

NOVEMBER/71 35¢

the mysterious east

an independent atlantic magazine



Other
Young
People

Cape
Breton's
Campbells

Another
Poverty
Report

ABOUT the mysterious east

In his recent book, *How to Survive in Your Native Land*, James Herndon makes the point that the public schools are our equivalent of the established church. We can criticize aspects of it, but the basis of the institution is beyond criticism: the very notion of questioning its existence seems scandalously heretical. Uniform public education is seen as a good thing by almost every member of our society, from the antediluvian buffaloes of the I.O.D.E. and the Canadian Legion to the kind of hip socialist you might find at an NDP meeting. To a man, they believe that it is education — compulsory education — that keeps civilization alive. To a man, they defend the use of the taxpayer's money to organize and finance public education. It's pretty easy to find someone who thinks things are wrong with public education, but it's almost impossible to find someone who thinks public education is a wrong thing.

An example. At the New Brunswick NDP's disastrous convention in September, a convention which passed such ludicrously radical and impractical policy statements as one calling for the immediate nationalization — without compensation — of virtually all the industry and business in the province, there was only one plank in the platform put forth by the self-styled "Waffle" that got defeated.

It was the one calling for the abolition of compulsory education.

The power of the myth is clearly seen in situations like the recent school disputes in New Brunswick. Faced with a government decision to bus students away from their homes, parents and students in St. Leonard and Kedgewick resorted to the time-honoured tactics of people faced with the overwhelming power of a large institution. They dug in their heels, chained school buses in place, flattened or borrowed their tires, boycotted school.

In other circumstances, their courage might have been admired. But this was school business, and so the tactics were almost universally condemned. Portentous voices spoke of the hours of instruction irrevocably lost, of how

far behind the kids would be. The parents themselves were assailed by doubts and guilt. And as the missed hours of learning about Egypt and home economics mounted, the strike wilted. Within weeks the kids were back in school, struggling frantically to get through the Boer War and reflexive verbs so that they wouldn't be behind.

Meanwhile, in Tracadie, 300 students went out on strike when they discovered that the high school's ventilation system, which was to have been fixed last May, was still malfunctioning and classroom temperatures were soaring into the 90's. Because of the walkout, the school administration sent all 1,000 students home (the logic of this is familiar to those who have watched the antics of school boards: "if some won't come, none can come"). Or, sometimes, "if you don't come to school regularly we'll expell you.")

With a thousand students out of school, the pressure in Tracadie mounted swiftly.

But the school board in Tracadie had a new idea; they insisted that every student, and his parents, had to sign a form stating that they would never, never again think twice about obeying the school board, that they would never, never think about striking or questioning the public school's ownership of their children.

Similar forms, we understand, went round after the Russian crackdown in Czechoslovakia. During the good old days of McCarthyism in the States, similar forms had to be signed in order to get teaching jobs.

But this is Canada, right? 1971? Surely everyone would just laugh?

Within a week, 90 per cent of the students were back in school; the forms safely filed somewhere. 900 parents had undertaken to pledge their undying loyalty to the Tracadie School Board.

Because their kids were being held hostage by a system that denies them jobs, security and happiness unless they go to school a certain number of hours, regardless of what they learn or whether, in fact, they learn anything at all. Those parents are clear about one thing: education is the church. Doubt it and you don't get to the promised land.

INSIDE

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THE MYSTERIOUS EAST is published monthly by THE RUBBER DUCK PRESS INC., Magazine Division, P.O. Box 1172, Fredericton, N.B. Unless otherwise specified, editorial copy may not be reprinted or used by radio or TV without written permission. THE MYSTERIOUS EAST sells for 35 cents per issue; regular subscriptions are \$5.50 per year. Contributing subscriptions \$10 per year and sustaining subscriptions \$25 per year. Advertising rates available upon request. Mailed under Post Office Permit No. 6, Fredericton. Contents copyright The Rubber Duck Press 1971.

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OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH



OVER THE PAST SUMMER the Opportunities For Youth Programme, the well-financed but often misguided offspring of Gerard Pelletier, has stumbled splay-footed across the Canadian countryside. The programme we are told, was designed to combat the spectre of student unemployment. And certainly it wouldn't do to allow all those lank-tressed students wearing funny clothes to clutter up the sidewalks and threaten the tranquility of summer with their unemployed exuberance and political infatuation. Besides, it was about time to integrate some of those annoying disintegrated people into the Great Society.

Other opinions of the programme's aims found cautious utterance, often, like a whore's protestations, from the ranks of those employed in OFY projects. Wasn't this, they suggested, the same old pile of government shit dressed up in the fashionable colour of \$1,000 bills? One for every bright young man and woman clever enough to fill out the application forms in triplicate?

Yes, it was, but that's another story.

In the face of the recently announced similar programmes for this winter - and no doubt next summer - this may be an appropriate time to take a look at the structure and operation of the old OFY while the ashes still glow and before it rises again phoenix-like in its winter incarnation.

THE ORIGINAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH programme was administered through the Department of the Secretary of State and funded with \$1.5 million. This amount was subsequently raised to \$24.7 million and the doors were opened to applicants. The application process was organized on a competitive basis, we were told, with the following criteria selected as guidelines:

- a) number of jobs created and cost.
- b) number of people who might benefit and take part.
- c) the involvement of young people in planning, carrying out and evaluating projects.
- d) creation of new services, programmes or activities.

The field was wide open and before long the Ottawa OFY office was flooded with some 13,000 applications. The wheels of the newly created bureaucracy almost ground to a halt, resulting in lengthy delays for many projects. But a screening process finally reduced the applications to 2,300,

employing some 27,000 people, and these projects were then approved, financed and set in motion.

Unfortunately, the structure of the Ottawa bureaucracy tended to undermine the value of the criteria set up to process the applications. The programme co-ordinator, Cum Mackie, administered the work of five regional co-ordinators. Each regional co-ordinator, in turn, was assisted by a group of four project officers. All these people were in Ottawa and few, if any, were hired on the basis of any understanding or insight they might have into the regions they administered. Moreover, the decision of the judges, as they say, was final. There was no appeal.

Local co-ordination was undertaken by field officers in the regional branch offices of the Department of the Secretary of State. These field officers and the permanent liaison officers of the regional branch offices were to act as resource persons for the summer projects. They reported to the Ottawa project officers who occasionally deigned to make fleeting visits to the areas for which they were responsible.

SIXTY-SIX PROJECTS were approved in New Brunswick. Very neatly, thirty-three English speaking and thirty-three French. Probably due to the high density of university students, seventeen of the English speaking projects concentrated in the Fredericton area. The disproportionate number of projects grouped around intellectual centres reflects the obvious inability of the programme to make contact with young people in underdeveloped and rural areas. It could be argued that there is no student unemployment problem in these areas simply because there are no students, but that ignores the equally serious youth unemployment problem.

The recent increase of unemployment from 6.0 percent to 6.3 percent, very significant in terms of individuals, has caused a slight flurry of consternation at the federal level. That .3 percent increase, representing over 60,000 men and women, is entirely composed of persons between the ages of 14 and 24.

If a major purpose of OFY was to involve young people

in new and meaningful activities, then high school students should have benefited as much as anyone else. They didn't, however. In the Fredericton area, with seventeen projects, only one was a high school project, employing six people.

Many people must have viewed the \$24.7 million in OFY funds as going directly to those who needed it least. But there was little public protest. Opportunities For Youth justified its concern with university students, rather than youth, unemployment in its initial statement to applicants.

The emphasis is on jobs and activities for students continuing their education beyond secondary school but other young people are not excluded.

"Notes for Applicants"

"Other young people" may not be excluded but from the tone of the statement and from a reflection of the summer's activities, they certainly were not included either.

This apparent elitism, or prejudice in favour of a privileged class won the programme many enemies. A large number of young people simply resented being patronized while others, perceiving that the government was willing to patronize classes or groups of people, wondered whether the government would not also patronize individuals. It appears that if the individuals swung enough power the answer was yes.

Every con-artist in Canada must have had a crack at Opportunities For Youth. \$25 million is a lot of money. The centralized Ottawa bureaucracy found itself exceedingly ill-equipped to deal with deceitful attempts to obtain project money and scored even worse against politically influential individuals desiring to manage projects involving large sums of money.

A brief look at one such case of legerdemain illustrates very nicely the failings of the centralized bureaucracy. The case-study also provides a number of hints on the organization of an alternate structure for the whole programme.

THE DIABOLICAL FOREST ECOLOGICAL RESEARCH PROJECT

SINCE MUCH OF NEW BRUNSWICK is covered with forests, it's not surprising that the largest industry in the province is the forest products industry. Nor is it surprising that an Opportunities For Youth project would be conceived to make use of the province's forest resources.

What is perhaps surprising is the way in which those resources were used, or perhaps misused, in one of the largest and most expensive OFY projects in the province.

Certainly, it sounded impressive: a project conceived and designed to conduct forest ecological research. Directed by John Marler, a 22 year old first year law student at the University of New Brunswick, the project was to investigate various means of forest conservation and protection, and employ 33 students.

Marler admitted to little expertise in forest ecology and the resulting lack of administrative experience should have hung-up the application's success at the very start. But then Marler wasn't your run of the mill applicant either. He came from a prominent Montreal Liberal family, and in fact, Uncle George Marler was the Minister of Transport in the Liberal cabinet of Louis St. Laurent. The project was quickly approved and Marler was awarded \$36,300.

All was well.

But then at the beginning of the summer, shortly after

the project started, strange rumours began to spread. At a meeting in Fredericton of all the Opportunities For Youth projects operating in the area, Marler explained that, in fact, he knew very little of the technical aspects of the programme and merely handled the administration. He explained that the technical operations were divided into two areas and introduced Dave Smith, director of the Nackawic section, to explain the technicalities. Smith explained that they had planted 56,000 trees, mostly white pine, in the Canterbury region and that they were doing selective cuttings and sample burns in that district on land jointly provided by several private companies. Whereupon several people attending the meeting asked Marler if he wasn't then using the project and public funds to provide research for private forest industries. No, he said. He was not. And he was right. As it later became clear, little research was being done at all.

After the preparation of this article and since the RCMP are presently investigating the case, we were advised to replace our detailed examination of the Marler project with the following summary. Our original story will appear in a future issue - Ed.

It seems that instead of planting trees, at least some of the students in the project, were told to cut them. The students were clear-cutting areas of forest land and were being paid according to the number of cords cut, not as in all other OFY projects at a regular monthly salary. Moreover, the harvested wood was being sold at a profit to pulp dealers.

The students working in the Ripples operation could see little relationship between what they were doing and ecology, reforestation and forest research. And probably more important to them, the amount of money they were being paid per cord had dropped dramatically during the few weeks they were working. The students complained to the Department of the Secretary of State and the New Brunswick Department of Labour.

On June 23, after this and much more information had been assembled and understood, officials of the Opportunities For Youth Programme met and decided to terminate the project and to undertake a thorough audit of the project's books. Meanwhile, the students involved were reorganized so that they could be employed in other projects for the duration of the original project's length.

The audit turned up considerably more information and eventually the RCMP Commercial Frauds Section was invited to investigate the project.

So much for Marler. He hung around for a while and then proceeded to go straight back to law school at UNB, presumably much enriched by his summer's experience. This doesn't say a whole lot for the law school - but then again, it's the only one in the province.

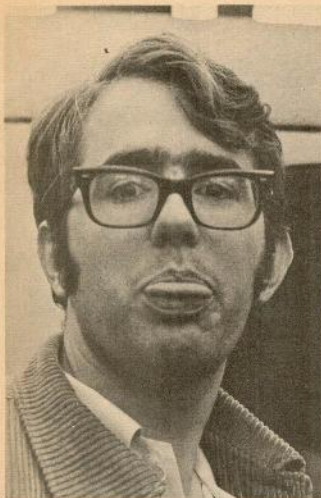


Photo - Bill Durocher

A project conceived and designed to conduct forest ecological research, directed by John Marler, a 22 year old first year law student at the University of New Brunswick. The project was to investigate various means of forest conservation and protection, and employ 33 students.

THE CRAFTY COVER-UP

Marler's conduct of the project was, at least, interesting, but the reactions of the Opportunities For Youth officials to the developing situation were much more interesting. One can appreciate the reticence the administrators of the OFY programme feel about releasing details of the Marler project to the public. The OFY programme as a whole had come under attack from the press from almost every conceivable direction. Much of the press reaction was unfair and, especially in the Maritime area, reflected a more general bias against youth -- unemployed, transient and long-haired youth in particular. Opportunities For Youth predictably became a very handy spittoon for much of this verbal expectation.

The Marler project had been terminated or reorganized on June 23. On July 9, a cautious press release found its way from the Moncton office of the Department of the Secretary of State. The news item published in the July 10 issue of the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald* and in the *Saint John Telegraph-Journal* on July 12 stated that Jonathan Marler had been dismissed as director of the UNB Forest Ecological

Research Project.

We discovered the student who drew up the proposal and was manager of the project was not meeting the terms of reference. There was not enough of the research section that we had anticipated being carried out. We weren't content the purpose was being achieved to the degree we were led to believe and were discontent with his running of the project. However it is being carried on in a slightly different direction and some of the students have been relocated to work in conjunction with other projects.

Now at what exact point one begins to distort press releases and thus misinform the public in order to protect a certain segment of the public from a biased press must involve a distinction of some subtlety. It remains clear, however, that the government initiated press release had little relationship to the actual pattern of events. "There was not enough of the research section . . . being carried out." No, there wasn't. In fact, there wasn't any research at all. "However, it (the project) is being carried on in a slightly different direction." Slightly different? The difference is between planting trees and deciding how they grow best and cutting them down and deciding how they sell best. As if these discrepancies were not sufficient, the *Fredericton Daily Gleaner* printed a front page article on July 10 stating that "conflicting reports of the change in management were given Friday (Oct. 9) by officials of the secretary of state department in Ottawa and Moncton."

P. Cam Mackie, director of the Opportunities For Youth programme in Ottawa said through a spokesman in Halifax that Marler left of his own accord. "He was not asked to leave" . . . Mr. Mackie said: "The project was reviewed in the normal course of events as are all projects and it was found that the direction had changed from the original submission. In effect, a study on reforestation methods, which was to have taken place, had not been started. Therefore, the project has been re-organized to ensure the original purpose will be achieved.

It is interesting that the statement from Ottawa, the central bureaucracy, is clearly further from the truth than the statement distributed regionally. According to the Ottawa version, Marler might have had a slight disagreement with OFY officials regarding the direction of the project and have simply decided to dissociate himself from the whole affair.

THE TREACHEROUSLY DISGUISED SHOVELS

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN the central authority in Ottawa and the Moncton field staff now begins to disintegrate into black comedy. Consider the story of the chain-saws. Marler bought six chain-saws with OFY funds, expressly going against the Ottawa dictum that Opportunities For Youth would not subsidize capital costs of any kind for any projects. When Marler was removed, the responsible field staff retrieved the chain-saws. Marler launched a law suit to get them back again. OFY refused to believe that the chain-saws had been bought with their money as doing so would quite plainly contradict the directive concerning capital cost stated in the "Notes to Applicants". Mrs. Sheila Zimmerman, regional co-director for the Maritimes, even took the trouble to send a telegram to the field representatives stating that Opportunities For Youth dissociated itself entirely from the whole chain-saw

business. After all, what could the chain-saws have been used for? Planting seedlings with them must have been a tedious procedure. Better that they did not exist at all. Faced with this kind of response from the central authority, the field officials would have had little alternative but to return the chain-saws to Marler and let him do with them as he wished. In this instance, the Ottawa administrators were clearly defending Marler, backing him against their own regional employees.

