

What rough beast slouches to Ottawa?

*Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold
Mere Stanfield is loosed upon the world*

Kicking his way through the broken sprockets and flywheels of the Liberal machine, Energy Minister Donald Macdonald, a man likely to be assigned to try to put it all together again, proclaimed the dreaded "backlash." It was "... a Tory redneck attack on Quebec," said Mr. Macdonald. "It was an attack on the Government's bilingualism policy, even though it didn't concern most of Ontario."

Macdonald, the dispenser of favours and collector of dues for the federal Liberals in Ontario, had just spent a humiliating evening in his Toronto Rosedale constituency fighting off somebody named Beamish. He warned to his subject: "Immigration was also an issue. They [the voters] were against immigration, French Canada and better social justice ... that seems to be the mood in Ontario and it's a pretty ugly mood."

Similar thoughts sprang from the lips of other Liberals. Gérard Pelletier, for example, put the Liberal defeat down to greed — the rich provinces got tired of sending money to the poor ones. Thus we are to believe that the election was a classic confrontation between niceness and charity, and nastiness and greed. The bad guys won.

It is a neat theory, and it partly explains what happened. Robert Stanfield, cast in the mould of earnest incompetence, did provide shade for the weirdest assortment of people — from the Nazi-minded Kupaik running in Toronto's Lakeshore (he proclaimed that his victory would embarrass Brezhnev more than both Bobby Fischer and Teaf Canada — fortunately we were all spared) — to the blimpish Lt.-Col. (Ret.) Strome Galloway (big on discipline up there in Ottawa-Carleton).

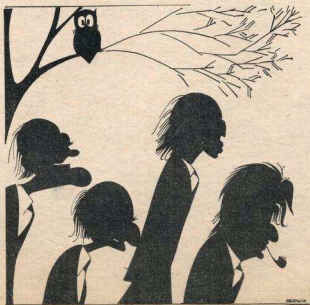
It was not only the strange cast the Conservative party chose, but the lines it gave them to speak, including the platitudes of the leader himself, that lend credence to Macdonald's charges.

The election in English Canada was fought by the Tories in a manner calculated to pander to latent racism. Peter Reilly, the successful Conservative candidate in Ottawa West, sensed it early in the campaign. "There is a good deal of racism being given new life in this area," he said. "It masquerades as being concern for public servants." Reilly went on to say that racism "will not be tolerated in my campaign." He then campaigned against the federal government's policy of bilingualism; the following passage appears in an article by Clair Balfour in the *Toronto Globe and Mail*:

"But he [Reilly] repeated that merit should be the sole criterion for success in a public service career, regardless of language.

"He added the problem is so serious that the only solution may be to slow the program to be fair to public servants.

"That form of fairness to the English-speaking means being unfair to French-speaking Canadians, he was reminded. He shot back: 'I've never believed you rectify one injustice by perpetrating a second one.'



Berthio, Le Devour

Bilingualism and biculturalism and the federalism represented by Trudeau were inventions of English Canada to stifle separatism in Quebec without dealing with the issue. What happens now, when even the empty gesture is withdrawn?

Trudeau's broken dream

Prime Minister Trudeau didn't fare too well at a Chicoutimi rally only three days before the election. A bunch of hostile students greeted him with the slogan "Le Québec aux Québécois" to which he replied "Le Canada aux Québécois," thus confirming the fears of those who were concerned that the prime minister was engaging in "outright French Canadianism," to borrow a phrase from Douglas Alkenbrack, Tory MP for the eastern-Ontario riding of Frontenac-Lennox and Addington — heavy Loyalist sentiment there.

Whether Trudeau knew it or not, part of his 1968 mandate came from English Canadians who were fed up with the antics of disgruntled Québécois and felt that at last here was a man to put them in their place. After all, he was pretty tough on separatism, and he could be tough with the separatists in their own language, no mean feat. Besides, what harm could a few Frenchmen do in Ottawa?

