

**The Dalhousie Gazette**

CANADA'S OLDEST COLLEGE NEWSPAPER  
Published by the Dalhousie Student's Union  
Halifax, Nova Scotia 429-1144  
Authorized as Second Class Mail by the Post Office Dept.  
Ottawa, and for payment of postage in cash

Editorials printed in the Dalhousie Gazette express the individual opinions of staff writers, or the Editors. This must be noted in all reprints.

Volume 97, No. 16 Halifax, Nova Scotia, February 19, 1966

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# Nationalism Now!

By Jim Laxer  
For Canadian University Press

The storm that has been brewing in recent weeks about Washington guidelines for U.S. subsidiary corporations in this country is the latest sign that this may be the year to re-examine Canadian nationalism.

Both on the campuses and in the mass media, the issue of Canadian independence is returning to the fore.

In many parts of the country debates, teach-ins and articles are drawing the line between the nationalists and the continentalists. The nationalists believe that Canadian society is distinct and valid -- they favor Canadian independence. The continentalists seek closer ties with the United States and tend to view this country's sovereignty as a nuisance that stands in the way of a great, all-inclusive North American society.

This gulf between Canadians, expressed in rather simplified terminology, has existed since Confederation, of course. But for many years after the Second World War, the issue seemed to sink from view. The rise and partial eclipse of Diefenbaker nationalism in English Canada and the quiet revolution in Quebec then brought the issue back to stage-centre once more.

But oddly enough, the Diefenbaker phenomenon was brushed off by many as yokel-nationalism and, especially in academic circles, seemed to strengthen the tendency toward continentalism.

There were several factors involved in this. Intellectuals had long believed that they were part of a cosmopolitan society that knew no frontiers. Nationalism was somehow passe. With their usual ability to confuse sophistication with convention, the universities managed to yawn away the first two post-war decades.

But ironically the dean of the new nationalism is a man who believes that Canada's day is almost over. George Grant, 47, head of the department of religion at McMaster University has depicted the issues in terms both classical and new in his Lament for a Nation.

Grant believes that Canadian economic integration into the United States has been proceeding apace since 1940. He sees the Liberal party and especially C.D. Howe as the instrument of continental intrusion.

He states: "The Liberal policy under Howe was integration....The society produced by such policies may reap enormous benefits, but it will not be a nation. Its culture will become the empire's to which it belongs."

Classical Canadian nationalism once found its focus in a protective tariff that sheltered an east-west export-based economy to provide an internal market for the central Canadian industrial complex. But Grant argues that the Canadian corporate elite has become so intertwined with the American that it has lost all its nationalism.

In choosing the term "continentalism" as an epithet for the enemies of Canada, Grant brings to mind the hard battles that raged on this issue over half a century ago. In 1891 John A. MacDonald fought the "Continental Union" scheme of the Liberals; he said he would oppose "this veiled treason with my utmost breath." During the election of 1911, Borden declared that the central issue of the campaign was whether a "spirit of Canadianism or continentalism shall prevail on the northern half of this continent." (He won.)

Grant considers that Canada has become increasingly a "branch-Plant" society. This process has progressed to the point that the small towns and rural areas of the country have become the reservoir of national feeling, in Grant's view. Harold Arthur writing in Saturday Night says Toronto, from a "well-groomed, puberty-conscious daughter" has grown up to be a North American bitch. Her chosen role is the Canadian receptionist for the New York office.

But there is evidence that, in the cities too, the new nationalism is beginning to make itself felt. Those close to Canada's past and those who are groping toward a new society are becoming clear that the issue of independence must be faced.

The extent to which the question is pervading the public consciousness is reflected in a statement by an executive of a large U.S. subsidiary that if Washington continues to pursue its guidelines policy "we couldn't call our soul our own."

This year, around the focus of Lament for a Nation, the battle between the continentalists and the nationalists has come to the campus. At Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, in a debate on the subject, Hugh Innis, head of the social science department told his listeners:

"No Canadian would spend one Hershey Bar a week to save Canada."

The Liberal Prime Minister of McMaster University's debating parliament made a recent statement that North America as a whole would be a more viable economic unit than Canada alone.

"You are being taxed for patriotism. Our industries have too many different products, and too few units of each product to be economic. Tariffs cost as much as the Canada Pension Plan and are only an incentive to inefficiency," he said.

A McMaster Tory replied: "Don't throw Canada into the melting pot and blend it with the so-called 'Great Society'."

At Ryerson, nationalist proponent Hector Massey said Canada's personality is cautious, slow, but experimental. "We don't have to be all gas and no brakes."

Students at the University of Alberta at Edmonton are organizing a teach-in on the subject Canada: Satellite or Sovereign to be held on Feb. 19 with Grant as a guest speaker.

