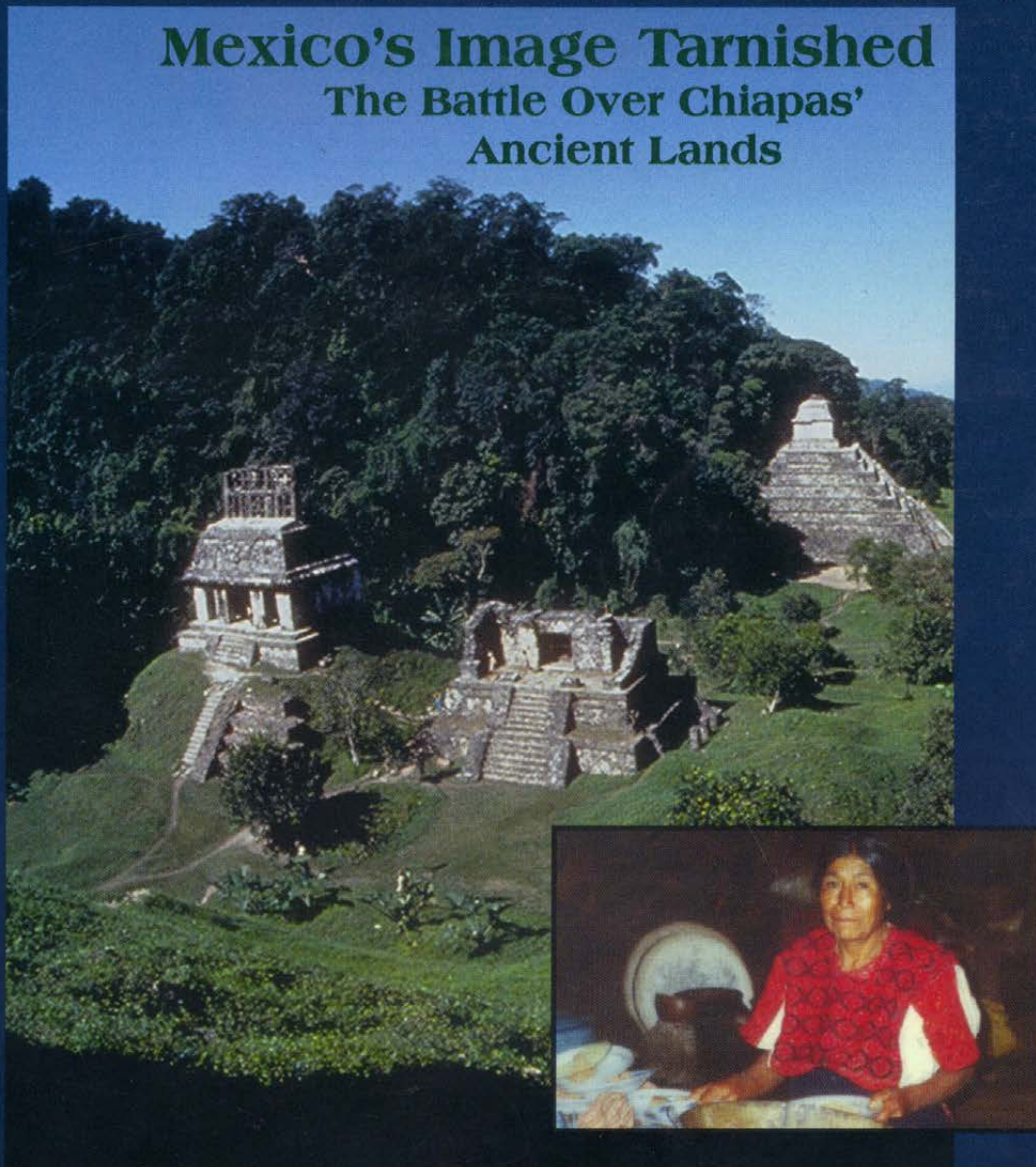The Evolution of South Africa
Gun Control & Health Care in the U.S.
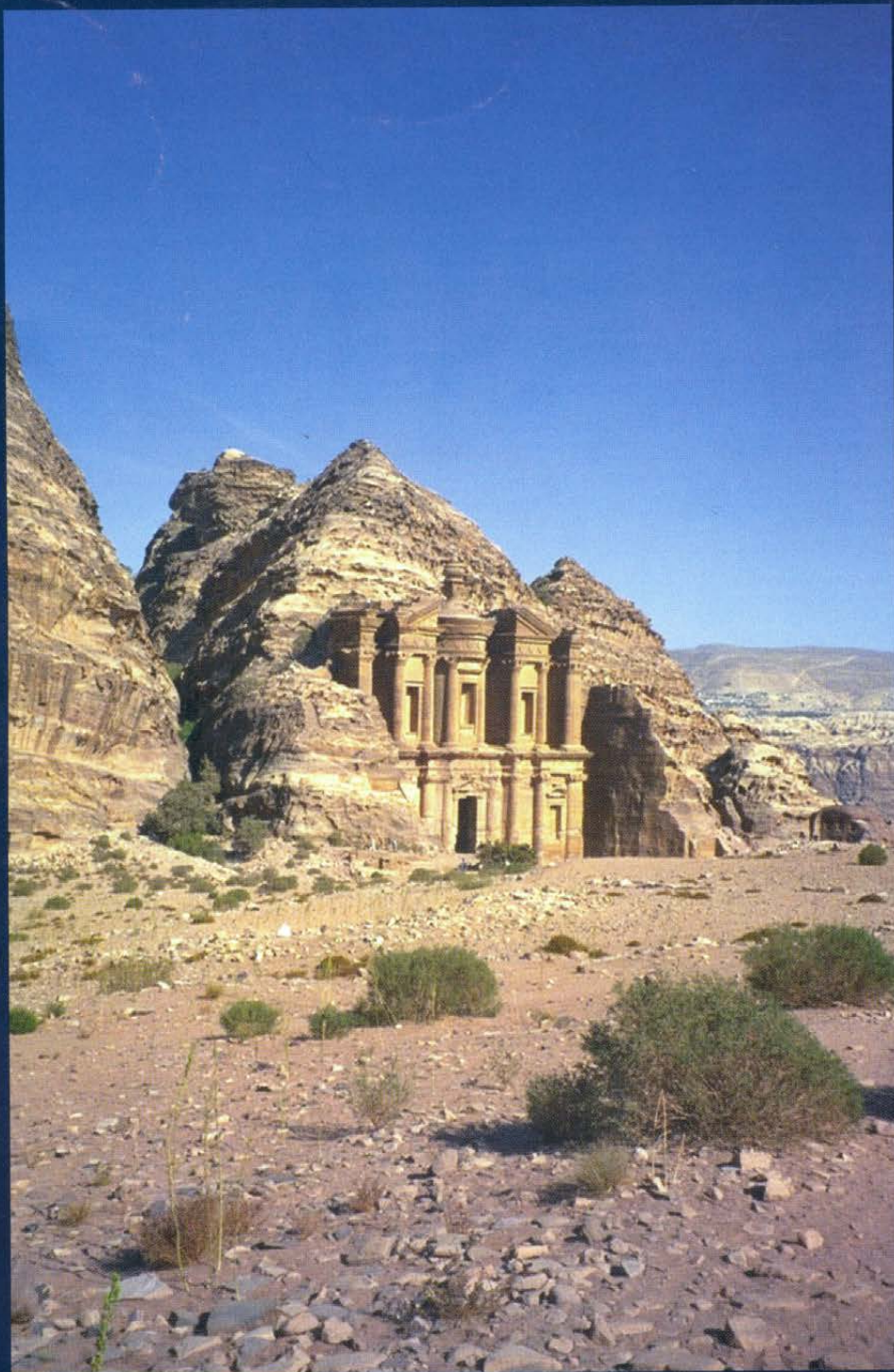
# ORIGINS

## Mexico's Image Tarnished
### The Battle Over Chiapas' Ancient Lands

## Current Events in Historical Perspective

# A City Carved in Stone

# Pure
# BEER
# ———
# *tastes*
# BETTER

# The Upper Canada Brewing Company
*2 Atlantic Avenue, Toronto, Canada.*
*Visit our Brewery. Call (416) 534-9281.*

# SUBJECTS AT HAND

[Adrian Dorst]

[Scarboro Missions, Toronto]

[CTW/Richard Termine]

# Funny...it doesn't look like football

## America Welcomes the Soccer World

One would think American television networks would be salivating over the possibilities. It is the world's largest sporting event—a single broadcast will attract an audience greater than that of the Super Bowl, World Series and Olympic Games combined. Soccer—football, as its known to the rest of the world—is coming to America. The only question is, "Does any American really care?"

**by Russell Field**

On June 17th at Soldier Field in Chicago, Germany and Bolivia will kick off the World Cup—a competition involving teams from 24 countries, to determine supremacy in the world's most popular spectator sport. But the World Cup is more than just a soccer tournament. It is an event that, unlike the Olympics, requires not a host city but an entire country. The 52 matches will be watched by an estimated 31.2 billion viewers. The championship game alone will draw an audience of two billion people, or one-third of the world's population. In soccer-crazy Brazil, it is expected that 93 percent of the country will watch the World Cup.

Needless to say, not everyone in soccer's traditional hotbeds was thrilled when they learned that the U.S. would host World Cup '94. When the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA)—soccer's governing body—declared in March of 1988 that it was postponing its announcement of who would host the the 1994 finals from June 30th to July 4th, the *London Daily Mail* was hardly fooled. Its headline—A Star-Spangled Stunner, U.S. Get Cup—was followed by a subtitle that read, "The World goes over there in '94 for the razzmatazz!"

### A 1-0 Romp

What troubled many soccer fans around the globe when the World Cup was awarded to the United ed States was that the host country had no apparent appreciation of the game, and would transform the football tournament into a marketing bonanza. There certainly are Americans who fail to see the strategy involved in soccer and who cannot appreciate its pace. *Sports Illustrated* columnist William F. Reed summarized what many Americans think about the game:

"I'll concede that soccer requires conditioning and dedication, but so do jogging and mountain climbing.

*Striker, World Cup mascot: a soccer-playing Huckleberry Hound. [World Cup USA '94]*

*Russell Field is editor of the baseball magazine Dugout.  His post-adolescent soccer career garnered him one goal and to date his only athletic trophy.*

Those sports don't spin the turnstiles or light up the Nielsens much, either. When all is said and done, the reason so many Americans are turned off by soccer is that it's B-O-R-I-N-G....Why, if it weren't for those ridiculous penalty-kick tiebreakers after two hours of play, most of the World Cup teams would still be playing."

As *Washington Post* columnist Tony Kornheiser noted after watching the 1990 World Cup in Italy, "I have trouble with the sentence, 'They built an insurmountable 1-0 lead'." But, according to Peter Bridgewater, head of the group that won the right to host six World Cup games at Stanford Stadium in Palo Alto, CA, "There are many ways the sport could be spiced up to make it more appealing to Americans." These included notions as abhorrent to football purists as bigger goals and dividing the game into quarters instead of halves.

## David Invites Goliath To Dinner

The United States, traditionally a nonpower in the soccer world, is ironically enough one of the few countries to have entered every World Cup competition. The World Cup is more than just a month-long tournament that takes place once every four years. Qualifying for the World Cup (or 'the finals') began over two years ago. The United States (as host) and Germany (as defending champion) automatically earned invitations to World Cup '94. One hundred and forty three countries began qualifying play in March, 1992, and by November of 1993, after 491 matches, the other 22 entrants in this year's World Cup had been determined.

As host of the fifteenth World Cup, the Americans will be making their fifth appearance in the final tournament. Outside of a 1-0 victory over England in 1950—considered by most soccer experts as the greatest upset in World Cup history—the United States has done little to distinguish itself on soccer's biggest stage. The 1990 World Cup in Italy was America's first appearance in the finals in forty years. The U.S. rebounded from a 5-1 shellacking at the hands of Czechoslovakia to at least be competitive in losses to Austria and their Italian hosts.

The fortunes of the U.S. soccer program took a dramatic turn for the better in 1991 when Bora Milutinovic was hired as the team's head coach. Milutinovic, an expatriate Serb, has had success turning national soccer programs around, leading both Mexico (1988) and Costa Rica

(1990) to the World Cup. Under his leadership, the U.S. scored its biggest victory in recent memory when it defeated England 2-0 on June 9, 1993 at Foxboro, Mass. Back home English coach Graham Taylor was branded "the outlaw of English football" in the British tabloids.

Of greater importance than the victory, however, was whether the game would heighten awareness in the U.S. of both soccer and the World Cup. As U.S. midfielder John Harkes noted after the win, "If this isn't on the front page of every paper tomorrow, I don't know what we have to do. They've given us the World Cup, and now we've shown we can play at this level."

## More Complicated Than Bingo

Unfortunately, even a victory of these proportions merited little mention in the American press. But from the very beginning, the World Cup USA 94 organization has had difficulty generating interest in the event. Two years after America had captured the right to host the World Cup, not one sponsor had been lined up. The U.S. Soccer Federation (USSF) had sold domestic television rights to NBC and SportsChannel America for a paltry $11.5 million and was generally having trouble organizing the world's largest sports event.

Then FIFA stepped in. The television deal was nullified and FIFA hinted that the World Cup would be moved elsewhere if the USSF did not shape up its act. As *Sports Illustrated* noted, "It's one thing to lose a game invented by foreigners and quite another to get beaten in a truly American pastime—sports marketing."

The blame for this disorganization was laid at the feet of then-USSF president Werner Fricker, who, it was observed, "would have trouble organizing a bingo game." To FIFA's relief Fricker was replaced in 1990 by Alan Rothenberg, the man responsible for the highly successful soccer tournament at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics.

Since Rothenberg took over, compa-

nies like Coca-Cola, General Motors and Gillette have shelled out anywhere from $15-$20 million apiece to become sponsors. American Airlines jumped on the bandwagon as the Official Airline of World Cup '94; Polygram spent $100 million on the recording and video rights to three music concerts that will be linked to the World Cup and televised worldwide; and World Cup commemorative coins will net an additional $25 million.



*USSF World Cup advertisement: convincing football-loving Americans to take an interest in soccer. [World Cup USA '94]*

However, on the negative side, many of the biggest sponsors were signed up by ISL Marketing, which represents FIFA. These were major players like MasterCard, who bought an international, not American, audience.

Another important step for World Cup organizers was selling the event to network television. Low scoring games, featuring defense-oriented play and continuous 45-minute halves make soccer unattractive to television executives. Networks have to discover a way to run commercials without interrupting play—hence the short-lived notion of four quarters as opposed to two halves. During the 1990 World Cup, TNT (the U.S. cable network that purchased the broadcast rights) cut away from the Italy-Ireland quarterfinal for a commercial and missed the game's only goal.

As a result, NBC and TNT (which lost money on the '90 World Cup) decided not even to bid on broadcast rights for the '94 World Cup. ABC would only bid on a package of "selected games", while CBS was the only network willing to even bid on the entire slate of 52 games. In the end, ABC and the cable sports net-

*The "field of seams" in Michigan's Silverdome: 1,800 slabs of sod. [World Cup USA '94]*

work ESPN purchased the rights to World Cup '94 for $23 million—a relatively insignificant sum when compared with the international television rights, which sold for $275 million.

## The "Field Of Seams"

Nevertheless, World Cup '94 will have a distinctly American flavor. In an effort to generate interest in the United States, the USSF launched a promotional campaign that depicted soccer using images familiar to Americans. Print ads showed an American football player carrying a soccer ball with the headline, "In 1994, football season starts on June 17th."

Warner Brothers Animation Studios was hired to design Striker, the animated dog mascot of World Cup '94. In early renderings, Striker appeared in a shirt with horizontal stripes (common in rugby, but not soccer) carrying a ball under his arm (a clear violation of the rules). These mistakes were corrected, but Striker still resembles a soccer-playing Huckleberry Hound.

In yet another move clearly American in origin, the decision was made to use the Silverdome in Pontiac, Michigan as one of the venues for first round action. FIFA rules clearly dictate, however, that all World Cup matches are to be played on natural grass. Rather than move the six games in question to another site, the USSF decided to grow grass indoors. The research project—whose feasibility study alone cost $100,000—has resulted in a hybrid of Kentucky bluegrass and ryegrass that grows indoors. The soccer pitch is formed when 1,800 hexagonal slabs of sod are inter-laid over the artificial turf at the Silverdome —what one writer labelled a "field of seams".

## No Cheapjack Imitation

These efforts are all designed to make the World Cup more accessible and palatable to American fans. Professional soccer as a spectator sport has never really caught on in North America. The now-defunct North American Soccer League (NASL) was, in the words of one observer, a "cheapjack imitation" of World Cup-calibre soccer, and the Major Indoor Soccer League (MISL), which folded 18 months ago, was according to Newsweek, "a hockey-like bastardization of the sport aimed at satisfying American tastes for fast action and high scoring."

Despite this, organizers are confident that World Cup '94 will be a success. They are quick to point out that 13 million American youngsters are involved in organized soccer. In fact, some European analysts are so confident of the World Cup's ability to draw fans that they boldly dismiss soccer's previous failures in North America:

> The USA should make a success of staging the finals; support for big names in soccer has never been a problem there. The North American Soccer League collapsed largely because there were insufficient numbers of star players...The problem will not be finding fans, but producing a strong [U.S.] team.

The U.S. Soccer Federation justifies its own optimism by pointing to the 1984 Summer Olympic Games held in Los Angeles. Soccer outdrew all other sports in 1984, averaging 43,750 fans for each of the 32 games. The Rose Bowl in Pasadena, California held crowds of 97,451 for the France-Yugoslavia semifinal, and 108,800 for the France-Brazil final. As a result, Rothenberg has boldly predicted that all 52 games in this year's World Cup will be sell-outs. In fact, by August of last year, all one million tickets that had been made available to the U.S. market had been sold.

Organizers are also expecting that ticket sales will receive a boost from the various ethnic communities in each

venue. For example, Columbian, Brazilian and Mexican teams will play in front of large hispanic crowds in California and Florida. According to James Paglia, chairman of the committee hosting games in Chicago, "There is an enormous range of ethnic communities in Chicago: Germans, Italians, Polish, Mexicans, Cubans, and South Americans. Many of these groups have their own soccer leagues. The trick will be to translate this involvement with the sport into enthusiasm for the World Cup."

But the pre-eminent challenge will be to fill the stands for matches like the South Korea-Bolivia tussle at Foxboro (Mass.) Stadium on June 23rd. While critics do not dispute the popularity of soccer amongst the *youth* of America, they do question whether that level of participation will translate into actual spectators.

At an organized level, there are 1.7 million American *adults* playing soccer for 6,500 clubs. By comparison, there are 2.25 million Brits playing organized football, and Italy boasts over 19,000 clubs. For the most part, Americans view soccer as a reason to rev up the Volvo and take the kids out on a Saturday morning.

## Sell The Sport, Not Just Tickets

Yet, this is no weekend romp in the park—the World Cup is big business. Total sponsorship and merchandising revenue is expected to top $1 billion. The economic boost that hosting World Cup matches would provide local economies was one reason that 32 cities expressed interest in being World Cup venues. "The bottom line is, if we stage four games, the economic impact will be $82 million, with tax revenues of $6 million," observed Joanie Schirm, before submitting Orlando's successful bid.

After the financial benefits peter out, however, there is some question as to what lasting effect World Cup '94 will have on soccer in the U.S. FIFA awarded the World Cup to America with the understanding that a professional league would be established in the U.S. by 1993. At the moment, the USSF has plans for a twelve-team league, to begin play in the spring of 1995.

For many, the World Cup will be a failure if it does not increase interest in soccer within the U.S. "We've got to do more than just sell all the tickets," says Bob Caporale, head of the World Cup group in Foxboro, Mass. "This is our one chance to catch the wave." ●

# Of Constitutional Liberty and the Fate of the Republic
# Gun Control in America

As the violence on the streets of America and the number of guns possessed by its citizens becomes more and more alarming, the debate over gun control assumes a tone of greater urgency. Many believe that the first step in tackling violent crime is disarming the general public. However, the history of gun control in America, the U.S. Constitution itself and the freedoms it guarantees, have made the issue of gun control one which prescribes no easy solution.

### by Mark Meier

"A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed."

For an amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America, this pronouncement is not particularly well-written. Perhaps if it were not sandwiched in between guarantees of freedom of speech and freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures, Americans would not cling to it so tenaciously. But there it is, the Second Amendment, part and parcel of the Bill of Rights—and it must be addressed.

A variety of legal restrictions on the manufacture, sale, and possession of weapons have fallen under the rubric of gun control, from the institution of background checks and waiting periods prior to the purchase of weapons, to the outright ban of firearms. For staunch opponents of gun control—most prominently the National Rifle Association (NRA), and the membership for whom they presumably speak—even the least of these measures are anathema to the absolute liberty to "bear Arms" guaranteed by the Second Amendment. Talk of licensing firearms, a far cry from barring possession of them completely, sparks comparisons to infamous Soviet tyrannies and analogies to Nazi Germany. Where does this passion come from?

The contested nature of the Second Amendment derives, in part, from its role as one manifestation of a broader cultural conflict. From origins in classical and Renaissance political theory, to the liberal reform spirit of the nineteenth century, to the issue at hand today of individual possession of firearms, the struggle owes debts to many of the most important intellectual currents of Western civilization. To understand the issue in depth, we must consider the history of this amendment in its broader cultural terms.

### Machiavelli's Legacy: The Intellectual Foundations of the Second Amendment

Provisions for an armed citizenry, and particularly state militia, were included in nearly all the constitutions of the original thirteen states. The prevalence of this position was partly born of practical



*Romanticizing gun culture in the great American gangster movie.*
*[G-Men]*

*Mark Meier is a Ph.D. candidate in American History at the University of Pennsylvania.*

experience: American revolutionaries would have faced a much harder road to independence had the central government—in this case the British monarchy—maintained a monopoly on weapons. However, as historians such as Robert Shalhope and the late Richard Hofstadter have argued, the late sixteenth century emphasis on the citizen's right to bear arms had deeper intellectual roots.

One important source of the political beliefs of America's founders was a classical republican philosophy descended



Machiavelli: the necessity of an armed citizenry for a virtuous republic.

from Ancient Rome and Florentine Italy, which was also prevalent in the Anglo-American world of the eighteenth century. Conceived in opposition to monarchy, and founded on the notion of a virtuous citizenry on guard against the corruption of the republic, this political philosophy—particularly as expressed by Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), focused attention on the issue of arming citizens. Standing armies were anathema to a virtuous republic, as they posed the threat of a powerful warrior class divorced

from the citizenry and the interests of the state. To political theorists, citizen militia were the favored alternative. Only such militia could combine the force of arms with the citizens' interests in the health and virtue of the republic.

Shalhope explains that republican theorists, beginning with Machiavelli, believed that "a dynamic relationship" existed between arms, individuals, and the well-being of the society. Machiavelli argued that the health of a republic was best guaranteed by the economic independence of its citizens, and by their ability and willingness to take up arms. Shalhope wrote that "arms were essential to liberty—in order for the individual citizen to protect himself, to hunt, to defend his state against foreign invasion, to keep his rulers honest, and to maintain his republican character."

Many Anglo-American political theorists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries upheld Machiavelli's beliefs, and none more so than America's Revolutionary generation. Joel Barlow, a Connecticut-born poet and political philosopher, wrote in the late eighteenth century, that one of the strengths of the American republic lay in "making every citizen a soldier, and every soldier a citizen; not only permitting every man to arm, but obliging him to arm." Barlow's claim, like the ideas of many of his peers, rested on his faith in the unique virtue of the American people. Because of their singular circumstances, background, and attitudes, Americans, these men believed, were capable of threatening a corrupt government—but not their own society. In such a situation, no harm could come from an armed citizenry. To disarm the citizen

while arming the professional soldier would leave the fate of the republic in the hands of those who would, in Barlow's phrase, "forget the duties of a man, to practice those of a soldier."

These ideas were prevalent in political documents critical to the formation of the American nation. Various bills of rights appended to state constitutions of the 1780s protected the right to bear arms and affirmed the importance of citizen militia. In his draft of the Virginia state Constitution, Thomas Jefferson proposed that "no man ever be debarred the use of arms," to which he later added the qualification, "within his own lands or tenements." Throughout the state conventions responsible for ratifying the national Constitution, the right to bear arms was reaffirmed. Notable Boston revolutionary Samuel Adams, challenging the federal Constitution, offered a possible amendment before the Massachusetts state convention which would prohibit Congress from "[preventing] the people of the United States who are peaceable citizens from keeping their own arms."

The Second Amendment embodies the beliefs and fears of the republican-minded men who considered and ratified it. In the late eighteenth century, the fear of a standing army, the reliance on state militia, the subordination of any military force to civilian control, and the right of individual citizens to bear arms were all closely tied to the preservation of liberty and virtue within the new republic. As this republic matured in the nineteenth century, the role of both the citizen militia and firearms in American life increasingly came under scrutiny.

## The Rapid Demise of the Citizen Militia and Early Attempts at Gun Control

Regardless of the theoretical virtue a citizen militia represented to republican idealists in the late eighteenth century, its practical value was quite low. George Washington, as commander of the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, had numerous opportunities to appraise the performance of militia, and found such units virtually worthless on the battlefield. Advocates of a standing professional army as a guarantor of national security gained influence in the early nineteenth century as the experience of the War of 1812 pressed home the need for an adequate military. Historian Marcus Cunliffe notes that by the 1850s militia service had become "a joke, a bore, a nuisance to a majority of American citizens." Militia companies had become little more than social clubs, often more interested in drinking than drilling.

Yet, even though a citizen militia no longer appeared capable of preserving liberty and virtue in the republic, few recommended disarming the citizenry. Indeed, the gun is one of the enduring symbols of America in the nineteenth century. Certainly, a firearm was an important means of security for a frontier-dweller. Just as certainly, guns played a role (long over-romanticized) in wars against native Americans and in the criminal life of that time period. If Hollywood and popular fiction of the twentieth century have indeed overestimated the role of the gun in nineteenth-century America, the truth still remains that few restrictions on gun ownership existed.

