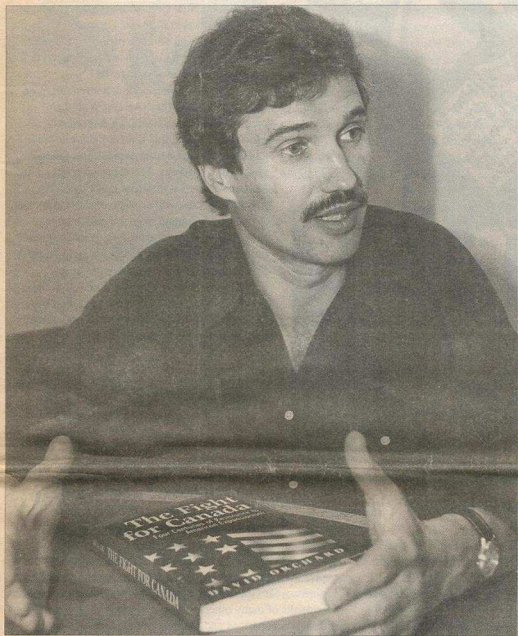


TrueNorth

Summer 1993

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THE VOICE OF CANADIAN INDEPENDENCE



David Orchard, the national chairman of Citizens Concerned About Free Trade, is now also the author of a book, *The Fight for Canada: Four Centuries of Resistance to American Expansionism*. He has just completed a ten week tour of ten cities in five provinces. Time was spent in book launches and media interviews. (See, "This would be the stuff of movies..." page 4.) (Photo: Jim Cochrane/Edmonton Journal)

What's to be done? David Orchard answers questions about the upcoming election

Q You've said you want the Liberals to cancel the Free Trade Agreement (FTA). Don't you think you're taking a chance relying on the Liberals to take that position? The same people who are financing the Conservatives today will be financing the Liberals when they get in.

A The people financing the Liberals today are the same ones that financed them in 1987 and 1988, and yet John Turner came out and fought against the deal. In April 1987, Turner said the Liberal Party would not stand in the way of free trade with the U.S., but six months later he reversed that decision and promised to rip the deal up. The reason he did was because he had to get elected. And the way to get elected was to mount a campaign against the free trade deal.

The Liberal position right now is to renegotiate the free trade deal "in the clear national interest." If they are elected, their position is to tell the Americans they want to renegotiate the deal, and if the Americans fail to respond favourably, cancel it. The problem is the FTA has already been renegotiated and it turned out to be the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which is even worse. Realistically, the FTA can't be renegotiated in Canada's interests. It has to be abrogated, cancelled outright using the 6-month cancellation clause in the Agreement.

The Liberals can't coast into power on pure anti-Muironee sentiment any longer. Jean Chrétien can't get elected by going across the country behind Kim Campbell saying "me too, I'm for cutting the deficit too," or whatever. He can be a pale copy of Kim Campbell or he give himself a winning issue — the abrogation of the FTA and NAFTA. Campbell is trying to portray herself as a true defender of Canada with her protection of magazine publishers and occasionally talking tough to the U.S. media about U.S. domination of Canada. But she cannot escape the free trade issue and will never come out for its abrogation. So the Liberals have a chance to expose where Campbell really stands, regardless of her new-found "nationalistic" rhetoric, by taking a clear position for cancellation.

The one thing our history shows us is that each time a party comes out four-square against free trade with the U.S., during a federal election, the country comes on fire. Whether it's in 1891, 1911 or 1988.

Some influential Liberals have been asking what issue would ignite the country in 1993.

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Beware of the "deficit" hoax!

Remember the night the Charlottetown Accord was defeated? The provincial premiers, the federal government, the leaders of the opposition parties, the whole elite on the "yes" side, after facing the "no" side's victory, claimed to have gotten a message from the voters that they were supposed to "deal with the economy." It didn't take long before Canadians found out exactly what they meant by that. Since last fall we have been barraged with economic forecasts and cries of alarm from the media and politicians that unless we "deal with the deficit," we'll face a calamity worse than any in our country's history. The government's debt and budget deficits have reached catastrophic proportions, we are told. The spectre of national bankruptcy looms on the horizon. To stave it off, the government must undertake immediate and drastic spending cuts — further borrowing is out of the question.

There appears to be total unanimity among the political parties that these gloom and doom predictions are in fact based on reality. Few are questioning what in a

short time span has become official dogma. Even the three provincial NDP governments have become vocal adherents and are implementing policies that slash, cut and roll back the public sector at an unrelenting pace. In the meantime the real problems, caused by the Free Trade Agreement, are left unattended.

A strong and steady voice in the wilderness, Ruben Bellan, professor emeritus of economics at the University of Manitoba, challenges the assumptions and beliefs behind the "deficit hysteria." In two articles, "The Big Lie" and "Foreign borrowing is the problem," he brings a historical perspective as well as an economic one to the discussion about "the deficit."

(See articles on page 6 and 7)

**SPECIAL
Issue**
"The Fight for Canada"

\$2.50

Who will call Kim's bluff?

We have seen Kim Campbell play the born-again Canadian nationalist. She claims to have fought the Americans on NAFTA and winning a most peculiar "victory" (see editorial below). She introduced a policy to "protect" Canadian magazine publishers while leaving the "Canadian" edition of *Sports Illustrated* untouched. She told the U.S. media that the United States dominates Canada "just as many men dominate women" and declared defiantly that "no other country would put up with it" (in an interview with the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, the transcript of which her office refuses to release). Free trade opponents must therefore take stock of the situation and ask the crucial question: what ought to be our strategy to prevent Ms. Campbell from deluding Canadians into thinking, even for a short (and dangerous) moment, that there are any real differences between her policies and those of Brian Mulroney?

The only way to call Kim's bluff is to call a spade a spade. This means pointing out that Canada's massive economic problems are due to free trade and that any talk about "solutions" is meaningless as long as the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) prevails. If free trade deservedly becomes an election issue again (which it must), Kim Campbell and her fellow Conservatives will have nothing to say. Try as they might, they will not be able to bamboozle the public with recycled "policies" and pronouncements meant to cover up the colossal damage already done by the FTA and soon to be amplified by the NAFTA.

The two major opposition parties have only one choice if they hope to stop Campbell in her tracks: to fight free trade with all their might. They must bring the issue up every time Campbell opens her mouth. There is very little about the dismal state of the Canadian economy which is NOT free trade related. We cannot, for instance, change the record level of unemployment, the result of a decimated manufacturing sector — particularly in Ontario and Quebec — and the rapid de-industrialization of our country since the FTA was signed in January 1989, unless we get out of the Agreement. Any talk by Campbell about providing dollars for improved training and education — for non-existent jobs — should be cause enough to laugh her off the stage.

Both the Liberals and New Democrats have brought a lot of baggage with them into this election. The NDP had a dismal record of fighting free trade under Ed Broadbent's leadership in 1988. It is this "heritage" which has no doubt helped pull the party down in the public's opinion, along with the sordid affair of Bob Rae campaigning as a free trade opponent but, once elected, barely using the words "Free Trade Agreement." The letdown was immense because the expectations of party members and voters had been high: the free trade fight was seen as a made-for-NDP platform. The Liberals, on the other hand, fought free trade the hardest under the valiant leadership of John Turner. Kicking and screaming — and on occasion stabbing Turner in the back — the Liberal



THE BORN-AGAIN (FOR THE TIME BEING) NATIONALIST

party nevertheless rallied the people to two powerful slogans: "Let the people decide" and "This is not just an election — it's the fight of our lives." After the election both parties collapsed in a heap and did not carry the "fight of their lives" to its logical conclusion: making the Senate refuse to sign the FTA because Mulroney had not received a true mandate.

Soon afterwards it was "business as usual" with yesterday's parliamentary anti-free traders becoming hostile to the citizen anti-free traders who refused to give up the fight. (*True North* has documented in the last two issues CCAFT's post-election efforts and experiences in keeping the fight alive.)

Today there is no point in the kettle calling the pot black: neither party has a perfect track record or a monopoly on guts, commitment or principles. The New Democrats stand for unequivocal abrogation of the Agreement, but play dumb when asked how they are going to accomplish this without a real chance of forming a government. Talk is cheap, we all know. They become downright nasty when asked to consider an electoral coalition with the Liberals; it is as if the very suggestion of power-sharing and the possibility of a coalition government is a personal insult to them! Their argument, that they couldn't possibly work with so-called Bay Street Liberals because of their "principles," collides with our fresh memories of the Liberals and New Democrats holding hands across the country last October while feverishly promoting Mulroney's pet project, the Charlottetown Accord. (We remember quite well, too, the historic victory of ordinary, very angry Canadians over that accord which was supported by the various well-financed elites in the government, media, business, and including the labour and Native establishment.)

The Liberals, on the other hand, were hoping to get elected on the basis of nothing else but anti-Mulroney sentiment among the population. With a new "fresh" face — and a woman to boot, to appease superficial feminists — who is being packaged as a True Canadian, the Liberals must now change their flawed strategy and come out fighting free trade, not fudging the issue. To accomplish that end they have to be poked and prodded by every citizen concerned about the

survival of Canada, and the pressure on them must be relentless.

Once both opposition parties realize that it is in their own self-interest to make free trade into the issue of the election, they can start talking strategy with each other. By now they should know that Canadians will not forgive them if they are forced to split their vote once more, but only massive citizen pressure on the Liberals and New Democrats can force them to opt for a workable solution: a complete or partial electoral coalition which will see them unite to fight the annexationist Conservatives in all or a significant number of ridings.

There is a further option: a referendum on both the FTA and the NAFTA. With the memory of the Charlottetown Accord still exceedingly fresh, this is an attractive solution and would assure a truer expression of the wishes of Canadians. The idea of a referendum has been floated at different times by all the major parties, as well as some of the minor ones. A concerted demand from the public on the Liberals to commit themselves to such a referendum before the coming election should be made by everyone who can write a letter to Jean Chrétien and who can dial a phone. "Let the people decide," which became the Liberal's 1988 election slogan, must become the guiding slogan of this election as well.

• • •

This issue of *True North* contains a special emphasis on David Orchard's *The Fight for Canada: Four Centuries of Resistance to American Expansionism*. The book is the culmination of much of CCAFT's work and presents both the history and analysis of what Canada is faced with (and has been for several hundred years) and a solution. The book has created a deep response among Canadians. It has been highly successful book launches across Canada, the sale of close to 8,000 books in two months (qualifying the book as a best seller), favourable reviews and expressive letters from readers, which we cover in this issue. Eighteen-year Graham Kay from Oakville, Ont. expresses the sentiments of many others, men and women of all ages, of different occupations and political persuasions, when he writes: "I've just finished reading *The Fight for Canada* which has been a real eye-opener for me and I'd like to congratulate Mr. Orchard on an incredibly powerful book. I'm only 18 but I'm already fed up with politicians, corporations, the media and our neighbour to the south. I will be taking action on many of the recommendations made in the book and would like to join and participate fully in your organization."

• • •

There is another crucial theme in this issue: a critique of the orchestrated deficit hysteria which followed almost overnight the manufactured panic about constitutional reform. We take a look at "The Big Lie," as University of Manitoba economics professor Ruben Bellan aptly describes it, and we hope that it will inoculate the minds of our readers against the flood of deficit hype and hysteria already filling the newspapers and airwaves and promising to drown us during this fall's election campaign. ♦

Shafta NAFTA?

Will the three provincial New Democratic governments have the guts to initiate a constitutional challenge to the NAFTA and its side agreements, and thereby shaft them all? Ontario's Minister of Economic Development and Trade, Frances Lankin, promised on July 28 that her government would contact other provinces for the purpose of developing a court challenge. In Saskatchewan, the pressure has been on the Romanow government to take a principled opposition stance to the NAFTA and all it entails, which it did on August

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

Editor: *Margaleena Repo*

Managing Editor: *Rose-Marie Larson*

Graphics: *Antoinette Martens*

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17. Dwain Lingenfelter, Saskatchewan's Minister of Economic Trade and Diversification, said that NAFTA should be put on hold and said that his government will not alter its opposition to NAFTA until various problems with the FTA are ironed out. (Saskatchewan's government is particularly incensed at the Americans using their export enhancement program, EEP, to subsidize wheat going into Mexico.) Regina NDP MLA Bob Lyons also wants the NDP governments to demand a national referendum on NAFTA, something most Canadians would welcome with open arms. If these governments would have the foresight to put my where their mouths are — and all three premiers, Rae, Harcourt and Romanow, have made strong public statements against the NAFTA (although not strong enough against the much worse FTA) — the federal NDP could see its electoral chances

greatly improved. This is the time for all free trade opponents to lean on their provincial legislators with their full weight. ♣

“Side deals” sideswipe Canada

With ballyhoo and brouhaha, Prime Minister Kim Campbell announced a “victory” in negotiations for the NAFTA so-called side deals. The side deal agreement means the creation of two commissions to make sure that Mexico, United States and Canada enforce their labour and environmental laws. If a country doesn't measure up to its own laws, it would be subject

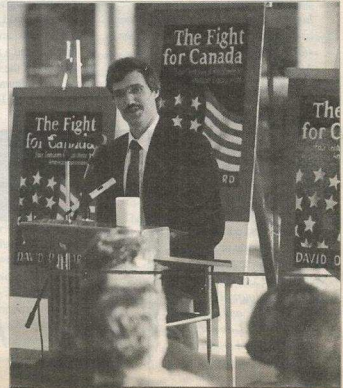
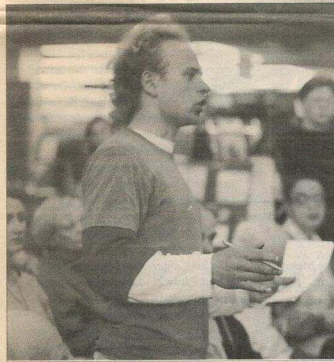
to a fine of up to \$20 million (U.S.). Mexico and U.S. agreed to use trade sanctions for the failure to pay the fine or solve the problem. Canada, lucky dog, was exempted from the sanctions, only to land in a thicker and more poisonous soup. Kim Campbell agreed that Mexico and the U.S. will have the right to force a Canadian court to enforce the commission rulings in Canada (while Canada has no such right in Mexico or the U.S.). This means that two foreign governments will now be able to sue the Canadian government (and Canadian industries) in a Canadian court, a shocking loss of sovereignty for our country. And, as an astute observer commented: “The Americans are not very likely to go after their own subsidiaries in Canada, but they will use the commissions as a weapon to destroy (what is left of) their Canadian competition.” If this is victory, what does defeat look like? ♣

Questions and answers

(continued from page 1)

It's the issue of nationalism and the fight against free trade, and they need to be told that by everyone who can write a two paragraph letter or pick up the phone and call them. These are the issues. The Liberals have to be pressured by citizens from across Canada to tear up the deal. If they do what John A. Macdonald did in 1891, what Robert Borden did in 1911 and John Turner did in 1988, they'll have the issue and they'll get the election. The Liberal Party has it in their power to get out of the deal within a year, but it's only massive public pressure that will make them do that.

