

TrueNorth

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THE VOICE OF CANADIAN INDEPENDENCE

MULRONEY'S CONSTITUTION: The emperor has no clothes!

by David Orchard



A moment of truth in the constitutional charade. CCAFT members unfurl a banner declaring "Constitution — a manufactured crisis. Free trade — the real crisis," in Vancouver. Peter Lougheed (left) waxes amused while security removes protesters and banner. (Photo: Kelly Lamorie)

The next federal election campaign has started. The so-called new constitutional package is the next election platform of the Mulroney Conservatives. Within 18 months after the failure of the Meech Lake Accord, the Mulroney government has introduced another massive constitutional package — essentially Meech Lake II. A massive stripping of the powers of the central government, a bone thrown to every interest group — property rights to the Reform Party, a meaningless social charter to the NDP — huge new powers to the provincial premiers, an enfeebled Charter of Rights, this is to be the new Constitution of Canada.

While the rest of the country struggles with the devastating results to the economy brought on by free trade — unprecedented levels of unemployment caused by companies moving to the U.S. or Mexico, bankruptcies, rising prices, cutbacks to medicare, education and UIC, and more — the Mulroney government is carrying on what amounts to an expensive damage control campaign at taxpayers expense with its endless rounds of constitutional meetings by men who have taken to calling themselves "unity ministers." As with the Meech Lake Accord, the opposition parties are singing right along and the media are attempting to drum up a storm with daily play-by-play reports and forecasts of the imminent break-up of Canada.

What Canadians are witnessing is the destabilization of the country and an orchestrated attempt to create a sound and fury that will divert public attention from the destruction of the Canadian economy and transfer of our sovereignty to the U.S. under the FTA. We were promised "jobs, jobs, jobs" under free trade. Instead, according to a study by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, since

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DRAWING THE LINE: U.S. flaunts A-B line in Dixon Entrance

by David Lane

With the U.S. Coast Guard repeatedly seizing Canadian boats in Canadian waters south of the A-B line in Dixon Entrance and with almost no reaction from the Canadian federal government, you might think there was something unclear about the marine border between Canada and the Alaskan panhandle.

Not true. The A-B line boundary was clearly set by a special international tribunal in 1903, ratified in the Hay-Herbert Treaty, passing through all necessary legislation in the U.S. to be entrenched as the international boundary. The treaty was negotiated by a tribunal made up of three U.S. representatives, two Canadians and one delegate from the United Kingdom. They unanimously agreed to draw a line between a point "A" of Cape Muzon to a point "B" at the entrance to the Portland Canal.

This line became the A-B line. Under international law and by actual practice it has been the marine border between Canada and the U.S. north of Dixon Entrance. In fact, the A-B line has been around much longer, serving as the

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B.C. fishermen, Cathie and Raymond Dickens, on their boat, the *Diane S.*, which was seized by U.S. coast guard in Canadian waters. (Photo: C. Dickens)

Let's wake up and smell the coffee!

Lessons for Canadians from the British election

On April 10, 1992, Britain's Conservatives won their fourth term in office, leaving them in power for five more years over and above their previous 13. For the fourth time their popular vote hovered somewhere in the low 40% range, this time at 41.9%. The two opposition parties, Labour and Liberal Democrats, received 52.4% of the vote, but in a fashion familiar to Canadians from our last election, they split the vote and thereby guaranteed the Conservatives another ill-deserved victory.

There are people who pretended to be surprised at this, although the writing was on the wall: the British Conservatives have gotten in each time by default, rather than by merit. Some people — media pundits and assorted "experts" among them — claimed that the results vindicate Conservative economic policies in Britain (and elsewhere). They failed to note that 58% of the popular vote was **against** the Conservatives and that 21-seat one dropped from a 101-seat majority to mere 21-seat one, hardly a victory at all and certainly not a "landslide". Nevertheless, "our" Brian Mulroney is reported as being "thrilled" at the British Conservatives' fortune. It shows, he said, that the Conservatives in Canada, despite their persistently and dismally low standing in the opinion polls, can still win a new term in power.

In Britain, the two opposition parties, although they have more in common with each other than with the Conservatives, fought one another and helped the Tories stay in power. They refused power-sharing, although the chance to form the next government was offered to them on a platter. They now whine, wring their hands, look for someone to blame and point the finger at the hapless voters who were forced to gamble with their votes.

If this has a familiar ring to it, it is because it is familiar! In Canada, our two main opposition parties, the



Mulroney 1992 ©

Liberals and New Democrats, are on the same dead-end road of remaining in permanent opposition and fighting among themselves for the scraps the Tories throw them. They have so far refused to share power in a (future) coalition government, because they are too short-sighted and partisan. They are prepared to allow Mulroney to stay in power forever and to make the destructive Canada-U.S.

Free Trade Agreement (FTA) a lasting element in the life of our nation.

Canadians have perhaps less than one year to the next federal election. Since 1989 Citizens Concerned About Free Trade has put forward a solution to the crisis that Canada finds itself in. (No, as we have maintained ever since Meech I, the constitution is not the issue!). **We are demanding that the Liberals and New Democrats form an electoral coalition for the purpose of defeating Mulroney and giving notice to the U.S. to cancel the FTA as is possible within the abrogation clause of the Agreement (Article 2106).** Anything less is unacceptable to Canadians, who are not prepared to see our country slowly die due to the stubbornness of the opposition parties. As David Orchard, CCAFT's national chairman, has stated, **"If the Liberals and the New Democrats refuse to form this coalition, the responsibility for the break-up of Canada and its assimilation into the United States will rest on their shoulders as surely as it does on those of Mr. Mulroney, because when there was a solution to be had, they rejected it."**

Let us not forget that today more Canadians than ever — 66% — are opposed to the FTA and 64% are dead set against extending the FTA to Mexico. There couldn't be a clearer expression how far removed the current government is from the citizens of this country.

We must not be fooled by the vainglorious wishes of the Liberals and New Democrats that they "can win alone," as they are prone to tell us, and we ought to laugh out loud at the Liberal's dream of "renegotiating" the FTA. Let us recognize that:

**Free Trade is a bust
Abrogation is must
Electoral coalition the salvation
Of this suffering nation. ♦**

Preston Manning can't wait for Canada to join the U.S.!

Preston Manning and his Reform Party have been, all along, a staunch ally of the Mulroney government and its "Free Trade" Selling-Canada-Out-to-the-U.S.A. Agenda. In fact, Preston Manning has promised to U.S. business groups that he would even be a "better U.S. ally" than Mulroney! He would extend the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) which has already created untold havoc in the Canadian economy — with permanent job losses amounting to 500,000 and daily growing — into areas currently not covered. Reform Party Senator Stan Waters urged selling Canada's water to the U.S. — something a huge majority of Canadians are opposed to.

In 1991, the Reform Party Assembly passed the following resolution — with no debate allowed:

The Reform Party supports a comprehensive effort to realign Canada's economic policies to be consistent

with our trade requirements. This realignment must include industrial, development policies, regulatory policies, education policies, and fiscal and monetary policies.

Not satisfied with the damage Mulroney has done, Manning wants to finish Canada off — and yet he has the nerve to present himself as a "grassroots Canadian" — false advertising if there ever was any! While he wants to go full steam ahead with more free trade devastation, 60% of Canadians want to see the FTA cancelled outright and are opposed to any extension of it to include Mexico.

Manning's Reform Party party is run from the top by policy advisers such as Thomas Flanagan, an American citizen known for his reactionary views. (Flanagan specializes in Metis-bashing.) Manning has hired another American, Frank Luntz, a pollster for Ronald Reagan, to run his election campaign. We know the man by the company he keeps!

Canadians shouldn't be fooled by Manning's "grassroots democracy" rhetoric. This man is out to Yankeeify Canada. ♦

the bag and had succeeded in creating a super-Europe in their own image. The Danes rejected grand promises and exhortations from the European elites to "trust us." They chose to go slow and to create changes from below. As a commentator put it, "We are going to be told, in best litmus-test style, that those who criticize Maastricht are not real, 'visionary' Europeans. Too bad. As plucky little Denmark has just shown us all, the best laid plans of the best minds in Europe may not be worth a candle when people are asked, in the quiet of the voting booth, to buy a revolution in their sense of who they are for which they did not ask." (George Mathews, "Danes throw Europe off kilter," *Globe and Mail*, June 5, 1992.)

Canadians can take courage from the Danes, a country of 5 million, who are resisting disappearance without a trace into the EEC of 330 million people. If they can hold onto their country, so can we — particularly when a far greater majority of Canadians oppose absorption by the only surviving super-power, the United States. ♦

Nothing rotten in Denmark or the Maastricht message

On June 2, Danes voted themselves out of the Maastricht Treaty which calls for a tight political and economic union of the members of the European Economic Community (EEC). They rejected a single currency, common monetary policy, a social policy and a common foreign and security policy — including a future common army. The voter turnout was high, with 82% of the voters casting their ballots, and the rejection was narrow with 50.7% against and 49.3% for. The Danes, who were the first of only two nations where the citizens were actually allowed to participate in this major decision about the future of their country, slapped the faces of the European super-politicians and bureaucrats who thought they had the cat in



Marjaaleena Repo, Editor of *True North*, and Rose-Marie Larsson, Managing Editor.

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Tel. (306) 244-5757 FAX (306) 244-3790

Editor: *Marjaaleena Repo*

Managing Editor: *Rose-Marie Larsson*

Graphics: *Antoinette Marins*

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Will the CLC fight free trade?

With Canadian Autoworkers ex-president Bob White newly elected as the president of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), we congratulate this staunchly pro-Canadian labour leader. Bob White fought free trade the hardest among Canadian labour leaders, and, as the vice-president of the NDP, kept pushing the party to take a tougher stand against free trade. White also made a sharp and angry post-election critique of the NDP's and its leader, Ed Broadbent's, performance, echoing the sentiments of thousands of angry and disappointed New Democrats. Before and during the 1988 election, Bob White was sidelined by the so-called "international" (read: U.S.) unions of the CLC in a jurisdictional dispute. He was accused of raiding U.S. unions, when the members of these unions

chose the Canadian Auto Workers to represent them. We have high hopes that the CLC under White's leadership will put in a real fight for abrogation of the FTA — rather than fighting, as it did in the last election, with one hand behind its back. We also look forward to seeing Bob White, with his highly-praised negotiating skills, playing a central role in negotiating a deal between the Liberals and New Democrats for an electoral coalition. ♦

... or just anti-free traders?

While Bob White was getting ready to make a rousing speech against free trade, there was a sideshow going on at the CLC convention in Vancouver, on June 11. CCAFT, among other groups, had set up an information table where we gave out leaflets (on the need to abrogate the

FTA and on the electoral coalition strategy) and sold T-shirts, buttons, bumperstickers, etc. On the third day, seemingly out of nowhere, CLC functionaries came over to our table and told us that we had to pack up and leave the convention, right there and then! When CCAFT members present protested and refused to move, and called in others to support our right to stay, the organizers ceased and desisted — but not before telling us that we were not wanted because we were "promoting the Liberals" and, that they had had a complaint to that effect from a New Democratic Party MP, who turned out to be Joy Langan. The next day, it was all quiet on the labour front, so perhaps the organizers had actually read the leaflets and discovered that CCAFT promotes neither the Liberals nor the New Democrats! (A nagging question remains: do you have to be a card-carrying New Democrat to have an information table at a CLC convention?) ♦

Mulroney's Constitution

(continued from page 1)

the FTA went into effect 1.4 million jobs have disappeared. Over 500,000 manufacturing jobs are gone — 23% of our entire manufacturing capacity, 28% of Ontario's capacity alone. Instead of "secure access to the largest, richest market in the world," Canadian exporters have faced more American harassment than before the deal. The only place the promised "cheaper prices" are found is across the border in the U.S. where Canadian shoppers are going in droves to the devastation of the Canadian retail sector. As for being "good for agriculture," thanks to the FTA, U.S. wheat is flowing into Canada while the price to Canadian farmers in real terms is the lowest in our history.

Canadian sovereignty was not to be affected by free trade, Mr. Mulroney told us. Since 1988 Canada has parroted each foreign policy step taken by the U.S. — from supporting its invasion of Panama, to helping destroy the small country of Iraq, to abandoning all defence of Canada's borders both in the Arctic and between BC and Alaska where an unchallenged U.S. coast guard is terrorizing and arresting Canadian fishermen in Canadian waters.

Precisely as the huge North American Free Trade Agreement is being negotiated with Mexico — which Mulroney in 1988 promised would never happen — the glare of the media is turned onto an uninspired debate about whether we should elect the Senate. What difference does it make if the Senate is elected when all real decisions over the Canadian economy are made in Washington?

Precisely as the Americans are planning a common currency for the North American Free Trade Zone — no, not the Mexican peso, not the Canadian dollar — Mulroney would like us to focus on inserting a vacuous "commitment to the well-being of all Canadians" in the constitution.

Pierre Trudeau, who stands head and shoulders above the others in the constitutional arena and who held Canada together for over fourteen years, said that we have a constitution set to last a thousand years. Is Trudeau wrong? If so, why did a Gallup poll last spring reveal that 55% of Canadians, including 49% of all Quebecers, say they would vote for him? This compares to approximately 15% nationally for Mulroney. Why should we believe Mr. Mulroney when he says our constitution needs 28 major changes just for starters?

The spectacle of Mulroney, Clark, Wilson and the other architects of the sale of Canada to the U.S., now cloaking themselves with the mantle of her saviour, is too much to swallow. A population fed up to the teeth with Mulroney will not buy a new constitution from him — unless of

course there is no opposition. The Liberals and the NDP, by agreeing to talk constitution, are falling straight into his arms and in the process are abandoning the Canadian people, who in poll after poll make it clear that they are deeply concerned about the economy and see the constitutional wranglings as having nothing to do with them.

The amazing thing is that Mulroney would attempt this diversion from the economic crisis brought on by free trade, but that the opposition parties, and dozens of groups who once claimed to oppose this government's agenda are falling over themselves to participate in this constitutional hoax, while the greater danger — to Quebec, to native people and the rest of Canada — of assimilation into the U.S. via the FTA goes virtually unchallenged by them.

The Canadian house is on fire. While it burns out of control, we are being asked to sit down in the living room, along with the arsonists who set the fire, and discuss future furniture arrangements.

If we do not put out the fire — which means regaining control over the Canadian economy and abrogating the FTA — fiddling with Canadian institutions is meaningless. For example, under the new constitutional proposals Canadians are asked to debate, in all earnestness, giving the Senate "a mandate to ratify appointments to the National Energy Board." However, Chapter 9 of the FTA gives such sweeping control over our energy to the U.S. that the National Energy Board has been reduced to a rubber stamping agency for the massive exportation of Canadian resources at rock bottom prices.

This is not to say that this new proposal to weaken the Canadian constitution, the result of which will be to create 10 balkanized, warring republics, should not be opposed. It should be. The Liberals and the NDP, currently trembling in fear of the separatists in the West and in Quebec, could scuttle Mulroney's agenda of gutting the federal government — which is also that of the Bloc Québécois and the Reform Party — by simply refusing to go along.

What is needed now is a joint press conference by Jean Chrétien and Audrey McLaughlin pointing out that the real danger to Canada's future comes from the U.S. takeover of the country through the FTA and that the first fight for Canada is to regain control of the Canadian economy. Further, stating that in the national interest the Liberals and the NDP will work together in the next election to form a government that will abrogate the FTA and in order to take power to do so, will not run against each other in any riding. This action would not only bow Mr. Mulroney and his diversionary constitutional crisis off the front pages but would give much-needed hope to the population that

Mulroney can and will be defeated.

The NDP could do more for the cause of national unity and the survival of Canada by withdrawing most of its candidates from Quebec and the Maritimes in the next election to allow the Liberals to win seats there, than by all the pious constitutional utterances we'll hear from them over the next year or so. A similar one-time tactical Liberal pullout from most of the West would allow the NDP to sweep a large majority of the seats west of Sudbury. A Liberal-NDP coalition government with 200 seats in the House would then have the clout to tell Washington it wished to act upon the 6-month cancellation clause, take Canada out of the FTA, and begin to rebuild an economy met the needs of all Canadians.

If the Liberals and the NDP refuse to co-operate and they split the anti-free trade vote as in 1988, they will hand the country to the Bloc Québécois and Reform Party — both of which support Mulroney on free trade with the U.S. and on gutting the power of the central government, and neither of which will hesitate to form a post-election alliance with the Conservatives to complete the dismantling of Canada.

Yes, the rights of the aboriginal people need to be recognized. So too do the legitimate rights and fears of the founding race of Canadians that speak French. This self-serving proposal of the Mulroney government will do neither.

The emperor has no clothes. The constitutional "crisis" is a deliberately manufactured crisis. The most discredited government in Canadian history, at the lowest level of public approval ever recorded — the very one responsible for creating the crisis in Canada — has no mandate, credibility or legitimacy to chop, hack and completely rewrite the supreme law of the land.

Postscript July 15, 1992: The "constitutional package" agreed upon by the premiers and Joe Clark in early July gives exclusive jurisdiction to the provinces in the areas of forestry, mining, tourism, culture, housing, recreation, municipal and urban affairs and labour market training. The Federal government shall appoint Supreme Court judges from names chosen by the provinces. The federal power to disallow provincial legislation is to be terminated. The new Senate is based on representation from the provinces in a way that will further balkanize and provincialize the country.

The final package will see even more powers allocated to the provinces, at the expense of the federal government. We will then have a deeply divided Canada, more easily controlled by Washington through the principle of divide and rule. ♦



PRIME MINISTER ON CONSTITUTIONAL MOVE

TOGETHER WE STAND, DIVIDED WE FALL:

Letters to opposition politicians on the electoral coalition

act immediately

Dear Jean Chrétien,

I, a single unemployed parent, formerly employed by a U.S. firm no longer in Canada, write to ask you to save Canada from the latest U.S. takeover attempt. I see and feel the Free Trade Agreement's effect with Canadian job losses.

In order not to lose Canada and its heritage, I feel that we Canadians must not continue fighting among ourselves, nor separate ourselves from one another nationwide. Together we stand, divided we fall. Also, the Liberal and NDP parties must join together in an electoral coalition to strengthen the Canadian voters' representation against the Prime Minister's party in the next election.

To avoid the impending pillage of Canada as a country, we want our jobs back, and our resources, namely, fresh water and natural gas to be left untouched. A dependent country cannot be independent. Canada must act immediately to save its future.

Noel Thomas, Montreal

co-ordinate action with Liberals

Dear Audrey McLaughlin,

I have before me the *Ottawa Report* of May 1991, as well as letters from Dave Barrett, Dick Proctor, Joy Langan, and yourself, all of which ask for contributions. Three years ago, I would have contributed. In fact, I am sure I did, because I believed that your party was fighting the good fight against the Free Trade Agreement (FTA). I am not going to contribute now, and I'll tell you why.

Prior to the 1988 election, I became involved in a non-profit, voluntary organization which campaigned against the FTA. Contributions from supporters were not "tax-creditable." We worked our butts off with door-to-door pamphlets, tables in shopping malls, stuffing envelopes, letters to the editors, phone-in programmes, posters, demonstrations. We also bought some good anti-free trade publications and put them in the NDP and Liberal constituency offices on consignment. Meanwhile, we were appalled as we watched Ed Broadbent spending more time and effort denouncing John Turner and his party than Brian Mulroney and his phony FTA.

On the day after the election, it was my job to pick up the money and the remaining books from all the campaign offices. At one location, Ross Harvey's, the lawn signs were being returned. One of the workers, an elderly man who said he had worked hard for the party for many years, was furious. He said, "Our candidate won, but we lost the big battle, the fight against the FTA, and it was that [expletives deleted] Ed Broadbent's fault." I couldn't agree with him more.

Later we found out that Brian Mulroney had rewarded Mr. Broadbent with a very nice, lucrative job.

If your party does not co-ordinate your efforts with the Grits to fight Brian Mulroney, he will come up the middle again. This time, with five parties in the race, he will not need a majority of seats, just plurality. Then, to get the support of the Bloc Québécois and the Reformers, he will

accelerate his destructive policies and it's "Bye, Bye, Canada!"

In the 1988 election, the NDP/Liberal votes exceeded the Conservative votes in 209 (70.8%) of the constituencies. If the two parties had run only one candidate in each riding, both the NDP and Liberals would have gained more seats, reducing the PC to 86 (29.2%) of the seats. They would have been able to prevent the adoption of the FTA and GST and halt the selling out of our country and the crippling of our social programmes.

Co-ordinated action must be initiated now. Otherwise, Brian Mulroney will go into history as the leader who sold out Canada to Reagan, Bush and the corporate elite and brought about the disintegration of the world's finest social programmes. The NDP and Liberals will be branded as the people who allowed it to happen. If you fail to co-operate, historians will say you lost by default. If you refuse to act, they will say you aided and abetted the enemy. There's a word for that.

R.W. Oldham, Stony Plain, Alta.

abrogation, not renegotiation!

Dear Jean Chrétien,

I am writing as a concerned citizen about the effects of the Free Trade Agreement in Canada. I believe that the issue of free trade with the United States is the most crucial issue affecting Canada.

I have never been in favour of free trade and voted a no free trade vote in the last federal election. Since that time, I have watched with deep concern the sequence of events that have transpired. Canada[ns] essentially ha[ve] become the Hewers of

Wood and Drawers of Water serving the U.S. interests. I am watching the land being raped and exploited in the interest of the New World Order.

My reaction is outrage. I am outraged with the GST. I am outraged with increased manufacturing being carried out in the U.S., while Canadian plants are being shut down. Unemployment has reached epidemic proportions and it will only get worse unless the Free Trade Agreement is abrogated. I am enraged that Quebec is determined to separate from Canada, motivated by the resources of James Bay which will serve U.S. interests. I was enraged during the Gulf War that Canada did not have an independent foreign policy from the U.S. I am frightened by the loosening of the U.S.-Canadian border crossing restrictions. I want a free and independent Canada!

I am demanding that you, as the official leader of the opposition, work for abrogation of the Free Trade Agreement. I do not want the Agreement adjusted or renegotiated. I do not want Canada to be a puppet serving U.S. interests in any shape or form. I also am requesting that your party work in collaboration with the NDP to form an electoral coalition. I know that we would have free trade today if Canadians' wishes for No Free Trade were not defeated by a split vote. Our country is on the brink of destruction. It is of utmost necessity that we defeat the PC government in the next election. A joint Liberal and NDP electoral coalition would achieve this. We, then, as a country can take our rights back. The future of our country, all its citizens and the Earth itself demands that we take this action.

Barbara Waterfall, Vanier, Ont.

What others are saying . . .

