

TrueNorth

THE VOICE OF CANADIAN INDEPENDENCE



CCAFT members demonstrated vociferously against Prime Minister Brian Mulroney during his so-called "good-will tour" in Vancouver on October 22. Protected by a growing number of security and uniformed police and meeting mostly with handicapped and safe audiences, Mulroney nevertheless has to face angry and articulate Canadians wherever he goes. One of the most popular signs calls for his impeachment. (Photo: *Canadian Press*).

EDITORIAL

Whither Canada?

Canada today is in the throes of an unprecedented crisis. It has been almost two years now since, despite the opposition of a large majority of Canadians, "our" government signed a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the United States, which will mean the end of Canada as an independent nation. After less than two years under the Agreement, we have already seen the crumbling of our country as a political, economic, cultural and social entity. Every day brings a new shock: the Wilson "budget" and the impending Goods and Services Tax, which rob the people blind while leaving large corporations off the hook and untouched; the wilful destruction of the railroad system which has been a cornerstone of Canadian unity and identity since the founding of our nation; the decimation of our fishing industry; a massive dose of new foreign — mostly U.S. — ownership leading to increased U.S. domination of our country; the rush of our manufacturing industries to south of the border, where labour is cheaper and markets are nearer and larger, and leaving behind hundreds of thousands of new unemployed; the assault on our agriculture resulting in growing dependence on food produced in the U.S.; the "harmonization" of our social programmes, regulations and standards with inferior ones of the U.S., and on it goes.

And it doesn't end there. Our post-free trade foreign policy has become "harmonized" with that of the U.S. Canada joined the Organization of American States (OAS) although it is clearly controlled by the U.S. No sooner had the ink dried on Canada's signature when we became one of a mere handful of nations in the world which fully endorsed the U.S. criminal invasion of Panama. Never mind that the OAS constitution

explicitly forbids the invasion of member countries. This was followed several months later by Canada's supporting the U.S.-initiated and -led military force into the Gulf, "to teach Saddam Hussein a lesson." And most recently we have witnessed the pathetic yet frightening sabre-rattling by the External Affairs minister, Joe Clark, who has promised to send more of our ill-equipped forces to fight for U.S. oil interests in Kuwait. Internationally — and to the great shame and embarrassment of Canadians — Canada has sunk to the level of U.S. puppet, fully backing the U.S. chauvinistic double standard, "My country, right or wrong!"

As if the damage done by the Free Trade Agreement was not enough, the Mulroney government propelled the country into a protracted "constitutional crisis" through the Meech Lake Accord. A manufactured crisis, if there ever was one, it succeeded in pitting Canadians and different regions against one another in a no-win situation. With the help of the media, particularly the CBC — which deserves to be renamed the **Conservative Broadcasting Corporation** for its subservience to the Mulroney government — a climate of terror was created to stampede Canadians into accepting the final fragmentation of our country as "good for Canada" and "good for national unity." The Meech Lake Accord was truly the twin platform with the FTA in the dismantling of Canada.

Had it not been for the last-minute intervention of Elijah Harper and the Manitoba Indian Chiefs, backed up by significant and solid support from non-Natives in Manitoba and elsewhere in Canada, we would today be living in a thoroughly balkanized country, (continued on page 2)

The Liberals and the NDP must form an electoral coalition to defend Canada

In early 1989 Citizens Concerned About Free Trade launched a campaign to get the Liberal and New Democratic parties to form an electoral coalition to defeat Mulroney and to get rid of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Below is the complete text of our October 1989 Open Letter to the opposition members of Parliament. A companion piece describes what CCAFT members have done — and continue to do — to make the electoral coalition become a reality.

The situation facing our country is grave. On November 21, 1988, in a historic election viewed by the nation as a referendum on the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA), the pro-free trade Conservatives received only 43% of the vote. A full 57% of the population voted against Mulroney; 55% voted for political parties opposed to the FTA.

In only 85 ridings out of 295 across the country, did the Conservatives receive a majority of votes. In Saskatchewan, 62% voted against them, in Ontario 59%, in the North-west Territories 69%. In only two provinces, Alberta and Quebec, was the pro-free trade

vote higher than those opposed. Even Quebec, pounded by more pro-free trade propaganda than any other part of Canada and with both provincial parties, the Liberals and the Parti Québécois, working for Mulroney, still voted 44% against Mulroney. This was more than voted for him nationally.

Free trade with the U.S. has been the subject of two previous national elections. In 1891 it was defeated 51% against to 47% in favour. In 1911 it was defeated 50.9% to 47.7%. In 1988, in spite of massive American intervention in the election and wide-

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Editorial

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where every province would hold extraordinary powers, where the central government would be weakened to the point of being unable to function, and where even more control would reside in Washington. The defeat of the Meech Lake Accord was a powerful victory for Canadian citizens against a tyrannical and unresponsive government.

Now, only a few months after the deserved demise of Meech Lake, Mulroney has appointed a "citizens' forum" to travel the country and solicit opinions about constitutional change in Canada. This spectacle, the "Son of Meech", is meant, no doubt, to foment more turmoil and division in the country at the very time when Canadians are putting the "constitutional question" at the lowest rung of their priorities. The economy is what people want to talk about, and the economy of Canada today refers to living under the FTA and under the thumb of the U.S.

The pro-American and annexationist Mulroney government is leaving no stone unturned to fundamentally change Canada into a pale replica of the United States. We will not, however, become the 51st state, as some say; under free trade we will be the backwater and resource colony of the U.S. The only purpose Canadians will serve is to work hard to move our resources faster and faster to the U.S., and at rock bottom prices at that. Canadian resources and unrestricted U.S. access to them is what the FTA is all about.

Canadians resisted the U.S. takeover of our country, despite all odds. Despite the fact that we were deliberately misled by "our" government about the true meaning of the FTA, despite the unprecedented interference by U.S.-based corporations in our internal affairs, before, during and after the 1988 election, Canadians said a resounding NO to political and economic union with the U.S. Once we learned what the FTA actually contained — and despite massive electoral abuse and chaos — we refused to give Mulroney a mandate to proceed. Over 1.2 million more Canadians voted against the FTA than voted for it.

The 1988 election left a legacy of resistance to foreign domination in our country and to the lack of meaningful democracy in our political affairs. Millions of Canadians watched, in shock and anger, their country being stolen from them in an unfair and dishonest election which our article, "A feeble and dysfunctional democracy," in this issue, and handed over to the U.S., which has hankered over Canada's ample natural resources since before our country was formed as a nation. The U.S. is the only country that has ever invaded Canada, and twice to boot!

The free trade election also saw the voters' disillusionment with the two opposition parties, which had proclaimed their opposition to the FTA and their desire to defeat it. However, the day after the election, both Ed Broadbent and John Turner capitulated. The majority of Canadians, who had voted against the FTA, found themselves without representation in the Parliament in Ottawa.

During the historic fight against "free trade," Canadians also learned that this country has a media that is completely subservient to U.S. corporate interests. With a tiny handful of exceptions, all major newspapers and all of the electronic media — including the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation — propagandized in favour of the FTA, provided little or no truthful information on the content of the Agreement, and refused to give adequate coverage to the growing and eventually massive grassroots opposition to it.

After the election and after Mulroney had rammed the FTA through the Parliament, using closure every step of the



way, "our" media, as if following orders, stopped reporting critically about the impact of the Agreement and moved rapidly onto other issues. The election was barely behind us when media pundits and editorialists started to rewrite history by saying that the FTA really had not been the central issue of the election after all. They wanted us to forget that election time polls saw 68% of Canadians put that issue above everything else, the next highest category being 7% for the environment — lip service to which is currently the media's and the establishment's pet issue — and that only two weeks before the election 77% said they did not know enough about the FTA to judge whether it was good for Canada or not, and they wanted more information on it (which was not forthcoming). For most of the Canadian media, it was soon "business as usual," and "free trade" and particularly the ongoing fight against the FTA is yesterday's news.

The Canadian crisis is a crisis of democracy and foreign domination. Democracy ceases to exist when a government rules without a mandate and when the will of the people on fundamental matters such as the FTA, the Meech Lake Accord and the GST is deliberately ignored. The discontent of Canadians with the Conservative government and its destructive agenda is sky high and reverberates across the country. So is the prevailing sense that the two opposition parties are members of the same club — after all both the Liberals and the NDP supported the Meech Lake Accord from the moment it was signed, and both refused to fight the FTA to the end although together they could have defeated it. Canadians are looking for alternatives, genuine ones, not just wolves in sheep's clothing such as the Reform Party, populist in style, but right wing in content. Although parading as an "alternative" to the Mulroney Conservatives, it is really its junior partner, as was clear in the Reform Party's uncritical and total support for the Free Trade Agreement as somehow being "good for the West."

More than anything, Canadians from coast to coast, who put the survival of their country as an independent nation on the top of their agenda, need an effective voice. *True North* will attempt to be just that.

We intend to keep you informed about the erosion of Canadian sovereignty and the steady collapse of our living standards under free trade. But this is not all we will do. As you will see from this first issue, we will offer analysis and a solution to the crisis brought about by the FTA which is now devastating our country. We are serious about wanting Canada to survive as an independent nation and becoming a country where its ordinary citizens can truly participate in decision-making about matters affecting them. We need our readers' participation in this project: as members of Citizens Concerned about Free Trade, as subscribers to *True North*, as its distributors, writers, researchers, photographers, car-

toonists, fundraisers and overall participants.

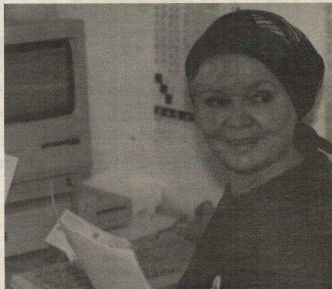
We are publishing in this first issue a major article by David Orchard, CCAFT's national chairman, titled "Free Trade and the Crisis in Canada." In it he offers an examination of the background to, and the effects of, the FTA so far, together with a perspective on how we, as citizens of this country, can dig ourselves out of the deep hole that the Mulroney government has dropped us in. Yes, there is a remedy! The FTA can and must be abrogated, and there is a way to do it: an electoral coalition between the Liberals and the New Democrats. Our Open Letter to the Opposition Members of Parliament, which has been circulated across Canada, is published here in full, so that our readers can judge for themselves whether there is merit to this proposal.

Another Free Trade Agreement is looming on the horizon, one between the U.S. and Mexico, in which Canada will soon be entangled. We are providing background to this development and will follow it up in later issues. As you can see from our articles on electoral reform and on citizens' right to protest, we are taking democracy seriously, and intend to work with others to improve the "feeble and dysfunctional" one we presently have. And then, we open our pages to letters from our readers — the more you send of them, the more we will print. We welcome your comments, your feedback, your suggestions, your hopes and dreams — and your investigative reporting. Let us know what is going on in your part of the country. If you can write about it, so much the better, but we are also interested in your suggestions for topics.

Some of the articles we are working on are, "The wilful destruction of VIA rail," "Border shopping — short term gain for long term pain," "How free trade destroyed the Philippines," "Rafferty-Alameda dam and other water diversions," "We have a 'democracy movement' in Canada, too!," "Privatization and the FTA — the deadly connection," "Fighting free trade: experiences of Canadians." We will also have lively ongoing discussions on topics such as electoral reform, the pros and cons of proportional representation, referendum vs election, effective boycotting, the experience of civil disobedience, and on many other vital concerns.

Last, but not least, we need your support in more ways than one. We need active and ongoing financial support from our readers who agree with us that Canada's survival as a nation is the most important issue on this country's political agenda. There will be no government grants and subsidies for us — and we would not accept them even if they were offered, because we know all too well that in the end he who pays the piper calls the tune — and there will be no lucrative government and corporate advertisements for us either, the likes that finance most of the newspapers in this country. *True North* will survive solely through the political will and financial commitment of our readers.

True North welcomes you to the 1990s, the decade of resistance to foreign takeover, domination and domestic tyranny. Welcome to the decade of reclaiming our country and making democracy work in the interest of the majority.



(Photo: Sandy Willson)

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McLaughlin and Chrétien: Will they open their eyes to see what is needed? (Photos: Antoinette Martens).

The Liberals and the NDP...

(continued from page 1)
spread electoral abuse, by far the most decisive rejection of free trade took place in our history — over 1.2 million more voted against it than for it.

Although lacking support from most Canadians, indeed against the express will of the majority, Mulroney rammed his economic union bill through the House of Commons by repeated use of closure, riding roughshod over every rule that stood in his way. The majority of Canadians who had voted against the FTA were stunned, shocked, and demoralized. How could this have happened in a country which calls itself democratic?

Mulroney won the last election only because the opposition parties split the anti-free trade vote. If the Liberals and the NDP had run a joint campaign in defence of Canada, as Citizens Concerned About Free Trade had urged for the previous two years, they would today be sitting on the governing side of the House. John Turner would be Prime Minister, Ed Broadbent deputy Prime Minister and together they would have 210 seats. The Conservatives would have 85 seats, the free trade deal would be buried and Mulroney would have gone to the oblivion he so richly deserves. This would have been an accurate reflection of the will of Canadians.

By studying the election results, we can see that if the Liberals and the NDP had run a joint campaign, the Conservatives would not have taken a single seat in Saskatchewan and only 2 in B.C. In all of Atlantic Canada, only John Crosbie's seat would have gone to the Conservatives. In Ontario, only 8 seats out of 99 would have gone to Mulroney, instead of the 46 he has now.

But instead the opposition parties attacked each other, split the vote and let Mulroney come up middle. It further helped the pro-free trade forces when at a crucial moment in the election campaign, the NDP turned to attack John Turner instead of Brian Mulroney. Earlier, in July 1988, the NDP attacked the Senate, which in response to widespread public demand had just blocked passage of the free trade bill to give Canadians a vote on the biggest issue in the history of our country, something Mulroney had no intention of doing until forced to by John Turner and the Liberal Senate. (It turns out that the NDP campaign, which had systematically downplayed the free trade issue, was guided throughout by an American pollster, Fingerhut/Madison Opinion Research of Washington, D.C.).

The day after the election, NDP leader Ed Broadbent declared that the fight against the Free Trade Agreement was over, that Brian Mulroney "has been given a clear mandate" to proceed with it, and that it

the country.

Both Liberals and New Democrats have called for "monitoring" of the deal, for "adjustment programs," and for "compensation for free trade victims." What is required from you, the opposition parties, is not to "monitor" the integration of Canada into the U.S. but rather to fight against it tooth and nail. Your parties were not set to Ottawa by the majority of voters to co-operate with Brian Mulroney or to help him improve, "adjust" or fine tune the American takeover of Canada — you were sent there to defeat it. What is required is to keep the FTA front and center at all times. This means uncompromising and ceaseless calls for its abrogation, and ongoing education and exposés of what the Agreement is doing here and to other countries bound to the U.S. by "free trade" agreements.

If the Liberals and NDP do not do what you should have done in the last election — namely form an electoral coalition to defeat the Conservatives — then Brian Mulroney and his pro-annexationist party can remain in power indefinitely. The lies about the FTA have now been exposed — "free trade" has been revealed as the extension of Washington's control to the North Pole. It means the loss of control over our resources, our companies being taken over or moving south to the U.S. or the U.S.-Mexican free trade zone, and Canadian laws and policies being revised at breakneck speed to satisfy the U.S. "Free trade" with the U.S. means the same thing for Canada as it has meant for the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii. If it is allowed to stand, Canada will become the world's largest colony.

Smoke-screens are being raised to divert attention from the loss of our independence. "The deficit is out of control," Michael Wilson says, when in fact the deficit for an entire year could be erased by

simply collecting the \$39 billion in deferred taxes owed to the Canadian treasury by large corporations operating in Canada, many of them American owned and most of them aggressive supporters of the government's "free trade" campaign. The deficit hysteria we are being subjected to, and which is not being adequately challenged by either opposition party, is to cover the sound of the American takeover of our nation. A 9% tax [Editor's note: the GST has since been lowered to 7%] is to be added to virtually every commercial transaction in the country — both to replace the loss of tariff revenue and to satisfy corporate pressure. VIA Rail, the symbol of Canadian nationhood is being destroyed, not for economic reasons which don't stand up to scrutiny, but to attack the very ties which bind the nation together. Along with turning trade lines north and south, the Mulroney government wishes to turn the ribbons of steel north and south as well.

What we have in Ottawa today is not a government operating in the national interest of Canada but rather a caretaker government acting on behalf of a foreign power.

We therefore call on the NDP and Liberal parties to agree NOW, in the national interest, to form a coalition based on a public commitment to defeat the FTA in the next election. Having failed us once you must pledge to form this coalition government which is completely within your reach and you must commit yourselves to repeal the FTA as soon as you come to power.

If you do not set aside your narrow visions of yourselves and fight for Canada, then exactly the same result can occur in the next election as we saw last time. Margaret Thatcher has never received more than 44% of the vote in Britain — she won the last three (continued on page 17)

would be "churlish and inappropriate" for the NDP to stand in his way. "The Agreement with all of its faults has been approved by the people — it would not be appropriate to oppose it now," he told the nation. Thus the NDP's repeated campaign promise to fight the FTA harder than the Liberals was torn to shreds along with the hopes of millions of Canadians.

A few hours later, Liberal leader John Turner stepped to the microphones and threw in the towel. "The cause of my life," he had told voters only days earlier, was to defeat the FTA. Now his words are, "The people have decided. So, having stated our case, we'll let matters proceed."

In fact it would not have been too late to stop the free trade bill even after November 21, [1988]. If, after Mulroney had rammed it through the House in December, John Turner and Ed Broadbent had called a joint press conference asking the Senate to block the FTA on behalf of the majority of Canadians, and if the labour union leadership had supported this call by mobilizing thousands of their members outside the Parliament buildings the day of the Senate vote, we would have a different situation in Canada today. Instead of being wounded and in a deep depression, the country today would be on fire, the FTA would be stalled and the will of the majority of Canadians would reign.

Instead the Liberal party's courage collapsed the day after the election. The Senate had the power, the right, and the duty to conduct full scale, national public hearings to give Canadians, the majority of whom still did not know what was in the Agreement, a chance to know what it contained. The most sweeping, far-reaching, economic integration pact in our history, and perhaps between two countries anywhere in the world, had just been forced through the House of Commons by the unprecedented use of closure, and no public hearings had even been held on the final text. Instead of giving us those hearings, which would have provided the delay necessary to further mobilize against the Agreement, the Liberal party and Mr. Turner suffered a failure of nerve. Canadians witnessed the abject spectacle of the Liberal senators, shortly before New Year's Eve, lacking the strength to lift their arms to vote as the bill transferring control of Canada to Washington passed without opposition. Simply by casting their votes the Liberal majority could have prevented its passage.

By giving up the day after the election, by conceding Mulroney had a mandate for the FTA, the opposition parties betrayed the electors who voted for them. In essence, they co-operated with Brian Mulroney in the delivery of Canadian sovereignty to the United States. The majority of Canadians were left with no voice in our national Parliament on the most important issue facing

How We Pursued the Electoral Coalition Strategy from Coast to Coast

by Marjaleena Repo and Liam Grayer

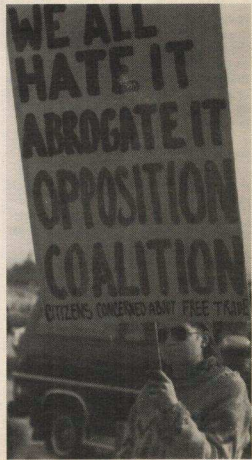
After the initial shock of the Mulroney government being re-elected in November 1988 wore off, sober reflection showed that a significant majority of Canadians had voted against Mulroney and his free trade deal. But the vote had been split between the Liberals and the New Democrats, allowing Mulroney to return to power.

CAFFT, who had advocated a joint effort by the opposition to fight against the passing of the Free Trade Agreement, now saw this strategy confirmed: the combined vote of the Liberals and New Democrats would have soundly rounced the Mulroneyites, but lack of political will on the part of the two opposition parties had made them uninterested in a winning strategy because both had hoped to win by going it alone.

The Country Lost

Not only did both parties lose, but the country lost. While there was still time before the January 1, 1989, deadline, CAFFT made a last minute effort to get the Liberal senators to stall the Agreement and allow opposition to it to continue to build by holding public hearings across the country — as none had ever taken place on undoubtedly the most important legislative act in the country's life. The rest is history — following John Turner's and Ed Broadbent's "gentlemanly" behaviour of giving up the fight

one day after the election, the Liberal senators washed their hands of any responsibility toward the voters and let the Free Trade





Every means are being used to pressure opposition members to see the necessity for an electoral coalition. Here Cady Williams and Kathy Logan use persuasion on Steven Langdon, a NDP leadership candidate, in Saskatoon. (Photo: Antoinette Martens)

Agreement became the law of the land. While the two opposition parties had refused to co-operate, the voters were left to improvise on their own and try "strategic" voting, i.e., voting for the candidate they thought most likely to defeat the Conservative candidate in their particular riding. The election results made it clear that strategic voting had not worked because in many cases where the opposition candidates were equally strong, it was guesswork and nothing else.

In CCAFT's analysis this experience could not be repeated again, unless we were willing to completely lose control of our country and our destiny as a nation. Soon after the election — and after the failure of the Liberal senators to block the FTA on December 30th, 1988 — CCAFT began to advocate a formal electoral coalition between the two opposition parties, to be created well in advance of the next election and not to be left for a last minute decision when it would be difficult, if not impossible, to implement.

Coalitions Have Long History

Countries throughout history, in times of crisis, have turned to coalitions. In the recent past, coalitions in Greece, India and Chile have successfully defeated ruling regimes. In England in 1940, Labour supported Churchill to become prime minister. Many other examples could be cited. We are not asking for the amalgamation of the Liberals and the NDP, but rather for an electoral coalition which would mean these two parties would — by prior mutual agreement — run only one candidate against the Conservative in every riding in Canada.

There are two compelling reasons for such a coalition:

1) **To take power.** Neither of these parties, nor their most ardent supporters, should dream of taking power on their own in the next election. The NDP has no base in Quebec and will be lucky if it takes a single seat in that province. Its chances in the Maritimes and Alberta are almost as bleak. The Liberal Party, on the other hand, can realistically expect few seats in all of western Canada and will be facing an uphill battle against the independentists in Quebec, with their massive media support. If the Liberals and the NDP decide to split the anti-Conservative vote in Ontario, Mulroney can come up the middle again and win at least enough seats to govern with the support of the Reform Party and the Bloc Québécois.

2) **To abrogate the FTA.** If the Liberals and the NDP form an electoral coalition they

will win power in the next election. This is the first step to abrogating the FTA. The next step is to give notice to the U.S. under the six-month termination clause (Article 2106). The U.S. will not give up its control of Canada easily. It will respond by threatening all kinds of retaliation. These threats are much more easily met by a Canadian government which can say to Washington that it represents two of the major political parties in Canada backed by the majority of the electorate.

One party alone attempting to gain power not only risks losing all and ending up back on the opposition benches, but also risks — should they succeed in actually gaining power — bearing alone the wrath of the Americans and their inevitable attempt to isolate and destabilize that party, labelling them as "radical," "dangerous," etc. The fate of Chile's Salvador Allende and his social-democratic government stands as a stark warning of how the U.S. responds to what it considers a threat to its "vital interests." It is much more difficult for the U.S. to do this two political parties which represent a clear majority of the population and have joined forces for one purpose, namely to abrogate the free trade deal.

The political excitement that would be generated by such a coalition would provide part of the momentum necessary to win the election, end the hated FTA, and begin to take back real control of our own country.

Not a Matter of "Trust"

There is a great deal of talk in ruling NDP circles about how "you can't trust the Liberals" (this in spite of the fact that it was not the NDP who led the fight against the FTA in 1988 but rather John Turner and his Liberals). The coalition we are proposing has nothing to do with trust. The Communists and Conservatives formed a coalition in Greece — an ideological chasm wider than anything between the NDP and the Liberals. The Labour Party's hatred of Churchill's virulent anti-socialism did not prevent its full participation in the wartime coalition government that led Britain into victory was sure. Labour then resumed its independence and won the next two elections against Churchill (1945 and 1950). What we are calling for does not require trust but rather a simple agreement to abrogate the FTA and in order to take power to do so, not to run against each other in any riding. Bob Rae didn't have to "trust" David Peterson in order to sign the agreement which ended over four decades of Conservative rule in Ontario (and which laid the

groundwork for the NDP's historic win five years later).

