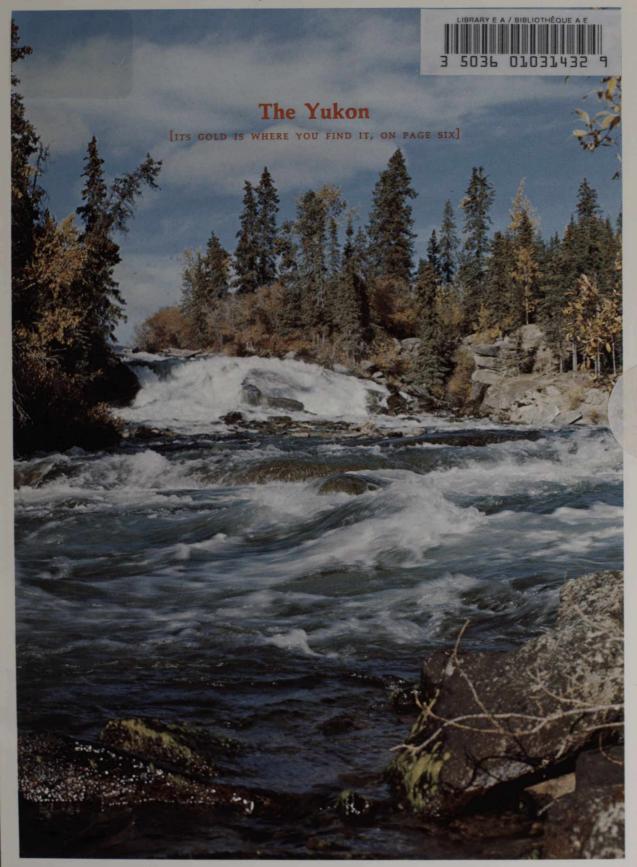
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# Canada's Third Party Is Very Much Alive

[THE NDP HAS RISEN IN THE WEST]

Three of Canada's ten provinces — British Columbia, Manitoba and Saskatchewan — have socialist governments.

Canadian labels do not always duplicate American ones and in Canada the word "socialism" does not have the same meaning it has in the United States.

The New Democratic Party's type of socialism is of British origin (with some inspiration from the Swedish), non-Marxist and political. American socialism is, by contrast, of central European origin, Marxist, and more a political theory than a political party.

The New Democrats' rise took time — it began in 1944 when the party's predecessor, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, won control in Saskatchewan, but it was not until 1969 that they took over their second province, Manitoba. British Columbia followed in 1972. Most New Democrats think of themselves as "social democrats," but like Premier Edward Schreyer of Manitoba, they are not overly concerned with names. "If abolishing medicare premiums is socialist . . . then the program is a socialist program," he says.

In national politics the NDP has recently achieved a new standing. The Liberals, who form the Government, and Progressive Conservatives, the official Opposition, have almost equal strength in the House of Commons, the first with 109 seats, the second with 106, so the NDP with 31 seats is pivotal.

The United States has two significant parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, though both have within their folds varying shades of ideology. Canada has had a multiplicity of parties since World War I. The most enduring third (or fourth and fifth) parties have come from the West — the farmers of the Prairies concluded long ago that they were too few and too scattered to survive as rugged individualists and they formed cooperative societies to pursue their common goals. From the West came the Progressives (who later merged with the Conservatives), the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the Social Credit Party and the NDP. Some were left, like the CCF and NDP, and some right, like the "Socreds." In Québec there have been parties particularly concerned with the status and the future of French-speaking Canadians. Today

there are five parties with significant followings in Canada: the Liberals, the Progressive-Conservatives, the New Democrats, the Social Credit Party, which has fifteen seats in the House of Commons, and the Parti Québecois, the voice of the French Canadian "separatist" movement, which exists only in Québec, where it is the Opposition party in the provincial legislature.

In recent years the NDP has shown considerable vitality and has experienced notable successes. Those successes are built on a foundation which began in the Depression.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation was founded in 1933 and its stated goal was the "establishment in Canada of a cooperative commonwealth in which the principle regulating production, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs rather than the making of profits." It was as much a populist as a socialist movement and its founders included small businessmen, farmers and workers. It had real but limited success, gaining power in Saskatchewan but nowhere else. In Saskatchewan it ran things from 1944 to 1964, when it lost to the Liberals. During those years it established the first government-sponsored hospitalization program and the first no-fault insurance program in Canada. It began medicare in 1962, it expanded the government-operated telephone and electric power companies and it created and ran at various times a bus line, a tannery, a woolen mill, a box factory, a shoe factory, a seed-cleaning plant and markets for fur, fish and lumber. In 1961 the CCF and the Canadian Labour Congress gave joint birth to the New Democratic Party, which, it is generally agreed, used the Swedish social democracy as a model. The CCF then dropped out of the political picture, willing its strength in Saskatchewan and elsewhere to the NDP.