The earliest cases challenging the Second Amendment did not reach the Supreme Court until late in the nineteenth century. In three cases concerning the right of individuals to orga-

nize and bear arms as members of local militia, the court established a precedent for subsequent decisions that disregarded the intent of the authors of the Second Amendment.

In *U.S. v. Cruikshank* (1876), *Presser v. Illinois* (1886), and *Miller v. Texas* (1894), the Court enunciated two critical principles. The first was that the Second Amendment provided no individual right to bear arms, only a communal right to form militia. The second principle established in these cases was that the Second Amendment was not incorporated in the Fourteenth Amendment. (Under the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment, other rights guaranteed by the Constitution could be incorporated—that is, extended to protect individuals in non-Federal cases.) These Court decisions, by not incorporating the Second Amendment, established state sovereignty over the formation of militia and the institution of gun control legislation. To this day, the Second Amendment remains one of the few Constitutional guarantees not brought under the umbrella of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Although no observer could have realized it then, a critical moment for the gun control debate occurred in November, 1871, when the state of New York granted a charter authorizing efforts "to promote rifle practice, and for this purpose to provide a suitable range or ranges in the vicinity of New York..." The organization born of this charter, the National Rifle Association (NRA), was backed by a vocal and persistent group of retired and active soldiers (including Ambrose E. Burnside, who served as a general in the Union army in the Civil War, and as the NRA's first president).



[Kirk Anderson]

Initially concerned with a perceived lack of proficiency with firearms on the part of the American citizenry, the NRA has in the 120 years since its inception played a central role in promoting firearm safety and education, sponsoring competitive shooting, and has concerned itself with blocking what it has viewed as reactionary efforts to restrict the manufacture, sale, and possession of firearms. In this last role, however, the NRA did not emerge as the organized and powerful lobby it is today until later in the twentieth century. During much of the early history of gun control legislation, the NRA was relatively quiet.

Court decisions such as *Cruikshank* and *Presser* paved the way for subsequent gun control measures, but did not by themselves create any momentum for such legislation. This dynamic emerged during the socio-cultural transformations in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America, as the pressures caused by immigration, urbanization, and industrialization prompted a wide variety of reform movements.

## Of Cops, Robbers, and Reform at the Turn of the Century

For most of the nineteenth century, widespread possession of firearms did not incur public rancor as much as simple disorder did. Many distressed travelers from the East Coast wrote of the lawlessness rampant in western settlements. The first step in "civilizing" these settlements and turning them into proper towns often consisted of the establishment of vigilante committees, who, perversely, were to end disorder by eliminating its sources. "Civilizing" the cities of the East and Midwest posed a slightly different problem, and part of the solution seemed to lie in professionalizing law enforcement and restricting firearms.

Maintaining law and order in the early nineteenth century posed peculiar problems. Organized, uniformed police forces in the American republic were subject to the same suspicions directed at a standing, professional army. Largely because of these suspicions, most urban police were not permitted to carry weapons other than clubs. In the late nineteenth century, however, as cities swelled with the influx of immigrants, and as violent clashes between immigrant and native-born, and between labor and management intensified, calls for increased efforts to restore order were commonplace.

In a sense, reform intended to achieve "stricter law enforcement" provided a method of addressing the symptoms of late nineteenth-century America's problems—violence, crime—without tackling their social and economic causes. As part of this reform impulse, law enforcement underwent significant changes. Police forces were reorganized under professional and meritocratic principles, and crime and disorder were tackled head-on as the products of an older, "savage" world, undesirable in modern civilization.

**MORE FUN...**
**with YOUR GUNS**

**... the Year Around!**

*Join* THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION

*Defending the constitutional right to have fun? Over a quarter century has passed since this NRA portrayal of guns in America.*

## "Civilizing" New York

In the first decade of the twentieth century, many influential "opinion leaders" in New York City—journalists, politicians, businessmen—took aim at one particular manifestation of "savagery" in their city: handgun violence. Leaders desired some form of gun control to lessen the crime and domestic violence that New Yorkers felt had reached alarming proportions. The Sullivan Law, passed by the New York State Legislature in 1911, was the broadest attempt at gun control in the United States to that date, and was to exert enormous influence over future efforts toward gun control.

The Sullivan Law mandated that individuals had to receive a permit, or license, from local authorities to purchase or own a handgun; carrying an unlicensed handgun was made a felony. The granting of such permits was left to the discretion of the local authorities, who might refuse or revoke a permit if the individual in question engaged in any criminal activity or demonstrated "suspect character." It was hoped that this piece of legislation would control crime.

Yet, hopes based on legislation are rarely fully realized, and this case was no exception. Handgun violence in New York City continued to rise in the years after the Sullivan Law was enacted, and the ensuing debate now sounds familiar to anyone paying attention to current gun control discussions. Critics of the Sullivan Law argued that it served only to disarm the honest citizenry of New York, while advocates claimed that tougher, wider enforcement was necessary—perhaps even legislation at the federal level. It would be unfair to label the Sullivan Act a success or failure, although gun control scholar Lee Nisbet has assessed its symbolic impact:

[The] Sullivan Law, along with its advocates and critics, marked the emergence of the firearm as a symbol of a much larger ongoing political, social, and cultural struggle—kulturkampf—to define the kind of nation America should be. Specifically, the gun control debate can be viewed as part of a larger social struggle between an urban, well-educated, politically liberal class and one with more traditional political and social views.

## Here from There: Gun Control After the Sullivan Law

The First World War temporarily shifted attention away from the issue of gun control. Ironically, however, the Great War also sounded the death-knell for the ideal of a citizen militia, as the National Defense Act of 1916 recognized the National Guard as the militia, putting an end to the few state and local units that remained.

The war also marked the waning of the reform impulse that had swept America in the three previous decades. One of the last great acts of that impulse, Prohibition, contributed to the reorganization of law enforcement and, indirectly, to the cause of gun control. The Eighteenth Amendment, ratified in 1919, banned the manufacture and sale of alcohol within the United States. Like many other reform acts of this period, Prohibition was intended to buttress domestic order. It was the culmination of a campaign against the evils of alcohol-evils which supposedly showed the weaknesses and dangers of recent immigrants to America.

In 1933, less than a decade and a half after ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, Prohibition was repealed. It left

# The Lessons

In the current debate over gun control, Prohibition is often presented as an example of the failure of restrictive legislation. Gun control opponents repeatedly make the argument that Prohibition did not stop drinking, and that instead, by encouraging smuggling, bootlegging and moonshining, it fostered organized crime. This is all true. However, the National Rifle Association (NRA), one of the most vociferous adversaries of gun control, would do well to study history more closely before resting its case on the uselessness of Prohibition laws. Moreover, Prohibition contains lessons about the force of public opinion that the gun lobby ignores at its own peril.

Contrary to the way they are often portrayed, federal Prohibition laws never actually forbade drinking or possession of alcohol. In fact, citizens could even purchase alcohol or make their own wine and hard cider without breaking the law. What Prohibition *did* disallow was the "manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors." Thus, the point of Prohibition was not to end drinking in the United States—although some legislators clearly hoped this would happen—but rather, to eliminate the alcohol industry. Prohibitionists emphasized that saloons destroyed lives and families, and that brewers and distillers corrupted politics. This type of talk was enough to alarm the general public about the evils of the alcohol industry.

Particularly relevant to the current furor over gun control is the alcohol industry's reaction to Prohibition. Even in the face of tremendous public outrage, the industry appeared incapable of self-reform. Saloons, competing for business, continued to sell to minors and drunkards. Brewers insisted that beer was a "healthy" beverage; distillers—that whiskey was an "American" one. Distributors smuggled their products into states and counties that had banned alcohol sales. Even after Prohibition was written into the Constitution in 1919 as the

behind, at best, a mixed legacy. Consumption of alcohol had dropped, but the law of the land was regularly flaunted. More importantly, Prohibition had resulted in bootlegging, which created a new class of organized criminal, such as Al Capone, who posed a new threat to law and order. As law enforcement endeavored to meet the challenge of organized crime, new gun control measures were passed to aid the struggle.

The National Firearms Act of 1934 (bolstered in 1938 by additional legislation) was the first attempt by the federal government to establish some control over personal weapons ownership. In part intended to curb the power of organized crime, the Act prohibited private possession of a variety of firearms: machine guns, assault rifles, sawed-off shotguns, and silencers. In addition, the Act required the licensing of all firearms manufacturers and dealers, and prohibited the interstate transportation of unregistered shotguns.

In 1939 the National Firearms Act was tested in the Supreme Court, in *U.S. v. Miller*. The Court unanimously upheld the convictions of two men charged with transporting sawed-off shotguns across state lines. The Court argued that such weapons had no "reasonable relationship" to "a well-regulated militia," and therefore the defendants were not protected

# of Prohibition

Eighteenth Amendment, the industry still refused to take public sentiment to heart. The alcohol industry believed that the Supreme Court would dismiss Prohibition; instead, it was upheld. Except for medicinal and sacramental products, the beverage alcohol industry ceased to exist for the next fourteen years. After Prohibition was repealed in 1933, states such as Pennsylvania, not trusting the industry to monitor itself, retained strict control over alcohol distribution.

The point need not be overstated that people today are just as scared and desperate as during World War I, and are just as willing to turn to drastic measures. The NRA—by loudly opposing even the most moderate gun control measures, by denying the violence perpetrated by gun owners, by supporting products such as armor-piercing bullets that can only be used for killing, and by excusing tragic social destruction in the name of constitutional liberty—looks increasingly like the alcohol industry of 75 years ago. And politicians, just as they did then with the "dreaded liquor interests," are now beginning to turn the gun lobby into a scapegoat. The NRA's inflexibility only makes it that much easier.

Could Prohibition happen again, this time with guns? The gun industry refuses all responsibility for urban violence, fear, and crime; yet, no cheaper, faster, or more effective solutions to these problems than gun control are in sight. Handgun advocates argue that gun control will not work, that it will not affect the more than 200 million firearms already on the streets. That may be. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that in times of crisis, Americans are capable of re-writing the Constitution to eliminate industries that they consider corrupt, arrogant and murderous. The question is whether or not the gun industry will finally acknowledge that guns kill people—before people, in their frustration, finally kill guns.

- *Catherine Gilbert Murdock*

by the Second Amendment. As it had been since *Cruikshank* in 1876, the Court emphasized the militia clause of the Amendment, but it went further in clearly spelling out a doctrine for Second Amendment cases. In its decision, the Court found that the "clear purpose" of the Second Amendment was to implement the provision found in Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution, empowering Congress to "[call] forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections, and repel Invasions." This opinion firmly declared that no individual right was guaranteed in the Second Amendment, only a communal right related to the safety of the republic—a doctrine that has yet to be revised or discarded.

## In the Wake of *Miller*

Since World War II, the cause of gun control in America has been confronted with difficulties from a variety of directions. In the mid-1950s, the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), to further integrate their armed forces, switched to a standard, 7.62 mm bore in their field

*Al Capone: the Prohibition-era rise of organized crime.*

weapons. This transition created a surplus of thousands of nonstandard weapons from Western European nations that sold for as low as $10.00 on the American market. It was a welcome situation for gun dealers, collectors, and enthusiasts, but posed a vexing problem for gun control advocates. Attention was drawn to the problem in dramatic fashion by the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, who was killed (apologies to Oliver Stone) with a surplus Italian rifle, purchased at a cutrate price by Lee Harvey Oswald.

Five years later, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King were both shot by assassins. In addition, increasingly violent unrest struck both urban areas and once-idyllic college campuses. In 1967, a year before the Robert Kennedy and King assassinations, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice issued a report that reaffirmed the judiciary's decisions regarding the Second Amendment, and particularly the doctrine set forth in *U.S. v. Miller*.

Another piece of federal gun control legislation arrived on the heels of this report, spurred by strains on the social fabric that violence at home and abroad had created. The Gun Control Act of 1968 prohibited the importation of military surplus weaponry (in this case, closing the barn door well after the horse had gotten *in*), the importation and sale of cheap, small, "Saturday Night Special"-type handguns, and the interstate retailing of all firearms. This last stipulation was intended mainly to stifle mail-order sales of weapons, transactions which were becoming increasingly difficult to monitor.

To this day, the Court's position has remained unchanged.
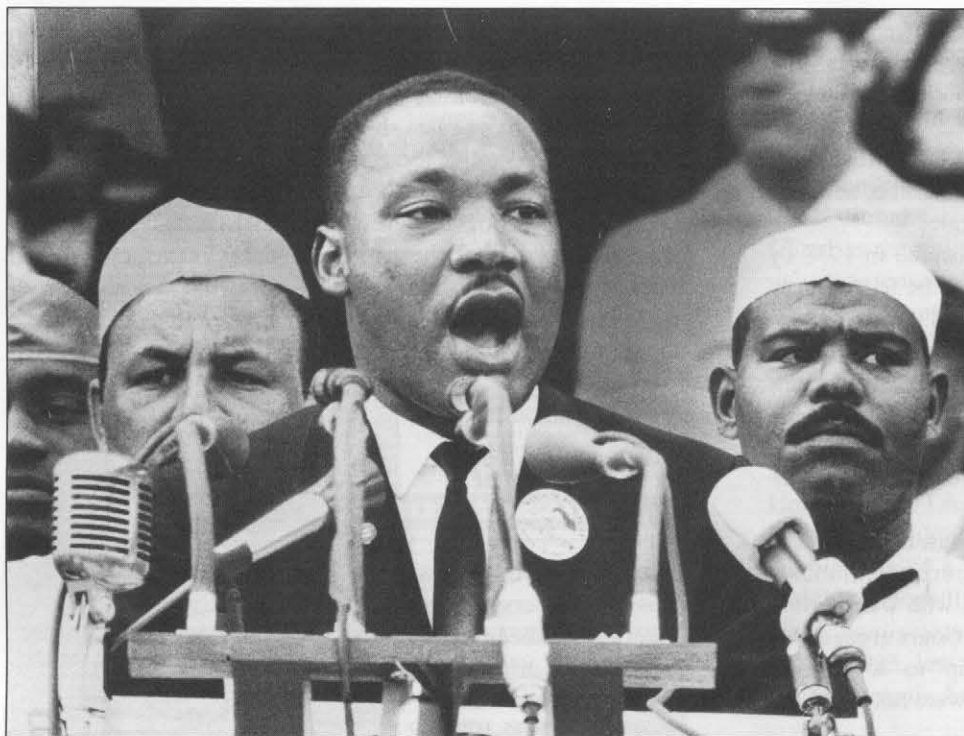
*Easy access to guns: civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., killed by an assassin's bullet.* [U.S. Embassy, Ottawa]

In *Adams v. Williams* (1972), a case not directly related to Second Amendment issues, Justices Thurgood Marshall and William O. Douglas cited *U.S. v. Miller* and reaffirmed the states' right to regulate weapons. In *Lewis v. U.S.* (1980), Justice Harry A. Blackmun remarked in a footnote to the Court's opinion that *U.S. v. Miller* still represented the Court's thinking on the Second Amendment. Finally, the Court refused to hear the case of *Quilici v. Morton Grove* (1982), in which a municipal ordinance of the city of Morton Grove (Illinois) banning handgun ownership except for those used in the line of duty, was challenged. *Quilici* had been heard in the Federal District Court and the Federal Court of Appeals, both of which had upheld the Morton Grove ordinance. The Supreme Court's refusal to hear the case left the decision of the lower courts in effect, and preserved state and local prerogatives to regulate firearms.

Public distress over violent crime has ebbed and flowed throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Particular events, such as the killing of John Lennon and the shooting of President Ronald Reagan, have highlighted the ease with which anyone can obtain handguns. In addition, popular attention to developments such as the violent environment created by illegal drug trafficking and the apparent profusion of firearms among America's youth has served to keep issues of law, order, and gun control at the forefront of the public consciousness.

## The Legislative Battleground

Attention to the issue of gun control is now particularly intense. New Jersey has enacted an assault gun ban, and the recently passed Brady Bill has put in place additional federal legislation restricting gun ownership and availability. As expected, the political debate over these new proscriptive measures and other local ordinances is quite heated. Successful challenges to gun control through the courts seem unlikely, unless a major turn-around takes place in judicial attitudes regarding *U.S. v. Miller*. In the century since *U.S. v. Cruikshank*, the Court has shown no inclination to stray from its original findings; thus, no intention to block firearms regulation nor guarantee an individual's right to bear arms is evident. The battleground, then, is in the legislature. The chief hurdle for gun control advocates has been passing controlling legislation, and the lobbyists of the National Rifle Association (NRA) have labored mightily to raise that hurdle whenever possible.

It is quite possible that Lee Nisbet is correct in placing gun control at the center of a broader cultural struggle. Opposition to gun control appears strongest in rural America, and in the West and South in particular. In addition, there appears to be at least some correlation between opposition to gun control and conservative stands on other political and social issues. If a broader struggle does exist, then the lobbyists of the NRA and gun control advocates are in the skirmish lines.

In a democratic society, the state can offer no better arena for playing out such struggles than the legislature: local, state, or federal. Legislatures are imperfect institutions, bound to offer imperfect solutions. But on the issue of firearms, where cultural stakes are high, and social costs much higher, even imperfect solutions must be considered. ●

### Suggestions for Further Reading

Lawrence Kress, "An Armed Community: The Origins and Meaning of the Right to Bear Arms" in *Journal of American History*. (1984, p. 71).

Richard Hofstadter, "America as a Gun Culture" in *American Heritage*. (October 1970, p. 21).

Lee Kennett and James Anderson, *The Gun in America: The Origins of a National Dilemma*. (Greenwood Press, 1975).

Robert Emmett Long, ed., *Gun Control*. (The H.W. Wilson Company, 1989).

Lee Nisbet, *The Gun Control Debate*. (Prometheus Books, 1990).

Daniel D. Polsby, "The False Promise of Gun Control" in *Atlantic Monthly*. (March, 1994).

Robert Shalhope, "The Ideological Origins of the Second Amendment" in *Journal of American History*. (1984, p. 71).

Robert Spitzer, "Shooting Down Gun Myths" in *America*. (June 8, 1985).

# Will the Opportunity Pass Again?
## U.S. Health Care Reform in 1994

Although debate rages in the U.S. over the Clinton Administration's health care reform initiatives, at least one point remains undisputed: the need for reform is more pressing than ever before.

### by Kevin G. Volpp

The soaring cost of health care is one of the most pressing issues in America today. Health spending in the United States will total an estimated $1 trillion by the end of 1994, making the American health sector the size of the eighth largest economy in the world, larger than the national economy of Spain. Health expenditures constitute 14 percent of GNP and are projected to grow to 18 percent by the year 2000. Between 1950 and 1990, health expenditures have steadily risen at a rate 3 percent higher than spending for other goods and services, and if this trend continues, a staggering amount of the country's resources will soon be directed to the health sector (as the chart on the next page demonstrates).

Also critical is the need to extend health coverage to 37 million uninsured Americans. The United States and South Africa are the only western, industrialized countries that do not extend health security to all citizens.

Yet another challenge is to improve the quality of health care while controlling its cost. For those with access to it, the United States offers the world's most technologically advanced health care. Molecular, genetic and other research breakthroughs promise further advances in areas once thought untreatable, and pharmaceutical agents have improved quality of life and frequently circumvent the need for surgery. However, quantity of health services does not always mean quality, and the charge is often levied that procedures executed are inappropriate to patients' diagnostic conditions.

These criticisms of the health care industry are not new. Both Richard Nixon and Jimmy Carter predicted disaster unless action was taken to reform health care. Nevertheless, stakeholders in the health system—hospitals, physicians, pharmaceutical and medical equipment manufacturers, insurance companies, the federal government, and patients—have until now preserved the status quo.

With the election of a largely Democratic Congress and a President committed to health care reform in 1992, the issue leapt to prominence on the national scene. The proposed Clinton Health Security Act is the most extensive governmental program since the passage of Social Security in the 1930s, and, though critiqued for its methods, it has been lauded for its goals. In previous attempts at comprehensive reform during this century, interest groups representing the medical profession, insurance companies, and unions, obstructed health reform efforts in response to perceived threats to their own



FORM 296-A··· ···FORM 296-A·

[Kirk Anderson]

Kevin Volpp is an M.D./Ph.D. student at the University of Pennsylvania, studying at the Department of Public Policy & Management in the Wharton School and at the School of Medicine. This article was prepared with funding from National Institutes of Health Grant 5-T32 GM-07170s.

self-interest. Nevertheless, the question remains: will present attempts at reform succeed where others have failed?

## Past Failures

Health reform was first attempted in the early 1900s by the Progressives, a political party which sought to reform capitalism and engineer social improvement through government action. In 1912, the Progressives and their presidential candidate Teddy Roosevelt supported social insurance; they believed that national strength must grow from a healthy, prosperous population, and argued that health insurance would relieve poverty caused by sickness and would reduce the costs of illness by providing medical care.

Initially, Progressive reformers had the support of the American Medical Association (AMA), but disagreements arose when the Progressive search for efficiency conflicted with doctors' concerns about their income and autonomy—a conflict which has continued to arise throughout this century. Furthermore, employers and unions alike opposed compulsory governmental health insurance because they feared it would increase worker loyalty to the government, rather than to unions or employers.

In 1917, the entry of the United States into World War I fueled strong anti-German sentiment, and opponents of health insurance successfully stigmatized this form of insurance as a device for social control with origins in the Prussian Empire. After the war, rising medical costs shifted the emphasis among reformers during the 1920s: while compensation for income losses during sickness had originally been regarded as the primary problem, protection against the costs of medical care now moved to the forefront. The Depression also shifted national concerns away from health coverage and towards unemployment insurance and Social Security. For fear it would jeopardize the passage of Social Security, health insurance was not included in the bill.

Finally, in 1943, universal health insurance was proposed in Congress as part of a new "cradle to grave" social security system. Though this proposal was delayed by the war, only three months after the armistice President Truman proposed a single health coverage system that would include all Americans. He freely acknowledged that the expansion of services would cost more money, but noted that medical services absorbed only four percent of national income. Public funds, he argued, would foot the insurance bill for those too poor to pay themselves.

Though Truman's plan promised higher incomes to physicians without organizational reform, doctors still supported voluntary, rather than compulsory, insurance and galvanized the support of large businesses, public officials, and communi-

ty groups. The AMA was able, in a climate of rampant anti-communism, to characterize socialized medicine as a dangerous step towards socialization of other areas of American life. While a compromise—such as a combination of voluntary and compulsory insurance—might have passed, the vehement opposition from the AMA may have intimidated Congress from assembling the necessary support, and ultimately the Truman proposal was killed.

Though World War II postponed discussion of social legislation, one major change in the health insurance landscape did emerge—somewhat accidentally—which continues to influence current debates. In 1942, the War Labor Board decided that though wages were frozen to control inflation, fringe benefits of up to five percent of wages would not be considered inflationary. Therefore, to attract and keep workers, employers began to offer health insurance. This change became more important when unions were granted the right to bargain collectively with management over health care in the late 1940s. Benefits such as health insurance were not considered taxable income, which helped fuel demand for increasingly generous employer-sponsored health plans during the ensuing decades.

In the past, interest groups opposed to national health insurance used ideology as a device to sway the American people. By portraying universal health insurance as first a German device for social engineering and then as a Soviet communist plot, these groups were able to set the tone of public debate. In more recent health reform efforts, political leaders have mitigated interest group opposition by anticipating their positions and incorporating concessions into the design of the legislation. While perhaps necessary for legislative success, such compromises often represented bad policy, and helped fuel the subsequent rise of health care costs.

## Short-lived Success in the 1960s

Between 1961 and 1965 the American economy boomed. In 1964, the Democrats gained a voting margin in the House of Representatives not seen since the 1930s. The time was ripe for social legislation, and by July 30, 1965, President Lyndon Johnson had signed three health care bills into law: Medicare Part A, a compulsory hospital insurance program under Social Security; Medicare Part B, a government-subsidized voluntary insurance program to cover physician services; and Medicaid, a state-federal program designed to aid the poor.

The fact that these bills passed through Congress reflected the substantial concessions which had been made to interest groups such as doctors and hospitals. Most significant of these, perhaps, was the decision to administer Medicare payments according to the Blue Cross system of paying hospitals their

---

### Health Care Costs (as a percentage of GDP)

| Year | Percentage |
|------|-----------|
| 1940 | 4.0% |
| 1950 | 4.5% |
| 1960 | 5.3% |
| 1970 | 7.3% |
| 1980 | 9.1% |
| 1990 | 12.2% |
| 1991 | 13.2% |
| 1992 | 13.9% |
| 1993 | 14.4% |
| 1995 | 15.6% |
| 2000 | 18.1% |
| 2010 | 22.0% |
| 2020 | 26.5% |
| 2030 | 32.0% |

Source: "National Health Expenditures Projections through 2030," *Health Care Financing Review*," 1992, vol. 14, no. 1.

reported costs—essentially giving hospitals and physicians a blank check. The initial opposition of hospitals and doctors to the bills was offset by strong grass-roots support for them from the elderly, who by this time had formidable lobbying power.

Since most of the cost of care was covered by health insurance provided through employers, physicians and insured patients demanded the best services regardless of cost. The freer flow of money encouraged the development of expensive new medical technologies, many of which were disbursed before there was proof of their effectiveness or consideration of their cost.

Within a few years, Medicare and Medicaid expenditures had grown far more rapidly than projected. From $2.9 billion in 1966, the programs' expenditures grew to $7.9 billion in 1967. By 1972, the account reached $16.8 billion. In addition, critics lambasted the system for its excessive dependence on specialists rather than general physicians, for too great a focus on hospital-based care, and for being comprised of a patchwork of disparate federal programs rather than a single plan with tough cost controls. Due to its tax exempt status, employer-based health insurance continued to expand. This, along with the increased governmental role in insurance, caused the share of health care expenditures paid by private insurers and the government to increase to 67 percent by 1975. Patients and providers were thus effectively shielded from the true costs of treatments.