THE REASON FOR THIS REACTION is uncertain but an insight into its origin might be gained by recalling the nature of the influence that Marler wielded. The threat of this influence finding its way into practical forms might be enough to cause the boldest administrator to shudder. At this point, we discreetly avert our eyes from the possibilities, but cannot help noting that while the regional officers were highly in favour of throwing the book at Marler, the central authority exhibited an overwhelming desire to lie down and forget about the whole scene. The RCMP were finally invited to investigate the Marler affair.

The saddest thing about the whole situation is that it really need not have happened at all. If the selection process had occurred in the Maritime area the project would have probably never been passed — it is doubtful that Marler's personal qualifications to manage such a project would have been accepted. It becomes painfully obvious that decentralization of the whole Opportunities For Youth programme will be necessary in the near future. Such decentralization would greatly decrease the possibility of overt corruption. It would spread around the flood of applications that descended on Ottawa and resulted in the delay of many projects and the inconsistent and variable criteria by which those projects were selected. Decentralization would bring the projects and the administrators closer together and increase administrative insight into a project's value. Many projects required a regional consideration that Ottawa was totally unable to provide. Decentralization would allow the possibility of inter-project communication which, with one or two exceptions, was non-existent — although it was supposedly a major aim of the programme. If the selection process had been more public, the difference between the varying amounts of the wages offered by Marler and the standard wages offered by OFY would have been noticed immediately. The collective and regional selection of projects would also help eliminate the opportunity for political patronage. Perhaps secrecy, the necessary compliment of patronage, would then also disappear. Cam Mackie and Sheila Zimmerman issued instructions that no publicity was to be given to the Marler case at all. Mackie released misleading and inaccurate statements to the press.

Their objective may have been the protection of the OFY programme but the evidence that only 16 of approximately 2,300 projects needed legal investigation suggests that the programme was not about to disintegrate from internal corruption.

We, in this society, suffer very heavily from the privacy and autonomy that surround the making of political, intellectual and scientific decisions that affect the community as a whole. Those we make responsible for our welfare have an obligation to tell us the steps they take to accomplish it. Decentralization acts as an effective check on the autonomy of power. In effect, it brings the power closer to the people and, as we are constantly and repetitively reminded, that's the only place for it.



The Peak

JOHN WARNOCK

A RESPONSE TO THE "NEW IMPERIALISM"

CANADIANS ARE JUSTLY CONCERNED about the effects of President Nixon's New Economic Policy. As *The Financial Post* has pointed out (August 21, 1971): "The policy now is America First. Some call it the New Imperialism."

President Nixon's subsequent remarks to the U.S. Congress on September 9 dashed all hopes that this would be a temporary problem for Canada. The mood of the President's speech was strongly nationalist, stressing that it was time for the U.S. Government to be first of all concerned with America. In effect, the allies were told to fend for themselves.

The "New Imperialism" should have effectively pulled the rug out from under those in Canada who have argued for "Quiet Diplomacy" and further continental integration of Canada with the United States. Instead, we find most political leaders and the mass media urging the Canadian government not to respond by any form of retaliation. Canadians are to tighten their belts and help out the American economy.

The U.S. government has in reality announced a unilateral declaration of a trade war on all her allies. We are not surprised by the totally inadequate response of our federal government -- we have come to expect that. Yet at the same time we are concerned that the opposition voices in Canada have not been able to get across the clear alternatives that exist.

We should recognize that the President's policy represents a shift of power away from those on wages and salaries, (not to mention the poor and the unemployed) to the small group of Americans who are the owners of wealth. How will this happen?

First, there has been a back-door devaluation of the U.S. dollar; combined with the wage freeze, this strengthens the

Professor Harold Bronson and John Warnock teach political economy at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, as did John Richards in 1970-71. Professor Richards was fired -- and has since been elected New Democratic MLA in Saskatchewan University.

JOHN WARNOCK KEEPS presenting us with problems. Last May, we printed an article by him with some hesitation because it was not specifically directed at Maritime problems. We have made our reputation and accumulated our readership by dealing with Maritime issues, with issues that concern the people of the Atlantic Provinces and that don't seem likely to be treated by other publications.

But Warnock's article, as we pointed out at the time, did seem especially appropriate to the Maritimes even though its subject matter was a national problem. Unemployment and regional disparity are intimately tied to the problem of foreign investment in Canada; thus the problem of foreign domination of Canada's economy is, or ought to be, of special interest to Maritimers. When Canada gets hurt, it's often the Maritimes that feel it most.

The article we are reprinting below presented us with a similar problem. It deals with an international problem, not a Maritime one; it is directed toward considering Canada's response to the new fiscal policies of President Nixon and the American government.

But we feel the article should be read in a Maritime context. Canada's increasing dependence on the American economy has left the Atlantic Provinces vulnerable; the pinch is already being felt, as exports decline and jobs evaporate. As long time veterans of the corporate rip off, Maritimers are in a special position to appreciate the arguments offered by Warnock, Bronson and Richards.

power of the corporations and capital.

Second, the state, now more than ever before, is aligned with private capital. The only weapon of those on wages and salaries is the strike for higher wages -- which has been effectively destroyed.

Third, while wages and salaries are controlled, this is not true of profits, dividends, interest rates or payments, nor the price of stocks, bonds or land, the source of income for those in the ownership class.

Fourth, there is the 10% tax incentive granted the corporations. This is expected to provide the corporations with an additional \$3.5 billion subsidy in 1971. It comes on the heels of other federal handouts recently granted by the U.S. Treasury Department which average around \$4 billion a year. Yet there is no shortage of capital investment in the United States, and industry is operating at less than 75% capacity. It is no wonder that U.S. economists are predicting that the share of national income going to those on wages and salaries will decline and that of capital will rise.

But what about the price freeze? A price freeze -- as we have learned from the recent European experience -- is much harder to police than a wage freeze. Corporations get around this by introducing "new models", by selling lower quality products, and by selling less for the same price. During the period of the incomes policy in Great Britain brought in by the Labour Government, there was a decline in real income for those on wages and salaries.

Whenever any economic crisis occurs in Canada, it seems the first response of our governments, whether federal or provincial, is to hand out more of the tax-payers hard-earned money to private enterprise. The Trudeau government is just following the established pattern. But to label the \$80 million giveaway as the "Employment Support Act" is hypocrisy and deceit of the worst order.

AS THE CARTER ROYAL COMMISSION on Taxation showed, Canada has one of the most regressive taxation systems in the world. The lower the Canadian income, the higher the percentage which goes to taxes.

The higher the income, the lower the percentage which goes to taxes. The recent manipulations by the Trudeau government do not change the fact that equity, or the ability to pay, is not the guiding principle of taxation in Canada.

Because of our regressive tax system, we must first recognize that *any* programme financed by our governments under the present tax laws is a transfer from the lower income brackets. The present \$80 million handout is no exception.

On top of this, the Trudeau government has admitted that most of this money will go to foreign owned companies, mostly in Ontario. When it is remembered that President Nixon's NEP will have the result of increasing the profit standing of the American corporations, then there is absolutely no moral justification for granting their branch plants in Canada even more handouts.

There are clear alternatives to the policies put forth by our colonial-minded government in Ottawa. We would suggest the following:

- (1) No grants of money from the Canadian taxpayers should be made to any American branch plants, or to companies owned or controlled by American stockholders;
- (2) If any of these American companies shift production to the United States, or if they close down their Canadian operations, then they should be nationalized without compensation.
- (3) An export tax should be placed on all U.S. companies which are exporting non-renewable resources to the United States. An alternative would be to eliminate the special tax incentives granted to U.S. resource-based industries in Canada.
- (4) The federal government should immediately introduce controls on the amount of investment income which can be repatriated to the United States. In the period from 1960 to 1969 this amounted to a net outflow in the form of interest, dividends, royalties and fees of around \$2.5 billion.

(5) The additional revenue from these sources should be used to raise low-incomes in Canada so that existing Canadian companies can operate at full employment levels. Since the private sector in the Canadian economy is already characterized by too heavy capital investment, new investments should be directed to the public sector, which is starved for revenues. The jobs created from such a programme would more than offset the loss of jobs resulting from reduced exports to the United States.

THESE ARE ONLY IMMEDIATE solutions related to the present crisis this winter. They do not meet the real problem, the fact that 70% of our trade is with one country, the United States, and the fact that there is a tremendous market potential in Canada.

If we are to find a solution to the root problem, then we must begin a policy of diversification of trade. The federal government should immediately undertake negotiations to create a free trade area with Latin America and other under-developed countries, who like Canada, fear the loss of trade through the Nixon Economic Policy. In addition, we should actively promote trade with China, the Soviet Union and the other Eastern European countries.

Canada is also characterized by gross inequality in income and wealth, with a very substantial proportion of our people living in poverty and deprivation. Income distribution has not changed over the past 20 years. There is a great market potential in Canada which can be tapped by a policy of full employment and raising wages of low income families. There is every reason to believe that we would be far better off if we were not under the economic domination of the United States. To borrow from President Nixon, it is time for Canada to enter the battle of the world economy without one hand (or in our case both hands) tied behind our back.

CONCERNED ABOUT
OVERPOPULATION?

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STRONG WORDS IN SYDNEY



PHOTO - BOB LANGRISH

SANDY CAMPBELL AND THE CAPE BRETON HIGHLANDER

IT IS A WHITE BUILDING, low and deep, like a government warehouse - not very different, in fact, from the Devco offices beside it. No splashy sign announces its contents to passersby on wide, busy George Street, in Sydney, Nova Scotia. But it is an important building all the same, for it is the home of the *Cape Breton Highlander*, the first real opposition paper in the Maritimes and perhaps the first in Canada.

Or perhaps it would be better to call it the first of the current crop, for, as *Highlander* publisher Sandy Campbell soon points out, industrial Cape Breton has a long history of Dickensian exploitation of labouring people, and the workers of Cape Breton have never been reluctant to fight back. In the last half-century, Cape Breton has seen armed clashes between miners and troops, spectacular strikes and riots, company goons and militant socialists. The one part of the Maritimes where a true industrial working class has grown up around the steel mills and coal mines, Cape Breton is the heartland of Atlantic radicalism, the one constituency to have elected socialists, both provincially and federally, again and again.

In such a climate, opposition journalism is a natural growth. After the strikes and battles of the twenties, pioneer labour leader J.B. McLachlan established the *Maritime Labour Herald* in the fall of 1921. During its tempestuous career over the next twenty years and more, its offices were burned twice - once almost certainly by

company goons, though of course nobody was ever convicted. Later, the communist weekly *Steelworker and Miner*, whose motto was "An Island of Truth in an Ocean of Lies" operated for about ten years.

By 1963 the *Maritime Labour Herald* had been dead for years, and Cape Breton was the private fief of the *Cape Breton Post*, formed by an amalgam of the earlier *Sydney Post and Record*. And the Campbells were coming, the Campbells were coming. Things have never been the same since.

BEYOND THE CRAMPED ENTRANCE to the "new office", as some people in Sydney call it, though the *Highlander* has been there for two years, a door on the right leads into Helen Campbell's office. A strikingly attractive dark-haired woman, Helen is, Sandy tells you, his sister. She does editorial work, some of the design, writes the TV column, and generally assists the editor - whose office opens off hers. He comes out and asks her to cover the arrival of a provincial functionary, and be sure to get some pictures. They joke together about arriving early and scaring the old women; you catch the flavour of shared experience, of a story from the past which you don't know.

If Helen seems to be on close terms with the editor - that shouldn't be surprising, for John Campbell, 36, is her brother. A lean, soft-spoken man, John Campbell gains your trust at once: his answers to your questions are clear and straightforward, and he gives the impression of never having quite mastered the techniques of guile. In addition to editing the

DONALD CAMERON

paper, John writes a column and covers sports; he is much interested in the Scottish tradition in Cape Breton and is involved in the little Gaelic revival currently underway in the area. You play "The Road to the Isles" on your harmonica.

The girl who does the typesetting and makeup comes in to complain: she likes harmonicas, but anyone who plays that badly should be stamped out. Like Helen Campbell, she has long dark hair, a ready smile, and an active feeling for irony - and no doubt she comes by it naturally, for she is Helen's sister, Anne Marie. The name sounds more French than Scottish, and you remember that the Campbells are Catholic Scots, as are about half the Scots in Cape Breton. You remember one of them talking about the Young Pretender in the court of France, talking about Catholic Scots attitudes to work ("It's not like the Presbyterians at all. If you can live for a week on what you earn in a day, why work all week?") It sounds Irish. "I'm just after going home," says Sandy Campbell. That sounds Irish too. These Campbells, at any rate, have been in Canada for five or six generations; their grandparents spoke Gaelic on the small, impoverished farm in rural Cape Breton, they understand a little Gaelic themselves and John is studying it, and you realize that you are in contact with a Scots strain which in a way is still paying the price of losing the Battle of Culloden. They are still profoundly Scottish, much more than you are, and they make you feel culturally just a little shallow.

"In a way it gives us a special sympathy with the French," says Sandy. "Because they're right, you know. If you lose the language, you've lost the culture. We have to study it up; it isn't a thing we just know anymore, and yet you want to know it, because it has a lot to do with the kind of person you are, the kind of thing that's shaped you. That's what the French are trying to keep, and I think they should fight like hell to keep it. I wish we'd fought harder."

A woman who has joined the group breaks into a perfect lilting imitation of a Cape Breton Scots accent ("It was a terrible time indeed, and if I said you it wasn't I'd not be telling it truthfully") and releases a peal of laughter. "She's only a bloody Haligonian," says Sandy, who is something of an authority: the Haligonian turns out to be his wife Andrea, who puts in twenty hours a week at the *Highlander* as well as looking after the six children. "Come on," she says, "let's have a cup of coffee", and leads you out to the main open area of the building, between the offices which line the sides. On a rickety table there is CoffeeMate and instant coffee spilled on the oilcloth, and a box of huge, damp ginger cookies. Andrea plugs in the kettle.

"Come and meet Donald," she says, and you go back to a room full of solutions and basins and cameras, with photographic negatives lining the walls and the negatives of last week's *Highlander* stacked on a platemaking machine. Donald Campbell, 34, glories in the title of vice-president of Highlander Press Company Ltd. He photographs the pages once Helen and Anne Marie have laid them out, burns a plate from the photo, and supervises the printing. If conversation is a passion with Sandy and a pleasure with John, it is more of an expression of good will with Donald, who obviously likes people and is immensely friendly but just doesn't have his elder brothers' ready flow of words at hand. You talk a little about the technical matter of putting out thirty or forty tabloid pages a week, a matter you know about only by hearsay, since you have never taken a very serious interest in that aspect of *The Mysterious East*; through it all runs the camaraderie and supportiveness which people on opposition publications give to one another and which is one of the real joys of working in the alternative media.



Photo - Bill Durocher
A lean, soft-spoken man, John Campbell gains your trust at once: his answers to your questions are clear and straightforward, and he gives you the impression of never having quite mastered the techniques of guile.



Photo - Bill Durocher
Donald Campbell, 34, glories in the title of vice president of Highlander Press Co. Ltd. He photographs the pages, burns a plate from the photo, and supervises the printing. If conversation is a passion with Sandy, and a pleasure with John, it is more of an expression of good will with Donald.