The Liberals have to be hounded, pushed, they have to get faxes and letters, they have to be confronted every time they show their faces in public, there has to be letters to the editor, phone calls to open line shows telling them to forget the renegotiation idea and to cancel the FTA. People can visit them in their offices and call them by phone. If Jean Chrétien gets 100,000 letters and phone messages on his desk and if the rest of the Liberal candidates and members of parliament feel this same kind of public heat, they will come out for abrogation.



David Orchard at the Vancouver book launch. (Photo: Peggy Smith)

trade, finish off the country?

But again, only public pressure by you and thousands of others can force these parties to put country before narrow party interests.

Q How would an electoral coalition actually work?

A The electoral coalition we are proposing would be built around a public agreement between the two parties to cancel the FTA and the NAFTA and would mean that the Liberals would pull out of most of the seats in western Canada and let the NDP win, leaving them with candidates in a few strong Liberal ridings. In return the NDP would pull out of most of Quebec and Atlantic Canada, where they're not going to win any seats anyway, but can take enough votes to prevent the Liberals there from winning. In Ontario the opposition parties would assess their historical and recent electoral strengths riding by riding, and then decide which party would run a candidate in each riding. Neither party would run against the other, as that would only help the Conservatives get in a third time. If the Liberals and NDP co-operated in this way in the national interest, they could together take 200 seats in the House of Commons and would have the power to get rid of the GST, the free trade deal and the NAFTA, and do the things they say they want to do. But they'll only agree to a coalition if there is a massive amount of pressure on them from grassroots Canadians.

Q The NDP right now have only 9% of the vote. What value is a coalition when they are so unpopular? Would anybody even vote for them?

A First of all, the polls can be misleading. In 1984, for instance, John Turner was at 44% or a similarly high figure when he called the election, yet by the end of the campaign Mulroney won in a landslide. Furthermore, the NDP's low support in Quebec lowers its national standing, but its approval rate is much higher in provinces like Saskatchewan, Manitoba and B.C. Secondly, the polls can change significantly before the election, as we have seen happen in the past.

Our main task is, however, to get the Liberals to take an abrogation position. The NDP has already declared its commitment to abrogate. Once we've got the Liberals to go for abrogation, there's got to be double heat put on both parties, with letters and calls saying you're right back where you were in 1988. Are you going to split the vote again and give the election to the Conservatives, or are you going to work together and take power? We have to tell them we're not going to tolerate these two parties both standing up in our midst saying they're opposed to free trade and then work against us by dividing our votes. And we cannot allow the Liberals — who got elected on an anti-free trade platform, declaring it to be the “fight of our lives” — now trying to pretend that the 1988 election never took place and attempting to delude the electorate into believing that they could possibly succeed in renegotiating the FTA “in the clear national interest.”

The NDP has taken a position for abrogation, but I don't believe that, were they to take power — which I don't believe they can — they would have any more courage than the Liberals to abrogate the FTA on their own. But if they form a coalition with the Liberals based on their joint promise to cancel the FTA, then both parties will be bound by it. It's not something either of them could waseel out of, because it would be a public commitment.

It is curious, but the opposition to the coalition idea has been strongest from the NDP. When the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) held its convention in Vancouver last year, CCAFT applied for a table to make our information available to the delegates. The CLC met and decided they would not give us a table. When one of the unions, a public service union, let us share their table, pandemonium broke out. The CLC called a meeting in the middle of the convention, and demanded that the union remove our newspaper *True North* from their table, because it called for a NDP-Liberal coalition. Needless to say, we held our ground and refused to be turfed out, but it was an extraordinary attempt by the CLC leaders and NDP leadership to prevent rank and file members from reading our literature.

Coalitions in this country have worked before and they have worked in other countries. David Peterson and Bob Rae formed a type of coalition in Ontario in 1986, when the NDP agreed not to vote against the Liberals. NDP support of the Liberals in the House of Commons brought us medicare, Petro Canada and some of our most advanced social legislation. It was, of course, a coalition between John A. Macdonald's Conservatives, George Brown's Reformers and George-Etienne Cartier's Parti Bleu that brought Canada into being in the first place in 1867.

Let us also not forget that the Liberals and the New Democrats as recently as last fall worked in a coalition with each other — as well as with Mulroney! If they can work together trying to shove a new constitution on Canadians against the will of the majority, they can work together to get rid of the FTA and NAFTA — something Canadians want them to do.

Q I don't trust Chrétien or McLaughlin anymore than I trust Kim Campbell. The established politicians are all the same. They say one thing before they get in and then do another when they're elected. So how about supporting Mel Hurtig's National Party? It's a new party. It has promised democracy and hasn't broken any promises yet.

(continued on page 8)

"This would be the stuff of movies..."

The Fight for Canada on the road: views and reviews

May, June and July saw CCAFT organizers and David Orchard on a cross-country tour to promote *The Fight for Canada: Four Centuries of Resistance to American Expansionism*, a tour that took in ten cities in ten weeks. As *True North* goes to print Orchard is in Ontario to open up a long awaited office in Toronto and step up CCAFT's campaign of pressure for abrogation of the FTA and NAFTA. Here is a glimpse of what Canada's print media have said about *The Fight for Canada* so far.

The Saskatoon *Star-Phoenix* published the first feature article on the book and its author, titled "Historical perspective of U.S. domination courses trade plans" (May 15). Write Verne Clemence:

Orchard watchers of the past few years may experience déjà vu in parts of this book. But they'll also find a new and powerful impact from the careful historical record which the Saskatoon area farmer, activist and now author started compiling eight years ago.... After seeing a strident Orchard in full cry on the front lines of the free trade fray, we now meet the quiet, cerebral version in this book; the one-time law student and the researcher who won't stop digging until he gets to the bottom of an issue.

Clemence introduced a self-critical note as well, recognizing that his paper had editorially promoted free trade in 1988, as did every major newspaper (except for the *Toronto Star* and the *Edmonton Journal*):

The CCAFT, and particularly Orchard, do not neatly fit the political models journalists have come to depend upon for the hand out news that is the main fare today.

As a result, coverage of this grassroots group was grudging and mainly aimed at discrediting those who dared to challenge established ways of doing things. The real story, as this book suggests, is both interesting and reminiscent of earlier agrarian reform movements that are now spoken of with near reverence.

Mixed feelings

The next review appeared in the *Toronto Star*. The leading anti-free trade paper of 1988 assigned a Tory senator, Heath Macquarrie, from Prince Edward Island, to review the book ("Resisting the cozy U.S. embrace," July 19).

Macquarrie had mixed feelings about *The Fight for Canada*. Although he praised the book for being "a hard-hitting denunciation of the Free Trade Agreement and those who brought its ills upon us," he was more comfortable with the history part of it, than was with the section dealing with the Agreement itself. He called the book "a readable and exciting encapsulation of Canada's centuries-old resistance to the intrusions from its southern neighbour," and an antidote to today's "euphoric tendency to regard Canada-U.S. confrontations as mere skirmishes between blood brothers." He recognized "that there have been bitter and powerful attacks against our territorial sovereignty fought by the avid bellicosity of U.S. political leaders."

On the other hand he lamented that "there are few light passages in this book." While acknowledging the book's "startling statistics and evaluations" of the FTA he found it "one-sided.... Orchard brandishes

statistics supportive of his views, suppressing others that might put the free trade agreement in a favourable light."

"But, still," this Tory senator who voted for the FTA in 1988, but voted against NAFTA in the Senate in June 1993, shortly after this review was published, ends his remarks, "there are those consistently and painfully high unemployment figures, plant closings, food banks and soup kitchens. These, alas, are not indicators of the new Heaven and a new Earth promised by the authors of the Free Trade Agreement."

In Ottawa where the book was launched in the Centre Block on Parliament Hill, the

[Orchard] succeeds in dispelling the myth that Canada is too small to chart an economic course independent of the U.S., saying Canada has the seventh largest industrial economy in the world and abundant resources that could be used to underwrite a powerful manufacturing base.

Call to the barricades

While David Orchard was still on the eastern leg of the book tour, two major western newspapers, the *Calgary Herald* and the *Victoria Times-Colonist*, reviewed the book.



David McLean/Vancouver Sun

Otaouais Informer (June 16) published a review calling the book "[w]ell researched and easy to read... a fascinating and moving account of Canada's ongoing battle for independence."

In Montreal where a French translation of the book is underway, two popular weekly newspapers carried feature articles about *The Fight for Canada* based on interviews with David Orchard.

Mark Shaumbin in *Hour Magazine* ("Speaking the Unspeakable," July 17-23) wrote: "It's a cliché, but it's true: David Orchard is a man with a mission.... *The Fight for Canada*... is a dramatic and often polemic book crafted by a man who desperately loves his country and fears for its future."

The *Montreal Mirror* (Alex Roslin, "The Kingdom of Canada vs US interests," June 10-17) quoted Orchard on the U.S. annexation of Hawaii, the early American attacks on Acadia, the high level of foreign ownership on Canada's economy and the deliberate dismantling — under U.S. pressure — of Canada's post-war advanced airplane industry and merchant marine. The article concludes:

The *Herald's* reviewer (George Melnyk, "Fight for Canada rings bell of alarm," June 19) praised the history section:

Orchard has written a powerful polemic about Canada's "four centuries of resistance to American expansionism...." with great passion and a clear vision.... The pages drip patriotic fervor and make a delightful read.... This would be the stuff of movies, if we had a film industry that had the courage to produce historical epics with an anti-American tone.

He noted in particular the book's treatment of Louis Riel which he calls "exceedingly positive.... Orchard makes a great deal of Riel's resistance in 1869/70 to American overtures for Red River joining the United States."

Like Senator Macquarrie in the *Toronto Star*, Melnyk did not like the second half of the book. He calls it an "out and out polemic" and "a rather tiresome account of the 1988 anti-free trade campaign and of the negative impact of FTA on Canada since then." Nevertheless, in conclusion he gives *The Fight for Canada* an exuberant description, calling it "a wonderful call to the barricades,"

and a text that "belongs to the great canon of passionate Canadian nationalism."

The review in the *Times-Colonist*, the paper founded by Amor De Cosmos before B.C.'s entry into Confederation and used by him in his fight against the U.S. annexationists, was headlined, "Free trade pact opponent makes strong argument" (Bev Wake, June 27). It called the book

[p]owerful and compelling.... clear and concise.... each point well-documented — 20 pages of end notes follow the text.... The major strength of the book lies in Orchard's thorough analysis of the FTA.... makes the reader want to learn more.... If this book can be measured by the number of questions it raises and thoughts it provokes, The Fight for Canada will be recognized as a great book.

The *Calgary Sun's* editor, Paul Jackson, one-time special assistant to former premier of Saskatchewan, Grant Devine, had nothing good to say about the book. In a Saskatoon *Star-Phoenix* column (June 28) he called *The Fight for Canada* a "cruel joke... one big yawn, start to finish," a "rollicking good laugh," a "zany comedy full of 'hobgoblins and conspiracy theories' by the Saskatoon farmer who wants to turn Canada into the Albania of North America." He asks people to pray that "David Orchard and his type" will get nothing but "contempt for their reckless and irresponsible shortsightedness."

"Free trade has been a boon to Canada," Jackson asserts, and for pushing NAFTA through Parliament, "Brian Mulroney and the Tories deserve nothing but praise."

In his *Calgary Sun* column ("Orchard of bad fruit," July 21) Jackson added a few intended insults:

Some dimwit urged me to attend a speech in Calgary last night by that zealous evangelist who sees the devil at work in free trade, the not so reverent David Orchard. Naturally I didn't have time to waste listening to Orchard's sermon of propaganda and pap about his new epistle, The Fight for Canada. I've been following this preacher's pontifications against free trade for some years, and I can assure you there is nothing but rotten fruit in his particular orchard.

"Manifest Destiny, Northern Division"

Ted Mumford, in Toronto's *NOW* (June 24-30) also couldn't resist a pun on the author's name. But unlike Paul Jackson, he recommends the book as "a popular history of Manifest Destiny, Northern Division," and a needed reminder "that there has been a huge variety of acts of aggression against Canada by the U.S., that swaths of historically Canadian territory were lightly conceded to

the U.S. by British negotiators, and that French, English and native Canadians fought a heroic war to beat back the vastly superior numbers of a nation intent on an Indian holocaust. ... He sums up: "The fruit of this Orchard makes a good Canada Day gift."