Since the spring of 1989 we talked electoral coalition and sent out letters and leaflets, naming it as a solution. CCAFT presented a critique of the results of the free trade election — the splitting of the vote — at the NDP free trade hearings which the party had started in March 1989, largely as a result of the members' and voters' dissatisfaction with the NDP's performance in the free trade fight. Mostly, however, this NDP committee only wanted to hear a rehash of new-familiar criticisms of the FTA, and did not welcome any critical feedback on its own role in bringing in the Free Trade Deal. (Some strong public criticisms of the NDP's performance surfaced soon after the election, among them a letter by Canadian Auto-workers' president and NDP vice-president, Bob White. Many others have also commented on the lacklustre performance of the party and its leader, Ed Broadbent, and his reluctance to tackle the free trade issue, and the party's role in helping Mulroney by attacking Turner harder than it did the Mulroney government. Ed Broadbent's "reward" of getting his own big-budget human rights organization soon after the Free Trade Agreement was brought in, turned the collective stomachs of many Canadians, including a great number of long-time New Democratic Party members and supporters).

An Open Letter Goes Out

Soon after the Parliament resumed its session in the fall of 1989, CCAFT presented the opposition members with an Open Letter titled "The Liberals and the NDP must form an electoral coalition to defend Canada." This letter — reprinted in its entirety in this issue — went to all major organizations fighting free trade, such as the Pro-Canada Network and its constituent member organizations, among them Council of Canadians and the Canadian Labour Congress, every anti-free trade group that had a mailing address, as well as nationally known individuals who had opposed free trade. We asked for support for the electoral coalition strategy from all quarters, and received some strongly favourable responses (see letter from Farley Mowat, in this issue), but the strongest support came from the grassroots members of the opposition parties as well as the non-affiliated voter (see "... and people write letters").

CCAFT also participated actively and vigorously in the Liberal and New Democratic Party leadership campaigns. We wanted to make sure that the opposition parties would not "forget" about free trade and move on to other, "lighter" and "softer" is-

suues ("environment" is the favourite, it seems, of the three major parties). We distributed thousands of electoral coalition leaflets across the country — in two languages — and CCAFT members took part in the leadership forums, as well as pushing for a coalition from within the parties.

Mostly we were received like skunks at a garden party, by both opposition parties. They wanted a "smooth operation" at their forums and all through their leadership contests, and bristled at the suggestion that they could and should be criticized for their past performance and that demands could and should be put on them by the electorate (whom they had just recently so fervently wooed). Once voted in with more seats than they had before — and in many areas largely because of the work of CCAFT and other free trade opponents — they wanted the critical voters to disappear from sight and leave the opposition members to "do their own thing" in the House.

After the initial forum in Vancouver, where CCAFT members raised questions about the free trade issue, the NDP set in motion a system of controlling the questions from the floor so as to prevent the free trade issue from emerging with full force. While initially people could line up at open mikes — as should be the case in democratically run political meetings — soon you could only take a number as if participating in a raffle and, toward the end, the people chairing the meetings did their utmost to prevent a coherent discussion from ensuing about what the NDP proposed to do about the FTA and how. This was also the time when one of the high-profile candidates, Audrey McLaughlin, had publicly announced a "wait-and-see" attitude toward the FTA (which she later changed into abrogation). Other candidates blasted the FTA, but their strongest and most hostile reactions were reserved for audience members who put forward the position of abrogating the FTA altogether and using the electoral coalition to do so.

Putting the Question to the NDP

In a number of cities CCAFT members managed to "put the question" from the floor, only to receive a royal rebuke from each candidate. The leadership candidates competed with each other on who would make the most contemptuous and hostile remarks and postured on which of them dejected the Liberals the most. Simon De Jong's comments took the cake: "I'm not prepared to join the Liberal Party... They are diseased." Others, like Howard McCurdy, decided that the public forums really weren't for the public after all and that even slightly



Lacking an opportunity to ask questions, Ray Becker is making his concerns about the Free Trade Agreement known to the Liberal leadership candidates in Vancouver. (Photo: Allan Dobbs).

critical questions put to the future leaders from the floor were "an impertinent intrusion in an internal discussion about the leadership of our party." And he spoke for the other NDP leadership candidates when he said, "We believe that we are going to beat the FTA because of our own strength."

There was a slight change of tone when David Barrett made a late entry into the leadership race in September 1989, and made his opposition to the FTA the basis of his campaign. He challenged his party's 1988 election strategy of aspiring to form an NDP majority government and said that the party should aim to get 70-80 winnable seats next time around, and with this balance of power be prepared to support whichever party agreed as its first priority to "rip up" the free trade deal. He also advocated that any future provincial NDP governments should wage "guerrilla political warfare" against the FTA with a "buy Canadian" policy for provincially purchased goods and services. As Barrett put it, "This is hardball politics. This is our country and its future is at stake."

One can only speculate whether the NDP under Barrett's leadership would today be discussing not only the abrogation of the FTA — a position that McLaughlin gradually assumed — but also how to do it, i.e., whether there is any other way to go about it except for powersharing through an electoral coalition. McLaughlin and the current crop of NDP party leaders talk tough about abrogating the FTA — particularly with the Mexico-U.S.-Canada free trade deal looming on the horizon — but have not put forward one practical idea on how they would do it. Their only refrain is, "Elect us."

Liberals Avoid Free Trade, Too

Meanwhile, the Liberal Party's leadership campaign was in full swing. By the time it held its first all-candidates' forum in Vancouver on March 4, 1990, Lloyd Axworthy, who had been the party's trade critic and had a high anti-free trade profile, bowed out because he had been unable to raise enough money from the business community to stay in the race. The others — Jean Chrétien, Paul Martin, Sheila Copps, and Tom Wappel — proceeded as if free trade was a done deal, something we had better learn to live with. Only John Nunziata did some straight talking about opposition to free trade having been the Liberal party's main platform and the issue that had gotten many Liberals elected. The major candidates (Chrétien, Martin and Copps) vied with each other on how many different ways there were not to talk about free trade.

CCAFT members took the Liberal leadership forums as seriously as we had taken the NDP leadership campaign. At the first forum in Vancouver, fifty CCAFT members demonstrated to show their concern about the issue and the Liberals' attempt to bury it. Their signs stated their case: "The NDP and the Liberals must agree now to form a coalition to defeat Free Trade in the next election." "You can't 're-negotiate' the sell-out of Canada." "Free Trade will cost us Canada — repeal the deal." "A coalition formed Canada in 1867; a coalition will save Canada in 1990." "Put country before party." "For Canada's sake, don't split the vote again!" "Free Trade is the disease — coalition is the cure." "Abrogate the 'monstrous swindle!'" "Renegotiate the FTA? — what are the good parts you want to keep?" and "Liberal Party 1990 — Turner betrayed?" A few signs were directed at specific candidates — "Sheila Copps: if free trade was bad in 1988, it's bad in 1990." "Chrétien, Martin, who are you kidding? You can't renegotiate a takeover!" "Sheila Copps cops out on Free Trade."

Three CCAFT members had paid \$25 each for their tickets to attend the public forum. Inside, lacking any opportunity to ask questions about free trade in what turned out to be a carefully controlled session, they

called out from time to time for the candidates to declare their positions on abrogation. At one point CCAFT member, Ray Becker, was maneuvered out of the meeting by Liberal party security, and was then refused re-admittance. Another, Liam Grayer, was pushed onto the floor by hotel security in their effort to throw him out at the party's request and then arrested by Vancouver police brought in for the occasion, and taken out of the meeting. He was threatened with a charge of "assault by trespass" — despite having paid his admission fee — but no charges were ever laid.

A third member, Elaine Griffith, a student and Liberal Party member, attended the morning workshops in order to get the FTA on the "official" priority question list. When she protested later in the public session that the question on free trade which the workshop members had put on the top of the list was never asked, party organizers physically shoved her into her seat and prevented her from being heard. The manhandling and her stumped and tearful face were seen on television coast to coast.

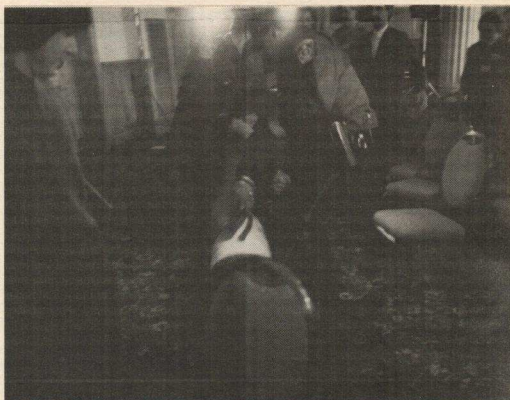
When the question about free trade was finally asked, at the very end of the forum, Chrétien said he would re-negotiate the "bad parts" with the U.S. and keep the "good parts", a position echoed by Paul Martin. Sheila Copps, who had been so vocal in denouncing the FTA before the election, now called it a "done deal" which might even be irreversible. Tom Wappel, the anti-abortion candidate, declared that there was nothing to be done since the Liberals weren't in power, except to wait and look at it in 1993.

At a mini-forum (without Jean Chrétien) in Saskatoon on March 25, the candidates were visibly annoyed at having to tolerate CCAFT members who were asking them to declare their positions on free trade, and whether they would be prepared to abrogate the deal and to form a coalition to make sure this could be done. Sheila Copps, in particular, was "fed up" with having to be accountable to the voters about her party now ignoring the major plank of its 1988 platform.

A Major Confrontation

A major confrontation took place on April 1, 1990, at the western Liberal forum in Winnipeg. At that time party organizers escalated their tactics of dealing with people who questioned the candidates about free trade. CCAFT members distributed electoral coalition leaflets outside the forum, and then a few, having tickets, went inside to raise the question. Once again, after not one leadership aspirant even mentioning free trade in their opening speeches, Grant Orchard from Saskatoon and Liam Grayer from Vancouver called out during the speeches — as it turned out they used fewer than 40 words during a period of 75 minutes — "Talk about free trade, Jean." "Trudeau calls it a monstrous swindle." "There won't be any country left." "It was the fight of Turner's life." "What about abrogation?" "It'll be too late!" and when Paul Martin started a sentence with "What this country needs..." it was finished from the floor by Grant Orchard with, "Sovereignty!"

After the lunch break and before the session continued in the afternoon, organizers called in first the hotel security and then the Winnipeg police to physically remove the two "nuisances," and while they were at it, they also arrested and dragged out free lance photographer Antoinette Martens, on assignment from CCAFT, who had not said a word during the proceedings. Martens was grabbed while taking photographs of the arrest of the others, and when she resisted this arbitrary arrest was physically dragged out. (Her photographs accompany this article.) She demanded to know the reasons for her arrest and was told only, "We are taking you," with the Liberal organizers pointing her out to the police. Around them other



Questions about free trade lead to police action at the Liberal leadership forum in Winnipeg on April 1, 1990. *Top and middle:* Liam Grayer is wrestled to the ground by the Winnipeg police, while many Liberal party members watch in shock and shame. *Bottom:* Grant Orchard challenges the right of the police and the Liberal party organizers to have him thrown out. "I just say to Canadians, take your chances, be brave", he calls out, quoting John Turner from the 1988 election campaign, "You continue to ask questions — you continue to heckle," while the police dragged him out. Photos were taken by Antoinette Martens, who a few minutes later was arrested and hauled out herself. All three spent a night in jail.



Signs and leaflets were in both official languages. Here Rose-Marie Larsson was being interviewed in Vancouver during the Liberal leadership campaign. (Photo: CCAFT Vancouver).

forum participants called out: "Leave them alone," "What about freedom of speech?", "Shame, shame!" "You can't do this — this is the Liberal Party" — but to no avail.

When Grant Orchard was being carried out by the police, he repeated in a loud and clear voice what John Turner had said during the 1988 election to hecklers who had been arrested at Conservative Party rallies: "I just say to Canadians, take your chances, be brave, we'll put up bail for you. You continue to ask questions — you continue to heckle." But even this reminder of the Liberal party's immediate history had no effect on the overzealous organizers, and not one leadership candidate or Liberal member of parliament intervened on behalf of the silenced CCAFT members.

The three "criminals" were jailed, spent the night in subhuman conditions in the notorious Manitoba Remand Centre, and were charged with "petty trespassing" and "causing a disturbance." There was extensive media coverage of their arrests, almost all of it critical of the Liberal Party, with headlines such as, "Free trade critics jailed for heckling Liberals," "Party has cops arrest protesters," "Party members, MP upset at ejection of three protesters" and "Hecklers angry at being treated like criminals."

Freedom of Speech Violated

Frances Russell, a *Winnipeg Free Press* columnist, commented on the debacle:

"If the constitution has driven a deep wedge in the Liberal Party, a side event involving the trade issue covered it in shame. Three members of the grassroots Citizens Concerned About Free Trade were manhandled out of the hall by Winnipeg police after they indulged in some mild heckling. Their interruptions, one party official said, disrupted the telecast of the proceedings and threw the candidates off-stride. Before it worries whether its vision is about yesterday or tomorrow, the party that authored the Charter of Rights might start with reformation of freedom of speech."

An editorial in the same newspaper, titled "Hire some hecklers," made it clear where its sympathies lie:

"The Liberals should not be throwing hecklers out of their leadership forums. They should be hiring some to come in and give the candidates a rough time.... Political debate in Canada is becoming more and more a matter of carefully scripted statements made in settings designed for television

where no jarring note is sounded and no question asked. Even the Liberals, however, cannot forever keep their new leader inside that kind of plastic envelope, insulated from loud, rude remarks or persistent questions. They had better find out which candidates can take it and which cannot. They had better let the hecklers in."

This view was also expressed on CBC *Morningside* by Fred McGuinness, a former Brandon newspaper editor: "We used to go to political meetings just to hear how the speakers handled the hecklers; now they carry them away. The hecklers are part of the process. This equates with not being able to protest on Parliament Hill." In a later interview, McGuinness (who agreed to be an expert witness on public participation in political meetings at the CCAFT members' trial) spoke about constant attempts by political organizations of all kinds to stifle freedom of speech and participation in the political process. He related how in Saskatchewan in the 1950's heckling was a well developed and essential part of politics, and how voter participation often reached 90% in such an intense environment. "If you couldn't handle the hecklers, how were you to survive in the legislature? Out of this came real hard political contestation." And, he continued, "Most hecklers want to know the answer to a question that the speaker is avoiding, want to comment on the fact that the speaker has changed his principles from yesterday, and things of that type — it's not that they just want to babble and shut him up; they want to learn something."

No Disruption by "Hecklers"

Eyewitness reports were equally revealing. Craig Oliver, CTV senior parliamentary reporter, had watched the whole event at close quarters and felt strongly enough about it to volunteer to sign a statement in support of the three:

"It is my opinion that those three hecklers were in no way disrupting the proceedings.... Matter of fact, when I interviewed Liberal MP John Harvard later, that was his opinion also. The heckling by your members was well within what I would regard as acceptable at a political event of that kind.... In thirty-two years of covering politics I have seen much heckling which I regard as a well respected political tradition. There is certainly a fine line between a good heckling job and actually disturbing or breaking up a meeting by preventing those on the platform from

speaking. Your members came nowhere near crossing that line. In fact, I think a competent politician should have been able to turn the heckling to his own advantage. For the Liberal party to call in the police and claim your members were disturbing the proceedings was, in my view, absurd." (Emphasis in the original).

William Loewen, a prominent businessman from Winnipeg, sent a strongly worded rebuke to the Liberal party (and, along with his wife, Shirley Loewen, volunteered to be a defense witness). In his letter he described the events as follows:

"I was sitting near the hecklers and, though I could not see them well, I could see what was going on around them during the candidates' speeches. The two were sitting one in front of the other. About five to ten times during the five leaders' speeches, which took over an hour, one or the other of the two hecklers yelled out a comment or question related to free trade. There was no sustained heckling or significant interruption to any one speaker. The heckling consisted only of a brief remark... No speaker was put off and all just talked through the heckling. If heckling in Parliament was as dignified and low key as this heckling, it would certainly have a better image.

The chairperson did make a fairly lengthy statement to the hecklers during the proceedings. His statement was intended to shut them up. It did nothing to assure them that their concern would be dealt with at some time during the proceedings.

As I see it there was considerable reason to be concerned that we would not hear the candidates' positions on the free trade agreement.

* *The briefing papers for the panels* gave no indication that this was a subject that should be raised in the workshops.

* *Not one of the five speakers mentioned the trade agreement in their prepared presentations. I understand that the issue has been avoided or at least downplayed at other meetings as well.*

* *Not one of the eight priority questions given to the candidates after the speeches had to do with the trade issue.*

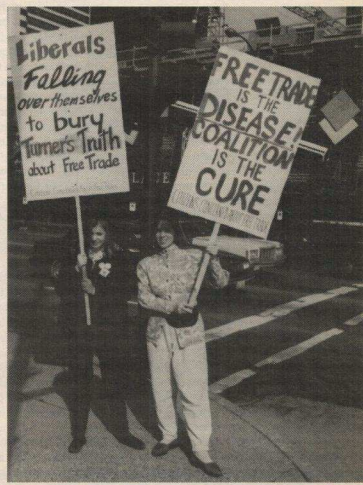
The people in question are condemned for being disruptive of not just the Winnipeg meeting, but other meetings as well. If the Winnipeg experience was similar to the other meetings, then they were fully justified in trying to get this matter brought forward. All Canadians, not just Liberal party members, surely have a right to know where the candidates stand on this vital issue. If the Liberal Party or any of the candidates for its leadership is trying to sweep it under the table then we must know that too. If it has come to the point where they have to arrest people to make a point,

then the candidates' views, then we should know that too. If the Liberals want private meetings they should have them, but a meeting that is swarming with TV cameras is hardly a private meeting."

Thoughtful Support

CCAFT's electoral coalition strategy was supported by the thoughtful voters and grassroots opposition party members from the time it was first introduced. On March 7, it had received a real boost from Kenneth McNaught, Professor Emeritus of history at the University of Toronto, who examined it in his article, "To topple the Tories and save the country," in, of all newspapers, the pro-free trade *Globe and Mail*. McNaught acknowledged the CCAFT had initiated the call for an electoral coalition, and he further elaborated on the history of coalitions, such as the British Liberal-Labour pact of 1906 that saw the birth of progressive legislation — the overhaul of the tax structure, protection of unions and the establishment of social insurance and welfare programs. He looked at the pros and cons of the proposal, and introduced as the two possible cons the fact that the electoral pact would arouse resentment in ridings that have been nursed by party faithfuls, and that it would run afoul of the traditional Canadian antipathy toward coalition politics. He responds to the first objection by saying that the overall results would far outweigh local drawbacks. The second objection, McNaught writes, can be addressed in two ways: "An electoral agreement is not, in fact, a coalition. It would likely result in a minority Liberal government enjoying NDP support for much of its program. The only coalition aspect would be a pre-election pledge to give, immediately, the six-month notice required to terminate the free-trade agreement." As for the "traditional Canadian antipathy" toward coalitions, McNaught points out that "the country's most effective, progressive governments have enjoyed only a tenuous command of legislative majorities; the Pearson and Trudeau governments in Ottawa and David Peterson's first-term administration in Ontario are some persuasive examples" of de facto coalitions that have benefited the voters.

McNaught concludes, "The proposed electoral deal, by sharpening a major issue



Making a point. (Left to right) Jackie Duff and Andrea Dobbs demonstrating in Vancouver. (Photo: CCAFT Vancouver).

beyond the possibility of fudging, would probably infuse our body politic with a health it has for some time lacked. *Canadian voters would be the clear winners. The process of ensuring a united opposition vote could itself be democratically invigorating.*" (Emphasis added).

...And Counter Attacks

Some of the media pundits got into the action. Following McNaught's article, Syndicated columnist Geoffrey Stevens found the strategy to be "too exotic" and then offered his own exotic commentary. "How do you know that a marriage of convenience [between Liberals and NDP] wouldn't boomerang?," he asked, and then suggested that "the Tories would present themselves as innocent victims of a conspiracy, a secret deal, by power-hungry Liberals and New Democrats. However improbable, a sympathy vote may be the only thing that could save them from bleeding to death from their self-inflicted wounds." (*Vancouver Sun*, March 13, 1990). The idea of a "sympathy vote" for the much-detested and discredited Mulroney Conservatives is mind boggling. It's kin to the wrongheaded notion, partly wishful thinking and partly off-the-wallism, that circulated before the last election, namely that Mulroney would utilize the Liberal senators' blocking of the Free Trade Agreement by making an "undemocratic Senate" an election issue (with Ed Broadbent's full support, mind you). The rest is history, but already those of us who had our feet on the ground knew that far from becoming the villains and Senate reform becoming THE issue of the election, the Liberal senators would be seen as the heroes who gave Canadians the 1988 Free Trade election.

Gerald Caplan, a long-time NDP strategist and *Toronto Star* columnist knocks the electoral coalition strategy in his Canada Day column (also crediting the idea falsely to Mel Hurtig, who has so far not supported it). Caplan launches a virulent and highly partisan attack on Liberals in general and Chrétien in particular, and concludes with a smirk, "Sure we've got to stop the Tories and their destructive conservative agenda. But Ken [McNaught] and Mel [Hurtig], shouldn't we try to do so working with those who share our principles?"

Heavens to Betsy, what principles IS

Caplan talking about? Suffering from a severe case of the kettle-calling-the-pot-black, he regards as "principles" something that appears as elastic as bubblegum. Take the case of the NDP's support and lack of support for the Liberal-led Senate, which from time to time it wishes to abolish, only to rely on it desperately at other times. The Drug Patent Act (Bill C-22) was fought long and hard in the Senate, where it was held up for a lengthy period. During this time NDP members of Parliament collected thousands of signatures for a petition which asked the Senate to throw out the bill. Nelson Riis, NDP house leader, said at the time that the NDP was willing to take a victory any way it can get it and hoped the Senate would continue to block not only the drug bill, but any other bad legislation. "We feel that that bill is bad, that it is not in the best interests of Canada or Canadians," he said. "We will do everything we can to stop it, and we'll applaud those whose acts stop it." (*Globe and Mail*, August 14, 1987).

Stretchy Principles

Less than a year later the NDP had a new "principle." When it came to the Liberal Senate blocking the Free Trade Agreement, it was no longer a question of what was in the "best interests of Canada and Canadians." It was Ed Broadbent who on July 22, 1988, insisted that the Senate quickly pass legislation to implement the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement after the bill passed the House of Commons. "The Senate has no democratic legitimacy in not acting within a very limited period of time after the House has expressed its will," he said, launching an attack on John Turner and the Senate. "We cannot in this country justify the use of undemocratic means, especially when democratic means are at our disposal to deal with an undesirable government or undesirable practices...Mr. Turner has clearly decided the end does justify the means. He is prepared to abandon democracy. We are not."

Now, in 1990, the Liberal Senate's opposition to the GST is once again quite OK, according to the NDP, up to and including the complete blocking of the unpopular tax bill, which was possible until Mulroney stacked the Senate with Conservative appointees. The NDP and its affiliated labour groups now march to a different tune, urging

Canadians to flood the Senate with supportive calls. No talk about "undemocratic" and "abolishing the Senate" this time around! It is more like, "Oh, well, it's not nice, but we need it." So much for the NDP's "principles" to which Gerald Caplan glowingly referred.

No Trial For The Winnipeg Three

As for the CCAFT members who had gone to the Winnipeg Liberal forum to make sure that the free trade issue wouldn't be buried, they did not get their day in court after all. With witnesses arranged, with legal preparations and research done for their defence against the trespassing and causing a disturbance charges, Grayer, Orchard and Martens drove to Winnipeg from Saskatoon and Vancouver, only to

be told on the very day of the trial, that the charges were "stayed" (not withdrawn, but laid to rest until "someone" would decide whether to proceed with them again, within a six month period). The three suffered public humiliation, bruises, ripped clothes, broken eyeglasses, spent a night in jail and had considerable personal expense in being forced to take several days off work to travel to Winnipeg for the trial. The legal system made the victims of police assault (who had been denied their civil liberties and had been falsely arrested) pay all the costs, and let the Liberal party, the Winnipeg police and the hotel staff off scot-free. If this had happened, say, in Romania or the Soviet Union, it would have hit the front pages of Canadian newspapers and earned a spot on our national news as an example of political tyranny. As it unfolded in Canada, it was just a day in the life of three unlucky individuals, not worth dwelling on... (CCAFT meanwhile is pursuing legal action against the Liberal party and the Winnipeg police for infractions against individual rights, civil liberties and freedom of the press).