BIASED VERBAL GARBAGE

The best way to understand Sandy Campbell's free-swinging, feisty style is to read a bit of it. Here's a sample: his reaction to MLA Paul MacEwan's attempt to get him removed from the Royal Commission on Auto Insurance.

Paul MacEwan, who tried earlier this year to get President Kenneth Kuanda to reach across the sea and remove Derek Haysom as president of Sysco, has lowered his sights and asked Premier Gerald Regan to purge the provincial Royal Commission on Automobile Insurance of Highlander publisher Sandy Campbell. MacEwan, duly-elected MLA for Cape Breton Nova, issued the demand for Campbell's removal in a tastefully-worded press release last week.

The press release follows MacEwan's usual literary style, in which he interviews himself and then has MacEwan the author quote MacEwan the interviewee in the third person. The Highlander wasn't among the media which received this particular epic, but managed to obtain a copy. Since the others didn't give much play to MacEwan's thoughtful opinion, it is published here verbatim, in the interest of keeping the public informed about what its elected representatives are up to.

Highlander publisher Campbell, obviously stung by MacEwan's clever expose, stated in an interview with himself: "If this person is hoping to tempt me into a battle of wits he is going to be disappointed. I do not fight with unarmed people."

And on that high note, we present the thoughts of MacEwan according to MacEwan:

Cape Breton Nova MLA Paul MacEwan says the appointment of Alexander Campbell, Sydney, to the Provincial Commission to investigate automobile insurance is "particularly reprehensible". Campbell, publisher of a weekly newspaper at Sydney, was appointed to the three-man commission by Premier Gerald Regan last week.

Mr. MacEwan said Campbell was "totally unfit" for any government appointment "in view of his failure to contribute anything to the community but the most jaundiced, biased verbal garbage over a period of years". MacEwan said Campbell had "no known knowledge of the auto insurance field" and that he could not even be described as a journalist, but rather as a "hack writer of the more scurrilous sort".

Campbell, said the MLA, was best known for once having described a Cape Breton Member of Parliament over the air as a pig. Among other achievements of Campbell, MacEwan stated, were "a sustained character assassination of the majority of elected representatives of the people in the Cape Breton area". He said the Campbell appointment "casts a pall over the whole commission and brings into serious question its competence to work within its terms of reference". He said he was certain the Campbell appointment was greeted by the public with "mixed shock and disgust".

He said that the Campbell appointment was particularly in bad taste "since it gives a certain aura of recognition, if not approval, to the ravings which have emanated from this source to the chagrin of the community". Mr. MacEwan said he hoped Premier Regan, "once he has realised (sic) what he has allowed himself to do", would revoke the Campbell appointment and replace him with some "fit and proper person in the hopes that this commission may not be turned into a farce".

COFFEE OVER, SANDY SHOWS YOU THE BACK half of the building, a dark warehouse-like place full of piles of newspapers, bundles of unused paper, mysterious machinery. There are two presses not big ones, which cost a pretty penny, and a baler for waste paper, and machines for collating and folding the finished papers; and off in the corner there are two toilets: one of which you use. Two young boys, perhaps eighteen or nineteen years old, are taking a break from folding and stacking papers; they are eating Kentucky Fried Chicken and soon grow disgusted with your talk about financing, capital investment, payrolls and the cost of the machinery. "Come on," says one to the other, "let's go where we can eat in peace."
"That's my brother Brian," says Sandy. "He was a student at Xavier College last year, and he'll probably go back in the fall. He's just filling in for a while."

At least, you say, you must have met all the Campbells on the premises.

"I don't know," says Sandy. "Did you meet Peter? He sells advertising for us."

Not ever, one, of course, is a Campbell. Irene Hawley, who sets type, "has been part of the gang from the beginning," says Sandy, "and she's much more than an employee. So's Harry Turner, our first and only pressman." A third is Ruth Gwynn, whom Sandy describes as "receptionist-bookkeeper-phone answerer", who's been with the Highlander five years.

Back in his cluttered, spacious, rather old-fashioned office at the front of the building, opposite John's office, Sandy grins. At thirty-eight, he is a hefty, gregarious, strong-willed man, the big brother of the family and the Highlander's usual public spokesman.

"To get started and to keep going," he says, "you've got to have a group of people that are willing to work like hell for almost nothing for as long as it takes. That's just the way it is in community journalism. In our case we had the family."

He lights a cigar -- his last -- and tells me how it happened. His father came off a marginal Cape Breton farm with a rudimentary education, moved to Sydney and rose through the ranks to become Chief of Police. His mother's family was similar, "but you might say, a generation more advanced"; she had been born in Sydney and attended university without graduating. There were nine children. Seven of them currently work for the Highlander.

"There's a tremendous emphasis in Cape Breton on education," Sandy recalls, "and we were all expected to go to university." Sandy did, but it didn't take; after a year he quit and went to work in the steel mill which dominates Sydney life. After a year as a steelworker he drifted -- driving trucks, labouring, moving around to Toronto and Montreal, and back to Sydney.

Then one day he got a call from the Cape Breton Post. They were looking for trainee reporters; calling the high school, they had been given Sandy's name as a former year-book writer with a strong aptitude test score in the general direction of journalism. Sandy had never thought of journalism, but liked the idea, and gave it a try. After a few months of part-time reporting he was offered a regular job.

IGOT SCREWED RIGHT OFF THE BAT by them," he laughs. The Post had promised to pay him what he was already earning in his other job -- Sandy can no longer remember what that job was -- but after he quit and showed up at the Post they told him there had been "budgetary changes" and he would have to take ten or fifteen dollars a week less than he had been promised.

Not surprisingly, when Canadian Press noticed his work a few months later and offered him a job in their Halifax

bureau, he moved. A year or two later he moved again, this time for five years with Maclean-Hunter in Montreal. Meanwhile John had been a reporter on the *Post* for two or three years. On Sandy's visits home the brothers discussed the state of journalism, particularly in Cape Breton. They didn't like it one bit.

"You know what the facts were," Sandy says, "because you were there. Then you see what appears in the paper and you realize that the public is absorbing that as a factual report, and you know that it's inaccurate or untrue, or it's left out completely. The idea that something should be done occurred fairly early on; later we thought, Hey! maybe we can do something."

Along with Donald ("The three of us were close enough in age that we'd always kicked around together") John and Sandy raised about \$15,000 in \$100 share sales, almost entirely from steelworkers and other working men with faith in the idea. They had to form a public company, because a private company was limited by law to a maximum of fifty shareholders, and they couldn't find that kind of money among any fifty people they knew. The public company, of course, got them into prospectuses, bonded salesmen and the whole paraphernalia of corporate finance. "It was like Wall Street around here," Sandy chuckles. "And most lawyers don't know that much about incorporation, not unless they make a specialty of it, so we were checking out books and looking up the law, and I was getting to sound like an expert; I was dazzling the lawyers."

It would have been easier, Sandy points out, if they hadn't had to buy presses and equipment, if they could have had someone print it for them. But at that time nobody in Sydney had an adequate offset press, and printing in hot lead was just too expensive, so they had to raise the money and print it themselves. The first issue came out November 27, 1963, just at the time of John Kennedy's assassination, with which it is mingled in Sandy's memory.

"The first while it was a real hairy time," he recalls. "We had to work actual 24-hour days -- I'd often heard of them, but we really had to. The damn thing had to be done, and we were so slow doing it -- pasting up pages, and getting camera stuff ready. It was really a painful procedure. What the hell's that?"

There's a heavy methodical pounding noise in the building, and everyone has gone home. It stops.

"Never mind," says Sandy. "What was I saying?"

The pounding starts again. Jumping up, Sandy strides out of the office to the front door. It is his son Vince, 12, who is interested in photography and wants to take pictures for the *Highlander* -- and wants, right now, a bottle of pop.

"You can have an ice-cream," says Sandy. "You drink too much pop. Here's the key, so you won't have to pound on the door again. And when you come back, bring me a package of Marguerite Perfectos, will you?" Vince goes.

"If I'd known in advance how difficult it would be," Sandy says, settling behind his desk again and looking ruefully at the ruins of his previous Perfecto. "-- and it's good that you don't know in advance -- but if I had known about the hours and no money and so on and so on, well, I don't think anybody would take it on."

Vince pops his head into the office.

"What kind of cigars?"

"Marguerite Perfectos. They'll know at the store."

"Marguerite . . . Perfectos?"

"Yeah. Listen, we're doing a tape."

"Okay," says Vince, and disappears again.

"Everybody thinks we're solid financially now," says Sandy. "Well there are years when we make money, and years when we lose money. Part of the problem is that our

major interest is really the editorial side of it, and we tend to concentrate on that, and to spend time and money on it without having too much regard for the commercial and advertising side of it. So we never know until we see the annual statement how we did that year. But you've got a payroll of fourteen, and you want to keep doing the editorial things, you *have* to make it pay unless you've got a rich patron or something, and it's a hell of a job to make a publication pay."

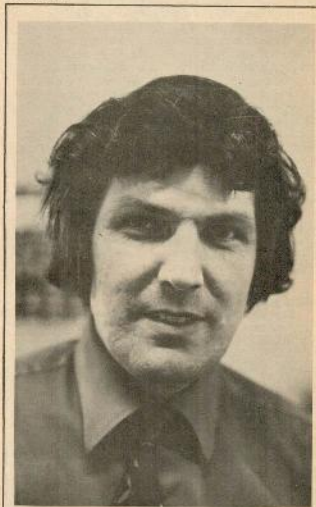


Photo -- Bill Durochak

At thirty-eight, Sandy Campbell is a hefty gregarious, strong-willed man, the big brother of the family and the *Highlander's* usual public spokesman.

THE COMPANY -- Highlander Press Company Limited -- has about ninety shareholders, but only John, Donald and Sandy hold voting shares; the others hold preferred or common "B" which are non-voting. Some publications make handsome profits, but not an opposition paper.

"The media in the Maritimes, and here in industrial Cape Breton particularly," Sandy remarks, reminding me once again that everywhere in the Maritimes people think their local daily is unusually bad even for a journalistic disaster area, "are not boatrockers and have participated as members of the Establishment. There are friends, there are certain things you don't publish or you don't mention and names you don't use and so on, which from a business point of view works very well for the media. So when you try to do something a little different, you run into stiff resistance from the segment of the Establishment which controls

the advertising dollars. A lot of them regard you as certainly unpleasant or unacceptable, and they withhold advertising support on the basis of it being support of the newspaper itself. And of course the weekly newspaper is at the bottom of the advertiser's list anyway - he has daily newspapers, television, radio, billboards, mailings and so on. So the weekly is in a tough position in a highly competitive market."

Do advertisers pressure him?

"Oh, yeah. You have to make choices all the time.

These are not easy choices either. We've had calls from advertisers requesting that this be played down or ignored, and it's a hard decision, you know, when you're broke and a guy is spending a few thousand a year with you. It's painful. One advertiser, on a small operation, can make the difference between making money or losing money that year. But you have to make the tough decision."

According to the *Atlantic Year Book*, the *Highlander's* circulation is 13,473, but Sandy says it goes "up and down like a whore's drawers". With a circulation of 28,000, the *Post* is the local version of the same dull gray daily which seems to be published in every Maritime city; the *Highlander*, by contrast, is lively and pungent, like the people who run it. (During one memorable broadcast, Sandy was asked for a comment on the testy refusal of Cape Breton-East Richmond MP Donald MacInnis to learn French. Sandy, who likes to refer to MacInnis as "wee Donald" shrugged: "What can you expect from a pig but a grunt?" MacInnis raised his voice some about that, threatening among other things to have CIBC's licence cancelled.)

The *Highlander* is fiercely local without being parochial. It must pay more attention to labour than any other paper in the Maritimes, treating union elections as seriously and extensively as municipal elections, supporting the reform movement in the United Mine Workers, running a long series of columns by Paul MacEwan (now NDP MLA for Cape Breton Nova) on the history of labour and politics in Cape Breton, a series which was intended to form the basis of a book. It is a crying shame that the book was never completed, and one hopes MacEwan will somehow find time to finish it even now.

The *Highlander* runs advice columns by local priests, Gaelic poems with English translations alongside, extensive sports coverage, a good deal of material on civic government and local pollution problems. It has covered the Canso Strait trawlermen's strike fully, and given sympathetic attention to the local Indian bands. It reveals the shabby treatment given woodlot owners, and supports their efforts to organize. It reprints relevant articles from any source - a story on strip mining from the Boston *Sunday Globe*, an essay on Indian values from the Winnipeg *Indian Times*. It seeks out interesting people in its area and features them - people like Rita Walker, who was a truck driver back in the thirties, long before Women's Lib. ("It's easy to tell you work a lot with your hands," glibed a woman, noting Rita's callouses. "That's what they're for," replied Rita.)

AT THE MOMENT, Sandy tells me, he is much concerned about the application to the Canadian Radio-Television Commission for a licence to take over and operate the community radio station, CHER. Established five years ago, CHER slid rapidly downhill until an arrangement had to be made with Gordon Sinclair, Jr., of CFOX in Montreal, to take it over. The *Highlander* and others successfully opposed the transfer. "I have nothing against people from Montreal," says Sandy, but I think our radio station here in Sydney should be controlled by people here." The bid for the CHER licence is another outgrowth of the *Highlander* philosophy that if you really think a thing should be done, you ought to be prepared to do it

yourself. "Put up or shut up," says Sandy. "We ought to be looking for ways to buy the *Chronicle-Herald* or the *Post*. We have to use the existing system in the interests of the community. This radio licence means a hell of a lot of work, and as the man said when he was tarred and feathered and run out of town on a rail, if it weren't for the honour of the thing I'd just as soon skip it. But I get so tired of people talking all the time; when you get a chance to act, you should take it or stop bitching."

What will they do if they get the licence? What should the media be doing? Sandy doesn't think that journalists can or should bring about massive social change all by themselves, and he points out that good journalism isn't going to produce revolutionary changes right away anyway. But when a man dies, he says, he wants to leave something behind him that makes the community a little more just, a little more tolerant, than it would have been without him.

"I think our role as journalists," he says, slowly at first then with increasing passion as he warms to the theme, "is to make a small contribution to the real necessity of diffusing information, involving people - and that takes a long time. Over a period of time, with a lot of hard work, a lot of mistakes - journalists don't have all the answers, you know, there are as many goddam dummies among journalists as among steelworkers or doctors - but over a period of time you have an impact. I have great confidence in the public. I think that if you keep providing enough information, and it's straight and factual and so on, that there will be an improvement. I'm a great believer in that old slogan: show a little light and the people will find their own way."

There are those who fault the *Highlander* for its home-spun layout, its occasional self-righteousness, its inadequate radicalism. "Yeah, they gave us good coverage," says one militant fisherman. "But when Ike Smith called the election, they didn't support the NDP; they supported the Liberals." You can find people who will say the *Highlander* is the voice of the Liberal party just as the *Post* is the voice of the Tories.

Well, yes; the *Highlander* is very human, and therefore far from perfect - and in this, too, it is like its younger sisters in the alternative press. But driving out of Sydney, I remembered stopping on the way into town and buying the two local papers.

"Good," said the woman at the newsstand, when she saw I had the *Highlander*. She tapped my copy of the *Post*. "You can't trust them. If you're lucky you get the real story between the lines."

Then she shook the *Highlander* at me. "But these fellows, they don't care who it is or what it is. They just go right ahead and print the truth."