## The first pronouncement of crisis

Shortly after taking office in 1969, President Nixon announced a major crisis in the nation's health care costs. To address this situation, the Nixon Administration proposed a multistage approach. First, it supported the expansion of Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) which integrated financing and delivery systems for health services, providing care for subscribers based on a yearly fee. The logic behind HMOs was to reward care givers for keeping people healthy, rather than paying them more when patients were sick.

Nixon then sponsored a proposal which required employers to provide a minimum package of health insurance benefits to employees, and established a separate government-run program for the rest of the population. Under his plan, patients were required to pay 25 percent of medical bills up to a maximum of $1,500 per year.

By 1973 and 1974, legislative action on these proposals seemed imminent. However, a combination of political opposition from groups unwilling to compromise their own insurance plans (namely labor unions and liberal Democrats), the effects of Watergate and a severe recession in 1974 and 1975 curtailed any plans to expand social welfare programs in the foreseeable future.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, as patients continued to demand the most effective treatments regardless of cost, those who paid for private insurance found that the cost of caring for the uninsured increasingly shifted on to them. This happened as the federal government attempted to hold its expenditures down by paying progressively smaller percentages of the costs of hospitals' bills and physician fees; providers, in turn, charged higher fees to patients with private insurance.

Some states restricted the criteria for Medicaid to make it available only to those with incomes lower than 16% of the poverty line (which for a family of four in the U.S. is now about $13,000). In certain states a family of four with income greater than about $2,100 would not have been eligible for Medicaid.

The working poor—those who earned too much to be eligible for Medicaid in nearly all states—found themselves choosing between health care or food and clothing, as health insurance was rarely provided by their employers. For those who worked independently, for small firms, or who had ongoing illnesses, health insurance coverage was often either unobtainable or unaffordable. Employers, who paid for most private insurance, began to complain that health costs were eroding competitiveness and profits. They therefore increased employees' cost burden by reducing benefits and increasing required co-payments and deductibles.

By the 1990s, many workers had been moved into managed care programs which limited patients' choices of physicians, but helped employers control health care costs. Still, an estimated 37 million Americans—mostly workers and their dependents—remain uninsured, and another 40 million have
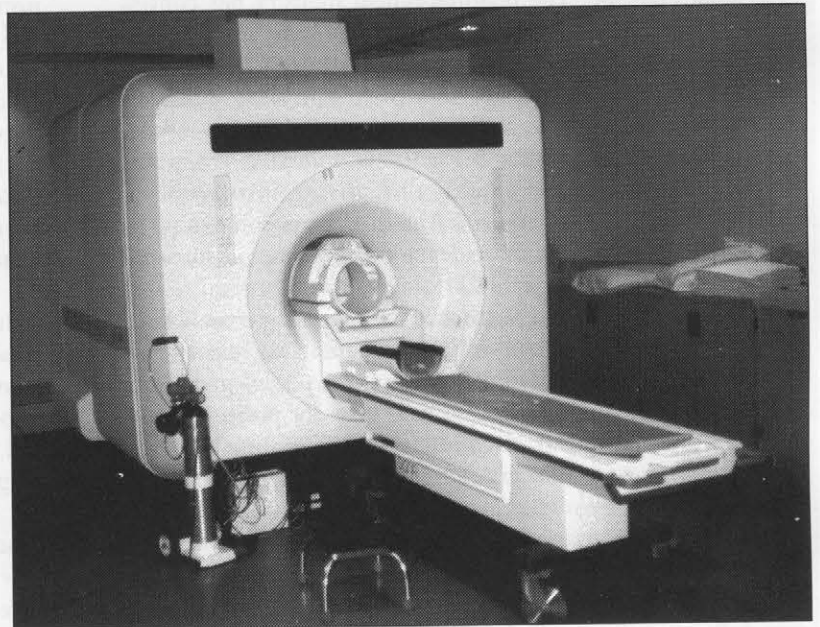


*Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI) machine: wonderful technology, but can the U.S. afford so many? [Schulten]*

inadequate insurance which would not cover them for catastrophic illnesses. Indicative of the current health care crisis is the fear of middle-class Americans that they will lose health insurance coverage if they get sick or lose their jobs.

## The Current Debate

Today, the commitment of the White House has ensured that once again health care reform has a chance at success. Most legislators agree that extension of universal health insurance is now just a question of when and how. The current debate, despite what the Clinton Administration had hoped, is one which is heavily influenced by interest groups, though the medical profession no longer has the clout to single-handedly
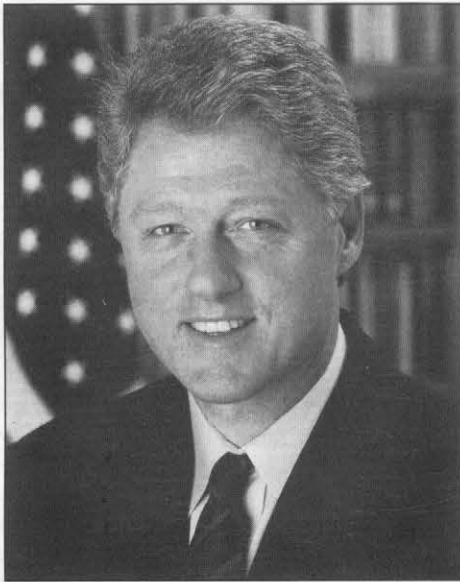
President Clinton: determined to reform the health care system. [U.S. Embassy, Ottawa]

block reform.

In contrast with the past, almost all interest groups have now voiced the need for universal health insurance and tougher cost controls. Big business has helped lead the push towards reform, though many businesses (both large and small) still oppose required employer provision of health insurance. The AMA has firmly supported universal coverage, whether through an employer or individual mandate. The pharmaceutical industry has consistently favored extending health insurance (and prescription drug) coverage to the entire population, though it does fear possible governmental price controls, which would stifle research and innovation. In this round of health care reform negotiations, the principle obstructionist lobbying group has been the major trade association of private insurers—the Health Insurance Association of America. Though claiming to support universal access, it has developed a television advertising campaign highly critical of President Clinton's plan.

The key issue is how to finance the extension of new benefits. In the interest of controlling the deficit, current budget rules forbid Congress from approving any new programs unless they are paid for through new taxes or projected savings. Unfortunately, though predictably, the current political debate is laden with misconceptions about how reform could be financed.

For example, many argue that physicians' salaries and pharmaceutical profits are the source of excessive costs. Yet, physicians' salaries constitute only 19 cents of every health care dollar, and even a 20 percent cut in net physician income would reduce total health spending by only two percent. Similarly, spending on pharmaceuticals constitutes only seven percent of health care spending, and even a 50 percent cut in drug company profits would save less than one percent of health care expenditures.

Perhaps the most insidious myth espoused by politicians is the notion that employers "give" health insurance to their employees. Union leaders have long understood, though the rank-and-file may not, that employers view cash wages and fringe benefits as a total compensation package. To remain competitive, firms which pay more for benefits pay less in cash wages.

One of the main reasons for the rising cost of health care has been the increase in the number and type of services performed, especially as new technology is rapidly dispersed. For example, there are more Magnetic Resonance Imaging machines (MRIs) in Philadelphia alone than in all of Canada. While MRIs represent a fantastic technological advance, can the United States really afford to support the distribution of such technology without considering the costs?

## Likely Outcomes: The Three C's

Within the myriad of plans proposed by Congress, there are three which will likely represent the basis for an eventual compromise. Tennessee Democrat Jim Cooper's proposal is the most market-oriented, President Clinton's the most regulatory, and Senator John Chafee's (R.—R.I.) somewhere in between. All three agree on many fundamental principles.

First, they concur there has been a breakdown in the insurance market—particularly for small insurers and individuals—and they support insurance reforms. Second, they support the use of a regulated marketplace as a means of controlling health care costs. Third, they suggest standardized benefit packages as a way to facilitate competition. Fourth, they support quality report cards to drive internal improvements and competition among health plans. Fifth, they seek to simplify health care delivery by reducing paperwork and red tape. And finally, they agree that broad-based taxes would be unpalatable to the American public, and rely instead on other financing mechanisms.

All the plans are rooted in the concept of managed competition, a system in which a sponsor acts on behalf of a large group of subscribers. That way, attempts by insurers to avoid price competition by selecting patients who are poorer health risks can be overcome. To be fair to insurers who end up with a pool of older or sicker patients, risk-adjustments are included to ensure higher premiums for populations which are expected to have more illnesses.

Managed competition is based on annual contracts that include comprehensive health services, such as managed care organizations or HMOs. The goal of these organizations is to promote efficiency by two means: first, through the integration of payment and care systems into one organization, and second, by encouraging comprehensive health care that focuses on keeping patients healthy.

One of the inequities managed competition was designed to address is the provision of employer-based health insurance to workers as a tax-exempt benefit, which, because such insurance is not received by the less well-off, represents a redistribution of funds from the less wealthy to the more wealthy. This use of tax dollars as a subsidy for higher priced plans should be eliminated. Ideally, health insurance would be paid for with after-tax dollars, with appropriate subsidies to those who need them on the basis of income.

The role of tax dollars in health insurance plans is, in fact, one of the central differences between the approaches of Clinton, Cooper and Chafee. Cooper and Chafee limit tax deductions for premiums above a certain level, while Clinton does not meaningfully do so. The other differences center around the role of health purchasing cooperatives, price controls, and mandatory coverage.

In all three plans, health insurance purchasing cooperatives are created to assemble small groups of consumers into larger entities for the purchase of insurance. The size and regulatory authority of these groups differs markedly, however. Cooper and Chafee both suggest alliances for employers with

fewer than 100 employees or individual purchasers. These alliances would serve as health benefits departments for individuals or small businesses who do not have the resources to create such departments for their employees.

Clinton's plan, by far the most regulatory of the three, forces all employers with fewer than 5000 employees to join these alliances, and taxes larger employers if they choose not to join. In addition, the Administration's plan grants these alliances greater authority to regulate and administer health plans, and also creates a National Health Board to monitor the changing needs and prices charged for these plans. A big reason for the increased regulatory authority of the alliances and National Health Board is Clinton's decision to use price controls and an annual cap on health-care spending "in case" market forces do not keep cost increases in check. Neither Cooper nor Chafee employ price controls or spending limits.

Whether or not price controls will work is a key issue. In the past, attempts to regulate premiums have failed to eliminate inefficient, high-cost producers. Price controls may also create the wrong incentives, as providers and health plans will be more concerned with convincing regulators they need more

money than with improving efficiency.

All three plans require employers to make group insurance available to employees without regard for pre-existing medical conditions or similar limitations. A big part of the complexity—and controversy—of the Clinton plan is its use of an employer mandate. Employers will be required to pay 80 percent of the cost of health insurance premiums (divided by the number of workers in the family), while workers will pay the other 20 percent. Government subsidies will limit the percentage of payroll firms will have to pay dependent on firm size. Clinton's goal is universal coverage by 1998.
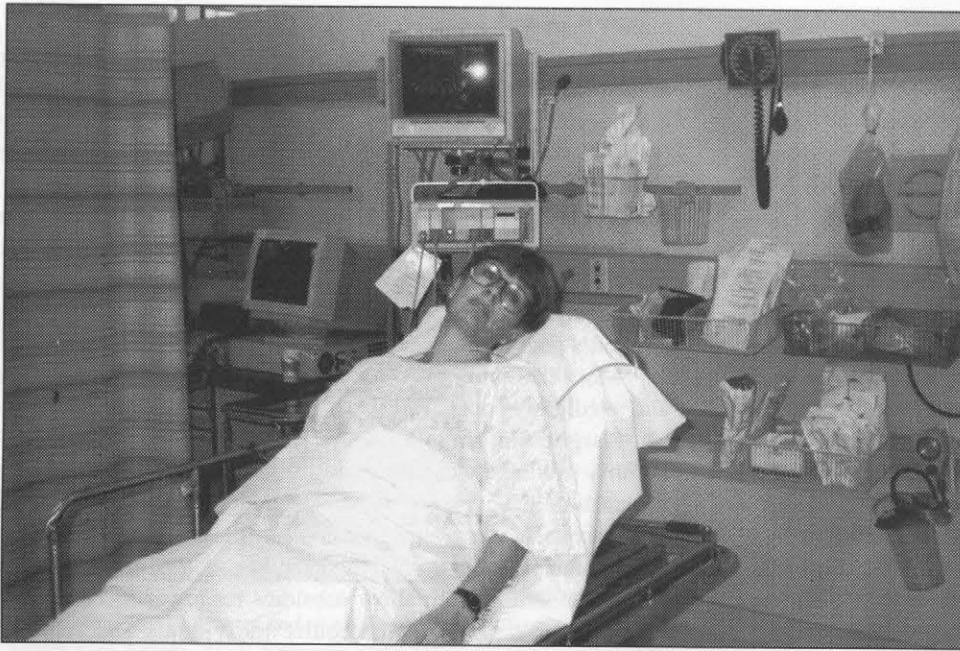
Most economists decry the employer mandate as an unfair and needlessly complicated way to achieve universal coverage. They argue that the tax exempt status of such benefits will unfairly privilege wealthier families, and the incentives of such a plan would adversely affect the labor market by inducing practices such as not hiring workers with dependents.

Neither Cooper nor Chafee require employers to pay for insurance, though both allow subsidies for lower-income families. Chafee's plan would require individuals and families whose employers do not provide insurance to do so them-

## The Three C's: A Comparative Look

| Sponsor | President Clinton | Sen. John Chafee (R., RI) | Rep. Jim Cooper (D., TN) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Coverage | All Americans, mostly through employers. Regional health alliances available to facilitate purchase for individuals and small groups. | All Americans required to buy insurance if not provided by employers. Health insurance purchasing cooperatives for uncovered workers and unemployed. Government subsidies for low-income people. | Coverage not required. Small employers, employees, non-workers can buy through health alliances. Government subsidies for low-income people. |
| Financing | Large employers pay 80% of workers' premiums; workers pay the rest. Government costs financed by Medicare and Medicaid cuts, cigarette tax, 1% payroll tax on large employers not in alliances. | Tax deductions limited for premiums above certain level. Medicare and Medicaid would be cut. Employers have option of contributing to premiums. | Limits imposed on tax deductions by employers for premiums above a certain level. Medicare cuts. |
| Benefits | Standard benefit package includes hospital, doctor, primary care, preventive services, prescription drugs, dental, mental health, in-home care. | Insurers required to offer package of medical, surgical, preventive care, prescription drugs, rehabilitation services, severe mental problems, substance abuse treatment. | Standard acute-care benefit package to be offered. May include more benefits later. |
| Cost Control | Government would set annual cap on health care spending; by 1999, growth to be limited to inflation rate. Administrative savings, malpractice reform. | No budgets would be set. Enhanced competition among insurers and providers expected to hold down costs, along with administrative savings and malpractice reform. | No budget would be set. Cost cuts from enhanced competition among insurers and health care providers, administrative savings and malpractice reform. |

*How will she pay for her care?*
*[Schulten]*

focus on the extension of an employer mandate, the extent of the regulatory oversight of the National Health Board and alliances, and the appropriateness of price controls and spending limits.

The Administration's plan would be greatly simplified without the intricacies of rules governing the employer mandate. However, due to the fact that most Americans believe that employers "pay" for health care, it is hard to imagine that this politically attractive feature will be left out of the final bill.

Conservative Democrats and some Republicans might agree to support a plan which includes an employer mandate if price controls and spending limits are deleted from the bill. In such a scenario, the regulatory power of the alliances and National Health Board would be reduced. It is likely that the generous benefits offered by the Clinton plan will shrink as cost projections are more closely scrutinized.

selves, though only by 2005. While there is no employer or individual mandate under Cooper's plan, his supporters claim that 80 percent of uninsured Americans will purchase insurance if market failures are corrected.

## Compromises and Concessions

All the plans, of course, carry a hefty load of political concessions. Clinton's is particularly laden with fat. To appease the elderly, Medicare is maintained as a separate program and sweeteners are added in the form of a new prescription drug benefit and long-term care. Unions will be able to keep the existing tax subsidies of more expensive plans. And most significantly, rather than forcing Americans to face up to the cost of the care they consume by financing the entire system with a payroll tax or individual mandate, his plan uses the camouflage of an employer mandate.

To appease employers, the plan includes an extensive array of subsidies to shield smaller employers (inappropriately, without regard to the wage level of their employees) and large employers from the cost of the employer mandate. In addition, the Clinton plan removes the burden of health insurance coverage for 55- to 64-year-old retirees from the backs of large corporations.

Clinton's goals are laudable, but critics are wary of the highly regulatory aspect of the plan, which to them smacks of bureaucracy. Cooper's plan is regarded by many as closer to the original concept of managed competition. As a concession to the elderly (and their clout as a lobbying group), both his and Chafee's plan, like Clinton's, leave Medicare as is. There is concern, however, that neither Cooper nor Chafee is serious about achieving universal coverage.

## What to Expect

Supporters of the three centrist plans are now making the compromises necessary to create the bipartisan coalition all believe is required if there is to be success. Much of the battle will

History tells us that we should not necessarily expect Congress to pass meaningful legislation before this opportunity disappears, which perhaps it will as soon as November and the mid-term elections. But the fact that major interest groups back—at least in principle—broad reform distinguishes this reform attempt from past failures. And there is also a groundswell of support from the general public, albeit with a limited willingness to make sacrifices.

Only an eternal optimist would expect that good policy will triumph over politics in this round of health care reform battling, but almost any change is likely to represent an improvement over the status quo. There is, however, a danger in having consensus behind the idea of reform but not behind any particular plan: if compromises cannot be reached in sufficient time, the window of opportunity may close once more. ●

### Suggestions for Further Reading

Henry Aaron and William B. Schwartz, *The Painful Prescription: Rationing Hospital Care*. (The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C., 1984).

Frank Campion, *The AMA and U.S. health policy since 1940*. (Chicago Review Press, 1984)

Rashi Fein, *Medical Care, Medical Costs*. (Harvard University Press, 1989).

Victor Fuchs, *Who Shall Live? Health, economics and social choice*. (Basic Books, 1975)

*Health Affairs*, Spring 1994 special issue "The Clinton Plan: Pro and Con."

Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*. (Basic Books, 1982).

Kevin Volpp and J.S. Schwartz, "Myths and Realities of Health Reform," in *Journal of the American Medical Association*. (May 4, 1994).

# Towards a Different World Order
## The Fight to Save Clayoquot Sound

Vancouver Island's Clayoquot Sound, encompassing half of the world's remaining temperate rain forests, is in danger of destruction from clearcut logging. A controversy which has incorporated the interests of industry, native peoples, and environmentalists, the battle for the Sound has become a symbol for an entirely different way of living.

### by Paramjit Mahli

As the twentieth century draws to a close, it is a formidable task to take inventory of changes around the globe. The past hundred years have witnessed two world wars, the rise and fall of totalitarian empires, and the birth of nuclear power. Human rights, free markets, democratic governments, third world development, jobs, taxes—these issues fill our newspapers on a daily basis. However, there is one factor which has for years been neglected, and is only now coming to the forefront of human consciousness: the home to all this activity, the earth itself.

Be it the air we breathe, the oceans we sail, the land we farm, or the animals we share this all with—people have suddenly realized all is not well. Concerned individuals point to the destruction of the environment and argue for its preservation. At once emotional and scientific, they search for another kind of world order which integrates people into their actual environment, rather than allowing them to carve from it the world they choose.

### Symbol of an Endangered Earth

The Great Wall of China is one of the few traces of human activity on earth visible from satellite photographs. Large tracts of clearcut land on the Queen Charlotte Islands (north of Vancouver Island) are another. Fifty-six percent of the world's temperate rain forests have already been logged. They have all but disappeared from England, Scotland, Turkey, New Zealand and the United States. Now, all that remains of these ancient, dense forests is to be found in Chile and Canada's westernmost province, British Columbia (B.C.).

Located on the west coast of Vancouver Island, Clayoquot Sound is one of the world's last coastal temperate low-

[Adrian Dorst]

*Paramjit Mahli is a Vancouver-based journalist.*

Blockade in Clayoquot Sound: 1,000 arrested, over 800 charged in 1993.
[Adrian Dorst]

land rain forests. In this complex environment, old growth trees up to 1,500 years old and 18 feet in diameter exist in a biomass (the number of living things per cubic meter) that is the largest of any ecosystem on earth. The delicate balance of life within such a system makes the species who inhabit it completely interdependent; when one part is destroyed, the whole suffers.

## The Battlelines are Drawn

The future of the Clayoquot Sound rain forest has been the subject of a heated controversy which, in the past two years, has garnered international media attention. In over 35 years of logging, the ancient trees of Clayoquot Sound have generated huge revenues for Canadian loggers exporting to Japan, the United States and Europe. Nevertheless, this economically productive environment is on the brink of ecological collapse. Though the destruction of Clayoquot Sound has only recently found its way onto government agendas, the issue is not new.

Vancouver-based MacMillan Bloedel, the largest logging company in B.C., has legally owned the rights to log much of the Sound since 1958. In 1979, a local protest group—the Friends of Clayoquot Sound (FOCS)—was formed to protect the Sound from loggers and lobby for government intervention. Six years later, as other groups took up the cause, human blockades attempted to stop this devastation of a unique world heritage.

By the early 1990s, Clayoquot Sound had become a focal point in an international struggle to end the destruction of temperate rain forests. Yet, there are other issues at stake. The forestry industry employs, both directly and indirectly, thousands of British Columbians. Any ban on logging will have serious economic consequences for the province's already depressed resource-based economy. The Sound is also home to over 3,000 native people who have never ceded their lands to the government or corporations. On an even larger scale, the Sound has become an important symbol in the fight to preserve the earth's irreplaceable environment and the need for people

to take another look at how they interact with it.

## The Government Takes Action

In April, 1993, despite public outcry, the provincial New Democratic Party (NDP) government in B.C. granted MacMillan Bloedel the right to log 62 percent of Clayoquot Sound's 656,000 acres. Logging was banned in approximately one-third of the forest. Commercial logging was permitted in the remainder with the exception of 17 percent that was classified as a 'special management area' where only limited logging could take place.

The decision the B.C. government was forced to make concerning the future of logging in Clayoquot Sound represented a political juggling act for Premier Mike Harcourt. The government was caught in between its traditional allies. Over the years, much of the support for the NDP has come from organized labor (in this case, loggers), and the party has always been quick to champion the causes of environmentalists and native groups.

Yet, in this day and age, governments are assessed by their electorate largely on the basis of unemployment figures and indicators of economic performance. Forestry is one of Canada's key industries. In 1992, exports of forest products amounted to $22 billion (Cdn.), $9.5 billion in B.C. alone. That same year, forestry in the province generated $11.7 billion in revenue. The provincial government's policy on Clayoquot Sound was designed to to preserve 2,715 forestry jobs. However, the restrictions on logging, which were imposed to satisfy environmental groups, may still result in a loss of over 400 jobs, a substantial blow for an industry which downsized by 27,000 in the 1980s.

These restrictions did little to satisfy environmentalists, as they did not rule out clearcut logging. The government's policy came under increased scrutiny when, early in 1993 with the decision on the Sound imminent, the B.C. government announced that it had purchased a $50 million interest in MacMillan Bloedel, becoming the forestry giant's largest shareholder. In August, 1993, the B.C. Court of Appeal ruled that there had been no wrongdoing on the part of the government in allowing MacMillan Bloedel to log Clayoquot Sound after purchasing shares in the company. Despite this, under substantial public pressure, B.C. has sold its stake in the company. This blatant conflict of interest, together with the unsatisfactory terms of the April, 1993 resolution, led to an outcry by loggers, local and international environmentalists, natives and other concerned citizens.
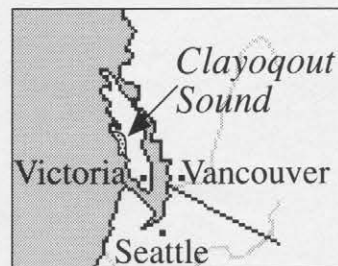


[Electromap, Inc.]

## Summer of Discontent

For environmental groups, the government's attempt at a settlement is unacceptable; to ensure the survival of the rain forest ecosystem there can be no compromise. Once cut, old growth forests cannot be restored to their original state, and there is nothing that tree planting or natural reforestation can do to forestall this reality. As a result, most experts question the government's assertion that limited logging will preserve the Sound's delicate rain forest ecosystem.

"There is evidence to suggest that to have a genuine rain forest system, it must be large," asserts Jim Darling, research director of the Clayoquot Biosphere Project. "Once an area is reduced beyond a certain point, the natural biodiversity changes and the number of species declines."

Amidst predictions of such dire ecological consequences, protesters mobilized in support of the Sound in the summer of 1993. Demonstrations intensified outside the Vancouver headquarters of MacMillan Bloedel. It became a familiar sight on B.C. television news: young and old, professionals and students, came from all over Canada and Europe to block roads and prevent loggers from entering the forests.
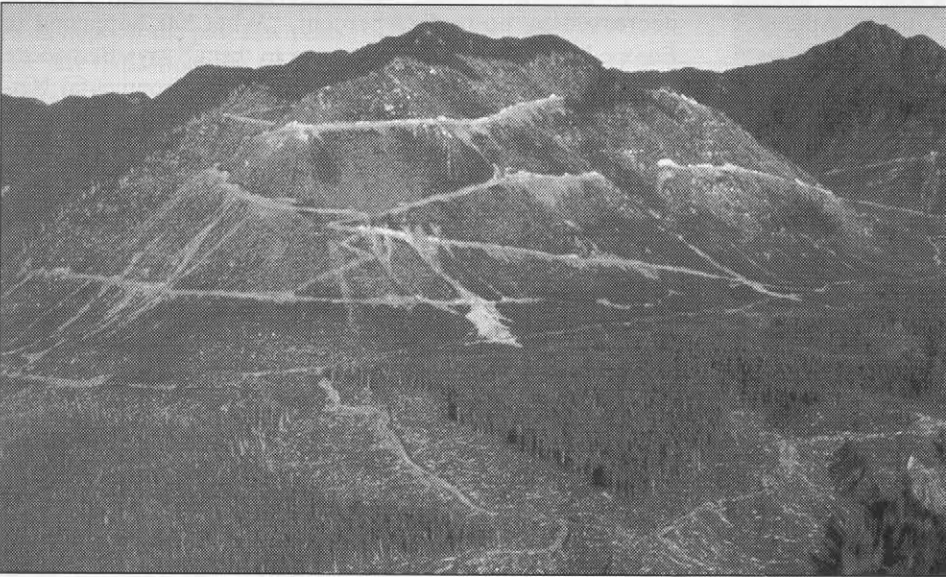


*Scarred remains of human activity: the devastating aftermath of clearcut logging.*
*[Adrian Dorst]*

Since MacMillan Bloedel legally possessed the right to log in the Sound, they were able to obtain a court injunction banning the blockades. As a result, since April, 1993, in Clayoquot Sound alone over 1,000 people have been arrested, and many charged.