In July came a flood of reviews. In the Toronto weekly magazine, *eye* (July 1), Scott Anderson wrote:

Probably the most scathing indictment of the Mulroney agenda and the FTA comes from David Orchard, national chairman of Citizens Concerned About Free Trade, in The Fight for Canada... If you read one book before the general election, make it this one. Orchard has done an excellent job of chronicling Canada's historical struggle to maintain its sovereignty in the face of unrelenting U.S. expansionism and domination.

The *Star-Phoenix* carried a third article on the book ("Insightful study of free trade," July 3) by Howard McConnell, constitutional law expert at the University of Saskatchewan and David Orchard's one-time law professor. Before giving his verdict on the book, McConnell told the following story:

Almost two decades ago, on looking up from my desk I saw a gimlet-eyed, nervously smiling first-year law student regarding me somewhat anxiously. "I'm afraid I've lost your legal writing assignment," I said. "I've read it through, however, and although I can't hand it back like the others I think it's worth eight out of ten."

"I'm not sure it's that good," reflected David Orchard. "I'd give it about a six..." We finally compromised on seven. Although Orchard decided not to pursue further law studies, he finished easily in the top 10 per cent of his first year class of roughly 100 students."

About the book itself McConnell wrote:

[It] is not a dry economic treatise, but an intensely readable and thoroughly-researched piece for a change of economic course. Orchard writes gracefully, and has been exhaustively investigating the whole area for more than six years. He has done his homework well.

He ends his review:

But what grade should his former law professor give Orchard for this enthralling book? Despite his professed modesty, I would give him a nine on a 10-point scale. Anyone interested in the free trade controversy can read this book with profit.

Grey hair and shaved heads

Moving west, the Vancouver book launch was a high-energy event. The *Vancouver Province* covered it in a full-page article by Jeani Read ("Free trade foe's a hit," July 5, 1993, reprinted in full on the back page of this issue of *The North*). The subtitle read: "Head of a motley crew of just folks against the FTA. David Orchard is drawing crowds across the nation."

The *Vancouver Sun* also covered the launch ("Author sees Canada as star on U.S. flag," July 2). "Seniors with grey heads and youths with shaved heads lined up to get his autograph on their copies of the book." It followed up with an interview with Orchard ("Free-trade foe not a fan of National Party," July 27), and published a review (Laurel Wellman, "The eagle has landed. Sir John A.

would spin in his grave if he could see what we're up to now," July 10).

In Victoria, the weekly *Monday Magazine* carried a feature article by James MacKinnon ("Fight for Canada. David Orchard unleashes his anti-free trade manifesto," July 8 — 14). MacKinnon wrote:

A police memo printed in David Orchard's book The Fight for Canada, warned me of "a manipulative, scheming and self-centred individual, interested only in personal recognition and gain"... Naturally, I was on my guard when I met the author — in town for the west coast release of the book — but the wily dog slipped past my defences. By the end of the interview, I found myself plotting 101 ways of reclaiming Canada from the U.S. of A.

But credit for bringing out my subversive side goes not to Orchard's sneaky deceptions — I found him polite and straight-speaking — but to his book, a thought-provoking travelogue through

The list goes on — from the hanging of patriot Louis Riel for treason, to U.S. president Lyndon Johnson's verbal abuse of Prime Minister Lester Pearson following his opposition to the Vietnam War — with a litany of heartening and often preposterously courageous feats that ensured "the Yankee to the south of us, shall south of us remain."

History lesson complete, the book moves on to show evidence that Canadians were betrayed by their politicians in the drive to pass trade deals which sell out the interests of Canadians...

The book is essential fare for anyone interested in defining who Canadians are, and what we may be losing...

Buy one, borrow one, reserve it at the library. Hell — if you lost your job to free trade, get a copy and send a bill for \$17.95 to Brian Mulroney.

100,000 letters on Chretien's desk



The best part of a book launch is meeting the people. This line-up took place at the Edmonton public library on July 14. (Photo: Terry Jorgenson)

his discoveries as national chair of Citizens Concerned About Free Trade, the non-partisan, grassroots group that has headed the fight against free trade since the mid '80s.

Moved both by the history section and by Orchard's discussion of the FTA, MacKinnon continues:

The first half of the book is a carefully researched, concisely readable history of Canadians' unrelenting fight against annexation with the U.S., and bristles with little-known Canadian heroes.

Here is the story of Shawnee Chief Tecumseh and British General Isaac Brock, who successfully turned back an overwhelming American invasion in the 1812 war, which claimed both their lives. Were British negotiators as fair to Tecumseh's memory as Orchard is, the abuse of Canada's First Nations might have been halted.

Here too is the story of the AVRO aircraft company, whose innovative fighter jet — almost certain to break world speed records — was literally cut to pieces on defence ministry orders to make room for American missile systems.

And Captain Henry Walsh, permanently crippled in a tooth-loosening beating in his fight against America's big unions.

The Edmonton launch was true to west coast form — a good crowd and over fifty books sold. It coincided with an appearance by Orchard on the national CBC-TV Newsworld phone-in show, "Petrie in Prime" — the first national exposure the book has received.

The *Edmonton Journal* published two articles. One, by columnist Mark Lisac, "Squeezed by U.S., could be worse" (July 13), described Orchard as a man who "gets coverage from individual newspapers and radio stations" but "stays in supporters' houses during his tour and has trouble getting on the CBC although he has been a guest on a 200-station radio network based in Florida [the Chuck Harder Show, "For the People"]. He is part of Canada's strong quasi-underground political culture... Nevertheless, his goal [of abrogation of the FTA] fits deeply into mainstream Canadian politics — 100,000 letters on Jean Chretien's desk."

In a second article, "Public snaps up anti-free trade text," (July 13) Sherri Aikenhead wrote:

The RCMP have called him manipulative, scheming and argumentative, but many Canadians admire David Orchard. Right now they love his anti-free trade book. The Fight for Canada has sold out in Toronto and is in its second printing with sales topping 8,000 copies.... The Saskatchewan farmer, who leads

Citizens Concerned About Free Trade, has struck a chord with the unemployed and with information-starved Canadians who want to know more about the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and the United States.

The launch in Calgary was attended by a turnaway crowd. The next day the *Calgary Herald* published a major article on its editorial page by Robert Bragg ("Free-trade battle a lopsided affair," July 21). It read:

Canada's great trade debate certainly isn't a fair fight and maybe that says it all.

On one side: almost all the forces of capital, wealth, status and station in Canada stand united in favour.

Opposed: small, infinitely less rich, disunited bands of Canadian nationalists of the likes of David Orchard...

The 1989 bilateral deal and the proposed 1994 extension to include Mexico pits Orchard's organization Citizens Concerned About Free Trade (CCAFT) against the bodies such as the high powered Business Council on National Issues (BCNI).

Beneath the acronyms and the acrimony, serious issues are being debated in a lopsided contest that makes David and Goliath seem like an even match.

The BCNI, for instance, describes itself as "composed of the chief executive officers of 150 leading Canadian corporations. With about 1.5 million employees, member companies administer in excess of \$1 trillion in assets, and have an annual turnover of approximately \$390 billion."

Its members include Cargill Ltd., Bechtel Canada Inc., American Express Canada Inc., 3M Canada Inc., ITT Canada Ltd., Du Pont Canada Inc., General Electric Canada Inc., and General Motors of Canada Ltd.

The CCAFT on the other hand, is headed by David Orchard, a fourth generation Saskatchewan farmer and author who sells copies of his book ... out of the back seat of his car.

Orchard is a solitary, but articulate, voice speaking against the trade deals, small but growing audiences of hundreds as he makes his way across Western Canada. Canadian historian Kenneth McNaught describes him as "heir to an old and honorable Canadian tradition: that of the farmer activist..."

Orchard eschews conspiracy theories and sticks to history to make his arguments, which amount to a defence of the nation against a longstanding sense of manifest destiny emanating from the United States, that Canada is merely an extension of the American empire.

In echoing Sir John A. Macdonald and D'Arcy McGee, Orchard argues that economic domination as explicitly set up in what he calls the "Forced Trade Agreement," will surely lead to political domination unless it is repealed...

The key to making that happen, he argues, is ... to persuade the party which has the best chance of winning the next federal election — the Liberals — to agree, before the vote, to cancel the deal and go back to GATT rules. His group wants 100,000 letters mailed to Jean Chretien before the fall election, calling for the repeal of the FTA.

by Rose-Marie Larsson

THE BIG LIE

by Ruben Bellan

Fiction over federal borrowing could return us to the Depression

If Nazi propagandist Joseph Goebbels, on a day-pass from hell, were to visit Canada, he would be impressed at the wide acceptance of a particular Big Lie. It is: that if the federal government borrows some of the nation's savings, to put unemployed people to work, economic disaster is bound to follow.

This lie is not being propagated by a malevolent few for some ulterior purpose. It is generally believed, by experts and non-experts alike, because its message is homely and simple, apparently in accord with personal observation and historical account. But its plausibility derives from a critical false assumption — that the finances of our national government are no different from those of a private individual or business firm.

The federal government in fact possesses two fiscal powers which totally differentiate it from anyone else in the country. It has unlimited power of taxation — the right to order people to hand over whatever amounts of money it designates, punishing them if they fail to do so. And it has the authority to simply create money.

The assumption that, despite this, the federal government is bound by the same fiscal rules as a business firm is absolutely false and gives rise to absolutely false conclusions.

Large-scale unemployment occurs in industrialized countries primarily because there isn't the spending to buy the goods and services that jobless workers could be producing. A national government

can bring about an increase in spending that will generate jobs, by increasing its own spending on public works and public services and by reducing its taxation, thereby increasing the spending power of the general public. In so doing it would probably have to borrow to cover the gap between larger expenditures and reduced tax revenues.

According to The Lie, such borrowing by the government is bound to bring on wild inflation, intolerable debt burdens, and "crowding out" of private borrowers.

Each one of these claims is flatly denied by the historical record. Canada's inflation of the past half century has been caused, not by government borrowing, but by increases in wages and profits that exceeded productivity growth. While year-to-year increases in the actual production of goods have generally been around two per cent, increases in wages and profits have ranged up to 20 per cent.

Composition, not size of debt crucial

It is this kind of arithmetic, not federal budget deficits, that made inflation inevitable.

The highest inflation rate in the country's history occurred in 1948, a year in which the federal government had a large budget surplus. The huge federal budget deficits of the 1980s were accompanied by declines in the inflation rates — because wage and profit increases, the real cause of inflation, were smaller.

Increase in the federal government's debt has been accompanied, not by deterioration, but by improvement in the economic well-being of the Canadian people. Between 1939 and 1945 that debt nearly quadrupled as a consequence of immense wartime borrowing. While experts had predicted that the country would be crushed by its enormous debt burden, the quarter century after 1945 was the most prosperous in Canada's history.

full employment, proved not to be a burden on the country because the money had all come from the savings of Canadians. That debt merely required the government to take money from the nation in taxation in order to give it back to the nation as bond interest.

Those two operations together had better effect. The economy performed far better after the war than pre-war because more people were working, and more productively.

The Depression was unnecessary

Unquestioning acceptance of the Big Lie has done enormous harm in the past. Canada needlessly suffered 10 long years of depression in the 1930s because the Lie kept the government from applying measures that

further increases in the debt would be calamitous. They have applied restrictive policies designed to reduce the federal government's budget deficits; the effect has been to reduce job opportunity in Canada.

Unemployment contagious

In 1978, when the national debt was \$63 billion, Jean Chretien warned that an increase to \$70 billion would intolerably strain the government's finances. In 1979, John Crosbie declared it imperative that the debt be reduced from \$82 billion — and introduced the budget which brought down the Clark government.

In 1981, with the debt at \$94 billion,

Allan MacEachern brought in a budget designed to reduce the deficit from \$13 billion to \$10 billion. Partly because of that budget a sharp recession occurred in 1982 and, ironically, the deficit shot up to \$23 billion.

In 1984, Michael Wilson warned that if federal deficits continued at their current rate the national debt would amount to \$400 billion by 1990, with catastrophic consequences.

The current recession could turn out to be prolonged and severe. Unemployment is contagious: people who lose their jobs cut their spending, causing other workers to be laid off. With sales lagging, business firms lose confidence; they stock smaller inventories and cut back on investment, so that more people are put out of work.

The economic loss entailed in unemployment is irrecoverable.

A day's work that is not done does not become stored for later use; we will never have what workers could have produced had they been employed instead of idle. The economic loss is compounded by social harm. Some persons, frustrated at being jobless, resort to crime, abuse their spouses, break up their marriages.

There is no prospect that the present federal administration will act to prevent the economic waste and social harm of large-scale unemployment, fulfilling the undertaking given in the White Paper of 1945. The Big Lie forbids such action. No regard is paid to the fact that the disaster that is supposed to be the certain accompaniment of such borrowing has never actually occurred.

Much economic loss and social harm, caused by unemployment, could have been avoided if federal ministers of finance had not been governed by a concern which proved in every case to be unwarranted. ♦



Interest payments on the national debt are today more than 300 times their 1939 figure; that increase has been accompanied by a fourfold rise in the Canadian standard of living.

The "crowding-out" thesis is pure myth. During the 1980s, when the federal government borrowed on an unprecedented scale to finance its record deficits, Canada's corporate sector floated record amounts of new securities. Not a single instance was ever reported of a Canadian financial institution turning down a would-be borrower because it had no money to lend.

Zealous exponents of the Big Lie ignore contrary facts. They concentrate on the size of the federal government's debt with no regard for its composition — what portion is owed to government agencies, what portion is owed to Canadians, what portion is payable in foreign currencies.