Trudeau has been tough on separatism — he delivered a double whammy to some 497 law-abiding opponents of the regime in October 1970. He has also engaged in the tactic of sweet reason. (His reason may not have been sound, but it was sweet.) By allowing French-speaking Canadians to communicate with and work in the federal civil service in his father-tongue (his mother is English-speaking), what Trudeau regarded as the frustration which gave rise to Quebec nationalism could largely be siphoned off, or so he reasoned.

Trudeau seems to have lost on two counts in his efforts to bilingualize the civil service. On the one hand, he misinterpreted the recommendations of the B&B Commission to read that all civil servants should be bilingual; by jeopardizing the advancement of those who could not speak French and by thrusting language courses upon thousands of unwilling subjects, he alienated a substantial

number of Ottawa's deeply-ingrained English-speaking civil servants (the Liberals lost two Ottawa-area seats to the Tories).

On the other hand, his policy has failed to produce substantial positive results. A report leaked to the nationalist Montreal daily *Le Devoir* (and picked up by the *Toronto Star* — strange ally — and other English-language papers across the country) shows that the proportion of French-speaking people holding high posts in the federal civil service has not increased appreciably since Trudeau came into power.

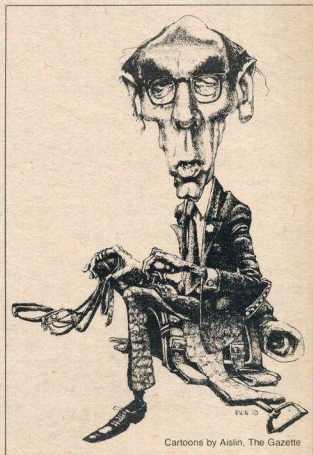
The report says that 71 per cent of those hired to fill such posts are unilingual English Canadians, that only 5.2 per cent of civil servants in Ottawa are in French-language units (1.1 per cent if you exclude language services such as the overburdened translation bureau), that only 8.1 per cent of those who take language courses follow them far enough to obtain proficiency in French (it costs \$29,000 to make an English-speaking civil servant bilingual), and that there are no French-language units in the prime minister's own department.

The federal civil service recruitment office in Quebec City, which has by far the largest number of qualified and experienced French-speaking civil servants of any Canadian city, was closed as part of Trudeau's 1969 austerity drive. The 1975 target date for full bilingualism in the civil service cannot possibly be met.

Yet there prevails among English Canadians the sentiment that somehow Trudeau is turning Canada into a French country in which English-speaking citizens are gradually losing their rights, and that the Quebec ministers in the federal government are sub-Canadians.

Late in the campaign Robert Stanfield admonished two of his candidates for using advertisements that had racist overtones. An ad for a Tory candidate in Thunder Bay read, "John Erickson knows that we need a Canadian

(Continued on page 2)



Cartoons by Alsin, The Gazette

This supplement was prepared by Nick Auf der Maur, Ken Bolton, Drummond Burgess, Robert Chodos, Nick Fillmore, Dennis Forkin, Sharon Gray, Dennis Gruending, Eric Hamovitch, Richard Liskeard, Brian McKenna, Terry Mosher, Rae Murphy, Malcolm Reid.

A gift for René Lévesque

The cartoon in *La Presse* summed up what the French newspapers and radio hot lines were saying the day after the deluge. Pierre Trudeau and three Quebec ministers — Jean Marchand, Gérard Pelletier and Jean-Luc Pepin — are depicted in a lifeboat, looking melancholy and wearing life jackets. The name of the boat is "French Power." And the tiller man is saying *Tout l'monde débarque*.

The 32-year-old executive assistant to another Quebec minister had trouble disguising his tears as the final results from the west rolled in. "The bastards," he spat out, "the bastards gave it to Lévesque on a silver platter. We sell Quebecers on the idea that French Canadians can participate in federalism and play an equal role in running the country. And just when it's starting to work, English Canada kicks us in the teeth."