The controversy over Clayoquot Sound has drawn a plethora of environmental groups into the fray. The Friends of Clayoquot Sound, its 1,000 members based in the village of Tofino (near the Sound), has been a vocal leader in the movement to save the rain forests. The group has the support of many larger international organizations, such as Greenpeace.

Most of the groups advocate non-violent means of protest. There are, however, exceptions. Three protesters were arrested for setting fire to a logging bridge, and Paul Watson, head of the California-based Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, promotes the use of tree-spiking (driving steel spikes into trees to damage chain saws).

More typical of the Clayoquot Sound protests is the B.C.-based Canada's Future Forest Alliance, which published a 36-page condemnation of Canadian forestry practices entitled "Brazil of the North" comparing the situation in Clayoquot Sound to the destruction of the Amazon rain forest. The Western Canada Wilderness Committee plans to tour Europe this year with a stump taken from a 1000-year-old tree that had been left to rot in the wake of a clearcut.

Protests over the Sound have generated considerable international support. On Canada Day (July 1st) in 1993, there were protests outside Canadian diplomatic missions in England, Germany, Austria and Japan. And in the 'Black Hole' in Clayoquot—an area logged and then burned in the 1980s that has become the camping ground for protesters—Australian pop group Midnight Oil held a concert in support of the Sound.

The Friends of Clayoquot Sound have designated April 13th as International Clayoquot Day, and across the world demonstrations of all kinds indicate that the tragedy of Canada's rain forest has attracted worldwide attention. Yet, the conflict over the Sound embodies much more than 'money-grubbing' corporations and 'tree-hugging' protesters. The indigenous peoples who live in the Sound are fighting a battle for their very homes.

## Satisfying the First Nations

A crucial element in the struggle over Clayoquot Sound is Canada's indigenous population and their land claims in British Columbia. Not only is the integrity of an invaluable tract of old growth forest endangered, but the right of B.C.'s native peoples to control their resources is now at stake as well.

Discontent with the Clayoquot decision was compounded by the fact that the B.C. government made no attempt to clarify what consideration had been given to native land claims. The 3,000 natives in the Sound represent nearly half the population in the area. They opposed the government's April, 1993 decision to permit logging while their land claim dispute remained unresolved.

Francis Frank, elected chief of the Tla-o-qui-aht band, is spokesperson for the First Nations living in the Sound. He invited Robert Kennedy Jr., son of the former U.S. Attorney General and a senior lawyer for the Washington-based Natural Resources Defence Council to the rain forest in the summer of 1993.

In 1991, the Council—working with Cree Nations in Quebec—helped block a massive expansion of the James Bay hydroelectric project. Mr. Kennedy's appearance in Clayoquot Sound successfully focused media attention not only on logging in the area, but on land claims as well.

Angered that the provincial government was not giving the issue of land claims due consideration, native groups

*"Clayoquot Sound is in your backyard too:" a Vancouver resident recreates the destruction of the rain forest. [Gloria Loree]*

threatened to take court action to forestall logging in Clay-oquot Sound until their grievances were addressed. The First Nations certainly had legal precedent on their side.

In 1984 and 1985, Tla-o-qui-aht and Ahousat natives stopped loggers from landing on Meares Island (part of Clayoquot Sound). In March, 1985, the B.C. Court of Appeal banned logging on the island until the natives' land claims were settled.

The Meares Island experience and the fact that the NDP government has been slightly more receptive to discussing land claims than their Social Credit predecessors (whom they defeated at the polls in 1991), had an impact on the accord reached in December, 1993. This two-year agreement created a joint management board involving the native community and the province.

The new Central Region Board is to be composed of representatives from all of the First Nations living in the Sound, as well as from the province. It is intended to oversee the logging and tree harvesting in certain areas of the forest. In addition, the deal established a program to train natives in various aspects of forestry management—such as forestry standards inspection and park stewardship. Tourism and other economic opportunities in the area will also be developed through a joint effort.

The Board was seen by many as an attempt to drive a wedge between the natives and environmentalists in the fight against logging in Clayoquot Sound. The agreement with the government granted the natives an advisory role in the management of the very logging activity which environmentalists oppose. Nevertheless, groups like the Friends of Clayoquot Sound support the natives' land claims and consider the continued logging of the Sound unacceptable while negotiations are still in progress.

The protests of the B.C. First Nations has drawn support from native groups around the country, who have their own land claims to resolve. When Kennedy visited Clayoquot Sound, he was joined by a group of Cree from the Saskatchewan Canoe Lake band. As Cecilia Iron of Canoe Lake expressed the fears of natives, loggers "don't seem to understand that we want to preserve our land for our children and their children. All they think of is money."

## "Share" The Wealth

In response to these characterizations, logging companies have embarked on a public relations campaign designed to enhance their image as good corporate citizens. The industry has funded "SHARE" groups across Canada that unite people opposed to the demands of environmentalists. SHARE groups promote the new sense of corporate responsibility adopted by MacMillan Bloedel and other loggers.

To this end, forestry companies are quick to point out the changes they have made to their logging operations: the size of clearcuts has been substantially reduced; techniques for building logging roads have been improved; and measures are being taken to protect the wildlife inhabiting the rain forest. According to Mike Morgan, executive director of SHARE B.C. and a former MacMillan Bloedel employee, "We want to see sustainable development in the forest that will benefit everyone."

Despite these efforts, protesters appear to be having an impact on MacMillan Bloedel's international sales. The company has already lost major U.K. contracts with Kimberly-Clarke and Scott Paper, and since the international boycott campaign began it is estimated that sales in Europe have decreased by up to five percent. "What has happened in Europe has been very embarrassing to them," says Bernadette Vallely of the London-based Women's Environmental Network. "Customers have told them they cannot buy their pulp any more because it's too controversial." The Canadian Pulp and Paper Association has since opened an office in Brussels where promotional efforts can be directed at protecting foreign markets.

## Preserving The Diversity

Regardless of the impact on the industry's sales in Europe, MacMillan Bloedel is still able to log 26 million cubic meters a year, or approximately 280 truckloads every day. And, as long as the logging continues, the natural biological diversity of the forest will change, risking the destruction of the most spectacular territory within a province that is marketed to the world as "Beautiful British Columbia."

A symbol of harmony in diversity, Clayoquot Sound has captured the imagination of those people around the world who wish to see its beauty and richness take precedence over something as transient as industry. Environmental problems are slowly asserting their importance on the international agenda. As the notion that habitats like Clayoquot Sound represent more than the complaints of a few militant environmentalists takes hold, the twenty-first century may yet see a revolution in the way that humans interact with their 'home.'  ●

### Suggestions for Further Reading

Mark Collins (ed.), *The last rain forests: a world conservation atlas.* (Oxford University Press, 1990).
Suzanne Head and Robert Heinzman (eds.), *Lessons of the rainforest.* (Sierra Club Books, 1990).
Edward Goldsmith and Nicholas Hildyan (eds.), *The Earth: the essential guide to global ecological issues.* (Price, Stern & Sloan, 1988).

# After Apartheid: A Unified Democracy
# The Evolution of South Africa

For the past three-and-a-half centuries, South Africa has been a country characterized by ethnic strife. In the twentieth century, the oppressive system of apartheid divided races politically, economically and socially. But now, with the historic April election, South Africa has taken the first step towards creating a democratic, non-racial society.

**by David Colapinto and Shane Barker**

As observers around the world watch the formal dismantling of apartheid, the prevailing mood within South Africa is one of wariness, laced with hope. If the past few years are any indication, the future is certain to contain further conflict as South Africa continues its tortuous transition to democracy.

President F.W. de Klerk, of the ruling National Party, first announced in February, 1990, that he was committed to the reformation—indeed, transformation—of the apartheid state. After four years of gruelling negotiations, April 26, 1994 marked the dawn of a new era, as South Africans, regardless of their race, voted in the country's first democratic election.

The old parliament of three houses—whites (178 seats), coloreds (85), and Indian (45)—excluded blacks completely. It reigned by simple majority vote, thus allowing the white house to dominate. The

*David Colapinto is studying Modern European and African History at York University in Toronto.*

*Shane Barker grew up in Kenya and received his B.A. in Political Science from Reading University in England. He now lives in Toronto and is anxiously awaiting the birth of twins.*

| Party | | Abbr. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA | | PAC | |
| SPORTS ORGANISATION FOR COLLECTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS AND EQUAL RIGHTS | | SOCCER | |
| THE KEEP IT STRAIGHT AND SIMPLE PARTY | | KISS | |
| VRYHEIDSFRONT - FREEDOM FRONT | | VF-FF | |
| WOMEN'S RIGHTS PEACE PARTY | | WRPP | |
| WORKERS' LIST PARTY | | WLP | |
| XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY | | XPP | |
| AFRICA MUSLIM PARTY | | AMP | |
| AFRICAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY | | ACDP | |
| AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT | | ADM | |
| AFRICAN MODERATES CONGRESS PARTY | | AMCP | |
| AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS | | ANC | |
| DEMOCRATIC PARTY - DEMOKRATIESE PARTY | | DP | |
| DIKWANKWETLA PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA | | DPSA | |
| FEDERAL PARTY | | FP | |
| LUSO - SOUTH AFRICAN PARTY | | LUSAP | |
| MINORITY FRONT | | MF | |
| NATIONAL PARTY - NASIONALE PARTY | | NP | |

*Since they registered for the election just days before voting began, special Inkatha Freedom Party stickers needed to be attached to the ballot. [South African Embassy, Ottawa]*

proposed new parliamentary structure will have a National Assembly and a regional Senate. The 400-seat National Assembly will be elected by proportional party representation, and will select a president from the governing party. The Senate will consist of ten members from each of the nine new provinces (replacing the previous geographical organization of four provinces and many black "homelands"). In the 27-member Cabinet, every party that captures over five percent of the popular vote is entitled to a seat.

The new government will be one of 'national unity,' which will strive to govern by consensus during the next five years while writing the new constitution and smoothing the transition to full democracy. In 1999, complete majority elections are to take place.

The stage is set in South Africa for the preliminary years of democracy. Its backdrop includes natural and manufacturing wealth and a sophisticated infrastructure. Yet, over all this falls a curtain of instability, disparity of living standards, ethnic tensions and global scrutiny. South Africa's gnarled historical roots will make its road to prosperity and peace an arduous one. At last, however, South Africa will face the future as a united, democratic country.

## The Europeans: The Dutch Establish Themselves

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, ships from the major European trading nations were pausing at the Cape of Good Hope to replenish their stocks. The fate of southern Africa was irrevocably altered when a crew working for the Dutch East India Company (VOC), having lost their ship in a storm, was forced to spend the winter in Table Bay. Upon returning to Holland, they persuaded the VOC to establish a permanent replenishment station, and Commander Jan van Riebeeck was dispatched to organize a settlement. The year was 1652.

The Dutch knew little of the indigenous population upon their arrival. In the coastal area of the Cape where they settled, the local people, nomads from the Khoi-Khoi group of tribes, were nicknamed "Hottentot" (from the Dutch "stammerer" due to the clicking sounds made in the tribes' language). Initially, relations were based on trade, but the VOC soon discovered the benefits of actually using the indigenous people to produce the goods needed by the colony. This exploitation, combined with the influx of Free Burghers (Dutch settlers unrelated to the VOC) and the use of imported Angolan or Namibian slaves, created a racially stratified community.

Throughout the next century the colony expanded, particularly with the arrival of Huguenots—refugees from the European reformation. The Free Burghers sought farms beyond the growing population of the colony and the problems of a rebellious labor supply. These Dutch farmers, Boers, pushed east along the coast, and north inland. The VOC rather presumptuously granted them plots of land of approximately 6,000 acres.

As the trekboers (those farmers that pushed back the colony's frontier) migrated, they came across Bantu peoples. "Bantu" refers to a related group of languages derived from a common ancestor in Central Africa, and the term has come to denote the tribal groupings based on these languages. These tribes have evolved into the present day Khosa, Zulu, Suthu and Tswana. The earliest recorded conflict between the trekboers and the Bantu peoples was in 1702, when two "cattle bartering expeditions", one comprised of trekboers and the other from the Khosa clashed in the area of the Fish River,

over 500 miles east of Cape Town. As both the trekboers and the Bantu tribes gradually expanded, the "Hottentots" were caught between these two larger and more powerful groups. By the end of the eighteenth century, the original inhabitants of the southern tip of Africa were on the brink of extinction.

The beginning of the nineteenth century marked the rise of the Zulu nation in modern day Natal. Conflicts between the Bantu tribes of the area culminated in the rise of Shaka, the bastard son of the chief of a small tribe called the Zulu. A fierce fighter and tyrannical general, Shaka through conquest united over a hundred of the small surrounding tribes to create the Zulu nation of today. A direct result of the havoc spread by his reign amongst the peoples of the area was the *mfecane* (great migration), which lasted from 1822 until 1836. In an effort to escape his power, tribes moved southwest into Khosa territory, west over the mountains and north into modern-day Zimbabwe. It is estimated that over a million Bantus died as a result of the conflicts that took place during the tribal upheavals of the *mfecane*.



South Africa, before the new provincial boundaries.
[Electromap, Inc]

## The British Presence and the Consolidation of Afrikaner Nationalism

The rapidly growing British Empire first became involved with the southern end of the African continent when its soldiers occupied the Cape colony in 1795. After the Convention of London in 1814, the British acquired full sovereignty over the whole territory of the Cape, which included the coastal strip as far as the Fish River. The British imposition of circuit judges to mete out justice in the Boer communities, the introduction of 5,000 British settlers in 1820, the replacement of Dutch with English as the official language, and the formation of two representative assemblies to replace the Burgher administration were all seen as an attempt to deprive trekboers of their independence and heritage. Two British legislative acts in particular made the situation intolerable for many Boers: in 1828 non-white races were granted full civil rights, and in 1834 the slaves of the colony were freed.

The teachings of the Dutch Reformed Church in Afrikaner (the general term for South Africans of Dutch descent) society was—and still is to some degree—central to the Afrikaner

abhorrence of any integration of blacks into white society. The Dutch Reformed Church offered a literal interpretation of the bible, which tells of Ham, the black son of Noah, going south after the great flood to spawn the Bantu races. The Dutch interpretation intimates that these peoples were the natural slaves of whites.

The Great Trek to escape British domination began in 1836, and it is impossible to understand the Afrikaner mentality without acknowledging the importance of this diaspora: the trek was the Chinese Long March, the American pioneer wagon trains and the Flight of Moses from Egypt rolled into one. For the Voortrekker (those who embarked on the trek, from the Dutch "to press forward"), it was the ultimate embodiment of Boer independence, courage, determination and faith in God. The trek also coincided with the end of the *mfecane*.

The *mfecane* eased the Voortrekker's passage northeast, as at the time of the Bantu migrations there were no established tribal boundaries. Nevertheless, the trek did lead to numerous localized conflicts. The most famous of these was the Battle of Blood River, which occurred between a group of Voortrekkers and the Zulus. The Voortrekkers had sent emissaries to the Zulu king, Dingane, to arrange for passage and settlement in the greatly expanded Zulu domain. The negotiators were ambushed and executed on their return journey, and the Voortrekkers sent a punitive force to gain redress by raiding for cattle. Dingane ordered his regiments into battle, and in the clash with superior Boer weaponry lost 3,000 of his finest warriors. After Blood River, Zulu power began to recede.

The Voortrekkers established two republics, which have survived until now as the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. By 1854, both had been recognized by the British as independent entities. The Boers, in moving north, had earned the enmity of the Bantu tribes (still recovering from the effects of the *mfecane*) who could do very little to prevent the agreements for independence between Boer and Briton. By this time, the British had added the coastal area of Natal to their territorial holdings.

In 1860, the British introduced indentured labor from India into Natal. These Indians were used to build the infrastructure, such as roads in the colony. Certain conditions pertained to wages, hours and accommodation, and on completion of their obligations, the laborers' families were brought from India to settle. These are the ancestors of the large Indian community now living in modern South Africa.

## Diamonds, Gold Mines and Wars of Independence

Outright war between Bantu, Briton and Boer had been avoided in the first 200 years of the European occupation of South Africa. More serious conflicts marked the second half of the nineteenth century. One of the main reasons for this was the discovery of diamonds in the Orange Free State in 1867 and of gold in the late 1880s in the eastern region of the Transvaal. The combination of British efforts to annex land for control of the mines, and the huge influx of miners of all colors contributed to rising tensions between Boer and Briton.

Large British-owned mining corporations used migrant Bantus to labor in the mines. The ruling Boers tried to control this influx with various rules regarding employment, freedom of movement and living arrangements, but the power of the mining conglomerates rendered their efforts impotent. In 1880, the Boers went to war with Britain. The First Boer War, in which the British were defeated, lasted two years.

Despite this setback, the British continued to expand north of the Boer republics, moving into modern-day Botswana and Zimbabwe, and annexing Zululand in 1887. As a result of the British expansion, the Boers found themselves geographically surrounded. Their feeling of insecurity intensified when L.S. Jameson, an associate of Cecil Rhodes, the Prime Minister of the Cape, led one hundred armed men into the Orange Free State in an attempt by the British to regain political control of the republic. The Jameson Raid of 1895 failed, yet it was only a matter of time before war broke out again.

During the Second Boer War of 1899-1902, guerrilla warfare initially proved effective against the British military. However, the British began incarcerating Afrikaner women to prevent them from supplying the Boer commandos. The British thus exhausted the Boers, who surrendered at Vereeniging in 1902. South Africa was incorporated into the British

---

# Word Watch

**Trekboer**: a farmer on the colony's frontier, from the Dutch.

**Free Burghers**: the group of early settlers who were not directly engaged on VOC business.

**Hottentot**: a member of a group of tribes (e.g. Khoi-Khoi) found in the Cape. It is a term that freely translates from the Dutch as "stammerer", due to the repetitive clicking sounds that were prominent in the tribes' language.

**Huguenots**: refugees from the European reformation, mostly French, who arrived in 1688.

**Bantu**: refers to a related group of languages derived from a common ancestor in Central Africa, and denotes the tribal groupings based on these languages. These tribes have evolved into the present day Khosa, Zulu, Suthu and Tswana.

**Mfecane**: roughly translates as "great migration," but describes the bloody upheaval of peoples as a result of Shaka Zulu's conquests.

**Afrikaner**: the general name for South Africans of Dutch descent, and hence a term that includes the Boers.

**Voortrekker**: from the Dutch term "to press forward", the name given to those Boers who embarked on the Great Trek.

**Peace of Vereeniging**: the treaty, signed in Vereeniging, that ended the Second Boer War. The Afrikaner today refers to it as the Second War of Independence.

Empire, but the victory was far from complete.

During the war, in the concentration camps established by the British, Afrikaner women and children died by the thousands from disease; this proved to be the final nail in the coffin for Boer-British relations. The war did not dishearten the Boer, but rather fanned the flames of nationalism and the drive for independence that has remained an obstacle to political reform in twentieth-century South Africa.

Many factors ultimately contributed to the emergence of South Africa as an independent dominion. Most important were the influence of the new multi-national business corporations, the huge cost of the Boer War to the British (nearly £200 million, and 22,000 lives) and the resurgence of Afrikaner politicians in the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and the Cape. In October, 1908, the Durban Convention was held with the intention of writing a constitution for an independent South Africa. In 1910, the House of Commons in London voted to give South Africa its independence. Eight years after the Peace of Vereeniging, the Boers achieved by ballot what they had failed to achieve by bullet—an independent Union of South Africa.

By the time of independence, the major divisions in society had begun to take hold. For Bantu peoples, survival was no longer based on raids and the protection of grazing lands, but on the tough working environment of the mines. In the years immediately after South Africa's emergence as a dominion, Louis Botha's Afrikaner-dominated government began to enact a series of laws that curtailed Bantu rights.

The Mines and Works Act of 1911 instituted certificates of competence, but included a color ban to specific occupations. The Native Lands Act of 1913 designated 22 million acres as reserves for Bantu ethnic groupings, but prohibited the sale of land between different races. After bloody riots by white union workers, the Apprenticeship Act of 1922 defined educational standards for apprentice positions, and thus ensured that the only eligible candidates were the better-educated whites. The Urban Areas Act of 1923 regulated the flow of blacks into populated areas, and established locations for them to live, ultimately giving rise to townships like Soweto.



*Inkatha leader Chief Buthelezi (right). [South African Embassy, Ottawa]*

Until 1948, when the Afrikaner-dominated National Party won an overwhelming majority, political control tended to fluctuate between the English and the Afrikaners. The National Party has proved unshakable until this year's multi-racial election. It was the era that coincided with the National Party's rise to power in 1948 that formally ushered in the system of apartheid.

## The Rise of Apartheid

Apartheid means "separateness", and the word itself encapsulates the underlying political theme. The National Party attempted to create a society that would legislatively keep racial groups separate and distinct. For this purpose, the government hired an academic, who proposed that each racial group own a portion of land, and that economic interaction between the races be encouraged but that social intercourse be restricted. The people of South Africa were split into four groups; white, black, Indian and colored.

The positions granted the blacks were those of unskilled workers; the Indians ran small businesses; the coloreds—anyone who did not conveniently fit into the three other groups—filled any gaps; while whites provided overall political and economic direction. Social segregation was not a new idea—separate buses and benches were notions imported from the United States. At the same time, the biblical interpretation espoused by the Dutch Reformed Church effectively meant that the system was sanctioned by God.

Over the ensuing years, the steady "Afrikanerization" of all state institutions has ensured that the interests of whites prevailed over those of the other groups. In order to add legitimacy to this trend, whites were classified as one ethnic grouping, while the black population was divided into as many tribal entities as was possible, making whites the largest group in South Africa.

The four pillars of apartheid—the Mixed Marriages Act (1949), the Population Registration Act, the Immorality Act and the Group Areas Act (all of 1950)—were erected to enforce the legal separation of races. The intricate internal security system spawned a vicious cycle of legislation and violence: restricting the freedom of most of the peoples of South Africa led to unrest, followed by further security measures and legislation to maintain the status quo.

## Black Resistance and Modern South Africa

Founded in 1912, the African National Congress (ANC) was the first black political opposition group in South Africa. The ANC's founding vision was of a non-racial South Africa, where people would be South Africans, not whites, blacks, Indians or members of tribes. Its Freedom Charter of 1955 espoused the socialistic goals of nationalizing trade and industry, and distributing both the natural and material wealth of the country among the people. In the 1950s, when Nelson Mandela first appeared on the scene, the ANC was rapidly becoming a popular, radical outlet for black dissent. It launched its now famous passive resistance campaigns with strikes and marches to punctuate demands for political liberty and social equality.

However, many became frustrated with the campaigns' lack of progress. In 1959, Robert Sobukwe, an instructor at the University of Witwatersrand, emerged as the leader of the Pan-African Congress (PAC), a more radical alternative to the ANC. The fundamental ideological difference between the two that remains to this day lies in their vision of the identity of South Africa. While the ANC sees South Africa as a country belonging to all its people regardless of race, the PAC fervently believes that Africa belongs to black Africans, the real natives of the soil.

In 1960, the National Party under Hendrik Verwoerd outlawed African dissent, banning the ANC, PAC, as well as the South African Communist Party, as treasonous. In 1961, the PAC formed its military unit Poqo, and the ANC formed Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation)—a military wing that would carry on the struggle for black liberation, this time with violence. Shortly thereafter, in 1964, Mandela was arrested and jailed for life. South Africa descended into violent civil turmoil, and the South African military became the most powerful force in the region: in 1975, South Africa's defence budget accounted for nearly 22 percent of total government expenditures.

By the late 1970s South Africa had become unstable and economically weak. The shortage of skilled labor due to the increasing emigration of educated whites, as well as international trade embargoes enforced by the West, hurt South Africa's economy tremendously. During the 1980s, the world watched in horror as P.K. Botha (President until 1989) repeatedly imposed states of emergency, and used the notoriously brutal security force to quell unrest. The value of the rand (South Africa's currency) crashed, and sanctions were tightened. As the country's self-destruction seemed imminent, and the tenor of international condemnation rose in volume, it became apparent that drastic political reform was necessary.



Rally in front of the town hall in Cape Town: demands for political and social equality in South Africa. [S. Barker]

Botha made some concessions regarding, for example, the legality of black trade unions and the right for a small number of black Africans to live in urban centers. In 1983, he created the chambers for coloreds and Indians to make a tricameral parliament. However, these reforms did not cut at the roots of the problem—apartheid itself. A stalemate developed between the government's position and the urgency of black demands. Before he would even consider entering into any sort of dialogue with the ANC and the imprisoned Mandela, Botha demanded that the ANC first renounce its armed struggle. Mandela refused, arguing that in banning the ANC, the government had given blacks both the right and the reason to turn to weaponry. Until the government was willing to commit to genuine negotiations, the armed struggle would not be renounced. Botha resigned in 1989, paving the way for his successor, F.W. de Klerk, to steer the country on its present course towards democracy.

## The Transition to Democracy

In February, 1990, de Klerk stunned South Africa and the world by announcing that the government was lifting the 30-year-old ban on the ANC and other black liberation organizations, was freeing all political prisoners, and would negotiate with these groups regarding a new national constitution. Nelson Mandela, the man the western world associated most closely with the the anti-apartheid struggle, was released from prison on February 11, 1990 after 27 years in confinement.