#### [SASKATCHEWAN]

The NDP, which lost to the Liberals in 1964, returned to power in June, 1971, led by Allan Blakeney. Mr. Blakeney, forty-eight, born in Nova Scotia, is an attorney, with degrees from Dalhousie University and Oxford. He was elected to the Saskatchewan legislature in 1960 and became leader of the provincial NDP in 1970.

The NDP now has forty-four of the sixty seats in the provincial legislature, a very strong majority. Saskatchewan, which has 910,000 people in an area as big as Texas, is Canada's "Breadbasket" since it is the major producer of wheat. Its bottom half is farm land, its top a wilderness of lakes and trees. It has been losing population and compared to the rest of the West it is poor.

Since the 1971 election Premier Blakeney's government has concentrated on saving the family farm. The movement from the farm is a phenomenon found throughout North America. As one official in Regina put it, "every farm has at least one channel of television, some have four or five. The young people get restless." In Saskatchewan the problem is of greater significance than elsewhere since the province is heavily rural. Consequently, the government has found the question of 'how do you keep them down on the farm after they've seen TV' of primary urgency. The first \$100-million step has been a program to buy farms from older men who wish to retire and to lease them to young men, often the farmers' sons. The younger men pay a reasonable rent and have options to buy. The government is also sustaining hog and feed marketing boards with the purpose of subsidizing farmers when feed prices go up faster than hog prices. The government has also formed Saskoil, an oil exploration and producing company whose basic purpose is to make sure the province's highly mechanized farms have fuel for the future. Saskatchewan has limited oil reserves and it plans to reduce rather then add to its production. Saskoil is about a year old and much of the time was spent in recruiting persons with the technical skills necessary for exploration. Its teams are now assembled and it expects to be the biggest explorer in the province by year's end.

The government is also "increasingly concerned" with the 25,000 Métis (people of mixed Indian and white ancestry) and Indians who live in the non-farming half of the province. It is currently developing plans to give them a full measure in running their own affairs.

#### [MANITOBA]

The NDP, elected in Manitoba in 1969, defeated Duff Roblin and the Progressive-Conservatives who had been in office for twelve years. Edward Schreyer, thirty-eight, became Premier. He is a graduate of the University of Manitoba and was a university teacher. He was elected to the provincial legislature in 1958 and to the Ottawa House of Commons in 1965 where he served until 1969. He was chosen Leader of the NDP in Manitoba in 1969. Premier Schreyer's government was

re-elected in 1973, getting 43 per cent of the popular vote, the highest in the province's history, and taking thirty-one of the fifty-seven seats in the provincial legislature. The bulk of the seats came from Winnipeg, a bustling city and the metropolis of the Prairies, but the NDP showed surprising strength in the rural areas, the traditional PC stronghold. The PC's are the official Opposition party with twenty-one seats.

Manitoba has a population of 993,000 and is about the same size as Saskatchewan, but its economy is more varied, including considerable manufacturing and construction. Premier Schreyer's government has established itself in oil, gas, mining, lumbering and manufacturing. It has set up compulsory state auto insurance (no-fault, \$200 deductible), invested in public and seniorcitizen housing, abolished medicare premiums, put nursing homes under medicare and established pharmacare, a program supplying drugs and medicine at low cost to those over sixty-five. It also passed a law requiring pharmacists to fill all prescriptions with the least expensive generic drug unless the doctor has specifically prescribed a brand name. Schrever has rejected proposals that the government take over the mining industry but has said the province intends to get a larger share of mining company earnings by increased resource taxes. He has shifted the tax support for schools from property to income by initiating tax rebates to property holders.

There was strong resistance to the NDP from the business community in 1969, but since then Premier Schreyer, who calls himself a "social democrat" rather than a socialist, has said that the province should neither "kneel at the altar of private enterprise nor . . . be overly reliant on the government."