"It's a victory for wealth and bigotry," added a Liberal backbencher from a Montreal working-class riding. "And never mind the Tories or the NDP. A lot of the Liberals who went down in Ontario and the West will blame their defeat on nothing but the backlash to French power. It's obviously a victory for Lévesque and what he's been saying. I almost hope Trudeau lets Stanfield form a government. I think we would be very interesting in opposition, especially since the only French cabinet minister the Tories would have would be that pig Wagner."

Quebec independentists were gleeful with the results, calling the Conservative showing a "triumph orange," and a crushing blow for Trudeau's brand of bicultural federalism. "This shows us that Canada will never accept a strong French presence in government and the Ottawa bureaucracy," said Camille Laurin, Parti Québécois leader in the National Assembly. "The only conclusion Québecois can draw from this is simple. The only government we can ever call our own has to be



located in Quebec City and not Ottawa."

Laurin's view was reinforced as he stepped into a taxi the morning after the election. "Hey" said the driver, "they told us they don't want us in Ottawa, eh, M. Laurin. I guess we'll have to go with you guys." This attitude was shared overwhelmingly by independentists of all stripes in Quebec.

Péquistes noted that not only was over half the Liberal representation in Quebec, but that many elected outside the province were from French areas, like the five Acadian constituencies in New Brunswick, parts of Ontario and St. Boniface in Manitoba. Only one candidate in Quebec was endorsed by René Lévesque and that was Roch LaSalle, an independent who defected from the Conservatives. Lévesque even did some campaigning for LaSalle in Joliette. In 1968 the nationalist MP was

elected by a margin of 172 votes as a Conservative. This time he won by 5,000.

The feeling is that the results underscore Quebec's isolation from the rest of Canada and will provoke an enormous amount of fodder for the PQ propaganda machine. "We're going to say, 'you tried Trudeau's road to Ottawa and it's a dead end'" explains one PQ strategist. "The only road left is the road to independence."

The Péquiste explained that the party is gearing for an influx of disappointed and disenfranchised federalists. "This federal election has turned out to be the greatest recruitment program we could have imagined."

Left-wing unionists are somewhat fearful that an influx of disillusioned federal Liberals will further prevent the PQ from becoming a party of the left.

As for the Conservatives, they were all but demolished in Quebec, losing almost 10 percentage points of their popular vote, mostly to the CrédiTistes. Claude Wagner, whose popular appeal was supposed to have built a solid Conservative base in the province, barely scraped in at St. Hyacinthe, winning by some 700 votes. The rest of the Tories' Quebec caucus is composed of Heward Graftney, who is not on speaking terms with Wagner; in fact, they loathe each other. Graftney managed to get elected by the simple expedient of never mentioning either Stanfield or Wagner in his speeches or his campaign literature.

The Conservatives had trouble making third place in most Montreal ridings, usually losing out to CrédiTistes and NDPers. The Liberal vote was so all-encompassing in the 30 Montreal area seats that a grand total of only two opposition candidates managed to save their deposits.

However, voter turnout, especially in the Péquiste strongholds in the east-end working-class areas was very poor. In some areas it was not even 40 per cent.

(Continued from page 1)

Cabinet and a Prime Minister that will represent all Canadians." Jack Horner, re-elected with a huge majority in the Alberta riding of Crowfoot, advertised against overexpenditure of federal money in Quebec.

In most parts of the country though, anti-Quebec feeling was not expressed quite so explicitly. British Columbians regard French as a foreign language, making the Ottawa government seem all the more distant and alleviating the need for any explicit reference to the "French issue." The same is true, to a large extent, for other parts of the country.

Trudeau's most spectacular move during his time in office was undoubtedly his invocation of the War Measures Act in the absence of war or insurrection. He told a Regina audience sarcastically that the opposition would also have taken a stand against the FLQ, but "somehow the War Measures Act would have been different. It would have been gentler." Liberal minister Otto Lang told a Saskatoon rally that Trudeau had shown himself to be "strong in that he would not be bullied or blackmailed."

