had not been seen recently, but they had heard **Penthouse** was banned in other places.

The article traces the extent of the Law Enforcement Intelligence Network (LEIU), an interlinking of the intelligence squads of almost every major police force in North America. A confidential membership list compiled in October 1973 and still considered 90% reliable reveals that the Canada Department of Manpower and Immigration, the Niagara Regional Police, the O.P.P., the Windsor City P.D., the Montreal Urban Comm., P.D. and our own Metro Toronto P.D. are members.

"The organization forms a vast network of intelligence units that

exchange dossiers and conduct investigations on a reciprocal basis," writes O'Toole. Several of the police departments belonging to the group have been caught in illegal wiretapping, burglary, and spying on the lives of ordinary citizens. The LEIU is, in effect, a huge private domestic intelligence agency.

LEIU, which has received \$1.3 million from the US federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, professed before a US Senate subcommittee in 1975 that its prime purpose was "the gathering, recording, investigating, and exchange of confidential information not available through regular police channels on individuals and organizations involved in, but not necessarily limited to organized crime!"

"It's a very selective, very elitist sort of thing," O'Toole quotes Lake Headly, a former member. "In a local intelligence squad you kind of look to the LEIU man to jump into a phone booth and come dashing out in a superman suit."

While seeking further clarification of the Toronto police's participation in this intelligence super-system the **Clarion** was told by a police spokesman that specifics must await a written request to the department.

In Brantford, meanwhile, the only place where **Penthouse** was verifiably banned, Police Inspector McDonald assured the **Clarion** that the censorship there was unrelated to any of the magazine's written content, but was due solely to the indecency of its photographs.

The Future Is Uncertain

(Cont'd from p. 3)

The absence of an analysis that related our voting positions to inherent contradictions in capitalist society prevented the public from interpreting our behaviour and relating it to their everyday lives.

Too often the press simply presented us as simply going one better than the Council majority headed by Crombie: you want 3 times coverage? We want 2 times. You want 40¢ fares? We want 25¢ fares. And so on. We tended to go issue by issue, treating each, not as a consequence of an oppressive social system, but as isolated problems amenable to isolated solutions.

This had several important effects. Tactically, we became predictable and were easily co-opted by City and Metro Councils. Crombie and Godfrey counted on our opposition to sew up votes from the middle of Council.

We failed to relate what we did to a basic social analysis, and consequently we were not interpreting our actions to the public in a way that would develop new political consciousness in them.

This latter failure, I should say, dismays me most. Partly because I was among the offenders. But also because it identifies the Caucus as being no more than its name implies: reformers — people who are prepared to live with the social order and provide marginal improvements within its limitations.

This is not to dismiss elected office altogether. It does offer some limited opportunities. Its high visibility provides a platform for publicizing a critique of capit-

alist society as it is reflected in cities.

But the major emphasis must occur outside elected assemblies in the work of organizing. This focus was lost by the Reform Caucus due to its growing preoccupation with parliamentary battles and the decline of strong citizen activity.

Although the Reform Caucus never worked out a basis of unity for a longer-term strategy, the Reform Caucus might have succeeded in gaining voter backing. But without any basis for its unity, it might have been faced with the same situation the so-called moderates find themselves in now. They are elected for one thing, but then find themselves supporting positions they were probably not elected to support.

Generally, I agree with that analysis.

It is hard, if not impossible, to maintain a perspective without some broader analysis to guide decisions and strategy.

Organizing and informing people and developing through them some basis of accountability and broad-based support should receive much more emphasis. The Reform Caucus today is an isolated group — more isolated than those middle-ground politicians who moved from mildly reform positions to singularly limp liberalism or worse.

Where do we go from here in terms of what you see as a reasonable political work in the near future?

Unless a common analysis is developed, I do not see how the isolation of progressive people — from each other and from urban

Tyeindaga Isn't An Isolated Situation

(Cont'd from p.1)

The Union campaign started in September when "we were invited to meet with a group of workers at the plant," says Bekerman. "They made a formal decision to ask us to organize. We organized with their active participation."