These distinctions are of critical significance. The enormous debt that the government incurred during the Second World War, which galvanized a depressed economy into

would have generated jobs for the unemployed.

The Great Depression of the '30s in fact ended only after the outbreak of war, when overriding military necessity brusquely threw the Lie aside and the government borrowed and spent on an astronomical scale to achieve the maximum possible war effort: by 1944 more than two million Canadians, a third of the labour force, were being employed because of government spending, either in the armed forces or in munitions industries.

The spectacular wartime demonstration of the government's job-generating capability prompted the view that it should apply that capability in peacetime as well. In 1945 the federal government issued a White Paper in which it undertook to maintain a "high and stable level of employment." The document frankly acknowledged that there would be a need to borrow.

Set aside during the Second World War, the Big Lie has since regained its authority. During the past dozen years a succession of federal finance ministers have warned that

Dealing with the Debt: Foreign Borrowing Is the Problem

by Ruben Bellan

At a recent conference in Toronto, a number of economists expressed deep concern about a looming financial crisis for Canada. What they feared was that foreign investors, who have been financing sizeable portions of federal and provincial government deficits, may become alarmed at the escalation of Canadian debt and refuse to lend any more. Such a decision could be made suddenly, so that, with no prior notice, Canadian public authorities might find themselves critically short of funds and obliged to slash programs, drastically and virtually overnight. The economists urgently warned that, to avoid such a financial catastrophe, all Canadian governments should reduce their deficits, substantially and soon; since the federal government is by far the biggest borrower, steep reduction of its deficit is vitally important.

What worries the issuers of this warning is the possibly sudden end of a practice which should never have begun. Budget deficits of the federal government should not be covered by borrowing from foreigners (nor, for much the same reason, should deficits of provincial governments).

A federal budget deficit is a shortfall of Canadian dollars* subject to minor qualification it's the difference between the number it takes in through taxation and the number it spends. To cover the shortage the government sells bonds, for which it must receive payment in Canadian dollars.

Except for Canada Savings Bonds, which may be bought only by residents of Canada, federal government bonds can be bought by anyone. Judging them to be good investments, foreigners have been buying them for years and own about a fifth of the \$450 billion worth that have been issued up to now.

Foreigners who buy these bonds must first get the Canadian dollars with which payment has to be made. This they do by transferring to Canada the necessary amount of their national currencies; to be exchanged for Canadian

**Editor's note: The "deficit" is not the same thing as the "debt." The debt is the total amount the government has borrowed to cover its budget deficits.*

dollars. Canada thereby acquires Japanese yen, German marks, U.S. dollars, and so on, over and above the amounts of these currencies that it earns by its exports. This inflow of foreign currencies seeking Canadian dollars raises the dollar's foreign exchange rate, making all foreign goods cheaper for Canadians and all Canadian goods dearer for foreigners. Sales fall and jobs are lost in our industries that face foreign competition and in our industries that sell to foreigners.

The foreign money that comes to Canada to buy Government of Canada bonds is not "capital" that finances new factories; mostly, or entirely, it is spent by Canadians on foreign consumer goods and services. Without the foreign money that we get through the sale of government bonds we would be able to buy foreign automobiles, to travel and have vacations in other countries, only to the extent that we earned foreign currencies by our exports. The purchase by foreigners of our government's bonds enables the current generation of Canadians to live beyond our means, to spend more in foreign countries than we earn from them; the favourable exchange rates induce us to take advantage of the opportunity.

Having issued bonds, the government must henceforth take from Canadians, by taxation, the money it needs to pay interest and repay principal to the bond owners. In so far as bonds are owned by Canadians the Canadian nation gets this money back, though, of course, no individual necessarily gets back exactly the amount of money the government took in tax. In so far as foreigners own the government's bonds, they receive, as interest and principal repayment, money that has been taken from the Canadian public by taxation.

The Canadian dollars which the federal government needs to cover a budget deficit could be obtained entirely within Canada—as was done to cover its far larger wartime deficits. The Canadian public today has over \$300 billion in bank deposits—ten times the average federal deficit—and our banks have immense lending capability, as strikingly evidenced by the huge loans they made to South American governments, to Robert Campeau, to the Reichmanns. The government doesn't have to borrow from Japanese, Germans and Americans, when what it's short of is Canadian dollars.

Ideally, the government should have balanced budgets. When, because the economy is sluggish, a deficit can't be avoided and the government must issue bonds to raise the dollars it needs, those bonds should be sold only to Canadians. Purchase by foreigners should be debared by regulation—or deterred by low interest rates.

Canadian borrowing from foreigners is appropriate and desirable when their currency is needed to pay for foreign equipment that will increase Canada's productivity by more than the debt obligation incurred. Such borrowing creates no problems for the country, in the present or in the future. Borrowing from foreigners in the form of selling them government bonds that have been issued to cover a budget deficit is an altogether different matter.

Through its effect on the dollar's foreign exchange rate it reduces the competitiveness of a wide range of Canadian industries, when the economy is already sluggish. The cause-effect relationships are intriguing: because the government of Canada is short of Canadian dollars, the people of Canada get cheaper yen with which to buy more Toyotas, cheaper marks with which to buy more BMWs, cheaper U.S. dollars with which to have more vacation time in Florida and Hawaii—at a time when many Canadian autoworkers and vacation resort employees are on layoff—and with the cost of it all to be paid by our children and grandchildren. The logic is opaque. ♦

RUBEN BELLAN is professor of economics (emeritus) at St. John's College, University of Manitoba. He is the author of *Principles of Economics and the Canadian Economy* (McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1960) and *The Unnecessary Evil: An Answer to Canada's High Unemployment* (McLelland and Stewart, 1986). Professor Bellan wrote editorial articles for the *Toronto Star* 1975-1985, and is a frequent contributor to journals, newspapers and magazines, as well as radio and television. "The Big Lie" was printed in the *Vancouver Sun*, February 14, 1990, and "Dealing with Debt," in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, May 2, 1993.

Foreign ownership shackles Canada

by Edward Carrigan

The Fight for Canada is a very good beginning dealing with the truth that the U.S. has been Canada's enemy for 400 years and will be its enemy, inevitably, for the next 400 years.

I believe strongly that an additional book should be published which details the immense costs to Canada and the Canadian people of the nation's foreign debts and foreign ownership of its industries.

Japan, unlike Canada, has pursued a nationalist national development strategy. In 1955, the GNP's [Gross National Product] of Canada and Japan were:

Canada	\$28.5 billion
Japan	\$25.0 billion
In 1993, they are:	
Canada	\$725.0 billion
Japan	\$2,350.0 billion

If Canada since 1950 had pursued a nationalist strategy comparable to Japan's enlightened policy, Canada now would have a GNP of at least \$2.7 trillion. It is inexcusable that Canada has been betrayed by a traitor class in excessive and dangerous foreign indebtedness and foreign ownership.

Canada needs a book which sets out these immensely significant and crucial facts clearly before the Canadian people and declares that the economic policies

of the past 48 years have been morally indefensible, unconscionable, and downright treasonable.

In 1992, Canada remitted to its foreign creditors \$32,099 billion in way of dividends and interest. Other payments are made to foreign creditors in the form of royalties and management fees.

The direct costs to Canada of its immense foreign indebtedness of \$54 billion can be summarized as follows:

- Payments of dividends and interest to foreign creditors: **\$32 billion**
- Refusal of foreign-owned firms to perform research and development in Canada: **\$10 billion**
- Unnecessary importation by foreign-owned firms of parts and components which should be produced in Canada: **\$20 billion**
- Unnecessary importation by foreign-owned firms of machinery and equipment which should be produced in Canada: **\$30 billion**
- Unnecessary importation by foreign-owned firms of services such as engineering, advertising and insurance which should be produced in Canada: **\$30 billion**
- The refusal of foreign-owned firms, mostly U.S., to allow their Canadian subsidiaries to export in competition with themselves: **\$30 billion**
- The total costs to Canadians of the foreign ownership of their industries in 1992: **\$142 billion**

If Canada had not been shackled with foreign indebtedness and foreign ownership, it would have been spared these huge costs. It would have been prosperous and rapidly growing, and would have afforded its people full employment and higher living standards than they now know.

The act of importing capital in itself requires high interest rates which inevitably and substantially slow down economic growth. The invariable consequence of heavy capital inflows, attracted by high interest rates, is to boost the valuation of the national currency which in effect subsidizes imports and deters exports. The inevitable result of an overvalued currency is that the nation is driven to incurring huge balance of payments deficits on current account. Canada in 1992 had a payments deficit of \$29.24 billion.

Capital inflows equal high interest rates, an overvalued currency and international balance of payments. All three of these phenomena impose huge costs on the economy of Canada and the Canadian people.

The Fight for Canada has struck one blow for national liberation. Now we must strike another, to eliminate Canada's foreign ownership and foreign indebtedness. ♦

EDWARD CARRIGAN is a Toronto freelance researcher and writer.

Questions and answers

(continued from page 3)

A I don't believe any political party, whether it's the National Party or the Reform Party or any party that gets into power, is suddenly wonderful. All political parties respond to pressure from below. Right now there's massive despair out there. People are saying there's no one to vote for or else they're tearing off on new tangents, like the National Party. What we're saying is: put the heat to the Liberal Party. Look at what happened historically with the Conservative Party in 1911 — the prime minister Borden had to be told to stiffen up his spine and fight the pro-free trade Liberals harder, when it looked like they were winning the battle. The same thing happened with the Liberals and John Turner in 1988. Each time the public put heat on the old-line parties to fight against free trade, they did. The same kind of pressure has to be unleashed now.

We saw what happened when the anti-free trade vote was split two ways in 1988. If John Turner had received 2 1/2% more of the vote in 1988, Mulroney wouldn't have received his majority and we wouldn't have the Free Trade Agreement, the GST, nor the Charlottetown Accord. In 1993, with the National Party running candidates we're going to see the vote split three ways instead. The National Party may take 2, 3, 4 or 5% of the vote and that could be enough to throw the election to Kim Campbell. With 5 or even 6 parties running, the Conservatives could win the election with 25% of the vote.

The point is: we already have two opposition political parties in place and an election in one or two months time. We don't have 20 years to get out of the FTA and NAFTA. We're in a crisis situation and we've got to use the parties that exist and force them to do what we want now, just as we used the Senate to get the 1988 election.

The struggle for real democracy is an ongoing one, but we won't have much democracy once the country is run from Washington, for the benefit of U.S. corporations.

Q What are the economic repercussions of cancelling the FTA? Might we go further into depression?

A If Canada cancels the deal we will immediately revert back to the GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) rules which governed our trade with the U.S. for decades before the FTA. Canada fared far better under the GATT historically. In that system, to which some 90-odd

countries belong, if there's a dispute between Canada and the U.S., it is adjudicated by a neutral country. In contrast, in the Canada-U.S. deal we're sitting on a panel with only one other country, ten times bigger than ours and which already owns most of our manufacturing industry. There's safety in numbers and that's another reason we are better off under the GATT. For instance, under the GATT we had the right to protect our resources, to insist that our fish are landed in Canada before being processed. We had the National Energy Policy which attempted to keep some reserves for Canadian use and to Canadianize the oil and gas industry. All of that was legal under the GATT, although the Americans tried to challenge it. We had much more freedom of movement under the GATT than under the FTA, in which we're bound hand and foot.

Q I have a question about your relationship with the Action Canada Network. You appear to hold a position very close to that organization. So why are you not part of it? Are you not splitting the anti-free trade vote in another way?

A CCAFT is a non-partisan organization that is not linked with any political party. The Action Canada Network, previously called the Pro-Canada Network, is an organization largely funded by the labour movement. Perhaps for this reason it ended up adopting the NDP position in 1988.

In 1988 we wanted to use the Senate to block the free trade legislation. We contacted all anti-free trade organizations to ask them to participate in the mobilization to get the Senate on side. The leadership of Action Canada wouldn't join in the lobbying of the Senate. It followed the NDP line of wanting the Senate abolished. Ordinary members of Action Canada supported this campaign, but the leadership refused to co-operate.

With regard to our call for an electoral coalition, again, many Action Canada members have supported it, but the leadership with their ties to the NDP have rebuffed the idea repeatedly.

CCAFT was a member of Action Canada at the early stages, but because we wouldn't follow the "party line" (i.e. the NDP line), they didn't want us anymore. That was fine with us because we won't follow a party line. In 1988 we criticized the NDP harshly for its lack of fight and we criticized

the Liberals as well. We are able to criticize one and all, because we are not dependent on funding from any organization or interest group.

Q How do you feel about a referendum on the FTA and NAFTA?

A We support the idea of a referendum. But we won't get one from the Conservatives. Pressure must be put on the Liberals. If the Liberals are too frightened to come out squarely for cancellation, they can be told repeatedly that the fall-back position is a public commitment that if they form the government they will let the people decide on both the NAFTA and the FTA in a referendum.

Q What actions are you asking people to take to force free trade to become the election issue?

A There are three simple things that everyone can do:

1. **First**, buy *The Fight for Canada*, read it and spread the word about it. (Let us know what you think of it as well.) The only way *The Fight for Canada* will reach the public is if enough people ask their bookstores and libraries to carry it, because the powers-that-be certainly aren't going to promote it. The U.S. consumer advocate Ralph Nader has suggested a way to overcome the lack of advertising that books like these suffer from: he suggests that people write letters to national and local papers and mention the book. If there's an article about Kim Campbell, for instance, saying that free trade is the greatest thing since sliced bread, if someone would write a response mentioning *The Fight for Canada*, that's one of the best ways to promote the book.

2. **Second**, write your MP and tell him or her to read it.

3. **Finally**, write your letter to the leader of the Liberal Party, Jean Chrétien, telling him he has to get off this nonsense of renegotiating and commit his party to cancel the FTA. If enough people do this Canada could be out of the FTA within a year.