But one of the big surprises of the campaign was that Trudeau did not play this up any more than he did. Had he done so, he would likely have lost far less of the anti-Quebec vote.

Trudeau's Quebec policy has been two-pronged, bilingualism on the one hand and the War Measures Act on the other. He could have run on the WMA part, but he didn't; he didn't run the anti-Quebec campaign many had expected. Defending bilingualism became a bit difficult after that report was leaked, but he stuck to it.

Trudeau was supported in 1968 as a good Frenchman, a credit to his race, so to speak. Now people aren't so satisfied he's such a credit.

Of course, the racism implicit in the campaign against the "privileged position of the French" was not all. There was the cooked-up scandal over immigration: was Canada's purity being undermined by uncontrolled immigration policies? And the Canadian people were also told that they were victimized by the unemployed.

In the Toronto riding of Scarborough East, the elected Conservative was doused with champagne while he sliced into his victory cake. People are fed up with the welfare state, he told his cheering supporters. One of his chief

campaigners, an Ontario cabinet minister, gushed that "mothers were concerned about the direction youth was taking with government handouts."

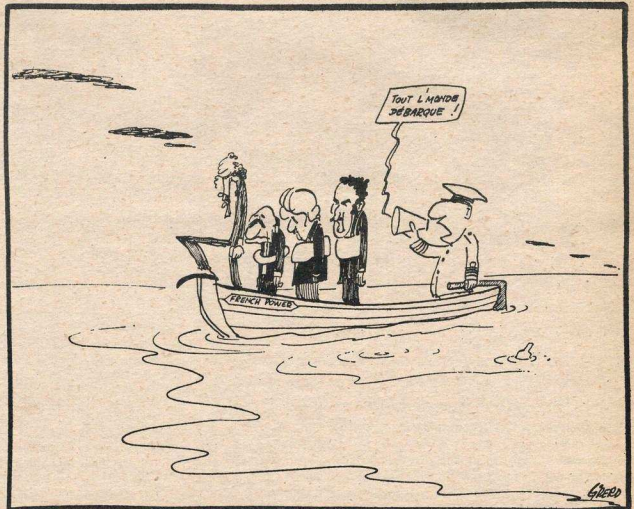
Meanwhile, the defeated candidate, Labour Minister Martin O'Connell, blamed his defeat on an "irritable, grouchy" electorate. "The underlying issue," he said "may well have been that middle income people were not prepared to accept any more of the burden of the just... or more equal society."

The mean, miserable and reactionary campaign that the Tories waged seemed to merge with the bitchy mood

abroad in the land. But then who created the national grouchy? Things really haven't been working out right in Canada for a number of years.

An honoured place in the body of Canadian political mythology is occupied by something called "traditional voting patterns." These patterns are supposed to recur, come-like, at regular intervals, coinciding with general elections. Their one function in life is to "reassert themselves."

The problem with the concept is that there are almost no voting patterns in this country that have remained



"Everybody off!"

Griard, La Presse

BELAND HONDERICH'S ADVICE

On foreign ownership, the Conservatives say in a policy statement they would require that Canadians be allowed to participate in the ownership and management of foreign controlled firms.

But Stanfield has said little about this program or how it would be accomplished and, in fact, has made statements recently which suggest he would do little or nothing about foreign ownership. He apparently is not prepared to establish a screening board and without a review board his policy on foreign ownership is not credible.

The easy way for a newspaper, as for a citizen, would be not to support any party in this election. But this is not a responsible course for a citizen in a democratic society — or for a newspaper that believes it has a responsibility to provide comment and opinion on the issues of the day.

We have concluded, therefore, that on the basis of the two issues that concern us most — unemployment and Canadian independence — we must withdraw our support from the Liberals ... Of the alternatives, both of which are unattractive, we prefer the Conservatives.