The proposed bargaining unit at the plant includes people who are legally Indians and some who are legally not Indians. At the Labour Board, management had argued that, if the bargaining unit is certified, "we would have to separate the Indians into two groups," says Bekerman. "The legal Indians would be separated from everyone else."

When the Union applied to the Labour Board for certification early in November the company's counsel, Burton Kellock, argued that the Board doesn't have jurisdiction in the case, because Indian affairs are a federal government responsibility.

The Board decided that it does have jurisdiction in the case, says Bekerman, and is proceeding with the hearing. But before the certification process can proceed any further, the Board must decide whether the anti-union petitions are legitimate or not.

If the Board rules that the petitions are true expressions of worker opinion, union cards signed by workers who may have also signed the petition could be thrown out and the Union's claim to represent more than 65% of the workers rejected. The Union would then lose its right to automatic certification and a vote might have to be taken.

As of late November, the Union was waiting for continuations of the hearing on certification and unfair labour practices.

The company has announced that it won't accept the Board's decision if the certification application is successful, according to Bekerman. It has indicated that it would take the case "into the court system", and appeal on the question of the Board's jurisdiction. An appeal from the Labour Board to the courts is

"very rare," says Bekerman.

If the case ends up in the courts, the time lapse "would be a couple of years," says Bekerman, and the union would be effectively killed through delays.

In the meantime, union advocates are trying another approach. They have "gone back to the band council for a decision and will take the issue to the Department of Indian Affairs, says Maracle. A band decision is expected within the next few weeks and when it goes to Indian Affairs, Minister Warren Allmand will decide "according to the information the band gives him," says Maracle.

The company produces uppers for Bata jogger shoes and is subsidized by the Department of Indian Affairs, which provided \$232,800 in loans and \$51,200 in grants. The Department of Manpower and Immigration financed 60% of the cost of training employees for 10 weeks. "The manager's total investment in the plant comes to \$1,000", says Bekerman.

Indian Affairs originally planned a band owned factory on the reserve. "But some people were afraid that if the industry came to the reserve, we would lose our non-taxable status," says Maracle. This fear wasn't justified, but reserve residents who favored a band owned plant "couldn't make the people understand."

Less than 30% of the reserve voted in a referendum on the issue and so "the referendum was tossed out", says Maracle. Brant subsequently decided to run a privately owned and operated plant.

The federal government role in the affair indicates to Bekerman that the government "is applying its foreign strategy at home." He thinks that it is turning to Canada the "same philosophy" it propagates overseas through agencies like the Canadian International Development Agency and Executive Services Overseas.

ESO "could foster a permanent low wage exploited labor force", says Bekerman. The Executive Services Overseas representative active in the drive has indicated that the Tyeindaga case isn't an "isolated situation."

issues — will ever be broken down. It certainly won't happen through the present utilitarian, pragmatic approach.

United around a common analysis, individuals and more formal groups, could focus on the

work of political organization and political education in communities. For the NDP that means constituencies organizing on the basis of broad issues and narrower community problems.

Reform Metro should be doing

exactly the same thing.

(This is the first part of a two part interview with Michael Goldrick. The second part will deal with what he learned from his experience with the City of Toronto's housing efforts.)

Big Jane

by A. Levenston



I WAS STILL TRYING TO FIGURE OUT THE PICKLES PUZZLE WHEN I GOT THIS CALL. I DON'T USUALLY MAKE HOUSE CALLS BUT THERE WAS SOMETHING ABOUT HIS VOICE



HIS NAME WAS MONSIEUR LANGUISHE. A PALLID YOUTH SURROUNDED BY THE GLORY OF ANOTHER AGE.



"THIS FADED PORTRAIT SHOWS MY GRANDMOTHER AS A BRIDE. I WANT YOU TO FIND A TREASURED STATUE OF HERS THAT WAS LOST SEVERAL YEARS AGO." I ASKED HIM IF IT'D BE WORTH MY WHILE.