Warns of Conservative-Reform Coalition

"Liberals and New Democrats should stop pretending that they are as far apart from each other as both of them are from the Conservative and Reform parties. Proportional representation can allow parties to retain their differences while recognizing, as well, what they have in common.

"Holding on to the political absolutes of the past could open the Canadian future to a variety of what has happened in Britain. The Conservatives could drop Brian Mulroney in favour of a John Major-like leader and, in the next election, a Conservative-Reform coalition could come to power.

"For those on the centre left who do not relish such a possible outcome, the time has come to do some basic thinking."

(James Laxer, "Parties of the working class exit stage left," *Toronto Star*, April 21, 1992).

Seeing the writing on the wall, eh?

Prime Minister Mulroney toured B.C. in early May. His warning against a Liberal-New Democratic coalition was heard on radio and television, but it appears that only the Toronto Star wrote it up:

"KAMLOOPS, B.C. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has lashed out at what he calls a 'Liberal-NDP alliance' he says would destroy Canada's economy through mismanagement.

"In a sharp turn away from his frequent but veiled attacks the past three days on the Reform party, Mulroney yesterday juiced up a meeting of B.C. Tories with a rousing election-style speech ridiculing Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien and New Democrat counterpart Audrey McLaughlin . . .

"The Liberal-NDP coalition which defeated the (Joe Clark-led) Conservatives because we were trying to reduce the deficit and get spending under control . . . this Liberal-NDP alliance, you see them coming back at you again."

(William Walker, "Confident PM warns against Liberal-NDP 'coalition,'" *Toronto Star*, May 3, 1992.)

All options open for Audrey

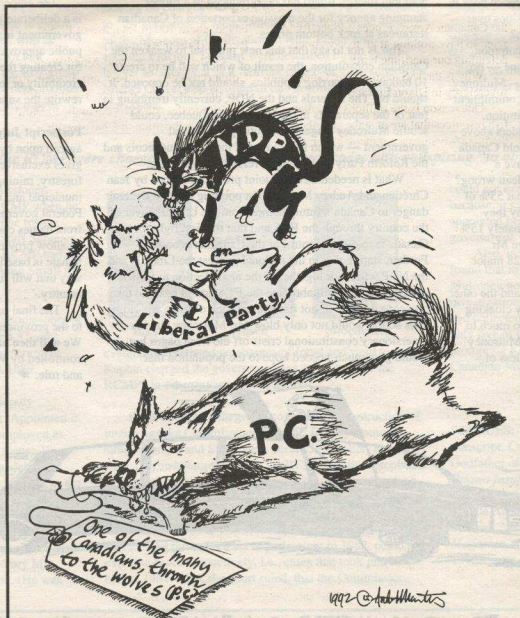
Back in May 1991, NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin talked openly about a coalition with the Liberals. These are excerpts from a Winnipeg Sun exclusive interview with McLaughlin:

"NDP Leader Audrey McLaughlin is making plans for a minority Parliament that could include a coalition with the Liberals. 'All options are open at this point,' McLaughlin told *The Sun*. . . NDP MPs have already discussed various scenarios, including a coalition government. But they have not yet decided if they would demand cabinet posts as the price for their support,' she said. 'We haven't gotten that far. It is a real possibility. We haven't talked about the mechanics yet.'

"If current support is maintained, the next Parliament could be split five ways - Liberal, Tory, NDP, Bloc Québécois and Reform. 'Who would be the head? I'd like

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Drawing the line: U.S. flaunts A-B line in Dixon Entrance

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Russian-British border under the 1825 Russian-British treaty long before the U.S. even came on the scene.

The only thing that is not clear is Canada's political will to defend the A-B line in recent years. Or to defend the fishermen who inevitably are the pawns in this game.

There are, of course, the usual token "diplomatic notes" sent off to the U.S. state department. But when has there been any firm or direct action to protect our border and protect Canadian citizens from illegal international kidnapping?

Can you imagine what the reaction of the Canadian government would have been if a Soviet military ship would have come into Canadian waters and hijacked several Canadian vessels, their cargo and crews? It would have become a major international incident. The prime minister would have flown back from holidays. An emergency cabinet meeting would have been called. The military would have been put on alert. The United Nations would have been notified. The government would have put its best diplomatic and legal minds to work to defend Canadian lives and property.

What has the Canadian government done to defend Canadian fishermen and their fish boats?

In an incident of a seiner seized July 29, 1991, a fisheries vessel stood by in Canadian waters and allowed a U.S. Coast Guard vessel to tie-up and order the Canadian crew to stop engines and drift into U.S. waters where an arrest might be more orderly. When two trolliers and their boats were seized in 1989 in Canadian waters, the Canadian government refused to give legal help to make sure Canadian interests were well defended.

A Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) notice about fishing in Dixon Entrance, dated August 7, 1991, warns Canadian fishermen that "the government of Canada will not be responsible for any legal or financial cost that may result from an incident involving U.S. enforcement authorities."

The notice goes on to give instructions in case your fish boat is boarded by a U.S. vessel in Canadian waters. It says to radio to DFO immediately "and maintain radio contact for as long as the problem persists." There is nothing that says what DFO is

going to do to stop this "problem" from persistently dragging you back to Ketchikan, Alaska. After it's all over, you are to make a detailed written report of the incident and send it to DFO regional director Pat Chamut.

That should scare the Americans. Meanwhile, the Canadian Coast Guard,

black cod and steelhead.

But an even more sinister motive has emerged: the need for U.S. controlled waters in Dixon Entrance to allow the unhindered passage of U.S. nuclear submarines around the south tip of Prince of Wales Island, Alaska, to a newly installed nuclear submarine base on Back

and pose a real environmental threat."

A coalition of groups has sprung up to fight the Back Island base. It includes peace, environmental, native and trade union groups from both sides of the border. (Editor's note #2)

Fulton has repeatedly demanded that Canada re-affirm its sovereignty over all waters south of the A-B line, using whatever means necessary, including the Canadian navy.

Canadian fishermen in Canadian waters must be protected by their government. To fail to do so places fishermen at risk and potentially gives credibility to unfounded claims by the United States to the waters of Dixon Entrance.

It's time to draw the line.

Editor's note #1: The nuclear acoustic testing facility, SEAFAC, opened November 7, 1991. The Mulroney government, in an Order-in-Council passed October 30, 1991, gave the U.S. blanket permission for their nuclear submarines to transit submerged through Canadian waters in the Dixon Entrance. The U.S. did not ask for permission, claiming they did not have to since the subs were transiting through their waters. The first sub went through March 9, 1992, without any notice given to fishermen and mariners by the Canadian government — they heard it announced on a Ketchikan FM rock 'n' roll station. (See also "Deadly and silent — the dangers of nuclear submarines," and "History of the A-B line.")

Editor's note #2: The author is referring to a U.S. based coalition, Friends of Back Island (FOBIA), which organized several protest rallies last August, in Ketchikan, Alaska and near SEAFAC itself. Among Canadian organizations and groups participating were: UFAWU, Prince Rupert Labour Council, the Haida Nation (which claims part of the waters in Dixon Entrance), Greenpeace, and the 54-40 or Fight Patriotic Society.

DAVID LANE is editor of *The Fisherman*, the monthly newspaper of the B.C. based United Fishermen and Allied Workers (UFAWU). This article was originally published as an editorial in the August 1991 issue of *The Fisherman*. ♦



the Canadian Armed Forces and the RCMP seem to have nothing at all to say about defending our maritime border.

Why is the U.S. challenging Canadian sovereignty in Dixon Entrance?

One reason is the millions of dollars of fish resources that are at stake. Another is the lucrative undersea mineral resources south of the A-B line. Skeena NDP MP Jim Fulton, who has been campaigning for years to have Canada defend its sovereignty on the A-B line, estimates that the area in question is worth "literally billions of dollars" in gas, oil, metal ores, salmon,

Island, about 100 miles north of Prince Rupert. (Editor's note #1)

United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union (UFAWU) northern rep. Jim Rushton says the U.S. wants to move its submarine facilities to the Alaskan panhandle to avoid the public opposition that has steadily grown in Puget Sound, Washington State.

"But the only access to the Back Island submarine base is through Dixon Entrance. With U.S. attack submarines and Soviet trackers, Dixon Entrance will become a virtual war zone," Rushton said. "Nuclear submarines are hazardous to all mariners

Deadly and silent — the dangers of nuclear submarines

SEAFAC — the Southeast Alaska Acoustic Measurement Facility — is situated on Back Island, Alaska, ca 30 miles north of the U.S.-Canada border, just north of Prince Rupert. The purpose of SEAFAC is to test the silent, high-speed running of nuclear submarines: the giant Trident missile sub (170 metres long — the size of a football field), the Los Angeles-class hunter-killer subs and the new, untested *Seawolf* attack sub.

These subs are powered by nuclear reactors and carry radioactive fuel. The Trident is armed with as many as 192 nuclear warheads and has a destructive force more than 6,000 times greater than the bomb which destroyed Hiroshima. The still under construction *Seawolf* is the largest, most advanced and most heavily armed attack submarine the U.S. has ever built.

Between 1983 and 1987, according to U.S. military statistics, nuclear submarines have been involved in 12 groundings, 50 collisions, 113 fires, 14 on board

explosions and 31 on board suicides. There are 48 nuclear warheads and seven nuclear reactors sunk on the ocean floor. Crew members on U.S. subs have reported leaky nuclear reactors, discharge of radioactive coolant and near-accidents as the result of falsified maintenance records.

Each week, somewhere in the world, a fishboat or small vessel is snagged or sunk by a nuclear submarine. In August 1991, a Canadian fishboat was snagged by a U.S. submarine just off the mouth of the Fraser River. In 1989, the USS Houston snagged a tugboat off the coast of California, pulled it under, killing one crew member. On November 6, 1991, a French fishing vessel was split open by a nuclear submarine, the USS Spadefish.

The latest accident involving nuclear submarines took place February 11, 1992, when a U.S. attack submarine, the *Baton Rouge* collided with a Russian nuclear sub, in Russian waters in the Arctic. A spokesman for the Russian Navy commented: "If the submarines had collided at a different

angle, both would have sank instantly and no one would have been able to shut down the nuclear reactors."

On October 30, 1991, eight days before the official opening of SEAFAC, the Mulroney government issued an Order-in-Council giving blanket permission for U.S. nuclear subs to transit Canadian waters to reach the test site. As this was a cabinet decision the government did not have to submit it to the normally required Environmental Assessment and Review Process. To this day no environmental review has been done, nor any kind of emergency preparedness assessment.

SOURCES: MP Jim Fulton, Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas, *Hansard*, Be Sub Conscience, United States Naval Safety Centre, Associated Press, *Globe and Mail*, *The Ottawa Citizen*. ♦

History of the A-B line

1825 Anglo-Russian treaty sets 54°40' as the north-south boundary between Russia and British North America. It sets the east-west boundary on a line along the 141st meridian, following "the summits of the mountains situated parallel to the coast" (as seen while sailing along the coast), and not exceeding ten leagues from the sea, north to the "Frozen Ocean."

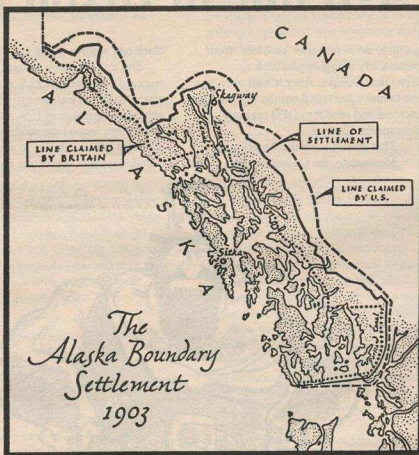
1844 "54-40 or Fight!" becomes the battle-cry of forces in the U.S. that want to annex Canada. They want to move the Oregon boundary all the way up to the southern line of Russian America.

1867 Confederation of Canada. The U.S. buys Alaska from Russia, to take a "visible step in the occupation of the whole North American continent." It publishes a map, copied by cartographers for 20 years thereafter, which sets the east-west boundary not along "the summits of the mountains ... parallel to the coast," but along a line that cuts almost half of British Columbia off from the ocean, north of 54°40'. (Such a map, contravening the treaty of 1825, had previously also been published by Russia.)

1896 The Klondike gold rush. Thousands of prospectors, most of them Americans, flood into the Yukon. The need to establish a clear boundary between the U.S. and Canada becomes important as the stampede for gold intensifies. Both Canada and the U.S. claim ownership of the towns Dyak and Skagway at the head of the Lynn Canal, each the base of a pack trail leading to the goldfields.

1898 Canada makes the Yukon a separate territory to prevent the area from becoming de facto American.

1903 The Alaska Boundary Tribunal convenes to settle the issue of the Canadian-American boundary between the Yukon, British Columbia and Alaska. President Teddy Roosevelt declares that on the issue of the boundary he's "going to be ugly!" and that if the Tribunal doesn't decide in favour of the U.S., he's going to send in troops and "run the line as we claim it." The Tribunal issues an award, "final and binding upon all parties." In a majority decision, with the British representative Lord Alverstone voting against Canada, the U.S. wins the day and is awarded 10,000 square miles of Canadian coastland — the Alaskan Panhandle — including the head of the Lynn Canal and the towns Dyak and Skagway. This decision leaves the northern half of B.C. and all of the Yukon landlocked, without a port on the Pacific. In a unanimous decision the panel sets the southern boundary between Canada and the U.S. at 54°40' — on a



Map of the Alaska Boundary Settlement, 1903. Reproduced from *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, by Thomas A. Bailey.

President Teddy Roosevelt declares . . . that if the Tribunal doesn't decide in favour of the U.S., he's going to send in troops and "run the line as we claim it."

straight line drawn from point "A" on Cape Muzon in the west, to point "B" located at the beginning of the Portland Canal. This boundary line is henceforth referred to as the "A-B line."

1970 The *Clipper II*, a Canadian long-liner is seized by the U.S. Coast Guard, in Canadian waters close to the Queen Charlotte Islands. The Canadian government refuses to give legal assistance or financial compensation to Denny Smith, skipper and owner.

1979 The U.S. Navy begins searching for a nuclear submarine testing site. They pick the Behm Canal, southern Alaska, as the most viable spot.

1981 A Canadian fishing vessel, the *Sable Mist*, is boarded by the U.S. coast guard, south of the A-B line. Protests by Canadian fishermen, who close off the port of Prince Rupert, are followed by an official diplomatic protest from the Canadian government.

1984 The U.S. State Department offers off-shore oil exploration leases for sale in Canadian waters, south of the A-B line, to U.S. oil and gas companies. Formal note of protest from the Canadian government, after NDP MP Jim Fulton raises the matter in the House of Commons, and says "that if the actual sales go through, I would consider it to be an act of war." The U.S. withdraws the offers.

1986 The U.S. approaches the Mulroney government to "renegotiate" the Canada-U.S. maritime boundaries in the Strait of Juan de Fuca (B.C.-Washington border), the Beaufort Sea (Alaska-Yukon), and the A-B line in the Dixon entrance (B.C.-Alaska). MP for Skeena-Prince Rupert, Jim Fulton, reintroduces his private member's bill to have the A-B line entrenched in law. The Mulroney government's response is that doing so would "prevent us from negotiating the A-B line." The bill is dropped from the order papers, but after pressure and calls of "treason"

and "sell-out" from B.C. fishermen and Jim Fulton in the House of Commons, the Minister for External Affairs, Joe Clark, sends a letter to the U.S. State Department saying Canada does not rule out negotiations permanently, but now "is not an opportune time" to do it.

1989 Construction of the SEAFAC testing facility begins on the Behm Canal, Alaska.

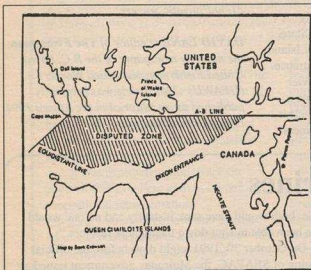
1989 Two Canadian trollers, *Viscount* and *Fonzie*, are boarded and seized in Canadian waters, south of the A-B line, by the U.S. Coast Guard, with weapons drawn. Bruce Deveaux, the skipper of *Viscount* who protests the arrest as illegal is threatened with a billy club. His deckhand is handcuffed. The U.S. Coast Guard tells Deveaux in the presence of his wife and young daughter who are on board, that they will use "any force necessary" to force the boat to Alaska. Both *Fonzie* and *Viscount* are kept under armed guard in Ketchikan, and charged with illegal fishing. The catch of 1,800 kilos of salmon is confiscated. The fishermen are released after posting bonds of \$50,000 each for the return of the vessels.

1991 Seven Canadian fishing vessels are boarded, three released with written warnings. One, the *Eliza Joye*, is let go after Jim Fulton intervenes (see story, p. 5) and three are forced to Ketchikan in the custody of the U.S. Coast Guard. All boardings take place in Canadian waters, south of the A-B line.

1991 The Mulroney government issues an Order-In-Council giving the U.S. blanket permission to transit nuclear submarines through Canadian waters in the Dixon Entrance. It does this to "protect" Canada's "legal claim to sovereignty" after admitting that U.S. nuclear subs have secretly travelled through the area for years! The U.S. government did not ask for permission, saying why should they — they're claiming ownership of the waters in question. They offer to start direct negotiations with Canada "anytime" to settle the border "dispute," or suggest the matter be sent to international arbitration.

Rose-Marie Larsson

SOURCES: A book dealing with the history of the Canada-U.S. Alaska boundary dispute, from Canada's point of view, is yet to be written! Not published, but available from MP Jim Fulton are two studies prepared for him by Hugh Finsten, Research Branch, Library of Parliament, *The Alaska Panhandle Boundary dispute*, 1976, and *The Alaska Panhandle Boundary dispute: Arguments supporting the Canadian position concerning the A-B line*, 1979. Also for this chronology, *True North* had access to information kits from MP Jim Fulton, who makes his extensive research files available to the public; the text of the Award of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 1903; House of Commons *Hansard*; Morgan Sherwood, ed., *Alaska and its history* (Univ. of Washington Press, 1967); Paddy Greene, past president of the Prince Rupert Fishermen's Co-op; 54-40 or Fight Patriotic Society. ♦



This map shows the area in Canadian territory 12 miles south of the A-B line, claimed by the U.S. as the "disputed zone." Not only do all maps and charts published in the U.S. consistently draw the border south of this zone, but in an extraordinary exhibition of colonial mentality, the latest edition of Canada's official school atlas, used in schools across the country, also shows the A-B line incorrectly, as the U.S. would have it! When questioned by MP Jim Fulton (in 1989) the publisher, Oxford University Press, apologized for having "... opted by accident, for the American proposal rather than the Canadian position," and promised to correct the error. A new edition of the atlas has not yet been published.



MP takes direct action in fish boat seizure

by Gerry Deiter

A very serious game of tug o' war was played out along the A-B line on July 29, 1991. At 7:30 a.m. the U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Liberty* allegedly moved into Canadian waters to seize the 54-foot seiner *Eliza Joye* out of Port Hardy.

According to reports from several sources, the vessel was in Canadian waters when it was apprehended, in the area of Garnet Point, near Cape Muzon, point A of the A-B line in the same vicinity where the *Barbarella* was seized two weeks earlier.

The vessel was ordered to stop and receive a boarding party from the U.S. coast guard ship. The skipper insists his log and radar both indicated he was in Canadian waters, according to Terry Kueber of Sea Food Products Limited of Port Hardy, for whom the *Eliza Joye* fishes.

The Canadian fisheries patrol vessel *Lewis Reef* was in the area and sped to the site where the two ships were confronting one another.

By the time *Lewis Reef* arrived at 9:30 a.m. the *Eliza Joye* had been seized by the coast guard vessel.

Patrick Chamut, fisheries director general for the west coast, confirmed the seizure was made in Canadian waters.

Chamut says fisheries officers from *Lewis Reef* took to a Zodiac and attempted to board the seized vessel. Local enforcement officer Knapton adds that although no weapons were raised, coast

guardsmen informed the Canadian officers that "they would not be allowed to board." Lines that had been secured from the Zodiac to the *Eliza Joye* were untied by the Americans, he says.

Skeena MP Jim Fulton, who had been in contact with *This Week* during the morning called again at about 2 p.m. to inform us that after having tried to contact various cabinet ministers, including external affairs minister Barbara McDougall, transport minister Doug Lewis and fisheries minister John Crosbie, he was boarding a helicopter to fly to the scene.

"I cannot believe what I went through to try to get someone — anyone — in power in Ottawa to take an interest in what happened today," he said, looking at a sheaf of scribbled notes he's clutching in his hand. "First, I tried to contact [external affairs minister] Barbara McDougall. I was told she was on vacation; I told them this was an emergency and her chief of staff referred me to an R.L. Bell, the director of trans-boundary issues, who had the file.

"Getting in touch with him, I was told he no longer has the file, he's not in charge of that anymore, and I was passed along to another one and finally ended up talking with Olivier Jalbert ... he's the one who was in Rupert last year to discuss the boundary issue with local fishermen.

"I told him I wanted permission to board the *Eliza Joye*, he said he couldn't



MP Jim Fulton in a survival suit, ready to fly to the rescue of *Eliza Joye*, seized in Canadian waters by the U.S. coast guard. His action made the U.S. back down. (Photo: Prince Rupert *This Week*)

give it to me; I couldn't get transport minister (Doug) Lewis on the phone. "I wanted the RCMP to arrest the American coast guard vessel for its illegal action in Canadian waters ... the local RCMP subdivision people were helpful but they couldn't act without authorization from

the [justice] minister. I worked my way all through DFO (Department of Fisheries) after not being able to contact [fisheries and oceans minister John] Crosbie; finally [western region director general Patrick] Chamut said he couldn't authorize my boarding fisheries patrol vessel *Lewis Reef*.

(continued on page 8)

"Strictly a private matter" — west coast fishermen get no support from the Canadian government

by Rose-Marie Larsson



Raymond and Cathie Dickens packing fish on their boat, *Diamantina*. (Photo: C. Dickens)

If the story of *Eliza Joye* illustrates how the U.S. can be made to back down when faced with enough heat, the story of the *Diane S.*, her owners Cathie and Raymond "Bud" Dickens, their skipper Darryl Carey and young deckhand Goran Mihajlovich, is the more frequently experienced horror story of fishermen being completely abandoned by the Canadian government and forced to take on the U.S. by themselves.

The troller *Diane S.* was seized and boarded by the U.S. Coast Guard in Canadian waters on July 27, 1991. The skipper and deckhand were arrested and forced under armed

escort to take the boat across the U.S. border to Ketchikan, Alaska, where they were both put in jail.