— Beland H. Honderich, Toronto Star

stable for long enough that they could be called "traditional." British Columbia, for instance, will return pluralities of Liberals, Conservatives or New Democrats, depending on its mood.

Ontario oscillates back and forth between the Liberals and the Tories. Newfoundland, once solidly Liberal, then became solidly Conservative, and now isn't solid at all.

The only pattern that seems to be stable is a continuing instability. Five of the last seven elections have produced minority governments, and three of them have been totally inconclusive. Only twice in the last 15 years has there been a countrywide trend of any kind, and only once has there been a genuine sweep. John Diefenbaker, in 1958, took a majority of the seats in every province except Newfoundland. He won two thirds of the seats

in previously Liberal Quebec. He shut the Liberals out in all except four provinces.

Pierre Elliott Trudeau's election in 1968 was a majority of a different order. The Liberals took fifty seats fewer than the Conservatives had ten years earlier. Large parts of the country resisted Trudeau's appeal.

Newfoundland, bucking the tide again, voted Conservative out of dissatisfaction with the provincial Liberal regime. In the Maritimes it was Robert Stanfield's coat-tails, not Trudeau's, that were the decisive factor. The prairies were still Diefenbaker country, and a large proportion of the people who drifted away from the Conservatives went NDP rather than Liberal. To the extent that there was a sweep, it was concentrated in the three large provinces of Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia.

And yet, in the context of 1968, the Trudeau victory was a landslide. The country had had minority governments for the previous six years, and the happy political certainty of the Louis St-Laurent era was evidently a thing of the past. With Quebec crawling with separatists, the west mad at the east, and campus-based radicalism at its height across the country, a majority of any sort was not to be sneezed at.

The man who achieved it had unquestionably struck a popular chord. He would put us on the map, keep the country together, give us some élan. It was 1968, the year after Expo and the centennial, and in the Canada that elected Pierre Elliott Trudeau, all things were possible.

There were two overriding promises in Trudeau's 1968 campaign, one of them explicit, and the other implicit. The implicit promise was to do something about Quebec; the explicit one was to do something about regional economic disparities. "If the underdevelopment of the Atlantic provinces," Trudeau said during the campaign, "is not corrected — not by charity or subsidies but by helping them become areas of economic growth — then the unity of the country is almost as surely destroyed as it would be by the French-English confrontation."

The Quebec policy was not the only one to have problems; the regional development policy ran into snags too. The first snag was the Liberals' sorry weakness in the Atlantic provinces, and the improbability of winning any more seats in that region so long as Robert Stanfield was leader of the Conservatives; it made the electoral motivation to show results in the area somewhat

CLAUDE RYAN'S ADVICE

In the last four years, the image that we had of the Conservative party has given way to a different one. Mr. Stanfield remains the worthy man we thought we had discovered in 1968. However, as one goes west, the team that surrounds him includes a high proportion of people who have a conception of Canadian unity even more rigid than that of Mr. Trudeau. Mr. Stanfield has shown that he is open on the question of bilingualism; nevertheless, the fiercest opposition to this measure, which is only the beginning of a real solution, has come from his group. On the more difficult question of relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada, Mr. Stanfield has unceasingly reproached Mr. Trudeau for his rigidity. Each time he has been pressed to say what he would do himself, he has generally repeated in different terms the position defined by Mr. Trudeau ...

Where the quality of its candidates warrants it, electors wishing to cast an independent vote Monday should support the NDP.

— Claude Ryan, Montreal *Le Devoir*

less urgent than it might have been.

Quebec, on the other hand, was not only a centre of Liberal strength; it was an area of the country that tended to act up, and there were distinct political advantages to keeping it quiet. More than had been expected of the industrial incentive grants handed out by Trudeau's new department of regional economic expansion went to Quebec, with correspondingly less for the Atlantic provinces. More important, the grants program showed little sign of being of much value anywhere, if we ignore for the moment its value to plant-owners.

