

THE DEAL

Threat to social programs is real, opposition charges

By TERRANCE WILLS
Montreal Gazette

WOULD FREE TRADE with the United States really put pressure on Canada to dismantle medicare, weaken unemployment insurance and abolish or alter other social programs?

The government denies it, but the opposition parties say free trade could erode Canada's share-the-wealth programs.

Scheduled to take effect Jan. 1 — if it gains final approval from Parliament and the U.S. Congress — the trade deal calls for "harmonization" of Canadian and American ways of drawing up trade documents, writing and enforcing regulations on farm products, and so on.

The agreement also says that over the next five to seven years Ottawa and Washington will negotiate a mutually acceptable program of government subsidies.

The governing Tories say the only subsidies involved are those aimed at individual industries. But the Liberals and New Democrats say some across-the-board social programs could be "harmonized" to conform with the much stingier U.S. system.

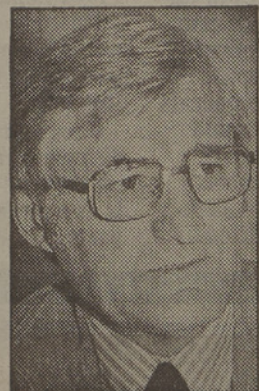
The idea behind harmonization is that without it, some Canadian industries — and labor forces — would have unfair advantages over their unsubsidized U.S. counterparts. But interpretations can vary.

In one 1986 tariff case the U.S. commerce department identified 31 Canadian programs — 12 federal, 19 provincial — which, it said, subsidized Atlantic fishermen.

The opposition parties say they have some serious concern about just what programs will have to be harmonized. Liberal leader John Turner told the Commons before the deal was approved in principle last week:



CARR



GUEST



MULRONEY

"Harmonize means, according to the agreement, render identical. Our programs and the American programs will be harmonized. ... That is the danger where one blindly accepts the idea of negotiating with the U.S. on its terms."

NDP leader Ed Broadbent warned: "If Canada is going to ... talk about what constitutes a subsidy, whose belief system is going to predominate? Anyone who says the Canadian system will predominate is either misleading the people of Canada or dreaming in Technicolor."

"Medicare has to be regarded as a human right, and not a marketable commodity," Broadbent said.

IN CANADA, medicare is available to everyone, for the most part financed by tax revenues and covering a comprehensive range of hospital, medical and related costs.

In the U.S., the only public medicare is primarily for the elderly, through the social security system.

There is also "medicaid" for the poor, but under the current Republican administration "it has been the subject of such cutbacks in the past decade that approximately 60 per cent of the poor are ineligible for it," according to Dennis Guest of the School of Social Work at the

University of British Columbia.

Some 36 million Americans, a third of them children, have no medical insurance of any kind.

The result: Canadians enjoy a longer life expectancy and lower infant mortality, the Economic Council of Canada reported recently.

Canadians also enjoy more generous unemployment insurance, family allowances, maternity benefits, old age pensions and minimum-wage laws.

The list of subsidies up for negotiation (and harmonization) has not been decided but, in any event, no list could include every Canadian social program and regional hand-out that a future U.S. administration may want to talk about.

For instance, how about equalization payments to the poorer provinces, which are built right into the Canadian Constitution? And what about federally financed day care?

The deal "could erode everything from medicare ... to workers' rights to organize and bargain collectively," says Shirley Carr, president of the Canadian Labor Congress.

Advocates of the deal argue that bilateral free trade is needed to generate the wealth to support social programs:

"We are going to have a healthier economy after free trade than before, and business will be in a better position to afford these things," Canadian Chamber of Commerce president James Herick told the first parliamentary committee to study the deal.

The only subsidies involved in the seven-year negotiation are those that are trade-related, meaning they must be specific to an industry, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his ministers insist. Canada's social programs "are not on the table" because they are national in scope and available to all.

The Conservatives' stand has resulted in a dearth of official studies on the implications of the negotiations for Canada's social programs.

This so concerned the Canadian Council on Social Development it convened its own national conference on the issue this spring.

That conference reached no consensus over whether social programs are endangered, but there did emerge a common view that the government's curt dismissal of the threat was far from realistic.