#### [BRITISH COLUMBIA]

In 1972 the NDP under David Barrett turned out a staunchly private enterprise Social Credit government under W.A.C. Bennett which had been in power for twenty years. In a major upset the NDP took thirty-eight of the fifty-five provincial legislature's seats. It passed more than one hundred major new laws and amendments in its first year. Mr. Barrett, forty-three, was born in Vancouver and educated both in British Columbia and the United States, graduating from Seattle University with a B.A. and from St. Louis University with a Master's degree in social work. He worked as a social worker in St. Louis and subsequently became the supervisor of social training for Haney Correctional Institution and supervisor of counselling services for the John Howard Society of British Columbia, an organization working with prisoners. He was elected to the provincial legislature in 1960 and was appointed Leader of the Opposition in 1969. He is the first member of the Jewish faith to serve as the Premier of a province. British Columbia is a resource-rich province with 2,291,000 people and a generally salubrious climate. Its gross product rose 11 per cent in 1972 to \$12 billion and Robert Williams, Minister of Natural Resources, has said that the province's great natural wealth will "allow us to develop any social programs we want — almost, I suspect, to the point where the only limit might be our own imagination." The province is the most highly unionized in Canada.

Since taking office the NDP has moved in many directions. It has organized a massive state insurance program, The Insurance Corporation of British Columbia, which began operations in March and is the largest insurance company in Canada. No-fault insurance is now issued with the driver's license and the government also sells other forms of insurance in competition with private firms. The size of the ICBC gives it leverage in influencing the economy since its capital can be invested in other government operations and in new private-public investment ventures.

British Columbia now has the highest minimum wage in the world, \$2.50 an hour. Under its income plan, every person over sixty receives an income of up to \$209 a month — couples up to \$418.

The government has frozen agricultural land sales and a five-person commission has virtually

absolute power to zone areas for agriculture, greenbelts, parks and other public uses without compensating owners for lost profits. It also has the power to purchase land for leasing to family farmers and to acquire urban land for residential construction.

The province's public utility commission has been replaced with a seven-person commission which has powers which reflect the energy crisis—it can license gas stations and other businesses in the energy field, it can fix wholesale and retail gas prices and it can prohibit the use of trading stamps and marked-down merchandise as customer lures.

The British Columbia Development Corporation has been set up with \$25 million in capital and the power to lend money and to acquire, develop and sell industrial property and buildings. Its announced purpose is to "develop secondary industry" so that the province will be less dependent on its resource industries.

Premier Barrett is in his own view "not hung up on ideology." He recently told an interviewer that "I believe in the potential of the people, not some abstract principle. There is a better way of doing things based on trust. I firmly believe that the people can have power and that it can be achieved democratically."

This article was written by Tom Kelly, a Washington journalist who has covered national and international politics for twenty years.

# A Break for the Taxpayer And a Problem for the Public Service

In 1974 most Canadians will pay lower taxes — which is good news — and federal revenues will be cut by some \$400 million — which is not.

The tax drop is the result of a new system called "Indexing", designed to prevent inflation from raising a worker's taxes without hiking his real income. Under the plan, first proposed by Conservative Leader Robert Stanfield, the income tax brackets will be raised annually — for example, in 1974 tax exemptions will be raised by 6.6 per cent. The basic exemption for a married person will rise from \$1400 to \$1492; for each dependent child under sixteen, from \$300 to \$320.

The plan, though a clear move toward equity, has obvious drawbacks since it will affect both federal and provincial government income directly and severely. The provinces anticipate an estimated \$100 million cut in revenue.

Québec, which levies its own income taxes, will

be under pressure to follow the exemption-raising pattern set in Ottawa.

Nevertheless, for millions of Canadian taxpayers, the immediate effect will be pleasant. Here is the way five families will benefit — each assumed to consist of man, wife and two dependent children:

Income	Tax in 1973	Tax in 1974
\$ 8,000	\$ 920	\$ 847
\$12,000	\$2,129	\$2,023
\$15,000	\$3,145	\$3,016
\$20,000	\$5,198	\$4,970
\$30,000	\$9,699	\$9,378

### The Alouette Is an Old but Distant Bird

[THE IMMIGRANTS' SONGS AND MUSIC ARE WELL PRESERVED IN OTTAWA]

The alouette is a bird which sings while in flight. No alouette has ever flown or sung in Canada. The bird is European and the song of the same name, which is as tightly identified with French Canada as the bagpipe is with Nova Scotia, came with the first French immigrants to land in Québec three hundred years ago. Today some 1400 different French songs of the 15th and 16th centuries which have survived as folk music in Canada are recorded at the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies in Ottawa. Dr. Roxane Carlisle, head of the ethnomusicology section, has compiled the essential facts of Canada's multi-tonal past and archival present for Canada Today! D'Auiourd'hui.