Her owners found out what had happened on Monday, July 29, when they returned to Prince Rupert after being out fishing with their other boat, the fish packer *Diamantina*. Cathie immediately contacted the District Attorney's office in Juneau, Alaska, which, the following day, faxed her a document asking her to plead guilty to fishing illegally in U.S. waters and advising her of the costs of having her boat returned and her employees released from jail.

Cathie and Raymond Dickens are convinced their boat was not fishing in U.S. waters. The U.S. Coast Guard report claims the *Diane S.* was 300 yards over the line when they sighted her, and within minutes was back in Canadian waters. "There's no way, a small boat like that, with heavy trolling gear out and the tide against her ... the boat just doesn't move like that." (Both the Canadian Coast Guard and officials from the Department of Fisheries confirm an error could have been made — particularly as the U.S. vessel was travelling fast at 30 knots per hour, in choppy waters and poor visibility.)

Also, "Darryl [the skipper] got a chart from them — he didn't have one to navigate to Alaska. He mistakenly got two, so he hid one — and their chart shows the U.S. line much further south. The area he was in was marked 'American waters.'"

After speaking with the District Attorney's Office in Alaska, Cathie, who was also trying to do her job packing fish during the peak of the salmon season, spent hours on the phone trying to contact the right person in Ottawa in order to get some help. By then, Darryl Carey, her skipper, and Goran Mihajlovich, the deckhand, had been held in jail in Alaska for two days. Mihajlovich was held for eight days in total, Carey for four. While in jail, they were refused access to legal counsel and denied the use of phones. (While he was in jail, Carey's two-year old daughter in Courtenay, B.C., accidentally ate a bottle of chewable Tylenol and had to be taken to hospital where she almost died. Even this information was not passed on to him.)

The U.S. District Attorney, adding insult to injury, besides charging Carey with illegal fishing, also threatened

to charge him with bringing in an illegal alien. Goran Mihajlovich, the young deckhand and Yugoslav national who had been forced across the line with Carey, didn't have a valid work visa. He had a tourist visa for Canada and the U.S.

The U.S. Immigration authorities wanted to deport Mihajlovich to Germany (where he last resided before coming to Canada), refusing to let him back into Canada. They demanded \$1,500 immediately, for a one-way ticket to Munich, or they'd send Mihajlovich to a jail in Seattle — which Cathie didn't want to see happen: "I know he shouldn't have been working — but Darryl didn't know that ... and I felt compassion for him. He's just a young guy. I didn't want him to end up in an American jail."

The District Attorney of Alaska wanted money too. In order to release the boat they wanted a \$5,000 fine, \$595 to pay for the Coast Guard's expenses — "escorting" the *Diane S.* across the line! — money to pay for keeping Carey and Mihajlovich in jail, and for keeping the boat at the wharf. They would deduct a sum for the catch of salmon which had been confiscated and sold.

To all this, Olivier Jalbert, executive assistant to Barbara McDougall at the Department of External Affairs, and the man who finally took Cathie Dickens' call, said: "There's nothing we can do!" Incredulous, she insisted on speaking to someone who would know what to do, was put through to Benno Friesen, MP from B.C. and Acting Minister for External Affairs (Barbara McDougall was out of the country). He put her in contact with Olivier Jalbert again, who this time said: "Washington and Ottawa are meeting and the subject of your boat will be raised. There's reason for optimism!"

Then followed several days of tense waiting and, again, hours on the phone as Cathie kept trying to stall U.S. Immigration and the District Attorney's office (who said they were going to press charges), until she heard from Ottawa about the outcome of their talks with Washington.

Darryl Carey, after spending four days in jail, was deported from Alaska without being charged. He was told he would not be able to enter the U.S. again because he now had a record!

(continued on page 8)

MP takes direct action ...
(continued from page 7)

"So I just took off, knowing that the RCMP and three cabinet ministers knew I was prepared to jump out of a helicopter."

It was his stated intention, by mid-afternoon, to do a survival suit and, if necessary, jump into the water alongside the fisheries patrol vessel "so at least there would be an elected representative of the Canadian people on the scene," he told *This Week*. "I only hope they pick me up," he laughed.

A chopper from Vancouver Island Helicopters picked him up near his home near Tlell on the Charlottes (Queen Charlotte Islands). Fulton relates, and they flew across Dixon Entrance to Cape Muzon, point A.

"We flew at sea level from Muzon to Chacon," he continues, "and then hopped up at Cape Chacon. As we approached the (U.S. coast guard vessel) *Liberty*, with *Eliza Joye* in tow, at about 4 p.m., they just cut her loose. I don't know whether my

presence there had anything to do with it or not, but we accomplished what we'd set out to do."

Fulton says he then got the captain of the coast guard cutter on the radio and "gave him a lecture on the location of the Canada-U.S. border, the A-B line and some of its history and some advice regarding maritime law."

Following this, he says, he called on the Canadian fishing vessels' working frequency and advised them of Canadian sovereignty in the area, where the border is located, and encouraged them to fish right up to the line.

No charges were brought against the *Eliza Joye*, which returned to fishing for the remainder of the opening.

GERRY DEITER is editor of *Prince Rupert This Week*, which has covered the A-B line dispute extensively during the past few years. This article is a condensation of two, which originally appeared on August 4, 1991. ♦

our apologies

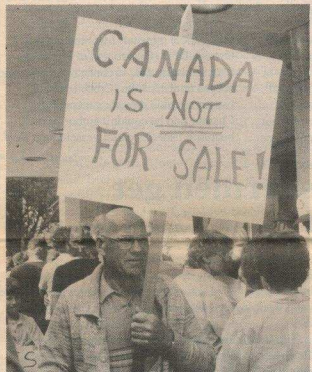
Yes, we know *True North* is very late and we apologize to our readers. There are many reasons for the long delay: the unexpected relocation of our National Office in the middle of an already overstretched workload, fighting on many fronts (as can be seen in this issue) and a severe shortage of resources. We opposed the Gulf War, toured the country speaking out against the FTA, helped expose and resist the water-diversion plans behind the Rafferty-Alameda dams, fought to save the lives of political prisoners in Grenada, supported the protest against clearcutting in Northern Saskatchewan, and the list goes on — all of them connected to our fight for Canadian sovereignty. And, last but not least, we have helped with David Orchard's *Manifest Destiny and Free Trade, 300 years of resistance to U.S. takeover*, to be launched this fall. (See catalogue for notice.)

Meanwhile, another issue is on its way, containing an article explaining the meaning of NAFTA, other muckraking articles and pages and pages of letters from our readers. ♦

The Editor



Canada loses a fighter



(Photo: A. Mariens)

Ralph Orchard, a retired farmer and active fighter for Canadian independence, died suddenly on March 14, 1992, four days before his 76th birthday.

Ralph was an early member of the CCF, the Saskatchewan Co-op movement, a long-time member of the Farmers Union and for the last seven years an active member of Citizens Concerned About Free Trade. Ralph was a down-to-earth person who enjoyed life to the fullest. He was passionately concerned about world, national and community affairs, about which he kept himself well informed. He was active in his very last breath in fighting for Canada's survival as a nation, and was a vigorous participant in the peace movement and the anti-nuclear movement, as well as in his church, Knox United in Saskatoon.

Ralph was also fun-loving and playful, and never turned down an opportunity to enjoy other people's company. No task was beneath him, and his strong and capable hands could fix anything that needed fixing, make music, grow a crop, build a home or make a garden bloom. His family and friends will miss the presence of this humble, gentle, gregarious, generous, thoughtful and committed man. They have established a *Ralph Orchard Memorial Fund* in his memory. Donations to the fund are gladly accepted and will go towards causes that Ralph supported. They can be sent to Grant Orchard, 202 5th Street E., Saskatoon, Sask., S7H 1E7, or directly to the Ralph Orchard Memorial Fund, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Box 70, Radisson, Sask., S0K 3L0.

Ralph is survived by his wife Margaret and their four sons, Douglas, David, Grant and Lyle. ♦

"Strictly a private matter" —
(continued from page 7)

On August 1st, after hearing nothing from Ottawa for three days, at the height of the salmon fishing season when every day spent not fishing is a day of significant income loss, Cathie and Raymond Dickens faxed a letter to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. They described how the U.S. Coast Guard had "pirated and illegally removed from Canadian waters our vessel, the *Diane S.*, and placed her under arrest," and how "the American government is blackmailing us for approximately \$7,000 to get our hijacked vessel back and the deckhand deported against his will." They demanded an answer by 5 o'clock Ottawa time, Friday, August 2, as to what assistance the Canadian government was prepared to offer them. To this day they have not received an answer, nor even an acknowledgment that the PMO received their letter.

Friday morning, after having missed a week of fishing, Cathie spoke to Olivier Jalbert at the Department of External Affairs on the phone. This time, he told her what she had been hoping to hear all week: "You're going to be happy today when you phone up to Juneau! You're going to see a change of attitude."

"I was so happy! I walked up and down the halls of the Fishermen's Co-op shouting Yahoo! and things like that. People were congratulating me — great, you got some action! I thought the government was stepping in!"

"But when I phoned up to Juneau they said: 'no, what are you talking about? There's no change here. No change at all!' And then I got a call from Immigration saying, 'Look, we've got a flight arranged for Germany at noon today [for Mihajlovich]. Send us the money or we're sending him to Seattle!'"

"I called Ottawa immediately and got a recording at External Affairs — 11 o'clock Ottawa time. I kept trying until 3 o'clock. Then I called the Prime Minister's office and asked, 'Is this normal? Is nobody working in Ottawa on a Friday afternoon?' The Prime Minister's office said they didn't know anything about it and there was nothing they could do.

"Then CBC Radio's *As It Happens* called me and asked for an interview. I didn't want to do it because I didn't know if External Affairs were doing something behind the scenes to help me ... I didn't want to jeopardize anything."

"Finally I agreed to do the interview. Then we went fishing. And on the radio that evening, I heard Olivier Jalbert tell *As It Happens* that what was happening to me was a fight between a private citizen and the United States government!"

Cathie Dickens never heard from Olivier Jalbert or anyone at External Affairs, or the Prime Minister's Office again. Before going fishing the following day, she phoned in a VISA number to U.S. Immigration who used it to pay for a \$15,000 one-way ticket to Germany for Goran Mihajlovich. He was shipped out within hours that same day.

Because of the long weekend that followed (Monday was B.C. day), the Dickens weren't able to make any

financial arrangements to have their boat released until Tuesday, August 6, when Cathie went to the bank and paid the U.S. Government a \$5,000 fine, plus \$595 for having the U.S. Coast Guard arrest and escort the *Diane S.* from Canadian waters to Ketchikan. Plus costs for flying U.S. officials to Ketchikan for a hearing, costs for keeping the boat tied up at the wharf, and \$100 per day for each day Darryl Carey and Goran Mihajlovich were forced to spend in jail.

In total, including the ticket to Germany for Mihajlovich and less the money from the forced sale of salmon confiscated from the boat, Cathie and Raymond Dickens figure they had to pay about \$7,000 to have their boat released. A conservative estimate of a week's lost income during the crucial, once-a-year, sockeye salmon season is \$5,000 which makes the total cost for them — not counting 10 days of stress and aggravation, long distance phone calls and fares — \$12,000.

They have not received one cent in compensation from the Canadian government. To make up their losses, Cathie and Bud had to go out fishing in harsh and dangerous weather conditions in January and February.

In the end, Cathie and Raymond did not have to plead guilty to fishing illegally, but absurdly they had to pay a fine nonetheless. They also had to sign a document saying they would take no further action against the U.S. government. Cathie feels bitter and betrayed by the government who, she feels, has been using Canadian fishermen as pawns in a losing game with the U.S. over the Dixon Entrance. "Now that the U.S. got what they wanted [blanket permission to take their subs through Canadian waters], they'll probably leave us alone. They win. They win again!"

Reminded of how the U.S. Coast Guard backed down in the case of the *Eliza Joye*, when faced with enough heat, Cathie Dickens says, "Yes, Olivier Jalbert told me that — that was the reason they let *Eliza Joye* go, because there were phone calls going between Ottawa and Washington. He said it was because we created enough pressure and enough heat. I've never understood why they couldn't do that for us."

Letters of protest against the ongoing U.S. violation of Canada's border on the Dixon Entrance, demanding full compensation for Canadian fishermen who have had their boats seized illegally in Canadian waters by the U.S. Coast Guard, can be sent to: Barbara McDougall, Minister for External Affairs, Ottawa, K1A 0G2, FAX (613) 996-9288. Send copies to MP Jim Fulton, House of Commons, Ottawa, K1A 0A6, FAX (613) 995-7111, and to *True North*. ♦

CCAFF's National Office is in Saskatoon at 489 2nd Avenue N., and we are open, with volunteer labour, every working day. Call us any time at (306) 244-5757 or FAX to (306) 244-3790. Our mailing address is: P.O. Box 8052, Saskatoon, Sask., S7K 4R7. Our Vancouver office is at #203 — 207 West Hastings; mailing address P.O. Box 4185, Vancouver, B.C., V6B 3Z6; Phone: (604) 683-3733; FAX: (604) 683-3749

Canada went to war — under U.S. command

by David Orchard

Amid a barrage of media and government propaganda, Canada went to war with Iraq, a country most Canadians know little about. Why did this happen?

At first, we were told Canadian ships were being sent to enforce sanctions against Iraq. Yet within days our planes were helping the Americans bomb that country. What did this have to do with enforcing sanctions?

Next, we were told by our Minister of External Affairs, Joe Clark, that we were sending forces to the Persian Gulf to "defend democracy." In fact, there are no democracies in the Middle East, least of all Kuwait. Its ruler, Emir Sheikh Taber Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah, has a personal fortune of over \$100 billion invested outside the country (some estimates are as high as \$350 billion), and the vast majority of the country's population has never been able to vote on anything, let alone whether the Emir should be sitting on the throne. Among Kuwait's citizens only 60,000 have voting privileges, representing a mere 2% of the population and not a single female among them.

We were also told that Canada was part of a United Nations (UN) operation being sent to "draw a line in the sand" at the Iraqi-Saudi border over which Iraq was not to cross. Iraq did not cross that line. It was our side which crossed into Iraq with massive bombing raids day and night for over a month.

Canada went to the Persian Gulf to "liberate Kuwait," we were informed. Kuwait is a small area, once ruled by the southern Iraqi city of Basra, carved out of the Ottoman Empire by the British in order to secure its immensely rich oil resources. (At different times the European powers carved out the boundaries of the Middle East to suit themselves while the local populations were ignored. The Kurdish population for instance, was cut into three countries — Turkey, Iraq and Iran.) Britain seized the area in 1899, and drew the border between Iraq and Kuwait while it controlled both of those countries. One of Iraq's first actions after overthrowing the British imposed monarch and obtaining its independence from Britain in 1961 was to claim Kuwait as part of Iraq arbitrarily separated from it by Britain. In 1934 Britain conceded Kuwait's entire oil resources to the Kuwaiti Oil company — half owned by British Petroleum, the other half by Gulf oil of the United States. The concessions in the so called Neutral Zone were awarded to Getty Oil and other U.S. oil interests. Iraq has never relinquished its claim to Kuwait.

Contrary to repeated government and media claims, the Gulf War was not a UN operation. There was no UN flag flying over the forces and no UN command directing them. Both American and Canadian forces were sent before the UN authorized any use of force. In fact this matter was never allowed to go to the General Assembly of the UN for a vote. Instead, the victors of the Second World War, who have allocated to themselves permanent seats on the Security Council, with the power of veto, simply voted among themselves to let the U.S. use force. (Twelve voted yes, 2 voted no, 1 abstained, and 144 countries had no say.) The war against Iraq was an American war, commanded by a U.S. general, with all the information that we got about the war strictly controlled by the U.S. military. Canadian forces operated directly under U.S. command, not UN command, and with no responsibility to report to any UN agency on their actions.

Canada's Minister of External Affairs, Joe Clark, stated in February 1991, that the real reason Canadian forces were in the Gulf was that Canada would not stand for the invasion of small countries by powerful ones. This, in spite of the fact that our air force escorted U.S. bombers over Iraq — a large country invading a small one, if there ever was one.

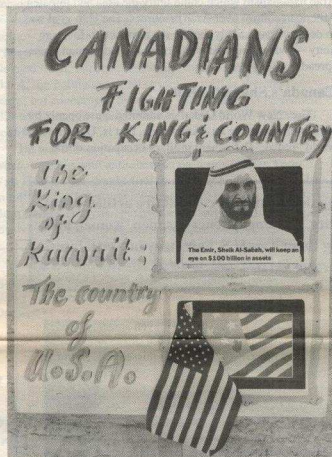
U.S. Aggression Goes Unpunished

In the last 200 years the U.S. has invaded other countries over 300 times. It has done so overtly, as in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Grenada, Panama and others. And it has done so covertly, as in the assassination of the Chilean president Salvador Allende in 1973, the installation of the Shah of Iran in 1953, the overthrow of the President of Guatemala in 1954, and literally in dozens of other countries throughout central and south America, Asia and Africa. The U.S. has repeatedly invaded Mexico, from which it took half of its entire

territory, and Canada, from which it took a large chunk of New Brunswick and a piece of British Columbia. Even today, the U.S. is challenging Canada's sovereignty over the waters of the Northwest Passage, our boundaries off Georges Bank in the east, and Dixon Entrance in the west.

For twelve years, the U.S. dropped bombs, napalm and chemicals on Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia, small countries which lacked even an air force with which to strike back. Six million died in southeast Asia at the hands of the Americans between 1964 to 1975, to say nothing of the injuries, suffering and birth deformities caused by the massive aerial spraying of Agent Orange used to defoliate large areas of that region.

More recently, the U.S. bombed Libya killing, among others, the young daughter of Libya's president, Moammar Khadafi. It has mined the harbours of Nicaragua (for which



Telling it like it is! One of many statements of protest against Canada's involvement in an unjust war against Iraq, this one from Saskatoon. (Photo: Antoinette Martens)

it was condemned by the World Court in the Hague, but refused to abide by its decision), and invaded the tiny island of Grenada. Saddam Hussein's terror is mere retail terror beside the wholesale terror of the U.S.

On December 21, 1989, 25,000 United States troops invaded Panama, a fellow member of the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS). They bombed the working class areas of Panama City near the presidential residence and left behind a death toll of up to 10,000 — over 10 times the total estimated deaths from Iraq's invasion of Kuwait at the time of the attack on Iraq. Today U.S. troops, police officers and officials continue to occupy Panama and actively perpetuate a cover-up of the civilian deaths, while Panamanian human rights organizations and independent observers report the existence of mass graves where the dead were dumped, out of sight, out of mind. The president of Panama was kidnapped and taken out of the country to be tried like a common criminal in a U.S. court, contrary to international law.

The reaction from Joe Clark and Brian Mulroney — now supposedly opposed to larger countries invading smaller ones — was not to call for sanctions against the U.S., nor to advocate the bombing and punishment of Washington, but rather to applaud the U.S. actions.

Saddam Hussein Demonized

We were told by government and media pundits by the dozen, that Saddam Hussein was a "madman" who must be stopped at all costs. Hussein's party has been in power

in Iraq for over 22 years. It was a staunch ally of the U.S. government, and presumably also of Canada's, throughout its war with Iran. It is a "member in good standing" of the United Nations. How is it that Iraq's invasion of Iran was applauded and supported by the U.S., while the invasion of Kuwait makes Hussein a madman whose actions require a massive bombardment of that country's entire infrastructure, priceless historical artifacts, sites of antiquity and civilian population?

The situation of Iraq is like that of Germany just prior to World War II, we were admonished. Saddam Hussein is another Hitler and, if we don't stop him now, the world will pay a horrible price later, went the refrain. In reality, Iraq is a small third world country, 2/3 the size of the province of Saskatchewan with a population of 18 million and a per capita income 1/5 of Canada's. Its economy is almost totally dependent on the sale of oil and it must import 2/3 of its food supply. Because of its vulnerable and almost entirely landlocked location, the export of oil and import of food was easily cut off by the UN-sponsored sanctions. This is hardly the position of a powerful industrial nation like Hitler's Germany on the eve of World War II.

Portraying Saddam Hussein, as the devil incarnate, demonizing him, is similar to what the Western countries did to Moammar Khadafi after he nationalized Libya's oil companies and, before that, to Egypt's Abdel Nasser when he nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956. Nasser was promptly attacked and invaded by Britain, France and Israel. That was a war, like the one in Vietnam a few years later, that Canada refused to join.

U.S. Rejected All Peace Plans

The final argument used to justify the war was that there was "no other way to stop Saddam Hussein." Indeed, the same argument was used to justify the United States' war against Vietnam — the Communists must be stopped there or else they will take all of Asia, and the U.S. will eventually have to fight them on the beaches of California. But what other ways were tried? A dozen nations, among them Jordan, France, Algeria and the Soviet Union, put forward peace proposals between August 2, 1990, and January 15, 1991, all of which were rejected out of hand by the U.S. A peace plan by Jordan was in place within two days of the invasion of Kuwait, and Iraq agreed to it. Algeria, India, France — all put forward plans — only to see them turned down, without hesitation, by the U.S.

This matter could also have been referred to the World Court, the principal judicial organ of the United Nations,

What happened in our name and with our money was a genocide directed against the Iraqi people, accompanied by a deafening silence in the western world.

either by Kuwait or by the Security Council itself, so the whole world could hear and judge for itself the validity of Iraq's claim to Kuwait.

Former U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey Clark, travelled to Baghdad in mid-November 1990, for four days of high level talks with the Iraqis, including Saddam Hussein. Clark said that Hussein conveyed to him that the issue of Kuwait was negotiable: "I don't usually count, but three times he used the word 'flexible,' that Iraq would be flexible on all issues under discussion ..." He continued, "If the United States would apply a fraction of the energy it has used to line up nations against Iraq, and instead ... brought everyone to the table and offered all the support they could use and simply urged them to resolve one issue after another, then we might protect the Kurdish people, we might find a stable Palestine. Everyone in the region might find a chance to live in independence and prosperity." Instead, he said Bush "made the UN a potential instrument of war when its purpose is to end the scourge of war. It's just incredible; you have never seen such a sweeping delegation of authority to any country to attack another, by

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Canada went to War —

(continued from page 10)

any means, as you have here." "What he [Bush] is saying is that we will hit their civilian population so brutally that they will surrender and we won't have to use our ground troops. This would be a crime against humanity, a war crime. "We have," he continued, "an imperial presidency as unrestrained as any military dictatorship . . . a paralyzed Congress and . . . a jingoistic, bellicose press calling for war."

War Gives U.S. Control of Arab Oil

There are just wars and there are necessary wars. The war against Iraq was neither. The real reason behind it was that the U.S. wants permanent military bases in the Middle East, from where most of the wealth of the seven major oil companies has come, as it has become more and more dependent on imported oil, particularly over the last 15 years.