As the newly legitimized PAC and ANC prepared for their re-entry into organized politics, other groups also responded to these changes in South Africa. In the province of Natal, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Zulus, bitter rival of the ANC and South Africa's largest tribe, felt threatened by the ANC resurgence. Formed in 1975, his present political party Inkatha was originally a cultural movement with a strong regional sentiment. In mid-1990, Buthelezi relaunched Inkatha as a political organization—the Inkatha Freedom Party—whose goal is Zulu independence.

Buthelezi traditionally represented the free enterprise alternative to the ANC in South Africa, and supported cooperation with the National Party. Now, as the country moved towards de Klerk and Mandela's shared vision of a non-racial South Africa, Buthelezi and his followers began to fear that the Zulu nation would lose its identity and territory under a strong central government. These fears sparked some of the worst violence in recent memory as Zulus took up arms to defend their nation, and ANC supporters responded in the name of the new South Africa.

The first stage in ANC-National Party cooperative efforts was the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), a multi-party (19 parties were represented) gathering whose task was to negotiate an interim constitution. Problematic issues in CODESA were the geographic distribution of power (federal, confederal or unitary), and the allocation of regional powers.

CODESA ultimately broke down over de Klerk's proposed "special majority", which would be needed to approve the final draft of the constitution. Not wanting to relinquish all power in the face of a black majority, his vision was a system

of power sharing, whereby blacks could vote and create legislation, but a balance of power would remain with whites, who would have the right to veto. The ANC and its supporters fiercely resisted this as an un-democratic and illusory liberty which essentially amounted to continued white power. Mandela was charged by his supporters to win nothing less than complete equality.

De Klerk, on the other hand, was under pressure from the Conservative Party and right-wing elements in the National Party who accused him of acting without a mandate and of selling off South Africa to the Communists (whose party has been, and still is, allied with the ANC). To quiet the opposition, in March of 1992 de Klerk put a referendum before the voting whites: Did they approve of continuing negotiations for non-racial democracy and the granting of amnesty for detainees and returning exiles? The answer was a resounding "Yes".

By May, 1992, the stalemate had not been resolved, and the ANC walked out on CODESA. It planned for a summer of mass action to force the government's hand with a show of popular support. The ANC also intended to march on homelands where regional leaders, like Buthelezi, resisted the idea of a unified, non-racial South Africa and continued to ally themselves with the right-wing.

In June, 1992, the factional violence which had raged unabated since 1990 reached new heights: in that month, in the Boipatong township near Johannesburg, a group of Zulus slaughtered forty ANC supporters and injured many others. Reports came back saying that the Zulus had been aided by security forces. The ANC accusation that a third force—the security forces—had been promoting township violence to destabilize blacks and undermine the ANC gained support and
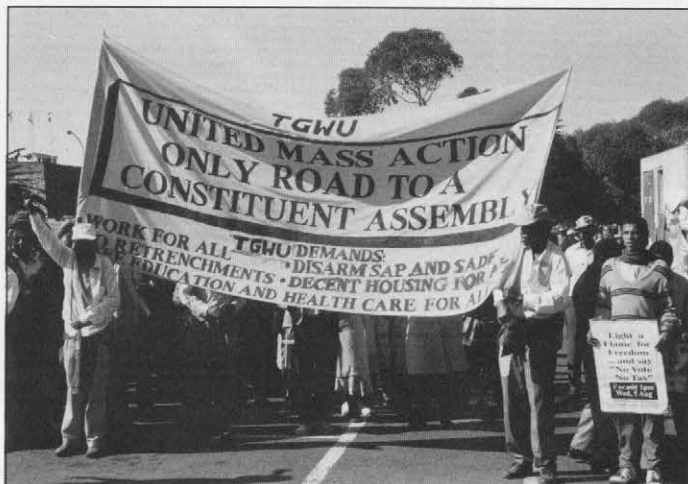


*August 5, 1992: day of mass action in Cape Town.*
*[S. Barker]*

cast suspicion on de Klerk's government once again.

By mid-1992, at the height of bloodshed after Boipatong, Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists issued reports criticizing police for being partisan and contributing to the violence. By July and August of 1992, the international community threatened sanctions if something was not done to end the bloodshed. The first stage in the talks towards democracy had been characterized by some of the

bloodiest violence in South African history. From 1990 to mid-1992, 8,000 people had died during political violence; mostly black, and mostly dead as a result of intra-racial fighting.

## Barriers to a "non-racial" South Africa

At the end of 1993, Mandela and de Klerk finally reached an agreement that would lead South Africa into democracy. Their newly created Transitional Executive Council, charged with creating a new police force and overseeing a multi-racial election, was one based on the principles of a non-racial South Africa. This notion has been the sticking point for many groups within South Africa.

Significant Afrikaner resistance has emerged—indeed, had been there ever since the National Party announced that they were determined to reverse the course of South Africa's history. The rise of the right in South Africa has been dominated by a wide assortment of people, ranging from guerrilla-minded militants to those committed to the parliamentary process. At present, it is the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) led by Eugene Terre'Blanche, that embodies the most radical threat to South Africa. This guerrilla organization has vowed to use all means necessary to topple an ANC government, including outright civil war.

Previously allied under the banner of the Afrikaner Volksfront, the AWB and other right-wing Afrikaner groups, led by former South African Defense Force head General Constand Viljoen, were committed to securing an independent Afrikaner homeland. This past March, however, after bloody clashes in Bophuthatswana between ANC supporters and an invading AWB army, General Viljoen quit the Volksfront. He registered a new party, the Freedom Front, to pursue the goal of an Afrikaner "volkstaat" (people's state) from within the parliamentary process. Support for the Front has come from Conservatives and other Volksfront generals.

With the voice of Afrikaner independence now integrated into the political process, a significant barrier to a democratic South Africa appears to have been overcome. Afrikaners, regardless of the image the AWB portrays, are not the trekboers of yesteryear, ever moving bravely into the wild African interior to scratch out an existence from the land. They are a part of South African society on every level, and, for the most part, will work within the new South Africa. The AWB, though a significant threat and not to be ignored, has dwindled in numbers and in credibility.

Resistance to the changes sweeping the country towards a non-racial democracy also came from black South Africans. Conservative, anti-ANC leaders of homelands, like Buthelezi, wanted to retain great regional autonomy. Two allies of Buthelezi, and of the Afrikaner right, were the homelands Bophuthatswana, led by Lucas Mangope, and Ciskei, led by Oupa Gqozo. Both leaders have been deposed, and their former strongholds are now fully a part of the unified South Africa championed by the ANC.

Just days before the election, after negotiations with Mandela and de Klerk satisfied his desire for guarantees of greater Zulu autonomy, Buthelezi renounced his election boycott and registered Inkatha. Much of the concessions agreed to by de Klerk and Mandela are largely ceremonial regarding the Zulu King and Monarchy, to whom millions of Zulus feel tremendous loyalty—enough to take up arms and disrupt the progress

*Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk accepting the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize: once opponents, now partners in change. [South African Embassy, Ottawa]*

friends with the business community so that South Africa can build on the structure already in place. Even ANC candidates from the Communist Party, which campaigned under the ANC banner, have dropped their revolutionary rhetoric in favor of the free-market reality that the business community both within and without South Africa wants to hear. Certainly, this stance will gain the trust of the international community who are being counted on to pour investment dollars back into the country.

One of the biggest challenges Mandela faces will be to work with the people themselves. Their organizations excluded from the politics and downtrodden for decades, they are a lost generation of protesters, unschooled in the political reality of gradual evolution and growth. Mandela cautions that patience is necessary, and that the legacy of apartheid will not disappear overnight. As the ANC stated in its election manifesto, "When the African National Congress set out its vision for a non-racial society on January 8th 1912, we did not know how long it would take to achieve." Indeed, much has happened in the intervening 82 years, and consequently, much needs to be done before this country finds stability based on a non-racial, equitable society.

Building a post-apartheid South Africa promises to be as difficult as toppling apartheid itself. On many levels—economic, social, political, regional and tribal—the road ahead is still one that is certain to contain unexpected curves and pitfalls. For many South Africans, the end of apartheid will not directly lead to improved living conditions, and for many, life may even get worse. Still, the future is truly in the hands of the people. With the close of the polling stations, the first act in the history of the new South Africa has ended. As the symbolic victory sinks in, the real war against apartheid begins in earnest. ●

towards a non-racial country. Now that these regional powers have joined the move towards a unified South Africa, the fears of many about the possibility of civil war have been assuaged.

## The New South Africa

It would be unreasonable to expect that all of South Africa will make a smooth transition from a fragmented, oppressive society, to an interwoven, free one. Still, for the most part, the main players will all have a parliamentary voice. Dominating the political scene will be the challenge faced by the ANC to please its own supporters—those who have consistently lost out in South Africa, and who, for this reason, have so much to gain.

The legacy of apartheid will not be easy to overcome. Whites make up 15 percent of the population, but own approximately 90 percent of the formal businesses. Black income is only a tenth of that of whites. Two-thirds of the black population lives in rural areas where over 80 percent have no electricity and 90 percent no sewage. Forty percent of the black population is illiterate, and half the labor force has no formal job. The hopes pinned on Mandela to transform water into wine are high indeed.

The ANC's election platform spoke of "a roof over one's head and reasonable living conditions." It has promised to supply water and sewage to one million homes, and electricity to 2.5 million. It plans to build homes, vastly improve the quality and accessibility of education and will employ over 2.5 million people in its public works program. This will cost an estimated $12 billion—though critics warn that this figure is far too low. The ANC plans to fund its reconstruction of South Africa with savings from money usually allocated to homelands, cuts in the defense budget, revenue from an improved tax collection system and funds from a surtax on the rich.

The ANC has come a long way from its Freedom Charter of 1955. The rhetoric of nationalization and redistribution has not been heard in 1994, and the ANC knows it must make

## Suggestions for Further Reading

A.E. Afigbo, *The Making of Modern Africa.* (Longman Group, 1986).

T.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History.* (University of Toronto Press, 1977).

Robert Fatton. *Black Consciousness in South Africa: The Dialectics of Ideological Resistance to Apartheid.* (State University of New York Press, 1986).

Sebastian Mallaby, *After Apartheid: The Future of South Africa.* (Times Books, 1992).

John Saul, *Recolonization and Resistance in Southern Africa in the 1990s.* (Between The Lines, 1993).

Peter Walshe, *The Rise of African nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952.* (C. Hurst, 1970).

# Mexico's Black Eye
## The Roots of Indian Rebellion in Chiapas

In January, 1994, an army of Indian guerrillas launched a bloody uprising in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas. Though the initial violence has subsided, the crisis is far from resolved. At issue are land ownership and the endemic poverty suffered by the Indians— problems that have existed throughout Mexico's tumultuous history.

### by Ian Jarvie

Just hours into 1994, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation declared war on the Mexican government. An indigenous peasant guerrilla movement named after Mexican Revolutionary icon Emiliano Zapata, the Zapatistas seized the city of San Cristobal de las Casas and three other towns in the highlands of the Mexican state of Chiapas. They demanded action to end the grinding poverty of Mexico's Indians, and the resignation of Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari followed by "clean" democratic elections.

These demands brought the 65-year-old single party rule of Salinas' Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and accusations of systematic electoral fraud into the global limelight. By timing their uprising to coincide with the official implementation of NAFTA (which they bitterly oppose), the Zapatistas attracted maximum international attention, shattering the image cultivated by Mexican leaders of a country fast becoming a member of the first world.
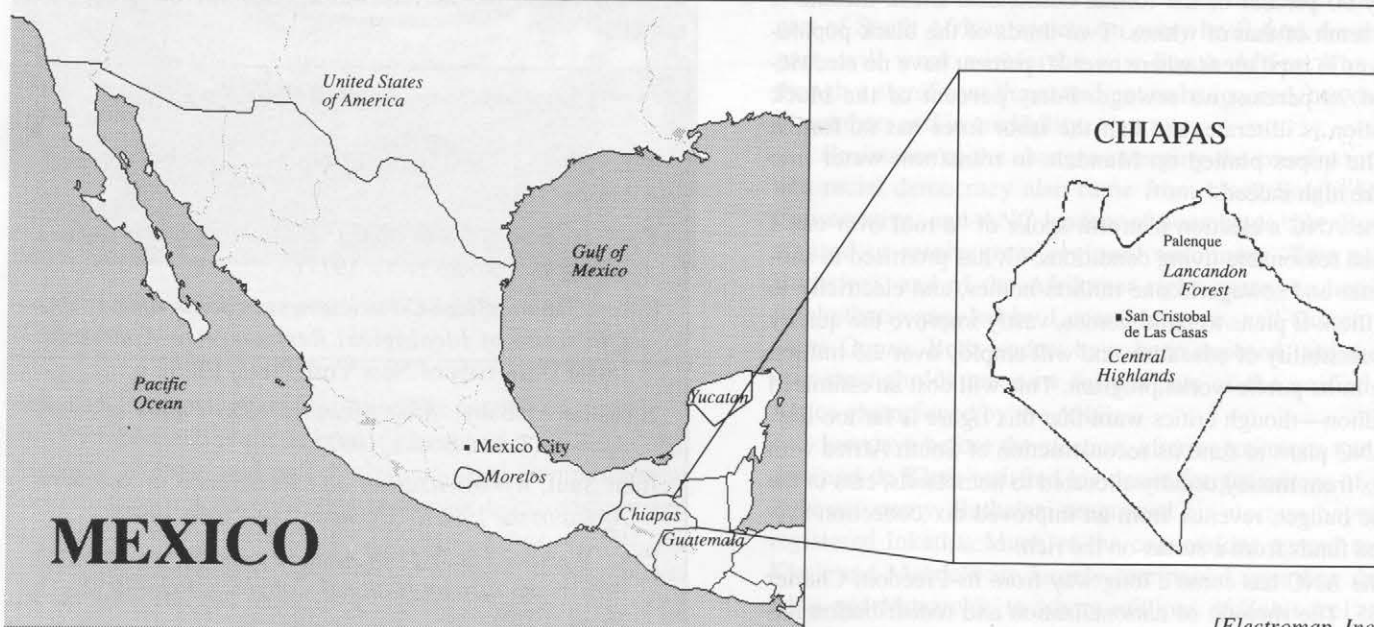
As Mexican intellectual Jorge Castaneda recently wrote in regards to the Chiapan uprising, "Mexico has not been, nor will it be soon, the modern, lily white, middle class and democratic society its rulers and their friends in Washington want it desperately to be." At a critical moment in Mexico's economic and political development, the country's elites are being reminded that large sectors of the Mexican population are being left behind, or else remain as they have always been— marginalized.

### Enormous Poverty Amidst Great Wealth

Chiapas is Mexico's southern-most state, bordering Guatemala to the east. It is home to one of Mexico's largest indigenous populations: of the 3.5 million inhabitants, over one million are Indians. They comprise thirteen different ethnic groups, by and large descendants of the ancient Mayan civilization that reached its apex between AD 200 and 800. Until 1830, Chiapas was a part of Guatemala, and has since resembled its neighbor more than the rest of Mexico. With Chiapas' stunning topography, production of cash crops, impoverished Indian population, feudal land relations and repressive political control, it is easy to draw comparisons with Central American countries.

The state of Chiapas is home to impressive natural resources as well as to some of the highest degrees of destitution and economic disparity in Mexico. It is the nation's top producer of coffee, and a principal supplier of corn to the coun-



United States
of America

Gulf of
Mexico

Pacific
Ocean

Yucatan

Mexico City
Morelos

Chiapas
Guatemala

**MEXICO**

CHIAPAS

Palenque

Lancandon
Forest

San Cristobal
de Las Casas

Central
Highlands

*[Electromap, Inc.]*

try's state food distributor (CONASUPO). Some of the finest woods in Mexico are extracted from Chiapan jungles—much to the consternation of environmentalists. Chiapas' fishing and dairy industries, along with cattle ranching, represent Mexico's largest sources of protein. Chiapas also plays a large role in meeting Mexico's energy needs. Pemex, the national oil monopoly, extracts 92,000 barrels of crude oil daily from the Chiapan subsoil, and 516 million cubic feet of natural gas a year; half of Mexico's hydro power is also drawn from Chiapas.

In spite of the fact that Chiapas is resource-rich, its Indian inhabitants live in poverty: approximately 80 percent of the population lacks electricity, and 50 percent cooks with wood and coal. Chiapas also ranks lowest among Mexican states in per capita caloric intake, literacy and availability of clean drinking water. Severe malnutrition, malaria, tuberculosis and intestinal disorders are common in Indian communities, and infant mortality rates in Chiapas are the highest in Mexico.

Of late, the government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988-1994) has promised to improve living conditions, and more money has been earmarked for new schools, health clinics, nutritional programs and other public works. According to the government, social welfare expenditures in Chiapas have increased by over 1,000 percent since 1989. However, the tensions that result from the vast disparity in wealth between peasant Indians and large landowners are so acute, that targeted social spending alone will not break the vicious cycles of Indian poverty and neglect. While these conditions contributed to the Indian Zapatista rebellion, the current unrest is best understood as the product of centuries of turbulent Mexican history.



*Descendants of a great civilization: will the Chiapan Indians succeed in securing a better future for their children? [Scarboro Missions, Toronto]*

## Colonial New Spain and Post-colonial Mexico

Mexico's colonial period lasted 300 years, beginning with the Spanish conquest in 1519. As was typical of most colonial activity, the indigenous population of Mexico—then New Spain—was exploited and relegated to the lowest strata of society. The fear and contempt with which the Spaniard viewed the Indian increased throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as Indian unrest flared up in various regions of New Spain.

*Ian Jarvie received his B.A. in Political Science and Latin American Studies from the University of Toronto. He has lived in and travelled extensively throughout Mexico.*

In southern Mexico, for example, the Tzeltal Indians revolted in 1712 in response to years of mistreatment, and a 1761 Mayan rebellion in the Yucatan region was further proof that Indians did not accept their lot passively. A nationwide movement of indigenous resistance never materialized, however, because of the great linguistic and cultural differences between the fifty or more ethnic groups in New Spain. Yet, though they suffered most, the Indians were not the only people alienated by the Spanish.

Creoles (Spaniards born in New Spain) deeply resented the fact that only *peninsulares* (Spaniards born in Spain) could hold positions in colonial government. By 1810, creole discontent developed into outright insurgency against Spanish rule. The struggle with the Spanish colonial government led by these liberal creoles raged for ten years. Independence was not achieved, however, until 1821, when more conservative creoles, responding to threats posed by a liberal revolution in Spain, revolted as well. Their desire was to prevent the implementation of liberal Spanish reforms in Mexico, which they feared would undermine their privileged position as wealthy landowners in the colony.

Mexico's first half century of nationhood was characterized by instability. The weak national government's inability to assert centralized control over the whole country meant that remote regions like Chiapas enjoyed considerable autonomy. Within Chiapas, factional struggles between wealthy elites of the Central Highlands and the Central Valley dictated the course of economic and political development. At stake was ownership of the land and control of Indian labor.
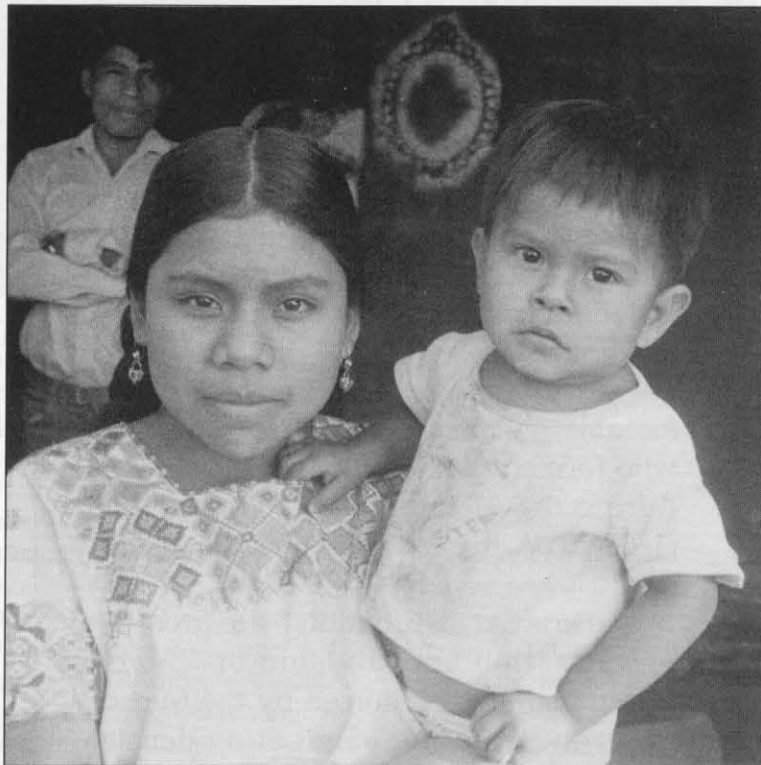
## The Thorniest Issue

The most pressing concern of Indian communities in the nineteenth century was land. The lower classes and Indians, many of whom had been the canon fodder for the wars of Independence, enjoyed neither the redistribution of land nor income that accompanied freedom. To the Mexican and Chiapan elite, the Indian was a cheap source of labor—and not much else. As in the past, pockets of Indian resistance did arise. In southern Mexico, the Caste War of 1839 in the Yucatan state raged for ten bloody years as Mayan groups rose up in arms against *hacendados* (large landowners) and came very close to driving out Yucatan's creoles.

In the sixteenth century, Indian communities had been granted *ejidos* (communal land holdings) by the Spanish

crown, to be used for subsistence farming. After Independence, with no authority in place to protect the Indian *ejidos*, these lands were usurped with impunity by wealthy creoles. Ironically, the only full-blooded Indian to hold the office of Mexican President, Benito Juarez, helped to facilitate such accumulation of land at the expense of the Indians.

In 1856, his liberal administration enacted the Reform Laws that barred the Church and Indian villages from owning land. In Juarez' view, Indian communal land holdings were an impediment to economic modernization. The intent was to break up the land owned by the Church and Indian villages and create a nation-state at the base of which was a rural middle class with small land holdings. Dismantling the Indian communal land system, the liberals believed, would also integrate the Indian into modern Mexican society.

The plight of Mexican Indian communities worsened during the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz (1876-1911), an era known to Mexicans as the Porfiriato. A *mestizo* (of mixed Indian and creole descent) known for his military prowess, Diaz installed himself as President of Mexico by force of arms in 1876, and established one of the longest personal dictatorships in Latin American history.

The Porfiriato brought Mexico its first period of sustained political, social and economic stability since Independence, due in large part to Diaz' iron-handed rule. Peasant and labor unrest were effectively suppressed by his rural police forces; political opponents were jailed or murdered if they resisted being co-opted into the Diaz regime. Diaz' rule also ushered in Mexico's age of "laissez faire" capitalism. The prime beneficiaries of this period were Mexico's elites, some sectors of the middle class and foreign investors.

A powerful clique of intellectuals, businessmen and other professionals, known as the *Cientificos*, formed Diaz' inner circle. They supported the notion that only economic development directed by Mexico's white elite would lead the country towards modernization. The inherent racism espoused by the Cientificos was directed at Mexico's mestizo lower classes and Indian population, for these groups were regarded as inferior, and thus unable to "raise the level of civilization" in Mexico.

To the detriment of Indian communities, concentration of large private land holdings increased dramatically during the Porfiriato. In 1883, the government began to actively encourage the privatization of any land in Mexico that lay unused. Legal authorization was given to private companies to survey rural Mexico; in return, these companies received one-third of

any vacant land surveyed. The rest was auctioned off by the state to the public. In 1894, however, new legislation required land owners to possess legal title to their land if it was not to be declared vacant and thus subject to expropriation. Many Indian villages could not produce legal titles for lands that had been granted to them by Royal Spanish decree hundreds of years before. As a result, all over Mexico, Indians were further impoverished as they lost their *ejidos* to land speculators and *hacendados*.

In Chiapas, the Mexican government vigorously enforced the law that required the privatization and division of all communal lands—in the name of modernization. The Chiapan land measure called *El Reparto* (The Distribution) severely affected Indian communities. Some villages disappeared completely as large landowners, desiring to extend their properties, incorporated entire *ejidos* into their holdings. Legions of Indians were forced into laboring on coffee, sugar and cotton plantations.

## Word Watch

**Creole**: Spaniard born in New Spain (colonial Mexico).

**Peninsulares**: Spaniards of New Spain born *in* Spain.

**Hacendados**: large landowners.

**Ejidos**: Indian communal land holdings.

**Mestizo**: Mexicans of mixed Indian and creole descent.

**Cientificos**: "the scientists", a clique of intellectuals, businessmen and professionals who formed the inner governmental circle during the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz (1876-1911), the era known as the Porfiriato.

**El Reparto**: "the distribution", the process of privatization and division of Chiapan communal lands enforced by the Mexican government in the name of modernization.

### "Pan, Tierra y Libertad" (Bread, Land and Liberty)

The Diaz dictatorship was toppled in 1911 with the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution (which was to last, through various phases, until 1929). The conflict initially began over the question of presidential succession. In a widely publicized 1908 interview with an American journalist, Porfirio Diaz expressed his intention to retire at the end of his current term of office. He claimed that Mexico was ready for democracy, and said that he welcomed the participation of an opposition party in the upcoming Presidential elections, scheduled for 1910. Many middle-class Mexicans believed Diaz, including Francisco I. Madero, the son of a wealthy northern family, who aspired to gain political power.

However, Diaz ultimately decided to run for re-election, regardless of what he had promised in 1908. Madero hoped to be made Diaz' vice presidential running mate. When Diaz passed him over, Madero declared his own candidacy for the Presidency. Angered by the challenge, Diaz had Madero arrested, and went on to "win" the 1910 election unopposed. Soon after, upon his release from jail, Madero fled to the U.S., where he called for a mass Mexican uprising to oust Diaz from office.

In response to Madero's call to arms, rebellions flared up in various northern states. In the South, followers of Emiliano Zapata, the popular peasant leader of a community in the state of Morelos, also rallied behind the revolutionary banner. Zapata's small band of armed villagers soon attracted to their ranks several thousand peasant fighters from across the state. The

Zapatista battle cry, *"Pan, Tierra y Libertad"* (Bread, Land and Liberty), expressed the desire for land reform that fueled the revolt of the Morelos peasantry.