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SINGAPORE

Marrying up leaves nerds to rot on vine

By SETH MYDANS
N.Y. Times News Service

SINGAPORE

DANIEL LIM is suffering from hypergamy, a widespread ailment that is causing Singapore's government serious concern about the future of its economy, social structure, and national defence.

Hypergamy is the tendency to marry "upward," used here to refer to the practice of women who choose a husband better educated, wealthier, even taller than they are — and to stay single if they cannot find such a person.

Fully 30 per cent of college-educated women in Singapore, unable to find Prince Charming, remain unmarried today — even as nearly all their poorly educated sisters continue to marry and have babies.

Men like Lim, according to government officials, often end up marrying "downward" — hypogamy — after they fail to win a woman of their own educational level.

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew expressed alarm at what he said this was doing to the gene pool a few years back, asserting: "Levels of competence will decline, our economy will falter, our administration will suffer, and society will decline."

Apart from quality, quantity is also worrying Singapore's planners in light of the overwhelming success of the "two is enough" campaign for offspring in small families.

The planners are aiming for growth from the current population of 2.6 million to a goal of 3.4 million in the next few years. But the fertility rate — the number of children a woman is likely to bear

— has dropped from 4.7 in 1965 to 1.44 last year, below the replacement rate of 2.1.

A year ago, the acting health minister, Yeo Cheow Tong, warned that the resulting decline in the young population would mean a drop in the tax base to support the elderly, as well as a lack of recruits for the armed forces.

"If you want to produce geniuses, you have to get the graduate man to marry a graduate girl," according to Helen Wang, deputy director of the Social Development Unit which tries to match better educated people.

She said well-educated single women may be highly productive in the work place, "but they are not fulfilling their function of having families."

A good part of the unit's efforts go into propaganda, Wang said.

"We try to tell our girls not to expect too much," she explained. "They want looks. They want money. They want security. They want a tall man."

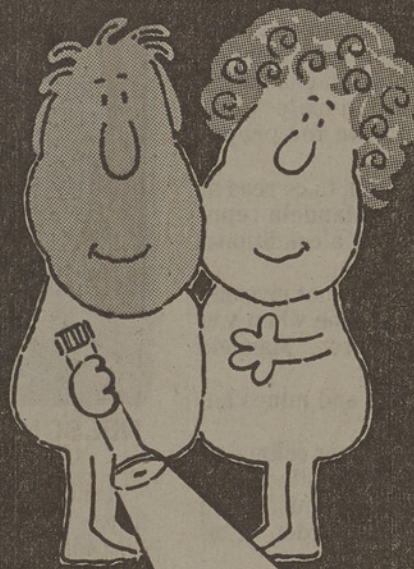
"We have to change those ideals. You cannot look for Mr. Right or Mr. Perfect. So we ask our women to play softer, to play a little dumb if possible."

In Singapore, she said, men tend to concentrate on their careers, to spend their time at their computer terminals, and to have little knowledge of social graces. "Some men come to us at the age of 30 and say they have never had a date," Wang said. "They are scorned as nerds. They do not know how to behave, what to do with girls. We have a lot of nerds around here."

So, she said, "we try to teach them — maybe not to be Prince Charmings, but we teach them to be halfway, and not be frogs."

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MANDELA Continued from page B1

with Oliver Tambo in the study of law and the promotion of justice.

"We were never really young," Tambo said in a recent reminiscence. "There were no dances, hardly a cinema, but meetings and discussions every night, every weekend."

But, even with jail and exile between them, the relationship between Mandela and Tambo has not changed more than 40 years of association.

Also 70, Tambo serves as the ANC chief outside South Africa while Mandela remains in prison.

"Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me," Mandela has written. "He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 50 years."

For Winnie Mandela, separation has been the story of her marriage.

"Part of my soul went with him at that time," Winnie was to say years later of her feelings on hearing of Nelson's arrest.

They had barely two years of married life together before he went underground to organize insurgency and sabotage.

"If you are looking for some kind of romance, you won't find it," Winnie told an interviewer of their courtship. "Even at that stage, life with him was a life without him."

Their two daughters, Zindiswa and Zenani, experienced an unusual childhood — even by South African standards.

At one period both father and mother were in prison followed by Winnie being banished from their

Soweto home to the township of Brandfont in the Orange Free State.