(Editor's note: On the next page we have a list with more ideas: "20 things you can do to help defeat free trade.")

Who we are

Citizens Concerned About Free Trade (CCAFT) has been at the forefront of the fight against free trade since our founding in 1985. We have mobilized and educated Canadians through effective lobbying of political parties, large public information meetings, debates demonstrations, media tours and distribution of literature, including this newspaper. Through the federal election in 1988, two attempts by the Mulroney government to radically change the constitution in 1990 and 1992, the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords, and in the prelude leading to the imminent federal election of 1993, CCAFT has maintained a fighting position, giving Canadians the tools and the hope for a victory in the defeat of free trade which endangers Canada's future as an independent nation.

David Orchard, a Saskatchewan farmer and CCAFT's national chairman, has been our key speaker at public meetings and has debated prominent free trade promoters across the country. CCAFT's strength lies in its grassroots

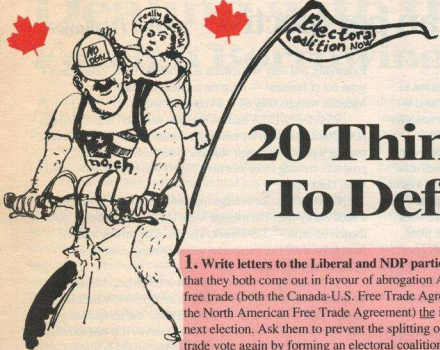


support and non-partisan stance — we are not affiliated with any political party or special interest group. Our members and

supporters come from all parts of Canada and all walks of life. We operate on a shoestring budget with volunteer labour

in our national office in Saskatoon and regional office in Vancouver. A Toronto office is opening as we go to print.

This free trade deal
can be abrogated if
the opposition parties
would form... (!)



20 Things You Can Do To Defeat Free Trade

1. Write letters to the Liberal and NDP parties demanding that they both come out in favour of abrogation AND make free trade (both the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and the North American Free Trade Agreement) the issue in the next election. Ask them to prevent the splitting of the anti-free trade vote again by forming an electoral coalition. Write to NDP leader **Audrey McLaughlin** and Liberal leader **Jean Chrétien** at the House of Commons, Ottawa, K1A 0A6, and mail copies of your letters to trade critics **Dave Barrett** (NDP) and **Roy MacLaren** (Liberal) as well as to your local MPPs or candidates for both parties. Letters go POSTAGE FREE to the House of Commons.

NOTE: Make the letters personal and be prepared to write more than once. The pressure on the Liberals to forego their "renegotiation" stance and adopt a straightforward abrogation position must be unyielding. Do not be satisfied with a noncommittal form letter in response to yours: write again! Form letters should be avoided — they will be treated as junk mail. A personal letter has much more impact.

2. Educate yourself and those around you by reading David Orchard's *The Fight for Canada: Four Centuries of Resistance to American Expansionism* (Stoddart, 1993). Ask your book store to stock it. Give the book as a birthday or Christmas present.

3. Organize a free trade video evening. Show CCAFT's video "Free Trade: the Full Story" and "Free Trade and the Crisis in Canada." (See catalogue in this issue.) Take a collection at the showing and photocopy CCAFT's information leaflets for distribution or buy extra videos to lend out.

4. Raise the issue of free trade on radio and television open line shows. Point out what free trade is doing to our country and suggest a solution: **the cancellation of the FTA.** Don't miss the opportunity to call in even if the exact topic is not free trade. Almost everything worth discussing relates to foreign, i.e. U.S. domination of Canada in general and free trade in particular! Don't be intimidated by rude hosts — practice on your part makes perfect.

5. Attend public meetings and raise the issue of the cancellation of the Free Trade Agreement (and NAFTA). Challenge the political candidates to declare where they stand on foreign domination and free trade — don't let them off the hook!

6. Talk free trade and abrogation with friends, family, neighbours, co-workers. Give them the information that you yourself have found helpful, i.e. books, tapes and leaflets.

7. Make copies of particularly effective leaflets and deliver them door-to-door in your neighbourhood or apartment building as a public service. Put them up on bulletin boards in your area and at work.

8. Wear your politics. Put on anti-free trade t-shirts, caps, buttons, and so on. Stick a bumpersticker on your car and let everybody know where you stand. (Design a t-shirt and bumper sticker and send it to CCAFT — we are open to new ideas.)

9. Make a sign for your lawn or window: "Free trade's gotta go." "Free trade is killing Canada." "I voted Tory and I'm sorry." "I didn't vote for free trade." "We don't hafta have NAFTA." "Put country above party: NDP-Liberal coalition to defeat free trade." "Free trade is treason," and so on. (Send us your creative slogans.)

10. Propose an anti-free trade resolution at meetings of organizations to which you belong, eg. labour, church, senior citizens', environmental, women's, and so on.

11. Check out your library to make sure it has information about the FTA and NAFTA. Ask it to order *The Fight for Canada* or CCAFT's video or audio tapes. Or go ahead and donate books and tapes to the library.

12. Join CCAFT by paying a \$10.00 annual membership fee. It's money well spent.

13. Send a donation to CCAFT today. Every dollar counts and will go a long way!

14. Make a personal visit to your local NDP or Liberal MP, candidate or senator. Take one or two other people with you. Tell the MPs what you think of free trade and that you want Canada to get out of the FTA. Bring information with you: don't assume that the politicians are well-informed or that they can't or won't change their position.

15. Get a debate going. Request that your local radio and television stations hold a debate on free trade. Ask them to have David Orchard as one of the debaters on whether free trade has been good for Canada or not. Organize a debate in a highschool or at the university.

16. Make a poster expressing your opinion about free trade. Put it up everywhere!

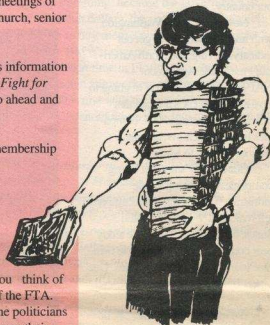
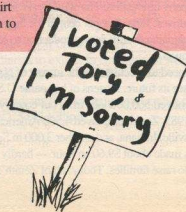
17. Write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper. Don't give up if it doesn't publish the first one or even the second one. Keep writing!

18. Form an informal study group and use *The Fight for Canada* as your text.

19. Draw a cartoon, write a poem or a story, create a limerick, compose a song about what you think is happening to our country and how you feel about it. Send them to newspapers and magazines. Send them to CCAFT.

20. Volunteer to work for CCAFT to do whatever needs to be done, such as helping with mailings, distributing materials, cleaning up, answering phones, filing, clipping newspapers, and so on.

... and think up 20 more things of what a person c
and send the list to us!



Ms McLaughlin, how
are you
planning
to get
out of
the
FTA?



We have a duty to fight for the survival
of our country — and a duty to win!

NAFTA — We don't hafta! An American perspective *by Jim Hightower*

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), quips radio commentator Jim Hightower, is like a verse in that old song by Bob Wills and his Texas Playboys: "Little bee sucks the blossom/But the big bee gets the honey/Little man picks the cotton/But the big man gets the money." In this collection of excerpts from his daily radio broadcasts, Hightower, former Texas commissioner of agriculture, refutes big-business claims that NAFTA will spark an economic boom. What it will give us, he says, is a bidding war in which Canadian, U.S. and Mexican communities fight to see who can offer fickle corporations the lowest wages and the weakest environmental laws.

When Reagan and Bush were first running for the White House back in 1980, they promised to "get American industry moving again." Well, it did, didn't it? It moved to Korea, Saudi Arabia, El Salvador, Indonesia, everywhere but right here in our country.

Now here comes Washington with another scheme to get our industry moving: the North American Free Trade Agreement — NAFTA, they call it. You're going to love this: NAFTA's a treaty that officially encourages U.S. companies to move their investments — and our jobs — to Mexico.

Our country's not just losing companies, it's losing whole industries. There's only one company left making TV's in the United States, for example. Only one teddy bear company. One motorcycle firm. One manufacturer of telephones. One maker of American flags. American flags!

We make no tennis rackets, no basketballs, and no baseballs. We invented the videocassette player and the fax machine, but no American company ever made them here.

Apologists for NAFTA keep claiming that it's not an attempt to steal jobs from U.S. families. Sure. And Bonnie and Clyde were just going from bank to bank hunting for the best rates on premature withdrawals.

Does any of this makes sense to you? Me neither. So let's ask ourselves: NAFTA — do we hafta?

No. Not this treaty. I've read it — all two thousand pages. It will just make it easier for auto companies, banking, electronics, food processing, and dozens of other corporations to abandon U.S. communities and exploit Mexican communities.

Catching flies with chopsticks

The proposed trade deal between Canada, the United States, and Mexico will put billions of U.S. and Canadian investment dollars on a bullet train headed straight south of the border — stopping only for the cheapest worker, the loosest environmental and safety enforcement, and the best chance to make a big-buck profit.

To try to calm the critics of Mexico's festering pollution problem, the top environmental official there says he'll eventually place a thousand inspectors throughout the country. A thousand? For all of Mexico, where industrial parks, slums, and entire factory towns are literally floating in the contamination of multinational giants like Zenith, General Motors, and Du Pont? Sending out a thousand inspectors is as hopeless as trying to catch flies with chopsticks.

Matamoros, Mexico, just across the bridge from Brownsville, Texas, is one of the most polluted cities in the world — polluted mostly by U.S. corporations taking advantage of 63-cents-an-hour Mexican workers to make everything from chemicals to cosmetic brushes, which are all exported back to the United States. The soil, air, and water of Matamoros are badly contaminated with various toxins, and people there suffer a startling array of ailments, from cancers to babies born without

fully developed brains.

Mexico has only five pollution inspectors in Matamoros to oversee hundreds of factories. Only one has any background in chemicals. The other four hold worthy but dubious credentials for this highly technical work — architect, veterinarian, wildlife specialist, and ecologist. This diverse bunch was given only one month's training. They try hard, but they're about as effective as an inflatable watchdog. Overwhelmed by the thousands of tons of toxins used in these plants, they're ended up relying on plant managers to tell them whether the factories' emissions are within legal limits. And while they are supposed to inspect each plant once or twice a month, they're averaging inspections only once every eight months.

Now repeat this in towns all along the south side of the U.S.-Mexico border, where two thousand foreign-owned factories stretch from Matamoros to the Pacific.

This is the real-life setting for the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement, which would multiply this horror a hundred times. What a deal for both sides: we export our factory jobs to Mexico and import cosmetic brushes. They get 63-cents-

Evansville, and only 400 remain in Springfield. No, Zenith hasn't gone out of business — it's gone to Mexico, where it pays Mexican workers only 64 to 84 cents an hour.

Well, the NAFTA backers say, you just don't understand this new global economy. By moving, we raise Mexico's wage levels, making it possible for their workers to buy U.S. consumer products, creating more jobs here. Now I was born at night, but it wasn't last night.

Consider this: the average manufacturing wage in Mexico is a buck eighty-five. The average U.S. companies pay down there is 63 cents — \$29 a week. They're going to buy a Buick from us on that? Our companies aren't creating consumers in Mexico, they're creating serfs.

The real purpose behind NAFTA is not to help Mexican workers, but to use their low wages as a machete to whack ours down. "Take a pay cut, or we'll take a hike," the companies say. The Wall Street Journal even found in a survey that one fourth of U.S. executives admit that this is what they've got in mind.

Like Sam Houston said about one of his political opponents, these guys have "all the characteristics of a dog except loyalty."

Like earrings on a hog

It's time I gave due credit to the proposed NAFTA treaty. While its passage would cause a world of hurt for workaday people, I have to admit that it's already been a major job creator for one sector of our economy: Washington lobbyists.

But no need to limit your employment prospects: the Mexican government is hiring U.S. lobbyists too! Is this great?! To put pressure on our Congress, they're mounting the most expensive lobbying campaign Washington's ever seen by a foreign government.

Let's call the roll of some Washington insiders on the Mexican government's NAFTA payroll. Bill Brock, remember him? He was Ronald Reagan's secretary of labour, a former U.S. senator and U.S. trade representative, now representing Mexico. Also on board are good democrats: Joe O'Neill, who was Secretary of the Treasury Lloyd Bentsen's chief of staff in the U.S. Senate, and Jack Martin, who has been Bentsen's campaign director as well as political consultant for the Democratic National Committee. Their firm — Public Strategies — has been hired to lobby congressional Democrats for Mexico. All in all, analysts figure that Mexico will put out

\$50 million to pressure our Congress to approve NAFTA. This dwarfs any previous attempt by a foreign government to influence Washington.

U.S. companies will spend another \$50 million on hired guns in this fight, but don't be discouraged — you've got 'em on the run! They can hire every lobbyist and PR flak there is and put 'em on NAFTA, but it's as useless as putting earrings on a hog. They still can't hide the ugliness.

We might not hafta have NAFTA after all, if we kept pushing. Congress and the White House are being pelted every day by the majority of you out there who know that NAFTA

**True North editor's note: William Brock was U.S. Special Trade Representative in 1983, and, U.S. Ambassador to Canada, Paul Robinson's boss. On instructions from Washington, Robinson approached Sam Hughes, head of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Roy Phillips, president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and Thomas d'Aquino, chairman of the Business Council on National Issues, about Canada entering into a Free Trade Agreement with the U.S. After initiating the contact, Robinson was told by William Brock to back off — the FTA had to be made to look like it was a Canadian initiative. The push for free trade couldn't be seen as coming from the U.S. or Canadians might be reluctant to accept it. Ambassador Robinson put it this way: "We knew that if this was regarded as a purely American attempt to... gobble up Canada... we'd be doomed to failure." (The Fight for Canada, p. 130)*



Radio commentator and former Texas commissioner of agriculture, Jim Hightower, refutes big-business claims that NAFTA will spark an economic boom.

an-hour jobs and babies born without brains.