In Winnipeg, the University of Manitoba will host two teach-ins Feb. 25-26 and March 18-19 to discuss "The Next Hundred Years: Can Canada Survive?" with Alvin Hamilton former minister of agriculture as a speaker.

Even the Student Union for Peace Action with its dislike of the nation state, is flirting daintily with Canadian nationalism.

On the senior party level, a new drive to realign Canadian politics along Canadian versus continentalist lines appears to be under way. Both Conservatives and New Democrats are seeking an alliance with the nationalists in Quebec.

Whatever the outcome, the universities will be called upon to play a crucial role as a catalyst for the new alignment, and students from coast to coast will likely flock to the lists on behalf of one side or the other.

Equally important, the intellectual community was the first to take up the English-French debate of the early 1960's. The two solitudes became so busy with each other that they scarcely noticed the economic, cultural and political invasion that was descending on them from another quarter.

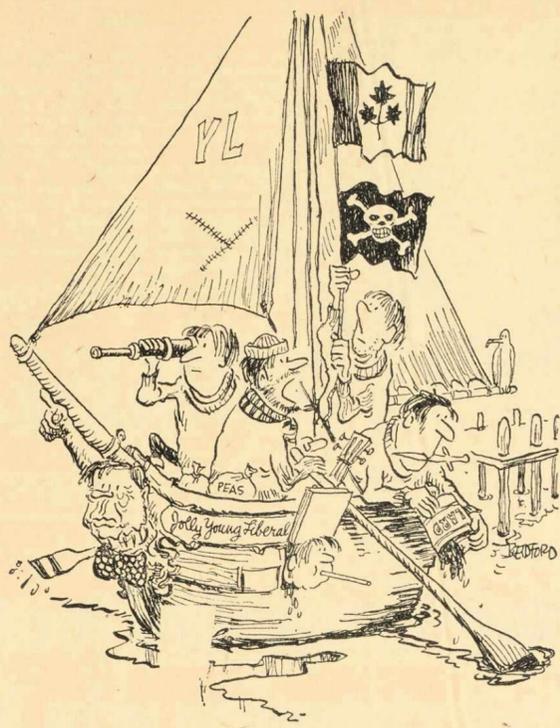
The English-French debate had a rather ironic conclusion. It began with French Canadians demanding recognition for the view that they belonged to a "nation"; it ended with English Canadians in doubt about their own nationhood.

Gradually during the glamorous Kennedy years a general unease began to overtake this country. It was increasingly obvious that American subsidiary corporations were sharing an ever larger portion of the strategic sector of our economy. We began to wonder whether sovereign Canada would be permitted to trade with Cuba and China.

Then came angry words between the U. S. State Department and Canada's Conservative Prime Minister regarding nuclear warheads for our Bomarc missiles. In 1963 John Diefenbaker's government went down before the onslaught of a continental establishment.

The period from the fall of the Conservative government to the present has seen the genesis of the new nationalism in English Canada.

Professor Gad Horowitz of McGill University says: "English Canada will have to decide what it is....The result should be a new Nation, bearing the clear imprint of a British past without offence to those of a non-British ancestry or to those of British ancestry who are now in conflict with their past."



'We're off to London to see the Queen.'

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### CLEVELAND REPLIES

Dear Sir:

I am grateful to the Gazette for printing my letter concerning the editorial, 'They Meet in Secret'. Nevertheless, I feel compelled to reply to the inaccurate editorial note appended to it.

First, it is not true that last year's separate male and female councils were prevented from holding public meetings by the fact that they discussed disciplinary as well as policy matters.

This year, all meetings of the female residence council, at least are open. It is quite possible that the male residence council will adopt such a policy in the near future.

Even if last year's council wished not to discuss disciplinary matters in the open, they regarded several obvious solutions to the "problem":

- 1) They did not publish the minutes of the 'policy' part of the meeting, advertise meetings in advance or even inform the students beforehand what was going to be on the agenda.
- 2) Apparently, neither council even considered separating their discussions of discipline and policy so as to allow students to observe the policy part of the meeting.

Second, it is not true that the new Constitution "made open meetings possible". They were already "possible" under the previous system, as demonstrated above. There is no mention of open meetings in the constitution whatsoever. However, it was a

prominent point in my own campaign platform and was one of the first resolutions introduced to the new council.

Finally, it is simply not true that the Assembly meeting was called "promptly" after the publication of the Gazette editorial. The council had already made clear its intention weeks ago (which I reiterated in the Gazette article printed January 21st) to bring the whole matter before the Student Assembly once exploratory negotiations were concluded. The date was fixed by council several days before the editorial appeared in an open meeting, but the official announcement was not made until Monday, February 7th (a week before, as Article II, Section B, subsection (2) of the present constitution advises) which is no doubt the source of Mr. Morley's confusion.