"My mother has made us strong," Zindiswa believes.

"Once in court, when mummy was convicted — I think it was '71 — I started crying and she said, 'You must never cry, because you are giving them satisfaction if you do so.'"

Recognizing, in part, the significance of Mandela spending his 70th birthday in prison, the South African government granted the family an unprecedented six-hour reunion inside Pollsmoor prison on the day.

But Winnie Mandela called off the visit Friday saying she does not want to accept special privileges from the regime and she wants to focus attention on other jailed opponents of apartheid.

Analysts of the South African political situation anticipate a major crisis if Nelson Mandela were to accommodate Botha and die in prison.

"There is ground for dialogue," writes Bernard Wood, who worked as a special adviser to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on the possibility of a peaceful solution to the South African racial conflict.

"But it can quickly slip away if Mandela and a few other leaders of his generation pass from the scene," Wood states in the Encounter publication of the University of Western Ontario.

"It would then be an entirely new and terribly dangerous and unpredictable game."

GALLUP Continued from page B1

and the Liberals far behind at 26 per cent.

On a national basis, however, the Gallup offered some encouragement for the Mulroney government, confirming other surveys that have shown the Tories closing on the leading Liberals for several months.

The latest Angus Reid-Southam News survey, released June 24, showed the Liberals with 34 per cent of decided voter support nationally, while the Conservatives had 33 per cent and the NDP, 31.

And the Gallup poll is further proof that the Tories, after a two-year struggle, have successfully shored up their standing in Quebec, which along with the West, is crucial to any Conservative re-election strategy.

In the Gallup released Wednesday, the Tories shot up 20 points in Quebec to 42 per cent. The Liberals in Quebec slipped 13 points to 37 per cent, while the NDP dropped six points to 20 per cent.

The Angus Reid-Southam News polls have generally found the Conservatives, and Mulroney perso-

nally, doing better in Quebec since last fall.

Pollster Reid said only part of this improvement stems from the extensive campaigning done by Mulroney and his party to win the Lac-St-Jean federal byelection last month.

"I think there is a sense among Quebecers that perhaps Mulroney is not out of it in the rest of the country and so they're coming back on board," Reid said.



REID

Also, he said the "brief fling" many Quebec nationalists had in the past few years with the NDP seems to be coming to an end and they are switching back to the Conservatives federally.

Even in the unlikely event the Tories could repeat their 1984 triumph in Quebec, when they captured 58 ridings, they are still a long way from regaining their majority in the House of Commons unless they can bounce back from their current standing in Ontario and B.C.

Bruce Hutchison, right: Four lessons for a dry planet **B4**

Jamie Lamb: The joys of animation reawakened **B5**



WEEKEND EXTRA

SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1988 ★★☆☆

What's on the tube: complete weekend TV listings **B11**
The week ahead: television's upcoming highlights **B11**

Tonight's TV

Democratic floor fight considered a plus by Nixon

By JOHN MASHEK
Cox News Service

ATLANTA

FORMER PRESIDENT
Richard Nixon predicts that Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis will make political gains if he and the Rev. Jesse Jackson engage in a lively floor fight at next week's Democratic National Convention.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

In the memo to Vice President George Bush's campaign headquarters, Nixon said Dukakis, the certain Democratic nominee for president, and Jackson eventually would make peace. But a battle on national television during an otherwise dull convention, he said, could turn into a net plus for the Demo-

cratic nominee.

"For Dukakis to stand up against the extreme demands of Jackson's radical forces might reduce the total black vote, but it will not drive any significant number of blacks to Bush. The brutal political reality is that standing tough against Jackson would help Dukakis with some

whites, not only in the South but in some of the key urban states in the North," Nixon wrote in the memo.

Nixon said a Dukakis-Jackson fust would help the Democratic ticket with conservative Democrats who have voted twice for Ronald Reagan. Nixon said Bush needs those votes to win in November.

Nixon's view is that while Jackson was understandably miffed by a

failure to be notified before Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas was selected as a running mate, he would destroy his influence in the party if he failed to help Dukakis this fall.

Once he recovers from his initial disappointment, Jackson will realize that the key to future influence is as a power broker within the party, Nixon said.