More Pressure Needed

The struggle for the abrogation of the Free Trade Agreement continues. It is now over a year ago since we first sent out our Open Letter, which contains an analysis of the problem we are facing — the possibility of the Mulroney government getting back in a third time, with fewer votes than ever, but as a result of the two stubborn and self-centered opposition parties splitting the vote once more. With four-way races in many ridings involving the Bloc Québécois or the Reform Party, the Conservative candidate can be re-elected with 30%, or even less, of the vote in the coming federal election. We are renewing our pressure on the opposition parties and on all groups and individuals who purport to oppose the Agreement. We are asking them, outright, whether they are strongly enough opposed to the Agreement to seriously demand that the opposition parties form an electoral coalition. As we said over a year ago, it is not enough to wring one's hands about how terrible the FTA is and how much worse everything will get with the U.S.-Mexico FTA. The time has come for each and everyone to declare how, in what exact manner, Canada can get out of the FTA and avoid joining the Mexico-U.S. Agreement. For those, whose most serious objection to the electoral coalition solution is that "the Liberals and the NDP will never agree to do it," our reply is, "We can make them." The power of the people, the ordinary, non-partisan citizens, already had its effect in 1988 when the Liberal Senate, despite its earlier declaration that it would never do so, blocked the FTA, forcing Mulroney to call an election. Within even such a limited form of democracy as ours, we have ways and means to make the two opposition parties listen and pay attention and actually do what the great majority of people want them to do. Let us now use those means.

What We Can Do

1. Write to the Liberal and NDP leaders and tell them that you want to have the Free Trade Agreement abrogated, not "adjusted" or "renegotiated," and that you want them to form an electoral coalition to do so. Tell them there is no time to waste, that you will accept nothing less, and certainly you will not tolerate feeble excuses. The addresses are: The Hon. Jean Chrétien, Leader of the Opposition, Audrey McLaughlin, M.P., Leader, New Democratic Party, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0A6. Send a copy to the two free trade critics of the parties, Dave Barrett of the NDP and Roy MacLaren of the Liberals, as well as to the Liberal Senate leader, The Hon. Allan MacEachen, Leader of the Opposition, The Senate, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0A4. All

these letters may be sent postage free. And don't forget to send a copy of your letter, and the reply you receive, to CCAFT (National Office, P.O. Box 8052, Saskatoon, S7K 4R7). Make the letters personal, speak from your heart. We advise against anything resembling a form letter.

2. Raise the issue of "free trade" wherever you can, on open line shows on radio and television, in letters to newspapers, in public meetings, in any manner possible. Point out what "free trade" is doing to our country, and that there is a solution. The Agreement must be terminated and it can be done through an electoral coalition. Don't let the "free trade" issue be buried, as is the intent of this country's powers-that-be as well as the mostly pro-free trade media.

3. Take the issue to the organizations to which you belong and propose a resolution in favour of an electoral coalition, and have this resolution forwarded to the two opposition parties.

4. Educate yourself about what is in the Agreement and how it is affecting Canada two years later. Our book, *Free Trade: the Full Story*, contains David Orchard's speech on the history and content of the Free Trade Agreement, in a language that anybody can understand. Another helpful publication is Marjorie Bowker's critical study of the Agreement, *On Guard for Thee: an Independent Review of the Free Trade Agreement*. Use our audio and video tapes, including our latest, *Free Trade and the Crisis in Canada*, which explains what has happened in the first 21 months of free trade, to inform yourself and others. These and other materials are available from CCAFT. (See our catalogue in this issue for further details). For an extra copy of the Open Letter to the Opposition Members of Parliament, also available in French, and a copy of Professor Kenneth McNaught's article, "To topple the Tories and save the country," send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to us.

5. Last but definitely not least, join CCAFT, so you can add your voice to thousands of other Canadians concerned about free trade. We need your full participation in the project of building an independent country. (See membership application and further details elsewhere in this issue.)



Alert Mel McLeod at the Liberal leadership forum in Vancouver. (Photo: CCAFT Vancouver.)



Buttons designed by Elaine Griffith. Available from CCAFT.

Manifest Destiny on the southern front – the Mexico-U.S. free trade agreement

by Liam Grayser

On June 12, 1990, Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari and U.S. President Bush announced they were going to negotiate a comprehensive free trade agreement between their two countries. This revelation was the end-product of recently intensified secret negotiations which had been going on for several years.

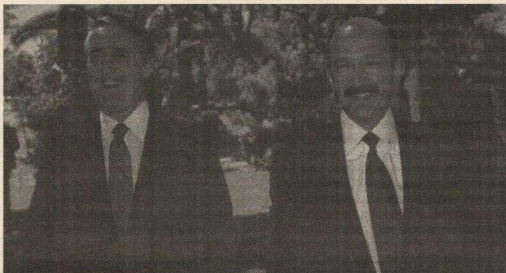
Like Brian Mulroney, Carlos Salinas de Gortari had repeatedly declared prior to the 1988 Mexican election that he was against free trade with the U.S.A. Thus, he is negotiating a free trade agreement with the Americans without any mandate, as did Brian Mulroney.

The abrupt about-face on free trade by Mexican politicians is identical to the turnaround that the Conservative government in Canada made after it was first elected in 1984. The parallels are striking and more than coincidental. Like Canada, Mexico, in adopting free trade with the U.S., is turning its back on its long history of fighting American domination, both economic and military (e.g., in the Mexican-American War of 1846-48 the U.S. conquered and annexed almost half of Mexico's territory).

Salinas is a Harvard-trained economist and, as the budget and planning minister under the previous president, is the principal architect of Mexico's current catastrophic economic situation. Like Mulroney, he has begun to dismantle his country's historic protection against foreign economic takeover even before completing free trade negotiations with the U.S.A. Salinas removed foreign ownership restrictions on all companies with less than \$200 million in assets, reached an agreement on protection of U.S. corporate patents ("intellectual property"), and lifted the 40% tax on the export of capital out of Mexico, giving foreign-owned companies and comprador* Mexicans the right to loot the country if they choose. In the autumn of 1989 Salinas accelerated the privatization of 800 state-owned companies, including the phone company, electric utilities, the national airlines, and mining concerns. Canadians will recognize this pattern!

As a solution to Mexico's devastating economic situation, Salinas' party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) which has ruled the country for almost 60 years, proposes to turn the country into a "free market" sweat shop, selling Mexico's people as near slave labour to American and Canadian companies. The "Border Industrialization Programme," known as the Maquiladora zones,** has become the model for Mexican industry. Mexico's place in the American empire will be as supplier of cheap labour, complementing Canada's role as a resource cow.

If possible, Salinas' position is even more compromised than Mulroney's. Mulroney was elected on an anti-Liberal tide as a moderate promising to protect Canada's



Like two peas in a pod, Mulroney and Salinas have sold out to U.S. interests.

social programmes, "sacred trusts" he called them, and as a declared opponent of free trade with the U.S.A. He proved to be neither, and proceeded to negotiate a free trade agreement with the U.S., which he intended to implement without consulting Canadians. Forced into an election on November 21, 1988, he lost the national referendum on free trade, but used his electoral victory over a split opposition to impose the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement anyway.

On the other hand, in Mexico in July 1988, Salinas' party, the PRI, actually lost the July 1988 election, but then stole the victory from the united opposition by massive fraud during the counting of the vote. According to observers, Mexican and non-Mexican alike, the actual winner of the election was the widely respected Cuauhtemoc Cardenas who led the National Democratic Front (FDN). The FDN is a coalition of four centre and left parties who backed Cardenas and withdrew their own candidates in support of his nationalist economic programme. Cardenas is the son of one of Mexico's most revered modern presidents, Lazaro Cardenas, who expropriated the American and British oil companies in the 1930's and implemented the most widespread land re-distribution to peasants in Mexico's history.

Cuauhtemoc Cardenas' programme includes an immediate moratorium on repayment of the \$100 billion (U.S.) international debt to stop Mexico from bleeding to death. He opposes free trade with the U.S. and he advocates a return to using Mexico's resources for domestic development. He opposes selling them off to repay foreign banks, principally American, while Mexican agriculture and industry deteriorate for want of capital and a crumbling infrastructure.*** Sabotage, intimidation and murder characterized the Mexican election campaign of 1988. Hundreds of thousands of phone voter identity cards were distributed before the election; anonymous posters appeared everywhere calling Cardenas a communist. Four days before the vote a close advisor and long time associate of Cardenas was shot to death along with his assistant. This

***Infrastructure: a term from economics that refers to the fundamental facilities and systems serving a country or city, such as roads, bridges and other transportation and communication systems, power plants, sewage systems, water supplies, schools and hospitals, most of which are publicly funded and maintained and essential to the operation of agricultural, industrial, and commercial activity, as well as daily life.

advisor was responsible for monitoring the vote with FDN scrutineers as it was widely expected that the PRI would try to steal the election. On the evening of election day, as it became obvious that Salinas and the PRI were losing, the government declared that the vote-counting computers had crashed. The next morning Salinas appeared and claimed that he had won, only with a bare majority. It took a week for the government to produce the cooked-up figures confirming this result. Among many flagrant abuses, full ballot boxes from areas of high opposition support were found floating in rivers and the official final ballot total was very low, despite widespread acknowledgement that the voter turnout had been extraordinarily high. The people had come out to get rid of the PRI and yet they were cheated of their votes.

The theft of the election precipitated a major crisis as Cardenas and the right-wing presidential candidate declared they would challenge and contest the vote up until the presidential confirmation process ended in September. On July 16, 1988, 400,000 Mexican farmers and workers took to the streets to try to prevent what Cardenas said was "technically a coup d'etat," if the government denied him the presidency. During the confirmation hearings in mid-September opposition politicians stormed the speaker's platform in the Federal Legislature in frustration at the coup. The time between the election and the confirmation was marked by political violence and killings. A number of Cardenas' supporters were shot or had the windows of their houses blown out by gunfire. However, the PRI forced its candidate on an unwilling nation.

Washington quickly accepted the crooked presidential vote and made approving comments about how the PRI had always managed the "excitable Mexican political scene" well. By early 1990, sixty



Cuauhtemoc Cardenas – the election was stolen from him.

opposition figures had been murdered and others who had resisted this electoral coup had been jailed on trumped-up charges. Opposition politicians spoke of the emergence of Mexican "death squads." In the spring of this year Salinas' government sent the military in to clear demonstrators occupying 19 town halls protesting other fraudulent elections. The Mexican opposition calculates that the trade-off for American support of the status quo and help in maintaining the PRI in power, will be the complete opening of the historically protected Mexican economy to U.S. takeover, and free trade.

Mexico is not, and never has been, a banana republic. In fact Mexico has been far ahead of Canada in overall control of its own economy and had been very successful with independent self-development until the early 1960's, incurring very little foreign debt and producing most of its own food and manufactured goods. The Mexican Revolution of 1910-17 produced a constitution that recognizes workers' rights, prohibits the ownership of property by foreigners and declares the country's strategic natural resources public property. It endorses a major role for the government in guiding the economic development of Mexico. Under these policies Mexico's economy and standard of living increased each year for forty years between 1935 and 1975. Since 1983 governments of which Salinas has been part have abandoned this proud tradition, joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT),** borrowed from the International Monetary Fund (IMF)** and moved to make the whole of Mexico a cheap labour reservoir on the Maquiladora zone model. As part of the push for a free trade agreement, foreign corporations are now demanding Mexico change its constitution to allow them to own property.

A \$100 billion (U.S.) debt to foreign banks and governments, with annual interest payments alone of \$11 billion (U.S.), robs Mexico of agriculture and industry of credit and capital. Low oil prices have drastically reduced the foreign income that Mexico's state-owned oil exports bring in, and wages that are effectively one third of their 1982 value have pushed a majority of Mexicans into poverty and desperation. Companies in the Maquiladora zones pay wages which are on average 1/4 that necessary to sustain a family of four.

A U.S.-Mexico free trade agreement has serious implications for Canada. All the indications point to the U.S. negotiating a separate deal with Mexico, excluding Canada but for token showy "consultations," and then playing off the two countries on its borders against each other to extract what few remaining concessions Mulroney did not make in 1988: getting rid of the "cultural protection" provisions, throwing out the remaining investment restrictions on U.S. takers of Canadian firms, and exposing our transportation sector to American buy-out, etc. Such an agreement will "institutionalize" the movement of Canadian industry to the low-wage Maquiladora zones (60¢ an hour). An inevitable levelling effect will drag Canadian wages down toward Third World levels. The effect on Mexico will be to turn it into one huge Maquiladora zone as Canadian and U.S. industry relocate there on a large scale. We will witness the same hype as the same players try to swallow Mexico whole, as they think they have Canada. Mexico and Canada, however, are natural allies in a fight to stay free of American economic and political control. ♦

* Comprador: originally the name given to the native manager of a foreign establishment in China. In Canada, compradors are usually the heads of the Canadian branch plants of American corporations who follow the directives of their foreign headquarters, but is now more broadly used to refer to nationals of a country who serve the interests of foreign firms in their native land and betray the economic interests of their own country in so doing.

** GATT, IMF, Maquiladora zone: See p.22 Glossary for information about these terms.

Free trade and the crisis in Canada

by David Orchard

For over two hundred years one factor in Canadian history and politics has remained constant: the power and presence of the United States of America. Our history has been one of resisting assimilation into what has become the most powerful military and economic empire the world has ever known. The signing of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement on January 1, 1989, increased that power dramatically. Unless Canadians take immediate and decisive steps to resist, we are in danger of seeing the disappearance of our nation.

History Reveals It All

The stakes are high. Canada is the second largest nation in the world and it has struggled against takeover by the United States for over two centuries. During that time, Canadians — French, English and aboriginal together — have fought off two major American military invasions, 1775-76 and 1812-14, and resisted several more localized ones. In 1825 New Brunswick lost a large part of its territory to Maine in the Aroostook war. In 1846 the Americans rallying around the slogan of "fifty-four forty or fight" coined the phrase "The American title is by right of our Manifest Destiny to overpass and possess the whole of the Continent which Providence has given us," with the resultant loss of the entire lower Columbia region in the Oregon boundary dispute. In 1870 Riel's Metis defeated American invaders on the plains south of Winnipeg in their attempt to take western and northern Canada. In 1902 U.S. President Roosevelt, with his motto, "Talk softly and carry a big stick," mobilized his troops into Alaska, and Canada lost part of the northern coast of British Columbia in the Alaska boundary dispute.

The most recent attempt by Americans to change the border is taking place in the Dixon Entrance off the north-west coast of B.C. With the use of their coastguard and armed seizures of Canadian fishing vessels, they have attempted to move the boundary southward from 54-40 to south of 54-30 in some of the richest fishing grounds on the North Pacific coast and an area of strategic importance to the U.S.

In its desire for all of North America, the U.S. has not restricted itself to physical force. For most of our history trade has been the most constant — and more successful — method used by the U.S. to influence and control Canada.

The Annexation movement of the late 1840s, assisted by American money and strategic advice, advocated the annexation of the Canadian colonies by the U.S. Despised by the majority of Canadians, it nevertheless succeeded in persuading Britain to negotiate our first free trade agreement, the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, between the U.S. and the Canadian colonies. The Americans cancelled this treaty in 1866 thinking that by doing so they could force the Canadian colonies into the U.S. republic. The tactic backfired, and instead the colonies joined forces in 1867 to set up the Dominion of Canada.

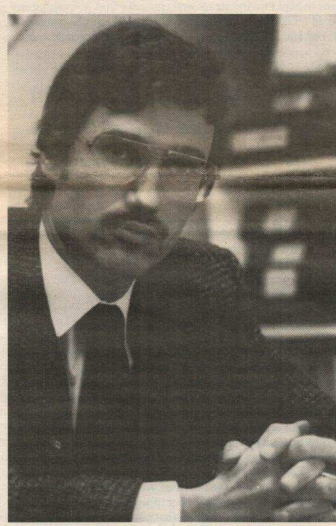
The Commercial Union movement of the late 1880s succeeded in forcing Canada's first free trade election. It was lavishly financed — the *Toronto Globe*, voice of the continentalists, received \$50,000 from one U.S. corporation alone to promote economic union. The Continental Union League infiltrated the Liberal Party which adopted a policy of "full and unrestricted reciprocity." John A. Macdonald fought back; free trade, he said, was "veiled treason," and, with particular relevance to us today, he asked, "How could Canada keep its political independence after it had thrown away its economic independence?" The night of the election, March 5, 1891, the voters agreed. John A. Macdonald, using the slogan, "The Old Flag, the Old Policy, the Old Leader," won and free trade with the U.S. was defeated.

In 1910 the U.S. government approached Canada, and the Laurier government entered into an agreement which provided for free trade in raw materials and lowered tariffs on some manufactured items. The leader of the Conservative party, Robert Borden, opposed the pact. He called free trade with the U.S. "the most momentous question ever submitted to the Canadian electorate...not a mere question of markets, but the future destiny of Canada." With the help of Henri Bourassa in Quebec, Borden defeated Laurier in the famous free trade election of September 1911.

In 1983 the Americans once again approached Canada, and, shortly after their victory in 1984, the Mulroney Conservatives, who had publicly opposed free trade with the U.S. before their election, entered talks and then signed a sweeping free trade agreement going far beyond anything ever contemplated in Canadian history. In the election, forced on an unwilling Mulroney by the Liberal Senate in

1988, more Canadians rejected free trade than ever before in our history and by a wider margin. There was massive intervention by American corporations and their Canadian subsidiaries in the election — the low estimate of corporate and government spending to promote free trade was \$60 million. Most provincial governments and most of the media joined the campaign, alternately frightening voters with loss of the U.S. market without free trade and promising jobs and prosperity with it. Still the Conservatives received only a minority — 43% — of the vote in the election generally recognized as a referendum on free trade.

The crucial difference between 1988 and the elections of 1911 and 1891 is that now there are three major political



David Orchard

parties instead of two. The two opposition parties, faced with the threat to the very survival of Canada, decided to fight each other instead of pulling together to defeat free trade. The Conservatives were able to implement the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) January 1, 1989, against the wishes of the majority of Canadians, only because the New Democrats and Liberals split the vote of the 55% of the electorate who opposed free trade. The 55% who opposed this deal felt it was wrong for Canada, many without knowing its details because of a deliberate policy of government secrecy. If Canadians had known its full contents even more would have voted against it. Contrary to government claims this agreement was not primarily about the removal of tariffs — the average tariff on all our exports to the U.S. prior to the deal was one percent. In the agreement itself one chapter deals with tariffs, the other 20 transfer huge new power over the Canadian economy to the U.S. (For a full explanation of the actual contents of the FTA see CCAFT's book, *Free Trade: the Full Story*, also available on VHS video and audio cassette. See catalogue in this issue).

"Jobs, Jobs, Jobs"

After 20 months under free trade the predictions of its

opponents are coming true one after another. Prime Minister Mulroney said the Free Trade Agreement would create "new wealth and new jobs" for Canada — 250,000 new jobs he promised. Instead, in the last year, 165,000 factory jobs have disappeared — 8% of the entire manufacturing sector — and the rate is increasing. 43,000 jobs ceased to exist in the month of May 1990 alone, and jobs are continuing to vanish at the rate of 1000 a day. The list of plant closings — Inglis, Gillette, Northern Telecom, Burlington Carpet, Campbell's Soup, Fleck Manufacturing, Midas Muffler — goes on and on. These are not temporary lay-offs, but permanent job losses in the manufacturing sector, the engine of a nation's economy. In Ontario alone 97 plants closed their doors or scaled down production in the first six months of 1990.

Companies are moving in a torrent to the U.S. and the Maquiladoras (free trade zones in Mexico, mostly along the U.S. border where foreign-owned companies using foreign parts can export duty-free to the U.S.) Archie McLean, vice-president of McCain's Foods, testified to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs in March 1990, that 100,000 to 150,000 jobs will be lost in the Canadian agri-food industry alone. His company has acquired new plants in the U.S. and will be expanding its operations there. Frank Stronach, chairman of Magna International, the largest autoparts producer in Canada, has explained that some of the current financial problems of his company have to do with being "too good a corporate citizen," in that he did not relocate factories quickly enough into Mexico and the U.S.

Twenty U.S. States have opened offices in Canada advising companies how to move south and offering incentives for them to do so. Some of these incentives include: 5-6% interest rates compared to 13-14% in Canada, lower gas and electricity rates, paid travel costs between Canada and the U.S. for training, tax credits of up to \$2,000 for every new job created, training costs for employees, and lower employee costs for employee benefits, workers compensation, and unemployment insurance. Several U.S. states have no minimum wage; others have a minimum wage as low as \$1.60 per hour. Mississippi offers industrial wages as low as \$3.65 per hour with one week of unpaid holidays per year and three paid statutory holidays. It doesn't snow in Mississippi and a plant can be constructed for less than half the cost of building one in Canada, to say nothing of lower heating and maintenance costs.

Canadian truckers forced to compete directly with U.S. fleets using cheaper fuel, better tax write-offs and lower priced equipment, are being driven out of business. Furniture plants, swamped by U.S. imports, are going broke, or moving to the U.S. As a result of the first FTA Dispute Settlement Panel ruling American processors can now buy fish right off the boats of B.C. fishermen for processing in the U.S. The entire fish processing industry in B.C., involving 5,000 jobs and the livelihood of coastal communities from Vancouver to Prince Rupert, is at risk. Gordon Cummings of National Sea Products promoted free trade across Atlantic Canada, promising that his company would expand its operations if the public voted for free trade. Massive plant closings by fish companies, including National Sea, have since put the lie to these promises made repeatedly, during and before the election, by him and other industry and government spokesmen.

Gordon Ritchie, deputy-chief free trade negotiator and one of the more honest of free trade proponents, admitted on March 24, 1990, "The FTA will not be a major creator of jobs. That was a specious claim made in the heat of an election." In fact, this claim was made by the government — and various economists and think tanks such as the Economic Council of Canada labouring in its service — for three full years prior to the 1988 election.

No Adjustment Programmes

"The finest adjustment programmes in the world," declared Brian Mulroney, would be created for any workers who did happen to be "displaced" by free trade. This

promise went straight out the window, along with the world-class icebreaker to be built in Vancouver, the government promise not to change Unemployment Insurance (U.I.), and its sworn commitment that medicare would not be touched. Almost immediately following the election fundamental changes were introduced to U.I., bringing it more in line with American practice where only 30% of the unemployed are covered as compared to 80% in Canada. Bill C-21 slashes \$3.3 billion from the U.I. programme, and ends all federal contributions, thus removing any federal government incentive to reduce unemployment. The U.S. unemployment insurance system has no government contributions and the Americans have complained that Canadian federal contributions are an unfair subsidy to Canadian companies. As for medicare, the government, by Bill C-96, is getting out of the programme entirely. By the year 2000 or shortly after, its funding and direction will be left to the mercy of the provinces.

Didn't Get Secure Access

The government promised secure, unrestricted access to the U.S. market if we entered this deal. Instead Canada has faced more U.S. trade harassment than before the deal was signed. Steel, durum wheat, fish, lobsters, softwood, raspberries, ice cream, yogurt, beer and other exports have faced U.S. trade actions. Shipments of meat and potatoes have been harassed at the border. Our biggest agri-food export to the U.S. — pork — received an 8¢ per kg countervail in 1989 which the Americans were considering raising and even making retroactive when the GATT* panel in August 1990 ruled it a contravention of GATT rules. (Don Mazankowski, federal minister of agriculture, called this ruling a "vindication of the trade deal.") Nothing could be further from the truth; it was GATT, not the Canada-U.S. free trade panel, which ruled against this 8¢ U.S. countervail.

Three major decisions of the much touted Free Trade Dispute Settlement Panel — west coast fish, east coast lobsters and steel rails — have gone against Canada. So has the Canada-U.S. Automotive Select Panel which has recommended changing the automotive chapter of the free trade deal from a 50% North American content rule to a 60%** one, which the Americans had wanted, and Canada had resisted throughout the free trade negotiations in the hope of keeping some auto plants in Canada. As Don Mazankowski acknowledged in a moment of candour, February 9, 1990, "We expected fewer hassles with free trade with the U.S., but we appear to be getting more."