HE TOLD ME HE WAS BROKE AND BEGGED ME TO TAKE THE CASE FOR ONLY 2 C-NOTES. O.K. O.K. SO I'M A SUCKER FOR A PRETTY FACE. HE ASKED ME WHAT HE COULD DO TO REPAY ME. I SAID I'D THINK OF SOMETHING.



HE MANAGED TO GET TO THE LIVING ROOM WHERE HE WILTED INTO AN ARMCHAIR. HE WAS SUDDENLY BUSINESS-LIKE, "BIG JANE, THIS STATUE IS OF INTEREST TO TOO MANY PEOPLE. I MUST HAVE IT BACK."



HE WAS MAD, ECCENTRIC, AND A FAKE. BUT AS I SAID, A PRETTY FACE, A LITTLE CHARM... BESIDES, I WAS BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND PICKLES.

“Yes, That’s How It Was” Childhood Through Adult Eyes

By Wayne Sumner

We have learned to be suspicious when one group sets out to portray another. Thus we distrust American films about Canada, white treatments of blacks or native peoples, male depictions of women. We are more receptive to adult films about childhood.

Every adult was once a child, but to grow up is to lose forever a child's construction of the world. Children do not make feature films. A film about children or for children is therefore always the vision of an outsider. Such a vision is bound to distort.

The outer limits of distortion are represented by the Disney factory and the purveyors of the mindless violence of cartoons. Two recent films, Francois Truffaut's *Small Change (L'Argent de Poche)* and Alan Parker's *Bugsy Malone*, are more interesting and important forays into the world of the child. The cast of each is mainly or exclusively composed of children. There the resemblance between

pieces is a short study of the life of one child.

The film avoids becoming a mere anthology by intercutting the stories of its various subjects and by employing two unifying locations — the movie theatre and, especially, the school. These serve as the twin focal points of the children's lives.

The portrayals work best when they are simple and unforced, when they draw upon the universal experience of growing up — the tedium of school and the joy of dating, the fascination of dirty jokes and of adult sex.

When they do work, which is most of the time, Truffaut supplies us with a stock of images as perfect and poignant as childhood memories themselves. In recollection the film is a magic and glowing experience whose highest praise is the response “Yes, that’s how it was”.

Truffaut's spell is broken only when he contrives (the episode of Sylvie and the bullhorn) and when

stumble through life, they get hurt. But they bounce back.”

This is Truffaut's view of the matter and not a child's view. It is selective both in its pessimism (many children are luckier than Patrick and Julien) and especially in its optimism — there is no divine hand to ensure that the casualties will bounce back. Truffaut, we surmise, is one who did.

The film's other selection is its virtual exclusion of girls. The school is a boys' school (to be co-educational ‘next year’, we are told) and so the main characters are almost all boys. Girls appear for the most part as the unknown, objects of both fear and fascination. These are a man's memories of initiation into the mysteries of sex.

No adult film can give us childhood as it is lived by a child. What Truffaut has achieved is probably the best we adults can manage — one person's recollections of his youth, coloured by the constraints of his own experience but illuminating a part of what it was to be young. We rarely get this much. Until children speak for themselves we will do no better.

Bugsy Malone is a different matter entirely. Though evidently for children (it derives from stories with which Parker entertained his own kids) and certainly with children, it is not about children at all.

The steps which led to this totally unique entity can be reconstructed analytically. Begin with a stock 1920's gangster plot with its usual themes of Prohibition, gang warfare, and broads. Then camp it up by adding songs and dance numbers. Finally, cast the whole affair exclusively with children.

The last step requires adjustments. On the one hand the kids are scaled up into an adult world and adult roles. On the other hand that world is scaled down to their size (literally) and to the conventions of their play. Thus beer becomes sarsaparilla, the cars are pedalled, the guns shoot cream-puffs.

The film's apparent intentions succeed brilliantly. The sets and costumes are magnificent, the music outstanding, the dance routines scintillating, and the acting inspired. The whole is a slick and splashy package with scarcely a false step or a flat moment throughout.

he preaches (the teacher's lecture to the children). Even in this latter case, however, Truffaut's love of children shines through; his outrage at what adults are capable of doing to them shows as well.