LLOYD BENTSEN:
favors tax cuts

Bentsen more of a Bush look-alike

By DAVID ROSENBAUM
N.Y. Times News Service

WASHINGTON
IN MANY respects, Lloyd Bentsen resembles George Bush more than he does Michael Dukakis.

Like the vice-president, Bentsen is a lanky Texan from a wealthy family, a bomber pilot in the Second World War who earned a fortune in business and served briefly in the House of Representatives before moving into bigger political pastures.

Some of Bentsen's political views are also more like the vice-president's than the Massachusetts governor's.

The cornerstone of the senator's economic philosophy, like that of the Reagan administration, is that tax cuts for individuals and tax incentives for businesses are the best solution to the economic problems.

He has voted for aid to the Contras in Nicaragua, mandatory prayer in public schools, production of the MX missile, restrictions on involuntary busing for school desegregation and various pieces of legislation to require a balanced budget on a specific timetable, all of which Bush supports and Dukakis opposes.

Takes the lead

Bentsen has voted against federal financing of abortions for poor women and against gun control, which Bush also opposes and Dukakis supports.

Indeed, in 1981, the first year of the Reagan administration, no other Democratic senator was more supportive of the president, according to an analysis by Congressional Quarterly.

In the last two years, however, after having become chairman of the Senate finance committee, Bentsen has taken the lead on several issues on which the Democratic party challenged the president.

This year alone, he has led fights for legislation that would require businesses to provide advance notice of plant closings, restrict imports from nations that have barriers to American products, change the welfare laws and provide better protection under Medicare to people with catastrophic illnesses.

Moreover, in a matter of some symbolic importance, Bentsen won his seat in the Senate in 1970 by defeating Bush. Dukakis hopes to win the presidency the same way.

War medals

Unlike Bush, who moved to Texas as an adult, the 67-year-old senator has deep roots in Texas. He comes from one of the richest and most prominent families in the Rio Grande Valley of South Texas, where the great wealth of a few families contrasts with the poverty of the overwhelmingly Mexican-American citizenry.

His father, Lloyd Bentsen Sr., 94, known as Big Lloyd, moved to the Valley from South Dakota as a young man after the First World War and began buying land. He expanded from agribusiness to oil and then branched into banking.

Lloyd Millard Bentsen Jr. — he now uses neither his middle initial nor the "Jr." — was born on the family ranch in Mission, Tex., on Feb. 11, 1921. He received a law degree from the University of Texas, enlisted in the Army as a private in 1942, became a commissioned officer, served in Europe in the Army Air Forces and received the Distinguished Flying Cross, among other decorations, before leaving the service as a colonel.

He returned home after the war and, aided by his family's money and prominence, became the youngest county judge in Texas at the age of 25. Two years later, in 1948, he became the youngest member of Congress.

Mandela at 70 still stands tall

HARARE

TELEVISION inter-viewer recently asked South African President Pieter Botha how he had dealt with his enemies during a lifetime in politics.

"Outlive the bastards," Botha responded.

Nelson Mandela, one man the president has not outlived, also represents the problem the South African government has not outlasted.

On Monday Mandela will celebrate his 70th birthday.

And he is 30 months younger than Botha.

The event will be marked in Pollsmoor, a South African prison, one of the many Mandela has inhabited during almost 26 consecutive years of incarceration.

His crime was treason: He counseled the use of violence and sabotage as means of ending South Africa racial segregation and white political dominance.

His cause, black liberation, has not faltered despite his age and more than a quarter century away from any public platform.

His name, linked with the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), which he leads despite his imprisonment, is recognized worldwide as a prime reflection of black South African political aspirations.

"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony with equal opportunities," Mandela said 24 years ago in a self-inculpatory statement to

a trial judge who could have him hanged.

"It is an ideal I hope to live for and to achieve. But, if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Only a handful of people — jailers, cabinet ministers, inmates, family and the occasional international visitor — know what Mandela looks like and sounds like today.

Reproduction of his photograph is prohibited in South Africa as is the quotation of any of his political statements from banned ANC literature.

Yet he has a street named after him in London, a statue of him stands in Dublin, there is a Mandela square in Amsterdam and he is an honorary Roman citizen.