As Citizens Concerned About Free Trade (CCAFT) had warned, the FTA makes Canadian exports much more open to U.S. harassment, not less. U.S. trade actions against Canada will now be governed by U.S. law which can be changed unilaterally — instead of the GATT. All the dispute panels can do is determine whether the U.S. applied its own law correctly. Furthermore, legal fees for a Canadian company to get a FTA panel ruling can exceed \$10 million. GATT has to such charges. All this puts increased pressure on Canadian companies to simply relocate to the U.S. to avoid the threat of harassment. So much for the repeated promises by Mr. Mulroney and the rest of his government before the election, that we'd have tariff-free trade and secure access to the biggest, richest market in the world.

Cheaper Goods Didn't Materialize

We were going to have cheaper goods and services with free trade, the government said. Instead, prices have risen. The Consumer Price Index, Statistics Canada's measurement of average retail prices, rose in 1989 more than at any time in the previous four years. In addition the government is about to apply a new goods and services tax of 7% to virtually every transaction in the country. The GST, of course, flows directly from the FTA. The existing Manufacturers' Sales Tax (MST), a tax at the manufacturer's level since

* GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was founded in 1948. It is an international treaty binding its members to 1948 members to certain trade rules. Disputes are settled by panel members from countries not involved in the dispute. GATT's loose membership has a leveling effect on the power of any single nation, unlike a bi-national treaty such as the Canada-U.S. FTA.

** The 60% North American content rule would favour the big three American auto makers over the Japanese plants in Canada, removing any incentive for the Asian car companies to set up or remain in Canada. (Under the Autopact we had a 60% Canadian content provision; the FTA abolished that, replacing it with 50% North American content, meaning all content can now come from the U.S. There is no longer any requirement for any auto plants to stay in Canada.)

True North Winter 1990-91

1924, is a slight disadvantage to Canadian companies as opposed to those producing in the U.S. To keep any companies operating here Canadian corporate taxation cannot diverge significantly from that in the U.S. and so the government has decided the MST must go. Also, the federal government must replace over two billion dollars in lost tariff revenue under free trade. According to the most conservative estimate the GST will transfer more than \$6 billion in taxes annually directly from corporations to the backs of consumers. After the provinces add their sales tax on top of the GST, which most intend to do, and which constitutes a tax on a tax, the disposable income of Canadians will drop by an average of 5-7% per person. And that's as long as the GST stays at 7%, which is unlikely. So much for the promise of cheaper goods and services.

The "cheaper goods" are instead being bought in the U.S. Last year over \$2 billion from Canadian shopping was done in the U.S. Cross-border shopping — which, for example, was up 400% in 1989 over 1988 in B.C.'s lower mainland — has devastated businesses in Thunder Bay, Vancouver and other cities within driving distance of the border and will increase sharply once the GST is in place.

Canadian Companies Failed To Benefit

Canadian companies will flourish with free access to the huge, rich market in the U.S., free trade proponents told us. Consolidated Bathurst, the pulp and paper giant, was repeatedly cited as an example of a Canadian company that would benefit from free trade, and Robert Campeau's name was held up as the model of a Canadian entrepreneur who knows how to beat the Americans at their own game, something we could all do under free trade if we would just shed our timidity, our fear of competition, and our inferiority complex, and

"The Free Trade Agreement has given the United States the kind of control over the Canadian economy it was only able to secure in other countries by military intervention."

seize the once-in-a-lifetime opportunity being extended to us.

Less than two years later Mr. Campeau is apologizing to his share-holders for the bankruptcy of his companies, and Consolidated Bathurst is owned by Stone of Chicago. Takeovers of Canadian companies last year were up 400% from 1988 and most were by U.S. corporations. Personal and business bankruptcies — another index of the economic climate — are up 34% in the first seven months of 1990, and rising. For the month of July 1990, bankruptcies increased 60% nationally over the previous year. In Ontario where they were up 104%, the number of layoffs and plant closings more than doubled during the first six months of 1990 compared to last year. In human terms, over one million Canadian adults and children now feed themselves at food banks.

Canada Gains A Trade Deficit

Free trade would increase trade, making Canada and Canadians richer, its advocates proclaimed. When the trade talks started Canada had a trade surplus of \$20 billion in goods, i.e. we sold \$20 billion more in goods each year than we bought. Since then this surplus has dropped almost to zero while our deficit in services has soared. In 1989, the first year of free trade, Canada's trade performance was the worst in our history. Our trade surplus with the U.S. dropped by a massive 62%. In manufactured products we now have a \$30 billion deficit with the U.S., i.e. we bought \$30 billion more in manufactured goods last year than we sold them. We are shipping immense amounts of raw materials across the border at decreasing prices to try to pay for these imports. Instead of increased trade, we've had less real trade around the world and simply more transfers inside corporations — for example, companies like Esso or Weyerhaeuser sending more of our cheap energy or timber resources to their parent corporations in the U.S.

Resource Grab

The Americans have moved quickly to sign up Canadi-

an resources at fire sale prices. Ninety percent of our northern gas is now under contract to American corporations, with implications that are staggering. If there were a shortage in Canada, the Americans, under Articles 409 and 904 of the FTA, have the right to take the same proportion of any "good," including all forms of energy, that they were taking before the shortage.

A string of pulp and paper mills, most to service the U.S. market, are planned or under construction across Saskatchewan and Alberta, some without any environmental impact assessment at all, with the capacity to clear-cut every tree in the northern half of these provinces. The consequences are devastating for the ecology, wildlife and lives of northerners. Our energy and resources, which are what this deal was all about for the U.S., have been signed away so completely that within a generation we will be begging the Americans for access to our own resources. Instead of Canadian self-sufficiency, we now hear the catch words "North American self-sufficiency." Given that the U.S. imports 50% of its petroleum requirements, it is Canada — and soon also Mexico — that will make the U.S. self-sufficient, and at that price — so low that our precious resources will be squandered in record time, instead of being conserved for future Canadian use in a climate which makes them absolutely essential.

Loss Of Our Water

The Americans want our water, and despite repeated denials by the government, water is listed in the agreement in black and white. "National treatment" rights to all Canadian waters have been given to the U.S. under Article 711, tariff schedule 22.01 and Articles 105 and 409. ("National treatment" means American corporations and citizens must be treated by Canada as Canadians). Meanwhile, the Oldman River dam in Alberta and the Rafferty-Alameda dams in Saskatchewan will make possible the wholesale diversion of fresh water via the Souris River valley into North Dakota, from where it will be easily transferable south via the Missouri River system. The completion of the Oldman River dam will enable control of the flow of mountain-fed water into the South Saskatchewan River where it can be drawn off at the already existing Diefenbaker dam, fed into the Qu'Appelle River, then transferred to the Souris by a short canal or by pump. The size and structure of the Rafferty dam make no sense except as part of an American water diversion scheme such as the North American Water and Power Alliance (NAWAPA) — a huge plan of water diversion drawn up by Ralph Parsons, a Los Angeles engineering firm, to take Canadian waters south to the U.S., similar to the Grand Canal Project, a \$100 billion project to divert twenty Canadian rivers south, which Simon Reisman, Canada's chief free trade negotiator, acted as an advisor. In 1985, Reisman, speaking at a conference sponsored by the Ontario Economic Council, said that water was the "key" to the free trade deal, and asked, "Do we have the courage and the imagination — yes, the audacity — to take on these two big projects, free trade and freshwater sharing, at the same time?" This hidden dimension of the Rafferty-Alameda and Oldman River dams has been kept from the public by the federal and provincial governments and an unquestioning media. (See CCAFT September 1987 brief to the Rafferty-Alameda Board of Inquiry, reprinted in *Free Trade: The Full Story*, pp. 79-82).

Agriculture Endangered

The premiers of Saskatchewan, Alberta, B.C. and Quebec joined the federal government in telling us that free trade would be good for agriculture and good for farmers. Instead, the U.S. has taken trade actions on a long list of agricultural products. Hog processing companies, which promoted free trade vigorously before the election, promising expansion if the deal was passed and threatening lay-offs if it didn't, are closing or cutting back, and hog farmers are going out of business. Producers are facing the prospect that dairy and poultry quotas will be lost in the same way that their protection on yogurt and ice cream was recently, allowing an influx of cheaper American dairy products.

20% of the farmers in Saskatchewan are facing foreclosure. Another 10% are in trouble — one out of every three farms in Canada's largest agricultural province. The two-price system for wheat, which involved domestic millers paying a higher price to farmers for wheat for domestic consumption, was one of the first casualties of free trade involving an annual income loss of \$300 million for wheat producers alone — precisely the amount we saw Saskatchewan's premier Devine begging from Ottawa in the spring of 1990 as emergency assistance for farmers.

Canada, whose prairies have been called the breadbasket of the world, producing some of the highest quality wheat in the world — five times more than we can consume domestically — will by this year start to import U.S. wheat to bake bread for Canadians. Under the FTA, U.S. wheat,

cheaper and closer to our flour mills in central Canada, will begin flowing north while piles of Canadian grain stand exposed to the elements on prairie fields for lack of a market, and producers receive an "assistance" cheque (in Saskatchewan, \$5.50 per acre) in the mail with a note from their provincial premier and the federal minister of agriculture "wishing you every success with your farm operation."

In the fruit and vegetable industry the numbers facing bankruptcy are even higher. American fruit is pouring over the border while Canadian producers are forced to pull out their cherry trees and grape vines. The state of Washington, using our water from the Columbia River Treaty — another contract detrimental to Canada — has tripled its apple production in the last ten years. Canadian producers, whose cost of production for apples is 16¢ or more a pound, last year received 3 1/2¢ a pound while Canada imported over 100,000 tonnes of apples, mostly from the U.S. Deprived now under the FTA of even seasonal tariff protection, both the producing and processing ends of the fruit and vegetable industry (over 90% of the fresh vegetables sold in Canada already come from the U.S.) are facing extinction.

We are facing the systematic destruction of our ability to be self-sufficient in food. Iran, a major wheat producer, under the rule of the American-imposed Shah, became a net importer of wheat. South Vietnam, home of the Mekong Delta, rice basket of the world, became an importer of U.S. rice during its occupation by the Americans. Canada is now following suit in becoming food-dependent on the U.S. although we are perfectly capable of feeding ourselves many times over.

The FTA has given the United States the kind of control over the Canadian economy it was only able to secure in other countries by military intervention. Eugene Whelan, former federal minister of agriculture for almost 12 years, has predicted the disappearance of the entire Canadian food processing industry (one of the largest employers in Canada), as well as the vegetable industry and dairy and poultry production under this deal. We have a harsh climate which means higher costs to processors. John Crosbie and the federal cabinet promised us a "level playing field" under free trade; however, instead of levelling the climate, which is the biggest non-tariff barrier of all, John Crosbie called Canadian farmers "wimps" if they couldn't compete with the producers of California and a 365-day growing season. Bringing Mexico into the FTA will put our fruit and vegetable producers up against even cheaper food produced by large American owned farms in Mexico exploiting Mexican labour at \$4.00 per day, a situation impossible for our producers to compete with. Our self-sufficiency in food, something countries spend billions to achieve, is, like that in energy, being thrown to the four winds.

Investment Flees Canada

Free trade will bring more investment to Canada and that will help the economy grow, the promise went.

Instead, U.S. branch plants are pulling out of Canada and a flood of Canadian investment is going south, buying or building plants in the U.S. This has been acknowledged openly by the Americans. In the July 1989 issue of the U.S. magazine, *Business Week*, an article, "The trade pact is turning into a one way street — so far," says, "Canadian executives are rushing across the border to set up manufacturing bases in what they see is a more hospitable climate... Rather than doing east-west business across tremendous distances, Canadian companies are looking south... Canada's integration into a continental-scale economy is accelerating."

In the effort to keep some investment funds in this country the government has forced up interest rates. An unprecedented five percent separates our rates from those of the U.S. as the government tries to stem the flow of capital out of Canada. On the other side of the coin, this attempt to

overcome the effects of free trade with high interest rates creates havoc with the ability of Canadian farms, industries, and businesses to borrow money and be competitive.

As for U.S. investment helping the Canadian economy, 96% of it in the last year has been takers. This investment isn't starting any new businesses here; it is simply taking over Canadian companies. Ninety percent of these takers are financed using Canadian dollars from Canadian banks, and often actually decrease employment and economic activity in Canada.

Mexico Is Next

The U.S. has now begun to negotiate a free trade deal with Mexico, a move CCAFT predicted in 1986. In what has been called a "technical coup d'état," the Mexican election of July 5, 1988, was stolen by the pro-American candidate Carlos Salinas — the computers counting the ballots "broke down" on election night at a crucial moment when the opposition was clearly winning. It took a week — longer in some areas — to produce doctored figures to justify Salinas' claim to victory. Shortly thereafter he announced he'd be en-

Maquiladoras, many living in shacks made of tar paper and used plastic, without electricity, drinking water or sewage facilities. Faced with a choice of setting up a plant in Canada and paying wages of \$8, \$10 or \$15 an hour plus vacation pay, social benefits, health and education taxes, or going to Mexico and paying 60¢ an hour with virtually no benefits or union protection, and simply shipping the product north, it's not hard to see where business will go. For example, 70% of the television sets sold in the U.S. now come from the Maquiladoras. One U.S. company promoting the Maquiladora zones claims a corporation can cut its production costs in half and save up to \$25,000 per year per employee by relocating from Canada or the U.S. to the Maquiladora regions.

In March 1990 Brian Mulroney went to Mexico and, in a speech widely cited in the Mexican press, said Canada's free trade deal with the U.S. had created over 200,000 jobs in Canada and improved the Canadian economy dramatically. This speech has played a key role in the effort to sell free trade to a Mexican public suspicious of its government's promises but lacking the facts to refute them. President Salinas has since spoken across Mexico using the figures from Mulroney's speech. It would be impossible for Mulroney to get away with such a statement in Canada where not even the Conservatives can deny that the economy is in recession. Instead, the Mexican people, who know as little about free trade as Canadians did when it was sprung upon us four years ago, are getting fed, courtesy of our prime minister, the same hype and lies — Canadians got before the election.

There are 20 million unemployed or underemployed in Mexico — over twice the entire labour force of Canada. As the chairman of Peerless Carpets, Bram Garber, put it, "A free trade agreement with Mexico would finish off whatever secondary manufacturing industries are able to survive the disastrous Free Trade Agreement with the United States."

The Dollar Rises

All during the free trade debate pro-free trade economists assured us that our dollar would be the "safety valve" if Canada got into trouble under this deal. We could always lower our dollar if our companies couldn't compete, they told us. For our part CCAFT predicted since 1985, in some 60 meetings and debates across Canada, that our dollar would not fall under free trade, that it would be forced upwards — to 85¢ or even higher — and we'd be swamped with American products coming this way. When our dollar was trading at 69-70¢ such predictions were sometimes greeted with incredulity. However, since then our dollar has risen 18¢.

The power of the U.S. to control the Canadian dollar has always been one of the cornerstones of our analysis of the free trade deal. By simply forcing the Canadian dollar up the U.S. could nullify any benefits Canada would receive by a lowering of the tariffs, we repeated over and over for five years. The U.S. can and will hold our dollar high until Canadian manufacturing has been driven to its knees and is no longer a threat to U.S. production; then our dollar can be allowed to fall making Canadian resources cheap for Americans to buy. Now the Canadian Exporters' Association (CEA), vociferous proponents of the deal, seems suddenly to have come face to face with reality: "It has totally wiped out most of the advantages of the free trade deal," said CEA spokesman Clem Srou in December 1989, referring to the high dollar. The president of Electrovert, a large exporting firm in Montreal which pushed the free trade deal, put it this way at the end of 1989: "All the advantages of the tariff reductions which are coming through over a period of time are being totally negated, of course, with where the dollar is." The CEA estimates that each one cent rise in the dollar costs its members about \$2.2 billion in lost exports.

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association, which be-

Adjustment programme for Canadian fruit growers



tering talks for a free trade deal with the U.S., the July 1989 issue of the U.S. magazine, *Business Week*, an article, "The trade pact is turning into a one way street — so far," says, "Canadian executives are rushing across the border to set up manufacturing bases in what they see is a more hospitable climate... Rather than doing east-west business across tremendous distances, Canadian companies are looking south... Canada's integration into a continental-scale economy is accelerating."

The average wage in the Maquiladora free trade zones is 40¢ to 60¢ an hour. That is where Canadian, U.S. and Japanese corporations are going — over 1500 of them in the last fifteen years. Half a million Mexicans work in the

fore the election maintained it could compete under free trade and win, has announced that manufacturers must have a 77¢ dollar for the Canadian manufacturing industry to survive and compete. In August 1990 we reached an 88¢ dollar, and recently the Governor of North Dakota, George Sinner, said that he'd like to see the Canadian dollar at par with that of the U.S. and would like to see Lincoln's picture on it. With free trade in place, he said, a common currency was inevitable; it was time to be done with the fiction of two separate economies.

Trade Deal Only?

This was just a commercial arrangement with no effect on our foreign policy or our sovereignty, said the prime minister and his government.

In 1989 shortly after the FTA was passed, Canada joined the Organization of American States (OAS). For Christmas of that year we got to watch the invasion and bombing of Panama, a tiny member nation, by the U.S. The head of state of Panama, General Manuel Noriega, was labelled a drug runner by the President of the U.S. — itself the biggest drug dealing and using nation in the world — and brought to the U.S. in chains to face trial in an American court (where a few months later U.S. prosecutors admit that they cannot find evidence of drug-running against him). The prime minister of Canada — which had just signed the OAS charter expressly prohibiting intervention in, or invasion of, any member state — gave wholehearted support to the U.S. invasion, one of only three countries in the entire world to do so. General Noriega was a “thug,” Brian Mulroney declared, as if that settled it. In fact, Noriega had refused to be a doorman for the U.S. and insisted on the right of his country to control its canal zone, and that's why the Americans invaded December 21 — just ten days before increased control of the Panama Canal was to be transferred to Panama, under the terms of the 1977 treaty signed by Panama and U.S. president Jimmy Carter.

If the U.S. is justified in invading a sovereign country, overthrowing its government, and swearing in a new government in the compound of an American military base, which it did in Panama, all because it doesn't like its leader or his/her policies, what are the implications for Canada, or any other country in this hemisphere, if we elect a prime minister the Americans don't like? Canada has suffered a serious loss of credibility in Latin America by supporting this violation of international law, and we are seen as simply a puppet of the U.S.

Contrast this with Mulroney's condemnation of “criminal” Iraq for invading Kuwait, and the mobilization and dispatch of Canadian warships, troops and aircraft to the Middle East where they will operate under direct U.S. command. Canadian men and women are being sent to fight and die for U.S. oil interests in the Persian Gulf. The announcement of Canada's military participation in this U.S. mobilization was first made by James Baker, U.S. Secretary of State, two hours before the prime minister of Canada's announcement from Ottawa. An additional irony is that Canada, an oil exporting nation, is about to go to war to keep oil prices low for U.S. consumers.

The growing U.S. control of Canadian foreign policy stems directly from American control of our economy, as CCAFT had forewarned.

American Takeover

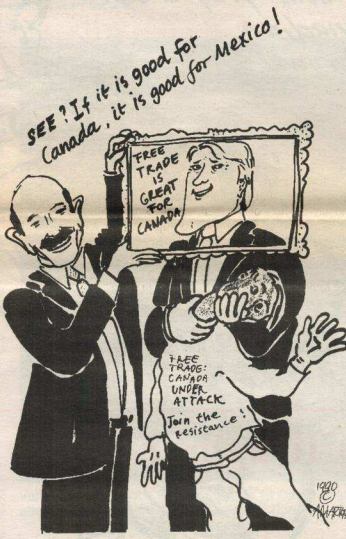
The opponents of free trade were called liars, fearmongers, afraid of our own shadows, even Nazis, by government, business, and academic promoters of free trade.

Who has been proven right? What John Turner called “The Sale of Canada Act” and Pierre Trudeau later called “a monstrous swindle,” was not a free trade deal at all; it was the American takeover of our country. U.S. economic forecaster, Marvin Cretton, author of the recent U.S. bestseller, *American Renaissance: Our Life at the Turn of the 21st Century*, features on the cover of his book an American flag with 55 stars. “The extra stars of the American flag on this book's cover represent the state-to-be of Puerto Rico and the four states to our north,” the author writes. Is the U.S. empire in decay? he asks. No, he replies and goes on to explain: “One of the most important factors in America's future prosperity was decided not in Washington but north of the border, when Canada's voters went to the polls in November 1988, to elect a Prime Minister... Once the free-trade agreement with the United States takes full effect, the next logical step will be to accept politically what has already happened economically — the integration of Canada into the United States.”

How Did It Happen?

Control of Canada has passed out of the hands of Canadians into those of the U.S. government. How did this happen? American money and advisers have backed Mr.

Mulroney since at least the early 1980s. Dalton Camp, long time Conservative Party strategist, revealed in a 1983 newspaper column that Mulroney was being backed by foreign interests to overthrow Joe Clark as leader of the party. After gaining the leadership of the Conservative Party, Mulroney and his supporters took steps to attain power nationally. Prior to 1984 the province of Quebec had no Conservative Party to speak of, so Brian Mulroney made a deal with the separatist forces — the Parti Québécois (PQ) was in power — that if they would support him, he would re-open the constitutional question in Canada. Soon afterwards he took known separatists into positions of influence and power in his party and cabinet, the most prominent of whom would be Lucien Bouchard — PQ member since 1976, a campaigner on the “Yes” side in the 1980 referendum, and the chief negotiator for the PQ in its negotiations with the public service in 1982-83. (Bouchard, first appointed ambassador to France was later elected in the 1988 Lac-Saint-Jean by-election with the aid of \$163 million in federal spending, promised or committed to the riding.) In the 1984 federal election the PQ electoral machine was put at Mulroney's disposal with highly successful results. When the PQ lost power in 1985 Mulroney approached the new premier, Robert Bourassa, promising to give him what he wanted on the constitution in return for his support on free trade. The result in the 1988 federal election was that both provincial parties in Quebec were working for Mulroney's Conservatives.



Mexican President Salinas
Selling Free Trade

Understanding Meech Lake

What emerged from this alliance was the Meech Lake Accord, and although Meech Lake is now deservedly dead, in order for us to move beyond, it is important to understand what took place.

The Meech Lake Accord was an amendment to the Constitution of Canada, conceived and drawn up without any public input by the prime minister and the ten provincial premiers in the spring of 1987. They emerged from two all-night bargaining sessions, signed the Accord and announced that not one comma could be changed, and indeed not a single change was ever made.

The Meech Lake Accord would have changed the constitution by giving sweeping new powers to the provincial premiers, powers unheard of in any federal state in the world, including the power to choose the judges of the Supreme Court of Canada, and the power to select the members of the upper house of parliament, the Senate. It gave each province the right to pull out of national cost-shared programs, set up their own and receive compensation from the federal government for doing so! To top it off, each and every premier received an absolute veto over any future constitutional change involving the Senate, the Supreme Court, the establishment of new provinces and a number of other matters.

Meech Lake represented a massive victory for provincialism and a mortal blow to the central power of the Canadian government. It was no wonder Mulroney received the support he needed from the premiers on free trade, that Bourassa's Liberal machine worked for the Conservatives and against the federal Liberal Party, and that David Peterson suddenly forgot to fight free trade, after being elected in Ontario in 1987 on his promise to do so. As Trudeau put it, “provincializing politicians” who “don't have the stature or vision to dominate the Canadian stage,” would now have the real power — an absolute right of veto over parliament through their control of the Senate and “supreme judicial power” through their right to select Supreme Court judges.

The Yukon and the Northwest Territories, 40% of Canada's entire land mass and the last remaining area where native people are still the majority, would now have to receive permission from each provincial premier before being allowed to become provinces, something none of the existing provinces had to do. This would include approval by the premiers of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Alberta and B.C., who would like to see the borders of their provinces extended north to the high Arctic to double the size of their provinces, to assimilate the aboriginals and to secure the bountiful resources of the north.

Should the Cree of Quebec refuse to go along with a separatist agenda for an independent Quebec and demand to remain in Canada in their own province in Quebec's vast north, based on their historic occupancy and pre-1912 Quebec boundaries, Meech Lake would require that the premier of Quebec approve.