GERALD REGAN'S "APPREHENDED LABOUR CRISIS" BACKFIRES

NICK FILLMORE

WHEN GERALD REGAN was leader of the Liberal Opposition in the Nova Scotia legislature, few people took him seriously.

Many said that Regan, a former sports announcer, lawyer, and federal MP, was just heading the Liberals until the powerful Stanfield Tory machine in Nova Scotia ran out of steam, and then someone else would move in and lead the Liberals to victory.

His political leadership was something of a bad joke, and he lacked strong moral and financial support even among the Liberals going into last October's provincial election. Not even Regan's closest aides expected he would topple the Stanfield-built empire, even though it was slowly crumbling from old age and incompetence.

No one was more surprised than Regan himself, when on October 13, 1970, the Liberals picked up 23 of the 46 seats and won a minority victory. The Conservatives retained 21 seats and the New Democrats took two, their first victories in Nova Scotia in more than twelve years.

Gerald Regan was an Accidental Premier, and many of the political observers who had previously discounted him convinced themselves that at worst Regan could still govern Nova Scotia as well as the Tories had.

The new premier did have one glowing attribute: he had gained a reputation as a talented labour lawyer, a man who could be counted on to defend the rights of the province's working people.

Now, after less than a year of the Regan government, bitterness and resentment are spreading among the progressive elements of the provincial labour movement following the passage of repressive legislation covering the construction trades. And more and more Nova Scotians are realizing that Regan tried to fan growing anti-labour sentiment into a fire that would give him a healthy majority in a fall election.

It didn't work, and talk of Gerry Regan as a great labour lawyer has all but vanished.

Within days of being elected, Regan and his new government proved to be even more conservative and patronage-riddled than the Conservatives. The government failed to take any progressive steps in the areas of housing, minimum wage, citizen participation, social assistance, and legal aid, while Regan spent much of his time trying to convince the business community of his worth by making speeches about the glories of capitalism.

The premier toured Europe and New England boasting about the benefits Nova Scotia would derive from the commercial development of tidal power in the Bay of Fundy, offshore oil, and U.S. investment in Nova Scotia.

Some observers attributed Regan's actions to the fact

that he was new in office. But the big shock for many came the last week of June.

Regan announced that the province was facing a labour crisis.

He was calling a special session of the legislature immediately to "deal with grave problems in the construction industry, and in particular, a series of work stoppages that had seriously affected the construction of the Michelin plant in Pictou County."

He told an angry gathering from the Cape Breton Building and Construction Trades Council in Sydney that he felt special legislation was needed to avert the possibility that Michelin, the giant French tire-manufacturing interest, would abandon two plants nearing completion in Nova Scotia. The province had an investment of about \$50 million in the plants (out of a total cost of \$100 million), which will provide from 1,300 to 1,800 jobs. Michelin is considered by the government to be Nova Scotia's biggest industrial coup in several years.

At the time of Regan's announcement, millwrights at one of the Michelin plants had been on strike for about four weeks, keeping about 800 other construction workers away from their jobs.

Since construction on the Michelin plants began in the fall of 1969, about forty work weeks have been lost. The company said the stoppages delayed its opening by about six months (the Bridgewater plant went into the production of steel cord for tires in late summer, and the Granton plant, which will manufacture the tires themselves, will begin production late this fall).

Despite a substantial increase in the amount of construction in the province in the last five years, the government, management and labour have failed to develop adequate mechanisms to keep pace with the rapid changes in labour-management relations.

Numerous wildcat strikes have arisen because the union representatives claimed the department of labour was refusing to enforce proper safety and sanitation conditions on various construction sites. Legislation passed last fall during the Liberal government's first session prohibited wildcats, and when men at Michelin's Bridgewater plant walked out in February after claiming that outdoor toilet facilities were unsanitary, they were charged in court and given fines ranging from \$1 to \$100.

The main cause of unrest, however, has been the absence of broadly-based bargaining units for management and for labour. Most agreements for multi-million dollar construction jobs have been signed on the basis of being a single project, but frequently when a later agreement is signed for another job, the workers demand parity.

Premier Regan said shortly before bringing in the July legislation that he didn't think repressive labour laws were the answer to the problems in the construction industry. He admitted that the long-term solution was in re-organ-

Nick Fillmore is a well known journalist in the Halifax area and editor of the 4th Estate.



izing labour and management bargaining structures and practices.

Much to the amazement of some union leaders, they had met with Regan soon after he became premier to point out the urgency of modernizing existing legislation. And early this year, both management and labour agreed on what kind of legislation they thought was necessary.

Despite this, Regan's special legislation, known as Bill 1, was passed in the unusual summer session. One Tory MLA, Harry How of the Annapolis Valley, voted with the Liberals in support of the bill. The NDP and the rest of the Conservatives (who were beginning to look like comparative progressives on the labour matter), opposed it.

Under the Act, which applies to industrial construction projects valued by the owner at more than \$5 million, construction cannot begin on a site until 51 percent of the trade unions involved have entered into collective agreements. If a majority of the trade unions agree to proceed with the job, the other unions may either send their men to work and continue negotiating, or legally stay off the job. But if the men go on legal strike, they can stay out for only 30 days. Compulsory arbitration then takes effect. The men are also prohibited from picketing a project.

The Act says that while union members are out on legal strike, the contractor cannot have other workers do their jobs.

The penalties for violation of the legislation are a maximum fine of \$1,000 per day for an individual, and \$10,000 per day for a union or a contractor.

When Regan introduced the bill in the legislature, he did not get the overwhelming public support he expected. Instead of a backlash occurring against labour, the public seemed divided somewhere down the middle. Both labour and management opposed the bill on the grounds that it was shortsighted and unnecessarily restrictive because of the compulsory arbitration clause. A late amendment was brought in to say the compulsory arbitration aspect of the bill, would expire April 30, 1972.

Some of the most damning evidence against the bill came out of the legislature's law amendments committee, when the Nova Scotia Joint Labour-Management Committee said the bill would be bad for both labour and management and would likely lead to "dissatisfaction, reduced productivity and social unrest" in the province. The Committee, consisting of top labour and management spokesmen, had several months previously thrashed out proposed legislation which they believed would solve the problems within the construction industry.

At the same time, the government further confused people by saying it was planning to introduce less restrictive legislation dealing with the construction industry in the upcoming fall session of the legislature. Because new legislation was already being prepared, many critics could not see the logic of using the restrictive legislation. Also,

very few industrial construction projects valued at more than \$5 million were forecast at the time the bill was introduced.

In fact, a close investigation of the government's move indicates that there was little, if any, logic behind the decision to bring in Bill 1. The legislation has been used only once in the two-and-a-half-month period since it was passed (to get the millwrights back on the job at Michelin) and both labour and management officials say that if Department of Labour officials had been doing their job adequately, there would have been little trouble with the millwrights.

Regan's case crumbled further after the legislation was passed when Finlay MacDonald, president of Industrial Estates Ltd., the crown corporation which brought Michelin to Nova Scotia, said that at no time had there been any indication from Michelin or anyone else that the company was even remotely considering leaving Nova Scotia.

Why, then, was there need for "emergency legislation?" It was, sources close to the Premier said later, little more than a trial balloon for a fall election — its twofold purpose being to bring Regan's foggy image in the eyes of the business community into focus, and give the Liberals an emotional electoral springboard to win a majority in the legislature.

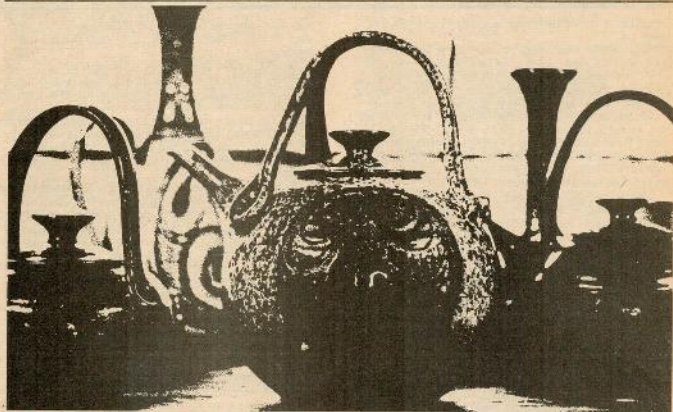
There had been no labour crisis. The Premier had used his knowledge of the labour movement over several years of association to test the extent of his support in the province.

At one point, the Premier intimated that Nova Scotia's bad labour image had cost the province some \$500 million in investment in the eight months since he had been in office. But despite calls from the Opposition benches to name industries that had refused to come here for that reason, Regan maintained silence. He and other cabinet ministers indicated the province might expect additional foreign industries after the labour "crisis" had been overcome, but in the past two months, there has been nothing.

The Bill 1 fiasco left many Nova Scotians bewildered, but others, especially those in the labour bloc who had trusted Regan, now are bitter because they feel their confidence has been abused. The special session served to put a real hole in Regan's public credibility.

For Gerald Regan, it was a case of the best laid plans of mice and men . . . The crisis he had worked so hard to create failed to materialize, and the election balloon blew up in his face.

AN AFTERNOON WITH JOHN SHAW



IF YOU FOLLOW THE "POTTERY STUDIO" signs along the road coming into Fredericton down the St. John River, you find yourself turning up a long driveway off the Woodstock Road and pulling in past an elderly farmhouse with a porch across the front, well screened from the road by trees and shrubs. White clapboards and green trim. Your first impression is that the house is aging with some grace; then, round back, you discover signs of renewal: a stained glass window installed in what used to be the shed, and a brand-new wide chimney sticking through the roof. But what's likely to get your attention in that back yard is the white, chicken-coop like structure to one side of of yard, with a rickety chimney sticking through the roof. And behind it is what looks like a pile of bricks with a stethoscope on; and out of it sticks an identically rickety looking chimney. This is John Shaw's pottery studio; the pile of bricks is the outdoor kiln. The chimney is fire brick, as is the kiln itself; other materials wouldn't survive the 2500-degree temperatures which build up there from time to time.

When I pull up, Shaw's wife, Joan, appears in the back door. John hasn't had his lunch yet, she explains; having finally hired carpenters to finish off the dining room and kitchen that are going into what used to be the shed, he's spent most of the morning explaining what he wants done.

She invites me to have some tea with them while they have lunch. We sit in what is presently their dining room, an airy room with a large old pine hutch on one wall and an immense butternut armoire in a corner. The room is furnished largely with hand-refinished pieces which give it the warm mellow glow of old pine. Through a doorway I can glimpse red carpet and wallpaper in a hall and beyond that strapping, fiberglass insulation and vapour barrier ready to have wallboard installed.

Tea arrives in a Shaw teapot. The cup is round, almost like the centre two-thirds of a sphere, and has a large, bulky handle which fits my hand perfectly, unlike the china tea cups I'm used to. We discuss the weather, the early fall, and carpentry. "One thing we've learned," Shaw says. "Don't do it yourself. These guys arrived yesterday and already they've done twice as much as I could have done all summer."

At this point a car pulls into the yard, carrying visitors to the studio and showroom. We go out, carrying our tea. Shaw lets them into the workshop, explaining, "This is the work-room where we make the pottery; beyond, there is the kiln room where the firing is done. Look around if you like." He seats himself behind the wheel and begins cleaning dried clay off its surface. I sit down opposite. "How'd you get into pottery? That's a dumb question, but . . ."

SHAW: A basic question really. Well, I just started. Decided to take an art course. I was always interested in art, pottery, that kind of thing, crafts, and I studied fine arts in Toronto for about three years. I just took courses, and, you know, started from there. I worked with a German designer for a while, doing displays and stuff, and I had a job teaching pottery on Prince Edward Island. But I don't like teaching much. So I just sort of started.

ME: Must be a sort of hard decision to say, 'ok, I'm going to make my living at pottery'.

SHAW: You have to sacrifice a lot. A regular salary, a job... it's a thing you have to talk over with yourself.

ME: It must be pretty hard to make a living at it.

SHAW: I don't think so. It depends on what you're doing. Some people will never make a living at it, because their attitude toward the thing they're making - like so many things, you know - won't allow them to. I get lots of people coming in here from different areas, saying, 'you really can make a living at this?' and it's sort of absurd, you know, because they can obviously see the big workshop I've got. I don't think that I'm suffering along, and I'm producing things and making a living. I don't think that's suffering. Sure you can make a living, if you're willing to work at it. But now I'm fairly established. I've been here five years, and I've had shows, you know, and it gets better because people know about you.

ME: I was thinking about the kind of decision you have to make that says, 'I'm good enough,' which is probably something you can only decide for yourself. I mean there are a lot of people who do pottery who would never even consider saying, 'Okay, I'm going to sell the stuff and make my living at it because I like doing it.'

SHAW: Well, I don't know, sometimes you get discouraged at your work when you first get started. But I had a lot of encouragement from people. When I was just getting started, sixty-six, sixty-seven, I had a couple of pieces selected for Expo, and they were in the Canadian Pavilion, fine crafts, you know. That was fairly encouraging for a person who was just getting started.

THE WHEEL IS CLEAN. The top plate has been lifted, scraped, and reset in wet clay to hold it in place on its pegs. Shaw sits back for a moment.

He seems young to have made all the pottery you see in galleries and shops all over New Brunswick and eastern Canada, to have established himself simply by making pots. He seems young, too, to have attained the sort of peace that his manner suggests. He is soft-spoken, hesitant, almost shy. Emotion creeps into his voice only rarely; much of the time he seems preoccupied with what his hands are doing rather than what he's saying. Often he simply abandons a sentence and concentrates his full attention on what he's doing.

As we talk, he rises, goes out to the kiln room, cuts a piece of clay off a large chunk which is aging on a plaster batt, and begins kneading it on another batt. Kneading it is hard work; it's stiffer than bread dough but the process looks very similar. Occasionally he varies the procedure by forming the clay into a column perhaps ten inches high, cutting it in thirds with a wire strung between two wooden handles, and restacking the sections. He kneads the clay for perhaps ten minutes.

ME: Is there anything in particular that you do better than you did, say, five years ago?

SHAW: Well, pretty well everything, as far as the technical part of it - shapes and everything. And now I do a wide variety of things with such ease - just the physical part of pottery. The first time, you know, it's really something, you

use practically all your body, you make a good sized jar and you really feel it. But now I just use pretty well from my elbows down, hardly even my shoulders, and the physical effort is cut way down. Because you learn that even a slight movement of your finger will change the shape completely.

And now I think about everything when I design a piece. I think about how it's going to take a glaze, that particular shape, and I design it - or make it - intending to do a certain kind of glaze. This surface here, that might take a nice brush design right there. And I know what colour it's going to be, too, when I make it. I'm thinking 'now that blue glaze will look good on it, or that yellow with a bit of white', and this is one thing that, as you work through the

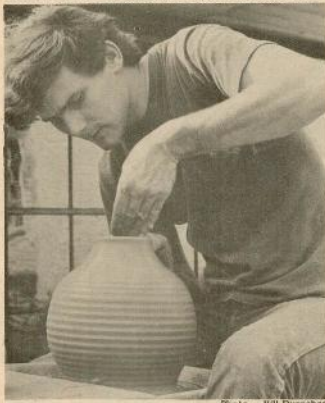


Photo - Bill Durocher

years, you gain. Because when you first start, you know, you can't think that far ahead. I'm two or three steps ahead now - I'm thinking what it's going to be like when it's fired when I'm throwing the clay.