HE PROVIDED the inspiration for a satellite rock concert last month and his name will touch off vastly differing and emotional responses throughout South Africa around the anniversary of his birth.

In response to powerful international pressures applied to free the aging leader, the South African government has said Mandela could be released any time he renounces the use of violence as a means of achieving political change.

Pretoria uses the ANC as justification for maintaining a state of national emergency suspending most civil rights and claims the ANC leadership in exile wants Mandela in prison for propaganda purposes.

In a letter written to be read at a freedom rally, Mandela repudiated any offer of a conditional pardon.

"I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when you the people are not free," Mandela wrote.

"Your freedom and mine cannot be separated."

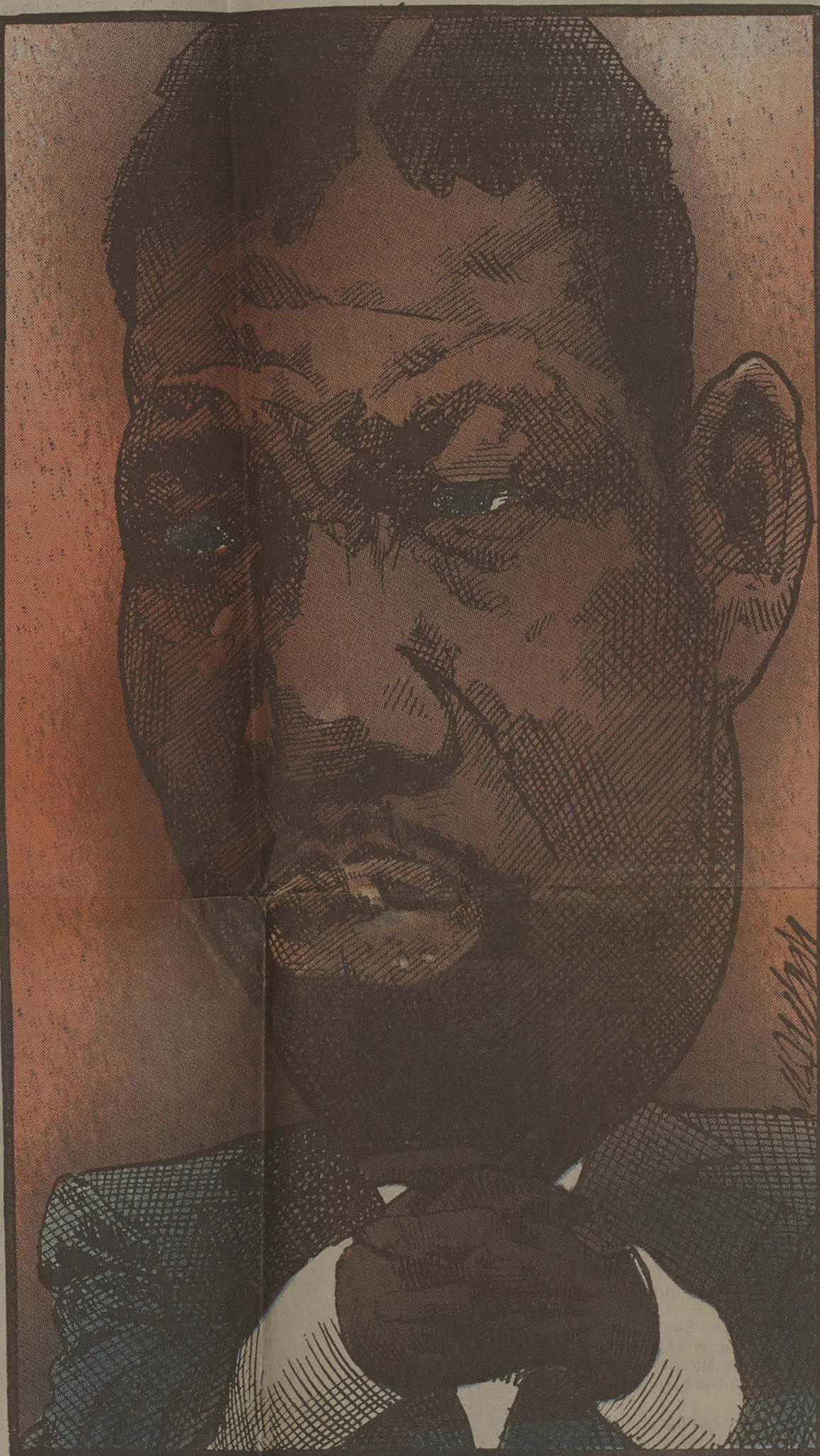
According to former cellmates, Mandela lives an intellectually and physically rigorous life in prison despite the burden of his years.