From now until eternity the Meech Lake Accord called for “not less than two” federal-provincial conferences every year. In effect the Meech Lake Accord created a whole new level of government — executive federalism — and enshrined it in the Constitution. An exclusive club of the eleven first ministers would now become the most powerful level of government in Canada, free to operate behind closed doors with no annoying opposition benches or reporters to face, and totally unreachable by the public. Small wonder that for the last three years we've seen provincial premiers using every device to convince the public of the necessity of Meech Lake and of their own stature as statesmen. Premiers who have built their careers attacking Quebec now expected the public to believe they were supporting Meech Lake for national unity and love of Canada. All this was done for Quebec, the western premiers declared, with David Peterson nodding, John Buchanan and Frank McKenna at his side, to bring Quebec into the constitutional family. What was never mentioned was that they each got the same powers for themselves as the premier of Quebec received.

Meech Lake was a naked power grab by the premiers of the English speaking provinces riding in on the coattails of Quebec. CCAFT opposed Meech Lake from the moment of its signing, not because of Quebec's demands — which arise from a legitimate and well-grounded fear of losing its language and culture, and which could have been dealt with by a federal government sincere about keeping the country together — but because the Accord gave the same powers to the English-speaking provinces whose language is not threatened. It was on the issue of states' rights that the U.S. fought a long and bloody civil war. John A. Macdonald was adamant when framing the Constitution in 1867 that such a law not be repeated here. The centrifugal forces in a country as far-flung as Canada are such that without a strong central government this country would be unable to resist the power of the U.S. Meech Lake attempted to undo not only the work of the original fathers of Confederation, but also all those prime ministers who had resisted endless provincial demands for ever greater powers since 1927. Meech Lake balkanized the country, leaving it ripe for picking by the U.S. Initiated by the prime minister, it was the companion piece to the FTA, further severing the east-west links of Canada and allowing all lines to run north and south.

The true agenda of the premiers quickly re-emerged at the end of July 1990 when the four western premiers set up a “common front,” dropped all talk of loving Canada or Quebec, called for the power to veto federal spending and to levy a regional income tax, began attacking “Central Canada” again and generally made their usual demands for massive new powers for themselves. The premier of Saskatchewan, who two months before had said he was “hugging Quebec,” now told us Quebec was a “runaway horse” which needed to be brought under control, given “a good whipping” and “put in the barn.”

The role of the media, particularly the CBC, in promoting and fueling the Meech Lake crisis, demands a public inquiry. Day after day and night after night Canadians were barraged with propaganda from television, radio and newspapers. In English Canada, the line was that without Meech Lake, Canada would be split up and the provinces would separate. The message from virtually every media outlet in Quebec, for months on end, was that all opposition to Meech Lake was a rejection of, and hatred for, Quebec. Radio-Canada

(French language CBC) played over and over the powerful image of a few people in an anti-French demonstration in Brockville, Ontario wiping their feet on the Quebec flag.

A document leaked from David Peterson's office prior to the last federal-provincial conference on Meech Lake in June outlined a strategy to use the media, especially the CBC, to fuel a sense of national crisis and to undermine the credibility of opponents of Meech Lake. This strategy was, of course, fully realized.

Destabilizing Canada

It is the destabilization of Canada that we are witnessing. Joe Clark, Minister for External Affairs, told us that if the Meech Lake Accord was rejected we'd see the rise of FLQ (Front de libération du Québec) violence in Quebec. English Canada must choose between Quebec and Newfoundland, insisted then federal Minister of the Environment, Lucien Bouchard. Brian Mulroney told Quebecers over and over that if Meech Lake fails, English Canada is saying "no" to Quebec. We saw the rise of racism and bigotry. The Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada (APEC) organized anti-French resolutions in Ontario cities and the foot wiping incident on the Quebec flag. It turns out APEC is an offshoot of, supported by, and receiving funds from, the American extremist organization U.S. English which mobilizes against demands by Spanish speaking Americans. APEC's mentor, J.V. Andrew, author of the rabidly anti-French *Bilingual Treaty, Fiasco, Tomorrow*, a book which advocates the splitting of Canada into two countries, declared to the television cameras that, "Canada needs the French fact like we need the AIDS virus." Meanwhile the separatist movement in Quebec has a heyday — quoting the latest voice of racism from English Canada and asking why should we in French take these insults any longer when we can go our own way?

Betrayed By The Opposition

And where in all this are the opposition parties? On Meech Lake both the Liberal and NDP leaders, after the signing of the Accord, crossed the floor of the House of Commons and shook Brian Mulroney's hand in congratulations. It was left to Pierre Trudeau, retired prime minister of Canada, to provide the intellectual and moral leadership to oppose Meech Lake, and only that faction of the Liberal Party that followed him carried on the fight against it — for which they were viciously attacked by the rest of the Liberal Party, led by Sheila Copps and Paul Martin. The NDP leadership, Lorne Nystrom, Pauline Jewett, Ed Broadbent and others, joined Copps and Martin, attacking Trudeau and promoting Mulroney's position on Meech Lake from 1987 right

up to the death of the Accord. It takes a particular quality of bravery on the part of an opposition to attack a retired prime minister five years out of office, all the while supporting the current one. Even after the Accord had been killed in Manitoba, NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin declared on national radio and TV, June 23rd, 1990, that her party was not opposed to the "principles of Meech Lake" but only the process!

As for free trade, the opposition parties could easily have defeated it during the election of 1988 by working together. "An Open Letter to the Liberal and New Democratic Members of Parliament," in this issue. Instead, Ed Broadbent did not even mention free trade as an issue in his opening campaign address in October 1988, and previously, in July 1988, the NDP had attacked the Senate for blocking the free trade bill to give Canadians a vote on it. The Senate was "undemocratic" to block legislation from the House of Commons, the NDP said — the same NDP which 11 months earlier had asked the Senate to block the Drug Patent Legislation and 18 months later would ask the Senate to block the GST. During the election campaign the NDP, acting on the advice of its U.S. pollster, systematically, and to the great disappointment of its members, downplayed the free trade issue, turning at a crucial moment to attack John Turner, the man carrying the flame in the fight.

Shortly after the election, Mulroney appointed Ed Broadbent to head a new International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development with a \$15 million budget and a personal salary of over \$100,000 a year. all in addition to his generous lifetime pension from the House of Commons. This centre, it turns out, had been approved in principle just prior to the 1988 election.

The Liberal Party, on the other hand, could — morally, legally and constitutionally — have blocked the FTA in the Senate after the November 1988 election on behalf of the majority of electors, but the Liberal senators let it pass, abstaining from the historic vote the night of December 30, 1988. Now, having gotten rid of John Turner, the party does not want to talk about "the fight of its life" anymore. When questioned on free trade, the central plank of its 1988 election platform, party officials responded by calling the police and having three of our members physically dragged out of the April 1, 1990, Liberal leadership forum in Winnipeg, and jailed (see "How we pursued the electoral coalition strategy from coast to coast," in this issue).

As a leadership contender, Sheila Copps declared that free trade was a done deal that could only be "looked at" after the Liberals took power. Paul Martin and Jean Chrétien promised to renegotiate it, keeping the "good parts." They fail to consider what incentive there is for the Americans to renegotiate a deal in which they got what they wanted. Israel signed a free trade deal with the U.S. in 1984; two years

later they asked to re-open it because of problems they were having. The U.S. refused, saying, "We believe the agreement is running well and there aren't any sticking points that we particularly want to discuss." The U.S. will refuse Mr. Chrétien just as it refused Israel — unless Chrétien is prepared to give away even more of Canada. Peter Murphy, chief U.S. free trade negotiator, when told of Chrétien's and Martin's position, laughed and said, "What if you go back to the bargaining table, and the U.S. says we want more?" It is a cynical hoax for these leaders to mislead people into thinking renegotiation is possible. The only way to "deal" with the FTA is to have it abrogated and this can be done by the two opposition parties co-operating in the national interest.

Who Is Fighting For Canada?

The Conservative Party, once the party of Canadian nationalism, has become the American arm in Canada, with the acquiescence of an accommodating opposition. The Liberal Party has forgotten that the fight of one's life lasts longer than one election campaign. And the NDP has revealed, with the Meech Lake Accord and the FTA, that it is a closer ally of Mr. Mulroney than of the Canadian people. It is an accident that the two major political parties in Canada are funded by American corporations, while one of the largest donors to the NDP is an American union, the United Steel Workers of America — member of, and participant in, the AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organizations) with its well known connections to the U.S. State Department.

The question must be asked: who is fighting for Canada? If we had a real opposition, free trade would have been defeated in 1988, simply by the Liberals and the NDP joining forces in an electoral coalition. Coalitions have played an important role in Canadian history. It was the coalition that George Brown's Reform Party formed in 1865 with its long time enemies, John A. Macdonald's Conservatives, that made the Confederation of Canada — faced with the U.S. civil war and the threat of annexation — possible. The threat to Canada today is every bit as real and requires another coalition, but today we do not have the political leadership prepared to meet the challenge.

The central reality for all Canadian political parties has always been whether they would resist the power of the U.S. and build an independent nation, or whether they would capitulate and allow Canada to be assimilated, either literally as a state or states, or as a satellite with a token government in Ottawa. For most of our history, at least one, and sometimes more, of our major political parties, have insisted on Canada's survival and national independence. John A. Macdonald, Edward Blake, Robert Borden, John Diefenbaker,

"We Will Continue To Fight For Our Own Destiny..."

Our relationship with Canada is a national disgrace. It has been a dismal one for the aboriginal people in this country. As a matter of fact...the policies of the Governments have been those of racism, policies of assimilation, policies of integration, policies of genocide. That has been the history of Canada, and it cannot be erased from the history books, the reality that has existed in this country...

Over the last few days I have said my heart was heavy. There has been tremendous pressure by myself on myself and also by aboriginal leaders in Manitoba. For without them I would not have been able to stand up to the pressures; for without them, all the work that we have done — sat together in the afternoons and evenings to plan out our strategies — this would not have happened. The chiefs and leaders are representative of the communities of what they want, to uphold their rightful place in the society, to uphold the promises, to uphold the aboriginal rights. The people have spoken in Manitoba with one voice. When I look at the history in terms of what the Government has done to the aboriginal people, one thing is clear, aboriginal people have been very patient, have been the most accommodating people in this country...

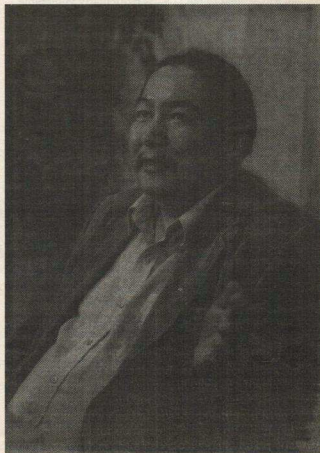
We will continue to fight for our own destiny... We have been told that because we do not support Meech Lake that there will be economic consequences, that there will be a backlash, and that Quebec will separate. I do not believe that for a moment, because Quebec's goals are the same goals for aboriginal people. After all, we welcomed them here in Canada through the St. Lawrence River and for that matter other Canadians, immigrants, through the Hudson Bay down through the Nelson River to Winnipeg, and we even took care of the settlers. If it was not for

Chief Peguis, many of the Lord Selkirk settlers may have starved. Also in the West we welcomed people on the West Coast in British Columbia...

Over the last few days... I have had tremendous pressure, and... in the last while I have received many telegrams across this country; from British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, the territories; from non-aboriginal people expressing their support behind us as to what we are doing, telling us to keep on fighting, to stand up for our rights and to fight for democracy. I have also received many telegrams from all the aboriginal organizations in this country supporting fully the position of Manitoba chiefs. Many of them will be here today or are already here at the rally and tonight at the Convention Centre, finally getting together, finally speaking with one united voice, finally capturing their concerns across this nation and finally being heard...

We are prepared to live for the rights that we are fighting for. We are prepared to hurt a little. We are prepared to wait ten years; we are prepared to wait 15 years; we are prepared to wait for 25 years, because we believe in what we are fighting for. We are not interested in short term solutions. What we are fighting for is our people, for our children, for the future of our children, for our culture, for our heritage and what we believe in. Most of all we are fighting for our rightful place in Canadian society and also fighting for democracy for aboriginal people and indeed all Canadians.

An excerpt from a speech by Elijah Harper to the Manitoba Legislative Assembly on Thursday, June 21, 1990.



Elijah Harper

Tommy Douglas, Pierre Trudeau and John Turner are part of this tradition.

At the present moment, of the six major political parties in Canada — Conservatives, Liberals, NDP, PQ, Social Credit and Reform — not one represents a fighting voice for Canada's economic survival and only one of these, the Liberal Party, even represents a voice for Canada's continued existence as a federal nation with a central government strong enough to hold the country together. In the August 1990 by-election of Laurier-St. Marie in Montreal, both the Conservative and NDP candidates campaigned on the basis of their support for sovereignty for Quebec. Far from repudiating this position, the NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin defended it, saying "a new arrangement" is necessary for the country anyhow. Mulroney was silent, his party's alliance with the separatist forces well established. These are people who care so little for Canada they are prepared to advocate its dismemberment in order to get elected. Phil Edmondston, sole NDP member of parliament from Quebec, said in September 1990, he favours sovereignty-association as the "strict minimum" for Quebec. Edmondston has now been appointed his party's critic on Quebec and its associate critic on the Constitution. Only Jean Chretien of the Liberal party has the courage to speak for federalism and Canada's continued survival as a French/English nation, but his refusal — and that of his party — to take a stand for abrogating the free trade deal means that there exists a critical vacuum of leadership. Canadians have no one to turn to.

Today the separatist forces in Quebec are on the march, unable to quite believe the golden opportunity Mr. Mulroney has handed them. In 1984-85 the PQ was broken and demoralized. Lévesque had refused to advocate independence in the forthcoming provincial election and had called federalism "le beau risque" (a risk worth taking). Parizeau, in disagreement, had split with Lévesque and quit the party, along with several other independents. Five years later the PQ, with Parizeau and the independents at its head, are driving the agenda of Quebec and much of the rest of Canada as well. According to the PQ, independence will solve the problems of Quebec, including historical humiliation at the hands of the English. Such a solution has an emotional appeal, particularly potent to young Quebecers who see the French version of our national anthem boomed in the Toronto Skydome, who listen to anti-French quotations from the Reform Party, the Confederation of Regions Party (COR) or APEC being read out from the podium by PQ leaders, and who have not been able to hear a Québécois, heretofore leader speak for Canada — and in defence of federalism.

But what will the realities of an independent Quebec be? For example what will be its currency? Few Quebecers want to take a chance on forming a new, unknown and inevitably weak, Quebec currency; most would prefer to keep the Canadian dollar, but will this be possible after a prolonged and bitter separation? That leaves the third option — the U.S. dollar — against which all illusions of independence evaporate.

Independence remains a myth when the economy is foreign owned, be it that of Quebec, or that of Canada as a whole. The economy of Quebec, with its dependence on hydro-electric exports to the U.S., is particularly vulnerable to U.S. influence. The PQ supported free trade because, as Mr. Parizeau put it, they saw it as a blow which would weaken Canada and give Quebec the chance to escape from Canadian oppression by linking up with the U.S. market. Such a view is dangerously naive and shortsighted, but the PQ at the head of a population inundated with images of racism and rejection from English Canadians and fueled by constant reminders of the historical humiliation of the Conquest of 1759 is prepared to take Quebec into the U.S. embrace.

Meanwhile the Reform Party has emerged in the west as a third opposition force. Although promising "reform" and a "new" Canada, it is essentially an attempt to re-create a national Social Credit Party based on anti-Quebec sentiments. Its promise of change, while alluring to a population sick to death of existing politicians, is similar to the promise Social Credit made to Albertans in 1935 of a monthly \$25 per person. In the depths of the depression this promise got Ernest Manning (Preston Manning's father), William Abernethy and their party elected, but no one ever received the \$25. The Reform Party's position on Quebec would lead to the splitting of the country, denying as it does the existence and rights of French Canadians as a founding nation of Canada. (The same criticism applies to the Confederation of Regions Party, based in New Brunswick, whose brand of anti-French and anti-Quebec politics is as virulent as that of the Reform Party.)

It is on the issue of free trade that the Reform Party's ship hits a rock. The party supported the FTA before and during the 1988 election and still does today. The deadly combination of its pro-free trade and anti-Quebec positions makes this party — along with the PQ in Quebec — advocates of Canada's disintegration. When push comes to shove, the Reform Party will drop its rhetoric about

"change" and form an alliance with the federal Conservatives.

Where We Stand

Our position is that only by Quebec and the rest of Canada standing together will we, both English and French Canada, have the best chance to resist the power of the U.S. The war of 1812-14 was one example of this kind of French-English — and aboriginal — cooperation that saved Canada. Another example of its effectiveness was the struggle for responsible government in 1837-38 and 1848.

Our view is that there are three founding nations in Canada, the aboriginals, the French and the English. At crucial turns in our history, in 1775, 1812, and 1870, faced with invasion from the U.S., it was the aboriginals who played a decisive role — often in alliance with both French and English Canadians.

Most recently it was native people in Manitoba who defeated the Meech Lake Accord. Contrary to what many politicians and much of the media would have us believe, it was not Newfoundland where Meech Lake died, but in Manitoba, under the leadership of Elijah Harper, Phil Fontaine, Ovide Mercredi and the Manitoba chiefs. These native leaders could have sold out, like the premiers had done, but they had a larger picture of Canada, they connected with non-native support, and the impact of their leadership will reverberate for years to come.



Vancouver audience listens intently to David Orchard's account of what the Free Trade Agreement has already done to Canada. (Photo: Allan Dobbs).

The attempt by political parties and ruling institutions in this country to deny French Canadians and aboriginals the rights they've earned founding and defending Canada, has led to the crisis we face today.

Henri Bourassa, the great nationalist*** leader in Quebec in the early decades of this century, argued that the only way for Canada to survive was to build a Canadian patriotism — "le Canada pour les Canadiens" (Canada for Canadians). English Canadians, he said, could win French Canadians to Canadian patriotism only by accepting the right of French culture to co-exist with English culture all across Canada. The whole of Canada, he said, could be liberated from foreign domination if Canadians stopped fighting each other.

"Those who are searching for the destruction of the French language are the worst violators of the Canadian constitution: those who put shackles on the spread of the language from one end of Canada to the other are, some without knowing it, others perhaps knowing it, the surest agents of destruction of ... the unity of Canadian confederation, and the most efficient instruments which the Americans could employ to absorb the Canadian confederation gradually." (Henri Bourassa on Imperialism and

***"Nationalist" in Quebec has come to mean a person advocating sovereignty for Quebec; by contrast Henri Bourassa was a Canadian nationalist who vehemently opposed even the idea of Quebec's separation and whose greatest ambition was to prevent the Americanization of Canada.

Bi-Culturalism, 1900-18, Ed. Joseph Levitt, p.137)

It was not the French who threatened the national unity of Canada, Henri Bourassa said, it was the "slow but sure penetration of Americanism into all phases of our national, political and social life." Two national languages and two different cultures, far from being an obstacle to the progress of Canada, constituted its most powerful factor, our greatest national asset and one of the strongest ways of resisting "sure conquest by American ideas, by American mentality, by American morals, by American pronunciation, by the American fashion of seeing, feeling and acting in everyday life." "I wish to show," he wrote in 1915, "that there is, for the whole Canadian nation, for Anglo-Protestants as for French Canadian Catholics, a marked advantage and even a strict necessity to preserve the French language and favour its expansion to all parts of the Confederation... [The American] power to absorb us is not counter-balanced here, as it is in Belgium, in Holland, or in Switzerland, by the rival influence of another great nation." However, he said we have "one real and durable force with which to oppose it, the presence of a considerable ethnic group, speaking a different language, with other traditions and other ideals than those of the American people" (Levitt, p.150). Henri Bourassa's position is just as valid today; the only thing that needs to be added is a recognition of aboriginal rights.

The most effective way to undermine the separatist forces in Quebec would be for Quebecers to be made to

feel at home and welcome, all across Canada. This means driving the anti-French elements back into their holes and making Canada a truly bilingual nation. Right now Quebec is the only effectively bilingual province in Canada. If Quebecers received the same services, treatment and respect in the rest of Canada that English-speaking Canadians receive in Quebec, there would be a significantly reduced separatist movement in that province. If the only place Quebecers can feel truly at home in Canada is inside Quebec, then the PQ is on the road to victory, and Canada — French and English — is on the way to assimilation by the U.S.

Making Canada functionally bilingual could be done for a fraction of the cost estimates being bandied about by opponents of the French language. Teaching French and English from grade one on in every school across the country would be the place to start. Rapid expansion of student exchange programs between Quebec and English Canada — instead of eliminating them as is currently being done — would do wonders to break the dangerous isolation which currently exists between Quebec and the rest of the country, and would introduce young people to the realities of each other's language, culture and our mutual history, which can best be understood by grasping both languages. By high school graduation students would be functionally literate in both languages. As Trudeau put it in his 1962 essay, "New Treason of the Intellectuals," "Had English speaking Canadians applied themselves to learning French with one quarter the diligence they have shown in refusing to do so, Canada would have been effectively bilingual long ago."

It's time to stop fighting centuries-old European wars in

Canada. We are no more English in "English Canada" than Quebecers are "French." The fact that Wolfe's forces had a lucky break on the Plains of Abraham and won a fifteen minute battle — the colonial footnote in a war between France and England in far-away Europe — cannot forever drive our national agenda. What we in English speaking Canada can, and must, do is challenge the existence of anti-French sentiment wherever it raises its head, be that in municipal council resolutions in Ontario cities or prairie villages, or any of its numerous manifestations. Without Quebec's crucial and founding role in Canadian history there would not be a Canada. This does not mean kowtowing to the separatist ideology with its dangerous naïveté about the power of the United States; it means recognizing the reality of the French Canadian contribution to Canada.

All those Canadians who came to this country after 1867 came to a nation which was already formed and whose borders had already been defended in blood by its founding peoples. The rights, languages and respect due those

founders— aboriginal, French and English — are not something to be toyed with and belittled by those of us who came subsequently, whatever our language and background. When this is understood and truly put into practice, Canada will have less trouble resisting the power of the decaying empire to the south of us.

What Needs To Be Done

The defeat of Meech Lake was a tremendous victory for all those who wish Canada to survive as a nation, and a major defeat for those who don't. It means the beginning of the end for the most rabid of Brian Mulroney's supporters like Grant Devine, John Buchanan, Don Getty and others. We can expect desperate attempts by these premiers and Mr. Mulroney to get back on solid ground and try to erase from the public memory most of the past three years. Mulroney will try to do the garb of nationalism in a frantic attempt to regain some kind of credibility among the Canadian public.

David Peterson will try to get re-elected, citing the GST, the effects of free trade and pretending to oppose the agenda of the federal government, none of which, as in the past, he plans to do anything about. *(Author's note:* Since the above was written, John Buchanan has been appointed to the Senate, and the election of Bob Rae who took a strong anti-free trade position in the Ontario election, is a major boost for the anti-free trade movement, forcing the Liberals to be more open to the idea of a coalition with the NDP federally. The pressure from the public on both these parties to form a coalition for the next federal election must be increased.)

The Canadian government is scared to commit itself to the U.S.-Mexico free trade talks, knowing the massive opposition which exists among the population. But the pressure on from the U.S. to continue down the slippery slope. The Conservatives will proceed with U.S.-Canada-Mexico free trade counting on the capitulation of the opposition parties. Already some opposition members are saying that "maybe having three countries in the agreement would balance out"

Vancouver meeting brings a crowd... but not the CBC

David Orchard's above article is based on a two-hour speech he gave to a standing-room-only crowd at the Maritime Labour Centre in Vancouver, September 8, 1990.

CCAFT members posterized around the clock to let Vancouver residents know that the meeting was taking place. Meanwhile, city engineering staff also worked around the clock removing our posters just as fast. One CCAFT member, senior citizen Pat McCreery, had her posters forcibly taken from her and her arm twisted in the process, by a city engineering staff member. The Engineering department is sending CCAFT letters announcing the number of posters they have taken down. (The tally to date is over 1000 posters removed, at a threatened cost of \$5 each, for a total cost of \$5000 — although our posters are as a rule put up with water soluble glue and can come unglued even after the smallest rain and be pulled off in a matter of seconds.) It is a wonder that anyone came to the meeting, with this sort of street-level censorship at work.

Jenni Read of the *Vancouver Province* described the evening in her September 19 column:

"This was... a meeting sponsored by Citizens Concerned About Free Trade. The guest speaker was David Orchard, valiant anti-free trade activist. And the place was packed."

Hello! This is September 1990. Free trade with the U.S. is already in place, and has been since January 1989. I mean, I thought so. Didn't you? I bet you did."