ME: Where do you get clay?

SHAW: From different areas. Some from Nova Scotia, some from out west, some from the States. Some local kinds I use for glazes; most of the local clays are low-temperature earth and wouldn't be suitable for firing at high temperatures like I do.

ME: Do you buy it commercially? I don't guess you probably could dig enough yourself...

SHAW: Oh, yeah, it's actually mined, you know.

ME: Is it processed when you get it?

SHAW: Well, all they do if it's a good vein of clay is mine it and then they dry it and pulverize it. So it isn't like going out and digging it yourself. That would be a lot of work. It's all right if you're a Sunday potter, you can go out on a weekend and dig a bank of clay and make your things, but when you're making your living at it... After all, the clay is an inanimate substance until you make something out of it; it doesn't matter where it comes from. It's a completely dead thing until you create something out of it.

ME: What has to be done after you get it?

SHAW: Well, if it's bagged, it should be mixed, it should be soaked, strained, put out on the plaster slabs to dry to a workable consistency; it should be kneaded up and the air taken out of it, and stored in plastic bags and aged. The longer it's aged the more workable it becomes.

ME: I suppose after a while you don't have to think about when the clay's ready, it just feels right.

SHAW: Yeah, I can just feel the texture of the stuff. And that determines the sort of shape you'll make too; if it's wet you can't make round bulbous things, it'll just collapse. It isn't strong enough.



Photo - Bill Durnacher

HE PUTS THE CLAY on the wheel and operates a switch with his foot. The wheel revolves; cupping his hands around the clay, he centres it on the wheel. A depression forms -- miraculously, it seems -- in the centre of the lump and a cup shape appears; he begins forcing its sides up and out.

ME: Looks like fun.

SHAW: Well, it is. But it's a lot of work too. Some people, you know, come in here with an 'Ah, gee, this is really good, you're really lucky,' and all this crap, you know, but they don't know that this took five or six years to get, it didn't just happen. That sort of puts you off -- 'You're lucky,' you know, and I just say, well, luck had nothing to do with it, it was a hell of a lot of work. That's the thing, you know, I went through the teaching bit, and, sure, it's a nice soft job teaching old ladies and stuff -- you don't do much work -- but that's no ... That's no way to survive. Jesus, that's terrible. I couldn't stand that.

ME: You take apprentices or something, though, don't you?
SHAW: Well, I tried that, and that's ... I had no success with that at all. I couldn't work well with somebody around all the time -- you can't, and do individual things. I don't think. I don't like the apprentice system. Particularly in

England and places like that. They just purely take advantage of young students to produce pots for their enterprise, and you know, I can't go along with that. I couldn't ... I wouldn't feel right if I had somebody in here making mugs and putting a stamp on them, my stamp on them, I don't like that at all, that's exploitation.

ME: Has your style changed over the years? Do you make a lot of things now that you didn't then; are there things you used to make a lot of that you hardly ever do now?

SHAW: I've always made a variety of work. I remember the first one-man show I had in Toronto, the review was ... well, it was a pretty good review; I was just starting and pretty young to have a one man show. The reviewer said, you know, I was going to make some sort of contribution to pottery in Canada, and all this kind of stuff. But he said one thing I couldn't agree with, which was 'as soon as he finds his own style,' and I couldn't go that. I don't think that made sense. I mean he commented on the variety of shapes, and then contradicted himself, saying 'as soon as he finds his style, he'll make his contribution.'

And I've never changed. I'm always doing a variety of things, I don't like doing ... I don't want to make a ... a 'Shaw casserole', and then make that for twenty years, make my mark in Canadian pottery with that casserole.

ME: Is it possible to make a mark like that?

SHAW: Oh, I think so. If I ... take that wax-resist design casserole over there. If I started doing those now and made hundreds of those things and sent them all over Canada and entered them in shows, then people would say, 'Oh, yeah, that's a Shaw.'

ME: You don't want people to be able to say that?

SHAW: No.

ME: That's interesting. I should think that I would.

SHAW: Oh, I think that they'll still know that it's a Shaw, just from the variety of shapes and glazes. You see, it's one thing to make pots, and another to design them, to keep changing your shapes. Some people aren't interested in doing that. Now I could design five or six different kinds of shapes and just make them, make thousands of them. But that would be ... I don't know, it wouldn't be what I want to do. They'd be mass-produced.

ME: It's related to the notion that the pieces in a set, say, shouldn't be identical. I mean, you could set up a template, so they'd all be exactly identical.

SHAW: It's being done. All over the place. They do it with machines. And lots of potters are mass producing them by hand, too. And as far as I'm concerned, whether it's by machine or by hand, when it's mass produced, it's getting pretty close to the same, only it's just being done by a person rather than a machine. The idea's still there. You might as well be a machine. That's not being an individual, that's not being interested.

ME: Do you object because it makes a worse pot? I mean, suppose I've got a pot in this hand and one in that hand and one is mass produced and one is not. I suppose you could tell?

SHAW: No, I don't think ... you couldn't really tell. Because they're both hand made, you see? Unless you know the work and you've seen a lot of it; then you could tell. But if you had a mass produced pot and one of these pots, well, that's a hand made pot and this is a hand made pot. But if you saw a group of them and they're all the same shape and all the same glaze, you know damn well that that's being turned out, you know, that shape's being made three or four hundred times. Boy. Every figure, you see, a potter like that's not doing varieties of shapes and sizes on one shelf; he's got fifty mugs on this shelf, he's got fifty ashtrays on that shelf, he's got fifty decanter tops, and so on and so on; everything's just stacked up in the kiln, it's

like a really neat slick... he doesn't even take the shelves out of the kiln. Because he knows just what he's going to put on that shelf every time, every firing. See what I mean? He's out to make a clean killing. And he probably will. But that's fine. Whatever you want. But he might not stay sane either, he might come up with a case of ulcers in a few years, worrying about it. It's a sickness. I mean these guys, they don't even take time off to do anything. They're out there slugging it, you know, and that's a crazy way to live. I mean, I'm not saying it's wrong or right, but...

ME: It would sure as hell be wrong for John Shaw.

SHAW: Yeah. Yeah. I've got a certain attitude towards work and I think that when you're mass producing stuff, that attitude can't be there. You can't be thinking about each individual thing, you're making hundreds of things, you're not too worried about it, you just want to get the things rolled out and get the hell out someplace. There's no sort of... integral relationship with the pottery. If I wanted to, I suppose I could just work in one field, I've been interested in glazes recently. You could have a bunch of guys, one working in glazes, one in design, one actually making pots. But I don't like that, I like doing all the different things, experimenting with the glazes, mixing clay. That's why I love it: I'm not sitting at the wheel all the time, making pot after pot. I'm doing other things. And that's what's fascinating. Even the physical part. I don't mind that, mixing up the clay, kneading it... some people say you could hire somebody to do that, or buy a machine for kneading it. But you lose part of your relationship with the pot that way. There's a certain closeness you get when you get right into the clay and you knead it up and you sweat over it, and then you get it on the wheel, and you do it, and then you fire it and you glaze it. And you become more a part of the work. That's what I do, anyway.

See that? Clay's still quite soft, can't do anything too drastic with it.

THE VASE HE'S BEEN FORMING is now about eight inches high, a graceful double curve with a flared mouth. It has the spiral lines of work in its surface, just noticeable; the lip of the piece moves up, then down under his fingers as he adjusts the curve. He leans back to look at his work, then forward to adjust the curve again. ME: Seems to respond awfully quickly, as soon as you touch it.

SHAW: Well, this material is so fluid. When I've got command of it, I can bring out whatever I want. As long as I don't defy the laws of gravity... but it's pretty limiting in the sense that it's soft, I can't make any bulbous shapes, and I know that and I'm just working around it. I think I'm going to put a little bit of red clay underglaze on this now... scratch out a bit of a design on it... I'm just cutting away a little of the excess clay on the bottom of it.

He takes out a paint brush, dips it in the red glaze, holds it against the turning vase. A red circle appears, drips down. He catches the dripping as the vase turns; after a moment it has a wide band of rust colour around its middle. Turning the brush around, he uses the pointed end of its handle to scribe a line in the red: the line moves up and down, becoming first waves, and finally an undistinguished texture.

ME: There are all kinds of things you can do with the surface of it.

SHAW: Oh, yeah. It's a wide open world. You can texture the surface, you can carve it out, you can scratch it, carve interesting designs, any type of thing.

ME: The surface design -- do you think of new things to do all the time?

SHAW: Yeah. I'm doing a lot of wax and brush decoration right now. And wax resist with liquid paraffin. You do that

after first firing, brush the liquid wax on it and dip it in the glaze. It resists that wherever there's wax, and the wax burns off... it's a good contrast when you use a light glaze and a dark clay. Fascinating. That's what I'm working on now. For a while, till I get tired of it.

ME: Is that something you work out yourself, or is that one of those things that's been done for thousands of years?

SHAW: Oh, no, I've worked that out. I've never seen too much... a little tiny bit of wax, because you wax the bottom of pots so they won't stick to the shelf, but that's a whole new world I'm doing, since I started doing that a while ago, a year or so ago.

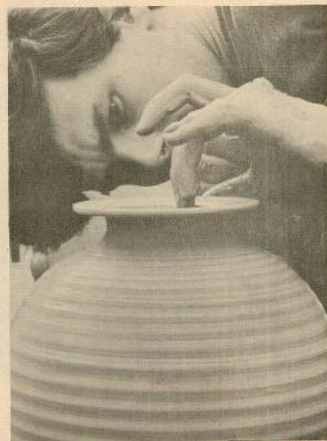


Photo - Bill Durocher

HE PICKS UP THE WIRE CLAY CUTTER and, holding it against the board, cuts the vase loose from the board. Raising the vase carefully, he transfers it to the table next to him. It's now ready for first firing; for bisque; then it will be glazed and refired and -- if it survives the firings -- sold. There are a number of pots there, drying; in a day or so it will be time to load the kiln and fire them.

ME: There are a lot of things there that I wouldn't have thought of making. You think of pottery, and you think of teapots and cups and wine sets and things like that, but you don't -- I don't anyway -- think of things like those candleholders with the holes in them.

SHAW: I just did those last week. I got the idea from Joan. I'd made some wine goblets, and we had a dinner party and she set the table, and she put a couple of these goblets out with candles in them. And I thought, that's kind of an interesting idea, but if I cut holes in them, that would make it much nicer. So I went out the next day and made those four. That's where you get ideas, you see, just from observing people and things. There was a fellow I used to work for, the designer, he said, 'Always keep your eyes open. Never miss anything'. That's true too; if you can just look

and observe, it's amazing how much you can learn.

ME: How much do you learn from other potters?

SHAW: Oh, I don't think you learn that much, really. You do from workshops, when you're younger. You know, when you're first starting, if a real professional gives a demonstration, you get to talk to him about technical things. You pick up a lot of information and ideas. But otherwise, just meeting another potter, you don't. You don't seem to get into the technical part of it. At least that's what it's like here. I don't know about other areas.

ME: I was thinking about the fact that you get, you know, colonies or communities of painters, and they'll all be into

ME: That's interesting. Painters -- painters I've known of, anyway -- are always saying things like, well you know, 'I'm in an area where nobody's ever been before'.

SHAW: They fancy that. That's untrue. A person that can vouch for that is an art historian, somebody with a knowledge of all that's been done by anybody important for the last how many thousand years now . . . I get kind of a pain when they say that, because it's really a dishonest statement, you know. And that's even a more diversified field than pottery.

ME: Painting seems to me to be an interesting comparison with pottery, because paintings aren't really for anything.



Photo - Bill Durocher

similar things, solving similar problems -- and that doesn't seem to happen with potters.

SHAW: Well, it could. I've seen it happen in places like central Europe, southern France; there used to be a lot of good people working together, you know, and then all the commercial interests came in, and all the good people left. This happens, you know. It's unfortunate. It's like wood carving in Quebec; there used to be a lot of good wood carvers there, at St. Jean Port Joli. But they're all doing the same thing now. It's really tragic; a lot of the good people left for that reason. Couldn't stand to be around there any longer.

ME: Then you don't get many of your ideas looking at someone else's stuff and saying, 'Hey, he's using this kind of glaze on that kind of shape'.

SHAW: Well, I don't think it's so much that as it is the raw shape. If he's doing some new things, you're impressed by it . . . but you can go to an art school or a museum, take a museum class, look at Greek bronzes and stuff . . . you know, you see these things, and they register. Perhaps you don't think about them at the time, or as pot shapes, but probably they're there, being absorbed. But everything's been around, been done. Anything you might do on a potter's wheel has probably been done . . . if it hasn't been done in the last two hundred years it's probably been done in the last fifteen hundred. When it's round and it's made of clay, shape's fairly universal.

A painting is only ever going to involve one sense, and all you're going to do with it is hang it on your wall. And you're going to sort of make an effort to look at it from time to time. Now it seems to me pottery's quite different from that.

SHAW: Well, it's physical. You know, pottery, you can pick it up, feel the texture, it's round, it's got volume. While a painting generally is a flat surface, the only depth you have is perspective. But with pottery you get surface quality; you can pick it up and hold it, drink out of it, stick flowers in it. But paintings you can't do any of those things with. It's designed for galleries, you know, there are things that are designed for people, and there are things that are designed for masses of people to look at.

ME: Do you do something different -- or are you likely to be doing something different, even without being entirely aware of it -- when you're doing something that's clearly for a show, as opposed to when you're making something to use?

SHAW: Most of the things I'd do for a show you can use too. Because they're still . . . pottery is functional in a sense no matter what you make. Unless it's some wayout piece or something that's all banged up and chewed and you can't do anything with it except sit it in a corner.

ME: How about that thing back there, that sculptural sort of piece?

SHAW: Oh, that's just a thing I put together, purely to see if it would stay together. It's just some small pots. I had something larger in mind; and I wanted to do something initially to see how it would work out. And I think that it's going to be okay. I've got a pole on the bottom of one of them, a rod, and I can mount it on a block of wood or a steel rod and use it for a garden sculpture.

ME: But it's not functional.

SHAW: Well, you could stick flowers in it. Or put it in the garden; birds might go into it. Got lots of possibilities.

You can use these things for whatever idea you might be likely to get. Some people say, 'What can I do with it?'

H E'S BACK TO KNEADING CLAY. Having formed a block of clay about eight inches long, with a smooth, flat surface, he picks up a tool that looks like a loop-style bottle opener: it's just a wooden handle with a loop of wire bent in the shape of a very flat rosette. He draws this swiftly through the clay, puts it down, and draws out of the clay a strip about eight inches long whose cross section would be a very flat rosette. A handle, he explains. A technique used in Japan for thousands of years, though for differently shaped handles. He carries them back into the workshop and places them on the flat surface of the wheel. Bringing a handleless teapot from the drying



Photo - Bill Durocher

and I say, 'Whatever you like'. For instance, I have a big covered jar in there and someone asks me, 'What would you use this for?' And, you know, I just say, 'Well, anything you like, you can store things in there, bread, donuts, anything you want in there, you could fill it full of tobacco, granite . . .'. It's kind of funny, you know, that a person would ask that.

ME: But of course it is something you ask. You never ask a painter that, and that's an important difference. With most pottery, that's a reasonable question . . . at least not an absurd one.

SHAW: Well, I make wall plates. That's pretty well just for people to look at.

ME: When you do one of those, would it often be because you'd discovered something like a new glaze or a new texture or something like that?