Like all adult recollections the film imposes its own selective vision. Two children monopolize attention — Patrick, with no mother and a disabled father, and Julien, the battered child. The focus on the least fortunate serves a point which the film works hard to make. It is spoken by a woman after a toddler has miraculously survived a seven-storey fall, but it really applies to Patrick and Julien: “Kids are in a state of grace. They

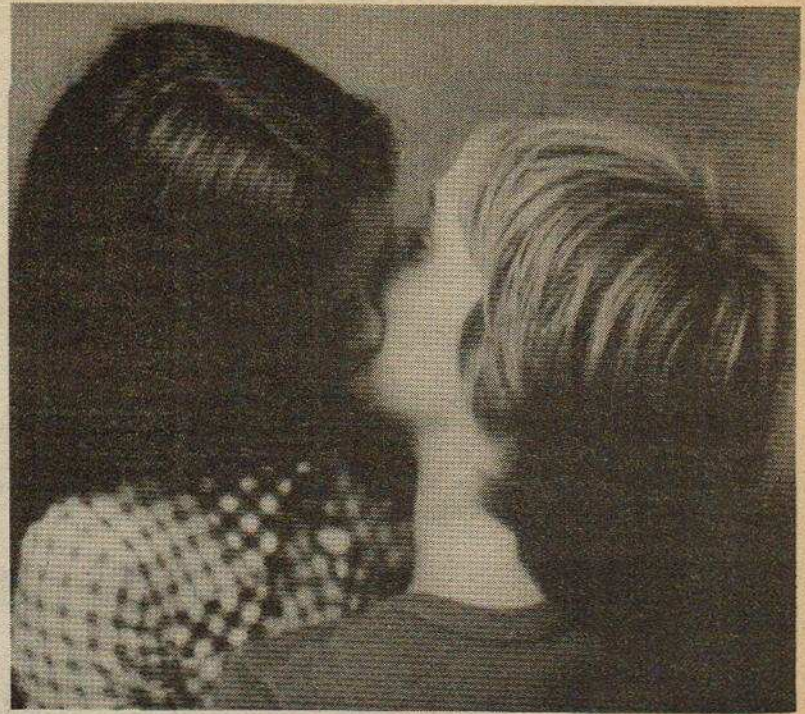
expressiveness of texture, the sense of a joyful response to a story or an object or animal. There are pictures in *The Blue Bird* in which the mind and eye of a child can truly participate. Some of them can be looked at repeatedly; none has a cartoon-like outline to summarize it at a glance.

Some adults, apparently, consider Wildsmith art too sophisticated for children, which is the kind of pedagogy that supports, say, the Beatrix Potter sort of pastel realism of faithful detail and sweet charm. While Brian Wildsmith's pictures may lack the reassurance of orderly, submissive illustrations, they reassure in a different way — the feeling of what is depicted is right and true.

The story, in brief, concerns Tytyl and Mytyl, the children of a

woodcutter living “deep in the heart” of a certain forest, and their search for the Blue Bird of happiness. With the assistance of a fairy who is actually the spirit of their neighbour Mrs. Berlingot, and the accompaniment of the souls of household objects and animals, they journey through the Lands of Time and Memory and the Palaces of Night, Luxury and the Future. Eventually they return home, thinking the search unsuccessful, to find that happiness had been there all along, unrecognised.

This is a particularly fitting story for Wildsmith as its meaning which in fact, generalises and describes the meaning of traditional fairy tale, is also at the centre of his art. He would have us see “things as they really are” as Mrs. (Cont'd on page 11)



But the main fascination of the film is external to it — we keep wondering whether the children (most appear to be in their early teens) can bring the impersonation off. We look for flaws, for gestures or expressions beyond their range, and then bathe in wonder and relief when they somehow manage.

Some tasks, like walking across Canada or pushing a marble with one's nose, are of interest simply because they have no point other than overcoming some artificial and self-imposed demand. Casting an adult film with children belongs in this category. Male impersonations of females (drag shows) and white impersonations of blacks (minstrel shows), while seeming slightly disreputable, have now become conventions.