The war on Iraq was to give the U.S. control over Arab oil. U.S. policy has been to keep Arab nations fighting among themselves to prevent the growth of Arab nationalism strong enough to erase the artificial borders drawn between their countries by the former European colonial powers, and strong enough to topple the feudal kings including the Saud family of Saudi Arabia and the El-Sababs of Kuwait. These absolute rulers, most installed by the British and now maintained by the Americans, have run their countries as private fiefdoms. King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, like the Emir of Kuwait, elected by no one to sit on the throne, knows he can be safe from his own people only if the Americans maintain him in power.

In June 1989, a delegation of senior American industrial, banking and oil executives went to Baghdad in response to Saddam Hussein's request for development credits to rebuild Iraq after its eight-year, U.S.-backed war with Iran. In return, they demanded that Iraq privatize its oil industry. When Iraq refused, credit was denied. Kuwait began pumping oil onto the market at \$13 a barrel (\$5 less per barrel than the OPEC price at the time) — a price at which Iraq was hardly able to meet the interest on its existing debt — and the propaganda war against Saddam Hussein began.

The war in the Middle East had nothing to do with sanctions not working, sanctions which are still in place long after Iraq has retreated. In the end, the war was not even about forcing Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. In fact, a U.S. government spokesman stated that it had to move quickly because there was a real fear that Iraq would withdraw from Kuwait!

Iraq, the cradle of recorded civilization, has been and continues to be obliterated as a nation, the ancient and beautiful city of Baghdad devastated and its president threatened with removal. All to prevent a rallying point for Arab nationalism which could unify the area and threaten American control over Arab resources. The U.S. goal was to destroy Iraq quickly, before the momentum for Arab unity — which includes support for the Palestinian cause — spread.

Canada's Shameful Role

The "New World Order" is admitted quite openly by the Americans to be Pax Americana, that is, U.S. imposed world "peace." Permanent military occupation of the

Middle East will give the U.S. control not only of Arab oil, but also of the source of Europe's and Japan's energy.

What happened in our name and with our money was a genocide directed against the Iraqi people, accompanied by a deafening silence in the western world. The mass media's studied indifference to the slaughter and suffering of Iraqi civilians revealed the profoundly racist nature of this war and its ongoing aftermath. The only sounds and images on our radios and televisions were those permitted by U.S. military censors, as the world's richest and most technologically advanced nations relentlessly pounded Iraq from the air till nothing and no one capable of resisting was left behind. Meanwhile, Canadians brave enough to question what was happening on the ground beneath those bombs were attacked for being "unpatriotic."

Canada's role, which we were constantly told was a defensive one, in fact involved attacking unarmed Iraqi aircraft fleeing to Iran, bombing retreating Iraqi soldiers and slaughtering civilians trying to escape from the war zone on "the Highway of Death." The yellow ribbons that Canadians were urged to tie around their trees in support of "our troops" helping to massacre innocent people, stood for nothing but extreme cowardice. The political and military leaders worked overtime to turn this moral cowardice into a virtue. The commander of Canadian forces in Qatar, Colonel Romeo Lalonde, was asked by a reporter if Canadian planes would shoot down the fleeing Iraqis even if they did not shoot first. "Definitely ..." Lalonde replied, "who wants to sit out the game on the bench?" (CBC Radio News, Feb. 7, 1991)

To its eternal shame, Canada sided with the bully to bomb a small third-world country, with 10,000 years of history and a rich culture, back into the stone age and continues to be part of the systematic and deliberate starvation of Iraq and its people, by ongoing sanctions, long after their stated reason for being has ceased to exist. ♦

"It is hard to believe really in this day and age that armed forces will fire artillery and mortars indiscriminately into the heart of a city, flushing defenceless men, women and children out into the streets and then shooting them." — U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on the fighting in Sarajevo (quoted in the *Globe and Mail*, June 24, 1992).



The incinerated body of an Iraqi soldier on the "Highway of Death," a name the media has given to the road from Mutlala, Kuwait, to Basra, Iraq. (Photo: Kenneth Jarecke/Contact Press Images)

U.S. planes immobilized a convoy of retreating soldiers and civilians by disabling vehicles at its front and rear, then bombing and strafing the resulting traffic jam for hours. More than 2,000 vehicles and tens of thousands of charred and dismembered bodies littered the sixty miles of highway. The clear rapid incineration of the human beings in the photo suggests the use of napalm, phosphorus, or other incendiary bombs. These are anti-personnel weapons outlawed under the 1977 Geneva Protocols.

This massive attack occurred after Saddam Hussein announced a complete troop withdrawal from Kuwait in compliance with UN Resolution 660. Such a massacre of withdrawing Iraqi soldiers violated the Geneva Convention of 1949, common article 3, which outlaws the killing of soldiers who "are out of combat."

There are, in addition, strong indications that many of those killed were Palestinians and Kuwaiti civilians trying to escape the impending siege of Kuwait City and the return of Kuwaiti armed forces.

No attempt was made by U.S. military command to distinguish between military personnel and civilians of the "Highway of Death." The whole intent of international law with regard to war is to prevent just this sort of indiscriminate and excessive use of force.

From: **RAMSEY CLARK et al., *War Crimes: A Report on United States War Crimes Against Iraq***. Maisonneuve Press, 1992. Available from CCAFT (see our catalogue) or from the publisher, P.O. Box 2980, Washington, D.C., 20013, U.S.A. for \$12.95 (U.S.) plus \$1.50 postage. ♦

يا شعوب العالم الاعزاء

DEAR PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

Dear people of the world,

Today, January 17th, my world has stopped.
The meaning of life has changed.

My streets have not been bombed.
My children are still alive.

But my heart, my soul have been bombed.

Oh, Iraqi people of the cities and deserts!

Oh, souls so lonely!
Know that I am with you shaking beyond belief.
I don't recognize myself at times.

Your struggle is mine.
The U.S. monster is unleashed.
Canadians have to act in defense of the world.

NOW WAR IS DECLARED ON ALL.

Radio stations have to be taken,
television networks occupied,
parliamentarians punished.
Their blood stained mouths have choked our dignity long enough.
We can but fight.

Antoinette Martens
January 17, 1991

Clearcutting and protest in northern Saskatchewan

On May 16, 1992, about 50 Metis and Natives from Jans Bay, Cole Bay and Canoe Lake started a blockade in the Meadow Lake area in north-central Saskatchewan, to prevent any further clearcutting of the surrounding forests. Citizens Concerned About Free Trade sent a delegation to tour the site of the blockade on Highway 903 and to investigate the issues at stake.

We found the forest management practices used in the area atrocious. It is inconceivable that the provincial government, which has repeatedly stated its commitment to protecting the environment, could allow this kind of damage to continue.

The target of the blockade is the clearcutting of the forest practised by Mistik Management to feed the Millar Western pulp mill out of Meadow Lake. This recently completed mill was built without a proper environmental impact study of its effect on the surrounding forest, wildlife and the people who depend on them both. Saskatchewan taxpayers risked \$350 million in building the mill. Millar Western put in less than three percent of this amount, \$10.2 million, and yet has ended up with 51 percent ownership! The Devine government rammed the mill through without making its implications known to the residents. Why doesn't Roy Romanow's NDP government expose these facts to the population and say it will not be bound to such a sellout by the previous administration?

The area is rich in wildlife. The logging currently under way will soon put an end to that. Huge cutting machines, working around the clock, are denuding the landscape, leaving tangled heaps of waste. Following the cutting, large plows are used to rip up the soil, which destroys anything that managed to survive the logging machines — blueberries, mosses and other vegetation that the deer, moose, caribou and other wildlife need in order to survive. The result is a landscape devoid of life, sound and color. It looks like a war zone. It will take decades to re-establish vegetation and the forest will not regain its former variety and richness in our lifetime. All of this is being done to deliver pulp to Scott Paper Company in the U.S., apparently to be made into toilet paper for the American market.

Scandinavian countries successfully manage their forests by careful, selective cutting in such a way that the forest itself is not damaged and continues to support all of its wildlife. Only the mature trees are harvested. To minimize damage to the soil, heavy machines are not allowed in the forest except in winter. The soils of northwest Saskatchewan are extremely fragile. The idea of these machines being in the forest at this time of year is a violation of sustainable forest management practice.

While we were on the logging site, some hunters from New Jersey, dressed in combat fatigues, were slaughtering black bear to their hearts' content. Bait was being used to trap the animals, which were then shot. Videotapes were made of these kills for the hunters to take back to the U.S. to boast of their exploits. We understand 99 bears were shot and taken out of the area last year by foreign hunters.

This mindless destruction of the wildlife and the forest is an outrage. The animals and the forest of the north are necessary to provide a decent living for the local inhabitants and a heritage for all Canadians.

The clearcutting of the northern forest is a case of environmental vandalism. The mill itself needs to be shut down until a proper and independent environmental assessment is done of the consequences for the area and its people.

While in opposition, the NDP said it opposed the Rafferty-Alameda dams. In power, instead of shutting them down or operating them as dry dams, it has announced an additional \$37 million to be spent on their completion.

To the NDP in opposition, the environment was a sacred cause; with the NDP in power, the North has yet to see one iota of difference. Weyerhaeuser and Millar Western continue to strip vast areas to send cheap pulp and paper to the U.S. For the uranium mines, it's business as usual.

If a change in government took place in Regina last fall, could someone let the public know? ♦

by David Orchard



The landscape at the Meadow Lake blockade, south of Keeley Lake, Saskatchewan. (Photo: Antoinette Martens)

Arrests, attacks and rebuttals

In the closing hours of June 30, approximately 100 RCMP, complete with swat teams and machine guns, arrived at the blockade to escort a convoy of logging trucks to the clearcutting site. Shortly before midnight, 30 people were arrested. Under the glare of police search lights, the protesters linked arms against the advancing heavily armed police and sang "O Canada!" as one by one they were arrested, handcuffed, searched and carried bodily to paddy wagons and then shoved into a school bus. David Orchard was among those arrested. Joys Dancer of Birch Lake, Saskatchewan, who was at the blockade, describes the arrests:

At 4:30 a.m., a convoy of RCMP officers in cars and panel trucks arrived intending to clear the blockade across the entry road into the Wiggins Bay clearcut so logging trucks and grapples could haul out logs.

With elder Cecilia Iron acting as spokesperson, about 100 people stood their ground and the RCMP withdrew, promising to be back.

About 6:30 p.m., a huge convoy of cars, paddy wagons, a riot squad team with heavy guns and shields, and 16 logging trucks and grapples descended on the camp. The combat-clad riot squad immediately took position on top of the panel trucks and a telescopic camera was trained on the people at the blockade and the camp ...

After 30 minutes, the RCMP announced the trucks were moving about 65 kilometres north on Highway 903 to remove cut logs from the Vermette Block. POME knew a contingent of supporters was arriving at the Vermette area. So, it was decided to allow the trucks to pass unhindered and some people accompanied them. When the people at Vermette sat on the logs and refused to move, 15, including Iron, were arrested and forcibly removed in paddy wagons.

However, when they reached the Wiggins Bay camp, they found 16 people sitting blocking No. 903 so the RCMP and the prisoners could not pass. At this point, Iron was released. But men and women, including elders and two pregnant women, were arrested, dragged into a waiting school bus and taken away to jail. In the eerie light of the police trucks and TV crew, people cheered their

courage. The pain of witnessing this outrage mixed with pride and gratitude for their sacrifice. On the eve of Canada Day, I was sickened at the crassness of celebrating 125 years of oppression.

David Orchard's and CCAFT's support for the blockade angered the Chief of Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, Roland Crowe, and Ray Ahenakew, executive director of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, which owns 40% of the logging company that's clearcutting the area. In an interview with the Saskatoon *Star Phoenix*, July 10, both vented their anger. Crowe attacked Orchard for being a white activist "meddling" in Indian business. "Where has (he) been while so many of our young children have been plagued by drug and alcohol abuse?" he said, and added, ominously, "Sooner or later, David Orchard and I are going to run into each other!"

Ray Ahenakew accused Orchard of not being genuinely concerned about native people, "How can people like David Orchard who fought against the fur market (trapping), which many of our people depend upon, be concerned upon this? Give me a break."

David Orchard responded to the attack in a letter to the editor:

Contrary to the views of ... Ray Ahenakew, our organization is Citizens Concerned About Free Trade NOT Citizens Concerned About Fur Trade. Our organization [CCAFT] has never opposed trapping or "fought against the fur market" as Ahenakew claims. Several of our members are trappers and many are hunters.

Roland Crowe points to drug and alcohol abuse among native youth and seems to imply I have not done my share to prevent this. The best way to fight against those problems is to protect the forest, wildlife and economic livelihood of northerners. Clearcutting with mechanical harvesters robs residents of jobs which selective, sustainable management of the forest resources would provide. Once the north is clearcut, its wildlife destroyed and its residents forced onto welfare, drug and alcohol problems will be even worse ... As to Crowe's warning ... I gladly accept Crowe's challenge to debate him on these issues at any time in a public forum, preferably in the North, so its people — Native and white — can decide who is "welcome north of Meadow Lake."

The participants at the Protectors of Mother Earth blockade also responded to Crowe's and Ahenakew's attacks. The following letter, signed by Leon Iron on behalf of 27 others at the camp was printed in the *Star Phoenix*, July 22, under the headline "Orchard's help valuable asset in struggle":

Chief Roland Crowe says white activists should "but out of Native business."

We, the Protectors of Mother Earth are immensely grateful for the support that "white activists" such as

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World renowned scientist, David Suzuki, lent his support to the Protectors of Mother Earth. From right: Leonard Opikokew, Irene Desjarlais, Joe Durocher, Tyrone Tootoosis, David Orchard, David Suzuki, Joe Durocher Jr., Cecilia Iron, Butch Iron, Flora Iron, Randy Iron, pilot Wayne Hicks. (Photo: Antoinette Martens)

Ten reasons to get rid of the Free Trade

by David Orchard and Marjaleena Repo

What happened to all those promises the government made before the last election about how free trade with the U.S. would bring more jobs, lower prices, and make Canada richer? Do you remember how those who opposed free trade were called liars, fearmongers and even "Nazis"? Here are some facts about the first three years under the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA) from the people who have been telling the truth about free trade since 1985.

1. Despite Mr. Mulroney's promise of "jobs, jobs, jobs," as of June 1992, over 23% of Canada's entire manufacturing base and 28% of Ontario's has disappeared and over 600,000* manufacturing jobs have been lost since the implementation of the FTA — and this downward trend is accelerating. In the first four months of 1992, Canada lost a record 141,000 jobs (57,000 in April alone), and Bruce Campbell of the Canadian Centre of Policy Alternatives has calculated that the total job loss for Canada has been 1.4 million.** Unlike earlier recessions, these are not temporary layoffs but permanent job losses, as Canadian factories go broke, move to the U.S., or relocate to the U.S.-Mexico free trade zones, Maquiladoras, because of drastically lower wages and fewer government regulations and restrictions. (This becomes even clearer when it is revealed that in comparison, during the same period, the U.S. has lost only 6% of its manufacturing sector. While Canada's labour force is shrinking drastically as hundreds and thousands of Canadians give up looking for work, the U.S. has actually gained jobs — 947,000 during the first four months of 1992.)

2. Remember the promise of cheaper prices for consumer goods? There would be "\$800 in annual savings" for the average family and it would cost "\$8,000 less" to "establish and furnish a home." In fact, prices have risen, not fallen, and now we also have a free trade tax, the Goods and Services Tax (GST), to make up for the loss of revenue the government used to get from tariffs. (This loss has been estimated by Marjorie Bowker to be \$24 billion by 1998.) The "cheaper goods" are instead being bought in the U.S. The Canadian Federation of Independent Business, an organization that supported the FTA, has now released a survey estimating cross border shopping is costing the Canadian economy \$10.4 billion per year and approximately 250,000 full and part time jobs.

3. We were going to get "secure access to the biggest, richest market in the world." No more threats from the U.S. to block our exports, we were assured. Instead American trade harassment has increased, not decreased since the FTA. The U.S. has taken action against exports of Canadian goods, steel, durum wheat, salmon, herring, lobsters, soft wood lumber, raspberries, ice cream, yoghurt, beer, pork, potatoes, and is threatening action against Honda cars, and Canadian cattle and beef. (Don Mazankowski, then Minister of Agriculture, acknowledged with surprising candour in February, 1990, "We expected fewer hassles with free trade with the U.S.," he said, "but we appear to be getting more.")

4. Ever wonder why you can fill your tank with Canadian gas in the US cheaper than in Canada? Well, to begin with, Canada charges higher taxes on gasoline than the U.S. does, in order to pay for, among other things,

*Harvey Enchin, "Keeping up with the world," *The Globe and Mail*, April 22, 1991, p. B2, cites 463,000 manufacturing jobs lost in 24 months; also, Alan Freeman, "Unemployed are giving up, economists fear," *The Globe and Mail*, May 9, 1992, cites Statistics Canada figures, 141,000 jobs lost in four months, January-April, 1992.

**Jonathan Ferguson, "Huge job loss followed free trade, groups says," *Toronto Star*, May 29, 1992.

better social programmes. With the FTA, however, Canada has lost its ability to ever sell gas cheaper to Canadians through a two-price system. Under article 408 in the Agreement, Canada is prohibited from charging a higher price on any good it exports to U.S. customers, or put another way, it cannot set a cheaper domestic price for Canadians. The real problem, however, is that Canadian oil and gas is no longer ours. Since the FTA, American companies have signed up 90% of the natural gas reserves of Canada's north. Under articles 904 and 409 of the Agreement, if a shortage arises, Canada still has to give the Americans the same proportion that they have, on average, been taking for the previous three years. (And this applies not only to gas and oil but to "any good" that we are exporting to the U.S.) That means that if they were taking 90% of our natural gas for three years and we face a shortage in Canada, we must still give them 90% and furthermore cannot, as a result of any government policy, charge them more than we are charging Canadians. This has destroyed Canada's competitive edge in trade. Cheap energy was the one major advantage we had in competing with U.S. industry.

5. Free trade would bring bigger markets and better prices for their products, farmers were promised. The reality is that U.S. grain is now flowing over the border and is being baked into bread for Canadians. Meanwhile, our farmers are going broke for lack of a market and receive prices that have dropped steadily and drastically since the FTA was signed. Hundreds and thousands of tons of U.S. fruit and vegetables are coming across the border while Canadian producers are forced to bulldoze their fields and orchards, Canada, a nation that could easily be self-sufficient in food, is becoming dependent on the U.S. even for its food supply. And once we give power over our food supply to the U.S., we are in deep trouble.

6. Canada's sovereignty and independence would not be affected by the FTA, declared Prime Minister Mulroney in the television debate with John Turner and Ed Broadbent during the 1988 election. In reality our Department of External Affairs is now more like a fax machine linked to the U.S. State District and our foreign policy consists of a brief "Yes, Sir!" from the Prime Minister. "Yes, Sir," to the U.S. invasion of Panama. "Yes, Sir," to sending troops to help the U.S. destroy a small middle eastern country, Iraq. It comes as no surprise that the announcement of Canada's participation in that U.S. war in the Persian Gulf was first made by the U.S. Secretary of State, James Baker, in Washington, two hours before it was announced from Ottawa.

7. For years, powerful interests in the U.S. (NAWAPA — the North American Water and Power Alliance — among them) have lobbied for huge water diversion plans. A continent wide series of dams and canals would redirect some of Canada's major rivers south to supply U.S. freshwater needs. With the FTA their dreams have been brought a step closer to realization. Articles 105, 409 and 711, tariff schedule 22.01 in the Agreement have given "national treatment" rights to the U.S. over all Canadian water. This means that we agree to treat American citizens and corporations as if they were Canadians and that, once exports of this precious resource begin, we will not be able to turn off the tap because the FTA obliges us to keep the tap open. Three large dams have recently been constructed with the purpose of diverting water to the U.S. — the

Oldman River dam in Alberta and the Rafferty-Alameda dams in southern Saskatchewan, the latter two built, in part, with \$40 million from the U.S. government. Canada's chief free trade negotiator, Simon Reisman, who previously acted as an advisor to the Grand Canal project, a \$100 billion project to divert 20 Canadian rivers south, said in 1985 that water was the "key" to free trade with the U.S. (See CCAFT's September 1987 brief to the Rafferty-Alameda Board of Inquiry, reprinted in *Free Trade: The Full Story*,



HURRAH!! WE DID IT — WE GOT AN ELECTION! Terrie Bekatla minutes after John Turner's announcement on July 20, 1988, that the Se This was the happy outcome of over a year of mobilization by CCAFT in the U.S. on the effort to exercise its powers of "sober second thought," was put on the agenda succeeded. The same pressure can work on the Lib

pp. 79-82. Also available as a brief. See catalogue in this issue.) This aspect of the Agreement has always been denied and kept hidden from the public by the government and other free trade boosters, because 90% of Canadians, according to the government's own studies, are opposed to the export of water.

8. Investment is pouring out of Canada and into the U.S. and the Mexican Maquiladora zones. Bankruptcies are soaring — up from 33,848 in 1988 to 75,773 in 1991, and rising. One million Canadians now feel themselves at food banks. U.S. takers of Canadian companies are up dramatically and under Article 1602 and annex 1607.3 of the FTA this cannot be stopped. Over 4,000 companies in Canada have been taken over since the Mulroney government scrapped the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) in 1985, and now the government is "privatizing," i.e., giving away to U.S. oil companies, Petro-Canada, the last major Canadian oil company. \$35 billion per year, the amount of the annual federal deficit, is flowing out of Canada in service charges, interest payments and dividends to pay for the foreign ownership of our economy.

9. While Canada is locked into the FTA, an independent

Trade Agreement — and a way to do it

tax policy is impossible for our country. If our corporate tax rates are higher than in the U.S., companies will simply move across the border. That's why the federal sales tax had to be removed and the GST slapped on those who can't move to the U.S. — the Canadian consumer.

10. The Free Trade Agreement is about to be extended to Mexico — quickly, before there can be a vote on it in Canada or Mexico. This will finish off Canada's manufac-

What can be done?

One of the most important rights of any nation is control over its trade and economy. This was the issue over which the American War of Independence of 1775 was fought. With the FTA, Canada has lost that control. 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.

The last clause of the Free Trade Agreement (Article 2106) states that either country can, at any time, give the other nation six months' notice and then cancel the Agreement.