SHAW: No, I just do them because I enjoy making them. I get away from the routine of doing something else. I like wall things; I think they're pleasant. I think they're a nice thing on the wall, the texture of them, the way they pick up the light. The surface is nice on the wall, and you can get - as far as design goes, you can get as involved as you want in the design on the surface of one of those plates.

table, he begins brushing a spot on its side with a wet tooth brush.

SHAW: It scratches the surface, you see, so the handle will have a good bond.

ME: I suppose you have problems with handles not having been bonded?

SHAW: Well, the thing is that it's important to catch it at just the right time, as the pot is just starting to get leather-hard, and then you can have good success with the handles. And that might be at twelve o'clock at night. So you have to go on, you know. Tomorrow morning I'll be putting the handles on those other ones. You have a pretty good idea what you'll be doing; that's one of the things I like about pottery.

ME: How much stuff do you lose?

SHAW: Well, you lose a certain percentage. Anything that's fired at 2500 degrees - that's how I do it - you lose some through cracking, or the glaze runs down and hardens and you have to break the pot off the shelf. In an open-fired kiln, fired at those temperatures, things move around, and a lot of things react, so you can figure on losing things every time. Unless you've got it down to an absolute science and you're only making a certain kind of thing. But I'm always doing different shapes and sizes . . .

ME: I suppose that's another thing you have to learn by trial and error: this is a nice shape but I can't fire it because

it breaks.

SHAW: Exactly. Like plates. Wall plates, they crack all the time.

ME: You know why?

SHAW: It's the large diameter, and the contraction, which is pretty severe -- like fifteen percent sometimes -- and there's a great deal of pressure on that large centre diameter when it's shrinking. And even if it's ten per cent, that's still quite a lot. And then the flame hits it -- it's an open-fired kiln, and that might warp it. All these little intricacies are hard to predict. But you get some beautiful effects from the flame hitting things, sometimes . . .

ME: That's sort of accidental, though, isn't it?

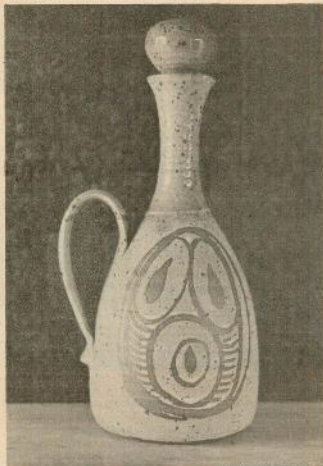


Photo -- Bill Durocher

SHAW: Yeah, well, the firing is the thing that makes the piece or breaks it, you know. You can do all the preparation; glazing and decoration, all the work -- and then it's up to the kiln, it's up to the fire. And that's the fascinating process, when those things go in, and you can't see -- it's just pure white in there and it's pretty impressive, especially for people who don't see it much, that intense white heat. And it seems pretty remarkable that anything comes out . . . for a person who doesn't realize the properties of clay. The unique thing about it is the permanence it has. It's never able to retain its natural quality; its whole internal chemistry has been changed by the fire. And it's a whole new thing, it can never be the way it was.

THE HANDLES ARE ON. They're large, broad, useful-looking handles. I remember the feel of the teacup -- unlike any I had handled before, solid, comfortable, secure. Like clay pots.

ME: It's funny. Pots are . . . you said a while ago that one

was pleasant or placid or something. They are. There doesn't seem to be a way -- or is there -- to make a pot that's exciting? Except exciting in terms of the problems you've solved making it, maybe.

SHAW: Depends on what you get excited about. About the shape of the thing, or the texture, or the planes. Some people would be all excited about the shape of the thing.

ME: I guess what I'm looking for is that they're . . . all built in such a way that they would stand even if they were wet, which tends to make the shapes . . . stable. They're never -- like the handle of a china teacup bent into all sorts of curves, trying to be daring and thin, and looking like they're supported with a lot of difficulty.

SHAW: But they're not functional, which doesn't make sense because it's a functional item. You can't drink a beverage out of them. Your fingers won't fit through the little hole. This one, how, this is a really functional design. I've tried a lot of those small ones, you know, and came down to this. It's really pleasant to hold, you're really quite secure when you grab it. The first two fingers fit right in there. And that's important; you have to think about how a thing's going to be used. Particularly things like casseroles; someone will be cooking with it, and you have to think about things like a knob big enough that you can hold it with a kitchen mitt on. And there are other things, you know, like a small casserole -- I really can't see the advantage of putting handles, big lug handles, on a little casserole. I think about what's going to be done with it, and there you're going to be, going into the oven with these great big kitchen mitts on and grabbing that little casserole, and you're not going to be grabbing those lug handles, you're getting the whole thing. And that takes away from the design, those big handles. Look at that little one up there; handles wouldn't look very good on that. But a big knob -- that knob is functional, you can grab that, take it out.

ME: I can see what you mean, the handles on that would be . . . wrong. Do you think they're wrong because of proportion, or because they wouldn't be . . . you could feel that they wouldn't be functional.

SHAW: What's important is that they wouldn't be functional.

WE'RE DISCUSSING THE DIFFERENCE between aesthetic and functionalist criteria when one of the carpenters appears in the door. The roofing has arrived for the shed, and it's the wrong kind. Yeah, it looks okay, the carpenter explains, but it won't work. John Shaw goes outside to discuss the situation with the truck driver and I walk round to the showroom to see if anything new and interesting has appeared there recently.

SCOTT LEAVES TOWN HIGH AND DRY

GORDON NEISH

The announced closure of the Sheet Harbour Ground Pulp Mill owned by the U.S.-based Scott Paper Co. threatens a large area of the Eastern Shore with disaster. Not only are 107 permanent and about 43 part-time workers thrown out of work, but 27 stevedores who depend on the mill operation for a significant part of their income are faced with financial ruin.

The Scott decision to close the 50 year old mill was based on the claim that it was obsolete, wearing out, a marginal operation, that there was an insufficient market for ground pulp, and that it would cost too much to repair the plant.

Yet despite these claims, the evidence suggests otherwise. For years the mill has been running 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Since the closure, the Acadia Pulp and Paper Co. of South Nelson, N.B. has been producing the equivalent amount of ground pulp produced by the Sheet Harbour Mill and selling it to Scott for use in its U.S. plants. In order to meet this demand, the New Brunswick mill has had to extend operations from five to seven days a week. The cost of repairs has been estimated by Scott at \$100,000 but a local yard supervisor says that \$30,000 would do the job.

Although much has been said about mill damage, union members of local 301, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers deny that the mill is badly damaged. They say that only the motors were wet and, since they are now dried out, could be re-activated. They say that this has been done before. The real damage, they say, is to the conveyor system carried away by the floods and that its repair could be done with \$30,000.

As for the mill being obsolete and wearing down, it has been common knowledge for years. It lead local 301 in 1970 to ask Scott when the mill might be closed so that an alternate industry could be found. A Scott official assured union members that there was no need to worry for at least five years. He also said there would be a two year advance warning of any closure. The workers say that there has been no attempt to improve the machinery in the six years of Scott management.

Faced with the shutting down of the area's only major industry, the general feeling of workers and their families is disappointment and frustration. "There has never been a strike in the mill's history," says one woman, "perhaps we should have been tougher and not so easy going. We have been too satisfied." Another woman said "I don't

know what we will do, my husband is too old to get work elsewhere. We can't just pack up and leave. Our whole life is here."

This pretty well sums up the magnitude of the shut-down. Most of the workers are in their 40's and 50's, the average age is 53. People here see no reason why their community should be destroyed by the callous decision of a foreign-owned company to just pack up and leave.

"We don't owe Scott anything," said one man, "they have sole cutting rights on Crown lands and the government has kicked in 50 percent to build Scott's roads. They came in here, cleaned out our trees, and don't bother to plant new ones. When they've taken everything, they'll clean out of Pictou too and then what?"

Anger at Scott is not confined to the mill workers. Besides the ruin facing the stevedores, the pulp cutters are not exactly on top of the world. Scott officials say they are not affected as wood is shipped over to Abercrombie, but they neglect to mention that the added costs of transport have to be born by the cutters. It is clearly cheaper to truck wood to the mill in Sheet Harbour.

But the effects of the Scott monopoly have been deeper than this. For about a year now the William Lowe Lumber Company of Sheet Harbour has had to cease operations because of inability to pay the high costs of cutting on Scott controlled lands. This has cost from 15 to 20 jobs in what was once a steady source of security.

Although all workers have applied for Unemployment Insurance, some have had to wait up to three weeks extra because of vacations which, due to a special arrangement with Scott, are always a year late. The men are hung up on a technicality over vacations due last year. It is hardly necessary to say what this means to a worker's family, many with dependants and payments to make.

The whole episode lays bare for the umpteenth time the thin ice holding up an underdeveloped economy, especially one controlled and dominated by foreign corporations. Sydney, Canso and now Sheet Harbour are cases in point. Working people are bled dry by these leeches and then told without warning that "there is no market for your product," "your mill is too old," "we can't afford to stay." If the workers fight the bosses and their lies they are blamed for making the company go broke. The big capitalists think that union members can't read the financial pages as well as those who send in the figures.

Special to *The Mysterious East from the East Coast Worker*, by Gordon Neish.

MONITOR

KRAFT BOYCOTT

OTTAWA (LPNS) - The National Farmers Union has launched a campaign for wide public support for its boycott of products of the Kraft Corporation.

A four-page supplement in the September issue of the Union Farmer, the organ of the NFU, accused Kraft of being "a notorious exploiter of labour. It pays its workers low wages and is a shameless union buster. Not one of the three Kraft plants in Ontario is organized into a union."

Kraft is an American-based, multi-national, multi-billion dollar corporation which sells a wide variety of food products including domestic and imported cheeses, salad dressings, margarine, candies, citrus food products, milk, butter and ice cream.

"Our aim in launching this boycott," says the Union Farmer supplement, "is to put the National Farmers Union into a position to bargain collectively on behalf of our dairy producers, for a price on the milk they ship, just as workers in a trade union bargain for their wages."

"We have picked Kraft to boycott because it is the corporation that dominates the field. If we can get it to the bargaining table we will have made a breakthrough that can be broadened to the rest of the industry."

The supplement outlines the NFU's fruitless attempts to sit down at the bargaining table with Kraft and, with movement marketing agencies, which it describes as "nothing more than fronts and agencies for the big monopolies."

After "years of frustration," the NFU decided that "our only alternative, short of holding our milk, was the boycott."

It urges people not to buy any Kraft, Sealtest, or Dominion Dairy products and to spread the word about the boycott to others, including stores, unions, and church groups. It asks them to "let Kraft know you are boycotting their products until they sit down at the bargaining table."

ALTERNATE NEWS SERVICE

OTTAWA - In what may be a significant development in Canadian journalism, writers from across country have recently turned out the first package of stories for an alternate press news service.

A group of alternate, labour and student publications have established what they hope will eventually be a flourishing news service that can provide its members with regular weekly interpretive reports on what's happening in Ottawa, throughout Canada and in other parts of the world.

The News Service, which was started and is being promoted by Montreal's *Last Post*, will have its head office in Ottawa, where full time Bureau chief Robert Chodos is a member of the Parliamentary Press Gallery.

The news service has regular contributors in Montreal and Toronto and frequently will carry reports and opinion articles from correspondents across the country. Additionally,

the service will carry foreign news, mostly as feature length analytical and situational stories, through arrangements with Washington-based Dispatch News Service (which has 15 correspondents in Asia and broke the story of the My Lai massacre), the Latin American news service Prensa Latina, and such publications as *Nouvel Observateur* in France, *Kommunist* in Sweden and *Prensa Finat* in Chile.

Expected to be among the membership are the *Last Post*, the French-language weekly *Quebec-Press*, *The Mysterious East*, *The 4th Estate*, the University of Toronto's *Varsity*, the University of British Columbia's *Ulyssey*, and Vancouver's *Georgia Straight*.

With a potential readership of close to 200,000, the news service will provide alternate papers with their first opportunity to give mass circulation to important stories on a continuing basis.

HERBICIDES

FREDERICTON - A press release recently published by the Canadian Forestry Service notes that foresters in the Maritime Section of the Canadian Forestry Institute were recently given a tour of the J.D. Irving freehold timber lands at Black Brook Depot, in northwestern New Brunswick.

The foresters were shown how the land was cleared for merchantable timber, how the clearcut areas were prepared for planting by large Letourneau crushers, how some of the 30 million seedlings planted by the company since the late 1950's were placed, and a demonstration of precision water bombing by company planes "used for the aerial application of fertilizers and herbicides."

Herbicides?

Well, it seems that the company sprays herbicides from its planes "to control the natural unwanted growth of shrubs and hardwood species.

CONGRATULATIONS

FREDERICTON - The Fredericton *Daily Gleaner* is well known as an often not very subtle supporter of the Conservative Party. And certainly its reputation is scarcely tarnished by its continuing and unqualified support of John Diefenbaker and to a lesser extent his successor, Robert Stanfield.

In fact, there are times when it seems that the *Gleaner's* enthusiasm is boundless, when wish becomes reality.

A few weeks ago, for instance, the *Gleaner* carried a story about the 60th wedding anniversary celebrations of Mr. and Mrs. Guy Cavanaugh of Burton. The article concluded:

Congratulatory telegrams and messages were received from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth Second, Prime Minister Robert Stanfield, Premier Richard Hatfield, Hon. J. Chester MacRae, MP...

NO DEVELOPMENTS

OTTAWA (LPNS) — One reason you haven't heard much recently about the Canada Development Corporation, announced by the cabinet with great fanfare last spring, is that the government is having great difficulty finding someone to head it up.

Many of the top businessmen in the country have reportedly been approached, and all have given the same answer: no.

When George Hees (PC - Prince Edward-Hastings) asked Finance Minister Edgar Benson when a president for the CDC would be named, Benson's answer was "very soon". Hees noted that Benson had given him the same answer to the same question in June.

STREETSCAPE

NEW YORK — Living in the relative isolation and security of the Maritimes — or Canada, for that matter — it is often difficult to comprehend the magnitude of the urban problems common to most cities in the United States.

A few weeks ago, for instance, the superintendent of police in New York City warned that he would "not tolerate excessive corruption on the police force". The question of how much corruption, or what kind of corruption was "excessive" he left unanswered.

Reflecting another aspect of the problem, the *New York Times* last week ran an article on a one block area of that city that is "generally considered to be relatively safe".

When the people who live on 85th Street between Central Park West and Columbus Avenue say that it is a "good block", they mean that they feel more or less safe there. Nearly everyone knows of someone who has been robbed or mugged, of course, but nearly everyone also believes that he is considerably better off than someone who lives, say, a block away across Columbus Avenue. . . .

Crime to most people on the 60-building West 85th Street block, means being mugged in a doorway at night, or having a television set stolen in the afternoon. In fact the big crime hours on West 85th Street are the daylight hours, when tenants are at work or shopping, and the big crime weekends are on the Independence Day and Labor Day holidays, when they go off to the beach or country.



MILITANT ECOLOGISTS

CHICAGO — Smarting from the antics of the "Fox", the anti-pollution activist who has plugged smoke spewing industrial chimneys and spread containers of effluent on the executive carpets of industries polluting the water, Michigan industry is now suffering the vengeance of another group of militant anti-pollutionists known as the "Midnight Skulkers".