"He has not completely escaped the effects of old age," wrote Thami Mkhwanazi, a recently released prisoner, about Mandela's current condition.

"He walks slowly, looking straight ahead, as if in deep thought. Nevertheless, Mandela is still a tall, powerful and fit man."

"He has a slight stoop and a lick of grey hair on his temples, but he is flat-bellied and has not developed the paunch that characterizes many of his contemporaries in prison," is Mkhwanazi's description.

"He no longer wears his hair with the deep side parting that can be seen in pre-prison photographs."



NELSON MANDELA: "Your freedom and mine cannot be separated."

Mandela has been a physical fitness practitioner all his life.

In college days he was an amateur boxer and photographs of the period (with that distinctive side part in his hair) make him look like Joe Louis, then world heavyweight champion.

IN ONE OF his letters from prison to his wife, Winnie Mandela, he encourages her to keep in condition by using the old Royal Canadian Air Force 10BX training routines.

Nowadays, according to witnesses, Mandela rides an exercise bicycle or skips rope to keep in shape.

"We were struck by his physical authority — by his immaculate

appearance, his apparent good health and his commanding presence," states the 1986 report of the Commonwealth negotiating group that met Mandela as part of an eventually doomed initiative to bring racial peace to South Africa.

"In his manner he exuded authority and received the respect of all around him, including his jailers."

Mandela could have been a king of the rural tribes in what is now the Xhosa homeland of the Transkei where he was born July 18, 1918.

Instead he deserted the traditional way of life to study at the Fort Hare black university, to work as a mine security guard and, eventually, to join forces

Please see MANDELA, B2



OLIVER TAMBO

Gallup's good news for Mulroney still finds Tories short in Ontario

By LES WHITTINGTON
Southam News

OTTAWA

THE LATEST national opinion poll, while providing a glimmer of hope for the ruling Conservatives, falls far short of the good news Prime Minister Brian Mulroney needs to call an election.

An over-all improvement in the Gallup poll brought the Tories neck-and-neck with the leading Liberals nationally. But the survey released Wednesday also underscores the severe problem the Conservatives face in Ontario, which has 99 seats — the most of any province — up for grabs.

The prime minister and those around him were not exactly break-

ing out the champagne after examining the Gallup results, one aide said.

"Not on those numbers," blurted another Conservative when asked if he thought Mulroney was now ready to send Canadians to the polls.

Mainly because of a sharp upsurge in Quebec, the Tories' national support among decided voters climbed to 35 per cent, only slightly behind the Liberals' 37 per cent. The New Democrats were third with 27 per

POLLING

cent. But in Ontario, the poll found the Liberals holding a 20-point lead, with 47 per cent compared with 27 for the NDP and 25 for the Tories.

In an election, that would mean the Conservatives would send only six lonely MPs to Parliament from Ontario, said a Conservative organizer who compared the Gallup numbers to the results of the 1984

election.

Four years ago, in Mulroney's overwhelming national victory, his party elected more MPs — 67 — from Ontario than any other province.

Ontario's seat total increased to 99 from 95 at midnight Wednesday when new riding boundaries took effect.

On the basis of Gallup's findings, "the Liberals would clean up in Ontario" with 87 seats (compared

with 14 in 1984), the Conservative organizer said.

He estimated the NDP would win only six seats in Ontario based on Gallup's findings. In 1984, 13 NDP MPs were chosen from that province.

And that's not the only trouble spot for Mulroney as he looks for an opening to call an election.

The Tories, who won 19 seats in British Columbia in 1984 (compared to eight for the NDP and one for the Liberals), now trail the NDP there. The latest Gallup put the NDP at 38 per cent of decided voter support in B.C., with the Conservatives at 34

Please see GALLUP, B2