I bet you also thought those Citizens had long ago stopped being Concerned About Free Trade. I bet you even thought David Orchard, great 1988 election free trade media star, had maybe gone back to his Saskatchewan farm to sow something besides dissent. But no. No such luck. Those Citizens are more concerned than ever. They're all here at the Maritime Labour Centre, exactly the same as before, with their flyers and pamphlets and bumper stickers. And their conviction that Canada is being dismantled, and that free trade is the cause...."

Last time David Orchard warned us what free trade would cost Canada. This time he was recounting what, in such a short time, it already has. He talked for

more than two hours. You could fill a newspaper with his list of broken promises and national disasters....

David Orchard is adamant. The free-trade bill must be abrogated and thrown out. We must hound opposition parties to raise the issue again. We must force those parties to join in an electoral coalition to defeat Brian Mulroney. And we must work to reconcile the three founding nations of our country — the aboriginal, the French and the English.

The crowd was moved. The crowd cheered. And I did too, hoping it wasn't hopeless. Because at the beginning, song sheets had been distributed, so we could all sing O Canada.

Song sheets! It was so Canadian I just loved us. I wanted to hug us all. There we were, getting together to save the country again. And we still didn't know the words."

The CBC, on the other hand, adamantly refused to give any coverage to the CCAFT meeting. Although notified in advance and called twice at the beginning of the meeting when the high turnout became evident, CBC told CCAFT organizers that the meeting was "not newsworthy." Meanwhile, a Reform Party fundraising dinner the night before, with 300 people attending, received ample coverage. (There is a long history of the CBC, nationally and locally in different areas, not wanting to deal with the free trade issue in general and CCAFT and David Orchard in particular. More of it later, in "CBC — the people's network or Brian's little helper?" in a future issue of *True North*.)

Two young people who had been part of the audience went to the CBC open house the day after the meeting, to raise questions about the lack of coverage on such an important issue, particularly since there is clearly a high level of public interest on how free trade has affected Canada so far. Instead of getting answers to their questions, they were dragged out, after the CBC producers called the Vancouver police to clear the studio of the critics. They were arrested and threatened with a "trespassing" charge, which however did not materialize.

On September 14, CCAFT members and other people who had attended the meeting with David Orchard, demon-

strated in front of the CBC offices in Vancouver, with signs saying "CBC: Tory Propaganda Machine" and "Conservative Broadcasting Corporation", and calling out in unison "Brian's Little Helpers" and "You are all fired!". The CBC producers and reporters stayed safely inside the building during the demonstration, choosing not to talk to the people or explain their decision not to cover the meeting.

A.D. Turner of Burnaby, B.C., wrote to the CBC on September 11, about the meeting and CBC's non-coverage: "The CBC made a decision not to cover David Orchard's talk on September 8.

I was present... at the Maritime Labour Centre. That hall seats 800 people. It was full, to the point where people were standing. Orchard's presentation was replete with well researched background and statistics. It was truly apolitical. He criticized all three federal parties for either promoting, or not unting in opposition against, the Free Trade Agreement. It was thus very significant that although he must have brushed some political biases in the audience, he received an enthusiastic standing ovation when his hour-and-half talk was finished.

Any time that a speaker can draw 800 plus persons to listen to an hour-and-half or so of reasoned argument, crammed with statistics, in a meeting that opened with the singing of O Canada in both French and English, a meeting that has no historicism — any time that can happen in Lotusland, it deserves extensive media coverage.

I am well aware that the CBC has had its budget cut extensively. Along with a lot of other Canadians, I deplore that situation. Given those constraints, you may have to limit the number of events which you can report. But please give coverage to Citizens Concerned About Free Trade. They have facts which the public needs to know."

To date the CBC has not replied.

David Orchard's full speech is now available on audio cassette and in videotape. See CCAFT catalogue in this issue for ordering information.



(Photo: Elaine Griffin.)

the dominance of the United States. In fact it will increase it.

One of the most important rights of any nation is control over its trade. With the FTA we've lost that control — the GST is simply one example of this loss. We cannot control our tax structure unless we control our economy, and we cannot control our economy without control of our tariffs. In order to regain this control the free trade deal must be abrogated and with it can go the GST, the free trade tax.

It was mobilization by CCAFT which successfully convinced the Senate to block the FTA in 1988. We must once again bring free trade to the fore and not let it be buried by the government, a media intent on pretending that free trade is no longer an issue, and a weak-kneed opposition. This means raising the free trade issue — which is in reality the issue of the survival of Canada — at every opportunity, making it the central issue of the next election.

Canada is in her hour of need. We ask the members of all political parties and all Canadians who want this country to survive to join us in creating a movement which will

force the opposition parties to begin the struggle necessary for Canadian independence. Failing that, these parties must be swept aside and replaced with leadership who will.

We need to learn about our history, including the history of how Canada has succeeded in resisting for 200 years the Manifest Destiny aspirations of the U.S. It means learning about the control Americans have over our lives — economic, cultural and political — and how it can be changed. We need to learn about the solitudes between our founding peoples and how they can be overcome, while recognizing the major contributions of people from other ethnic backgrounds to Canada's development as a nation.

We have won in the past. We have turned back the U.S.A. in its major invasions of Canada and have previously defeated repeated U.S. attempts for free trade. This one can be defeated as well. If we allow the FTA to take full effect over ten years, if we allow a common currency... then the work of all Canadians who fought for Canada's survival over the past 400 years is at stake.

We want our country back. We want the FTA abrogated and we want Canada to become a strong and independent nation.

When Isaac Brock fell at Queenston Heights, Tecumseh at Moraviantown, Riel in Regina, and thousands of others who in less spectacular ways defended Canada, they passed the torch to us. It is our turn to carry it on and carry it high.

Canada has gone from being a colony of France, to being a colony of Britain, to being a colony of the USA. It is time now to become a nation. ♣

DAVID ORCHARD, a fourth-generation Saskatchewan farmer, is a founding member and the national chairman of Citizens Concerned About Free Trade. Since 1985 he has emerged as one of the leading opponents of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and a strong advocate of an independent Canada.

Photos and graphics: Antoinette Martens



(Left) Ready-set-go! The poster crew of Allan Dobbs, Rohan Quinby and Kathy Rennie, equipped with paste buckets, brushes and a bag full of posters are ready for their shift. (Photo: Rose-Marie Larsson). (Right) Political realities in Canada in 1990. Pat McCreery watches the Vancouver police drive away

with several hundred of her confiscated posters advertising a meeting with David Orchard. (Both Allan Dobbs and Pat McCreery have been ticketed for posterizing and will appear in court in December). (Photo: Allan Dobbs).

A Postering Victory, at Last!

In early February 1990, Citizens Concerned About Free Trade, was in court in Toronto on charges of breaking the City's and Metro's anti-postering bylaws. The offending posters were put up by Jim Quickfall of Edmonton and Cam Tetrault of Saskatoon, to advertise a November 10, 1988, public information meeting, where David Orchard, CCAFT's national chairman, spoke against the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. CCAFT was represented in court by lawyer Robert Kellerman, and through the four day trial we argued that the city's bylaw was unconstitutional and counter to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantee of freedom of expression.

This was neither the first nor the last time our posters would be charged. During our 1988 national campaign against free trade which took us from Vancouver to Halifax, CCAFT members were detained, harassed, arrested and ticketed in Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver, Saint John, Toronto and Montreal. Their working tools and posters were repeatedly confiscated as "evidence", and city work crews worked overtime to remove our posters as soon as they were put up. A total of 16 members were arrested and/or ticketed while postering to advertise public information meetings on free trade. The posters torn down by order from civic officials added up to over ten thousand.

In Winnipeg, March 1988, during the Manitoba provincial election, city officials told CCAFT we could not hold our public meeting in a city-owned facility, the Pantages Theatre, even though we had paid a deposit and signed a contract, unless we

took down every poster we had put up — and we had put up thousands! In the end the City did not act on the threat, but it caused us stress and anxiety and very real worry about where we could hold our meeting, if the doors were blocked. In Saint John we were forced to go to court without any time to prepare, and in the end were convicted and fined \$200. In Montreal one of our posters, Jim Quickfall, spent a night in jail and was charged with a more serious crime of "public mischief," for which he was convicted. Seven police cars were used to arrest two other posters in Montreal, and similar force was used in Edmonton (including the presence of a police van and a dog) to stop our of members from postering.

Our Edmonton trial took place in July 1989, and resulted in a conviction and a \$400 fine. Adding insult to injury, the judge, William Mustard, relied on an *American* Supreme Court decision to interpret the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. We have appealed the decision. Our Vancouver case was tried in August 1989, and we ended up with an identical judgement to that in Edmonton, which will be appealed as well. Our Winnipeg case, where three individuals were arrested but not ticketed, is yet to be heard.

The thrust of our position has been that **freedom of speech is a thousand times more beautiful than clean lamp posts**, and that posters, which can be described as the "newspaper of the street," are an age-old method of public communication which has existed as long as there has been printing. Canadian posters date back to the late 1700s

and posters have been used in Canadian elections since 1891. We believe that preventing postering by citizens restricts freedom of speech to those who own the media and those who can afford to advertise in it. On the free trade issue — no doubt the most important issue in Canadian history — the Mulroney government spent an estimated \$32 million of taxpayers' money to push free trade, and it had full support from the U.S.-backed pro-free trade lobby who could buy media time and space at will and who spent another \$20 odd million to promote economic integration with the U.S.

It was therefore a joyous occasion for all those who cherish democracy when our Toronto postering case resulted in a victory. Judge Anthony E. Charlton — who in court rejected out of hand any reference to the same American Supreme Court case which was used against CCAFT in Edmonton and Vancouver — described postering as an "honourable, upfront, public and ancient way" of communicating and struck down the City's and Metro's anti-postering bylaws as unconstitutional. He rendered his judgement verbally on April 17, 1990.

This is how Judge Charlton spoke:

"This is a judicial conclusion that people are free to post on utility poles in Toronto without risking prosecution for that activity alone ...

The issue ... is whether the applicable by-laws so interfere, either in their purpose or in their effect, with freedom of expression that they offend the constitution.

I find the by-laws constitutionally offensive and I will quash the information....

An association [Citizens Concerned About Free Trade] was formed in 1985 in response to a stated Canadian government policy on free trade. A woman [Marjoleen Reps, CCAFT's national organizer], who had much to do with the association's founding, described the classic grassroots, five-dollars-if-you-join, come-to-our-meetings, see-what-you-can-do type of organization that has made us the greatest country in the world.

The association was opposed to the announced government policy and wrote letters and distributed leaflets and held meetings in different towns. In all places their most effective and cost-efficient way of distributing their message was through the use of postering. Aren't there other ways you might have distributed your message?"

The response was that the organization had not the money, and when it came to time (when she was asked why it was not newspapers or radio and T.V. stations) she was told by the larger, better capitalized, more structured distributors of information, that they needed "more lead time."

"Tell us your message, tell us what you want to say and we'll think about it and let you know next month."

Another witness for the applicant [Professor Michael Goldrick from York University] came from the university

after some thirty years of academic work. I use the word 'academic' here with respect. It means study, labour, scholarship, and tracing critically the history and meaning of things. There was evidence of what it means for people to be able to speak quickly and plainly to issues as they saw them develop in a day.

A former provincial archivist [Hugh MacMillan] made clear the history we have of posters and postering and their historical significance and importance in the real world.

An historian [Robert Stacey], who has gone quite entrepreneurial on posters and is patently fascinated with them, made clear that these are the very newspapers of the streets. These are where many of us speak

The evidence shows that what has been described in all its nitry-gritty-messy-junkiness, is practically, historically and usefully urgent and vital to our freedom of expression ...

Our 'rights' come mainly from soldiers. The constitution of Canada, before we organized municipalities or legislatures, says in this country you have freedom of expression ...

Those are my reasons. The information will be quashed."

Judge Charlton's decision led the *Toronto Star* to comment in an editorial titled, appropriately, "Untidy but necessary" (April 29, 1990):

"Good for Charlton. He recognizes that concerns over municipal decor should not be used to deprive people of this 'honourable, upfront, public and ancient way' of expressing

themselves. He sees posters as a means for individuals or groups with no other outlet for expressing their views.

After the decision, lawyers for Metro and the City said they would recommend that councillors appeal to a higher court. It's bad advice. Civic leaders would be better to stand up for democracy and repeal the bylaws containing these offensive restrictions."

Despite this editorial and pressure from citizens organizations and individuals, such as the Toronto chapter of the Council of Canadians, the City of Toronto and Metro launched an appeal. We will be arguing our case in a higher court April 4, 1991, in Toronto (Old City Hall, Room 140, at 2:00 p.m.). You can help the cause of democracy and civil liberties by sending a donation to: CCAFT Charter Challenge, P.O. Box 8052, Saskatoon, SK, S7K 4R7. Every contribution counts! We will respond to your donation by sending you an information package on postering which contains some of our key documents and assorted press clippings. (More on postering in a future issue, "Practising democracy: the experience of a citizens' organization."

GOING TO PRESS: Our Edmonton appeal was successful! Judge Elizabeth McFadyen's 27-page judgement overturned the lower court ruling and concluded with the following paragraph:

"To the extent that the bylaw prohibits the affixing of posters to structures such as utility poles, which in no way interfere with the functioning or safety of such poles, I find that the bylaw is invalid, being in conflict with the provisions of s. 2(b) of the *Canadian*

Charter of Rights and Freedoms. On this basis, the appeal by the Appellants is allowed and the convictions are quashed."

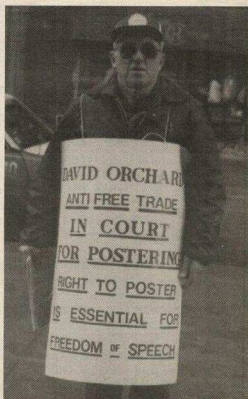
The *Edmonton Journal* commented on the decision in its October 22, editorial, "Speaking out by poster":

"Not everyone has access to the airwaves or to government publicity machines. For some, the poster on the power pole is the main means of expressing a political position or religious belief, or calling a rally. Posters, too, have an honourable history as a means of protest and communication in Canada and elsewhere.

Thoughts such as these no doubt contributed to Justice E.A. McFadyen's welcome ruling that an Edmonton bylaw against posters on city property is a violation of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. By her ruling, Justice McFadyen has upheld a basic right — to free expression — over the lesser concerns of civic officials about unsightly power poles and local clutter. The emphasis, sensibly, is on rights.

The ruling quashes convictions against four people charged by the city for putting up posters against free trade. McFadyen ruled that the city can pass bylaws to control clutter by regulating the size of posters and the length of time they can remain up (and the type of glue used). But it cannot prevent people from using this sturdy form of communication to express their views.

Marjaleena Repo, organizer for Citizens Concerned about Free Trade, had this to say about the ruling: "People (now) don't have to go through the kind of experiences we had where we were



Joe Chiasson is famous for his signs and banners. Here he demonstrates in front of Toronto's court house in support of CCAFT's postering fight. (Photo: Elizabeth Davies)

continually chased by the police and arrested and posters were confiscated."

Indeed that should not happen in a country with a *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*."

We couldn't have said it better ourselves. ♦

The Liberals and the NDP...

(continued from page 3)
elections only because the two opposition parties split the vote.

To win the next election, you must also conduct a massive education program across the country on the FTA, which you failed to do last time: the vast majority of voters still don't know what Canada has signed nor what it means for our future.

You need to begin now to plan which ridings NDP candidates will run in and which ones Liberals will run in, depending on your historical strength. It must not be left up to the voters to try to vote "strategically" — in many ridings the Liberal and NDP support was too close to call and the voters were forced to gamble. This is bound to happen next time around as well. Strategic voting is dangerous, uncertain and full of pitfalls, whereas an electoral coalition, once agreed to by your parties, is guaranteed to succeed. The responsibility cannot be placed on the voter — your parties themselves must declare their willingness to form this coalition and to not run against each other in ANY riding nor attack each other. For example: in the three Western provinces this could mean that the Liberals would not run candidates against the NDP while in the Atlantic region the NDP would not take votes away from the Liberals. In central Canada your parties would decide jointly which party would run in each riding based on previous strengths.

We do not ask your parties to merge your platforms. NDP support for Pearson's and Trudeau's minority governments gave us the Canada Pension Plan, medicare, old-age security and Petro-Canada. The Ontario NDP joined forces with David Peterson's Liberals to take power in that province after 42 years of Conservative rule. If Bob Rae had joined a coalition with Peterson and taken cabinet posts in that government instead of simply agreeing to vote with the Liberals, then the

NDP would have received due credit for the successes of that government and been more richly rewarded in the 1987 Ontario election. European parties form coalitions all the time and retain their integrity. Coalitions are formed in countries throughout the world in times of national crisis. Our country is facing such a crisis now.

If you as Liberals and New Democrats wish to disband this coalition and campaign against each other later after the FTA has been defeated and the immediate threat to our sovereignty is over, so be it. A tactical coalition to defeat free trade is what is required now. The fight is for the very survival of Canada as a nation.

If you as opposition parties will not do this, it means you have decided to permanently abandon the fight for Canada as an independent nation, regardless of your assurances to the contrary. It is not enough to talk about opposing free trade and to bring your hands about how bad it is. The question is: What are you going to do about it? If you will not do what is necessary — which is to form this common front and defeat Mulroney — then all talk and complaining about what is happening becomes hollow rhetoric. It means you have put your party above the country.

We ask you to set aside these narrow partisan politics and to put the fight for Canada's survival as a nation at the top of your political agenda. Only with the defeat of the Free Trade Agreement can the work of developing Canada into an independent and free country, controlling our own economy and destiny, begin.

October 12, 1989
David Orchard, National Chairman,
Citizens Concerned About Free Trade

Postscript: In response to this letter both Liberal and NDP MPs have said they might be prepared to form a coalition after the next

election if neither party receives a majority. Needless to say, this misses the entire point of an electoral coalition, which is to prevent the splitting of the vote on election day. To form a coalition after the election, after the damage has been done, will be useless if the Conservatives, Bloc Québécois and Reform parties together come up with more seats than the Liberals and the NDP. Both the Reform Party and the Bloc Québécois support Mulroney on his central issues — free trade with the U.S. and a gutting of the central government — and will not hesitate to offer their support in return for greater regional powers.

The Liberal and NDP hierarchies point gleefully to Mulroney's current 14% rating in the polls and assure us that they can "win." This superficial analysis ignores the fact that, due to the intense hatred of Mulroney nationwide, a good percentage of the disaffected Conservative vote has gone to the BQ and Reform Party where it can emerge in extremely unpredictable ways on election day. This dangerous and, in view of the consequences for Canada, criminal overconfidence by Liberal and NDP strategists (similar to what we saw prior to the last election when Ed Broadbent predicted the demise of the Liberal Party and the emergence of a two party system) ignores as well the results which could be achieved by the Conservatives replacing Brian Mulroney (but leaving his politics intact) before the next election.

Repeated polls over the past year show that 70% of the population in English speaking Canada is prepared to vote Liberal or NDP. In Quebec, almost 60% would. If the NDP and Liberals choose to split this vote in the next federal election and let a combination of the Conservatives, BQ and Reform take power, the responsibility for the continuation of the Free Trade Agreement and the takeover of Canada by the United States will rest upon their shoulders as surely as it does on those of Brian Mulroney. ♦

After Remembrance Day, 1989: A Veteran's thoughts

by Chris Madsen

Another Remembrance Day has passed, and here are a few observations from a World War II Air Force Veteran.

During the summer of 1940, Britain stood alone against the onslaught of the Luftwaffe and the imminent invasion, and a few of our young men were able to shoot down sufficient numbers of their young men to delay the forthcoming long-lasting struggle for ultimate victory. The entire nation was rallied and inspired by Prime Minister Winston Churchill with his famous declaration, "We shall fight them on the beaches... we shall never surrender."

Nearly half a century later the Prime Minister of Canada and his broker/banker/big business buddies in the U.S.A. would seek to bring about the surrender of our country and nation to a far greater and more dangerous power than those threatening Britain in 1940, without firing a shot.

By conspiring to deceive the Canadian public as to the full implications of the Free Trade Agreement and by attempting to stifle opposition to it, a scandal-ridden administration together with the corporate interests it represents, have forfeited all semblance of public credibility. They can best be compared with what were known during the war as Quislings, Fifth Columnists and Saboteurs — in contemporary terms, traitors, guilty of high treason.

They will be held accountable to those of us who survived World War II and the memory of those who did not. In conclusion, Canada faces a national emergency as critical as Britain in 1940. O Canada, WHO stands on guard for the NOW?

CHRIS MADSEN was a fighter pilot in the British RAF and participated in the Battle of Britain. He came to Canada after the war and has worked for a long time as a bush pilot in Canada's north.

Election 1988: "A Feeble and Dysfunctioning Democracy..."

"Canada's electoral system is nearing collapse," declared Jean-Marie Hamel, Canada's Chief Electoral Officer, soon after the 1988 election. His job had become "virtually unmanageable." Hamel stated in the final report of his 22 year service that stretched over seven federal elections, and "havo would ensue if legislative action is delayed any longer."

Hamel's strongest criticisms were directed at the political patronage in the appointment of returning officers, the denial of the vote to an "unusually large" number of people, thereby violating their democratic right to participate in the political process, and the outdated spending laws which do not cover third-party advertising, such as the millions spent by advocacy groups in the 1988 free trade election. One shocking fact of the last election was that after the 1987 electoral redistribution, 253 of the 295 returning officers appointed by the Mulroney cabinet had no previous experience, the highest number of inexperienced officers recorded for any general election in 30 years. (These officers, by the way, get \$11,000 for two months' work). "Massive replacement of experienced returning officers," wrote Hamel, "who have performed their functions competently, fairly and impartially is done for political reasons at the expense of the quality of service to the electorate. It is ultimately the electoral process which suffers."

Hamel urged immediate electoral reform and the reinstating of the electoral reform legislation which died on the order paper when the 1988 election was called. Instead of acting on Hamel's recommendation, the Mulroney government opted to appoint a commission of inquiry which will report back sometime in 1991 — perhaps once again too late to make any changes before the next federal election. This would take too long, argued Hamel, who has already put out concrete recommendations to correct the abuses which are being ignored. "Action is urgent by Parliament," he said, "if we wish to prevent electoral policy being dictated by the courts instead of Parliament," referring to the fact that inadequate and unfair electoral rules and regulations lead to numerous court cases, making the work of his office increasingly difficult, if not impossible.

The Commission of Inquiry on Electoral Reform and Party Financing was set up on November 15, 1989. It is headed by Pierre Lortie, who has a long history with the Quebec corporate sector — he was the chief executive officer of Proviso, the biggest grocery wholesaler in the province, from 1985 to 1990, and has just recently become the president of Bombardier's financial services group. The commissioners are Pierre Fortier, a lawyer with a long involvement with the Conservative Party, including being its national director and the director of the P.C. Canada Fund, a fundraising organization for the Conservatives; Donald Oliver, a lawyer from Halifax with a 30-year involvement with the Conservative Party, having been its legal advisor, the national vice-president of the P.C. Association of Canada as well as a member of the P.C. Canada Fund, and recently appointed to the Senate; Lucie Pepin, a former Liberal MP from Quebec; and Elwood Cowley, a former New Democratic Party MLA from Saskatchewan.

In April 1990, Citizens Concerned About Free Trade (CCAFT) presented a brief to the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing. The brief was based on consultation with our members which started immediately after the November 1988 election. We had then asked people to let us know what they thought about the free trade election, the process and the end result, as well as their own participation in the campaign against the Free Trade Agreement (FTA). We received replies from across the country, ranging from one page to documents of 50 pages and more. Furthermore, just prior to the presentation we had been in touch with a number of our members from different parts of Canada, asking them to spell out their major concerns. Consequently, we believe that the issues we raised in the brief are an accurate representation of what our membership thinks, and also represent the wishes of a large segment of Canadians outside of our organization who voted against the FTA.

CCAFT members expressed profound concern over what they perceived to be unfairness and a lack of real democracy in the last election. After the election a deep dis-

illusionment set in with both the process and the outcome of that election. People repeatedly raised the same question: "How can you call it 'democracy' when foreign corporations have more rights than Canadian citizens and when they bought the election for the Conservatives?" and, "How can you call it fair, when over 1.2 million more Canadians voted against the Free Trade Agreement than for it, and yet it gets passed?"