By 1971, the government's regional development policy was coming under heavy criticism, notably from the areas it was supposed to be developing. It was criticism of the way the government was proceeding, and not of

(Continued on page 4)

The bored leading the bored

It is one of the more distasteful aspects of our parliamentary democracy that general elections afford the national press the occasion to display by far its shoddiest wares.

Usually, it does little harm to be intermittently reminded of the moribund state of political writing in this country, which can be laid at the doorstep of incompetence, the generally inferior character of the public education system, and the fact that newspapers are, after all, owned by the same class that operate used car lots, credit tenements, and appear at weekly Chamber of Commerce gatherings.

A country that has made Charles Lynch the highest-paid reporter, and Peter Newman the most respected political analyst, has thus to answer for.

It is people like these, it must be remembered, that brought us Trudeauania, the Gerda Munsinger affair and intermittent reports of Soviet infiltration, and skillfully guided a troubled nation through the dark nights of the War Measures Act with restraint, fortitude and keen perspicacity.

Rarely, however, has such spontaneous consensus emerged from the Ottawa Press Gallery's Tower of Babel as during the months of September and October immediately past. A deeply thought-out set of alternatives were outlined for a people who after all, needed to have the problems defined for them:

Check one.

Pierre Elliott Trudeau is:

- arrogant
- cloistered in an ivory tower
- unconcerned
- a man who never had to work for a living
- a crypto-socialist.

Robert Stanfield is uncharismatic but:

- honest
- diligent
- solid

— a man who deserves a chance.

The government is full of:

- technocrats
- bureaucrats
- autocrats
- hippies
- Frenchmen.

The country is:

- disillusioned
- weary
- searching
- angry.

Mr. Trudeau has many faults, but one of them is not his contempt for the press.

The press believes — and perhaps it has a point — that it made Pierre Elliott Trudeau. And the press has been scorned. Hence it has the right to unmake Pierre Elliott Trudeau. This is, if not acceptable, at least inevitable. The national press, however, went beyond.

"I know that one way to get a story onto the front page this time is to make my lead somebody saying there are no issues in this election," a Toronto reporter lamented last month.

And the word spread. From the first week of the election, the editorialists — all failed grammar school teachers — proclaimed this is a dull election, an election with no issues save what Mr. Lewis was raising, an election with no meat in it.

In 1968, Pierre Elliott Trudeau was bragging that he conducted an election campaign making "no promises." That is code for "no issues."

But 1972 had more issues than the last three federal elections combined. Housing policy, pipelines, regional disparity policy, the tax system, welfare, immigration policy, Quebec, dying farms, wheat prices, fisheries policy, industrial development policy, local initiatives policy, youth policy, northern development, language pol-

icy, civil service, unemployment, food prices, wage-price controls, strikes, pensions ...

The press, however, was bored.

More than that, the press did two things: it consciously and systematically avoided serious coverage reflecting the debate over these issues, so as to give the public the impression that nothing of any substance was being debated; and it decided on its own what the real issues were.

Of course, traditional lip-service was paid to unemployment and inflation as the key issues. That being despatched, the Toronto papers decided that the awkward influx of Caribbeans, and the excessive spending on unemployment insurance cheques, were the issues that the government was ignoring. The *Toronto Star* boldly declared on its front page that the unemployment insurance situation was such a scandal that it was the main issue in the election.

Few Canadians are really aware of the domination of the Toronto press over what they will read in Saskatchewan papers or see on Newfoundland television stations. Because much of the Ottawa "commentator corps" is employed or syndicated by the Toronto media, and because Canadian Press carries lightly rewritten stories from the Toronto papers on its service a great deal of the time, the power of the Toronto clique is amplified through CP, and Broadcast News, the CP service which forms the basis of most private radio and TV newscasts.