In order for Canada to avoid losing its sovereignty and its nationhood, this clause must be acted upon. To do this, the present government must be removed from power. This can be accomplished quite simply by the **opposition parties forming an electoral coalition prior to the next election.** Countries throughout history, in times of crisis, have turned to similar 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. It was the coalition that George Brown's Reform Party formed in 1865 with its long time enemy, John A. Macdonald's Conservatives, that made the confederation of Canada — faced with the U.S. civil war and the threat of annexation — possible. More recently some of the most progressive social legislation in Canada came about through Liberal-NDP cooperation in the House of Commons.

An electoral coalition does NOT mean the amalgamation of the Liberals and the NDP, nor a merging of their platforms, but rather a contractual agreement before the next election whereby the two parties — based on their commitment to abrogate the free trade deal and in order to ensure victory — would run only one candidate, either a Liberal or a New Democrat, against the Conservatives in every riding in Canada. There are two compelling reasons for such a coalition:

1. To take power

Neither the Liberal party nor the NDP, nor their most ardent supporters, should dream of taking power on their own in the next election. The NDP has practically 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 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 once again split the anti-conservative vote in Ontario, Mulroney — or his successor — can come up the middle once more and win at least enough seats to govern with the support of the reform Party and the Bloc Québécois. Both of these regional parties support the Mulroney Conservatives on the pivotal issues of free trade and a gutting of the central government, and would not hesitate to form a post-election parliamentary coalition with the Conservatives to further their own ends. The question is, will the Liberals and the NDP move fast enough to head them off by forming a winning coalition first?

2. To abrogate the Free Trade Agreement

If the Liberals and the NDP form this electoral coalition, they will win power in the next election because the votes of the majority of Canadians, who oppose the FTA, will not be split as they were in the 1988 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. The U.S. will not give up its control of Canada easily. It will respond by threatening all kinds of retaliation, and these threats are much more easily met by a Canadian government which can show to Washington that it represents two of the major political parties in Canada, backed by a majority of the electorate.

One party, either the NDP or the Liberals, attempting to gain power on its own 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 it as "radical," "dangerous," even "communist." 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 to two political parties which represent a clear majority of the Canadian population and have joined forces for one purpose, namely, to abrogate the free trade deal.

In response to CCAFT's proposal, the Liberals and New Democrats have loudly complained that they "can't trust" each other. The coalition we are proposing, however, 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 until victory was sure. Labour then resumed its independence and won the next two elections against Churchill (1945 and 1950). 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. What we are calling for does not require trust, but rather a simple written agreement to abrogate the FTA, and in order to take power to do so not run against each other in any riding.

The political excitement that would be generated by such a coalition would provide part of the momentum necessary to win the election, defeat a much detested government, end the hated FTA, and begin to take back real control of our country. As Professor Kenneth McNaught put it, "The proposed electoral deal, by sharpening a major issue beyond the possibility of judging, 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." ("To topple the Tories and save the country," *Globe and Mail*, March 7, 1990. Available from CCAFT.) The moment these two parties sign their agreement, Canadians will know that the Conservative government will be defeated. Polls across Canada have consistently shown that a majority of Canadians, including Quebecers, are prepared to vote Liberal or NDP.

Coalition BEFORE, not AFTER the election

This formal electoral coalition between the Liberals and NDP must be created well in advance of the next election and not left for a last minute decision. It must be done before the election to prevent the vote splitting on election day. If left until after the election it will be too late for the Liberals and the NDP to cooperate if together they come up with fewer seats than the combined total of the Conservatives, Reform Party and Bloc Québécois, who will not hesitate to join forces to complete the dismantling of Canada.

(continued on page 21)



Cam Tetraault, David Orchard and Cady Williams are jubilant that would block the Free Trade Agreement until an election was held, under the banner "No ratification without a general election." Pressure on the Liberal Party resisted and naysayers said it couldn't be done but, it's done today. (Photo: Antoinette Martens)

turing base. What business will set up, or remain long, in Canada, paying \$8, \$12, or \$16 per hour when they can set up in Mexico and pay 65 cents an hour without interference from unions and without having to pay employee benefits or taxes for social programmes? The U.S. wants to eliminate Canada's ability to compete with it industrially. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is designed also to lock Canada even tighter into the U.S. grip and make it more difficult to get out of the existing Canada-U.S. Agreement. The pressure is now growing for Canada to adopt the American dollar. As Governor Sinner of North Dakota not long ago put it, a common currency is "inevitable." With the FTA in place it is time to be done, he said, with the "fiction of two separate economies."

While French and English speaking Canadians are being whipped into a frenzy of animosity towards each other around the constitution — a crisis also fabricated by the Mulroney government — the real threat, assassination into the United States of both Quebec and English speaking Canada is proceeding at a record pace. The FTA has given the U.S. the kind of control over the Canadian economy it was only able to secure in other countries with military intervention.

NAMING NAMES: Glen Kealey and corruption in high places

by Rose-Marie Larsson

Glen Kealey became a Canadian folk hero last summer when he succeeded in charging 13 high level Tories and members of the Mulroney government with corruption and cover-up, and three commissioners of the RCMP with obstruction of justice.

Before then, many people had caught a glimpse of Kealey on TV, protesting on Parliament Hill, and maybe even heard him heckle politicians as they made their way into the House of Commons. "Bribe them here! Bribe your Tory here! Why waste money on a lobbyist when you can bribe direct?" All day long, from his regular spot underneath the Conservative caucus window you could hear his booming voice echoing, "Resign!! Resign!!" When Michael Wilson stopped to tell the media there were only two ways to deal with the deficit — raise taxes or cut services — Kealey's snappy — and loud — response was: "Use the third option, Mike — stop stealing!"

The former Tory businessman had started his protest against corruption that he had personally encountered, in November 1988 in the Mulroney government, but until last summer when he finally got his day in court, his presence and story had been almost completely ignored by both the opposition politicians and the national media.

It all started for Glen Kealey in June 1986, in Hull, Quebec, when, as the initiator of a \$160-million high-tech office building (MICOT), he was asked by his financial backers to seek the federal government's endorsement for the project. He already had the backing of the municipal and provincial governments.

Meeting LaSalle at Nate's

While planning his approach to the federal government, Kealey got a call from **Roch LaSalle**, then minister of the Department of Public Works (DPW), the ministry responsible for the renting and construction of buildings for the federal government. LaSalle, who knew about the MICOT project from media coverage it had received, asked to meet Kealey at the Press Club to discuss the project. The meeting was cancelled because the minister was ill, but a few days later Kealey got another call. This time LaSalle wanted to meet him at Nate's Delicatessen on Rideau Street for breakfast the following morning, June 15, 1986. Kealey describes the meeting in the following way:

*I went there, not knowing who LaSalle is. I thought maybe the guy is on his way to work, maybe he stops off there and has a bite to eat and kills two birds with one stone. But when I got there, the first thing that seemed to be funny was that there was another developer in the restaurant. I knew **Pierre Bourque** — he owned a few buildings leased to the federal government, mostly National Defence. And I knew that Mr. Bourque was building a major complex in Hull. And there he was, sitting in one corner. Roch LaSalle entered, and when he passed Bourque, he got up, they exchanged greetings, and then he came over and sat down at my table.*

After a couple of pleasantries, LaSalle turned to me and said, "You know, Mr. Kealey, the time has come for the federal government to support your project, and that is going to take some money." I looked at him and said, "But Mr. LaSalle, is \$160 million not enough? It's all private sector money, isn't that enough?"

LaSalle said, "No, no, no, Mr. Kealey. It's not money to build the project; it's money for our support." For a second I was confused. I'm not naive, but I never expected a cabinet minister to be asking me directly for money. I said, "Mr. LaSalle, I don't understand." And he said something to the effect of, "Do I have to draw you a picture? The money is 5%, and it begins with a \$5,000 down payment. Have you got it on you?"

So, I said, "I hear you, but I still don't understand," because I wanted him to repeat it. And he said, "Well, Mr. Kealey, if you don't have it on you... I'm sure out of a \$160 million dollar project you can find the money, and when you do, call my secretary, and we'll meet again like this, under similar circumstances, and your project will get the go ahead."

*I got up, said good-bye and walked out. As I'm walking out, I can see LaSalle go over and sit down at the table with the other developer, **Pierre Bourque**.*

*What do you do when a cabinet minister asks you for a bribe? Call the RCMP? But these are the guys that appoint the RCMP! While I'm thinking about what to do next — because for me there was no question, I would never pay the bribe — news comes out that a leasing contract has been signed between the Department of Public Works and the other developer who was in Nate's Delicatessen, **Pierre Bourque**, to lease Place Louis St. Laurent in Hull for \$775,000 a month. The space was to be used by the Department of National Defence, but the report said that nobody there knew a contract was under negotiations or that there was even a need for one. It took National Defence one year to move into that building, and they paid rent during that whole time.*

Shortly afterwards, Roch LaSalle was removed from his position as minister of Public Works. Kealey drew a sigh of relief. He concluded that the prime minister was an honest man — he had caught a crook and removed him. Kealey carried on with his work.

In January 1987, after hearing from his Conservative Party contacts that the government was leaning towards putting the National Space Agency in Montreal, Kealey wrote a letter to **Brian Mulroney**, suggesting MICOT as a uniquely suitable location for it in Hull, close to the national capital, but still in the province of Quebec. Within days, Kealey says, he was visited by a Quebec City lawyer who said his uncle was **Senator Guy Charbonneau**, and if

Kealey didn't stop talking about putting the National Space Agency outside Montreal, he would lose all support for MICOT. Kealey ignored the request. Three months later he was locked out of MICOT by his partners and pulled into a lengthy court battle. He eventually won, but by that time the financial backers had pulled out and the project was dead.

A Rigged Election

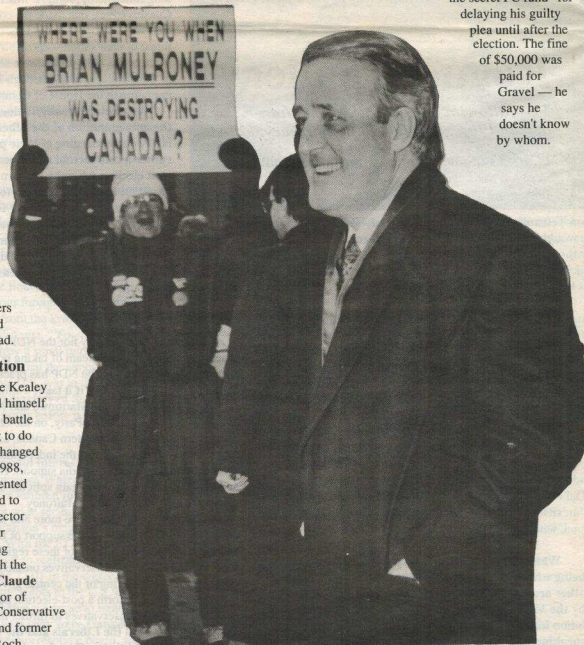
Up to this time Kealey says he considered himself to be in a business battle which had nothing to do with politics. He changed his mind in May 1988, when he was prevented from being elected to the position of director in the Hull-Aylmer Conservative riding association through the efforts of **Pierre-Claude Nolin**, then Director of Elections for the Conservative Party in Quebec and former chief of staff for Roch LaSalle. Nolin, with a team from PC headquarters in Montreal, unexpectedly

intervened in the Hull-Aylmer election. They appeared with their own ballots and their own candidate who won after scrutineers counted 79 ballots in a room with 72 people present. Armed with a petition signed by 95% of the riding association, Kealey protested the election as rigged, but was ignored by the Tory brass. He then decided he had had enough. He called a press conference and he called the RCMP, prepared to tell all. After **Charlie Greenwell** of CIOH-TV in Hull broadcast Kealey's story about being asked for a bribe by Roch LaSalle, the RCMP became interested and contacted Kealey. He offered to take a lie detector test, passed it, and in June 1988, the RCMP started investigating Roch LaSalle.

On the Trail of Gravel

While waiting for the RCMP investigation to conclude, Kealey began his own investigation into the activities of Tory MP **Michel Gravel**, who charged with 50 counts of bribe-taking and influence peddling was being bumped through the courts to avoid going to trial before the 1988 federal election. The government, then already reeling from a long series of much publicized conflict of interest and corruption scandals, was anxious to avoid a hearing to which the Crown had called 27 witnesses, among them Roch LaSalle and **Suzanne Blais-Grenier**. Gravel, after pleading innocent for 1 1/2 years, eventually plead guilty in December 1988, thereby avoiding a hearing altogether. (His lawyers took his case all the way to the Supreme Court in an effort to have the charges dropped.) He was sentenced to prison and a \$50,000 fine in January 1989. (He spent only 2 months in jail and 2 months in a half-way house.)

According to former Hull-Aylmer PC riding association president **Gérald Pichette**, Gravel was paid \$350,000 from "the secret PC fund" for delaying his guilty plea until after the election. The fine of \$50,000 was paid for Gravel — he says he doesn't know by whom.



(Photo: John Hryniuk)

A key witness in the Gravel case was Gravel's former right-hand man, **Emilien Maille** of Hull, Quebec. He had turned RCMP informer when the bribes he had paid to Gravel on behalf of the grocer and pharmaceutical wholesaler Provigo failed to produce the expected government contracts. Maille was an old acquaintance of Kealey's from Hull. After interviewing Maille and others connected with the Gravel case, Kealey discovered that his experience of being asked for a bribe by a member of Mulronney's government was by no means unique. More significantly, he discovered a well-developed system of kickbacks on government leases in place, run by and benefiting highranking Tories, Mulronney cabinet ministers and appointees; and apparently operating with the full knowledge of the RCMP. LaSalle's and Gravel's bribe-taking activities in Hull, he found out, were "penny ante." The big money was being siphoned off the taxpayers by bigger players in a nationwide 5% kickback scheme on government contracts, a scheme managed by Mulronney's long-time cronies: among them were his former principal secretary and head of the PMO, **Bernard Roy**, along with **Senator Michel Coggier**.

Concerns about the existence of a high level government "follgating" scheme, corroborating Kealey's charges had been raised as early as 1985, by then Tory Minister of the Environment, **Suzanne Blais-Grenier**. (Shortly thereafter, she was demoted from her position to a junior one as Minister of State for Transport under **Don Mazankowski**. In December 1985, she resigned after a disagreement over the closing of a Montreal oil refinery.) In August 1988, now a sitting MP, she repeated her claims in an interview with the newspaper *La Presse* that she had personal knowledge of an organized "network of kickbacks" and called for a Royal Commission as the best way to explore the matter. "I'm not talking about \$500 under the table or \$1,000 in someone's pocket, I'm talking about millions of dollars," she said at the time. Blais-Grenier was immediately attacked in the national media by Prime Minister Mulronney for "indignant behaviour" and for having "tarnished" her "deputy colleagues." He asked the voters to remember that in the coming election, she was threatened with expulsion from the Tory caucus unless she retracted

her comments, something she refused to do. Later she resigned from the Conservative Party, ran as an independent and lost in the 1988 election. Blais-Grenier repeated her statements in testimony before JP Coulter.

Further corroboration of Kealey's charges also came from Michel Gravel. Gravel was tired of being blamed for what he insists was work he did for Roch LaSalle as his "godfather"* in Hull. He testified against LaSalle and others named by Kealey in an April 1990, Quebec Order of Engineers hearing on corruption. He testified again in a Quebec tax court after Revenue Canada demanded Gravel pay \$20,000 in back taxes on the \$95,000 in bribes he had admitted collecting for LaSalle. Gravel's knowledge of corruption also became a matter of public record when he told his whole story to **Stevie Cameron** of the *Globe and Mail* which published the two-page interview in June, 1991 ("The Godfather of Hull," *Globe and Mail*, June 22, 1991).

Nation's Conscience

Kealey ran as an independent in the 1988 election, hoping to secure a seat in Parliament from where he could carry on his fight against corruption. He failed in his bid and decided to take his case directly to the people of Canada. On November 22, 1988, now financially bankrupt he took up his post as the self-appointed conscience of the nation and "Town Crier" on Parliament Hill. For over a year he "kook"ed it out, rain, snow or shine, mostly ignored as a "kook" by politicians of all stripes, as well as the press corps, but encouraged by visitors and workers on Parliament Hill who kept him going with money and "more food than I could eat in a day."

He was brought to national attention in March 1990, when, together with anti-abortion protestor **Father Tony Van Hee**, he was dragged off Parliament Hill by the RCMP in full view of television cameras and hauled away to jail. Both Kealey and Van Hee had been charged with disobeying a recently passed government regulation

**"Godfather" was what Roch LaSalle called Tory MPs appointed by him to take care of 17 Liberal "orphan" ridings, to ensure businessmen there had influence in Ottawa.*

forbidding demonstrations within 50 metres (150 feet) of the doors of any Parliament building. Also forbidden were uttering "loud or disruptive noise" and distributing literature. This blatant attack on free speech and the right to protest was soon named the "Kealey law" as it was obviously aimed at silencing Kealey. Meanwhile, Kealey, frustrated with RCMP inaction and acting on a tip from Liberal MP **John Nunziata**, was proceeding with private corruption charges against the Mulronney government and the RCMP through a judicial hearing before a Justice of the Peace. Clearly the threat of a public inquiry blowing everything wide open was making the Tories nervous.

Kealey and Father Van Hee were released from prison after spending four days in a holding cell with hardened criminals. They resumed their protests on the Hill. The charges were dropped after a public outcry against the undemocratic "Kealey Law." (The law, however, is still on the books, and Kealey is challenging it. He's suing in Federal Court for false arrest and illegal imprisonment.) Other subsequent attempts by the government and MPs from the government side to prevent Kealey from protesting range from the ridiculous to the sublime. At one point, Parliament Hill special security guards were ordered to remove a snowbank where Kealey regularly stuck his picket signs — a temporary victory for the government. Kealey borrowed Father Van Hee's placard and made another snowpile! In July 1990, police arrested Kealey and charged him with "mischievous" for posting "Impeach Lysin" Brian" stickers and copies of the Charter of Rights on the streets and bridges of Ottawa; in September 1990, Kealey repeated "the crime" and was charged with illegal protesting. In November the same year, Tory MP **Bill Kempling** (who used to swear at Kealey and give him the finger salute) grabbed Kealey's picket signs, a pair of green fuzzy dice and a pink pig with a bib saying "Where's the trough?" and threw them in the garbage. Kealey sued him for theft, eventually lost, but succeeded in bringing attention to Kempling's arrogant behaviour. In March 1991, Kealey was arrested four times for stepping past steel barricades supposedly erected to keep anti-Gulf War protesters from doing damage to the House of Commons; these barricades were kept there after the war was over.

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Rogues' Gallery

The following individuals were charged by Glen Kealey, under the criminal code of Canada, with conspiracy to defraud the government "by bribery, bid-rigging, kickbacks, deceit and falsehood":

1. Roch LaSalle, former Minister of Public Works. MP and cabinet minister between 1968 and 1988, former mayor of Joliette, P.Q. Minister of Public Works 1985-86. Fired by Mulronney in 1987 after *Maclean's* magazine revealed that two senior aides and long-time friends of LaSalle's — **Frank Majeau** and **Gilles Ferland** — had criminal records, and in Majeau's case, close ties to the Montreal Mafia.

LaSalle who according to former Tory cabinet minister **Suzanne Blais-Grenier** described himself as the "Minister of Patronage" has been the subject of innumerable RCMP investigations in connection with government contracts and leases given to friends, relatives and supporters. Never charged until Kealey laid charges. Frank Majeau testified in the Coulter hearing that Mulronney paid all of LaSalle's outstanding, mostly gambling debts (\$300,000) after the election of 1984, before appointing him minister of Public Works.

Former Tory MP **Michel Gravel**, convicted of fraud and bribe-taking, quoted LaSalle in testimony before JP Coulter, "... if I drown, a lot of others will drown with me." Also according to Gravel, Quebec Provincial Police suspected LaSalle of being behind the unsolved murders of Quebec Tory contractors and land developers **Mario Taddeo** and **Henri Paquin*** (see also **Bazin** and **Desrochers**).

LaSalle was charged by the A-G of Ontario with two counts of criminal wrongdoing: requesting a bribe (from Glen Kealey) and conspiracy to defraud the government. No trial has been set yet, as the Ontario Provincial Police has until September 16, 1992, to investigate the 30 allegations against all the persons named in the Coulter hearings, and may lay further charges.



"... if I drown, a lot of others will drown with me"

— Roch LaSalle to Michel Gravel

According to Kealey, there are several unsolved murders and suicides littering the trail of corruption leading to the highest level of the Mulronney government. Among the unsolved murders are those of two millionaire Tory land developers: **Mario Taddeo, shot in December 1987, in his Mirabel office at the time of being investigated by the RCMP for illegal land dealings; and **Henri Paquin**, former employer of convicted MP Michel Gravel, and with LaSalle associate **Gervais Desrochers**, recipient of a \$700,000 government grant to run a hydroponic market garden on vacant Mirabel Airport land. The latter was killed instantly in October 1988, when a remote control car bomb planted on his Mercedes exploded. Also found dead in 1988, was **Gerard Fortier**, boyfriend of convicted MP **Richard Grisé's** secretary, burnt to death after gas was poured on his body and set afire — according to Kealey after he threatened to blow the whistle on Grisé's fraud activities. In 1990, **Roger Nantel**, Mulronney's former press secretary and manager of his 1984 Quebec election ad campaign was found dead with a bullet in his nostril. (His office was one of four Montreal PC offices broken into the day after the 1984 Tory election victory. Burglars only stole files on who had contributed to Mulronney's leadership bid and 1984 election campaign.) The Quebec coroner deemed both these deaths suicides although, in Fortier's case, no gas can was ever found near his body, and Nantel was found holding a gun, "with all extremities extended," i.e., spread eagle. (See also "Ten dead Tories," *Frank Magazine*, August 8, 1991.)*

(continued on page 16)

A Lucky Break (continued from page 15)

Back in November 1989, Kealey got a much needed lucky break when he met up with **Justice of the Peace, Lynn Coulter**. Praised for her courage and competence by many, including Ottawa trial lawyer and past president of the Carleton Law Association **Arthur Cogan** who described her as having "... a good judging mind A hearing before her is as good as any judge...." JP Coulter listened to Kealey when others had been all too eager to dismiss him. With over 30 years experience judging witnesses and equipped in the words of an admiring co-worker with "a built-in B.S. detector," Coulter decided Kealey had enough valid information to warrant a hearing.