These opinions were stated over and over again, with added expressions of anger, disbelief, a sense of powerlessness and alienation from political decision-making. Many commented that the 1988 election was for them a rude awakening, a watershed of sorts, revealing a feeble and dysfunctioning "democracy" that's more rhetoric than substance. There is a widespread feeling that the electoral process is out of the citizens' control, altogether.

CCAFT presented the following as key issues in any serious look at, and reform of, the electoral process:

A) First and foremost, Canada needs to pursue **proportional representation** as a method for fairer representation of the electorate's wishes. This, however, was not what the commission wanted to deal with, as it stated explicitly that its mandate **excludes** any discussion of "fundamental changes to Canada's system of direct election by simple majority on a single ballot." We fail to see how there can be any reform of real substance if a more representative and democratic method of voting is not even considered.

B) There is **undue corporate involvement** in our elections, and this must be curtailed as it makes a mockery of the whole concept of one person, one vote.

C) There is **wholly unwarranted foreign intrusion** into our internal affairs through the financial contributions of U.S. subsidiaries in Canada. This must be completely banned.

D) There is **undue and disturbing influence** on the electoral process by public opinion polls, the publication of which must be banned for the duration of the election.

E) There needs to be **special permission given to election-time poster**ing on publicly owned lamp posts and light standards across the country, so that voters can communicate with one another within their means. The cross-

country experiences of CCAFT members shows an inherent unfairness in this respect.

Proportional Representation

We believe that proportional representation is the key to any meaningful changes in Canada's electoral system. It simply means that a party would gain the same proportion of seats in the House as it gains in popular votes. In the last federal election, proportional representation would have delivered seats in the following manner: the Conservatives, who received 43% of the vote, would have been entitled to 127 seats — not the 168 they got under the current simple plurality method; the Liberals with 32% of the vote would have ended up with 95 seats instead of 83, and the New Democrats' 20% popular vote would have added up to 59 seats instead of its current 43. This would have been a true representation of the wishes of the Canadian electorate, and the combined 154 Liberal and NDP seats would have stopped the FTA in its tracks.

Proportional representation would provide truer regional representation as well as giving small political parties a real expression, because every vote would count and none would be "wasted" as they currently are. It would make the call for a Triple-E Senate (equal, effective, elected) superfluous, as less populated regions could get their voices heard through the Parliament. Much of the current "Western alienation," for instance, would disappear without a trace when people could see that their votes mattered on the federal political scene.

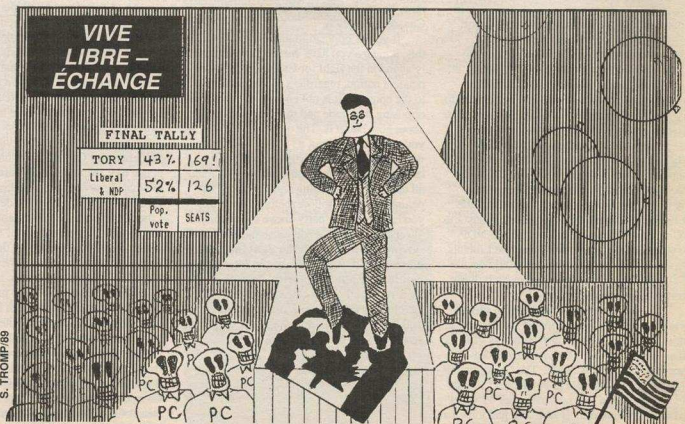
Foreign and Domestic Corporate Intervention in Canada's Electoral Process

The 1988 election was by all accounts fought about whether Canada should join in a so-called Free Trade Agreement with the U.S. The Conservative Party had through its history and all through its leadership campaign in 1983 opposed the whole concept of free trade with the U.S., with all the candidates, except John Crosbie, vigorously denouncing the very idea. Thus, anyone voting for the Conservatives in 1984 would have voted against free trade which had been

FREE TRADE

Danse Macabre

'Dance of Death' for Canada



Mr. Mulroney, delighted with his election win, breaks into a jig before 3,000 devoted followers.

that party's traditional position. When Mr. Mulroney suddenly and unexpectedly reversed his stand soon after the 1984 election and agreed to pursue free trade negotiations with the U.S., he did so without a mandate from the voters. Canadians would probably not have heard about these negotiations until much later had it not been for the leaked secret strategy paper from the Prime Minister's Office, published in the September 20, 1985, issue of the Toronto Star. This document revealed in the following words the government's plan to downplay the free trade issue by keeping Canadians in the dark:

"It is likely that the higher the profile the issue attains, the lower the degree of public approval will be. The strategy should rely less on educating the general public than on getting across the message that the trade initiative is a good idea. In other words, a selling job. Benign neglect from a majority of Canadians may be the realistic outcome of a well-executed communications program."

This very paragraph became the impetus for our organization, because we were not prepared to be part of this "benign neglect."

The signed Free Trade Agreement had less to do with "free trade" — something Canada just had with the U.S. anyway with 80% of trade being tariff-free — than it had to do with a long-term plan of the U.S. to get control over Canadian resources, including our water. CCAFTJ is of the opinion that the FTA was more a takeover act than a free trade deal, and that it now severely restricts our free economic and political prospects, as well as destroying Canada's competitive edge vis-a-vis the U.S. Keeping in mind that this understanding was shared by over 52% of the Canadian population who voted for the two major anti-free trade parties in the last election, it is reprehensible that \$20 million (a conservative estimate), including a large chunk from U.S. subsidiaries in Canada, was spent by the corporate sector to elect the Mulroney government which then passed the free trade legislation.

The corporate sector lobbied for the free trade bill through organizations such as the Business Council on National Issues, Canadian Alliance for Trade and Job Opportunities, Canadian Petroleum Association, National Citizens Coalition, Canadian Federation of Independent Business, Fraser Institute, Canadian Manufacturers Association, Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Manitoba Committee for Free Trade, and others of a similar stripe. We know that big U.S. corporations such as Imperial Oil, DuPont, Ford, General Electric, General Motors, American Express, just to name a few, gave large donations to these organizations for massive pro-free trade advertising campaigns and other projects, without the slightest accountability, since these megafunds were not considered election expenses.

It is highly offensive to Canadian citizens to see foreign money used in our elections to subvert the wishes of the electorate. The Canadian subsidiaries of U.S. companies work in the interest of the United States and are subject to its laws, such as the Trading with the Enemy Act which has prevented Canadian subsidiaries from trading with countries such as Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Libya, and whoever the U.S. regards as its "enemy" at any given moment. This type of interference must never be allowed to occur again.

It is incredibly unfair to see corporations and their organizations operate outside of the Elections Act altogether and be able to flood the electoral process with its no-holds-barred propaganda. There is today no real accountability in the electoral arena; it is a free-for-all, where those who have the gold, rule, and a survival-of-the-fittest ethic prevails.

Because of the colossal and well-documented abuse in the 1988 election by the U.S. and Canadian corporate sector and their assorted lobby groups, we are asking for the following:

- 1) That no foreign donations be permitted in an election campaign, including individual donations from citizens of foreign countries.
- 2) That Canada adopt the Quebec concept of "popular financing" where donations to political parties can be made only by individuals, as opposed to corporations, labour unions and other organizations. The amount per person could be the same as in Quebec — \$3,000 or less.
- 3) That strict limits be imposed on third party spending. No foreign donations can be allowed for these groups, so that they cannot function as conduits for U.S. money.

Elections Canada and the parliament must have the powers to determine what is *bona fide* third party activity and what is a front organization for a political party. Certainly it was impossible for the voter to tell in the last election, who was legitimate and who was not, as some examples from a Saskatchewan newspaper, the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix will reveal:

There were the numerous day-before-the-election advertisements, some of which were particularly troubling. One full-page ad called out, "On November 21st, Canada could turn into an island," and it was signed by "Canadians Committed to a Better Canada," an organization we have never heard of before or since. It has no mailing address and offers no way of contacting anyone. When we called the newspaper which published the ad, we were told, "It's between us, the advertiser and the publisher." We also tried to locate some of the names in the ad in major centres in Saskatchewan — Saskatoon, Regina and Moose Jaw, but with no luck. We do not know to this day whether the signatories were American citizens or members of the Conservative Party or civil servants who were ordered to do that. We have no idea who they were. But the ad creates the impression that the signers are ordinary citizens outside of any political party, and that it is a non-partisan effort.

On November 21, Canada could turn into an island

If we reject the Free Trade Agreement, we reject secure access to a large, lucrative U.S. market. We isolate ourselves from the international marketplace. We refuse a chance to let jobs and profits

flow. One will be financing our present plans, our child care, our environmental and cultural activities? Where will the money come from if we choose to block a small source of income?

Do we want to play ball with the global players, or struggle along on our own?

What are we protecting ourselves against? The Free Trade Agreement does not take away our right to manage and control our social policies or our energy and water resources. It's a trade agreement, not a takeover bid. The Agreement covers goods and services, not our quality of life.

If you still have doubts about Free Trade, get the facts. One way or another, this issue's impact will hit for generations. Make sure all your questions are answered before you go to the polls.

Then cast your vote for a better Canada. If you don't take a stand, you might end up living on an island. Confined. Limited. Restricted. Inaccessible. Not exactly paradise, is it?

CANADIANS COMMITTED TO A BETTER CANADA

Canadian Committed to a Better Canada Inc.
100-10000 100th Street, Edmonton, Alberta T5A 0A6
Tel: (403) 427-1111

One of the hundreds of pro-free trade ads that appeared in Canadian newspapers on the eve of the 1988 election, and went unaccounted for in the election expenses.

This type of advertisement leaves us completely stumped: we don't know who monitors it, who adds up the dollars spent to support the Conservative Party in this manner.

Another advertisement appeared in the same paper — actually the whole issue was practically nothing but advertisements — and this was also by a new "committee" which started overnight, "Concerned Citizens for Integrity in Politics." It, too, provides no address or phone number and it lists a number of individuals and organizations supporting free trade, and it more or less tells the reader that these wonderful people and organizations are in favour of free trade and so must you be. The point for us is this: what ways are there to determine who sponsors these ads. Are they people who are deliberately by-passing the elections act by doing that and, if so, what kind of scrutiny is there of this kind of activity across the country because this occurred in every city we know?

4) There must be equal access for advocacy groups to tax deductions for contributions. In the last campaign, contributions to the Canadian Alliance for Trade and Job Opportunities (CAFTJO), a big business lobby for

free trade, were tax deductible, while CCAFTJ was told that we could not get a tax number because we were a lobby group, a double standard if ever there was one! CAFTJO did not have an actual tax number, we understand, but its donors can deduct their gifts as "business expenses," something not available to the ordinary citizen.

Public Opinion Polls

An unprecedented number of polls were being foisted on the voters in 1988. There were close to 300 separate polls done during the seven-week election campaign, nationally and regionally, as well as an unknown number of party-financed polls. This was a non-stop barrage on the citizens and furthermore constituted an election expense that is not covered by the Elections Act.

In our opinion, whoever pays the piper calls the tune, and therefore the polls express the interest of their sponsors. These sponsors, however, are not always known.

The polls, with a pretense of being "scientific," interfere severely with the electoral process. There is a daily roller-coaster of new poll data, of winners and losers, good news and bad news. These come so fast and furious that no one has the time to critically examine the information, to find out who the sponsor is behind the polling agency, when the poll was done and how, what questions were asked and which were not, and how accurately the reporting in the media reflects the polling results.

Polls have real effects on people, regardless of who sponsors them and how accurate they are. They depress, demoralize and demobilize if you are on the losing side; they elate, encourage and make you overconfident if you are among the winners. They invalidate our perceptions when they report old data as new, or when they have a class bias that systematically omits from the polling sample those people who are the most discontented with the system, the poor and oppressed, who are not reachable by phone. Likewise, they misinform the public, for instance, by lumping all western provinces into one group, as was done by the assorted polls before and during the election campaign — and is still done every day. According to these polls, "the West" was in favour of free trade — and we heard this until the very end of the election campaign

when in reality only Alberta was of all provinces the opposition was strongest in Saskatchewan. Nevertheless we had to deal with this fallacious perception created by the polls over and over again, with no change in the media coverage. We would, of course, attempt to challenge the media, but we had an additional problem as well: we had to keep telling our own members and people across the country, "No, the West does NOT support free trade, don't believe this poll!" We know differently because we are at the grass roots, we talk to people, we educate and inform them." But the polls take off — they have a reality of their own, and we are not able to challenge them in such a short time.

The reporting of polls that themselves might be fundamentally flawed constitutes another serious problem. Most major newspapers and electronic media in Canada were editorially pro-free trade and they tended to present the poll results in a propagandistic way, rather than critically and analytically which would have benefited the voters. The media proved itself in the last election to be neither willing nor capable of handling the polls in a careful and responsible manner, and consequently have disqualified themselves from doing so during future election campaigns.

The polls are of no use to the voter. They confuse and rattle us, and deprive us of our own thoughts and opinions. We therefore want to see the publication of poll results completely banned from the moment an election is called until after the voting day. This would give the citizens time and space to reflect on the issues as they are presented in the political arena, instead of being stampeded by the pollsters and their sponsors in whatever direction they want the voters to go.

As for unpublished polls sponsored by political parties and third parties, these must be regarded as part of their election expenses, which they currently are not.

Right to Posters

During the period leading to the election and the seven-week campaign itself, CCAFTJ had an experience of the electoral process which reveals yet another dimension of unfairness and a stacked deck. Because we are a citizens organization, our financial resources have at all times been limited. We have used the cheapest possible means to communicate our information, and consequently have relied heavily on the age-old method of posting on publicly

One scrutineer's experience of the 1988 federal election

In an election in Canada each recognized party is permitted one person as an official observer in each polling station. This "scrutineer's" job is to monitor the voting and the vote counting to ensure that everything is honest.

"Mary" was a scrutineer for the Liberal party in the Quadra Constituency in Vancouver, the riding that returned John Turner to Parliament. Here is an account of her experience of the 1988 election:

"First, to my surprise, I found I wasn't registered to vote. I went to the elections office on the last day to register before the vote as you couldn't do it at the polls anymore. An official at the office told me and others several hours before the closing of registration that he had no forms left so no one would be able to register. I insisted this was unfair and probably illegal and that he had better get some forms couriered from the headquarters. Eventually under pressure he sent for the forms and I was able to register. One elderly woman — and many there were older people — said that she had tried three times to get registered!

On election day at my poll the Deputy Returning Officer (DRO), the official in charge of the polling station, was an aggressive, rude man in his 30's. To me it was like an iron hand had come down on the process. He accosted working class voters, men dressed like mill workers on their way home from work, or people who looked like they might be on social assistance, and demanded I.D. from them. I had to encourage some of these people who were intimidated and turned to leave, to go ahead and vote. Many working people who had lived in the neighbourhood most of their lives found they weren't registered and couldn't vote.

At one point a sleek looking man came into the poll, sat down behind the tables where names were taken and talked loudly about the virtues of free trade and how much richer he would be. I repeatedly asked the DRO to get rid of this guy whose wife, it turned out, was a Tory scrutineer. Finally the DRO gave the man some kind of credentials and he and his wife proceeded to talk loudly about free trade near the ballot marking area until, after a lot of

pressure from me, the DRO made them stop.

At the vote counting after the polls closed the DRO tried to slip suspect ballots past me. He would briefly hold up a ballot with two X's on it and then put it in the Conservative pile — he had to be constantly watched. My sister who is a law student and an experienced scrutineer had a similar experience at another poll in this same constituency.

The practices that I observed as a scrutineer at the polls on November 21, 1988 — and I've scrutineered in many provincial and federal elections — were common in B.C. Social Credit-run elections — but I had never seen a federal election under the Liberals run this way. The previous elections were light-hearted, friendly occasions where everyone came out to exercise their franchise. You could register on election day at the poll to vote if you weren't on the list, and courtesy was the order of the day."

owned lamp posts and light standards. Starting in Saskatoon, where posterage is perfectly legal due to battles fought by people before us, we had little idea what was ahead of us when we took our anti-free trade campaign on the road. To date we have been harassed, arrested and ticketed in most major Canadian cities — Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, Saint John and Halifax — for the simple act of putting up a poster advertising a debate, a public information meeting or a video showing on free trade. Our posters and working tools — brushes and water soluble paste and buckets — have been confiscated repeatedly and we have witnessed city crews tear down or cover up the posters we managed to put up. Our torn and confiscated posters with urgent messages to the Canadian public add up to over ten thousand across the country.

One of our members spent a night in jail in Montreal, was charged with "public mischief" and convicted. In Montreal, we saw seven police cars arrest two of our posters in an action that looked more like a major heroin bust than a minor civic bylaw violation. All in all, 16 of our members have been arrested and/or charged with breaking municipal anti-postering and anti-leaftelling bylaws. Most of these cases are still in court, a year and a half later, either to be tried or under appeal. Our Toronto case which took a four day trial in February of this year will have a judgement today, just as I am speaking to you. (The judgement was favourable, see article on page 1 in this issue). There are also such things as anti-leaftelling bylaws, which prevent a person from giving a leaflet to another, because the latter might drop it, thereby turning it into "litter." This prevents citizens from communicating with each other at the simplest levels, from saying to another person, "Here is something, take one and

read it." So far we have not been charged with the crime of "littering" by handing out leaflets, but this is probably just around the corner.

The municipal bylaws which we encountered right and left were used selectively, as in all the cities I mentioned we found plenty of other posters on light standards and poles. Nevertheless we were the ones charged and have had to undertake a costly and time-consuming court challenge to these restrictions, using the Charter of Rights and Freedoms as our defense.

The effect of these municipal bylaws — which have often been dormant for years before our anti-free trade campaign came around — is to silence citizens' groups like ours who want to participate in the political process, because although we can afford to print cheap posters which are put up by our members, we absolutely cannot afford advertising in newspapers, radio or television, except on rare occasions.

The painful and significant contrast in the last election that is while our members were chased by the police in different cities for posting a simple 8 1/2 x 11 or 8 1/2 x 14 poster on public lamp posts, corporations and rich individuals were unencumbered in their efforts to put forward their point of view. Their freedom of speech was bought and paid for.

We made a special appeal through the courts in Winnipeg to obtain permission to be able to poster freely during the 1988 election campaign, and eventually received a pathetic respite: two (2) of our members (out of a Winnipeg population of 600,000), the ones who had previously been arrested, got permission to do posterage for the remaining three weeks!

We are asking the Commissioners to pay careful attention to the posterage situation because it is at this level of the

street where freedom of speech either lives or dies. We propose that there be an addition to the Elections Act, authorizing posterage on publicly owned lamp posts and light standards during federal elections.

In conclusion, it is our experience that the last election campaign did not provide Canadian citizens with a "level playing field" whereby there is some semblance of fairness and representative democracy. As Thomas Vanzellotti, the author of *Requiem for Canada*, wrote in his post-election analysis:

"This was not a fair election, nor were there pretenses made to fairness. Instead, it was a bazaar, a wild bazaar, where money was pouring out from sources foreign, hostile, one may say, to the democratic system. The money was to purchase the votes of the electorate, megabusiness was making a lucrative investment in purchasing the government of Canada. Certainly, elections had been gradually losing their meaning for some time now, but the vote-buying orgy of the 1988 election was a steep escalation, a huge leap into corruption of the institution of elections."

We are asking the Royal Commission to accept our proposals, because the changes that we are advocating would, to a significant extent, restore the citizens' faith in the electoral system that now stands discredited.

Our presentation was made by Marjaleena Repo, CCAFT's national organizer. A live recording of it is available as a "bonus" on our audio tape, *Free Trade and the Crisis in Canada*. See our Catalogue. ♦

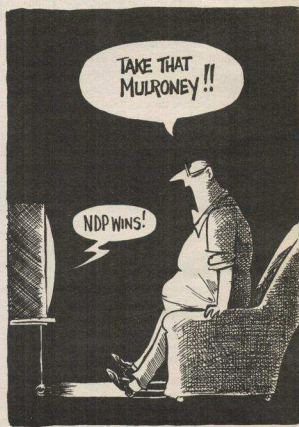
Kealey Fights Corruption In High Places

Ever since November 1988, Hull businessman Glen Kealey has been in front of the Parliament buildings protesting the Mulroney government's corruption.

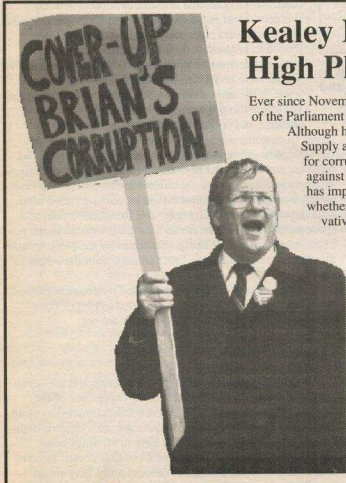
Although he has named names, among them the former Minister of Supply and Services, Roch LaSalle, for demanding kickbacks and for corrupt practices, the RCMP has not proceeded with charges against the numerous high ranking Conservative politicians Kealey has implicated. He is waiting for a court hearing to determine

whether he can proceed with his own charges against the Conservative Party, the Prime Minister's Office and the RCMP for corruption, abuse of power and cover-up. Meanwhile, the public and the media have been denied access to his preliminary hearing. Kealey was also the target of an anti-protesting regulation passed by the Conservative government, and he spent several days in an Ottawa jail for refusing to stop his peaceful picketing and heckling. Eventually, after public protest, the government was forced to withdraw any charges against Kealey. Most recently he has been arrested for posting "Impeach Lyn" Brian" and a copy of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms on Ottawa's bridges. Read more about this man of principle in "Naming names: the Glen Kealey story", in our next issue. Also available from CCAFT an audiotape, *Corruption in High Places*, containing the full speech made by Kealey in May 1990 in Saskatoon. See Catalogue for details. (Photo: Antoinette Martens.)

The Ontario election...



...as seen by Susan Dewar in the *Ottawa Sun*



...and people write letters



copy of *Free Trade: the Full Story* will be put in the Saltcoats Library as soon as we have read it.

H.C. Rowland, Saltcoats, Sask.

Dear Mr. Orchard,

Please find enclosed a money order for the video, *Free Trade: the Full Story*. It is a speech well done and well delivered. Your accounting of the many times and many devices employed by the Americans to take over our country I found of particular interest. I do not recall reading about them in any history text.

Jim Cameron, Ottawa

Oh, Canada, we stand and weep for thee

Dear Mr. Orchard,

I am 200% behind you. I know how you must feel knowing whom we are controlled by, and I do not like it one little bit. What I do not get is Mulroney having 43% and the ones against free trade have 57%...

I know there are a lot of things I do not understand but I believe in honesty; doesn't that count anymore? I understand Mulroney has so many IOUs — what will he do when these people start collecting? It seems that they already have.

My daughter said after the election that she felt like wearing a black armband the next day, and she wasn't the only one. Oh, Canada, we stand and weep for thee.

I'm glad my husband, who fought for Canada in the first world war and who was in the front line for four years, isn't here to see what happened.

I am very grateful that you are not sitting on your hands. I admire people who fight for rights and honesty. I am 80 years old and I wish I were younger.

When people said I don't know enough about free trade, I told them they don't have to know, just don't trust Reagan and Mulroney.

Mrs. M. Watts, Winnipeg

Full Story appreciated

Dear CCAFT,

Here is a token of help. We have a copy of *Free Trade: the Full Story*. Too bad more people had not seen it before the election.

Stan Porritt, Summerland, B.C.,

Dear Mr. Orchard,

I have read and pondered the knowledge as revealed in your book, *Free Trade: the Full Story*. I believe Canada and its people have much to owe your organization for the diligent search for the truth concerning Canada and the United States. Also for the stubborn and persistent struggle to inform the people of what's really happening.

Eric Ptolemy,

Dinsmore, Saskatchewan

Dear Mr. Orchard,

I am a farmer and ex-service man and have been concerned about foreign encroachment since I was a school kid. I attended your meeting in Yorkton and must commend you for your good work. We have played your tapes both privately and publicly, talked on the street and on coffee row and worked hard in the cause at election time. The election results and the capitulation of many of our supporters was an awful let-down. Well, we are still talking and persuading and our "Free Canada — Trade Mulroney" signs are still on our vehicles. The

True North Winter 1990-91

never trusted Brian's administration

Dear David Orchard,

Firstly, we were very upset at the Free Trade Deal. Mostly because of lack of information, plus we never trusted Brian's administration. Less as time goes on!