Tied to the Toronto clique of the *Toronto Star*, the *Globe and Maclean's*, is the Ottawa clique of Southam, FP and CBC, which boast such hearties as Charles Lynch, and Ron "No-Problem" Collister.

It is the task of these men, knif even more tightly by being on the campaign trail together during election time, to tell us when to be bored, and when to be angry.

Sensing their true calling, they achieved the former magnificently.

THIS TIME Ottawa-Carleton is "going Conservative" with STROME GALLOWAY

"HE IS NOT AFRAID TO BE EITHER FOR OR AGAINST"

He is for — an "incentive society" which encourages honest effort, reduces unemployment, results in social stability and gives Youth a challenge and a decent chance to meet it.

He is for — a sensible bilingual policy that will encourage friendly communication between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians.

He is for — a fair deal for Senior Citizens, older War Veterans and other Fixed Income Citizens, those who have worked, fought and suffered through hard times to help build Canada.

He is for — our Parliamentary heritage with its century-old traditions, its dignity and its democratic processes.

He is for — a Canada which accepts its role in the World — a trustworthy member of NATO and the UN.

He is against — Trudeau's "welfare society," which lives off the taxpayers' hard-earned dollars, accepts unemployment and breeds social unrest.

He is against — Trudeau's misoriented bilingual policy, which is dividing the country and polarizing our two Founding Peoples.

He is against — Wasting the taxpayers' money on crazy programs in aid of Communist agitators, homosexuals, drug addicts, U.S. Army deserters and draft-dodgers, as the Trudeau government is now doing.

He is against — the "creeping republicanism" and "Presidential tendencies" which are evident in the Trudeau administration, and completely un-Canadian.



STROME GALLOWAY

Strome Galloway was big on discipline up in Ottawa Carleton

(Continued from page 3)

the concept of a regional development policy, but it was criticism nevertheless and Jean Marchand, the minister responsible for the program, didn't like it.

By mid-1972 one of Marchand's most effective critics, the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, had toned down, fearing its attacks might help kill the scheme entirely. But there was another phenomenon to reckon with: several corporations shut down their Ontario plants and moved to the Maritimes, to escape high wages and troublesome unions — and collect a government regional development grant. That didn't help the government much with the difficult task of selling its plan in Ontario.

By the two rich provinces of Ontario and British Columbia that were to cost Trudeau his majority.

The regional development program, and the Trudeau government in general, also had the misfortune to be around at a time when the economic boom of the sixties was coming to an end. Liberal governments, prepared to use only a limited range of measures, can have only a partial effect on the state of the economy in the best of circumstances. In Canada, tied to the United States so that its economy is at least as sensitive to changes in American policy as it is to anything Ottawa does, the government is almost totally at the whim of circumstances beyond its control.

Still, what the Trudeau government actually did only aggravated the situation. It perceived inflation as the principal problem, and in order to fight it took measures to slow down the economy, with the inevitable consequence of increased unemployment.

The result, after three years of the policy, was high inflation and unemployment. The United States, without

RAY GUY'S ADVICE

The best vote in this election is no vote at all. No matter how you look at it.

They might, if they see there's no votes coming in from Newfoundland, get excited and send us down bigger parcels of money.

Better still, they might go about their business and leave us alone.

For what little entertainment we got out of this election none of these birds deserves a vote. That's the only thing you get out of elections in the long run — a few laughs while these nut cases are dashing about cutting each other's throats.

You may feel it's worth the effort just to get at least seven of these jokers out of Newfoundland and settled away in a nice house in Ottawa.

But they won't guarantee us they'll stay away. Chances are that in a few years' time they'll be back here inflicting themselves on us again. Don't vote — it only encourages them.

— Ray Guy; St. John's *Evening Telegram*

the benefit of Trudeauomics, had roughly the same thing, but voters have always held their governments responsible for the state of the economy and Trudeau's burden was a heavy one.

As it became clear that the presence of Pierre Elliott Trudeau in the Prime Minister's Office would not lead to miracles, the perception of him as a man changed too.