The hearing, which began in February 1991, was cut short after the lawyer for the government succeeded in convincing Coulter to hold the hearing "in camera," i.e., closed from the general public and with a ban on publication of evidence. Southam News, the *Ottawa Citizen*, the *Globe and Mail*, CBC and Radio-Canada appealed the decision to the Ontario Supreme Court, where **Madame Justice Bell** ordered the hearing to be carried out in public. The government, however, appealed again and eventually won. Finally, the hearing which was scheduled to last a few days, took place in camera, in July, 1992. It lasted 17 days during which time JP Coulter listened to testimony from six high ranking officers of the RCMP (among them, one former assistant deputy commissioner); convicted Tory MP Michel Gravel; former Tory cabinet minister Suzanne Blais-Grenier; former Roch LaSalle aide **Frank Majeau**; Emilien Maille, the key witness for the prosecution in the trial of Michel Gravel; and Glen Kealey. On July 19, 1991, Coulter ruled that criminal charges of fraud, corruption and obstruction of justice against the Mulroney government and the RCMP should go ahead. Kealey was celebrated in the national news from coast to coast, and declared that he felt as if a huge burden had been lifted from his shoulders.

One-man Conspiracy?

The Mulroney government as well as the accused in turn drew a huge sigh of relief in September 1991, when **Brian Trafford**, Director of Criminal Prosecutions for

Ontario's new NDP government's Attorney General's office, announced that charges of requesting a bribe and conspiracy to defraud the government were going ahead only against Roch LaSalle; other charges had been put on hold pending the outcome of an investigation by the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP). Kealey was quick to point out that any expression of relief was premature: the OPP investigation and the trial of LaSalle would inevitably implicate the others, and anyway, "How," he asked, "could LaSalle have conspired to defraud the government all by himself?"

Further, in an interview with **Stevie Cameron** of the *Globe and Mail*, February 10, 1992, one of the OPP investigating officers said: "The media did not understand what happened when the charges were withdrawn. They thought we had dismissed the charges. We did not and there is a difference. We can relay them at any time." The OPP investigation is scheduled to report back on September 16, 1992.

Also going to trial in September 1992, is Senator **Michel Cogger** who was charged by the RCMP with influence peddling, in a move supposedly unrelated to Kealey's charges, three days before the A-G of Ontario was to announce whether or not Kealey's charges were to go ahead. Kealey is convinced that more evidence corroborating his case will come out in Cogger's hearing.

At every turn of the way, Kealey's fight against the corruption in the Mulroney government has been met with justice department gag orders and legal maneuvers of every kind aimed at keeping information from the public. The latest is from the A-G of Ontario who, after ordering the charges from the Coulter hearing withdrawn, also issued a ban on publication of the evidence presented. Kealey has defied this ban and, after being denied his own copy of the transcript of the hearing — all the accused got theirs! — has published his own 25-page transcript based on his personal notes. He sent this transcript to all the national media, but so far, only *Frank Magazine* has published it (March 5 and 19, 1992) and **Rafe Mair** of CKNW Radio, Vancouver, B.C. (December 12, 1991), has interviewed Kealey on the content. The rest of the media have complied with the request to keep the information under wraps.

As for Glen Kealey, he presses on, telling his story in



A familiar sight on Parliament Hill: Glen Kealey being arrested by the RCMP. This time for ignoring the barricades erected to keep protesters away from the House. (Photo: Hill Times)

public meetings across the country, finding innovative ways of keeping the corruption issue before the courts and before the media. He has started the Canadian Institute for Political Integrity (CIP) with the intention to continue gathering evidence on corrupt politicians, to publish the facts and file class-action lawsuits. He is writing a book based on his experiences and is planning to run as an independent in the riding of Pontiac-Gatineau-Labelle (near Ottawa) in the next election. ♦

Glen Kealey's speech, "Corruption in High Places" is available from CCAFT on audiotape (see catalogue p. 27). Write, phone or fax him at:
Canadian Institute for Political Integrity,
P.O. Box 1634, Station B, Hull, Quebec.
Tel. (819)778-1705. Fax (613)747-1644.

Rogues' Gallery (continued from page 15)

2. Senator Michel Cogger. A longtime friend of



Mulroney's (some say his closest friend) and political supporter, Cogger was made a Senator in 1986. Fundraised for Mulroney's 1976 bid for the Tory leadership. With **Frank Moores** was a key strategist and fundraiser for the offshore financed "dump-Clark" movement that put Mulroney in power as Tory leader in 1983. Cogger was also Mulroney's legal counsel during the 1984 election (Cogger is a senior member of the law firm **Lapointe-Rosenstein**, the law firm which also handled the lawsuit brought against Kealey by his former partners in MICOT), and co-chairman of the PC election campaign in 1988. According to Kealey, Cogger is responsible for government leasing in Quebec, i.e., decides who gets the contract and collects the kickback fee.

Cogger has been the subject of several RCMP investigations. **RCMP Inspector André Beauchemin** testified in the Coulter hearing that Cogger's file at the RCMP "filled an entire cabinet." Evidence of four different cases where Cogger used illegal influence and benefited financially was put before JP Coulter: GigaMos/GigaText, Pluri-Canax Leat, Hydro Méga and the strip club Lido in Hull. The Lido (run by a friend of Roch LaSalle's and with connections to the Montreal Mafia) allegedly with Cogger's help received loans from the Federal Business Development Bank.

Cogger was charged by the RCMP with one count of influence peddling September 13, 1991, three days before the Attorney General was to announce whether Kealey's charges could go ahead. Cogger will go on trial in September 1992, on charges that he received \$212,000 from the Quebec computer company GigaMos, for using his influence in the PC government to help it win \$45 million in grants. Evidence showing Cogger made representations to **Bernard Roy** at the

PMO on **Guy Montpetit's** behalf and "exerted pressure" on three federal industry ministers. Bills sent to Cogger by Guy Montpetit, president of GigaMos, were entered as evidence in the 1988 civil trial of Montpetit when his Japanese partner sued him for defrauding him of \$39 million.

3. Bernard Roy. Mulroney's principal secretary, head of the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) in the early years of the PC mandate. A Montreal lawyer, and like Cogger a longtime friend of Mulroney's from law school, Roy was best man at Mulroney's wedding.



In the Coulter hearing, **RCMP Inspector Jean-Pierre Witt** testified he believed Roy "trafficked in influence" in 1985, when the government lease of Place Vincent Massey, owned by **Jean Paul Tessier**, Roy's longtime legal client, was prematurely broken and renewed at triple the cost to the taxpayers. The order to break the lease allegedly came to LaSalle from Roy, and also involved dropping an option-to-purchase clause which according to Kealey, transferred \$50-80 million of equity in the building to Tessier. Shortly afterwards, Kealey claims, Tessier paid a \$125,000 hotel bill of Mulroney's owed since the 1983 PC leadership race.

Retired **RCMP Assistant Deputy Commissioner Rod Stämmer**, also in the Coulter hearing, testified the RCMP had evidence of "a secret commission" amounting to "hundreds of thousands of dollars," paid to Roy by Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to secure government rental contracts in their high-rise office building at 50 O'Connor St., and that the RCMP was unable to get crucial evidence it needed from the FBI to prove its case. (MetLife's head office is in the U.S.)

And, **Suzanne Blais-Grenier**, former Tory cabinet minister stated before JP Coulter that while she was a cabinet minister she was told that Senators **Jean Bazin** and **Guy Charbonneau** with **Bernard Roy**, were in charge of administering an offshore, secret PC Fund, and that the

money deposited in it came from 5% kickback fees built into government contracts. **Blais-Grenier** and former LaSalle aide **Frank Majeau**, also before JP Coulter, both testified that there were two competing kickback operations: the less sophisticated, Hull-based LaSalle-Desrochers-Gravel group, and the more powerful, national "group of the PM" (**Bernard Roy**, Senators **Charbonneau** and **Bazin**, and in Quebec, **Michel Côté**).

According to testimony of **Emilien Maille**, former right-hand man of Michel Gravel, "Roch LaSalle knew enough about Roy and Nolin to put us all in jail."

4. Senator Guy Charbonneau. A prominent



Quebec Tory businessman and close friend of Mulroney's, appointed to the Senate in 1979 and made Speaker of the Senate shortly after the PC election win in 1984. Known among Quebec Tories as "The Pope" because of his influence. According to Kealey, Charbonneau is in charge of government contracting, i.e., kickback schemes, in Ottawa. According to RCMP Inspector **Jean-Pierre Witt's** testimony in the Coulter hearing, Charbonneau is linked to a "secret PC" bank account in Montreal. (See Roy.)

5. Frank Moores. Former Newfoundland premier and founder of the powerful Ottawa lobbying firm, Government Consultants International (GCI) in 1984 (known for its "ear in the PMO"). Close advisor to Mulroney and, with Michel Cogger, chief organizer of the dump-Clark movement that brought Mulroney to power.



(continued on page 18)

Political prisoners on death row: the aftermath of the U.S. invasion of Grenada

by Marjaleena Repo

On August 14, 1991, the Grenadian prime minister, Nicholas Brathwaite, committed the death sentences of 14 people convicted of killing prime minister Maurice Bishop and ten others in 1983. The announcement came one minute to midnight: the hangman was already on the island, the graves had been dug, the gallows oiled and the prisoners on death row had been fitted for their execution garb. Mr. Brathwaite stated he had responded to appeals from churches, human rights groups and people around the world. The attorney for some of the 14 said that concentrated energy from Canadians had made a crucial difference in the final outcome.

Those who escaped death by a hair's breadth and are now facing life sentences in a brutal and dehumanizing prison in Grenada, are key members of the Bishop government, which was deposed by U.S. troops in October 1983. The invasion was the culmination of 4 1/2 years of acts of destabilization by the U.S. — including assassination attempts on the entire leadership of the government, these 14 among them — and threats of military intervention against Bishop's mildly socialist government. The tiny island of Grenada, with only 100,000 inhabitants, had been a thorn in the side of President Ronald Reagan, almost an obsession, as Nicaragua was to become later. When U.S. troops, estimated by some Grenadians to be 20,000, landed with war ships, planes and helicopters, and the bombs began to fall, the island's army of 500 was no match for the most powerful military nation in the world.

The treatment and the trial of the accused have been an eight-year horror story. The prisoners have been unable to defend themselves against the grave charges of murdering their friends and colleagues, because they have been subjected to a bizarre and unconstitutional legal process, as well as having suffered from continuous abuses by prison and court officials. They have been beaten, tortured and deliberately starved. Confessions have been extracted from some of them by torture. They have been refused medical attention for injuries suffered in beatings and for other illnesses. They have been denied access to their families and their lawyers and have been prevented from working on their defence by such petty but vicious acts as denying them light in their cells and depriving them of paper and pens. Bernard Coard, Bishop's deputy prime minister, already suffering from an eye disease, has been kept in a dark underground cell for most of his imprisonment, severely aggravating his condition.

They have been refused access to their own personal and governmental documents, which would have enabled them to prove false the charges against them. These documents were confiscated by the U.S. at the time of the invasion, taken to Washington, and kept there, all 35,000 pounds of them. To this day the accused have not been able to retrieve, or get access to, these crucial pieces of evidence, some of which have been put on display for U.S. citizens. If that was not enough, their defence notes, painstakingly

prepared over five months, were confiscated and never returned.

Potential defence witnesses have been deported or prevented from returning to testify for the defence. The initial investigation of their case was carried out by the U.S. and Barbadian occupying forces in an atmosphere of terror and violence while the U.S. was still shelling and bombing the island. Hundreds of Grenadians were rounded up and taken to a U.S. prisoner of war camp, threatened with torture of themselves or members of their families if they didn't "talk." Witnesses were intimidated and still others bribed, to produce just the right kind of testimony to convict the accused. The jury was selected from individuals openly hostile to the prisoners, by a member of the prosecuting

unconscious on the courtroom floor.

In 1985, the former U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey Clark, described the prison conditions as "intolerable" and the case against the accused "a legal travesty." He has demanded that the charges be dropped, because the preliminary hearing had failed to link the accused to the killings. In fact, the prosecution has never claimed that the former leaders were even near the murder scene. It merely argued, without producing the evidence, that they conspired to have Mr. Bishop and others executed.

The show trial, financed from the very beginning by the U.S. government which also appointed the trial judges and prosecuting team from countries that supported the invasion of Grenada, such as Jamaica and Barbados, continued for a number of years. Also, the trial was put in the hands of a "temporary," unconstitutional court. The new, U.S.-installed government which restored the 1973 constitution, on advice from the U.S., deliberately did not restore the section which deals with Grenada's court system. The defendants have challenged the legality of this "temporary" court which also deprived them of their right to a final appeal to the Privy Council in London, England — where it is unlikely the fabricated case against them would have held up before competent legal scrutiny.*

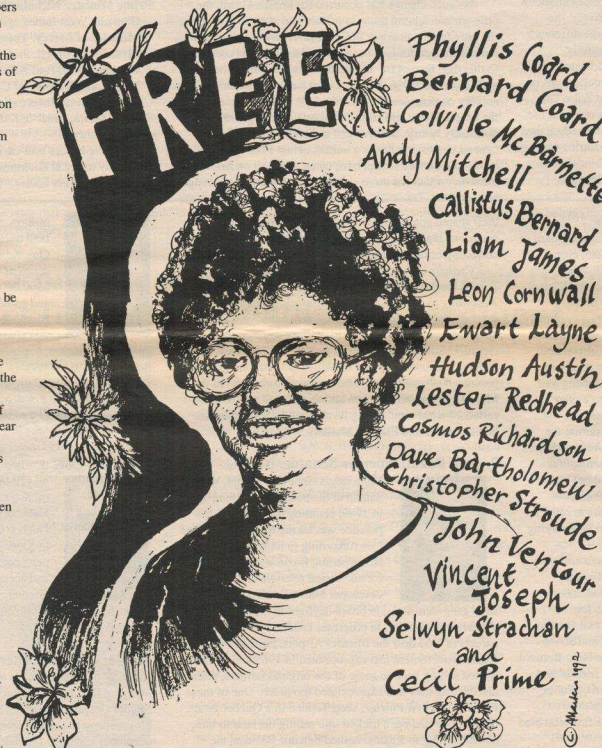
The shameful kangaroo court in Grenada brought predictable results: a spectre of a judicial murder of the convicted, whose defense was systematically obstructed, while physical and psychological abuse was meted out to them with no holds barred, and while a massive and relentless propaganda and psychological warfare campaign, through posters, media articles and even calypso songs, was waged against them depicting them as Grenadian Idi Amins and murderous thugs. All appeals — including the latest one with an 18-page affidavit by an eyewitness which demolishes the testimony by the prosecution's key witnesses — were rejected by Grenada's courts and its government which had seemingly given up on any pretense to legality, constitutionality or conformity with international law, while catering to the brutal "might is right" ethic of the New World Order as represented by the U.S.A. It is no wonder that Richard Hart, a former attorney-general of Grenada, and now acting on behalf of some of the accused, has described the process as "a miscarriage of justice such as I have never seen in my 53 years as a lawyer."

It is crystal clear that the U.S. government wanted the key political

team who was also a long-time political opponent of the accused. In protest, the defendants refused to participate and therefore have never had an opportunity to cross-examine prosecution witnesses or to call their own.

Several of the defendants undertook long and life-endangering hunger-strikes to protest the abuses. Phyllis Coard, a social worker, mother of three and the wife of Bernard Coard — and the only woman among the convicted — has been kept in solitary confinement for most of her eight years in jail. She was so weakened by her 96-day hunger strike during her "trial" in 1986 that she had to be taken to court on a stretcher. John Ventour, another defendant, collapsed in court from injuries resulting from beatings. The judge continued with the trial while he lay

*A Grenadian Court of Appeal in 1985 ruled the temporary court illegal and urged the government to restore the constitutional High Court. In July 1991, one week after another temporary Court of Appeal upheld the fourteen death sentences and cleared the way for the actual hangings, the government of Grenada passed a law reinstating constitutional courts and the right of appeal to the Privy Council. This law, however, carried a rider which explicitly ruled out the possibility of such an appeal by the Grenada 14. To make absolutely sure there would be no chance of a legal challenge, the government also scheduled their executions for August 1, 1991 — the same day the law reinstating constitutional courts was to take effect.



Political prisoners on death row (continued from page 17)

defendants — first and foremost Bernard Coard, generally considered the co-leader with Maurice Bishop of the Grenadian Revolution of 1979 — hanged by the neck until they were dead. The U.S. has been determined to destroy all political opposition on the island, in order to validate its criminal invasion of 1983 and to still the voices of the very people who could tell what really happened the day of October 19, 1983, when Maurice Bishop and others were murdered. The circumstances of those killings, including the role played by the CIA, have never been fully investigated.

In essence, the bulk of Grenada's New Jewel Movement's surviving leadership has been tried and found guilty by an occupying enemy force, an extraordinary legal situation, by the least. The U.S. was on the threshold of physically eliminating, by using the government of Grenada as its proxy, the remaining leaders of the Grenadian revolution, all the while shedding crocodile tears over the death of Maurice Bishop whom it treated as a dangerous mini-Castro while he was still alive.

The fourteen whose lives were almost snuffed out last August are the forgotten victims of human rights violations in the Western Hemisphere. They are, collectively, the Dreyfus Affair of the 1980s and 1990s, with the difference that while France's Alfred Dreyfus was wrongfully convicted in 1894, he lived to see himself vindicated after years of active campaigning by the leading intellectuals of his age, among them first and foremost Émile Zola. The Grenada 14, and the three others who already received life sentences, on the contrary, unlike the white skinned victims of human rights violations in Eastern block countries who receive world-wide recognition and become household names, could have gone to their deaths nameless and

faceless, even after their intensive, nearly a decade long fight to have a chance to prove their innocence in a proper court. It is now up to people with conscience and with a commitment to truth and justice in our own hemisphere to work to see that the 17 are either immediately given new trials that measure up to international legal and human rights standards or that their clearly political convictions be overturned and they be set free.

June 1992 update:

The prison conditions have improved considerably for 16 of the 17 political prisoners in Grenada, after the commutation of death sentences and after a change of key prison personnel. There is now a more humane and professional atmosphere, the prisoners write. "Conditions here have improved dramatically," writes one, "like night and day." "Once we weren't even permitted to wear underwear and to keep our toothbrushes, plastic spoons etc. in our cells. Now we are out of the cells most of the day and permitted to have radios!" The men are allowed to freely associate with each other, to engage in academic studies and to teach others, including regular prisoners, and to participate in recreation and religious activities.

No such change has occurred for Phyllis Coard, the only woman among those in prison, and also, so it appears, the only female prisoner in Grenada. If anything, conditions have worsened for her, because her isolation has continued to this day. Except for 15 months between September 1985 and December 1986, Phyllis Coard has been isolated and in solitary confinement for 99.9% of the last nine years. Unlike the others, she is still surrounded by the "old guard," politically hostile, abusive and sadistic authority figures bent on destroying her as a human being. Poor nutrition and prolonged hunger strikes have taken their toll on her, as has the worry about her three children, particularly her youngest

one and only son, 12-year-old Neto, who was only four years old when he was so brutally separated from both his parents. He has had to move from home to home as his relatives — including his maternal grandparents — die or are unable to care for him, and while his parents remain behind bars. Physically, his growth has been stunted, and the emotional effect of being separated from his parents and seeing them for months on end on verge of being hanged, has been severe and is getting worse.

In March of this year, Phyllis Coard felt she was no longer able to continue. She wrote to the government of Grenada, asking that the commutation of her sentence of death be reversed and that she be hanged. She explained that she was unable to endure any longer the harsh conditions under which she was forced to exist. Her supporters are now asking that her conditions of imprisonment be immediately improved to conform with international human rights standards or that she be immediately released from prison on humanitarian grounds. They are also demanding that Amnesty International pay vigorous attention to Phyllis Coard's situation.

Letters on behalf of Phyllis Coard can be sent to:

Prime Minister Nicholas Brathwaite, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies, with copies to: **Grenada's Minister of Mercy, Tourism and Women's Affairs, Mrs. Joan Pureell**, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies; **Canada's External Affairs Minister, Barbara MacDougall**, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0A6; **Amnesty International**, 130 Slater Street, Suite 900, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 6E2 and to your own Member of Parliament.

Supportive letters and cards to Phyllis Coard can be sent directly to her at **Richmond Hill Prison, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies**. ♦

Rogues' Gallery (continued from page 16)

Appointed by Mulrooney to the Air Canada Board of Directors in 1984, Moores resigned in 1985, citing media "harassment" — articles were published suggesting he was in a conflict of interests while his firm, GCI, lobbied Air Canada on behalf of the European-based Airbus consortium. Airbus eventually won a \$2 billion contract to update Air Canada's fleet. Assistant Deputy Commissioner Stamler also stood before JP Coulter that Moores had been named in an RCMP investigation into Airbus. The company had been linked to illegal commissions paid to **Franz Strauss'** government in Bavaria, Germany.

Suzanne Blais-Grenier testified that during the time she was a member of Mulrooney's cabinet, Moores' firm had influence on government contracting "far beyond what she thought the norm should be." GCI representatives sat in on Department of Transport committee meetings where they had access to sensitive information which could be used by them when trying to secure contracts for clients.

According to RCMP Inspector Witty, a company owned by Moores, developer Jean-Paul Tessier (Bernard Roy's legal client) and Newfoundland financier **Craig Dobbin** was investigated for conspiring with Roy, in connection with two Ottawa office buildings (Place Louis St. Laurent and 50 O'Connor) which the company wanted to buy. Bernard Roy was suspected of intervening on his friends' and clients' behalf by ordering the Department of Public Works to hold back government leases for the buildings, thereby putting the owners in a financial bind and amenable to sell them at a low price.

6. Pierre Cadieux, Minister of Amateur Sports.

Cadieux is a Vaudreuil, Quebec lawyer elected to Parliament in 1984. Minister of Labour in 1986, Indian Affairs minister in 1989, promoted to Solicitor General in 1990, then demoted to Minister of Amateur Sports.



Cadieux shared an apartment with former Tory MP Michel Gravel while Gravel was collecting \$91,000 in goods and bribes from businessmen in Hull, Quebec. These bribes included appliances and renovations of

their shared apartment. Gravel has stated on several occasions that Cadieux knew all along that he was collecting bribes for LaSalle, and should share the blame.

Cadieux also arranged for Montreal criminal lawyer **Daniel Rock** to defend Gravel on his corruption charges. According to Stevie Cameron's sources, Cadieux consulted regularly with Rock and other lawyers, who were able to delay the case from going to trial. They were granted a record 33 adjournments over a period of 2 1/2 years. In the end, by convincing Gravel to plead guilty, the legal team prevented a hearing on the full story on corruption in the Mulrooney government from taking place. (The Crown had called 27 witnesses, among them Roch LaSalle, Suzanne Blais-Grenier and Emilien Maille.)