It seems that six University of Michigan and Ann Arbor high school students have been

tearing down illegally placed billboards marring the rural Michigan roadsides.

The "billboard bandits", so far, have destroyed 167 billboards. Moreover, they have outsmarted police, annoyed the billboard industry, and driven local farmers to farm passes to catch them.

And, they have aroused attorney general Frank Kelley to crack down on outdoor advertisers by requiring them to obtain state approval of billboard location and quality.

SCHOOL BOARD SAYS PAPER "UNSUITABLE"

MOOSOMIN, Sask. (CUP) — A school teacher in this small Saskatchewan community has lost her job after she recently allowed her students to read a newspaper.

The paper in question is the Vancouver alternate paper *The Georgia Straight*, and home economics teacher Marjorie Gordon, 24, was fired from her job at the local McNaughton High School after parents complained that she was allowing members of her Grade 9 class to read it.

The charge was "gross misconduct" on the part of Gordon who is in her second year of teaching.

The school board says the paper, which deals with community issues in the Vancouver area, is "unsuitable for children aged 14 to 16."

No reason is apparent for the parti-

ular age group, for the charge "gross misconduct", or why the paper is "unsuitable" in the first place, although Superintendent of schools James Ingram said the particular issue in question contained an article in which some "young girls" described their sexual experiences.

Ingram said the small community of 3000 on the Trans Canada Highway, 140 miles east of Regina is "in an uproar" because the parents of some of the students had caught them reading the forbidden paper addressed to Gordon's husband.

Ingram said that when she was asked why she showed the paper to her students, Gordon said they saw her reading it, asked to look at it, and she could see no reason for not showing it to them.

AND THERE'S MORE TO COME



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The illustrious burghers of Port Hawkesbury saw fit to place this information in another Atlantic region monthly. Could the "beginning" and "the ever expanding progress" to which they refer be better illustrated than with a tanker pumping its bilges into the Strait of Canso?

The Citizens' Commission Of Inquiry Into The War Measures Act

Commissioners: Trevor Berry, Winnipeg; Michael Bourdon, Montreal; Fernand Daoust, Montreal; Richard Dunlop, Vancouver; Alonzo LeBlanc, Quebec; Laurier LaPiere, Montreal; Adele Lauzon, Montreal; Woodrow Lloyd, Regina; Linda Meissenheimer, Vancouver, John Morgan, Toronto.

Terms of Reference: Why was the War Measures Act invoked in peacetime? How did the War Measures Act and subsequent legislation affect civil liberties? Were there any abuses of civil liberties beyond the scope of the War Measures Act? The roots of the crisis in Quebec and in Canada. The state of civil liberties in Canada subsequent to the invocation of the War Measures Act. Whether the War Measures Act should be repealed, amended or replaced

by alternative legislation. The War Measures Act and Canadian federalism.

All individuals and organizations who wish to submit briefs should advise the Commission.

Schedule of hearings: Montreal, October 12, 13, 14; Ottawa-Hull, November 1, 2; Toronto, November 3, 4; Edmonton, November 12; Saskatoon, November 13; Winnipeg, November 19, 20; Charlottetown, November 24, 25; Moncton 26, 27; Vancouver, November 26, 27; Quebec December 10, 11.

Donations towards the \$20,000 budget for the work of the Commission greatly appreciated.
12 Hart House Circle, Toronto 5 (416) 924-3979

TO BE POOR IN NEW BRUNSWICK

THE TASK FORCE ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT & THE MDT REPORT

the reports and their impact

WITHIN THE PAST YEAR the New Brunswick government has released two reports dealing with poverty and powerlessness in this underdeveloped province. The controversial MDT report was prepared in 1968 by the Liberal government as a working paper, a frank, no-holds-barred assessment of the provincial welfare system. It was prepared, said its authors, to assist department policy-makers and government planners. It was not — at least in the form in which it was submitted — intended to be a public document. Nevertheless, when the Conservative government took office one of the first things the new minister of Youth and Welfare did was to release the report. As the opposition party the Conservatives had continually urged the government to publish the report; consequently, when they formed the new government they felt obliged to release it.

Unfortunately, the resulting controversy centred around the propriety of releasing so sensitive and explicit a document and not the contents of the document itself. Very little attention, in fact, was directed to the analysis and recommendations of the report, still less to the social philosophy underlying it.

This September the New Brunswick Task Force on Social Development, established by the Liberal government over a year ago, submitted a comprehensive report on the state of social development in the province. The report was organized around two themes: the pervasiveness of poverty in the province, and the lack of involvement of the ordinary people in the making and administration of government policy.

Unfortunately, the impact of this report, too, was blunted both by the press and the politicians who have tended to focus their attention on its specific recommendations, and not on its underlying theme.

But more important — and perhaps ultimately more tragic for the people of the province — the extent of the basic agreement between the two reports has gone unrecognized and unexplored.

Both the Task Force report and the M.D.T. report refer to the apathy, alienation, and loss of faith in political institutions prevalent among the population of the province. Both reports stress that, far from decreasing as welfare and economic development costs skyrocket, the social, economic and political alienation of the poor continues to increase. Both reports call into question not only specific government programmes and priorities but the very process by which priorities are reached. And both advance a social philosophy radically different from that which is currently used to rationalize the activities of government and governmental bureaucracies.

The Task Force, for instance, calls for nothing less than the "meaningful involvement" of all members of society in decision-making processes. While they go so far as to refer to the implications of such a concept of involvement for political institutions at all levels — from local party associations to city and town councils to the provincial legislature — specifically they limit themselves to spelling out sets of alternatives only to current *policy-making* structures and to current educational practices. They are careful not to spell out alternatives to current political institutions, though certainly such institutions would have to be changed in order to allow "meaningful involvement of all the population in decision-making".

being on welfare

COMMENTING SPECIFICALLY ON WELFARE policy, the authors of the M.D.T. report argue that "welfare problems are the outcome of particular social and economic structures which tend to perpetuate the inherent problems and which must be significantly altered before substantial improvements can be achieved. *In particular this means that public attitudes will have to change.*" This constant reference to the need for both institutional and attitudinal change is a refrain of both reports. And it is an emphasis which is in danger of being overlooked if the specific recommendations of the reports are taken as representing a panacea for the existing ills the two volumes detail.

The implications of the diagnoses of existing problems and the concept of social participation developed in the reports extend far beyond the policy-making areas of social development policy to which the task force was confined, and the even narrower terms of reference of the M.D.T. report. To recommend attitudinal and institutional change is one thing; to accomplish such a revolution is far more difficult. To the extent that these reports raise the problems and suggest preliminary steps toward solution, they are valuable. But to the extent that they are ignored by decision-makers, to the extent that their recommendations are taken out of context and their value as integrated proposals for social change emasculated, as other Task Forces and Royal Commissions have been in the past (The Carter Commission, for instance), the whole exercise will have been a tragic, and expensive, waste of time.

What does all this imply? First, that a great deal of effort must be expended to change attitudes in this province. Changing attitudes is a difficult business. According to the task force part of the answer, at least, lies in changing structures: one way to deal with the problems of political alienation and apathy detailed in the report is to create

structures which allow individuals to participate in decision-making processes in the areas of social concern taken up in the report. Consequently, the Task Force recommends the establishment of regional councils charged with the following functions:

- identification of needs within the region for which they are established and involvement in the planning of programmes to meet these needs

- evaluation of all governmental and community programmes, to determine whether in fact the needs of the people of the region are being met through these various programmes

- the dissemination of information on all government and privately-sponsored programmes to the entire population of the region

- establishment of a dynamic community development programme to ensure full participation in the work of the council by all segments of the population

The Task Force recommends as well that these councils report directly to the Premier "no less than annually", and make concrete suggestions as to how regional needs could be met, determine need priorities, and revise such priorities on the basis of constant consultation with the population. Presumably, evaluations of existing programmes would be carried out with the active participation of the particular "clients" to which a programme is directed, and information about available programmes would be disseminated locally, by word of mouth, if necessary. No real outline of "community development" is offered by the Task Force, though they make reference to organizing those people most politically and economically vulnerable to social and economic pressures.

This notion of the establishment of regional councils gives pause for thought. The idea is well conceived - providing it works as the Task Force evidently intends it to work, and providing governments act upon it. The very vagueness of the reference to "social development" and how it might be brought about, however, brings to mind governmental reactions to the Company of Young Canadians and to C.R.A.N. - both groups fell into disfavour less because of their "radicalism" and "irresponsibility" than because they proved to be embarrassing to provincial and federal governments alike. Yet it remains true that many, if not most, of the really effective community organizations across Canada were started by the CYC. Community Development implies setting up groups to place pressure on government - groups who demand satisfaction NOW, and who are not prepared to let political decision-makers assume the right to juggle priorities among conflicting demands from different regions. To what extent are governments prepared not only to accept but to foster the establishment of organizations of this kind? The very ambiguity of the definition of social development in the Task Force report could give rise to "misunderstandings" between it and the government. The concept, interpreted as it was presumably meant to be interpreted, is justifiably revolutionary - one wonders if a government in office will so interpret it.

involvement and ambiguity

A PART FROM PROBLEMS OF AMBIGUITY, how such councils work, as the Task Force points out, depends crucially upon how they are staffed. The report contains only suggestions and illustrations as to how this might be done, but the import of these suggestions is that the councils be representative of the population of the region, particularly representative of the poor and other regional groups, contain MLA's and representatives of major parties, and be required to hold public meetings

often, perhaps once a month. In effect, such councils would become corporate bodies constantly in touch with the population each represents, designed to serve as a liaison between that population and the Premier's office; "... their role would be essentially of an advisory, planning, and evaluative nature and their influence with the central government would be essentially suasive in nature rather than resulting from any real authority they would be given in administering programmes." In the long run, the report contends, their authority could be extended to the direct administration of some programmes.

The Task Force proposal concerning the establishment of regional councils is certainly ingenious and without doubt well-intended, but some question can be raised about the extent to which such councils, constrained in these specific ways, realizes the goals of "meaningful involvement" and "full participation" of the public in the policy-making process. It is legitimate, I think, to raise the question of how much weight the views of the council would really be given, considering the fact that the Task Force admits that "much would depend on the weight given to their views by the Premier of the province, to whom they would report". Such councils could perform a useful function in opening new channels of communication and sensitizing governments to local problems and regional inequities, thereby solving the problem of isolation of government from the population; but surely that is only part of the problem of government insensitivity; this solution does not directly affect the notion, held by bureaucrats and politicians alike - and documented by the Task Force - that the public does not have any right to know what its decision-makers are doing.

In this very specific and very real sense there is a problem of attitude - the attitude that the public-at-large, even if it had knowledge of problems, does not have the experience to solve them.

the narrow perspective of education

THE SECOND SORT OF SOLUTION the Task Force offers to the problem of attitudes is best reflected in the section on Education. At one and the same time this section is the most gratifying and the most frustrating piece of the report. Gratifying because it outlines in detail and with numerous examples the destruction of students by the educational process, the class bias of schools, the real inequalities of opportunity which exist in the classroom, and the narrow perspective taken towards the notion of education by parents, teachers and school administrators alike. Frustrating because some of the recommendations exhibit too-easy assumptions concerning the efficacy of formal course-work in overcoming the faults of individual teachers as well as faults in the system as a whole. Take, for instance, the assumption underlying the notion that teachers can be "equipped to understand the social and economic environment of the students in his class" by doing more formal course-work in such disciplines as sociology, economics and psychology. The Task Force appears to be attacking the emphasis on formal education in one part of the study, then emphasizing the necessity of it, at a different level, in another. Or take a later section of the same chapter, where the Task Force again appears to be guilty of granting something in one instance and taking it away in another: it recommends that student and teacher representatives be put on to established regional boards of education, but that this be done by having the Minister of Education select these

from a list of names submitted to him. Does this imply that the members of the Task Force do not trust students, or teachers, to make "appropriate" choices through some sort of election or selection process determined by them?

Surely, in view of the emphasis on "meaningful participation" and on attitudinal divisions between students and educational administrators, the suggested mechanism appears to be inappropriate.

This is nit-picking, however; more than any other section of the report, the chapter on problems in education points up the necessity to change attitudes. Attitudes, for instance, towards the poor, in order to break the association between dropping out of school and poverty, in order to overcome the increasing alienation and cynicism of young people, in order to halt the trend towards the increasing irrelevance of formal education in our modern society, and in order to foster at the individual level a sense of social responsibility and concern necessary to reduce current inequities and encourage acceptance of the right of every individual, no matter what his wealth, job, views, or social status, to a meaningful and satisfying life. And the report shows up the greatest irony of all - the fact that the schools, the "learning place" of democracy, are among the most undemocratic of institutions. In this section, as in others, the authors of the Task Force do a masterful job of detailing the problems, a task at least as important as designing solutions to them.

public problems: health, work and welfare

THE BEST OF THE TASK FORCE REPORT we have left to the last - the sections on Health, Work and Welfare. It is in these areas, relevant to both the M.D.T. report and the Task Force, that the most "public" problems exist.

Both documents launch a scathing attack upon the propensity of governments, both in New Brunswick and elsewhere, to spend huge sums of money without ever evaluating the results in the areas of economic development and welfare. Both charge that, to the extent that the welfare budget can be taken as an index of the failure of other programmes, governments have failed miserably, through an emphasis on economic development, to effect a general social development. And both offer startling and convincing evidence for their assertions.

A study commissioned under the M.D.T. endeavour, for instance, showed that, in Northumberland county at least, "... the millions of dollars spent upon industrial development, and economic development generally, are having almost no effect upon the concrete life-situation of the province's poor. Ottawa's 'incentives to industry' programme means precisely what the phrase says; it does not mean incentives to the poor", and the Task Force concludes that there exists in this province "a tendency among economic planners to assume that human needs and desires are irrelevant to the planning process." For instance; manpower programmes offer benefits to those with some skills and potential mobility; most of those on welfare do not have the skills to qualify for retraining, and neither the capacity nor the desire to move. The growth centre concept popular in this province presumes not only mobility, but the desirability of Moncton and Saint John as places to work and live; from data offered by the Task Force report, both presumptions appear to be inaccurate. Finally, of 49 firms established in New Brunswick and financed through ADA from the 1964-68, the ownership of 82% of them lies outside the province.

government welfare policies re-examined

IN GENERAL THEN, the conclusions of both the M.D.T. and the Task Force reports appear justified: economic development strategies pursued by the provincial government and its federal partner have failed miserably in encouraging social development in New Brunswick, and even more importantly, have siphoned off funds badly needed in other areas.

As both reports assert, there is a relationship between the size of the welfare budget and the size of the budget for economic development, and it is useful to view the welfare budget as a measure of the lack of success of other programmes, in economic development and elsewhere. The M.D.T. report emphasizes that Welfare should not be considered a "residual" department, that a "welfare policy" should be developed. The Task Force addresses itself to the creation of such a programme. It focuses upon the dual objective of meeting social needs that are not currently being met and providing "meaningful" employment for "employables" currently receiving social assistance.

To the credit of its authors, the Task Force does not start from the assumption that employables on welfare are lazy (a fault they see in the M.D.T. report) but rather from the assumption that services offered by the existing department could be taken over by other departments, suitably reconstituted or established. They recommend, consequently, abolition of the welfare department, assumption of its functions by other departments (in the case of employables on welfare, by employment-generating departments,) and the establishment of a coordinating department of social development.