Creating serfs

A statistician is someone who draws a mathematically precise line from an unwarranted assumption to a foregone conclusion. That's what those Washington and Wall Street insiders are doing when they toss out numbers to "prove" what a good deal NAFTA will be, but their numbers recently turned back and bit 'em on the tush. Two big-time academic experts who were repeatedly quoted by George Bush and the whole pro-NAFTA gang confessed that instead of NAFTA creating a gain of 175,000 jobs for the United States — as they had claimed in their book — well, actually, NAFTA would cause a job loss. It seems they'd meant to include this little point in their book but, well... In helping us map our minds on NAFTA, academicians are about as useless as hip pockets on a hog.

If you really want to get a sense of whether our country is going to lose jobs in this deal, just check out the number of corporate executives who are already installing trailer hitched on the company limousines. The Wall Street Journal surveyed 455 top executives. Fifty-five per cent of the biggest employers say they're planning to shift some production to Mexico if NAFTA goes through.

No need to speculate on the impact of NAFTA. We can already see its move. Dozens of big-name U.S. corporations have already moved 500,000 jobs from our country to Mexico.

In 1985, Zenith employed 4,500 Americans making TV sets in Evansville, Indiana, and another 3,000 in Springfield, Missouri. Workers made about \$9.60 an hour — hardly a fortune, but enough to raise families. Today, all of Zenith's jobs are gone from

(continued on page 14)



... and people write letters

amazed at own ignorance

Dear Mr. Orchard,

I heard a very interesting talk you had with Hans Burgschmidt on his CIUT radio show "Undercurrents" in Toronto. Immediately afterwards I purchased your book, *The Fight for Canada*, and was amazed at my own ignorance of our history. You gave me a perspective on the whole FTA/NAFTA issues I was looking for for a long time. Thank you very much. Subsequently I purchased two more copies of your book and sent them to my relatives in B.C. I hope they take it to heart.

Steve Meikle, Toronto

against corporate plan

Dear David Orchard,

Here is \$100 toward your work against the corporate plan to return us all to the dark ages. Thank you for your continued efforts to preserve Canada.

Chris Anderson, Ganges, B.C.

exciting and passionate

Dear David,

I am half way through the book and find it to be an exciting and passionate historical documentation. My feelings of hopelessness for a sovereign Canada are indeed further justified. It seems the dike can no longer contain the violent mud, particularly with traitors like Mulroney, Crosbie, Reisman, et al., contributing to the undermining of the foundation.

I have never been one to belong to anything remotely resembling a partisan cause, but after the recent consequences and coincidences I must rally my own self into some kind of action.

David, I'm tired, but I am going to muster some spirit and gristle to expand the drive for a more independent Canada: in Noam Chomsky's words, the true enemy of the United States' policy and agenda.

Orest Tataryn, Toronto

book opened eyes

Dear Mr. Orchard,

On the recommendation of a friend, I recently read your book *The Fight for Canada*. Up to this point in my life I have not spent much time or concern on how our government was running our great country. I was living with a false sense of security that our politicians were doing what was best and that there were enough checks and balances in place to protect us.

Needless to say, your book has opened my eyes to the threat of losing our country. As I have lived from coast to coast, six provinces in all, and have travelled regularly to the U.S., I am well aware of the many differences between the two countries. I am a true Canadian and could not imagine living anywhere else. To think that we may become an extension of the American machine is a

terrifying thought.

I would like to thank you for your dedication to our great country. Your book was so very thorough, the hours and hours of work are very obvious. Your love and concern for our country leap from the pages. Thank you as well for giving us, the readers, a positive note in the way of actions we can take, and not just leave us with the doom and gloom.

Rhenda Paynter, Toronto

shows dangers

Dear CCAFT,

I enjoyed reading David Orchard's *The Fight for Canada* which clearly shows the dangers of Canada losing its independence and becoming a few more stars in the "Star Tangled Banner," unless the FTA and NAFTA are abrogated.

cancel NAFTA, then my vote will be a spoiled ballot.

Dorothy Fletcher, Ottawa

truth upsetting

Dear David Orchard,

No doubt your book, *The Fight for Canada*, is a valuable book to have. It is, however, impossible to read your book non-stop, because it is so upsetting to find out the truth.

I am familiar with the American system. For them it is only the United States first, regardless of who will be destroyed. History is my witness: if you want to take over a country, you destroy the culture of the nation first, the rest is easy.

When I think about it, this is like swimming in the ocean with no help in sight.

Reimer Reinke, Agincourt, Ont.



When the two *Fight for Canada* books arrived, one copy was given to the local Vancouver Island Regional Library, and when the copies I just ordered arrive, they will be distributed as well, to give as wide a public audience as possible to David Orchard's excellent exposure of the U.S.A.'s "manifest destiny" dream of taking over all of the North American continent.

Good luck and best wishes in CCAFT's endeavours.

Duncan Urquhart, Duncan, B.C.

fight not over

Dear Sir (Madam),

I am halfway through reading *The Fight for Canada*. Does it ever give a lot of things to think about. I must confess I was never too supportive of NAFTA to begin with, or the original Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. But reading this book sure brings the importance of this issue ever closer to home.

I believe the impact of the first trade agreement has been made more than obvious by the number of companies heading south of the border, or being taken over by the Americans. Why, just recently, one of Ontario's premier tourist attractions, Canada's Wonderland, was sold out to Paramount Pictures in the U.S. I must wonder if it was sold, or did we simply hand it over to them?

What will be the next Canadian sell-out south of the border? Obviously our cultural heritage would also be a prime target. How many Canadian magazine and book publishers have been sold to the States? With the slashing in funding to the CBC, our major national television network, will they sooner or later be directed from below the border as well? The more carefully I look, and the closer I look, at what is happening in Canada today, I am becoming more and more alarmed....

Did the early pioneers of this country, slave and suffer as they must have, for us to give this country away to the Americans? Did the thousands of Canadian men and women who gave up their very lives in the wars we

have gone to fight, do so in order that we might sell the country off?...

Perhaps the Canadian government has passed NAFTA, but the fight is not over, by a long shot. So I would appreciate any assistance you could provide in this regard, as I would very much like to join the war to save our great country of Canada.

Brian R. Wood, Rousseau, Ont.

would make a film

Dear David Orchard,

Oh God, what a book! Let's put it in every Canadian school across the land. Wonderful. Inspiring. We could make a film of every page, almost every paragraph. It's like being present to see our heroes come back to life! The book's approach has the effect of placing the reader in the midst of history. A brilliant book.

Raven Wilson, Vancouver

book an eye-opener

Dear CCAFT,

Thanks for the letter, newspaper and other information. I wish I had known about CCAFT a long time ago.

I picked up *The Fight for Canada* at a Teamster union meeting. I read it and was impressed. I thought, "Jesus!" and went to the library and got a copy of the Agreement and I have been trying to read it. The book is an eye-opener. I didn't know anything about what the Meech Lake Accord or the Charlottetown Accord was about.

I am now on my third copy of the book. The first two I gave away to be passed around.

I have a suggestion: record and book clubs usually ask people to send in names and addresses of friends. You should do the same.

Lloyd Kitchen, Scarborough, Ont.

working hard to educate

Dear CCAFT,

I had the privilege of hearing David Orchard speak at Kirby Centre, Calgary.

It is heartening to know that he, and people of same concerns are working so hard to educate the tough rednecks such as we are in Alberta. (We all live on hope!)

Even my old time Tory spouse has now said he'd never vote Tory again. I have never been Tory, thank God!

Genna Ferguson, Calgary

will start letter-writing campaign

Dear CCAFT,

I read David Orchard's *The Fight for Canada* and I am appalled by the systematic erosion of Canada's resources, potential and sovereignty. Thank you for bringing these facts so succinctly to my attention. I will start the letter-writing campaign as you suggest.

Mary Gavan, Vancouver

proud to be Canadian

Dear CCAFT,

I can't put down *The Fight for Canada*. It's a great book and incredibly interesting. It makes me feel very proud to be Canadian. We can beat the U.S., eh!

Allan Dobbs, London, England



absolute erudition

Dear CCAFT,

I'm surprised at the absolute erudition of the book. I've been writing for over 40 years and David is as good a writer as I am!

Bill Stephenson, Toronto
(award-winning journalist,
retired from the *Toronto Star*)

a damn fine book

Hello David,

Thanks for sending your book, *The Fight for Canada*. I have picked out certain chapters with titles that intrigued me, and I have to compliment you on some very thorough researching. I have learned a few things from what I have read of your book so far.

There is a lot of information in your book that the general public should be aware of in order to understand how and why we are now finding ourselves in this precarious economic situation.

All in all, a damn fine book!

Harry Mockenridge,
Ville de Laval, Quebec

betrayed by a Canadian prime minister

Dear Sir,

I very briefly saw your programme on CBC-TV Newsworld tonight.

I haven't read your book, but intend on persuading our local library to acquire it, if they haven't already got it.

If a Canadian intentionally aided and abetted a foreign country to take over his country during war time, he would be branded as a traitor. That is exactly what our ex-prime minister has been guilty of with the FTA.

My husband who spent five years on active duty during World War II never thought he would be betrayed by a Canadian prime minister. We both feel very angry, and would like to know what we can do to help rescind the FTA and stop the NAFTA from being implemented.

Edna Stephens, Peterborough, Ont.

sets record straight

Dear David,

As a child I learned in a French language school that certain individuals in our past were Canadian heroes while others had been our enemies. Later on, much to my surprise, in an English language high school, I was shocked when I was taught differently — according to the English language history books, all my heroes were in fact zeroes, and the zeroes were the real heroes. Afterwards, I

could not understand why our mutual history was not being taught uniformly to all Canadians. I concluded that someone had something to gain from creating the division. When it comes to our true history, *The Fight for Canada* appears to set the record straight.

Glen Kealey, Hull, Quebec

wishes everyone would read book

Dear Sir or Madam,

I write in connection with the book *The Fight for Canada* by David Orchard which I bought from a friend. I want copies sent to my son, my daughter, my niece and a retired history teacher in B.C. Indeed, I wish everyone would read this book.

Margaret Sanford, Vancouver

Vietnam chapter shocking

Dear David,

I'm really amazed with the book. The whole chapter on Vietnam is absolutely shocking. I wanted to weep over the Avro chapter. I'm really impressed. The way in which the book has been put together — it's like a complete history.

Kelly Lamorie, Vancouver

... and make phone calls

tells it like it is

I heard David Orchard on the Chuck Harder "For the People" radio show and went out and bought his book. I'm on page 160. It's just great! It tells it exactly like it is. It was a sin of omission by the Conservatives that free trade was brought in. They refused to talk about it, except in only the vaguest of terms. And that's why the people bought it.

Eric Schultz, Burlington, Ont.

all news to me

Going to school in Canada, I had very little Canadian history education. *The Fight for Canada* was all news to me. I am very disappointed and very angry at not understanding the country that I grew up in. I don't know how anyone can get nationalistic about a country that they know nothing about.

The bookstore in the mall had their Canadiana section, which used to be in the front of the store, moved to a corner at the very back of the store. I haven't gone to the other bookstores to see where their Canadiana sections are located. I thought it was quite significant and scary that the books written by some of the most vocal opponents to what is

happening to Canada right now are hidden and stashed in the back corner of the store. Unless you were really seeking it out, you wouldn't find *The Fight for Canada*. You can't just peruse in the mall and say, oh, that looks like a good book.

Anita Brownridge, Barrie, Ont.

very disturbed

I was very disturbed after reading the book. Every page, every chapter impressed me. I agree with what the author says in the foreword: the Canadian history you learn in school is not relevant. What you're fed by the media is not relevant. Who's speaking up for Canada?

David Renaud, Toronto

more and more angry

I heard David Orchard on CIUT radio yesterday. I went out to buy the book and I'm reading it. I got more and more angry as I read it. Everyone is getting this book for Christmas from me!

Kim Nesbitt, Brampton, Ont.

slam against democracy

I saw David Orchard on CBC-TV, "Petrie in Prime" and went out and bought the book. My head is still going around. He must have had a lot of help to write this book. How could he learn all this? I've got to hand it to him. He's got a lot of guts and gumption. And his arrest by the RCMP was a big slam against democracy...

I want extra copies of any leaflets you have. I talk to lots of people. I walk into stores and start conversations about the boy from Baie Comeau and what he's done to Canada.

Dave Sutton, Toronto

buys eight books

I just finished the book. It's terrific. I'm buying one for each one of my kids. I've got eight kids. The history — I didn't realize a half of this stuff! The Americans are very, very greedy people. They take what they want and figure everyone should be happy. And I agree with you about Panama. What other country would go into a foreign country, kill hundreds of people there, then take their leader and try him in one of their own courts?

Stan Gallagher, Thornhill, Ont.

should be taught in schools

This is a marvellous book. It should be taught in schools. The book's historical overview of the relationship between Canada and the U.S. — we were never taught anything like this!

I am also sick of hearing rabid anti-French opinions. We have to work together or go down the drain.

Individual Americans aren't bad. It's their ruling class. But I don't want to be part of American culture.

Dr. A.I. McLeod, Arva, Ont.



no information on free trade in Quebec

I really like that David Orchard, an anglophone farmer from Saskatchewan, emphasizes that we have 400 years of resistance to the U.S., and for 200 of those years the resistance was carried out by French Canadians! Since 1608...

There's no information on free trade in Quebec and the only place for free to go, if they want to oppose those who want to deny French-Canadians their language rights, is the Parti Quebecois. David Orchard both supports Quebec's language rights and opposes free trade. Nobody else does this!