7. Jean Bazin, Former Senator.

Mulrooney's since law school. Was named to the Senate in 1986; resigned in 1989, claiming his Montreal law practice was taking up too much time. According to RCMP Inspector Beauchemin, Bazin was investigated for an "illegal relationship" with land developer Mario Taddeo who was shot, gang land style, in broad daylight in his office, while the investigation was in progress. Taddeo was buying up parcels of land near the Mirabel Airport, farmland which the federal government had expropriated in 1969 and in 1985 started selling back to some of the original farmers, after discovering they had expropriated too much. One of these farmers, **Gérard Poirier**, sued Taddeo in a Quebec court, claiming he had been tricked into selling his land to him, and according to Kealey, named Senator Bazin as the person who told him he would only be able to buy his land back from the government if he agreed to resell it to Mario Taddeo. Bazin was also named with **André Bissonnette** as having benefited financially from the **Oerlikon** land flip scandal in 1986.

Suzanne Blais-Grenier stated in the Coulter hearing that she had been told both Senators Bazin and Charbonneau, with Bernard Roy controlled the off-shore million dollar "secret PC Fund" on government kickbacks.

8. André Bissonnette. Fired from his position as junior transport minister in 1986 when, in a highly publicized scandal, he was charged with breach of trust and conspiracy to defraud the defence contractor, Oerlikon, of close to \$1



million. Oerlikon bought a 100-acre land tract in Bissonnette's Saint Jean, Quec. riding. The price, through a series of land flips, went from \$800,000 to \$3 million in 11 days, and some of the money ended up in Bissonnette's blind trust. Bissonnette was charged with benefiting from insider information, but was eventually cleared. His riding association president, Normand Ouellette, who was in charge of Bissonnette's blind trust was convicted. Bissonnette wanted to run in the 1988 election, but Mulrooney refused to sign his nomination papers.

9. Michel Coté.

Elected to Parliament in 1984, he was fired as Supply and Services minister in 1988 after revelations he had accepted a \$250,000 loan from a Quebec City developer. According to Kealey, Coté is Mulrooney's personal accountant in Quebec City, and according to Suzanne Blais-Grenier, Coté is one of the team of Tories in charge of administering the secret 5% kickback PC fund.

10. Gervais Desrochers. Roch LaSalle's cousin and long-time friend, he is also owner of Ottawa lobbying firm Inter Gestion G.D. Inc. According to Michel Gravel, Desrochers funnelled money through his company to LaSalle from Quebec millionaire land developer and Tory fundraiser Henri Paquin (now dead). Paquin and Desrochers had jointly received a \$700,000 government grant to run a hydroponic greenhouse business, Hydro Serre Inc., on vacant Mirabel airport land. According to RCMP inspector Beauchemin, Desrochers was paid \$51,000 by Metropolitan Life for arranging rental in their building at 50 O'Connor St. for **Simon Reisman's** government free trade negotiating team. Kealey claims Desrochers was LaSalle's "personal lobbyist," and that money paid to Desrochers eventually ended up in LaSalle's hands.

11. Pierre-Claude Nolin. A long-time Tory backroom boss in Quebec and Bernard Roy's appointee

(continued on page 22)



... and people write letters

common sense.

Camille Bell, Gravelbourg, Sask.

truth always a winner

Dear CCAFT,

Thank you so much for all the help you are providing us, all the discourses which are bringing light into this Free Trade Agreement. After viewing Mr. Orchard on a local cable channel, I could NOT believe what I was hearing. And everything is so TRUE. Keep on fighting. Truth is always a winner.

James Albert Danis,
Vancouver, B.C.

first issue excellent

Dear David Orchard,

Thank you very much for your recent letter and the enclosed copy of the first issue of *True North*. This first issue was, in my opinion, excellent and I would be delighted to subscribe. Congratulations and best wishes.

Senator Keith Davy,
Ottawa, Ont.

Canada too precious to die

Dear Mr. Orchard,

I listened to you with great interest on the Bill Aucherlone show on CJRN radio (Niagara Falls). I congratulate you and wish you the best of luck in your endeavours. I am in complete agreement with you concerning free trade: the deal is not about trade at all because before the deal some 80% of goods would duty-free across the border. **The deal is a take-over of Canada by the U.S.A.** There are about to realize peacefully what they have tried to gain militarily, thanks to their friend, Brian Mulroney. I have a feeling that the prime minister of Canada is an American agent and his role is to make our beloved Canada unrecognizable, by setting provinces and premiers against one another; by breaking the east-west bond that traditionally linked this country of ours, and by transforming it into a north-south affair with the mighty U.S.A. eventually picking up the drifting provinces one by one. I hope I am wrong; in fact, I would love to be proven wrong.

The NDP is the only political party that I have ever given my money to. I gave it to Ed Broadbent in the last election because he said that free trade was going to be the main subject of his campaign. I do not have to go into details, everybody knows the results, as I and millions of other Canadians were let down by the NDP.

The only problem I have with the electoral coalition proposition is imagining the Liberals aligning themselves with the NDP, after all, the proponents of the free trade deal, i.e., big business, is in bed not only with B. Mulroney and Co. but also with the Liberals. Anyway, we have to try something, ANYTHING, because Canada is too precious to die.

Ancelet Derisma, Toronto, Ont.

a bloodless coup

Dear CCAFT,

Greetings from Vancouver! We both enjoyed the *True North* launching party and the chance to meet you.

We thought the newspaper was very interesting, particularly the article on the

Liberal leadership convention. Our feelings are more and more that we've had a bloodless coup in the country with the Mulroney government. Canada is certainly not the country that we once believed it was, with the war a further example of how our sovereignty has been eroded.

As for comments about the *True North*, we would like to see a future article on shopping to support Canadian products. It would be helpful to have a list of products which provide Canadian jobs or which are owned by Canadians. For example, I wouldn't buy Campbell soups before, and especially not now when they have closed their Canadian plant in Manitoba. I think we need information about consumer goods so that people are aware and can shop accordingly.

Lorna Gentry and
Lorraine Hallier,
Vancouver, B.C.

(Editor's reply: Good idea, this buying Canadian. Watch future issues or articles on what to buy and what to avoid buying.)

candles in the Tory darkness

Dear Fellow Canadians,

Darkness has descended over this country, blackening every door with the taint of the meanest regime this nation has yet known. But *True North* and its people are candles in this vast, Tory darkness. May God and the angels fly to your aid. The following is an ode to the butcher of my nation.

ODE TO MULRONEY

*The army rolls in
while in a midnight office
the prime minister curls his lip
and spits at the nation —
his toters and bearers
quickly gather round
to marvel at his voice
—to worship in its sound.
But God, this is sadness,
for us and for him —
this emptiness of spirit
this light which grows
so dim.*

David Stirling Gorham,
Fredericton, N.B.

from Mexico City

Dear CCAFT,

I send you my best greetings from Mexico City. *True North* has been welcome down here, as well as the books, videos and papers you gave me. We are very much interested in keeping in touch with you. We'll send you information. Please write to us. I'll be glad to hear from you. Saludos!

Saul Escobar Toledo, Member,
National Executive, Partido de la
Revolucion Democratica (PRD)
Mexico City, Mexico

Guillotine Some Traitors (GST)

Dear CCAFT,

Sometimes I wonder whether I wasted my time fighting Hitler and Mussolini when we have another government with fascist ideas in Ottawa. Our friend Brian has a lot more in common with Mussolini than his initials, B.M., in his attempt to become the

"Duce" at Ottawa. As for his colleague, Mike Wilson, perhaps GST should stand for "Guillotine Some Traitors." Despite all this, may I wish you and all CCAFT members much success.

Ed Grafty, Thunder Bay, Ont.

don't cut history

Dear CCAFT,

The tape, "Free trade and the crisis in Canada," was very effective. Perhaps it would be even more so if the text was shortened a bit. Please don't cut out any of the history, though.

Robert Pacaud, Ottawa, Ont.

(Editor's note: We were sorry to hear that Mr. Pacaud has since passed away.)

forests will be ruined

Dear David Orchard,

I have just finished listening to a cassette tape of yours from Vancouver, B.C., September 8, 1990. It was a very good talk. You really know your materials. I have listened to other tapes of yours and have seen you debate John Crosbie. You handle yourself very well.

We farm and are having a tough time as are all other young farmers starting. I want to join your organization because I believe farming will never survive if we can't stop this free trade deal. We know Canada as a whole is in real trouble. We want to help.

It is sick, in this great country, that big business and weak politicians can wreak havoc on us.

The thing that really hit home on your cassette was the pulp mills being built across Alberta and Saskatchewan. We have one being built here in Meadow Lake, without environmental impact studies. We know that the forests will be ruined and we as taxpayers will be left with a devastated forest area and a large debt for sure. I want to do something to stop this PTA. It is wrong and would never have passed if Ed Broadbent and John Turner would have worked together.

I truly admire you and your organization although I have never met you. Please carry on the fight and May God Bless.

Vernon S. Halpenny,
Dorintosh, Sask.

pleased you haven't given up!

Dear David Orchard,

I attended your lecture while in Halifax before the election. I am so pleased that you haven't given up. I've read the newspaper from cover to cover — thank you for the beautiful facts.



(continued on page 20)

positive attitude

Dear David Orchard,

I heard your speech in Kingston and then read the whole first issue of *True North*. I'm impressed by your arguments, your vision, your positive attitude and your tremendous drive.

Doug Arbett, Kingston, Ont.

Mulroney selling us down the river

Dear Editor,

I received your *True North* issue regarding Mulroney selling us down the river. I am a 73-year old Canadian, who served overseas for five years in a front line unit in England, Sicily, Italy, Holland and the German borders. I was employed for 36 years by a private business that had no pension plan until the inception of the Canada pension; hence we live, according to Statistics Canada, below the poverty level.

Your newspaper states the facts that we will become a slave of the USA. It will take over our resources, our nationality and our livelihood. The Free Trade Agreement by Mulroney, who couldn't even manage an iron ore plant in Quebec, is bearing fruit — it's the largest giveaway in Canadian history.

To me it is quite evident by the flow south of our industrial firms, the closing every day of plants and putting thousands into poverty, that it is all a plan of the U.S.A. to bring our level of living down to their level. Our high interest rates, our social programmes, our average wages compared to theirs was dictated to Mulroney as part of the free trade deal. The outcome will give them what they want: the rich at the top, the poor at the bottom with nobody in between.

I'm behind your efforts 100%. With the situation of the world is in today, if there is a "God" above — which I pray there is — we need all the help we can get or civilization as we know it today is lost.

Cyril Baillon, Moose Jaw, Sask.

voice of tolerance and reason

Dear David Orchard,

My husband I had occasion to hear your tapes recently. We couldn't agree more fully or have said it any better. Your speech helped to clarify certain things as well. Bravo and keep it up!

We live in Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan, and are a mixed cultural family — English and French, and we also have one of our children enrolled in Gravelbourg's new francophone school, Beausoleil. We have lived through and witnessed a difficult year and one of intimidation in this community where one of our grandparents (who were Scot francophones) were among the first to arrive and to build homes.

It is so refreshing to hear your voice of tolerance and of reason and such dignified

(continued from page 19)

I am part of a small two-person Canadian business which experiences first hand the American influence since the trade deal was struck. I am a potter who enjoys using local clay. Since free trade the Americans are moving their clay in and undercutting local clay by \$2.00-\$3.00 for the same amount. Clay coming from thousands of miles away is cheaper to buy than clay dug 500 kms away.

Yes, I will spread your news. Thank you again.

Paul Michael Primeau,
Ketch Harbour, N.S.

massive outpouring of public concern

Dear CCAFT,

Thank you for the complimentary copy of *True North*. I am enclosing my subscription order. I find it strange that I have not heard of your organization before now or of your Open Letter to the Opposition Members in October, 1989.

I have read the paper carefully and totally agree with the premise made that to regain control of our country we must abrogate the FTA and therefore must rid ourselves of the Mulroney government, and I also agree that this can only be done by a coalition of the Liberals and NDP. The country cannot survive another four to five years of the Mulroney gang.

However, when you made your presentation to the Liberals and NDP, you were, as you put it, received "like skunks at a garden party." This does not seem to augur very well for convincing them to put Canada above party.

It seems to me that the only way we can have any hope of accomplishing this is to have a massive outpouring of public concern by letters to Chrétien and McLaughlin and to individual Liberal and

NDP MPs, as well as letters to the editor, etc.

I am prepared to do my small bit in this regard.

Jack Hughes, Ingersoll, Ont.

Mexico second phase of U.S. plan

Dear CCAFT,

We really feel that you are the one voice that has a creditable handle on what the FTA is all about. I think Canadians are very fortunate in having someone who can bring us the other side of the story, with so many facts and so much determination.

I'm afraid we are now facing the second phase of the U.S. plan to utilize Canadian resources and Mexican cheap labour, and I very much fear that Canadian and Mexicans will be the big losers, especially average income and poor people.

Leo and Helen Kurtenbach,
Cudworth, Sask.

won't purchase imported produce

Dear Editor,

I just read Mr. Orchard's writings in vol. 1, no. 1 of *True North*. I'm with you and believe in his views. From many world travels I say, "Freedom begins on the farm!" I don't really care what I have to pay Canadian farmers for food. I skip purchasing imported produce when our own is available and I don't indulge in California greens.

John B. McCullum,
Burlington, Ont.

too much love for Pierre Trudeau

Dear CCAFT,

Thank you for notifying me about the open-line show with Mr. Orchard. I phoned as many friends as time permitted to remind them of the show.

I spoke to a farmer friend who had heard the programme on his tractor radio. He thought it was informative, but thought that Mr. Orchard had too much love for Pierre Trudeau, which most of us don't, although compared with Mulroney and Grant Devine, I guess he was a saint.

Neil Oryall, Swift Current, Sask.

patriotic, emotion-stirring

Dear David Orchard,

You have reminded me in a patriotic, emotion-stirring way that I am a Canadian. We appear to share two fundamental beliefs; namely open, democratic due process and political accountability. The budget deficit and national debt, Quebec sovereignty, the environment, the GST and free trade with the United States and Mexico are issues too important to leave to small groups of politicians with pre-disposed partisan biases and whose mandate is insufficient to speak for the majority.

You have been leading a crusade to ensure that our identity as Canadians is not forever lost. It is a noble cause, and is one that no rational Canadian can afford not to join. Enclosed please find my membership application, and I look forward to meeting with you the next time you are in Vancouver. In the meanwhile, if there is anything that you feel I can be doing to assist you, please do not hesitate to call on me.

John E. Pearce,
Bowen Island, B.C.

the other Canada

Dear David Orchard,

Canada's sure a funny place, isn't it? There's a whole other Canada out there that never sees its reflection in its politicians and its media. And yet, like a sort of intuition, or sixth sense, this other Canada knows

that it's there, and, in your own case, you get to actually see it, inasmuch as it is this Canada that comes out to meetings sponsored by CCAFT and other groups.

So, it's a funny sort of country, Canada. Bob Raisbeck, Vancouver, B.C.

will do all to save Canada

Dear Editor,

Your newspaper, *True North*, is very informative. Please find enclosed a cheque for \$25.00 as a contribution. I am quite shocked about how Ed Broadbent worked for free trade. I remember seeing on television him and Turner attacking each other instead of attacking the Conservatives and the Free Trade Agreement. I am for the idea of the NDP and Liberals forming a coalition for the next election. I will write Audrey McLaughlin about it.

I am 81 years old, but will do all I can in the fight to save Canada for working people. Carry on the good work. Steve Rubuliak, Smoky Lake, Alta.



The electoral system needs change

The last issue of True North featured CCAFT's critique of Canada's electoral system, titled, "Election 1988: A Feeble and Dysfunctioning Democracy..." The critique listed several serious flaws in Canada's Electoral Act, notably the lack of curtailment on corporate and foreign financial contributions which in the election of 1988 allowed U.S. corporations, their subsidiaries in Canada and their powerful pro-free trade lobby organizations to intervene in the electoral process to the tune

of \$20 million, and in essence buy the vote for Mulroney. Also, CCAFT argued that with the reality of one person, one vote in place, in the form of proportional representation, it would not have been possible for the Conservatives to gain a majority of seats in the last election with only 43% of the popular vote and the majority of the population voting for the two anti-free trade parties. The following letter is a response to this particular aspect of the article.

Thanks for sending the first issue of *True North*, in which you show the amount of work you, and "the countless people" have done to try and make sense out of the almost hopeless situation Canada is in at present.

It was especially good to see on page 18 that excellent gem in favour of proportional representation.

I very strongly believe that almost all of Canada's political and constitutional problems are caused by our undemocratic electoral system.

Since November 1988, I have tried to make people aware that we need proportional representation, by writing letters to politicians and editors, without any noticeable result.

The Canadian Constitution gives each citizen the right to vote and the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

So we all went to the polling booth November '88.

There our Canadian train of thought derailed, with the usual pain and suffering. We innocently, or stupidly,

believed that we could really express our opinions, that voting gave us some power, that by voting our representatives-in-government into action, we could relax and attend to the work and pleasures of our lives again. And we thought that the majority ruled, because Canada is a democracy, right? We never heard anything different. From our young lives on, everybody had always talked about and written that Canada is a democracy. So, that must be true then.

But when Mulroney wanted to go one way, and the majority of Canadians the other way, the tremendous accidents occurred. FTA was installed. And then another disaster — Meech Lake. And another one — GST. And so on.

That this could happen because of an electoral system, which almost all Canadians have taken for granted, because it has been ingrained in our minds for so long, and which we have woven, thread by thread, into the fabric of our lives; the riding system. To attack that system is almost sacrilege, but of paramount necessity.

The cause, the real cause, of our

rightful frustration with the actions of our federal government, is the manner in which we MUST vote in Canada. And all the blame, anger and frustration must be directed to our electoral system: a system of voting whereby millions and millions of votes are coldly ignored — our riding system.

For what happens to the "expression of the opinions" of those people who voted for another candidate than the one who got the most votes in the riding? Yes, indeed, they do not count politically, and those votes are totally disregarded.

Our politicians may, deep down, admit the falsity, but the riding system is, and has always been, so clearly in their favour that they would be crazy to change it. A smacking majority is what they want, in order to "govern" without an effective opposition-with-clout. Power! Power to do what they want to do, innocently, or not so innocently, declaring their actions as "good for Canada."

And the opposition can relax with no real responsibility, and with uttering useless criticism of the government in rhetorical

orations, while knowing full well that the listeners in the House do not have to listen — a nice, but rather expensive duplication of Toastmasters. A perfect situation for them as well.

So, of course, our politicians will ignore and even go against the attempt to change our electoral system to democratic proportional representation. It threatens the perfect set-up. They may, as they have occasionally in the past, give lip-service, but we cannot ever expect that our politicians will, by themselves, initiate the change to real democracy.

The change in our electoral system has to be demanded by the whole Canadian public. ♦

Maynard van Orden
Heriot Bay, B.C.

*** CCAFT's critique of Canada's electoral system is also available on audiotape, as a "bonus," on David Orchard's "Free Trade and the Crisis in Canada" (see catalogue).

Ten Good Reasons . . .

(continued from page 13)

If the Liberals and NDP are serious about the future survival of Canada, economically and constitutionally, this coalition will give them the power to act. If the Liberals and the NDP run against each other in the coming election, the Reform Party will take a substantial number of seats in western Canada, as will the Bloc Québécois in Quebec. Depending on the breakdown of the vote it could well be enough to govern in alliance with the Conservatives. If, on the other hand, the Liberals and NDP agree to share power in this coalition and not run against each other, the Reform Party and the Bloc Québécois would be reduced to splinter status in the next election, with only a handful of seats. If the Liberals and NDP reject this solution and split the vote, they risk handing the country back to a government which will depend for its existence on the separatists in Quebec and their counterparts in the West.

More pressure needed

CCAFT first called for an electoral coalition in an Open Letter to the Opposition Members of Parliament in October 1989, and has since then carried on a national campaign to accomplish this.

Today we are continuing to put 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 actually want to get rid of it through an electoral coalition. It is not enough to continue to wring one's hands about how terrible the FTA is and how much worse everything will get with the Canada-U.S.-Mexico FTA. The time has come for all opponents to declare how, in what exact manner, Canada can get out of the FTA and avoid being tied into the NAFTA. 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, and mostly 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.

It was mobilization by CCAFT which successfully convinced the Senate to take this step in 1988. The reason the strategy succeeded was that Canadians by the hundreds responded by phoning, writing, visiting and faxing the Senators. Exactly the same fight must be waged again. This time the pressure must be brought to bear on the Liberals and the NDP. The opposition members cannot be allowed to show their face in public without facing demands that they cooperate to defeat the free trade deal. The free trade issue must be, once again, brought to the fore by every citizen concerned about Canada's survival. The government can not be allowed to bury the issue. And a media intent on pretending that free trade is no longer an issue, must be challenged to deal with it. 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.

Abrogation, not renegotiation

Instead of calling for cancellation, the Liberals have promised to "renegotiate" the FTA, keeping the "good parts." They have not said what they consider to be good parts. How does a country "renegotiate" the loss of its sovereignty? What incentive is there 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; Kelly Winkler, a spokesman for Clayton Yeutter's office, said, "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 the Liberals just as it refused Israel — unless the Liberals are prepared to give away even more of Canada. Peter Murphy, chief U.S. free trade negotiator, when told of the Liberal 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 to mislead people into thinking renegotiation is possible. Pressure from every person who has ever voted, or considered voting for the Liberals must



be brought to bear on the party to drop this dream of renegotiation and support abrogation. They must be told that the only way to "deal" with the FTA is to have it abrogated, and this can be done by the two opposition parties cooperating in the national interest.

People must take charge

We are asking Canadians coast to coast to write, fax, visit, call and confront the opposition politicians with the demand that they put aside their narrow partisan behavior and make sure Canada survives. There is no end to the creative ways in which Canadians can make their wishes known to these politicians:

If you donate to the Liberals or NDP, stop, until the coalition proposal is accepted. Tell them why.

If you work for them, stop, until the coalition proposal is accepted. Tell them you'll work doubly hard when their joint effort begins.

Don't accept the defeatism of "know-it-all" experts, who tell you that "they will never do it." These experts have obviously forgotten that Liberal leader John Turner told U.S. President Ronald Reagan (and the Canadian press) in the spring of 1987 that the Liberal Party would not stand in the way of a free trade deal. Less than a year later, public pressure had made it the "fight of his life."

A massive campaign of letter writing, phone calls, visits can accomplish exactly what lobbying the Senate did in 1988. The experts all said "they would never do it" either.

Don't get sidetracked by secondary issues or demands. Keep the heat on the opposition parties for one thing: a coalition based on an agreement to abrogate the FTA.

Challenge the politicians in their meetings, on the street, on the radio, in letters to the editors, at public events wherever they show their faces.