As goals of this "new approach to welfare programming," the Task Force sets the following objectives:

- (1) Meeting the most fundamental needs of the different types of welfare recipients, and in particular, providing employment opportunities for recipients.
- (2) Provision of adequate levels of social assistance for those who, for various reasons, are not in the labour force.
- (3) Provision of a wide range of counselling services at the community level, linked as closely as possible to the people who most require this type of service.

towards greater equality

IT IS MADE VERY CLEAR in the report, however, that even through business and industry, through various kinds of employment, (as opposed to "incentives") grants, and government, by setting up, if necessary, special programmes, will be required to make every effort to employ welfare "employables", no individual will be required to take a job. The incentives proposed are positive - higher pay - rather than punitive. The report emphasizes that such a programme is workable only to the extent that workers are not penalized by the withdrawal of certain services presently available under current welfare schemes, and to the extent that such programmes as family planning and counselling services are provided.

The thrust of the welfare proposals, from the recommendation of abolition of the welfare department, to the emphasis on full employment of "employables", is to remove the stigma attached to the receipt of welfare. Once again, the problem to be overcome is one of attitude - the need to develop and manifest in institutions a workable concept of social equity, including equity in participation, in access to social services, in education, in information, in all areas

of social life.

It is this emphasis on equality, on dignity, on the individual as the focal point of social, economic and political activity, which distinguishes both the M.D.T. report and the Task Force report on social development. If the reports have the effect of changing governmental and public thinking about societal problems in New Brunswick and the Maritimes, and about the relation of people to government, they will have gone a long way towards creating an atmosphere conducive to social change. The recommendations of both reports are important, but more important still is the social philosophy underlying them. To ignore it would be tragic; to dismiss it because of the weaknesses and ambiguities embodied in specific proposals more tragic still.

CLASSIFIED

A co-operative buying association has been formed to make available to the Fredericton and surrounding areas whole natural foods. Anyone interested in more information write: The New Brunswick Real Food Association, c/o Alma Marks, 259 Aberdeen Street, Fredericton or phone 454-2550.

\$50. has been offered by one of our readers for a poem beginning "Conniving Ken Irving". The poem should take a form similar to that of "Abou Ben Adhem" and should be mailed to Mrs. Virginia Pickett, Deep Brook, Nova Scotia.

As a new service The Mysterious East is offering space in this column to its readers for classified advertisements. At least initially the classified advertising rate is 10 cents a word with a minimum of 20 words in each advertisement.

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NDP DUCK

Lord Acton once said – and political scientists love to quote him – that power tends to corrupt, and absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely.

Lord Acton may have been right, but it hasn't got much to do with the lives of most of us, who haven't much power and wouldn't really mind being a little corrupted by a little of it. Lord Acton was a political scientist and so he missed the main point, which is that powerlessness corrupts, and absolute powerlessness corrupts absolutely.

There are lots of examples of this around in our daily lives – when you feel absolutely powerless with respect to the economy, you shoplift at Eaton's – but we normally don't think of political parties as being subjected to powerlessness. Even parties in opposition have some vestiges of power: there is still a Tory organization in Nova Scotia and a Liberal one in New Brunswick, and even though what they can offer is limited to promises, there is still power there. And because they still have some power, they have to take themselves seriously and look, at least occasionally, responsible.

But if you'd been around during September and October while the New Brunswick NDP flogged itself out of existence at conventions in Saint John and Fredericton, you could have seen the maxim working itself out as though Lord Acton had written the script. Or, better, as though Jonathan Swift, the Marquis de Sade, and Lord Acton had collaborated. With the final draft touched up – for rhetoric and prose style – by Dick Hatfield and Abbie Hoffman.

For years, the New Brunswick NDP has existed in a kind of political limbo shared only by such groups as the American Vegetarian Party or the Flat Earth Society. Regardless of the resurgence of the NDP in the West and even in Ontario, New Brunswick's party continued to be, by and large, the refuge of political malcontents who couldn't get far enough into the Grit or Tory establishments to get any graft.

NDP members who moved to New Brunswick from elsewhere generally gave up on the party within a few months. Some went into a kind of watchful crouch, looking for some opportunity to energize the party, remembering longingly the good old days in Winnipeg or Saskatoon. And the New Brunswick NDP ambled on, providing practice in public speaking for a few people with politician fantasies.

But recently, spurred on by the success of the national Waffle group, a number of New Brunswickers of the type usually referred to in the press as "troublemakers" decided that the time to revitalize and radicalize the NDP had come.

The party's old guard reacted predictably to this new putsch. When the provincial council endorsed the legalization of marijuana last winter, the provincial party leader J. Albert Richardson, who hadn't made the meeting because of a snowstorm, announced that the meeting was invalid because it was underattended, and that at a full meeting of the party such hair-brained notions would clearly be repudiated. Responsible voices were heard saying that of course the NDP was full of responsible, realistic citizens who would see that such proposals would only alienate the good voters of New Brunswick, and that in the long run cooler heads would prevail.

But underground, there were rumblings as the Waffle shifted left. There were rumours of a new manifesto, of an impending takeover. Eldon Richardson was, as he described it, "booted out" of his job as secretary of the Saint-John-Lancaster NDP Association by a cadre of irresponsible Trotskyite agitators.

But J. Albert Richardson was calm. Wait till the whole party meets in September, he said, we'll get things back on an even keel.

At the September meeting, the Waffle (out of respect for the feelings of James Laxer, another, related epithet might be more appropriate – Fritter, perhaps) arrived with its

platform, a document with the same sort of attention to reality that you find in the publications of the Flat Earth Society. It called for the immediate common ownership, without compensation and under workers' control, of all major means of production, distribution and exchange, of all the media, of all large scale rented property; it called for immediate socialization of law and medicine, immediate rent controls, support of all workers' movements, the establishment of women's rights and the abolition of compulsory education. Ah, opined the political pundits, the NDP will rid itself of this kind of insane utopianism without much trouble and get on with the business of figuring out how to get hold of a little genuine power in New Brunswick.

But when the dust had settled, the vote was 41 to 40 with four abstentions (where but in the NDP can you imagine anyone abstaining on an issue like that?) and the Fritter manifesto was party policy. And the Labour delegates had walked out (they didn't even come back for the banquet, which proves they must have been serious).

But J. Albert Richardson does not surrender easily. We'll fight it, he said. It'll be repudiated. We'll hold another convention in October, he said, and this time the sensible elements will turn out.

And with the creative ingenuity which J. Albert Richardson fans have come to know and love, he pointed out that he himself knew of at least seven people who were not

contacted about the convention, and that constituted grounds to have the whole meeting declared unconstitutional.

As it turned out, however, the Fritters dominated the Fredericton meeting even more thoroughly than they had the Saint John one, and their whole slate of candidates was elected while Richardson and company grimly continued to call the first meeting unconstitutional and the second nonexistent.

By late October, then, the New Brunswick NDP had two duly elected leaders and a cemented position, along with the Prohibition Party and Action Canada, as cheerleaders on the sidelines of politics.

It's difficult to choose among a cast of characters as deserving of a Rubber Duck as the members of the New Brunswick New Democratic Party. Pat Callaghan, Fritter leader, who calls the new manifesto "realistic"? Albert Richardson, who can't muster more than 40 votes against the Fritter? Alastair Robertson, Fritter Party President and major author of the manifesto?

You can make your own choice. We're picking Pat Callaghan, as the most recently elected representative of the whole membership of the New Democratic Party in New Brunswick, and as the choice of the faction who have succeeded in making the party even more irrelevant to the situation of New Brunswick than it was before. Good luck at the next convention, Pat.

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CONSUMER PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

We had a problem with a mail-order bookseller recently. Seems they passed our account to a collection agency. Long overdue they said. Even a copy of the cancelled cheque didn't seem to convince their computer that they were in error. So we called the local office of the Bureau of Consumer Affairs (Government of Canada). The problem was resolved in short order and letters of apology received from both the bookseller and the collection agency.

Since calling in the Bureau of Consumer Affairs seemed to help solve our problems, we thought you might like to contact them too. You may be suffering from a bad case of Upper Canadian intimidation, without justification, and you might wish to contact your local Bureau. Try:

Miss Regain P. Kearzey
Consumer Consultant
Royal Trust Building
139 Water Street
St. John's, Nfld.

Mrs. C.L. Archibald
Regional Consumer Consultant
639 Ralston Building
1557 Hollis Street
Halifax, N.S. (also for PEI)

Mr. Alan G. Andrew
Consumer Consultant
Hardware Building
51 Regent Street
Fredericton, N.B.

The Bureau can also help you with Canada Standard Sizes, and textile labelling, and assist to protect you from misleading advertising. Among the pamphlets and other handouts we received was one dealing with the labelling of hazardous products. We have been meaning to pass the information along for some time.

HAZARDOUS PRODUCT SYMBOLS



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DANGER/EXPLOSIVE



DANGER/CORROSIVE



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WARNING/FLAMMABLE



WARNING/EXPLOSIVE



WARNING/CORROSIVE



CAUTION/POISON



CAUTION/FLAMMABLE



CAUTION/EXPLOSIVE



CAUTION/CORROSIVE

reaction

reaction

The following letter from André Boudreau, President of the Conseil régional d'aménagement du nord-est (CRAN), was sent to Gérard Pelletier, Secretary of State, The CRTC and the CBC, arguing that a French-language television station be approved for the north eastern area of New Brunswick.

M. Boudreau notes that various groups in New Brunswick have been requesting such a French-language media outlet for more than ten years now and states the reasons that such an outlet is essential to the social and economic development of the province and particularly the north east.

Monsieur,

Depuis plus de six ans, différents organismes du Nouveau-Brunswick et en particulier du Nord-Est de la province ont demandé au gouvernement fédéral et à la C.R.T.C. un poste de télévision française dans le Nord-Est du Nouveau-Brunswick. Or rien, sinon quelques promesses nuageuses, n'a été fait en ce sens.

C'est pourquoi le C.R.A.N. a cru bon de former un Front Commun pour exiger que soit installé un poste de télé française dans le Nord-Est du N.-B. Dans sa conception du développement social, le CRAN ajoute à la participation populaire la notion d'information comme moyen de réduire les blocages socio-culturels qui empêchent un véritable développement économique.

Nous considérons que l'information est un instrument fondamental au développement social et économique d'une région, et que le refus de se rendre à cette évidence contredirait les politiques nationales concernant la redistribution des richesses: l'information, comme l'informatique, est l'un des principaux agents de conditionnement social du monde à venir, et l'absence de ces "modeleurs de milieux" dans notre région détruit toute chance de survie sociale et économique pour le Nord-Est dans les années futures.

Il est donc impératif que la C.R.T.C. ainsi que la société Radio-Canada considère d'autres critères que ceux employés afin de justifier un poste de télévision française à Toronto, et se décident enfin à poser un geste qui démontrerait au moins une certaine logique face au véritable développement d'une région.

Nous vous faisons donc parvenir quelques lettres d'appui qui nous sont parvenues et continuerons de le faire à mesure que nous recevrons l'appui des différents corps intermédiaires de notre territoire pilote.

Veuillez nous informer de tout développements concernant cette affaire, soit au niveau du cabinet fédéral, de la C.R.T.C., ou de la Société Radio-Canada.

En attendant une meilleure entente pour le Nord-Est du Nouveau-Brunswick, veuillez agréer Monsieur, nos sincères salutations.

André Boudreau
Président et Directeur-
Général du C.R.A.N.

Dear Sirs:

I was interested in your article on the 1925 strike (*Standing the Gaff in the Coal Mines - July M.E.*). I have spent much of my time looking over the 1925 copies of the *Halifax Herald*. It was quite something to see a *Halifax* daily paper regularly attacking the government and even having the nerve to draw nasty pictures of the Honourable Premier. Shocking. Of course, the *Herald* was a Conservative paper and was biased along those lines, but it was still nice to think that our local daily press in the good old days had some get up and go.

But there was another point that was mentioned in your article that especially intrigued me. And that was the mention of *British* warships in the harbour of Glace Bay. In fact, the *People's History of Cape Breton* went so far as to say that they were battleships; bringing to mind pictures of massive ships training their 15 inch guns on the harbour, ready to level the miners' hovels with shells weighing a ton or so.

So on this point I went into detail. And this is what I can say: There was no mention that I saw in either the *Halifax Herald* for the middle of August 1922 or in the *Globe* (Toronto) that said that any *British* ships were in the harbour, but the *Globe* had an intriguing series of reports. Apparently H.M.S. Raleigh, a 10,000 ton light cruiser that was flagship of the *British North American Squadron*, ran aground off the coast of Labrador. This caused some Canadian ships and the rest of the *Squadron*, based in Bermuda, to rush north. This event took place about one week before the strike started.

After that there were reports of the *Squadron* in St. John's, Newfoundland, about the time that the strike was called. Then there is no word.

I also saw a vague reference in the transcript of the Royal Commission that Rhodes called to "Militia plans to call on the *British Squadron* then cruising in the St. Lawrence region." So while I can't say that there were ships in Glace Bay harbour, I can say that there were at least *British* ships in the region at the time.

Just to confuse things there was an *American* squadron that left Halifax at about the time that the strike of 1922 was called. So the area was swarming with warships.

I hope that will at least show that what seemed an incredible idea, i.e., having *British* warships intervening in a *Nova Scotian* industrial problem, now appears at least physically possible.

Yours sincerely
Michael Monahan

Back of the Book

POLITICAL BRIDGING

Traditionally, one of the best ways of paying off political debts and ensuring re-election is to build a bridge.

It really doesn't matter whether the bridge is needed, the criterion is whether it is politically useful. The number of vehicles using the bridge and its effect on traffic patterns are a secondary consideration.

Take for instance the high-level Burton Bridge which crosses the St. John River 10 miles down stream from Fredericton.

After years of agitation by a small but vocal group of local voters, construction of the bridge was started in the fall of 1967, just as the Robichaud government went to the people for a vote of confidence on the Equal Opportunity programme.

Under construction now for four years, the structure is reported to cost between \$7 and \$8 million and will not be completed for at least another year.

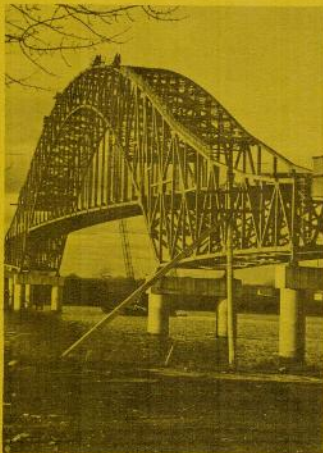
Bridges, of course, are expensive and they do take a long time to build, but what will the province gain after five years and the expenditure of \$8 million?

Unfortunately, not much more than a magnificent looking structure.

The bridge, you see, will replace two small ferries and connect Maugerville, less a village than a small collection of houses with a population of less than 250 people on the Trans Canada Highway, with Burton, a village of 677 residents on the south side of the river.

Of course, it is difficult to say just how many people will use the bridge when it's completed, but the number of vehicles presently using the ferries would probably give a pretty good indication of the numbers.

Last year during the ten months the ferries operated, 165,000 made the crossing. At that rate about 23 vehicles each hour will use the \$8 million bridge.



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CHAPTER 24

AN ACT
RESPECTING UNSIGHTLY PREMISES

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MEMO TO THE NEW BRUNSWICK GOVERNMENT

YOU HAVE THE TOOLS

NOW LET'S GET ON WITH THE JOB

THE CONSERVATION COUNCIL OF NEW BRUNSWICK