#### [THE FRENCH CONNECTION]

Today's six million-plus French Canadians are descended from some 6,700 immigrants who arrived before 1675 when such immigration ceased. Most came from rural parts in the north or west of France and they brought with them thousands of songs and dance tunes, some already centuries old. The fourteen thousand now on file show that at least two old songs came over for every man, woman and child among the original immigrants. The old songs often refer to places, people or events in France and very often to La Rochelle, the principal port of departure.

The persistence of the songs can be accounted for by not only the isolation and nostalgia of the settlers but by the way they proved strikingly appropriate to the new environment; the strong rhythms were, for example, easily converted into paddling songs for the early voyageurs. The French immigrants also brought a wide variety of dance tunes built around the fiddle which are still being danced to today.

#### [THE BRITISH INSPIRATION]

The early British settlers were very often discharged soldiers and the early British songs very often had a military tune. The bandsmen (and the songs) might be Scottish, English, Irish or Hessian. Ballads from English broadsheets and the gentler strains of nursery lullabies and children's songs were other major sources. Since British immigration continued and increased (while French diminished), the British songs on record at the Centre are from a much broader time span. Military bands from Britain would remain on garri-

son duty for just a few years and their replacements would bring new tunes from the old sod to play in the town squares of Kingston or York on summer evenings. By 1800 every village in Upper Canada (Ontario) had its fiddler and many had bagpipers as well. The fiddlers played at indoor dances in warm farm kitchens (there were no barn dances in cold Ontario) and the pipers played for outdoor summer dancing. The Welsh brought penillion singing — a singer entered and improvised a set of variations on a melody first stated by a harp (or today, by a piano, a violin or a guitar).

#### [THE CONTINENTAL TRADITION]

By the middle of the 19th century Canada began receiving immigrants from central and eastern Europe. The Ukrainian Canadians brought a strong tradition of group singing of great variety: kolomyjka couplets, bandura lute music and winter song cycles which combined traditional elements with episodes from the immigrants' travels and the pioneering on the Prairies. The Doukhobor communities in British Columbia and the Prairies gathered together to sing spontaneously in polyphonic style, without instrumental accompaniment. Lithuanians brought sutartines or choral songs, often old and beautiful pre-nuptial and wedding songs. The Bulgars brought old work songs, sung in close harmony that was often a series of parallel seconds. The Poles brought music for the mazanki, a three string fiddle, and the sierszenki bagpipe.

There are many other strains still audible in Canada: Icelandic, Asiatic, Afro-Canadian. It is remarkable how many have survived today, though there are obvious explanations. Canada was and is a vast land with isolated groups. In the 19th century whole villages would move to the New World as a cohesive group.

As Dr. Carlisle says: "Do not believe anyone who tells you that folk music is dying out in Canada. On the contrary, Canada's musical heritage is a fugue of many traditions and precisely because Canadians preserve a flourishing and vital multiple tradition, we can witness its continuing development."

Scholars, musicians and others with an interest may get specific information on the collection from the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa K1A 0M8, Canada.

# The Yukon Is a Many Splendored Place

[AFTER SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS IT'S STILL GROWING]

The Yukon Territory lies east of Alaska like a wedge of cold pie. In January it's frozen, by June it's begun to thaw; Frances Lake has gone from snow white to brilliant blue, the valleys and basins are green with moss and the dog tooth mountains are dark with the white spruce and black, alpine fir and lodgepole pine. There are 80,000 square miles of trees and hidden among them are black bears, brown bears, grizzly bears, caribou, deer, moose and timber wolves. Above the forests are the mountain goats and mountain sheep and along the lakes and rivers are grouse, ptarmigan, geese, swans and ducks, muskrats, mink, marten, lynx, weasels, foxes, fishers and

squirrels. There are mountains of pure limestone which gleam white all year long and beneath the mountain slopes and in the running waters are gold, lead, zinc, silver and asbestos.