Darren O'Toole, Montreal

easy to read

It's so easy to read, there's nothing confusing in it. It's just perfect. It's going to be the book of the year and of my life. I just hated to lay it down.

Aune Guichon, Edmonton

wanted own copy

I got hold of my dad's copy of *The Fight for Canada* and read it. Now I want my own copy and I want to become a member of CCAFT. This is an amazing book! Most of the stuff about the FTA I knew already, but not the history. It's compelling. I'm really afraid that my kids in junior high school don't get any of this history. All their books are American and they learn American history.

I'm concerned most people don't have enough information about the FTA. When they do, as they did with the Charlottetown Accord, they vote the right way. The government tries to keep information from people.

Keith Sabine, Neidpath, Sask.

couldn't put down

I read the book from beginning to end. I couldn't put it down.

What impressed me the most was the way David Orchard dealt with the French and the Natives. I have always had hard feelings about French Canadians. I always thought that they got too much. Now I realize they should have gotten a lot more — and be honoured for it.

I never heard any of this history in school. The Americans are not our friends. They are terrorists. Davey Crockett is a terrorist, not a hero! I never knew about all the times they invaded us. We got the American point of view of history in our schools.

It was the combination of French, Natives and a few English who saved us each time. And Louis Riel, our greatest hero, he should have been in Ottawa.

And I never knew how dangerous the FTA was. I understand it now.

Dave Bagley, Saskatoon

extremely accurate

Oh, I like it. It makes me so furious to think of what the Americans have done. I can't read it all at once. I have to put it down and then I march up and down marvelling at the way the Americans bamboozled us. I pick up my knitting to calm down. It takes me about half an hour to cool off. I want another book to send to a young friend in Prince Edward Island. He'll love it. The history is extremely accurate and too few people know about Canadian history.

Mary Hull, Saskatoon

little did I know

I congratulate all of you on your hard

(continued from page 12)

work. This book should be in all the high schools as a Canadian history text. The way they teach Canadian history now is so flat. I preferred ancient history in high school. It was more exciting. Canadian history seemed so mundane, like there was nothing much going on. Little did I know!

Barbara Scott, Saskatoon
(Ms. Scott bought the first copy from the National Office in Saskatoon)

brilliant idea

David Orchard's idea of an electoral coalition is brilliant. He needs to have a wider audience — and he needs an office in Toronto!

Suzanne Salzman, Toronto

(Editor's reply: By the time you read this, Suzanne, CCAFT will have opened an office in Toronto.)

compulsory reading

I've read the first 100 or so pages of David Orchard's book, and I'm so angry! This should be required, no, compulsory reading for all Canadians.

Name withheld by request
(civil servant in Ottawa)

opposite of rhetoric

Quite frankly I haven't read anything as powerful and as frightening as your book. It is essentially a philosophical work. I'm stuck for words. It's the opposite of rhetoric. Here's the facts, ladies and gentlemen, you decide! I was very taken by the first six or so chapters. It's a view of Canadian history that I was never taught in school. I'm in my mid 30s and I don't think it's any better today.

The book was the first contact I've had with your organization. The membership fee will be the best \$10 I have spent in a while.

I'm a low-level union representative. I'll get the education officer to read it. That will ensure it ends up at more of the union schools. And you have my word that I'll pass it around to everyone who might be interested.

Kevin Turner, Regina

in a sentence

This book is the Bible of the Canadian nationalist movement.

Martin Duckworth, Montreal

Thanks for the best history of Canada I've ever read.

Martin Kierans, Vancouver

Every Canadian who can read should be exposed to this book.

Ken Levinski, Edmonton



Responses from south of the border

ashamed of her government

I have read the beginning of the book. I'm so ashamed of our government. I didn't know the U.S. had invaded Canada. I don't know why, but the U.S. has always been like that, always tried to take over every country, always stuck its nose into other countries' business. Why don't we just cut out and take

True North Summer 1993

care of our homeless and our problems at home instead of trying to be the policeman of the world, the bully on the block.

Most Americans are nice people — we don't agree with what our government is doing to Canada or to other countries.

Shirley Everett, Thousand Oaks, Calif.



worried about NAFTA

Dear Mr. Orchard, I was so glad to hear you on Chuck Harder's, "For the People" talk show. What you shared concerning the effect free trade has had on Canada is very sobering. I am very worried about NAFTA and what it will do to our United States. I have written to our Congressmen several times concerning NAFTA, and I will write them again today and give them your telephone number. I wonder if they will call you.

I would like more information about the effect free trade has had on Canada, and I would like to purchase your book.

Sharon Morgan, Alaska

people need help

Keep me informed! The people by and large need all the help they can get. I am trying to get the word around before the U.S. is in Canada's shape!

Dave Fenimore, North Port, Florida

will spread the word

Dear Sir, Please send me the book *The Fight for Canada*.

Be assured, I will spread the word as far and as quick as possible. Already I have written letters to organizations, called my representatives, senators and Washington bureaucrats and I will continue our fight to kill this menace called the North American Free Trade Agreement.

We Americans have always loved the people of Canada and will continue to do so; their destruction is our destruction. Together we must fight this dangerous Agreement that will certainly bring down two great nations to third rate nations.

Please send me the book as quickly as possible. I'm concerned that the powers that be will attempt to push it through before the people of the United States realize what the Agreement is all about.

Vincent Giangregorio, Pepperell, Mass.

alerting the public

Dear David, I heard you on Chuck Harder's broadcast the other day. I appreciate your concerns and the fact that you are alerting the public to the evils of NAFTA. Most people here I have talked to in my area haven't even heard of it. Here's a little cheque to help you in the fight.

I ordered your book and will show it to everybody I meet.

Andy Schmidt, Carmel, Calif.

before it's too late

Hello there, Mr. David Orchard!
I heard you on the Chuck Harder Radio

show today and sure did enjoy listening to you. I think you're doing a good thing, trying to inform the public before it's too late.

Keep up the good fight. We need a million like you. Thanks a lot and may God bless you to keep the hard battle.

Odell Love, Irving, Texas

interesting quote

Dear CCAFT, Thank you for the information pertaining to FTA and NAFTA.

While examining the material, I found an interesting quote from Mr. Orchard's book, as it appears in Verne Clemence's review: "I don't know of any other country in the world where, if you promote your own nation you are immediately labelled anti-something."

Rest assured there is at least one other. It appears that the method of madness applied to each of our countries was cast from the same mold.

Geoffrey S. Wiegand, Alton, Ill.

Comment in the House of Commons...

I have to mention another fighter for Canada who is participating in this debate across the country this week. He is not a member of the House of Commons. He is a young author by the name of David Orchard. He wrote a book called *The Fight for Canada*, subtitle *Four Centuries of Resistance to American Expansionism*. While we are debating the concerns of NAFTA, I talked to David Orchard earlier today. He is out on the highways and the byways doing talk shows and speaking at town hall meetings.

I read David Orchard's book *The Fight for Canada* last week and I recommend it to all members of this House and to all Canadians. If you want to read a truly comprehensive work in tracing the various aspects of the Free Trade Agreement and NAFTA and putting it all together in a way that really from the government side does have an overall strategic plan. You should get a copy of this book. It is a pretty scary thing, when you see what is evolving.

In fact, I am not sure that all government members understand fully all the ramifications of this deal. I think if they got hold of David Orchard's book *The Fight for Canada*, it might twig some of their consciences.

Dennis Mills, Liberal MP, Toronto
(Broadview-Greenwood), *Hansard*,
May 25, 1993

Letters to the Editors...

Free-trade history

During a recent interview conducted with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Mr. Mulroney provided a list of qualities which he deemed important for a leader ("Mulroney Passes Own Test," *Globe and Mail*, June 11). Given Mr. Mulroney's absurd argument that the Free Trade Agreement was part of a major current in Canadian history from Sir John A. Macdonald to Lester B. Pearson, I would suggest that he add to his list a knowledge of Canadian history.

As chronicled in great detail by David Orchard in his recent book *The Fight for Canada*, Canada's history over the past four centuries has in fact been punctuated by resistance to American expansionism. John A. Macdonald, who fought and won the free-trade election of 1891, described free trade as "sheer insanity" which would have "as its ultimate result, annexation to the United States." Sir John A. Macdonald is probably rolling in his grave at

the spectacle of a Canadian prime minister breaking faith with four centuries of struggle to create and maintain a separation nation on the northern half of this hemisphere.

Ronald Voss,
Dollard des Ormeaux, Quebec
The Globe and Mail, June 18, 1993

Everyone in Canada should read this book

The Fight for Canada is the title of a new book on bookstore shelves in this province, and I hope, throughout Canada. Beneath the title on the front cover there are seven words of explanation of what the book is all about: *Four Centuries of Resistance to American Expansionism*.

Everyone in Canada should read this book, especially all of us who love Canada, and want to keep it Canadian. Those who believe that collaboration with the U.S. and loss of our sovereignty will benefit all Canadians economically, and, also believe that this would not deprive us of those structures and social programmes that are distinctly Canadian, should read the book twice.

The message in *The Fight for Canada* is that the FTA and the NAFTA are the most recent and most successful endeavours by American interests to control Canada. Read the detailed history which covers the time span from 1535 to 1993...

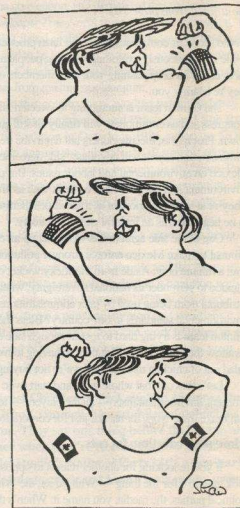
The book is not a diatribe against Americans in general. There are no suggestions that we should discourage fair trade with our American neighbours. It is a non-partisan politically, as it is possible to be. However, there are historical and contemporary quotes from, and names of, those who over the centuries have struggled for, or against, Canada becoming part of the U.S. or controlled by U.S. interests.

The author of the book is David Orchard, one of Saskatchewan's own, a fourth generation farmer.

There should be a federal election before the year's end. It will be the most important one in our history. Canada's sovereignty is ours to decide.

Leo Kurtenbach, Cudworth, Saskatchewan
The Wakaw Recorder, June 25, 1993

As we remember him



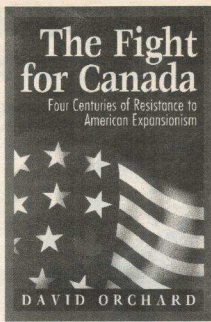
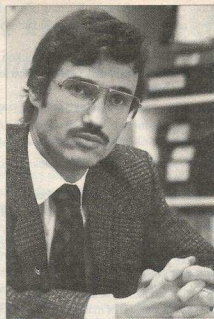
Cartoon by Annette Shaw, reprinted courtesy of *Flash Magazine*, Vancouver.

The Fight for Canada

Four Centuries of Resistance to American Expansionism

David Orchard

Stoddart Publishing



For almost four hundred years Americans have attempted to conquer our land and our spirit. In that time they have resorted to any and all means at their disposal, including war, trade sanctions, and political intervention, in an effort to realize a grand vision: to rule a nation stretching from the Panama Canal to the Arctic Circle. "Make no mistake about it," says David Orchard, "that fight for Canada continues to this day."

In language that makes our history lively, interesting, and relevant, Orchard traces the roots of this phenomenon, beginning in the sixteenth century and proceeding to the present. He examines the American annexation movements that talked of Ameri-

ca's Manifest Destiny to form a continental nation, as well as the various trade proposals, among them the 1911 free trade election that prompted Rudyard Kipling to write: "It is our own soul Canada risks today."

Orchard also discusses the legacy of Louis Riel, John A. Macdonald, Henri Bourassa, Pierre Trudeau, and others and explores such issues as American control of our one-prod naval fleet, the demise of the Avro Arrow, and the price two prime ministers paid for their opinions on U.S. policy.

The Fight for Canada then deals with the evolution, contents, and effects of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and

explores what we can expect from our new trade arrangements with the U.S. and Mexico.

Finally Orchard tackles the Meech Lake and Charlottetown constitutional accords and considers what lies ahead for Canada and Quebec.

David Orchard, a fourth-generation farmer from Saskatchewan, is a founder and national chairman of Citizens Concerned About Free Trade, a non-partisan, grassroots organization which mobilized citizens to convince the Senate to block the Free Trade Agreement in 1988 and force an election, and which played an active role in opposing both the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords.

(304 pages)

What can we learn from our history with the United States?

Does America want to take over Canada?

What do Americans mean by Manifest Destiny?

How has American intervention crippled our economy and political will?

What has happened to Canadian prime ministers who have disagreed with American policies towards Canada?

Can we get out of the Free Trade Agreement?

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Price \$17.95 (add \$3.00 for mailing)

NAFTA — We don't hafta!

(continued from page 10)

would send our companies, jobs, and farm production to Mexico while simultaneously exploiting working people and the environment there. So keep pushing your own members of Congress — they're hearing you.

The Clinton team is attempting to sweeten NAFTA so that Congress and us commoners will finally sit still and choke it down. Problem is, the sweeteners are not in the environment itself. The administration says it will negotiate "side agreements" with Mexico on environmental and labour issues. But protection of the environment and our jobs can't be dealt with as afterthoughts. They're at least as important as trade issues themselves and need to be negotiated as an integral part of the treaty.

One of the side agreements would set up an environmental tribunal to make Mexico enforce stronger pollution standards. But wait a minute now. Aside from the sticky wicket of convincing Mexico to surrender its national sovereignty, what's to keep such a tribunal from being used by later administrations to **lower** environmental standards in our country? Bless their hearts, the Clinton team is trying hard to toss in enough side dishes that we'll swallow the main course. But they're having to make chicken salad out of chicken manure, and we're not buying it.