The streak of arrogance and aloofness in his personality that had been overlooked in 1968 was noticed with increasing frequency. He was the man who asked western farmers why he should sell their wheat, who said opposition MPs were nobodies a hundred yards from the House of Commons, who told the Lapalme Guys to cut shift and Newfoundland Conservative MPs Jim McGrath and John Lundrigan to fuck off.

The piddling questions

His four years were running out. He wanted to wait until the economic situation improved before calling an election, but the economic situation didn't improve. He tried to patch things up with business, usually Liberal but now reported looking longingly toward the Conservatives.

Finance Minister Benson had displeased business with his talk of tax reform (which didn't amount to much when it finally assumed the form of legislation); he was replaced. Labour Minister Mackay had displeased business with his reform of the labour code; he was replaced. Corporate Affairs Minister Basford had displeased business with his competition act; he, too, was replaced. A May budget included substantial tax concessions for business; the long-awaited foreign-ownership policy turned out to have all the power of a popgun.

First the election was going to be in April, then in June; Trudeau played on the developing anticipation, but always chickened out before it was too late. There was still little sign that defections from the Liberals would be massive (perhaps only because of the weakness of the opposition), but the 1972 election would clearly not be another 1968. When Trudeau finally bit the bullet as August turned into September he did not walk, in the immortal words of Peter C. Newman, "into the future, burdened with hope." He was scared to death.

He put on a brave front, told Peter Desbarats of the *Toronto Star* that he hoped people would listen to him this time, presumably not just adore him. He also mentioned that he saw the election as "a catharsis, as a bath of fire in which you're purified, and you settle all the piddling questions of whether this little thing was right or wrong."

And so he went among the masses. "The Land Is Strong," he sloganized. He said that "the onslaught of dissatisfaction and disbelief that Canada could even stay together four years ago has been dispelled." He

said that "Canada now weighs in the world with the full weight of its potentialities." In Summerside, PEI, he asked for a mandate to continue the "social journey." In Vancouver, B.C., he told a man pestering him about Vietnam to "fuck off." Trudeau went from coast to coast speaking to Canadians, but always the "piddling questions" came up.

Throughout the campaign, Statistics Canada kept issuing reports citing the jobless increase and the increase in the cost of living. The so-called battle against inflation had been lost although more than seven per cent of the work force were thrown into the breach. As prices rose, Trudeau expressed his joy that the farmer was getting a better price — he hasn't, but that was just another piddling question.

There was a continuing shortage of jobs, but that was because there were too many kids born after the war. Regional disparity grew, but then that was yet another piddling question. And so the Trudeau procession rolled along.

With the exception of David Lewis, who took a leaf from George McGovern's campaign book and launched out at "corporate welfare bums" and other things that got bump in the night during the later stages of People's Capitalism, the campaign seemed to be programmed well enough.

Yet things began to go wrong. Trudeau seemed (at least to the *Toronto Globe and Mail*) to swagger, and if the Canadian people didn't want a prime minister who swaggered then Trudeau had had it. Simple.

And Trudeau was vulnerable. He was locked into a set of policies which were centred on his brand of federalism, and the centre was not holding. Time was growing short.

A bitter Bryce Mackay, with an obvious allusion to his Ontario cabinet colleagues, blamed the Liberal loss on a lack of courage to defend government policies. But what was there to defend? The essential attack on the government came from the right, while it was itself moving toward the right.

Thus the problem is not so much that Trudeau deserved to be defeated and in fact was, the problem is how, why and by whom. True enough, the Liberals deserved everything they got. But in the debacle we seem to have gotten Stanfield. And what did we do to deserve that?



The Canadian newsmagazine

In the December issue:

- The Strikebusters: the story of Canadian Driver Pool and how it works with police and government to break strikes.
 - Canada's plan to attack the U.S.: the story of Col. J. Sutherland Brown's Defence Scheme No. 1.
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