There are few people — some 20,000 in 207,000 square miles — so few it is possible to see them as individuals, each separate and apart: Alan Innes-Taylor, Grahame Keast, Edith Josie, Ida May Burkholder, Anton Money, Charlie Peter Charlie and his sons — some of them young, some older than the Territory.

The Territory was seventy-five years old last year. The Gold Rush began in 1898 and the White Pass and Yukon Railroad was built to

# How to Build a Good Road Cheap

If one wishes to get from Edzo in the Northwest Territories to the silver mining community of Echo Bay on Great Bear Lake, it is best to go between late January and March on the straight and splendid winter road built by Pacific Western Trucking.

Winter roads in the Yukon and N.W.T. are made of hard packed snow and one travels by tractor.

The Echo Bay road is about 350 miles long and the swiftest transit is across the frozen lakes — Faber, Rae, Hardisty and Hottah.

Road construction begins in the first week of January and takes three weeks to complete. It is built as straight as possible on "portages" and lakes and the designers try to avoid steep grades, areas which require blasting and clearing, and portages across sandy depressions. In such portages water seeps up and forms layers of ice several feet thick, called "icings", over the road surface.

A D-4 Caterpillar tractor equipped with a 'dozer blade begins the road building. It is followed by a Bombardier also equipped with a 'dozer blade. The Bombardier pulls two drags; the first, heavy logging chains twenty to thirty

feet in length, forces the air out of the snow, the second, a heavy steel plate with an expanded metal base, levels the surface and compresses the snow. After the drags comes a tractor-trailer and the finishing touches are applied; vehicle ruts are graded and redragged, depressions are filled and compacted and the lake approaches to the portages may have to be reworked.

The road once ready must be maintained. Three Versatile tractors equipped with large vee-plows keep it in repair.

Freight tractors, which can push a ten-foot vee-plow and tow 40,000 pounds at the same time, average twenty-five miles an hour on the road and they can exceed fifty miles an hour across the open lakes. There is some danger — since 1965 four tractor-trailer units have dropped through the frozen lake surfaces but no operators have been lost. Twenty operators were employed during 1973 and they averaged two round trips a week.

Construction costs are very cheap, less than \$200 a mile, but maintenance costs, wages and the housing of operators are very high.

carry the prospectors. Much has changed since then; the population has slumped but mineral production has gained; \$102,418,000 worth of noble and base metals were taken out in 1972. Asbestos comes from Clinton Creek near the Alaska border, copper from open mines at Whitehorse, silver, lead and zinc from Keno Hill and Anvil Mines. The narrow-gauge White

Pass Railroad now has diesel engines, radiophone communications and auxiliary trucks and buses.

There are roads: the Alaska Highway, Sixty-Mile Road out of Dawson City, a 28-mile spur to the new town of Clinton Creek, and the Robert Campbell Highway, which bisects the 267-mile Canol Road and then bends south to the Pelly River and Frances Lake. There are warm and comfortable houses, built on posts driven deep into the permafrost.

But much has remained the same. When Ida May Burkholder came to Dawson City in 1908, the boom was already past and the population had shrunk to 5,000. She was thirty-five and she came to The Good Samaritan Hospital as matron, or head nurse. She remained some years and met Gustav Edward Bradenberg, a Swedish mining engineer. They were married by the Rev. Arthur Ross of St. Andrew's on October 11, 1915.

Mrs. Bradenburg was one hundred years old last April.

"When I first went to Dawson, I thought I was going to the backwoods and would have no need of afternoon or evening clothes. I gave my nieces all my best things. How wrong I was. We'd hardly been there a week when Judge Craig had a 7 P.M. dinner for the nurses. I had to have a dress. Mrs. Stringer went uptown with me. There was an exclusive French shop and an equally expensive Oriental dress shop. I paid more than a month's salary for that dinner gown. It was hand-embroidered in Japan."

But the felicities of Dawson City ended at the town's edge. They still did when Anton Money and his bride and newborn son left Whitehorse to go to Frances Lake in 1927. They had a sledge, a dog team, an 8 by 12 foot silk tent, flour, rolled oats, dry milk, rice, beans, tea, sugar, syrup, butter, baking powder, salt and pepper, dry soup, dehydrated vegetables, dry baby formula, a slab of bacon, a rifle and ammunition. They followed the broad path made by the tractor train which ran to Dawson City and when the temperature



fell to -45 degrees they stopped over at Carmacks, fifty cabins and tents. When it climbed back up to -20 they moved on, arriving at Frances Lake thirty days after leaving Whitehorse.