Secondly, we happened to hear part of your talk on CBC Edmonton. Wish we could have gone to your meeting, but as seniors we do not like night driving. Before that I had not heard of your organization! Do keep up your good work. I remember my Dad, a very unpopular man at that time when I was a kid, on a farm at Carragana, Saskatchewan, doing more to help the CCF than I do now. But as a grassroots organization they needed a start, but now they are just part of the government system.

We have the luxury of being able to go to Arizona each winter for a short while, and so I can compare. The U.S. citizens seem to not know anything of the "Free Trade Deal", but that we should be one country. Without being insulting I say, "OK, Canada is the second largest country in the world, so you can join us." As a rule, we give no comments back.

Chris and Francis Baich,
Wetaskiwin, Alta.

"educate the public"

Dear CCAFT staff,

Please find enclosed a donation in Citizens Concerned About Free Trade's tenet — Never Give Up.

I've always believed CCAFT's forte, "Educate the Public", was outstanding — second to none.

Neal Barreca,
National Secretary/Treasurer
Independent Canadian Transit
Union

we must win

Dear CCAFT,

There must be many people who are as heart-broken as I about what Brian Mulroney has done to our country. As an immigrant who came to Canada in 1970, I felt as if I had come home.

I am not a particularly emotional person, but I have wept and spent nights weeping; it doesn't ease with time like most hurts because every day we see the results of the FTA. Bit by bit we are being dismantled, sold, taken over. If what Brian Mulroney has done is not treason, then I don't know what is.

Born and raised in Dublin, the capital city of the Republic of Ireland, I know about being taken over by a neighbouring country. My maternal grandfather spent months in various British prisons. No, he was not a terrorist, but a poet and journalist. My mother tells me of the British soldiers breaking down their door and destroying his writings. Then he was shipped off to Britain and imprisoned. They never stopped him and he continued to write until his death.

When I went back to my native land for holidays I felt a longing to come back here. People told me I would feel homesick but my home-sickness was for my beloved adopted country, Canada.

Some people think that patriotism is a bad thing, but there will never come a time as long as I live that I will concede to living under a Yankee flag.

Thanks to CCAFT and the people involved in the organization, in particular

David Orchard, we will win. We MUST win and then we will have to work so hard to regain what was given away.

Elizabeth Boardman, Ponoka, Alta.

the electoral coalition strategy gets support

Dear David,

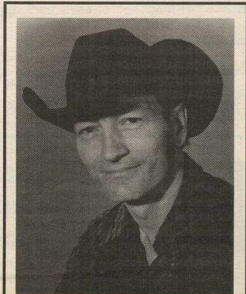
I fully support your letter regarding the need for a coalition.

Henry Makow, Winnipeg

Dear Mr. Orchard,

Your open letter to opposition members of Parliament is a masterpiece. If they will just forget their petty differences and get-together, they could put an end to Mulroney! We are going to suggest your letter to our local peace group as it would make a good reading at one of their meetings. We feel that if ordinary people know about the idea, they will put pressure on their members of Parliament to do something about it.

Carl and Anne Ott, Ariss, Ontario



"Where do we go from here?"

Dear Marjaleena Repo,

Before I received your literature I did not know your organization existed. My wife Lena bought your button right off the coat of some lady she met. We are both staunchly Anti-Free Trade and she knew that I would wear the button. I'm still wearing it. I read every word of your literature and concurred 100 percent. I listened to the cassettes and liked the songs but I thought David Orchard was FANTASTIC! I had to listen to him several times and had other friends of mine do the same. David is very knowledgeable and extremely enlightening. It is a shame more Canadians could not have heard him speak BEFORE the election. But now that the election is over, WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? What are your plans?

Until now, I have never had any desire to become politically involved, but I think David Orchard has changed all that. Please enroll my wife and myself as Citizens Concerned About Free Trade and accept a donation to help out the Cause.

Best wishes to you all, and KEEP IT CANADIAN!

Stompin' Tom Connors,
Georgetown, Ontario

won't salute the Stars and Stripes

Dear Mr. Orchard,

I support your views entirely and am thoroughly disgusted with the antics of our leaders, resulting in the takeover by Uncle Sam. Our governments, both federal and provincial, are leading us to disaster. Keep up the good work. I for one do not step to the music of Yankee Doodle Dandy or salute the Stars and Stripes.

Janet Eamon, Saskatoon



Dear David Orchard,

I have just had the opportunity to read your letter to the opposition members. It is very strong, persuasive and a legitimate examination of the mess that the federal government has been making of Canada.

I am happy to support your initiative. I will do what I can to circulate your paper on the matter, and would be fully prepared to lend my name to your crusade if you think this would be of any use.

Since I don't have sufficient energy left over from my writing, I don't engage in public speaking any more, but anything I can do to assist you which doesn't require physical activity I would be pleased to do.

Farley Mowat,
Port Hope, Ontario

a big task

Dear Mr. Orchard,

Here is a small contribution toward a big task. I hope to give more and on a continuing basis. Yours is the best organization in Canada on the issue of Free Trade. Your vigour and directness have no equal. Keep it up!

Trent Brady, Toronto

hungry for information

Dear Mr. Orchard,

As a believer in your strong and sincere effort to block the Free Trade deal, I can't let you down by not responding to your appeal. I have enclosed a donation.

I picked up by chance a history of the Free Trade deal given by you on radio, and I was so moved by the political power and deceit that I have taken every opportunity to bring your name and efforts to people's attention. Then it was on to the Cross Country Checkup on CBC where you held them at bay. The non-answers, evasiveness and rhetoric was no match for you.

I firmly believe it is your good work that caused the trade deal to be the big issue in the election. Our people are hungry for information they can understand and believe in, and I hope you have the strength to be that voice in your future plans.

Mrs. Edna Sutherland, Vancouver

fight of our life

Dear fellow citizens,

Enclosed is a cheque in appreciation for all the work your organization did during

and since the federal election. As you have said, this is the fight of our life — a fight for the survival of Canada as a sovereign nation and a fight to save all our much-valued social programmes.

Doris and Harold Blodgett, Abbey, Sask.

wants deal cancelled

Dear Mr. Orchard,

Thank you for your hard work in trying to stop the Canada-U.S. Free Trade deal. I have followed your activities and attended one of your meetings at North Battleford. I got hold of as much information as I could to be able to understand the deal. I opposed it vigorously before the election and I still think that something could be done to influence our government to cancel out the deal. Good luck. I admire your bravery and persistence.

Frank Kroschinski, Wilkie, Sask.

thoroughly researched

Dear Mr. Orchard,

Thank you for your very informative

lecture on free trade and all its pitfalls in Vancouver, September 8, 1990. You obviously have thoroughly researched your material, and I very much admire your presentation. You have a sincere and approachable personality, and the standing ovation you received shows just how much you are appreciated for having the courage of your convictions, and showing them in such a forceful way that we can all benefit from your knowledge and be inspired to carry the message.

I was one of the many who did posting about your lecture and who was amazed and angered at the way the posters were repeatedly removed by city workers and others. Some areas were re-posted five or six times. You had a large audience in spite of negative efforts against it.

All the best to you, David, and may you be protected and given the continuing energy and strength needed for your task.

Barbara Templeman, Vancouver

carry on

Dear Mr. Orchard,

I appreciate the work you have done for Canada and Canadians during the last elec-

tion campaign. I hope your organization will find a way to carry on because the negotiations are still going on and any way that can be found to make the effort more effective in protecting what ever rights to independence are left to Canada, should be explored and used.

N. Currier, Bishopton, Quebec

heard in Halifax

Dear CCAFT,

I heard Mr. Orchard in Halifax and admire him for the courage and dedication he has devoted to the anti-Free Trade lobby. I enclose a donation to contribute in a small way to expenses.

Rachel Martin, Halifax, NS

True North welcomes your letters. Let us know what you think of our articles, our plans, the Free Trade Agreement, the electoral coalition strategy, Canada, Mulroney, the opposition parties, whatever is uppermost in your mind. You can make your letters any length you choose, and if we have to shorten them we will make every effort to consult you.



Rafferty-Alameda Dams: The American Connection

The Saskatchewan government is perpetuating a billion dollar hoax in claiming that the Rafferty-Alameda dams project — in premier Devine's riding — is a local irrigation and water conservation project. The truth is that it, along with the Oldman River dam, is part and parcel of a water diversion scheme whereby Canadian water will be sent to the thirsty U.S.A. CCAFT has exposed this "American connection" for a number of years. Recently our members demonstrated in front of the Saskatoon court house where the provincial government is battling any attempt by the federal government to impose environmental legislation on the project. Meanwhile, the Rafferty dam is mostly built and the Alameda dam is in the works. Citizens Concerned About Free Trade will try to block the project, on the grounds that building the dams is counter to our national interest. (More on the Rafferty-Alameda battle in the next issue of *True North*). (Photo: Glen Berger/Star-Phoenix)

• GLOSSARY •

GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, founded in 1948, is an international treaty binding its more than 90 members to certain trade rules. Disputes are settled by panel members from countries not involved in the dispute. GATT's large membership has a levelling effect on the power of any single nation, unlike a bi-national treaty such as the Canada-U.S. FTA.

IMF, the International Monetary Fund, created in 1944 and sister agency to the World Bank, is the capitalist world's leading inter-state financial organization with 151 member countries. A few countries, e.g. the U.S.S.R. and Switzerland, do not belong. IMF is funded by proportional contributions from its members, dominated by the U.S.'s 20% share. It lends money to countries with severe cash shortages or for develop-

ment, but under stringent conditions. Until the 1970's it maintained a stable money exchange system based on the U.S. dollar and U.S. supremacy. Now in managing the world debt crisis, the IMF is seen by the non-western world as an agent of powerful shareholders, the western industrial states, forcing change on socialist and third world political and economic systems under the rigors of the debt crisis, seeking to privatize the third world in preparation for some limited debt forgiveness. The fund has been called a management system for international finance and world poverty.

Maquiladora zones in Mexico are official "free trade zones," mostly along the U.S. border, where foreign, mainly U.S.-owned companies can assemble products using foreign parts and export them duty-free to the United States.



LAUNCHING TRUE NORTH

While *True North* is being launched from Saskatoon, Vancouver boatbuilder Barrie Farrell has launched another "True North." Farrell, a staunch supporter of CCAFT, has backed our national newspaper from the moment we started to talk about it, and his donation toward our "ship" has significantly helped our first issue. Watch for Barrie Farrell travelling up and down the B.C. coast — you can get a copy of our newspaper from him. (Photo: CCAFT)

CCAFT CATALOGUE



Free Trade and the Crisis in Canada

* **OUR LATEST.** An analysis of the first two years of free trade, this speech was made September 8, 1990 in Vancouver in front of a standing-room-only crowd. It has been called "the best speech David Orchard has ever made — one that ties it all together" and covers how Canada has suffered under free trade, an analysis of the GST, events in Oka, Canada's military involvement in the Persian Gulf, the separatist movement in Quebec, and what we must do to get back control of our country. This tape needs to be circulated all across Canada! As a bonus, the audio tape also contains a lively presentation to the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform given by Marjaleena Repo, CCAFT's National Organizer. (Length: 2 hrs.)

Videotape (VHS) \$25.00
Audio tape (2 cassettes) \$10.00

Free Trade: The Full Story

David Orchard's two-hour speech that was heard in public meetings across the country tells the whole story about the history of Canada-U.S. relations, about the content of the Free Trade Agreement and the implementing legislation. A full question and answer period (only in audio version). A must for all who want to know what the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement actually contains.

Videotape (VHS) of Sept. 7, 1988, Edmonton meeting, with footage of David Orchard on his farm, and a musical performance by William Butler. (Length: 2 hrs.) \$25.00

Two audio versions:

Vancouver, with a musical performance by William Butler (3 cassettes): \$12.50, (Length: 3hr 30 min).

Edmonton; no music (2 cassettes): \$10.00. (Length: 3 hrs).

Corruption in High Places

Glen Kealey was a Hull businessman and a member of the Conservative Party who developed a \$160 million office complex. Asked for a 5% kickback by a Mulroney cabinet minister, Roch LaSalle, he refused to pay and has collected a mass of information about the corruption in the Mulroney government which he has fought against ever since. His May 1990 speech in Saskatoon is a real eye opener! Includes part of the question period. (Length: 2hrs 50 min).

Audio tape (2 cassettes) \$10.00

Sing Out Against Free Trade

Two fighting songs: "The Free Trade Blues" performed by William Butler and "Free Trade" by Rodney Brown. A memento from the 1988 election which has not lost its power and relevance. \$5.00.



Photo: Anabelle Martens

The Simon Fraser Debate

CCAFT's David Orchard and Liberal MP Sheila Copps take on Federal Transport minister (later Minister of International Trade) John Crosbie and Michael Walker of the corporate think-tank, the Fraser Institute, on Dec. 3, 1987, at Simon Fraser University, B.C. You have to see it to believe it! A full house of 800 students and members of the public respond vigorously to the debate. Question and answer period. (Length: 2 hrs.)

Videotape (VHS) \$25.00

Free Trade: Canada Under Attack

A rally against free trade, March 6, 1988, in Saskatoon, during three days of anti-free trade events organized by CCAFT. Ours ran counter to a pro-free trade conference, sponsored by the provincial government and the Chamber of Commerce, at taxpayer's expense, of course. Speakers: Mel Hurst, publisher and founder of Council of Canadians; David Orchard, farmer and CCAFT's national chairman, and Laurier Lapierre, Quebec-born writer and broadcaster, now living in Vancouver, and editor of the book *If You Love This Country*. This event begins with a rousing bilingual "O Canada" by opera singer Henri Loisel and includes lively anti-free trade songs by William Butler, with help from Mary Hull. (Length: 3 hrs.)

Audio Tape (3 cassettes) \$12.50

The Great Free Trade Debate: Orchard/Crispo

This hotbed debate took place in Vancouver on June 14, 1988, with Jack Webster as a moderator (more like a third debater!) and in front of an audience of close to 1000 people. John Crispo is a University of Toronto economist, a founding member of the Canadian Alliance for Trade and Job Opportunities, the big business lobby behind free trade. David Orchard is CCAFT's chairman and a man who has done his homework. Judge for yourself who puts out the best case. A full question and answer period. (Length: 2hrs.)

Videotape (VHS) \$25.00
Audio tape (2 cassettes) \$10.00

The Great Free Trade Debate: Orchard/Andrew

This debate between Saskatchewan's then Trade Minister, Bob Andrew, and CCAFT chairman, David Orchard, took place on Dec. 15, 1987, at Saskatoon's Centennial Auditorium. A very lively political event, with 1500 people in attendance, this was probably the largest free trade debate in the country. A full question and answer period. (Length: 2 hrs 15 min).

Videotape (VHS) \$25.00
Audio Tape (2 cassettes) \$10.00



BOOKS

Free Trade: The Full Story by David Orchard and Citizens Concerned About Free Trade

This booklet features an extensive history of the free trade issue in Canada; an analysis and explanation of what's in the deal; its effect on investment, energy, banking, services (includes a list of service industries affected), agriculture, Auto Pact, water exports, and more. Also includes "12 free trade myths examined"; six pages of lively anti-free trade songs, a history of CCAFT in photos and media coverage, numerous historical photos and cartoons. A very lively and persuasive publication, all in language the ordinary citizen can understand.

Booklet, 112 pages, \$5.00

Requiem for Canada: a Critical Review of the Free Trade Agreement

by A.N.T. Vazeltois

In the free trade initiative, Canada faces its most critical challenge since Confederation. *Requiem for Canada* challenges the Macdonald Commission report, which by fostering undeserved pessimism about Canada's potential and future, facilitated the promotion of free trade with the U.S.A. This book refutes the free trade "argument" and makes the thesis for faith in the future of an independent Canada.

Paperback, 316 pages, \$10.00

CCAFT's National office is in Saskatoon. Our street address is 327 4th Ave. N., and we are open, with volunteer labour, every working day. You can call us any time, (306) 244-5757. Our mailing address is P.O. Box 8052, Saskatoon, SK, S7K 4R7, Canada. Our Vancouver office is at #203, 207 West Hastings, (604) 683-3733, mailing address P.O. Box 4185, Van. B.C., V6B 3Z6. With your help we will soon have an office in Toronto, then in Halifax and Montreal...

On Guard For Thee: an Independent Review of The Free Trade Agreement

by Marjorie Montgomery Bowker

Retired Alberta Judge Marjorie Bowker's study examines the text of the Free Trade Agreement point by point, in layperson's language. This printed version of the widely circulated manuscript, contains also a section on media responses, and an attack by Minister of Trade, John Crosbie.

Paperback, 128 pages, \$4.95

Note: The French version of the Bowker Report, translated by Pierrette Landry, is available from CCAFT.

Mimeographed, 60 pages, \$4.00.

The Meech Lake Accord, What It Will Mean to You and to Canada

by Marjorie Montgomery Bowker

This short study of the Meech Lake Accord is a brief primer in Canadian constitutional problems. In plain language the author examines each Accord issue in its historical context, clarifying Senate reform, the "distinct society" clause, the absurd destructive nature of the "unanimity" provisions, and foremost, the dismantling of the central government's power. An uncompromising look at the undemocratic process that produced this constitutional amendment completes this worthwhile discussion.

Paperback, 94 pages, \$4.95.

T-SHIRTS AND SWEATSHIRTS

"Canada Under Attack: Join the Resistance" t-shirts and sweatshirts, sizes S M L and X-L, also children's sizes. Sweats: \$20, adult t-shirts: \$15, children's: \$10.

"I didn't vote for Brian Mulroney" (written in 5 different languages); XL t-shirts only: \$15.

"The 11th Province: U.S., eh," large t-shirts only: \$12.

ASSORTED BUTTONS : \$1.00

"Free Canada—Trade Mulroney," "Impeach Mulroney," "Free Trade is Treason," "53-43: no deal," "Uncle Sam wants Canada," "Abrogate the F.T.A.," "Free trade will cost us Canada," "Reject Free Trade," "I didn't vote for Free Trade," "Liberal-NDP coalition to abrogate the F.T.A.," "Laura Secord says 'No Deal!'," "No, Eh!"

BUMPER STICKERS : \$2.00

Send order to CCAFT, P.O. Box 8052, Saskatoon, Sask., S7K 4R7

For books, tapes and t-shirts, add \$2.50 for mailing for one item; 50 cents for each additional item.

REPEAL THE DEAL!

Meech Lake and the Eleven Scoundrels

by Y. Knott

Where did the Meech Lake Accord come from and why? We were told over and over by Mulroney and the gang of premiers pushing it that the purpose of Meech Lake was to bring Quebec into the constitutional family, that Quebec had been excluded when the constitution was repatriated from England. Quebec had been left out on a snow bank. Mr. Mulroney said, humiliated and insulted. It was Pierre Trudeau who had done this dirty deed. He had double-crossed and betrayed the people of Quebec. By excluding Quebec his constitution had become a "ticking time bomb." Mr. Mulroney and the brave premiers were only attempting to diffuse this bomb, to correct the horrible mistakes of Trudeau's government and to "make the Canadian family whole again."

It was all for national unity. Premiers Peterson, Getty, Devine, Vander Zalm, Buchanan and Ghiz told us of their love for Quebec and how they were labouring selflessly and nobly in the cause of nation-building. After seven days and nights in Ottawa they sat around the table and, on national television, praised one another for their greatness. Grant Devine told us how once in China he had slept in chairman Mao's bed and Quebec was "felt his spirit move." He told the nation that "David (Peterson) was the big guy" and that they both knew how it felt to be nation-builders. Don Getty's love for Canada and Quebec was so strong it almost brought a lump to his throat. Buchanan supported Meech Lake because without it Quebec might separate and then Nova Scotia would have to join the United States. Frank McKenna, overwired at being able to sit at the table with the big boys, turned to Don Getty admiringly and told the nation in his speech ushering in the new Canada, "We all found out you could really tackle," referring to Getty having physically prevented Clyde Wells from leaving the room. Their eyes became moist at crucial moments, as they told each other and the country how important the work they had done was.

The peasants in our living rooms watching this unfold on television should be eternally grateful to these statesmen who had saved our country — and perhaps even saved us from ourselves. For had not Frank McKenna publicly praised the premiers of western Canada for having the courage to rise above and go against the wishes of their constituents on Meech Lake?

Canada itself had been at stake. Mr. Mulroney told us. Without Meech Lake Canada would break up and the economy would fall apart. Mr. Devine had gone on television and told the farmers of Saskatchewan that without Meech Lake

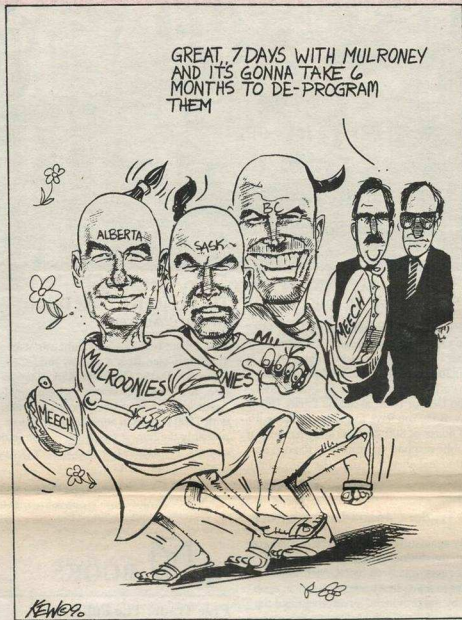
Meech Lake had been national unity. Is Canada breaking up, they asked? By the end of the show it was clear that Canada was in terrible shape; without Meech Lake it seemed we'd be doomed. Pat Carney told us the west had had enough, that B.C. was

care less about Canada. The CBC asked Sharon Carstairs how it felt to be responsible for the break-up of Canada. Every day the media piled greater weights onto the backs of stunned viewers. Ed Broadbent, Robert Stanfield, Claude Castonguay and dozens of others were trotted out night after night to tell us that we'd better smarten up, that without Meech Lake we'll have no country and how would we like to explain that to the generations yet to come?

It all seemed so strange, almost fantastic. Had Pierre Trudeau become an enemy of Canada? Did he hate the people of Quebec? Hadn't Quebec been part of Canada all along? Who would have realized if it hadn't been explained to them that instead of Trudeau it was really Grant Devine and Bill Vander Zalm and Don Getty who loved Canada the most? Who loved Quebec so much now that they were going on television to tell us. We'd thought that Grant Devine and Don Getty had recently extinguished the rights of prairie francophones that dated back to before the formation of their provinces and that Bill Vander Zalm hated even the sight of French on his complikes box.

But that must have been all wrong — they are now doing all this just for "the French", for Quebec, not for themselves, or for the huge new powers they'd each just received, but so Quebec will feel part of Canada. To those voters who had heard these same premiers attack Quebec in every provincial election up till now, it seemed like quite a thing.

And now they tell us they've saved Canada, that by sitting in that room for 77 hours they've saved us from ourselves, that they saved the dollar from falling, killed the separatists in Quebec with one blow, stopped the FLQ from throwing bombs again, kept the price of wheat up, made investors have confidence, stopped the breakup of Canada, felt the spirit of Chairman Mao and made Clyde Wells feel like he was going round and round in a vortex and in the end sucked down the drain. ♦



grain prices would fall. The dollar would plunge and go all to hell, Michael Wilson had said. Joe Clark warned that without Meech Lake the FLQ would rise again in Quebec and begin bombing and killing people. And hadn't the CBC confirmed all this? Peter Mansbridge and Barbara Frum hosted a special two-hour *Journal* which they began by telling us that the purpose of

going to form "the state of Pacifica." Steven Lewis said right out that perhaps the true nature of Canadians was now coming out at last, that our tolerance and goodwill were finally being revealed as myths.

It was clear we were an ugly bunch. And what seemed even clearer was that anyone who opposed Meech Lake must be a bigot who hated Quebec and couldn't

Y. KNOTT is the nom-de-plume of a civil servant who wants to hang on to his job a few more years. He wrote this piece in mid-June, after having been subjected to a week of "coverage" of the goings-on at the last federal-provincial conference on Meech Lake in Ottawa.

Coming Soon in True North:

"The Rafferty-Alameda dams and other water diversions"

"Naming names: the Glen Kealey story"

"The Reform Party — a wolf in wolves' clothing?"

"Out to lunch: thin fare on the 1988 election" — a review article on the umpteen books written about the election, most of which missed the boat by miles.

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