Children have always played at being grown up. To transfer this play to film is to initiate the new convention of adult impersonation, but once again the main point seems simply to show that it can be done.

If the film is for children then it must be meant to appeal to their love of dressing up. But, unlike children's play, we must remind ourselves that here the act is being managed by an adult. The roles which the children assume are those created for them by Parker. Those roles contain a noticeable sexual imbalance. The boys in the film are never more than boys playing at being men; beneath their adult disguises they are strictly

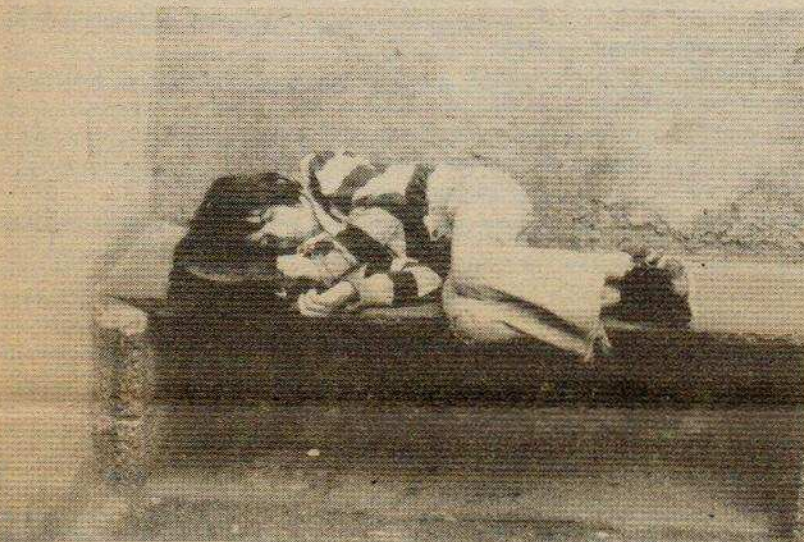
asexual. The girls, by contrast, appear to be the erotic creatures which they are portraying. The imbalance can no doubt be explained partly by the fact that girls mature sexually earlier than boys. But only partly. For the rest we must look at the roles which the two sexes are handed.

The boys' games are the typical male games of aggression, competition, and dominance. The girls respond with guile, seduction, and glamour. The stereotypes are depressingly familiar. The sex roles of the film are adult roles read back into childhood.

It is this fact which makes for a nasty undercurrent throughout the film, a counterweight to the good times. We know now how destructive those stereotypes are, just as we know the many ways in which children are steered into them. Parker has invited children to fantasize the very roles which will deform and dehumanize them as adults.

Bugsy Malone has flash but underneath it offers children only the chance to repeat past mistakes. The flash will ensure it a wider audience than *Small Change*. But Truffaut's film, for all its limitations, is the finer tribute to children. It at least leaves open the possibility that they will grow up to be human.

Small Change and *Bugsy Malone* are both playing at the Uptown, Yonge below Bloor, 922-3113, tickets \$3.50.



them ends.

Small Change is the simpler to deal with for it occupies a more familiar category. It is a film about children and therefore made largely with children, although it does contain some adult roles. Whether it was made for children is less clear, though I suspect that it will be enjoyed primarily by adults revisiting their own past.

The central characters are the children of Thiers, most of them at the age of puberty. Adults are present only in virtue of their connections with the children, therefore as parents, teachers, merchants, and authorities. The plot is a mosaic each of whose

Wildsmith Gathers Memories

Brian Wildsmith, *The Blue Bird* (adapted from the drama by Maurice Maeterlinck), Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1976, 32 pages, \$4.95

By Paula Eykelhof

Brian Wildsmith should stick to illustrating; he is no wordsmith. There is undeniably an arrogance about his art that diminishes his texts: the pictures do not illustrate but are captioned by them. The story here is taken from Maeterlinck's play; Wildsmith retells it in halting flat, unexcited prose. But after all, who buys (or borrows) a Wildsmith book for the prose?

With this, as with any other of Wildsmith's picture books, you know exactly what you're picking up — and why. What we have come to expect from Wildsmith is the excitement of color, the

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