Canada is in her hour of need. All political parties and all Canadians who want this country to survive must join together 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. But before this step is taken, these parties must be pushed and challenged to their limits.

We have won in the past. We have turned back the U.S.A. in it's major invasions of Canada and have previously defeated repeated U.S. attempts for free trade. This one can be defeated as well.

The FTA represents the chains of shame and bondage. A bondage that goes beyond lost jobs, lower health standards and environmental damage, important as these are. It goes to the heart of what it means to have independence, freedom and dignity. Canada is the sleeping giant of the world. Whether she has the chance to awaken and take her place on the world stage depends on the work of her citizens in the months ahead.

So, give the Opposition party leaders and members the push they need and all the heat you can generate. Write to:

Jean Chrétien, Leader of the Opposition, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0A6, tel: (613)996-5084, fax: (613)995-5980.

Audrey McLaughlin, Leader of the NDP, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0A6, tel: (613)995-7224, fax: (613)996-9584; Yukon tel: (403)668-3030, Yukon fax: (403)668-3029.

Send copies to:

Senator Allan McEachen, The Senate, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0A4, tel: (613)992-9171, fax: (613)992-7073.

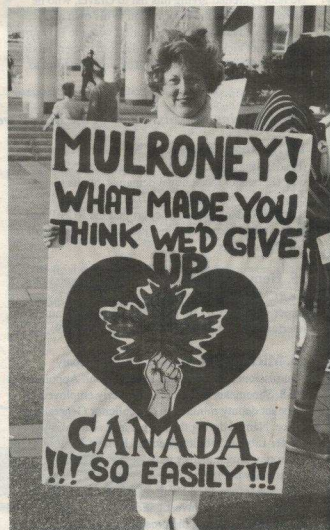
David Barrett, M.P., House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0A6, tel: (613)995-9511, fax: (613)947-0313; B.C. tel: (604)474-1321, fax (604)474-3374.

Roy MacLaren, M.P., House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0A6, tel: (613)996-3357, fax: (613)995-9479; Etobicoke tel: (416)747-6003, Etobicoke fax: (416)747-8295.

And it won't hurt to go after the previous Liberal trade critic, **Lloyd Axworthy, M.P.**, as well: House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0A6; tel: (613)995-0153, fax: (613)995-5170; Winnipeg tel: (204)983-3292, fax: (204)983-3385.

Send CCAFT a copy, too. (And see some of the letters on the electoral coalition in this issue, page 4.) Keep them coming! ♦

For an in-depth analysis of the 1988 Free Trade election and the history of the mobilization for an electoral coalition, see "How we pursued the electoral coalition strategy from coast to coast" in *True North*, vol. 1, no. 1.



Creative protest. Vancouver CCAFT member Geriza Nelson demonstrating against Mulroney. (Photo: CCAFT Vancouver)

Clearcutting and protest ...

(continued from page 12)

David Orchard has given us. Orchard has been and will be a valuable asset in our struggle to stop clearcutting in the Northwest Region, unlike our elected representatives at all levels.

Perhaps Mr. Crowe should be aware that the majority of the elders of POME are original band members of the Canoe Lake Cree Nation. Where is Crowe while his people are fighting to get control of their land and resources? Whom does he really represent?

Our vision of a chief is maybe a bit idealistic and we see many virtues: honesty, strength, courage, wisdom to know they are elected by people and should stand beside them when the going gets tough. Some chiefs should hang their heads in shame for not standing with us to save our land.

With the exception of one councillor, our own chief and council have not supported or even have the guts to come see and listen to our concerns. We have valid and legitimate concerns, but our elected leaders cannot understand that because their priority is dollars, not people. This must be a disease, because the district leaders of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council have the same patronizing attitude.

These leaders have the audacity to call in about 150 RCMP to escort 18 trucks to haul out tribal council logs at the Vermette lake supply. The RCMP brought in their SWAT teams with heavy artillery and dogs, yet Crowe has

the nerve to attack an energetic and valuable supporter like David Orchard.

As far as we are concerned, Crowe should not set up a smoke screen for our own dismal leaders, but rather should come to the blockade and stand beside his people. If Crowe and Roy Ahenakew don't like white activists butting in our business, when should we expect them to drop by for coffee and really listen to our concerns?

Meanwhile in Ottawa, a 44-year old forester, Fortunato Pacios-Rivera, has been on a hunger strike for a whopping 290 days as of August 1, 1991. He is protesting his treatment at the hands of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council (MLTC) involving the loss of his business and approximately \$1 million. His initial hunger strike of 53 days last summer resulted in a special investigation ordered by the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, Tom Siddon, which revealed that much-needed funds for the education of native children in the Tribal Council's jurisdiction were being diverted for so-called "executive operations" and "office services" for the MLTC's central bureaucracy. Pacios-Rivera says the inquiry was a whitewash touching only the tip of the iceberg of the "symbiotic-incestuous relationship between the leadership of the MLTC and the mandarins at the Department of Indian Affairs." He is now demanding a full public inquiry into the operation of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council and the Department of Indian Affairs, an end to corrupt practises and the lack of accountability. ♦

All options open for Audrey

(continued from page 4)

to say our party, but I don't know," she said ... New Democrats would be wary of supporting the Liberals without some guarantees on important issues," she said. "Would I support a Liberal government that cut transfer payments for health and post-secondary education, as they did in the 1970s? No, I wouldn't."

"The NDP in Ontario supported that province's Liberals in 1985, promising not to defeat the minority government in return for certain legislation. The federal NDP supported the Liberals in 1987, also in return for legislation. One of the products of that political marriage was Petro-Canada, the government-owned oil company that is now being privatized by the Tories ..."

(Donald Benham, "Audrey's talking coalition. Options 'open' after vote," *The Winnipeg Sun*, May 3, 1991.)

McLaughlin confirmed this same position on July 7, 1992, in an interview with the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*.

Editor's comment: If it is OK to talk about a coalition after the next election, it should be just as OK to talk about it before — particularly as one before guarantees success and one after is extremely risky, because there is no guarantee the Liberals and New Democrats will have enough seats to outvote the Reform Party, Bloc Québécois and the Conservatives. ♦

Rogues' Gallery (continued from page 18)

as Chief of Staff under LaSalle at the DPW. Nolin also worked under Roy at the PMO and as a consultant for Frank Moores lobbying firm, GCI. In 1988, he was director of the PC election campaign in Quebec.

According to Michel Gravel, Nolin arranged government contracts for his father-in-law, Mr. Desjardins of the engineering firm Desjardins-Sauriol, and like LaSalle, Nolin deposited his kickback payoffs in a bank in the Cayman Islands.

According to Kealey, Nolin, an old friend of Roy's, was given the job in LaSalle's office "to keep an eye on LaSalle's unauthorized" kickback activity with an eye to expose him," a move which eventually backfired. Nolin, allegedly, provided Michel Gravel with a copy of "the book," a confidential, nationwide listing of federal government leases in privately-owned buildings which included dates of leases due to expire. He later regretted giving this list to Gravel, who he feared would use the information to his own and LaSalle's advantage in competition with the Roy group and extract kickbacks nationwide from owners anxious to renew their leases. Bernard Roy, in an attempt to

neutralize LaSalle's increasingly flagrant bribe-taking operation, blew the whistle on Gravel on information from Emilien Maille, Michel Gravel's righthand man, unaware that the investigation into Gravel and LaSalle would spill over into a wider RCMP investigation of kickbacks on government leases. (See also Deschênes and Roy.)

12. Pierre Paul Bourdon. Like Nolin, worked for LaSalle as chief of staff at DPW, and before that for André Bissonnette in the Department of Transport. Emilien Maille testified before JP Coulter that Bourdon told him Bernard Roy, when he was head of the PMO had become angry when he heard Nolin had directed contracts to his father-in-law. Maille also stated he was present when Bourdon told contractor Jean-Nil Plante "this airport contract is not yours. It's not your turn." In April 1990, Plante was the subject of a Quebec Order of Engineers' public disciplinary hearing on charges that some of its members had paid bribes to "the godfather of Hull," Michel Gravel, to win contracts on the Museum of Civilization in Hull. Plante and co-accused Florient Toutant were described by the Order's lawyer as members of a "corrupt cartel" of Tory supporters. Michel Gravel also testified in this hearing against LaSalle and others.

13. Michel Deschênes. Former executive assistant to Roch LaSalle and previously also to former National Defence minister Erik Nielsen. Implicated in kickback schemes while working for both ministries, according to Emilien Maille, in his testimony before JP Coulter. Named by former LaSalle aide Frank Majeau in testimony before Coulter as member of the "less sophisticated" LaSalle kickback group, competing with the more powerful group centered around Bernard Roy and the PM.

Deschênes' wife, Ghyslaine Deschênes, worked in the office of Michel Gravel and according to Emilien Maille informed him of a plan of Roch LaSalle's to remove Pierre-Claude Nolin from his position as Bernard Roy's watchdog in Public Works, by initiating a smear campaign against Roy in the Conservative Party's Quebec wing. Maille allegedly informed Gêrald Pichette, a long-time friend of Kealey's and former president of the PC Hull-Aylmer riding who also testified in the Coulter hearing. Pichette in turn informed P-C Nolin and Bernard Roy who acted by calling on the RCMP to investigate Michel Gravel's activities in Hull.

The following commissioners of the RCMP were charged, also under the criminal code, with conspiring "to obstruct the course of justice":

14. Norman Inkster. RCMP commissioner (head). Appointed in 1987. Joined the RCMP when he was 18. Inkster faced down demands that he resign during 1988 budget leak affair, after Staff Sergeant Richard Jordan testified in court that the RCMP had laid criminal charges against journalist Doug Small for political reasons.

15. Henry Jensen. Former deputy commissioner of the RCMP. Unlike Inkster, resigned after a 37-year career with the RCMP, over charges of government interference in the budget leak scandal in 1989.

16. Michael Shoemaker. RCMP deputy commissioner for corporate management. Appointed in 1988, Shoemaker is a civilian formerly employed as assistant deputy minister in the Solicitor General's office. Named during the budget leak scandal, by former Liberal Solicitor General Robert Kaplan as the Mulroney government's mole inside the RCMP, specifically put there to provide the government with "advance information about decisions" regarding politically sensitive investigations. Kaplan also accused the RCMP of stalling the prosecution of Tony MP Richard Grisé until after the 1988 election. (He was



Inkster Jensen Shoemaker

eventually convicted on charges of fraud and went to jail.) Kaplan charged the government has "tried to steer the RCMP" in other investigations as well.

Before laying charges of cover-up and obstruction of justice against Commissioner Inkster, Deputy Commissioners Jensen and Shoemaker before JP Coulter, Kealey filed a formal complaint with the RCMP Public Complaints Commission. (He did this in April 1989, followed up by a letter in June 1989, complaining that the Commission had not responded to his complaint.) A federal court eventually ruled that the RCMP Public Complaints Commission which was created through an act in parliament in 1987, could not examine cases retroactively, i.e., cases that took place before 1987. Also, the court ruled, that the Commission

could not examine the actions of Commissioner Inkster because, it said, he is not a member of the RCMP! He is appointed head of the police force by the (Mulroney) government.

Also, in the course of his investigations, Kealey found that in the first five scandal ridden years of the Mulroney government, the RCMP had undertaken 65 investigations into criminal wrongdoing by politicians, had collected enormous amounts of evidence, however, only five of these investigations led to charges — prompting Kealey to name the RCMP "the Royal Canadian Mulroney Police."

Rose-Marie Larsson

SOURCES: Interviews with Glen Kealey; Kealey transcript, Coulter hearing; Stevie Cameron, "The Godfather of Hull," *Globe and Mail*, June 22, 1991, and *Ontario Inside Out*, Key Porter Books, 1989; Claire Hoy, *Friends in High Places*, Key Porter Books, 1987; Claude Arpin, "Gavel probe told of kickback network," *Montreal Gazette*, January 28, 1989; *Frank Magazine*, August 8, 1991 and March 5, 19 and April 2, 1992; news (audio, video, press) clipping files. ♦

CCAFT CATALOGUE



Free Trade: The Full Story

David Orchard's acclaimed two-hour speech that was heard in 1988, in public meetings across the country. Orchard tells the whole story about the history of Canada-U.S. relations and goes through the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement chapter by chapter, explaining it in language everybody can understand. A full question and answer period (only in audio version). A must for all who want to know what the Canada-U.S. FTA actually contains.

Videotape of Sept. 7, 1988, Edmonton meeting, with interview 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: 3 hrs. 30 mins.); and **Edmonton, no music (2 cassettes): \$10.00** (Length: 3 hrs.)

Free Trade and the Crisis in Canada

This speech by David Orchard was made in September 1990, in Vancouver in front of a standing-room-only crowd. It has been called Orchard's "best speech — one that ties it all together" — it covers how Canada has suffered under free trade, provides an analysis of the GST, events in Oka, Canada's military involvement in the Persian Gulf and the separatist movement in Quebec. As well, Orchard presents CCAFT's proposal for a solution to the crisis: an electoral coalition between the Liberal party and the NDP in the next election, as a means to take power and abrogate the FTA. As a bonus, the audio tape also contains a lively presentation to the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform given by Marjaaleena Repo, CCAFT's National Organizer. (Length: 2 hrs.)

Videotape (VHS): \$25.00

Audio tape (2 cassettes): \$10.00

The Great Free Trade Debate:

Orchard/Crispo

This hot 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: 2 hrs.)

Videotape (VHS): \$25.00

Audio tape (2 cassettes): \$10.00

The Simon Fraser Debate

CCAFT's David Orchard and Liberal MP Sheila Coppins 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: Who Speaks for Canadian Business?

Two outstanding Canadian business men, William Loewen and Frank Stronach, speak at the Hotel Bessborough, Saskatoon, in March 1988. Both share the view that free trade with the U.S. will devastate Canada. A full question and answer period. An important message from the business community which was by no means unanimous in their support for free trade with the U.S. (Length: 2 hrs.)

Videotape (VHS): \$25.00

Audio tape (2 cassettes): \$10.00

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. Speakers: Mel Hurtig, publisher and founder of Council of Canadians; David Orchard, farmer and CCAFT's national chairman, and Laurier Lapierre, Quebecer writer and broadcaster, now living in Vancouver. The event begins with a rousing bilingual "O Canada" by opera singer Henri Loiseau and includes lively anti-free trade songs by William Butler. (Length: 3 hrs.)

Audio Tape (3 cassettes): \$12.50

Corruption in High Places

Glen Kealey was a Hull businessman and member of the Conservative Party who developed a \$160 million office complex. Asked for a \$50 kickback by one of Mulroney's cabinet ministers, Roch LaSalle, he refused to pay and went on to collect a mass of information about the corruption in the Mulroney government which he has fought against ever since. In July 1991, an Ottawa Justice of the Peace allowed Kealey to lay corruption charges against 13 prominent Mulroney Tories and three high-ranking members of the RCMP. His May 1990 speech in Saskatoon is a real eye opener! Includes part of the question period. (Length: 2 hrs. 50 mins.)

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. \$4.00 SPECIAL!



BOOKS

Free Trade: the Full Story

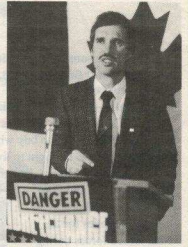
by David Orchard and CCAFT

This magazine format, richly illustrated book 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, agriculture, the Auto Pact, water exports and more. Includes also: "12 free trade myths examined," six pages of lively anti-free trade songs, a history of CCAFT's fight

COMING SOON!

Manifest Destiny and Free Trade. 300 Years of Resistance to the U.S. Takeover of Canada, by David Orchard.

The Free Trade Agreement is only the latest attempt by the U.S. to take over Canada. David Orchard presents the dramatic history of the 300-year relationship between Canada and U.S. in its various facets, from military invasions to attempts to control Canada through trade. He portrays vividly the spirit of resistance on the part of Canadians, which runs like a red thread through Canadian history. Orchard spells out in a language an ordinary person can understand what the FTA contains and how it has already damaged Canada's economy and sovereignty. A solution of offered as well: the abrogation of the treaty through a united effort by the opposition parties. (Publication date: Fall 1992.)



against the FTA. A very lively, persuasive and readable publication. **Limited supply. Booklet, 112 pages, \$5.00**

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 former Minister of Trade, John Crosbie. An excellent reference guide — the nuts and bolts of the FTA.

Paperback, 128 pages, \$4.95

Note: French version also available.

Mimeographed, 60 pages, \$4.00

War Crimes. A Report on United States

War Crimes Against Iraq.

by Ramsey Clark and others.

This is the report of the Commission of Inquiry for the International War Crimes Tribunal, headed by former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, which commenced hearings in the aftermath of the Gulf war. Charged with "crimes against peace, war crimes, crimes against humanity and other criminal acts and high crimes in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, International Law and the Constitution of the United States," are George Bush, Dan Quayle, James Baker, Richard Cheney, William Webster, Colin Powell, Norman Schwarzkopf and "others to be named." This hardhitting critique of the "New World Order" in action tells what actually transpired (and is still going on) in the Gulf war.

Paperback, 280 pages, \$15.95

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 destructiveness 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

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"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

"No, eh!" (extra large t-shirts only): \$15

Also:

"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," "53-47, 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!'," "Laura Secord says: Beware — the F.T.A. is not free or fair," "No, Eh!"

BUMPER STICKERS: \$2.00

"Free trade will cost us Canada," "Join the Resistance: fight free trade," "Fight the free trade treason," "Free trade: Canada under attack," "Mulroney for Congress," "Mulroney for President," "Canada under attack by Tory government: free trade sell out — GST — Via Rail — Closure! — GST? Not for me!" "Free Canada — Trade Mulroney," "Meech NO, Quebec YES"

INFORMATION PACKAGES

CCAFT has available a huge variety of information on the Free Trade Agreement. An info kit containing the first issue of *True North* with David Orchard's article "Free Trade and the Crisis in Canada"; single sheet articles on the impact of the FTA on Canada's resources, culture, water exports, agriculture, education, environment, etc., as well as a CCAFT song sheet of lively anti-free trade songs set to popular melodies, plus a few surprises is available for \$10.00 (includes postage). Suitable for classrooms and study groups of all kinds.

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27 things the media will absolutely not speak about . . .

by John McMurtry

These are some of the topics that you won't find discussed, in any depth and regularity, in the Canadian — or U.S. — media.

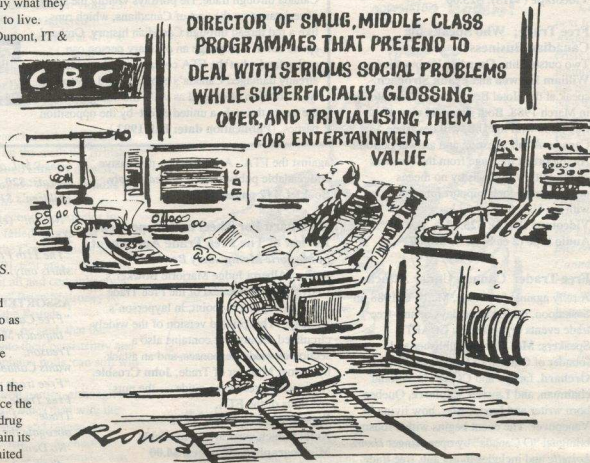
1. The free market means that those without money to buy what they need do not have the right to live.
2. General Motors, Dupont, IT & T, Standard Oil and Ford Corporations all produced military supplies for the Nazi armed forces during World War II while the United States was at war with Germany.
3. Unearned wealth should be abolished as a matter of just public policy.
4. The government needs to regulate the investment of Canadian/U.S. capital abroad to societies with poor human rights and environmental standards, so as to protect these standards in both North America and the developing world.
5. The major player in the international drug trade since the Second World War, using drug enforcement laws to maintain its monopoly, has been the United States government which has thus financed its internationally illegal foreign interventions.
6. The capitalist workplace is anti-democratic.
7. Over 70% of eligible U.S. and British voters did not vote for Reagan or Thatcher in their famous "landslides."
8. The arms race and international wars are very profitable for most multinational corporations.

9. The long-term pattern of U.S. and Canadian foreign policy in the non-white world has been alliances with fascist-type governments rather than their opponents.
10. The "free world" is not truly free

major industries is sound social policy.

15. A small minority's monopoly ownership of society's means of production is an issue that needs to be carefully examined.

DIRECTOR OF SMUG, MIDDLE-CLASS PROGRAMMES THAT PRETEND TO DEAL WITH SERIOUS SOCIAL PROBLEMS WHILE SUPERFICIALLY GLOSSING OVER, AND TRIVIALISING THEM FOR ENTERTAINMENT VALUE



- because its citizens do not have the effective right to criticize the capitalist system.
11. The history of Western civilization is largely a history of genocide against non-white peoples and cultures.
 12. The greatest danger to Canada's freedom and security comes from the United States.
 13. There is no correlation between people's wealth and their merit.
 14. In many cases, social ownership of

16. Pollution/poverty are especially advantageous to the major shareholders of private enterprise.
17. Our major social problems are caused by the profit imperative overriding all other values.
18. The belief that God sanctions our social order or our state of war is a superstition.
19. The Soviet Union, in the recent past, paid significantly more than the world-

price for imports from the countries of East Europe, and charged significantly less for its exports.

20. Socialist revolution has been by and large beneficial for the living standards of most citizens in societies where it has occurred.
21. Over 90% of Canadian citizens are not capitalists but members of the working class who depend for their living on wages or salaries.
22. Unions have historically led the struggle for improvements in health care, working conditions and social security for the population as a whole.
23. The business community has excessive political and economic power in our society.
24. Our schools do not train the young to think critically, but to obey corporate or official authority without question.
25. The president of the U.S. and his leading advisors are provable war criminals.
26. Christianity calls for the redistribution of wealth.
27. The mass media is essentially a joint-stock company of profit and advertising for major private corporations. ♦

JOHN MCMURTRY, Professor of philosophy, University of Guelph, Ont. Excerpt from his essay, "The Unspeakable: Understanding the System of Fallacy in the Media." *Informal Logic*, vol. X, no. 3.

Dear Reader:

Send us more examples of topics that you have waited in vain to be examined and discussed in the mass media. Perhaps we'll print "27 more things the media will not speak about either ...!"

COMING SOON TO YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD: NAFTA, the son of FTA! Find out all about it in the next issue of True North! How the North American Free Trade Agreement, negotiated in secrecy, will attempt to finish off what FTA almost did: CANADA! Let's give father and son a big . . . BOOT !

IN THE NEXT ISSUES:

- "NAFTA revealed"
- "The Rafferty-Alameda dams and other water diversions"
- "Getting ready for the next free trade election: lessons from 1988"
- "We have a 'Democracy Movement' in Canada, too!"
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