At the time, Morelos was one of Mexico's most fertile regions and the country's largest producer of sugar cane. For years, the concentration of land in the hands of only 17 wealthy creole families had been facilitated by liberal and Porfirian land laws. With the construction of railroad systems during the Porfiriato, national and foreign markets opened up to Morelos sugar barons. Expanding sugar plantations required more land, increased irrigation, and larger pools of cheap labor. In order to meet these needs, the plantations forced peasant farmers off their lands, which in the process freed up labor for the sugar mills—a situation similar to that faced by Chiapan Indians during *El Reparto*.
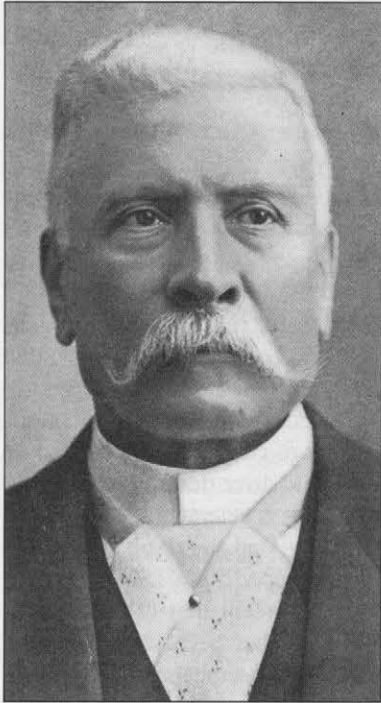
*Porfirio Diaz: one of the longest dictatorships in Latin American history.*

In May, 1911, Diaz relinquished power in the face of nationwide uprisings, and Madero assumed the Presidency. Meanwhile, the Zapatista movement continued to grow. When Madero delayed promised land reform—the issue over which the peasants initially rose up—Zapata rebelled and issued his movement's political manifesto, the *Ayala Plan*. In the *Ayala Plan*, he declared that the lands, forests and water sources that had been usurped by plantation owners and other elites should be returned to their rightful owners. The Zapatista revolutionaries proceeded to implement the *Plan* in Morelos, and in so doing succeeded in forcing land reform onto the national revolutionary agenda.

In 1913, Madero was assassinated by a reactionary element in the Mexican army. General Victoriano Huerta, who had been responsible for overthrowing Diaz, was himself deposed a year and a half later by an alliance between Zapata and the forces of two northern revolutionary strongmen, Pancho Villa and Alvaro Obregon. The leader of the alliance, Venustiano Carranza, a former governor of a northern state, became the new President. Yet, Carranza was a large landowner himself, and not surprisingly, like Madero before him, resisted the Zapatista pressure for total land reform.

Impatient with Carranza, Zapata split with the alliance, as did Villa, and the bloody Revolution continued as civil war erupted between 1913 and 1915. Carranza eventually subdued Villa and Zapata: having isolated Villa in the North, Carranza unleashed the full fury of his armed forces on the state of Morelos in an attempt to defeat the Zapatistas. Carranza's forces eventually killed Zapata in 1919.

Chiapas was generally immune to the social upheavals that swept through the rest of Mexico at the beginning of the Revolution. Chiapan elites did not share the grievances of Mexican liberals like Madero about the presidency, and the coercive labor system and feudal political structure specific to Chiapas effectively maintained control of the state's peasantry. According to historian Thomas Benjamin, the only effect the Revolution had on Chiapas in 1911, was to revive intra-regional struggles between wealthy elites, as a power vacuum was created by the overthrow of Porfirian dictatorship.

In 1914, when revolutionary forces invaded from the North and attempted to institute land reforms, Chiapan landowners succeeded in preventing any significant changes to the state's land tenure system. Chiapas' Indians, caught in the middle of the struggle between distant revolutionaries and a strong Chiapan landowning class, gained little from the Revolution.

## The Constitution of 1917

Amidst the years of fighting, in February, 1917, the new Mexican Constitution was written and ratified by Mexico's recently formed Constituent Assembly. The drafters were predominantly members of Mexico's emerging urban, professional middle class. With the 1917 document, they created the blueprint for a capitalist Mexico that paid somewhat more attention to social justice than the laissez-faire Porfiriato ever had.

An important feature of the Constitution was Article 27, which addressed land reform. Article 27 incorporated some of the important aspects of Zapata's *Ayala Plan*: it returned lands to Indian communities that had been taken under old laws, it gave the state the power to expropriate large land holdings where it deemed necessary, and once again it extended legal protection to the *ejido* land system.

On paper, Article 27 balanced the desire of Mexico's peasantry to own land, with the desire of middle and upper classes to preserve their right to own private property. Yet, even with one of the world's most progressive Constitutions in hand, the Mexican government failed to implement many of its reforms. In fact, the revolutionaries that emerged after 1920 once Zapata was dead cared little for Article 27. In Chiapas, elites bitterly opposed to land redistribution still succeeded in holding on to their fiefs.

*Peasant leader Emiliano Zapata: icon of the Mexican Revolution.*

## A Bridge to Modernity: The PRI and National Development

Instability plagued Mexico throughout the 1920s, as regional revolutionary leaders continued to challenge the central government in Mexico City. Then, in 1929, the Partido Nacional

Revolucionario (PNR) was created to end the leadership crisis that existed between competing generals. The Party's architect, President Plutarco Elias Calles, persuaded the revolutionary Generals vying for the Presidency to amalgamate themselves into one political party that would represent their interests and mediate their conflicts. Calles proposed that within this organization, their joint political predominance in Mexico would be solidified. This consensus also provided the mechanism for peaceful and orderly Presidential succession.

Calles' successor, General Lazaro Cardenas, renamed the party the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), and broadened its popular base by co-opting civil servants, peasant leagues and labor unions into the party. This tripartite corporate structure made up of the National Popular Organizations Confederation (CNOP), the National Peasant Confederation (CNC), and the Mexican Workers Confederation (CTM), forced its members to channel their demands and dissent through the PRI.

This consolidation of power in the hands of the President provided the peace and political stability that allowed the cen-



*A never-ending cycle of poverty: the desperation of Chiapas' Indians has been passed from generation to generation. [Scarboro Missions, Toronto]*

tral government—the PRI—to control the resources of Mexican society in order to achieve the goals of Mexico's political elite—namely, the creation of a modern Mexican industrial economy. World War II provided the impetus for growth, and the state protected and stimulated domestic industry as it began to produce the goods that were no longer available for import due to the war overseas. State investment in infrastructure included the provision of low-cost energy, transport, irrigation, and communication services. Price controls and subsidies kept food prices down, and state funding of education helped slash illiteracy by 50 percent between 1940 and 1970.

Between 1940 and 1982, Mexico experienced rapid economic growth, at an average annual rate of 6.3 percent—the "Mexican economic miracle." In 1982, however, Mexico experienced the dramatic failure of its post-war model of state-led economic development. By the end of President Luis Echeveria's administration (1970-1976) Mexico's economy was already suffering: the national treasury was empty, and the public sector debt seemed uncontrollable. The discovery of national oil reserves during the late 1970s only served to delay the inevitable collapse of Mexico's economy.

## The 1980s: Crisis and Restructuring

A sharp decline in world oil prices, extensive borrowing, the increase in world interest rates and the subsequent debt crisis, runaway inflation, and the flight of capital out of the country all contributed to Mexico's economic crisis of 1982. In the aftermath, a clique of technocrats led by President Miguel de la Madrid (1982-1988) began the process of restructuring that forced open a traditionally closed Mexican economy.

Reform of the Mexican economy in the 1980s entailed reducing the state's deficit. This was facilitated by removing subsidies on basic consumer goods and services, cutting the size of the government bureaucracy, promoting productivity through the deregulation of industry, opening the Mexican market to direct foreign investment, and privatizing almost all state-owned corporations. In 1986, Mexico joined the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) and de la Madrid began the process of market liberalization. Barriers to foreign goods and investment were reduced, in the hope that domestic entrepreneurs would become more competitive and that an influx of foreign goods would drive down inflation.

Current President Salinas accelerated the restructuring of the Mexican economy, and the results have been remarkable. Inflation has dropped from 159 percent per annum to an estimated 19 percent in 1991, the public deficit as percentage of GNP has been virtually eliminated and Mexico has achieved annual growth rates of up to five percent. Still, this success is only one part of the story.

## Chiapas: Ripe for Conflict

The areas in which the Zapatistas have been active, the central highlands and eastern Chiapas, have experienced serious problems over the past few decades. These, coupled with the severity of the 1982 economic crisis and subsequent restructuring have created the powder keg of political unrest that is Chiapas today.

Taking precedence, as always, has been the centuries-old struggle for land. In 1985, large landowners constituted only one percent of all Chiapan farmers, yet they controlled 45 percent of the land. At the same time, 35 percent of Chiapas' farmers—many of them Indians—owned only one percent of all arable land. Though Indian communities did see some land redistribution during the Presidency of Lazaro Cardenas in the 1940s, since then the interests of Chiapas' Indian peasantry have for the most part been ignored. The federal government has for years allowed Chiapas' political system, characterized by the concentration of political and economic power in hands of *caciques* (strongmen or political bosses), to protect the interests of wealthy landowners.

Indians charge that cattle ranchers and large-scale commercial farmers have, over the last two decades, illegally seized Indian communal lands to make room for cattle pastures and farming operations. The recently replaced Interior Minister and former governor of Chiapas Patrocinio Gonzalez Garrido, an owner of large tracts of ranchland, has for years been the target of Indian accusations that he has allowed fellow ranchers to drive them off their ancestral lands. As a result of these land losses, dispossessed Indian peasants have joined the

*Surviving in the poorest corner of Mexico.*
*[Scarboro Missions, Toronto]*

## What Lies Ahead

No easy conclusions can be drawn in respect to the recent unrest in Chiapas. As economic and social pressures have consistently denied Chiapan Indians of land, it is easy to see why many feel they have little to lose by taking up arms. Centuries of exploitation, worsened by the developments of the last twenty years have led many to suggest that it would only be a matter of time before a rebellion of the scale seen in Chiapas would erupt.

The current situation is still very tense. Negotiations between the government and the Zapatistas, which had to take place because of the media spotlight on the plight of the peasants, were suspended after the (unrelated) assassination of PRI presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colossio at the end of March. In the meantime, tensions between cattle ranchers and the rebels are mounting. The Zapatistas remain in control of areas where cattle operations are situated, and the government decision to declare a cease fire and to reign in the Mexican army only 11 days into the Zapatista uprising angered the ranchers. Many of them believe that the only solution to the current conflict is to exterminate the rebels by force, and the threat that ranchers will take it upon themselves to wage such a battle with the Zapatistas is not to be ignored.

The official government stance has been, thus far, to recognize the concerns of Chiapas' Indians and to try and solve their problems. If, however, the Mexican government is contemplating any renewed military action against the Zapatistas, it certainly will not move before Mexico's federal elections in August. With the world watching and the sensitivities of the Mexican electorate heightened by recent developments in the PRI and the continued hope for legitimate elections, any repressive action by the military would undermine the PRI's already tarnished image along with its chances of holding on to power in August. Thus, armed and ready in the depths of the Lancandon rain forest, the Zapatistas await the outcome of national elections.  ●

growing pool of cheap labor that competes for jobs on large cash crop plantations—a trend reminiscent of the nineteenth century.

Social tensions in Chiapas only increased in the 1980s with the influx of some 80,000 refugees from the Guatemalan civil war. The presence of these refugees was a cause for concern for the government as well as landowners, as they feared that leftist, revolutionary elements from Guatemala would cross over the Chiapan border.

In response to these pressures, new grass-roots social movements emerged, seeking to improve the living conditions of peasant communities. For example, dissatisfied teachers who had struggled to democratize the government-controlled teachers union forged alliances with peasant movements in Chiapas, while progressive elements within the Catholic Church fully supported a variety of reform proposals.

In the 1980s, cattle ranchers, local authorities and the army attempted to suppress those elements in Chiapan society that threatened the status quo. The murders and arrests of Indian leaders and farmers were widely documented by international human rights organizations. When peasant groups attempted to seize back land which had previously been theirs, they were violently evicted by hired thugs, state police or army units. Between 1982 and 1988, land disputes were responsible for close to 1,000 deaths, mostly of peasants.

Economic changes in the last five years have also made life harder for the Chiapan peasantry. Key sectors of the state economy—timber, coffee, cattle and corn—experienced dramatic downturns as international commodity prices declined, in turn increasing unemployment.

Small peasant coffee producers were hit especially hard by a plunge in the international market price which fell by 50 percent between 1989 and 1993. At the same time, in line with prescribed austerity measures, government assistance that previously provided technical and marketing support to Indian coffee cooperatives and other small coffee growers, was withdrawn.

## Suggestions for Further Reading

Thomas Benjamin, *A Rich Land, A Poor People: Politics and Society in Modern Chiapas.* (University of New Mexico Press, 1989).

Jorge Castaneda, *Utopia Unarmed, The Latin American Left After the Cold War.* (Knopf, 1993).

Judith Helman, *Mexico in Crisis.* (Holmes and Meier, 1983).

Alan Riding, *Distant Neighbours.* (Knopf, 1985).

Ramon Eduardo Ruiz, *Triumphs and Tragedy, A History of the Mexican People.* (W.W. Norton, 1992).

# Capturing North America on Canvas

The paintings and photographs featured in *The Informing Spirit* provide a moving vision and give a sonorous voice to North American art, not in terms of the centuries of European masters that preceded it, but in and of itself.

**The Informing Spirit**
**Art of the American Southwest and West Coast Canada, 1925-1945**

by Trixie Bobrovniczky
and Kristina Soutar

*The Informing Spirit*, featuring the work of 21 artists from western regions in Canada and the United States, neither intimidates the novice nor disappoints the seasoned art critic. The exhibit presents over eighty oils, watercolors and photographs by such prominent artists as Georgia O'Keefe, John Marin, Marsden Hartley and B.J.O. Nordfeldt from the U.S., and Canadians Lawren Harris, Emily Carr, Jock Macdonald and L.L. Fitzgerald. The work of these artists invites an exploration of how to capture the inner spirit of and human responses to nature, often in a highly refined abstract visual language.

Amidst the boundary conscious era of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and NAFTA, *The Informing Spirit* also addresses the barriers built along the 49th parallel. While one may wish to
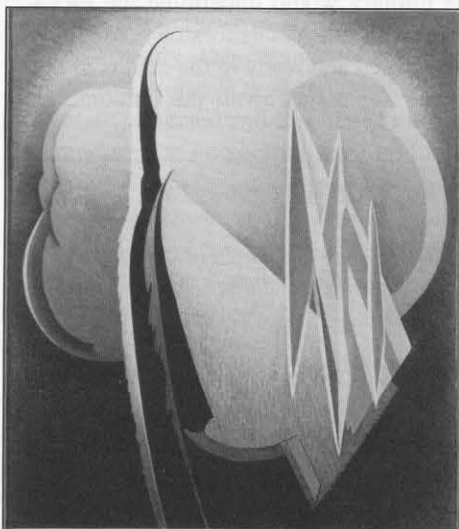


*Lawren Harris, Mountain Experience I, c.1946: lines expressing nature's vibrations. [The Art Emporium, Vancouver]*

## The Informing Spirit's North American Tour

*The Informing Spirit* is the result of a cross-border collaboration between the McMichael Canadian Art Collection and the Taylor Museum for Southwestern Studies, Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center. The exhibit will appear across North America in the following locations:

McMichael Canadian Art Collection
Kleinburg, Ontario
30 January to 17 April 1994

Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center
Colorado Springs, Colorado
1 October 1994 to 8 January 1995

Vancouver Art Gallery
Vancouver, British Columbia
15 June to 5 September 1994

Gibbes Museum of Art
Charleston, South Carolina
26 January to 26 March 1995

reserve judgement regarding the work of our politicians, the accomplishments of the curators who assembled this collection are easy to measure. Their collaboration breaks down some of the perceived boundaries that exist, and succeeds in providing the forum for a visual and literary discourse between the two nations. From their North American homes, these artists formed a new artistic tradition based on the unity of the natural and human spirit. The body of work displayed in *The Informing Spirit* considerably enriches the cultural inheritance of both nations by giving expression to this new tradition of landscape painting.

### Eroding the Great Divide

*The Informing Spirit* is the third and final phase of a collaboration between the McMichael Canadian Art Collection and the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, and represents the culmination of their cross-border cooperation. The first exchange took place in October, 1992, when Colorado Springs loaned the McMichael an exhibition entitled *Images of Penance, Images of Mercy*, featuring nineteenth century religious folk images. In return, the McMichael sent south a

sampling of Inuit art from Baffin Island: *Cape Dorset Drawings and Prints*. In this third collaboration, the curators have linked the work of American and Canadian artists. An illuminating exploration of early twentieth century artistic currents and historical development, this exhibit demonstrates the distinctive character of North American art.

Ann Davis, Director of the Nickle Arts Museum at the University of Calgary was one of the first people to espouse such a comparative approach to the arts. She suggests that studying the traditions of art from a "hemispheric" perspective generates greater insights concerning both the similarities and differences between the countries in question. To the North American art lover who may be distraught about the marginalization of Canadian and American art to that of the Europeans, this angle of study challenges that stigma of inferiority.

*The Informing Spirit* transcends the traditional European framework of landscape paintings and gives evidence of a uniquely North American genre. Regardless of the fact that North America, the New World, has not provided storehouses full of Medieval religious icons or six-

teenth century portraits, the awe-inspiring visions of nature and the search for the spirit within serve as testament to the vast beauty of the continent and the character of its inhabitants. *The Informing Spirit* allows one to toss nationalities to the winds—at least while exploring the exhibit—and to revel in the spirit of a cultural exchange that is out of reach of the customs officials stationed at border crossings.

## Philosophical and Literary Foundations

Individuals' understandings of the world around them are not usually isolated bursts of inspiration; rather, they must be placed into the historical context of their times. Artists are no exception, though they are oftentimes the ones who forge ahead and explore unknown realms of ideas and form. With the landscapes themselves as sources, the painters of *The Informing Spirit* contributed significantly to the language of the new, North American tradition that they sought to establish.

The intellectual climate of the early twentieth century offered several innovative philosophical movements from which these artists drew inspiration. Theories of the fourth dimension, Eastern mysticism, European avantgarde art and color theory were all explored by these artists. Channeled

"The source of our art then is not in the achievements of other artists in other days and lands, although it has learned a great deal from these. Our art is founded on a long and growing love and understanding...of oneness with the informing spirit of the whole land and a strange brooding sense of Mother Nature fostering a new race and a new age."

Lawren Harris



*W.P. Weston, Unvanquished, 1933: depicting the towering omnipresence of nature. [The Vancouver Art Gallery Acquisition Fund]*

through the cultural centers of Europe and North America, these trends played an important role in shaping the work of artists on the West Coast. Two of these philosophies—Transcendentalism and Theosophy—clearly capture some of the roots of *The Informing Spirit's* visual message.

The spirit of American Transcendentalism was best exemplified by the nineteenth century poet Walt Whitman. He travelled extensively throughout both the U.S. and Canada, offering a literary vision which grew from the union of nature in the North American experience and human spirituality. Whitman's poetry is featured in *The Informing Spirit* alongside many of the paintings.

As Colorado Springs curator Sharyn Udall observes, "vigorous expression of personal ideas was sacred, and Whitman inspired generations of North American painters and writers to celebrate themselves, their time and their native place...Encountering new places and fresh perceptions— whether in travel or in paintings—freed him to see beyond the familiar into spiritual realms that lay beyond what was depicted..."

Another popular philosophy at that time, pioneered by Russian-born Madame Blavatsky, was Theosophy. A liberal religious philosophy promising
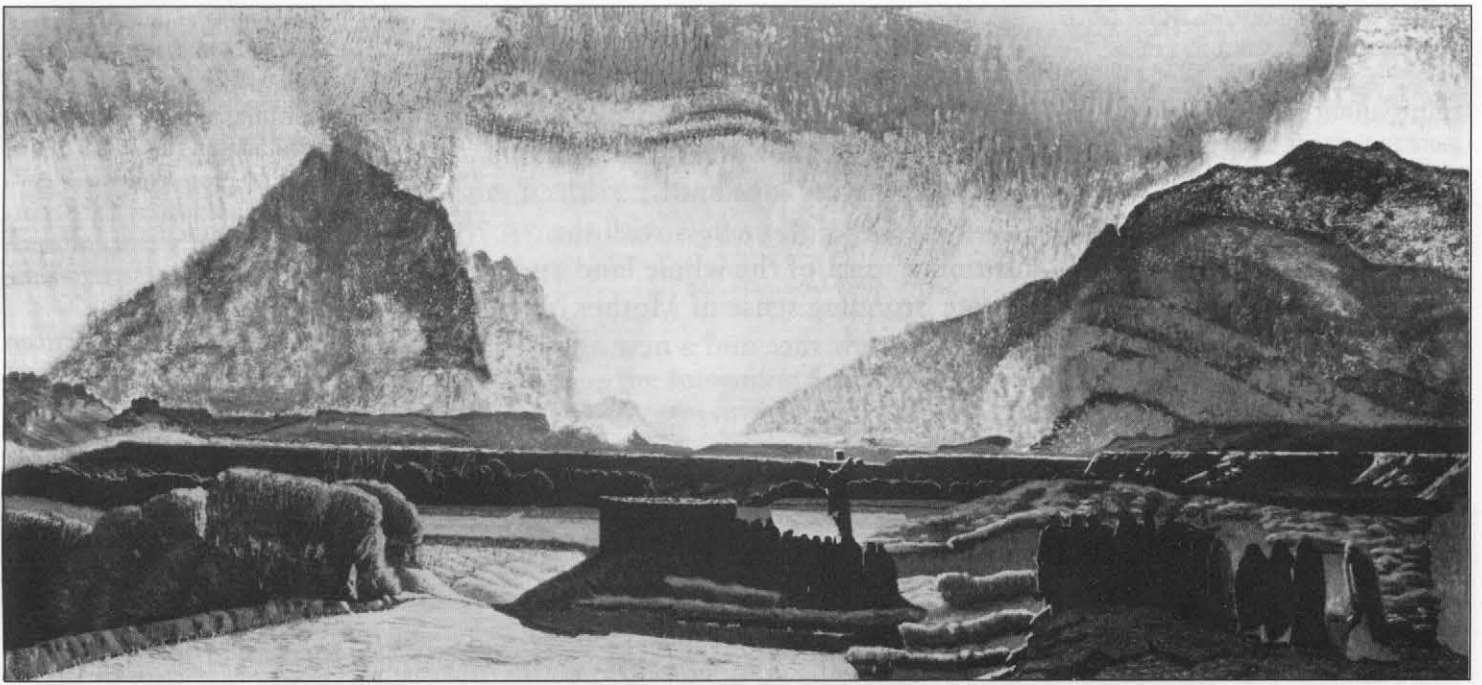
*Ernest L. Blumenschein, The Penitentes, 1935: the re-enactment of native lenten rites practiced in New Mexico and Colorado. [McMichael Collection]*

divine knowledge through spiritual ecstasy, Theosophy incorporated notions of intuition, freedom, individualism and nature. Theosophy taught that humankind could be elevated to a higher level of awareness through internal spiritualization, and artists, poets, even mystics were considered most able to engage in this spiritual quest.

The artists featured in *The Informing Spirit* exchanged ideas through such forums as the Transcendental Painting Group which brought together artists with common interests. The exhibit catalogs the cross border correspondence, art exchanges, and academic education which united the key figures in this exhibition as they eroded the great divide: their artistic interaction knew no boundaries.

## Capturing the informing spirit

*Earth Rhythms, Dynamic Symmetry, Strange Sky, Dancing Trees*—these are titles of some of the captivating pieces in this exhibit. Among the iconography, one absorbs the arid New Mexico landscapes—mountains, desert expanses, cliff dwellings and native rituals—and the Canadian Rocky Mountains' vast skies and glorious trees. Varying from soft,

*Trixie Bobrovniczky is a graduate student in Art History at the University of Toronto, while Kristina Soutar is a card-carrying member of the McMichael Canadian Art Collection.*

translucent hues to bold contrasts, the colors and forms range from abstract to representational. What emanates most strongly, however, is a "feeling", and this, to quell the queries of the art skeptic, is what we are being informed of.

Many of these paintings challenge the viewer to explore new means of interpreting the physical world beyond that which meets the eye. Often the paintings study the *effect* that the awesome spectacle of nature has on the observer. For many of the artists whose works are displayed in *The Informing Spirit*, the beauty and essence of nature as it relates to the human spirit, is what is to be found in their depictions. At once both enigmatic and incomprehensible to the casual viewer, the works compel the intellect to grapple with emotion.

After all, have you ever set foot on a mountain precipice, to find what seemed like the the whole of the earth lay sprawled at your feet—and then, with a powerful gust of wind which would hurl you down, you were reminded that it is you who is at the mercy of the earth and not the other way around? How does one turn to others and recount this experience of being so overwhelmed by the enormity of the forces of nature?

These are the types of emotions which the painters struggled to portray. Some relied on refined geometric abstractions; others depicted nature from dramatic angles which re-enforced its might and

towering omnipresence; still others looked to the spirituality of indigenous peoples. Though looking upon a painting which is abstract in form may be an alienating experience for some viewers, the art in this exhibition offers alternative ways of seeing, feeling and experiencing.

## "I stand in my own place with my own day here."

These words of Walt Whitman resonate from within *The Informing Spirit*, whose aim is to give a voice and definition to North American artists who stood in their own, new land, and carved from it their unique portrayals of the form and spirit of nature that hold a key to humanity.