There was a year's supply of food and clothing waiting near the Lake at the Pelly Banks Trading Post and a home by the still frozen water — a tiny cabin with two cellophane windows, a moss

and gravel roof supported by notched poles and a pole constructed door. "It's all absolutely beautiful," Mrs. Money, who was nineteen years old, said. "We're home at last."

There is no doubt that the people who choose the Yukon love it. Alan Innes-Taylor came to Whitehorse in 1919 at the age of nineteen as a Royal Northwest Mounted Policeman and is in Whitehorse still. "It was a nice little village then, about 2,000 people," he told Jim Sterling in a recent interview. "There was no crime as such in those days. We had set patrols to the outlying areas and we'd stop where we were needed — we might stop off for a couple of days and give someone a hand to build a cabin before the winter set in."

In 1924 Innes-Taylor quit the force and became purser on the wood-burning river boats which ran from Dawson City to Whitehorse and occasionally to Fortymile. His favourite boat, the Whitehorse, was retired in 1952 after fifty-one years of service. It sits on the banks of the Yukon slowly decaying. Mr. Innes-Taylor himself sits in his cluttered office in Whitehorse writing his autobiography, backed by a \$6,000 Canada Council grant.

Whitehorse is the metropolis; most of the people who live in the Yukon live there and in Dawson City, but some, like the Indians of Old Crow Village, live far from such population centers. Edith Iosie, an Indian, writes a column about Old Crow for the Whitehorse Star. This is how she describes her home town: "old crow Village is on the bank of porcupine River. It's about 120 miles of south of ocean and about 80 miles north of arctic circle. The Indians are Loucheaux of the Vunta Kutchin-tribe. This is what kind of Indians around here. They make their living by fishing and trapping and hunting. They hunt all year round and cut wood for sale and at summer-time they make raft and bring it into town and at winter-time they work at oil company and they realy doing fine. Soon spring-time come and in April the people start to set trap in the Flat. In crow Flat that where the people make their living too. I think it's about 200 people in old crow."

The Old Crow Flat is the gathering place of muskrats and muskrat hunters. Grahame Keast is the young principal of the school at Old Crow and last spring he went muskrat hunting with Charlie Peter Charlie and his two sons, Richard Charlie, thirteen, and Timothy Charlie, fourteen. The ratting is done around lakes some fifty to seventy miles north of the settlement. The ratters come by dog team in April or May when there is still snow, or they wait till June when the river ice is "gone out" and go by home-made canvas canoes. The Charlie family stayed with the boys' uncle, Andrew Tizya, who'd already set up his tent. In June north of the Arctic Circle there is sunlight twenty-four hours a day so it doesn't matter much when one sleeps. Grahame Keast sketched out a "typical" day, though as he pointed out each day is different: "10 A.M. Arise for a breakfast of hotcakes and bacon. A few odd jobs after that, such as fetching wood and water. 12 A.M. Forty rat skins to stretch that were not done last night. The rat skins are stretched over boards called stretchers which give them shape while they dry in the sun. 3 P.M. Go around to the traps, get the rats, re-set the traps and maybe shoot a w as well. 5 р.м. Still out around the lake, light ire and have some tea — maybe even barbecue at in tinfoil. Skin the rats collected so far. 7 P.M.

Arrive back at camp. Have a sit down. Maybe Andrew has cooked something and there's some left over. 9 P.M. Go out in the canoe after more rats. 12 P.M. Arrive back weary but with enough rats to bring the day's tally to thirty-five; not as many as yesterday but it was a bit windy tonight and that makes it harder when shooting rats. Skinning the rats takes perhaps another hour, then wash up, have something to eat and go to sleep. Maybe it is 3 A.M., maybe it is later — with twenty-four hours of daylight it doesn't really matter what time it is."

Old Crow and Whitehorse have not changed much in seventy-five years, but the winds of change are now sweeping the North as never before — the northern Yukon is criss-crossed with miles of seismic lines; the southern Yukon is scarred with mining exploration. The Territory's mineral resources are not fully known and some that are known are not yet exploited. By airplane and helicopter, on horseback and snowmobile, prospectors are searching.

The Hon. Jean Chrétien, Minister of Northern Development, has expressed a determination that the new changes will not destroy the old ways. "We do not intend to destroy the North for the sake of the material wealth it can produce. Nor do we intend to leave it isolated and unused."

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