Let's toss out that whole mess and start over. This time, bring workers, environmentalists — all the players — to the table so we can make trade work for us, not just for corporations.

More alley cats than fat cats

If you're looking for another reason to oppose NAFTA, just look at who's for the thing — Wall Street, the White House, both political parties, the media, you name it. When's the last time this bunch ganged up and did anything that worked out really well for you? When all the insiders get together on something, all us

outsiders had better hide the silverware — and rally our troops.

If the powers that be are backing this North American Free Trade Agreement, who's opposing it? Well, we are — the workaday people. That's why the polls are running two to one against NAFTA. That's also why Congressman Tom Coleman of Missouri is now ex-congressman Coleman, defeated last fall by Pat Danner. She hung Coleman with the pro-NAFTA noose he'd put around his own neck.

A fast-growing, hard-hitting grassroots coalition called the Citizens Trade Campaign is on the move against NAFTA. The campaign includes not only longtime foes of the treaty like labour and environmentalists, but also consumer groups, churches, farm organizations — everybody from the Baby Food Trade Watch Network to Ralph Nader.

The Citizens Trade Campaign is organizing in your suburb, inner-city neighbourhood, or rural community. Get in touch with them, and they will supply you with background materials and an action kit and put you in touch with local groups fighting NAFTA in every state.

NAFTA has the fat cats on its side, but we've got the alley cats, and there's a whole lot more of us. 🐾

[The Citizens Trade Campaign (CTC) can be contacted at 215 Pennsylvania Ave. SE, Washington, DC 20003, USA, tel. (202) 546-8630.] 🐾

Reprinted with permission from *Utne Reader*, July/August, 1993. Excerpted from February, March, and April 1993 broadcasts on **Hightower Radio**, a twice-daily radio show heard on stations in the U.S. from Seattle to Jacksonville, El Paso to Oshkosh. For full scripts and information on where you can hear **Jim Hightower's** broadcasts, contact: Box 13516, Austin, Texas 78711, tel. (512) 477-5588.



CCFA's National Office is in Saskatoon. Our street address is 489 2nd Ave. North, and we are open, with volunteer labour, every working day. You can call us or fax us any time, (306) 244-5757, fax (306) 244-3790. Our mailing address is P.O. Box 8052, Saskatoon, SK, S7K 4R7. Our Vancouver office is at #210-207 West Hastings St., (604) 683-FREE, fax (604) 683-3749. A Toronto office is about to be opened — watch for it! Call us at (416) 922-STOP.

CCAFI CATALOGUE



TAPES

Free Trade and the Crisis in Canada

This speech by **David Orchard** was made in Vancouver, September 1990, before a standing-room-only crowd. Called Orchard's "best speech — the one that ties it all together," it covers the effects of the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) on Canada, the GST, events in Oka, Canada's military involvement in the Gulf War, and the Meech Lake Accord. Orchard calls for an electoral coalition between the Liberal party and the NDP to abrogate the FTA in the next election. As a bonus, the audio tape also contains a critique of the 1988 free trade election presented to the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform by **Marjaleena Repo**, CCAFI's National Organizer. (Length: 2 hours)

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

for Trade and Job Opportunities, the big business lobby that pushed free trade in 1988. **David Orchard** is CCAFI's national chairman and a man who has done his homework. Judge for yourself who puts forward the best case. Full question and answer period. (Length: 2 hours)
Videotape (VHS) \$25.00
Audio tape (2 cassettes) \$10.00

◆ **The Simon Fraser Debate**
David Orchard and Liberal MP **Sheila Copps** take on Federal Transport Minister (later Minister of International Trade) **John Crosbie** and **Michael Walker** of the corporate think-tank, the Fraser Institute, at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, B.C. (December, 1987). You have to see it to believe it! A full house of 800 students and members of the public respond vigorously to the debate. Question and answer period. (Length: 2 hrs)
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◆ **The Great Free Trade Debate in Saskatchewan: Orchard/Andrew**
This debate between Saskatchewan's then Trade Minister, **Bob Andrew**, and **David Orchard** took place in December 1987, in Saskatoon's Centennial Auditorium with 1500 people in attendance. A very lively, political event! Full question and answer period. (Length: 2 hours, 15 min)
Videotape (VHS) \$25.00
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◆ **Sing Out Against Free Trade**
Two Canadian fighting songs: "The Free Trade Blues" by **William Butler** and "Free Trade" by **Rodney Brown**. A memento from the 1988 election which has not lost its power! \$4.00 SPECIAL!

◆ **Corruption in High Places**
Glen Kealey's sensational speech about corruption in the Mulroney government. A real eye-opener! (Length: 2 hours 50 min)
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BOOKS

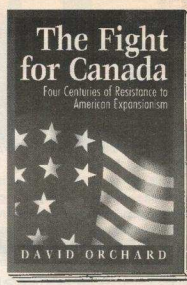
◆ **On Guard For Thee: an Independent Review of The Free Trade Agreement**
by **Marjorie Montgomery Bowker**
Retired Alberta Judge **Marjorie Bowker** examines the legal text of the FTA clause by clause and explains it in layperson's language. Contains a section on the media's responses to the book and an attack on it by Minister of Trade **John Crosbie**. An excellent reference guide — the nuts and bolts of the FTA.
Paperback, 128 pages, \$4.95
Note: The French version of the Bowker Report is also available from CCAFI.
Mimeographed, 60 pages, \$4.00

◆ **Free Trade: The Full Story**
David Orchard's acclaimed two-hour speech heard in public meetings across the country in 1988. Orchard recounts the long history of Canada-U.S. relations and goes through the FTA chapter by chapter, explaining it in language everybody can understand. Full question and answer period (in audio version only). A must for all who want to know what the Canada-U.S. FTA actually contains. (Video length: 2 hours)
Video of September 7, 1988, **Edmonton** meeting, includes an interview with **David Orchard** on his farm and a musical performance by **William Butler**. (Length: 2 hours) \$25.00
Two audio versions:
Vancouver, with a musical performance by **William Butler** (3 cassettes, length 3 hours 30 min) \$12.50
Edmonton, no music (2 cassettes, length 3 hours) \$10.00

◆ **The Great Free Trade Debate: Orchard/Crispo**
This hot debate took place in Vancouver on June 14, 1988, with former Vancouver talk show host **Jack Webster** as a moderator (more like a third debater!) before an audience of close to 1000 people. **John Crispo** is a University of Toronto economist and a founding member of the Canadian Alliance

AVAILABLE NOW!

◆ **The Fight for Canada: Four Centuries of Resistance to American Expansionism**
by **David Orchard** (Stoddart Publishing)
David Orchard presents the dramatic history of the 400-year relationship between Canada and the U.S. in its various facets, from military invasions to attempts to control Canada by trade. He portrays vividly the spirit of resistance on the part of Canadians which runs like a red thread through Canadian history. Orchard spells out in language an ordinary person can understand what the FTA contains and how it has already damaged Canada's economy and sovereignty. He offers as a solution the abrogation of the treaty through a united effort by the Liberals and the NDP.
\$17.95 — add \$3.00 for mailing (no GST)



◆ **If You Love This Country: Facts and Feelings On Free Trade**
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From Newfoundland to the Yukon, Canadians speak out against the Free Trade Agreement. Contributors include: Margaret Atwood, Pierre Berton, Michele Landsberg, Farley Mowat, David Suzuki and Bob White. A book for everyone concerned about the future of Canada. A classic!
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◆ **War Crimes: A Report on United States War Crimes Against Iraq**
by **Ramsay Clark** and others
This is the report of the Commission of Inquiry for the International War Crimes Tribunal, headed by former U.S. Attorney General **Ramsay Clark**, which commenced hearings in the aftermath of the Gulf War. Charged with "crimes against peace, war crimes, crimes against humanity and other criminal acts and high crimes in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, International Law and the Constitution of the United States," are George Bush, Dan Quayle, James Baker, Richard Cheney, William Webster, Colin Powell, Norman Schwarzkopf and "others to be named." This harrowing critique of the "New World Order" in action tells what actually transpired (and is still going on) in the Gulf War.
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◆ **The Charlottetown Accord explained — and rejected!**
No deal: Why Canadians should reject the Mulroney constitution by **Deborah Coyne** and **Robert Howe**, \$1.99 (add \$1.00 for mailing); Still thinking: a guide to the 1992 Referendum by **Bryan Schwartz**, \$1.99 (add \$1.00 for mailing); **Pierre Elliott Trudeau's** historic speech of October 1, 1992, A mess that deserves a big NO, with a question and answer period and transcript of the press conference that followed, \$5.99 (add \$1.50 for mailing).
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◆ **BUMPER STICKERS — \$2.00**
"Fight the free trade treason," "Join the resistance — fight free trade," "Free trade will cost us Canada," "Free trade: Canada under attack."



INFORMATION PACKAGES

containing the first issue of *True North* with **David Orchard's** article "Free Trade and the Crisis in Canada," single sheet articles on the impact of the FTA and NAFTA on Canada's resources, culture, water exports, agriculture, education, environment, etc., as well as a CCAFI song sheet of lively anti-free trade songs set to popular melodies, plus a few surprises, is available for \$10.00 — postage included. Suitable for classrooms and study groups of all kinds.

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Free-trade foe's a hit

by Jeani Read

Head of a motley crew of just-folks against the FTA, David Orchard is drawing crowds across the nation.

It was the night before Canada Day. In the Vancouver Public Library downtown, people were gathering for the book launch of one of the most interesting authors of the library's Celebrity Authors series: David Orchard.

Quite a lot of people were gathering. There were about twice as many people as seats, with more arriving to stand, lean over the mezzanine railing, perch along the broad baseboards or swipe additional chairs from library tables. David Orchard, as ever, was proving to be quite a popular guy.

But David Orchard — author?

I bet you thought he was just one of those rabble-raising anti-free-trade activists, the head of a motley group of — well, honestly, just regular people — called Citizens Concerned About Free Trade. Not an author at all. Certainly not a celebrity author, since he and his followers are so very clearly just-folks. And since he has never really got to be a really high-profile popular guy (some people find some of the things he says so darn irritating).

But yes, now he's saying those irritating things in print. In the interval between free-trade elections — the one in 1988 and the one I think we can safely assume is coming up — Orchard has written a book, *The Fight for Canada* (Stoddart, \$17.95).

It's already into its second printing. Orchard says American anti-free-trader Ralph Nader has offered to write a foreword to an American edition, which is in the works. The book has enjoyed well-attended launches in Toronto, Thunder Bay, Ottawa and Montreal.

"The Centre Block of Parliament Hill in Ottawa was packed," Orchard smiles at the nice irony. The Vancouver launch was last Wednesday and Orchard will be at the Victoria Public Library tomorrow and at The Bookstore [on Bastion Street] in Nanaimo July 7.

The cover of *The Fight for Canada* pretty well sums up the tone of the book: It's a detail of the



"Quite a lot of people were gathering. There were about twice as many people as seats, with more arriving to stand, lean, perch, or swipe additional chairs from the library tables." (Photo: Peggy Smith)

American flag, showing the white stars of the states — with one star replaced by a Canadian maple leaf.

The Americans have been trying to expand into the north since 1613, Orchard says in his book, and there have been many close calls. But "we haven't capitulated for four centuries. There's no need to capitulate today, in 1993."

If you've heard Orchard speak, you'll know he prefaces his remarks with a long and fascinating history of Canada based on these takeover attempts, which used a Variety Pak arsenal of guns, trade and trickery.

The Fight for Canada adds detail to the theme, and then analyses the history and effects of the current free-trade deal with the U.S., the likely effect of the North American Free Trade Agreement, and the dynamics — and defeats — of Meech Lake and the Charlottetown Accord.

One of the main reasons the book exists, apart from providing a unique perspective on Canada's history, is to inspire people to work toward the abrogation of the FTA and prevention of NAFTA. Orchard, among others, believes they spell the death of Canada.

He argues that the only sure solution is a temporary electoral coalition of the NDP and the Liberals against the Tories.

Impossible? It's been done many times before in countries facing mortal threat — and we even have a beautiful historical precedent here at home: A coalition of passionate political opponents, after all, allowed the creation of Canada in the first place.

Interested? Call (604)683-FREE. ♦

JEANI READ writes a regular column for the *Vancouver Province*. This article was first printed in that paper, July 8, 1993, and is reprinted here with permission.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE: How privatization, deregulation and free trade destroyed a proud and progressive country that had experienced 35 years of full employment, the best social programmes and one of the highest living standards in the world. And how the Canadian media LIED about the reasons for the destruction of New Zealand in order to scare Canadians into going the same route of deficit hysteria and massive cutbacks in social spending. Read all about it in "The New Zealand experience: the true story."

Help! We need it!

CCAFT urgently needs your financial support to carry on the massive public campaign needed to make free trade the issue in the upcoming election. With your support, we can win this "fight for Canada!" Send your donation today. (See coupon on this page.)

CCAFT has been completely citizen-funded for the last eight years and has worked miracles with a shoestring budget. You can help us perform more miracles — and speed up the opening of our third office, this one in Toronto.

SUBSCRIBE, EH!

Please send me TRUE NORTH: 10 issues for \$20.00 Beginning with vol. 1 no. _____
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Please send me _____ copy(ies) of David Orchard's *The Fight for Canada: Four Centuries of Resistance to American Expansionism* at \$17.95 each. Add \$3.00 for shipping and mailing one book and \$1.00 for each additional book.

I have enclosed an additional donation of \$ _____

I am interested in joining CCAFT to defeat the Free Trade Agreement.
I have enclosed \$10.00.

I would like to renew my membership. I have enclosed \$10.00.

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