Megan Bice, curator of the McMichael Canadian Art Collection writes that "for so many immigrants from the ancient civilizations of Europe and Asia, North America was the 'New World', the opportunity to begin again, to create a new history." Apart from the allure of images which seek to express feeling and emotion rather than reproduce concrete reality, it is this sentiment of newness and of a uniquely North American tradition which has so much to offer North Americans' perception of their own culture. The chance to discover anew the sources and joys of the self is reflected in *The Informing Spirit* by these artists, who sought the spirit which informs life in their land and its people. ●

# Fleecing Your Pocketbook?

In *The Golden Fleece*, Walter Stewart weaves a caustic diatribe condemning the stock market for "skulduggery, scandal, cheating and the use of insider information to empty the pockets of the unwary."

*The Golden Fleece: Why The Stock Market Costs You Money.*
*by Walter Stewart. McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1992, $14.98*

### by Steven Bright

Stock marketeering is not for the faint of heart or weak of pocketbook. Market fluctuations can catch both the experienced trader and the novice investor by surprise. Those who doubt this assertion need only remember the example set by the Canadian steel manufacturer Stelco. The once-mighty blue chip stocks plummeted from the mid-$20 range in 1990, to an ignominious $0.90 in November, 1992. As a result of sagging markets, millions of dollars worth of investments were eradicated, resulting in crippling financial losses. Yet, a glance at newspapers today shows that Stelco's shares are pushing $10. Millions have been made on the resurgence, though this is little compensation for someone who bought at the initial high four years ago.

Such ups and downs reflect the very nature of the stock market. This game of 'poker for the rich,' as some might call it, is played by an estimated seven million Canadians—and countless others around the world. Some play for long-term security, and some to gain control of companies through leveraged buyouts; still others play for recreation, and often profit.

If you are a player, looking at the stock market tables every morning can set your mood for the day. Your stocks are up, so are you. A slight drop brings on mild disappointment. A precipitous fall-out induces palpitations and frantic phone calls to your broker. Whether you are a

*Friends say Steven Bright is a dartist with chartist tendencies. He has been investing in stock markets since he was 16 years old, and now, is a lobbyist in Ottawa.*

dartist—believing that random dart throws at market tables are the best way to pick lucrative stocks—or a chartist—trusting in number-crunching analyses and extrapolations to point the way to untold millions—you cannot help but be

> "The market is an ass. The market will tell you on Monday that a share in Old Fossil Mining is worth $70 and a week from Thursday that it's worth about fifty cents. The market rushes to extremes and responds to rumors."



*Walter Stewart, author of The Golden Fleece.*
*[McClelland & Stewart]*

lured in by the fast pace and high stakes of the stock market.

### Stewart: The Game is Rigged

If you accept that stock market investing is a game, then knowing the rules is of obvious importance. Yet mastering these rules is of little consequence to Walter Stewart, author of *The Golden Fleece* and stock market cynic.

For Stewart, stock market strategies are unimportant as 'the game' is rigged. "Like a crap game, this institution offers the opportunity for great gain and stupendous loss in the act of gambling; much of the money is ventured on side-bets and, as with every established, permanent floating crap game, the fix is in."

Stewart is a well-known Canadian journalist and one-time managing editor of Canada's national news magazine, *Maclean's*. In previous books, he has tackled several finance-related topics, including the Canadian banking system and the collapse of the Reichmann real estate empire. *The Golden Fleece* is a 302-page indictment of the entire stock market industry. "We will discover," he tells us, "that skulduggery, scandal, cheating and the use of insider information to empty the pockets of the unwary have been part of stock markets since the days of the infamous South Sea Bubble three centuries ago."

### The Dark History of a Dubious Institution

In building his case, Stewart takes readers back to seventeenth century England and the origins of modern stock markets.

Then, the lure of profits from overseas trading was irresistible for many wealthy Europeans. Pooling their resources, thereby increasing their individual profits through the use of leverage, investors paid the expenses of trading ships and in return were given stock certificates from the treasury of the shipping company. These certificates gave the holders the right to elect and/or appoint officers to manage their joint investments.

The Hudson's Bay Company was one of the earliest of these joint stock ventures, incorporated on May 2, 1670. Originally chartered to oversee a large tract of land in British North America and seek a northwest passage to the Pacific, the company made its profits in the fur trade. The financial success of the Hudson's Bay Company (which still exists today, though in substantially different form) encouraged promoters to seek out similar joint investments to support their money-making schemes.

As a result, the South Sea Company was formed in 1711. With the War of

Spanish Succession soon to end, British speculators opined that trade with Spanish America (primarily in slaves) would soon be re-opened and that money could be made servicing the cross-Atlantic route. The company's original stock was sold with a guaranteed return of six percent.

Early ventures met with only limited success, however, as treaties with Spain proved less favorable than had been expected. Nevertheless, stock values skyrocketed in 1720 when the South Sea Company proposed to Parliament—which accepted the offer—to take over the national debt. Stock prices rose over 300 percent between January and August 1720. Unwise investors rushed to purchase overvalued South Sea Company stock, or else were coerced into spending their money on equally unstable ventures.

In September, the over-inflated market collapsed. The national treasury and thousands of investors were left in financial ruin. By the end of the year, shares in the South Sea Company were at their lowest point in twelve months.

A subsequent House of Commons investigation revealed that three government ministers had accepted bribes and invested in the company. The speculative hoax, that became known as the "South Sea Bubble," had burst. Centuries later, Stewart suggests that investing in modern stock markets offers little more security.

## Taking Apart the TSE

Stewart's book reads like a stroll though the visitor's gallery of the Toronto Stock Exchange (TSE) with the author, as tour guide, providing his unique perspective on the activity of the trading floor below. The brokers, the regulators, the banks which own the brokerage houses, and

the media which reports the movements of this maelstrom are all soundly reproached by Stewart.

Especially caustic is the treatment given the media. From his background as managing editor of Canada's largest news magazine, Stewart is well qualified to criticize. He writes: "One problem with journalists trying to cover the stock markets is that their lords and masters [the CEOs of corporations] are made comfortable by chummy reporting and uncomfortable by rude reporting." Unfortunately, for the average person relying on the average news publication, the truth about the stock market is not easily uncovered.
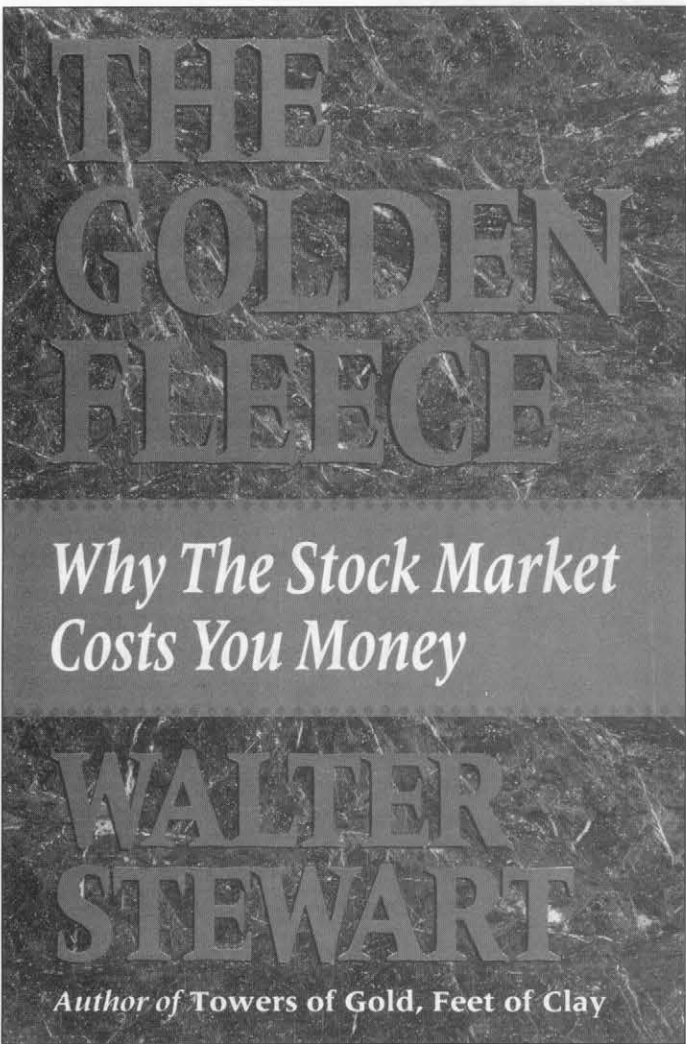
## Not as Bleak as it Seems

What Stewart overlooks in his diatribe, is that thousands of ordinary North Americans with no access to insider information, have profited from playing the markets. They have put their faith and money into a number of stocks, bonds and funds, watched their money grow, and have walked away with safe capital gains and/or handsome dividends. They played the game and won—no tricks, no scandal and no skulduggery.

Accounts of brokers hoodwinking gullible grandmothers and regulators caught in the same cozy financial bed as dodgy stock promoters make for lively reading, but these stories are hardly commonplace. The Michael Milkens and Ivan Boeskys of the world are the exception, and not the rule. Tales of the stock market may not always end happily, or unfold purely, but the reality is not quite as grim and cynical as Stewart projects.

Despite this, *The Golden Fleece* serves up valuable insights on the development of one of the world's oldest and most powerful financial institutions. Whether one chooses to ride out the ups and downs of the markets, or consciously steers clear, thinking them to be crooked and rigged, reading *The Golden Fleece* is well worthwhile.

Dartists will find in Stewart's book an enjoyable, quotable summary of—and justification for—their paranoias. While chartists will enjoy the story Stewart weaves, they will have to look elsewhere for support for their number-crunching ways. Those of us caught somewhere in the middle can learn a tremendous amount from Stewart, while still navigating through the troughs and crests of investing. ●

## THE GOLDEN FLEECE

### Why The Stock Market Costs You Money

### WALTER STEWART

*Author of* Towers of Gold, Feet of Clay

Pegasus Bridge, an uninspiring structure spanning the Caen Canal in Normandy on the northern coast of France, was a strategically important crossing. On June 5, 1944, almost two hundred Allied glider commandos took off in bombers from a Dorset airfield in the south of England, tasked with the mission of capturing and securing the bridge. High above the English Channel the commandos were released, and, manning their six fragile Horsa gliders, began their precarious descent over the French coastline into Normandy.

The gliders landed within striking distance of the bridge. Deserting their craft, the commandos were greeted by a wave of gunfire from some obviously surprised guards. This resistance had been expected, and in the space of a few minutes two-inch mortar bombs had silenced the opposition. The commandos stormed the bridge to find that their adversaries had fled. Within ten minutes of landing, Pegasus Bridge had been taken.

However, shortly before one o'clock the next morning, an instantly recognizable rumbling sound interrupted the night's peace, and two Mark IV tanks materialized from the darkness. Armed with a Piat anti-tank missile, Sergeant Charles Thornton crept past the now infamous Gondree Cafe adjacent to the bridge, and crawled to within thirty yards of the tanks. He focused upon the leading tank, aimed, and pulled the trigger.

It was a direct hit which penetrated the tank's body armor and created a fireworks display that acted as a welcome beacon for the 7th Parachute Regiment—then arriving two miles away. Further along the bank, the platoon discovered the sleeping German guards who seemed more aggrieved at having been woken than at their imminent capture and surrender.

The capture and the securing of Pegasus Bridge was celebrated in time-honored style with the recovery of 98 bottles of champagne that the cafe's owner had buried shortly before the German invasion. As the commando leader Major John Howard concluded, "I owe the lads an awful lot...June 6, 1944 was a first class success".

# "...it will be the longest day"
## Remembering D-Day

Operation Overlord, the invasion of Normandy by Allied troops on D-Day, began the liberation of France and turned the tide of the war in Europe. Fifty years later, as British and French governments host large-scale commemorations of this event, we look back from a world which has yet to learn the lessons of the war it vowed never to forget.



*D-Day landings on the beaches of Normandy. Troops of the North Nova Scotian Highlanders going ashore at Bernieres-sur-mer. [National Archives of Canada]*

### by Jonathan Morton

The storming and subsequent capture of Pegasus Bridge was just one ingredient in a series of events that constitute history's understanding of June 6, 1944, the day that turned the tide of the war in Europe...D-Day. Undeniably an extremely successful military initiative, as well as a gargantuan organizational feat, it was a day of tremendous loss of lives, as well as one of triumph in the last stages of the second great war.

The two World Wars are still a vital part of the educator's curriculum, but for today's youth, a generation far removed from these events, how are they to be remembered? With such devastation in the former Yugoslavia and in conflicts all across the globe, surely not much imagination is needed to emphasize the importance of understanding the implications of our history. A scant 50 years ago, as the atrocities of the Second World War were fully realized, we vowed never to forget...have we forgotten?

### Towards a Liberated Europe

As early as the summer of 1940 Winston Churchill was planning the Allied return to the continent. In that year, the Third

Reich had begun its successful barrage against the Low Countries (the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg). This forced the retreat of the British Expeditionary Force at Dunkirk where almost 130,000 British and French troops were evacuated, leading to the eventual collapse of France before the Germans in June.

Britain was being tested to the limit both militarily and economically. The still-neutral United States could only give limited assistance, but following the unexpected attack on Pearl Harbor in December of 1991, the war changed for good. The American entrance into the war metamorphosed the largely European struggle into a full-fledged world war.

In the spring of 1942, an experimental operation was launched to regain control of the vital French port at Dieppe. The initiative, inaptly labelled Operation Jubilee, was a dismal failure and is remembered as one of the darkest hours of the war. Some 6,000 British and Canadian men landed at Dieppe with inadequate air cover and little naval support. Of the 5,000 Canadians who landed on the beaches, 3,000 did not return. The crushing losses suffered by both nations were, in retrospect, said to be vital to the success of the D-Day campaign.

It was not until 1943 that the invasion which would successfully cross the channel and liberate France, Operation Overlord, began to take shape. A small Anglo-American team began to address the most fundamental of questions: How many men would be needed? What number of ships and aircraft would be required? Towards the end of 1943, General Dwight Eisenhower was chosen as the Supreme Allied Commander. His instructions were straightforward: *You will enter the continent of Europe and, in conjunction with the other Allied nations, undertake operations aimed at the heart of Germany and the destruction of her armed forces...*
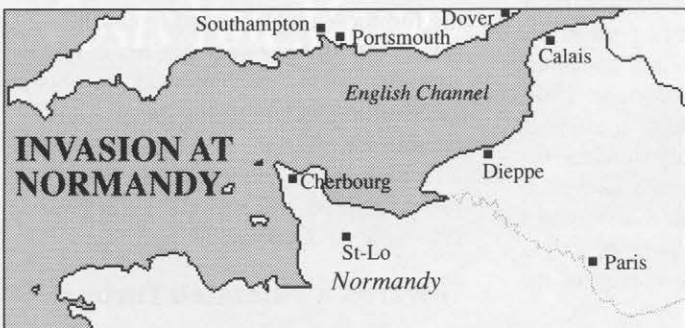
## Operation Overlord

The task seemed insurmountable, considering the sheer strength of Hitler's Atlantic Wall: the German line of defense stretched from the North Cape as far as the Bay of Biscay. Eisenhower appointed General Bernard Montgomery, the British commander who had excelled at the Battle of El Alamein, and the American General Omar Bradley to plan, direct and carry out Operation Overlord.

The timing of the operation was crucial. The Allies needed the maximum length of time to gather and train the appropriate European, American and Canadian forces, and yet needed to use the best of the summer months to follow through the invasion. Specifically, moonlight was needed for the landing craft and the airborne parachute divisions, but a full moon would likely cause more harm. Low tide was the preferred option, as it would allow landing craft to see mines attached to poles in the shallows which would at high tide lurk just below the water's surface. And finally, there was that perennial topic of English conversation: the weather. Somewhat akin to the to British economy, the weather over the Channel was—and is—historically unpredictable.

The date had been set for the 5th of June, 1944. Troops were gathered from all Allied countries: the U.S. provided nearly 1.5 million men, and Britain and Canada provided the majority of the remaining forces, though most of the occupied European countries were represented.

Eventually, the force consisted of a huge naval fleet of 359 warships, 1,000 mine sweepers, 4,000 landing vessels, 805 merchant vessels and almost 30,000 miscellaneous small craft. More than 11,000 aircraft had been assembled to assist the ground and seaborne forces, ranging from fragile Horsa gliders to the powerful and lumbering Lancaster bombers.



*The forces of Operation Overlord massed at Southampton Docks, June 4, 1944. [National Archives of Canada]*

## Deception at Dover

As the Allied plans developed, it gradually became clear to the Germans that something big was in the works. This information came to them from a number of sources, but most significantly, from one Danish-born Wulf Schmidt. Schmidt had become Germany's most reliable spy since he first parachuted into Britain with his radio in 1940, and his messages seemed well-informed and were very often accurate. "Something big is building up in the Dover area," he announced to his German paymasters.

Wulf Schmidt, however, was a double agent, and a very good one. He had the Germans convinced that an invasion was pending: that much was true. All in all, the ministry of misinformation saw to it that intelligence reports from Luftwaffe pilots over Kent reported the build-up of tanks, trucks and troops. This led the Germans to believe that the invasion route would be directed at Calais, the shortest crossing between England and France from the Kent region around Dover. Ironically, any information passed on to Hitler suggesting that the invasion was to be in Normandy he ignored, confident Calais was indeed the intended target.

In reality, this suitably convincing force—Operation Fabius—which had



Southampton
Portsmouth
Dover
Calais

*English Channel*

**INVASION AT NORMANDY**

Cherbourg
Dieppe

St-Lo
Paris
*Normandy*

been recruited to keep the Germans unaware of the real Operation Overlord preparations, was composed of 500 rubber tanks, 50 dummy airfields and some 400 cardboard soldiers.

## "As the first men jumped..."

With the immortal words "OK, let's go," Eisenhower made the decision to postpone Operation Overlord no longer—already the weather had delayed the launch for a day. British and American troops dropped behind enemy lines in the early hours of June 6th, to accomplish essential ground objectives which would prove vital to the success of the seaborne operation. Operation Overlord was begun in earnest by Operation Neptune, the amphibious invasion which involved 7,000 ships, 6,500 aircraft and the transportation of an army of over one million soldiers.

On June 6th, the initial swarm of troops landed on the stretch of coast between the Orne River and St. Marcouf. The U.S. forces were assigned Utah and Omaha beaches as part of their push towards Cherbourg. The British, Canadian and other European forces focused upon Gold, Juno and Sword. 200,000 troops landed on the coast of Normandy during the first 48 hours, and by the end of the landings on July 3rd a million men had crossed the Channel.

By June 10th General Montgomery had established his headquarters in France, and the makeshift Mulberry harbors had been built to deal with the influx of provisions and equipment for the Allied forces. The next few months documented fierce fighting as the Allied invasion force consolidated and advanced. By the end of the Normandy campaign, the allies had suffered almost 210,000 casualties, including almost 37,000 dead. D-Day was not only the longest day, but one of the most important of the Second World War. This was, indeed, the beginning of the end.

## Remembering the Longest Day

In Britain, the Royal Air Force chose to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Britain, the Army elected the Battle of El Alamein and the Royal Navy paid special tribute to the Battle of the Atlantic. The official United Kingdom

---

*Jonathan Morton lives just outside Reading, England. He works for the Henley Management College and has in the past done research for the World Service radio broadcast of the BBC.*

Government commemorations will honor the 50th anniversary of the D-Day landings in Normandy. They are to be held from the 4-6 June, 1994.

The Heads of State and Governments of those countries which provided military units to the Allied operation have been invited to attend the British commemorations. These include U.S. President Clinton, Canadian Prime Minister Chretien, French President Mitterand, Polish President Walesa and King Harald of Norway.

On June 4th, 1,000 veterans of the D-Day landings will be entertained at Southwick House, outside Portsmouth, from where Eisenhower issued the final order to launch the invasion. On the morning of June 5th there will be a commemoration service in Portsmouth, followed that afternoon by a Channel crossing of a flotilla of ships. The crossing is to be led by the Queen in the Royal Yacht Britannia, and will be escorted by an armada of small craft. During the crossing the flotilla will be accompanied by an international flypast, including aircraft that supported the landings from the air. Approximately 1,000 servicemen will parachute into the Pegasus Bridge area in Normandy.

On June 6th there will be a national service of commemoration in the British Cemeteries in Normandy, followed by a veterans' march in Arromaches. These events have been coordinated with the French government who is organizing an international ceremony at Omaha Beach.

## "In the better days that lie ahead, men will speak with pride of our doings."
### —General Montgomery

Aside from the official pomp and ceremony organized by governments, how should we remember the D-Day landings—and, indeed, why should they be commemorated? While England—and the rest of the world—watches the D-Day commemorations, it is possible that these will simply become another meaningless and ephemeral media extravaganza.

Today, fifty years on, the Cold War is over and the frenetic development of information technology has shrunk the globe. Yet the human waste of countless violent conflicts still takes place in a world not unlike the one millions died to change half a century ago.

The events triggered by D-Day constitute an essential part of our history, our culture and our education. For this reason, people ought to be reminded of them time and time again—not only to remember the dead, but to study the mistakes of the past in the hopes that generations to come will have nothing new to commemorate. ●



*Allied troops move through the French village of Falaise on August 17, 1944.*
*[National Archives of Canada]*
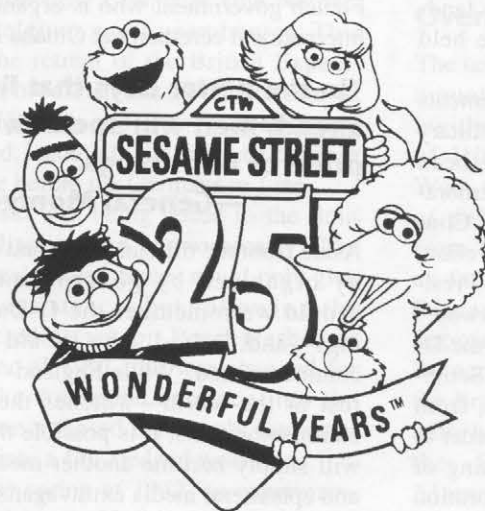
*Sunny day*
*Sweepin' the clouds away,*
*On my way*
*To where the air is sweet.*
*Can you tell me how to get,*
*How to get to Sesame Street?*

*—Sesame Street Theme Song*

# A pillar of preschool culture, Sesame Street celebrates 25 years of entertaining and educating children.

## by Nicole Nolan

By all accounts, I was a *Sesame Street* addict in my early years. I don't remember actually watching the program, but in retrospect, I can trace several hallmarks of my childhood back to the *Sesame* influence. My invisible friend, Bob (who I blamed for telling me to toss my mother's wedding rings into the back yard) was derived from the popular *Sesame Street* adult host. And my favorite muppet of all time was Snuffleupagus, Big Bird's shy woolly mammoth friend. My own stuffed Snuffleupagus once suffered several invasive examinations at the hands of over-zealous customs inspectors, who insisted on checking behind his hollow, plastic eyes for drugs and other valuables. These indignities, which resulted in the amputation of one furry eyebrow, did not deter my love for Snuffy. Today, he occupies a place of honor on a shelf in my mother's basement.

*Last year, Nicole Nolan was News Editor of* The Varsity, *the University of Toronto's bi-weekly newspaper. She will begin graduate studies in English at Rutgers University in the Fall of 1994.*

I feel proud to have been among the first preschoolers nurtured on the *Sesame Street* education-via-entertainment ethic. The educational benefits of the show on myself are hard to measure, although I do know my numbers and letters exceptionally well. Much as I adored *Sesame Street*, though, as an upper-middle class white Canadian kid, I was not a member of the audience *Sesame Street* creators



*The late Mr. Hooper, and the incomparable Ernie and Bert. [CTW/Richard Termine]*

envisioned when they first came up with the idea for the show.

### Origins of a childhood legend

It all started in America in the late 1960s. At that time, researchers were publishing studies showing that the performance of poor, inner city children in the early years of grade school compared unfavorably with that of their middle-class suburban counterparts. Educators maintained that their poor performance was due to the fact that inner city kids received less preschool instruction in the home than suburbanites. Enter the Carnegie Foundation, a charitable institution interested in the education and development of young children, particularly of those from disadvantaged backgrounds. Since they knew that many kids watched TV, Carnegie commissioned public TV producer Joan Ganz Cooney to do a study assessing the viability of using television to ease the transition from home to school for inner city children.

With this mandate, Cooney entered into the world of preschool America and found its young inhabitants happily

singing beer commercial jingles. She returned to the Carnegie folks with a revolutionary idea: use a blatantly commercial technique for non-commercial purposes. Pre-school children, Cooney said, reacted well to the fast-paced, thirty second slots of television advertising; in fact, they were able to learn from it. Previously, educational TV had lost out because it lacked the pizzazz and sparkle of commercial endeavors. If public television wanted to capture young viewers, Cooney maintained, it would have to have many of the production values of commercial TV—pace, humor, professional performing talent and animation, to name a few. Her vision was a funny, entertaining show interrupted by "commercials" that would teach children their letters and numbers.

Thus, *Sesame Street* was born. Funded by government grants and donations from foundations like Carnegie, Sesame was aired on public television in 1969. Because they were primarily interested in reaching inner city kids, *Sesame Street* creators set the show on a street reminiscent of an inner city neighborhood. Adult hosts were chosen to represent all of America, but there was a definite emphasis on having strong black and Hispanic role models like Gordon and Maria.

In an attempt to ensure that the program reached kids in low-income neighborhoods, and to make sure the educational aims of the program were

picked up and supported in these communities, the New York-based Children's Television Workshop created a department of Community Educational Services. To make sure this educational experience was a success, during the summer before *Sesame Street* went on the air, this new department enlisted 7,500 youths in 30 urban locations into a Neighborhood Youth Corps. The volunteers were trained to view the program along with preschoolers and to then provide them with activities that reinforced *Sesame Street's* educational message.

## Rising Above *Sesame's* Foundations

Fueled by the antics of Jim Henson's muppets, and entertaining, fast-paced segments, the show's popularity went far beyond the inner city kids its aimed to help. Sesame Street has become the most



*The original Sesame Street gang, back when it all began.*
*[CTW/Richard Termine]*

popular program in TV history, capturing 51 Emmy awards during its lifetime. As it began its 25th season this past November, Sesame Street's yearly revenue from its magazine for parents and children exceeded $40 million and product licensing fees accounted for $28 million. The show that began completely dependent on public funding now relies on grants for only 10-20 percent of its budget.

But money has never been the central issue for the Children's Television Workshop, which only reluctantly began granting product licensing when it realized that public money was running low. After years of complaints by public health authorities and Parent-Teacher Associations that children's programming is of low quality, full of violence and often designed to sell brands of toys and food to children who watch them, *Sesame Street* remains one of the few examples of what television can do for children when their interests—rather than those of advertisers—are first on the agenda.

Low income kids, long at the bottom of commercial television's list of priorities, still figure prominently in the *Sesame Street* audience. Studies in the



*The Squirrelles, Sesame's new creation: a 'Motown' singing sensation.*
*[CTW/Richard Termine]*

late 1980s showed Sesame Street had a 93 to 99 percent penetration rate in inner city neighborhoods. And, unlike other kid's shows, Children's Television Workshop keeps a notoriously tight leash on its licensed products. In an attempt to make sure that marketing is aimed at parents, not children, the company stipulates that Sesame Street products cannot be advertised on TV shows whose audience is more than 10 percent preschoolers and that Sesame characters cannot be used in commercials to sell the products.

The best-researched show on television, Sesame Street episodes go through rigorous screenings with a panel of educators and are tested on preschool audiences before being aired. Recently, a show on divorce starring Snuffleupagus

mercials, Sesame Street has done more harm than good. Such arguments assert that conditioning children to accept information in 30-second bits can have negative psychological and intellectual consequences when children are asked to learn for more prolonged time periods.

Women's groups criticized the show in its first season when Gordon's stay-at-home wife Susan was featured singing songs like "I flip when a fella sends me flowers, I drool over dresses made of lace." In the second season, Susan got a nursing job, but criticism of the roles played by female Sesame Street characters continues today. Feminist Ellen Goodman wrote, "The females that do live on Sesame Street can be divided into three groups; teacher, simp and mother

tural differences which rendered some of its popular U.S. characters incomprehensible. In Latin America (home to few canaries) Plaza Sesame has replaced Big Bird with a seven-foot parrot named Montoya; Oscar the Grouch has been rechristened Bodoque. In Arabic countries, Big Bird is a camel, and in Germany, a bear. Israeli children watch a porcupine named Kippy and a grouch named Moishe Oofnick. During the Gulf War, Kippy was used by the Israeli government to show children how to put on a gas mask.

In Canada, one of the first countries to pick up Sesame Street, the show is going into its twenty-second season. In its early years, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) simply re-broadcast the American program, replacing Spanish content with French language segments. Since then, Canadian content has gone from five minutes to 22. The CBC now produces its own segments and has introduced Canadian-inspired muppets such as a bear, an otter, a woman bush pilot named Dodi, and a reporter named Barbara Plum (after the late respected Canadian news personality Barbara Frum). Sensitive to the need to represent an adequate cross-section of people, Sesame Street now features wheelchair-bound characters: in Canada, a muppet named Katie, and in the U.S., a little girl named Tarah.



Sesame's Canadian cousins (from left to right): Basil, Louis, Dodi, Katie, Michael and Garth Burmengie. [CBC/Fred Phipps]

and his parents was yanked by producers after questions revealed that children in the test audience believed an argument could lead to divorce and that Snuffy's parents might not love him anymore.

## Problems on the *Street*

During its twenty-five years on television, Sesame Street has garnered its share of criticism. Some educators (like Dorothy Singer, co-director at Yale University's Family Television Research Center) say the show is too fast paced and disjointed for young viewers. Other educators maintain that by adopting the form of TV com-
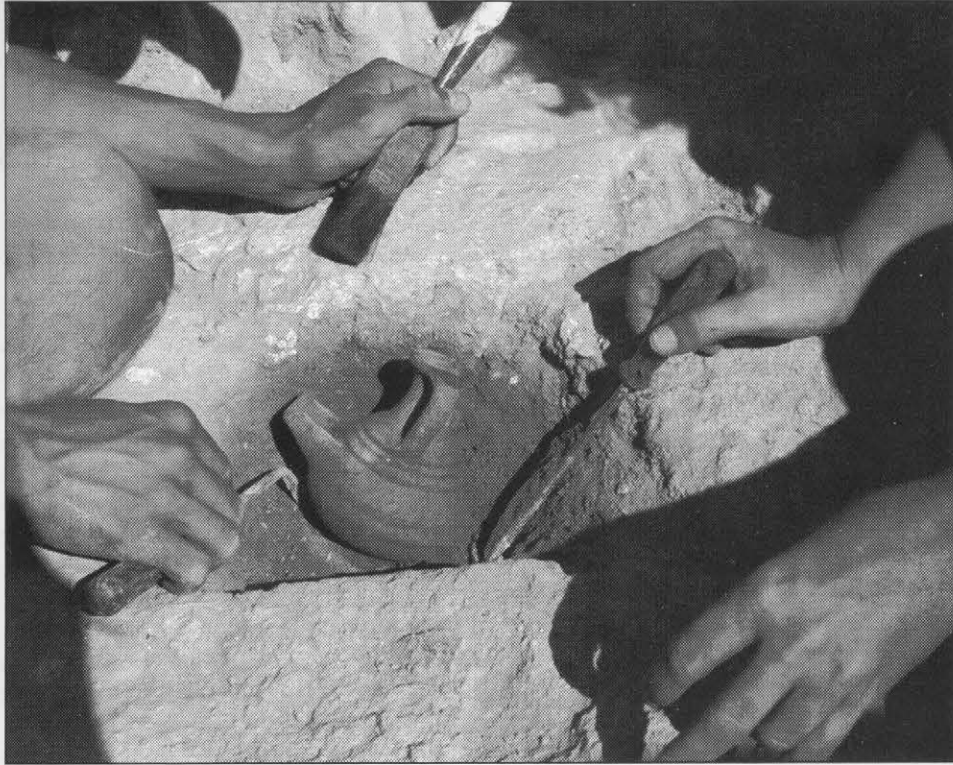
(which more often than not is a combination of teacher and simp). And oh, yes, a cow." This past season, Sesame producers attempted to even out the gender imbalance by introducing seven new female muppets—among them "The Squirrelles", a trio of female squirrels who live in the park and sing Motown music reminiscent of the Supremes, and Zoe, a three-year-old girl monster.

## Big Bird the Camel and a Grouch Named Moishe

Having aired in 90 countries in its 25 years, Sesame Street has adapted to cul-

## To another successful quarter-century

Recently, I was having a quiet dinner in a Toronto restaurant with my mother when a hoard of preschool children descended upon us. It so happened that a stage version of Sesame Street was playing across the street. Glassy-eyed with the kind of manic excitement induced by a plethora of sugary treats, the kids jumped all over the restaurant bellowing Sesame Street songs and waving multicolored Sesame Street flags. If I had been able to collect my thoughts amidst the mayhem, I quite probably would have proposed a toast to many more years for a children's show that aims to—and is able to—teach so much and still inspire such revelry.

The dining experience was less than pleasant, but one thing was certain: after 25 years of broadcasting, Sesame Street still reigns supreme in the hearts of the under-five crowd. ●

# Unearthing the Past
## An Archeological Dig in Israel



Despite dust, dirt, heat and fatigue, participating in an archeological dig is a unique and rewarding experience. To spend time excavating is to be the first person to uncover fragments of civilizations unseen for thousands of years, and to contribute to our understanding of ancient history.

### by Christine Alden

Archaeology evokes thoughts of everyone's childhood pleasure of playing in the sandbox. The romance and intrigue of the archeologist's work captivates the imagination for a good reason: the act of digging up the past is truly extraordinary. Participating in this activity has allowed me to experience and to acquaint myself with a country and its history through the soil—an angle most conventional forms of travel or research do not offer.

*Christine Alden received her B.A. in English from the University of Toronto. She is returning to the same site in Israel in the summer.*

Battles over the land of Israel, formerly Palestine, predate the current Middle East crisis by thousands of years. Archeologists trace the earliest major land battles in Palestine as far back as the Bronze Age (ca. 3300 BCE). My own introduction to Israel's ancient past took place over the course of two summers spent excavating at the archeological site of Tel Miqne-Ekron, an Iron Age Philistine site located between Jerusalem and the Mediterranean coast.

### The Excavation Team and the Daily Grind

Under the direction Dr. Seymour Gitin of the W.F. Albright Institute of Archeologi-

cal Research, and Dr. Trude Dothan of the Institute of Archaeology at Hebrew University (both in Jerusalem), the excavation team—including both staff and volunteers—numbers about 100 people in a given season, making the dig at Ekron a relatively large undertaking. The project is a joint American-Israeli-Canadian venture, financially supported by various academic institutions and private donors. With the aid of the Dorot Foundation in New York, an excavation camp has been established three kilometers from the site at the neighboring Kibbutz Revadim. Staff and volunteers live in the camp during the seven-week excavation season with their workshop facilities close at hand.

Directors Gitin and Dothan operate a summer field school at the site where volunteers learn excavation techniques and theory, as well as the routine of processing and recording the discovery of artifacts. In addition to field work, volunteers attend lectures about the archaeology of Palestine which place the finds at Tel Miqne-Ekron in historical perspective.

Each day of the five-day work week begins with a lecture, after which the rest of the morning is spent washing, reading (determining type and date) and marking pottery. Field work at the *tel* (the Hebrew word for occupational mound) lasts from 12:30 p.m. until 8:00 at night. During the welcome cool evening, staff members have important data recording and other paperwork to do, while volunteers have readings to prepare for the next morning's lectures.

For many people who have never excavated before, archaeology conjures up images of tedious hours spent dusting a surface with a toothbrush. While such fine work is necessary at times, often hard physical labor is required, leaving one exhausted at day's end. Several hours of picking through and shoveling layers of debris may reveal a delicate find, which only then must be uncovered carefully, using small trowels and paint brushes.
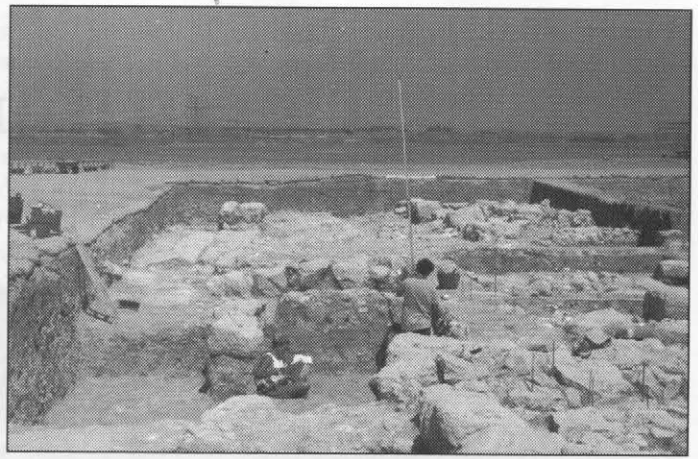
## Ekron: A Philistine Capital

The Philistines, people believed to be of Aegean descent, settled in the land of Canaan. Among their five capital cities was Ekron, mentioned in the Old Testament books of Joshua, Judges, I Samuel and II Kings. Biblical descriptions of the location of Ekron led to its discovery at the site of Tel Miqne. Ekron lies 20 kilometers inland from the Mediterranean Sea towards Jerusalem, and was inhabited from the Middle Bronze Period (2000 BCE) to the end of the Iron Age (603 BCE). Excavations have determined that the Philistine occupation—with which this project is concerned—occurred between 1200 BCE and the destruction of the site in 603 BCE.

The main focus of study at Ekron is the Philistine civilization during its transition from Canaanite culture (ca. 1200 BCE), to its later assimilation into Israelite culture (ca. 1000 BCE). The interaction between the Philistine settlements and those of the neighboring Israelites is of great interest, since Ekron lies on the border between the ancient land of Philistia and that of Israel/Judah. Ekron was an unusually large city for its time. Covering almost 50 acres, the site is too vast and resources too scarce to allow for excavation of the whole area. In the past ten seasons of work, excavators have uncovered only three percent of the entire *tel*.

If we think of a complete understanding of the excavation site as a finished puzzle, then each find forms one piece. As pieces of the puzzle are brought to the surface, we attempt to assemble them to understand the whole picture. The information gathered about the Philistines at Ekron contributes to studies of Palestine, and sheds light on work underway at various other Philistine and Israelite settlements. The focus of inquiry shifts from season to season as new questions arise—the answers all lie buried in the ground.


*On site at Tel Miqne-Ekron. [Christine Alden]*

## What Lies Hidden in the Earth

Israel's ancient sites are rich in pottery. When found in pieces these fragments are called pottery sherds; at Tel Miqne-Ekron, we gather thousands of such sherds a day. Pottery provides some of the most important clues to solving mysteries—for example, certain pottery wares and types of ornamentation existed only at certain periods in history. Knowledge of this typology is therefore instrumental in ascertaining the chronological history of a site.

Similar to the way that modern cities re-pave roads over many years and reconstruct on the same site, ancient cultures used thoroughfares for centuries, making minor repairs and laying new ground when needed. At Ekron, a wide avenue runs through the town center, and the many roads which were subsequently constructed over a few hundred years form a layer more than a meter thick. By determining the date of the pottery found in each layer, we can then date each phase of the road and the length of time it was in use before a new one was constructed over top of it.

Over time, the trademark pottery of the early Philistine settlement evolved into the simpler pottery of the neighboring Israelite cultures. Early Philistine pottery featured elaborate black and red designs of birds, fish, spiral patterns and antelope. These motifs are typical of the Late Bronze Age pottery of Cyprus and the Aegean, which provides evidence of the Philistines' origins. For unknown reasons, the Philistines ceased to produce this type of pottery after 1000 BCE. Instead, they turned to simple red "slipped" pottery without elaborate designs, a modest style typical of Israelite and Judean cultures.

Partial or complete reconstruction of an object is possible if the pieces have not scattered too far after destruction. The discovery of an intact vessel is relatively uncommon, and is therefore particularly exciting. For an eager volunteer, excavation of this sort can be painfully slow.

My first lesson in patience came during the excavation of a pilgrim flask of the eleventh century BCE. As we were

ISRAEL

Tel Aviv

Mediterranean
Sea

Tel
Miqne-
Ekron

Jerusalem

Dead
Sea

Jordan

Egypt
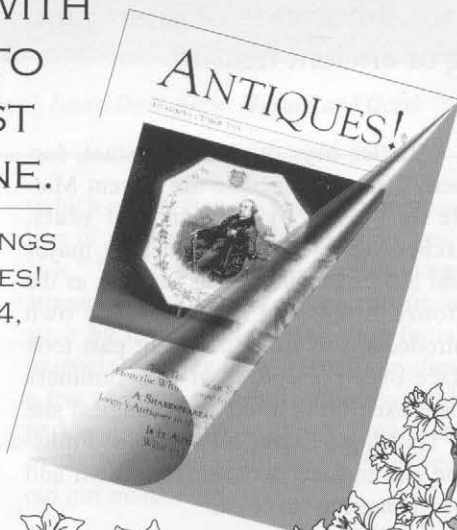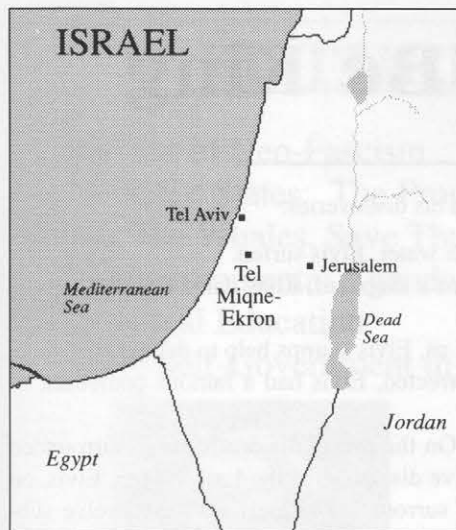
[Electromap, Inc.]

digging, a smooth red piece of pottery caught my eye. Exposing the flask seemed to take forever, because archeological method requires the excavation of the entire area in question, not just the immediate area around the artifact: one cannot simply barrel down and make arbitrary pits in the ground, although it is certainly tempting when an exceptional find is within reach.

After a few hours, we reached the bottom level of the flask and began brushing the dirt away. Once we had fully exposed the artifact and swept it meticulously, the site photographer took several photos for recording purposes. And only then could I pick up the flask which had lain untouched for almost 3,000 years.

Similarly lengthy procedures reveal a cache of jewellery, precious metals, figurines, gaming pieces, tools, tableware, cooking implements, pieces of animal bone, and carbonized grains—all of which are usually found within their associated architectural structures, such as houses, temples, industrial buildings or streets. Virtually all finds, whatever their size or intrinsic value, contribute to our understanding of the Philistine culture.

For instance, store jars were used to transport items of trade such as olive oil or wine, and often these jars would bear a stamp impression near the handle to indicate the place of origin and the supplier of the enclosed product. The excavation of a fragment of that storage jar bearing the impression suggests a probable trade link between the Philistines at Ekron and another settlement. If the stamp bears a date, then we can establish the period of trade, and possibly the date of other objects found in that same area.

After the cessation of field work, archeologists analyze the vast amounts of data gathered during excavation. Chemical analyses of materials such as rock, metals, wood, soil, or pottery clay determine the sources from which the Philistines obtained supplies; the places of origin of these materials also help archeologists establish patterns and routes of trade. Analyses of soil samples reveal various grains that were part of the Philistines' diet. All of this information contributes to the study of the region as well as to an understanding of Ekron.

Major historical events such as invasions and destructions of towns are well documented in Egyptian historical accounts, and, sometimes, in the archeological record as well. The cultural transition of Ekron from a Canaanite town to a Philistine city-state is poorly understood, and is now the focus of a large portion of current excavations.

The end of Ekron's existence as a functioning city is, however, quite well known: around 700 BCE Ekron fell under Assyrian control, though the city continued to flourish. Historical accounts indicate that Nebuchadnezzar and his Babylonian army swept through the area during military campaigns and destroyed Ekron in 603 BCE.

A massive burnt layer of rubble makes Ekron's demise easily identifiable. Beneath the destruction debris lie the crushed remains of once-whole pottery, caved-in ceilings and rooms, and charcoal embers which once formed the architectural supports of the city. It is easier to gather information from complete destructions, which preserve the last moments of a civilization, than it is to capture its evolution over decades buried among layers upon layers of earth. Ironically, the best understood periods are generally those that ended the most tragically.

## Unlocking the Mysteries of the Land

In modern jargon, the term Philistine is pejoratively applied to one who lacks culture. However, artifacts discovered in Ekron and other Philistine sites, such as ornately decorated pottery, handcrafted jewellery or cultish figurines, reveal a culture characterized by distinctive craftsmanship. The absence of substantial evidence of the Philistine language continues to mystify archeologists, but provides incentive for future research.

The experience of excavating reveals the cycle of prosperity and hardship evident as a city expands, industrial productivity increases, and artisanship develops and flourishes. The burnt layer of rubble which lies over the final phase of occupation at Ekron seals the traces of



This is what lies hidden in the earth: pottery discovered at Tel Miqne-Ekron. [Christine Alden]

a culture which endured for six centuries, but has remained buried for over 2,600 years.

It is a unique opportunity to play a part in unlocking the mysteries of ancient cultures. As summer vacations go, excavating may be one of the most interesting alternatives available. Certainly a hands-on experience provides a remarkable introduction to understanding Israel and the battles which have long characterized its history. Running one's fingers through the dirt brings one closer to understanding the mysticism of this holy land, which for centuries people have fought to settle and possess.

# The Man Who Would Be King

### by Andrew Prowse

There is no mistaking the power and omnipresence of the king. On the streets of Memphis, Tennessee, when passers-by cry out "Hail to the king!" there is little doubt that they are referring to the living legend—Elvis.

This year, nearly one million people will visit the temple of the King—Graceland—and pay approximately $16 for the privilege of doing so. Graceland, under the auspices of Elvis Presley Enterprises, is presided over by Priscilla Presley, who in 1982 transformed what used to be a financial burden into a gold mine by opening its hallowed halls to the public.

On her 25th birthday last year, Elvis' daughter and sole heiress Lisa-Marie, took possession of his kingly legacy that is valued at well over $100-million. Surely, Elvis is happy knowing that his little girl is being taken care of—possibly something not uppermost in his mind during the mid-70s when he was giving away Cadillacs and incurring hefty gambling debts, all the while becoming more and more dependent upon the colorful tapestry of substances that would eventually lead to his death at Graceland on August 16, 1977. Elvis' life story does not, however, stop there.

For legions of devoted followers, Elvis is very much alive. Not just in their hearts and in their vinyl collections, but in real flesh and blood. Elvis sightings are an almost weekly phenomenon.

Since a woman first spotted him eyeing some back ribs in a Piggily Wiggily supermarket outside of Lexington, Kentucky, Elvis has been seen at various fast food establishments and several trailer parks. While conveniently, these phenomena are beneficial to the marketers of Elvis Presley Enterprises, they in fact hold a much deeper meaning. For the hundreds of thousands of pilgrims who travel to Graceland every year, the trip isn't about buying an Elvis T-shirt, admiring his favorite purple Cadillac or even being dazzled by his gold lame suit. No—for those camped outside the gates of Graceland, as well as for those across the globe who pitch tents there in spirit, there is a religious aspect to Elvis and his legacy.

So, perhaps it is not surprising that the suggestion has been made that Elvis and Christ are in fact one. This idea is not without merit, for the similarities are remarkable. Five weeks after the crucifixion, at the harvest festival of Pentecost, the disciples saw a vision of Jesus. Significantly, it was approximately five weeks after Elvis' death that he appeared at the Piggily Wiggily. These types of striking comparisons were enough for author A.J. Jacobs to produce an insightful book entitled *The Two Kings—Jesus•Elvis* (Bantam Books, 1994).

The Second Coming?
[The Estate of Elvis Presley/Graceland]

Here are just a few of his discoveries:

- Jesus walked on water, Elvis surfed.
- Jesus is the Lord's shepherd, Elvis dated Cybill Shepherd.
- Jesus delivered us, Elvis stamps help to deliver.
- Jesus was resurrected, Elvis had a famous comeback special in '68.

Not convinced? On the eve of his death, Jesus surrounded himself with the twelve disciples for the Last Supper. Elvis, on the eve of his death, surrounded himself with the twelve substances for his final fix.

Three days after Christ was buried, women who went to his tomb to anoint his body were shocked to find that he was not there. After a three song encore in Little Rock, Arkansas, women who rushed the stage were equally perplexed at the disappearance of Elvis and the subsequent announcement that the King had in fact "left the building."

It is no surprise that theologians and Elvis fans alike are "all shook up" by these discoveries. Is it possible that the King of Kings would choose to unveil himself through rock'n'roll? Was this the way to speak to the masses? We know that in his lifetime Elvis' songs were called "devil music," that he liked performing in the desert of Las Vegas, and that he encouraged fans to adorn him by placing necklaces over his head (Hawaiian Leis in fact). Yet many questions remain: why would the King star in such films as *Clambake* and *Blue Hawaii*? Why would he choose a Burger King restaurant to reappear in? Perhaps we will never know.

As Elvis Presley Enterprises aggressively plans to open a Tokyo theme park and expand its marketing efforts into former Communist republics, they probably do not care...just as long as he is not forgotten.

And surely he won't be. As Graceland officials succinctly explain: "So much of who and what Elvis was and what he did and how he lived can tell us a lot about ourselves." And, no doubt, his commandments can teach us a few additional things:

1) Don't be cruel
2) Love tender
3) Let him be your teddy bear
4) "Only fools rush in"
5) Always say "Thankyou, thankyou verymuch"
6) Return to sender
7) Don't be a hounddog
8) Dance to the jailhouse rock
9) Red pill—wake up, white pill—sleep
10) You can do anything, but lay off of blue suede shoes ●
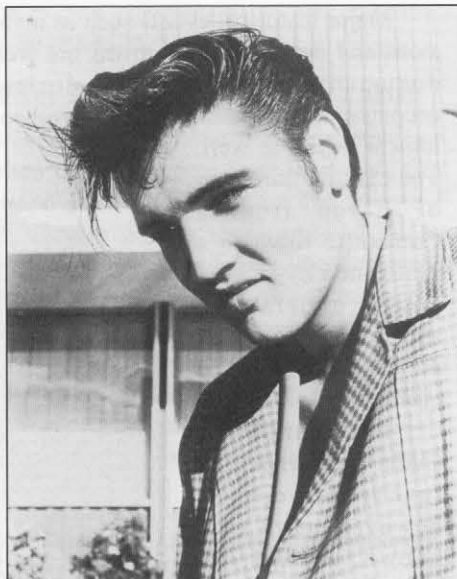
# FUTURE SUBJECTS AT HAND

The Rise of Neo-Fascism
The Baltic States: The Progress of Independence
Save The Whales, Save The Planet: Designing an
    Environmental Agenda for the Year 2000
Vocational Education
Native Self-Government in Canada
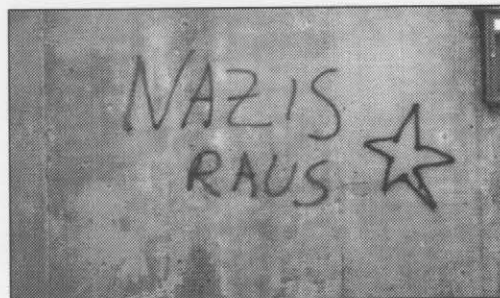
*[Ingrid Schenk]*

*[Bruno Barbey/Magnum]*

**Plus Some Comments On:**
Spousal Benefits for Same-Sex Couples
Children's Literature in the '90s
One Woman's Quest to Overcome Autism
Sebastiao Salgado & the Industrial Age

**As Well As:**
Rickshaws in Calcutta

---

*ORIGINS* would like to thank the following people for their continued support.

## Sponsors

Endless Pools

Performance House Ltd.
William G.B. Robinson

## Patrons

Mr. & Mrs. J. Gustin
J.T. Kennish
R.C. Meech
Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada

## Charter Subscribers

Enza Marie May
Lorraine Landis
Mike Scott
Carey & Judith Schulten
John W. Van Cott
Joseph A. Sanders