May I take this opportunity to thank the Gazette and Mr. Morley personally for the excellent and generally just coverage of the Dalhousie-King's Agreement negotiations.

Yours sincerely,  
John W. Cleveland  
U.K.C. Student Union  
President

ED. You fail to mention that under the old constitution meetings of the Male Student Body could only be opened in defiance of that document.

As for the question of the timing of the Assembly meeting call, the fact that you mentioned in your article that you intended to call a Student Assembly meeting was obviously mere rhetoric

since under the constitution you have no choice but to do so for an issue like the Dal-King's Agreement.

We think you do protest a bit too much.

### HEWITT CORRECTS US

Dear Sir:

A few weeks ago I wrote an article -- which appeared in the Dalhousie Gazette -- dealing with life in the Northwest Territories. Unfortunately there appears to have been some slight misquoting. I made the statement, "the Eskimo makes a wonderful companion and a true friend. They deserve a better deal than they are getting at the present time." Somehow the words "from the government" were added to that sentence thus conveying a totally different meaning to that intended.

The Canadian Government is at present pursuing a vigorous, progressive policy in the North, and I have no desire to have a statement to the contrary attributed to me.

Yours truly  
Mike Hewitt

### WUSC SPEAKS

Dear Sir:

The following resolution was passed unanimously at St. Mary's University at the WUSC Regional Conference.

WHEREAS this Regional Conference of World University Ser-

## From Mt. A. Support for "Joey"

Dear Sir:

In an address to an Assembly of the Regents, Senate, Faculty and Students of Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland, on October 5th, 1965, the Hon. Joseph R. Smallwood, Premier of that Province, made one of the most astounding pronouncements in respect to University Education that has ever been made in Canada.

The following is a summary of his announcement of that occasion--

Commencing with the academic year of 1966, all students, without exception, provided they come from families living in Newfoundland, will receive completely free tuition for the whole four years of undergraduate study, and that in addition to free tuition, the Government was contemplating paying to each student, over and above the free tuition, a salary of \$50.00 a month for each student living at home and attending the University, and \$100.00 a month for each student who had to come in from outside St. John's.

The proposed salaries were not promised, but were merely a forecast of what the Government was considering, and what it hoped it might do. Premier Smallwood then went on to give the Board of Regents of the University, and the Senate, a completely free hand insofar as salaries to Faculty are concerned.

I have been amazed that this bold and original policy in the field of University Education has not aroused more interest and comment, particularly in the three Maritime Provinces.

If Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island were to adopt similar programs, and in co-operation with Newfoundland, make this a universal policy for the four Atlantic Provinces, with the free tuition per student to be "portable" within the four Atlantic Provinces, or even only the three "Maritime Provinces", such action could lead to a revolutionary revitalization of leadership in the field of University Education in these provinces.

"Joey" Smallwood, as he is affectionately and familiarly known, has probably done more for his native province than any other individual that that great Island has ever produced.

Great in imagination, great in courage, great in accomplishments, he may well go down in history as one of the greatest political leaders that Canada has ever seen; but of all the remarkable things he has originated and carried to successful conclusion, this fundamental revision which will make undergraduate University Education completely free of cost to all who are academically fitted for such education, may easily turn out to be the greatest achievement of his amazing career.

I trust that my suggestion for action by Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island may meet with the approval of and have the support of your influential paper.

Sincerely yours,  
Ralph P. Bell  
Chancellor  
Mount Allison University

## .... And More Letters

vice of Canada, attended by representatives from all universities in the Atlantic Provinces, has received news of the resignation of the WUSC Chairman at Dalhousie University:

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED:

THAT this Conference urges the Students Council at Dalhousie University to give effective support to the continuing members of the Dalhousie WUSC Committee and to take steps to help develop a new and enlarged committee that will enable the students and faculty members of Dalhousie University to resume a leading role in the regional, national and international activities of World University Service.

With reference to the last paragraph of your W.U.S. news story on the front page of your issue of January 28, please note that the Students Councils at both Notre Dame and Simon Fraser have recently established - on their own initiative - WUS committees on their campuses.

With all good wishes,  
Douglas Mayer  
General Secretary,  
WUSC of Canada

### English Prize

Dear Sir:

Through your columns might I draw to the attention of the Student Body the W. H. Dennis English Prizes which are awarded annually.

The Dennis Prizes consist of the Joseph Howe prize for Poetry and the James DeMille prize for Prose.

Entries must reach the Registrar's Office on or before March 31 and the details of the awards are available from that office or on the notices posted around the campus.

The DeMille Prize is awarded for an unpublished essay of about 4000 to 8000 words on any literary, social, historic or philosophical topic or for a short story.

The Dalhousie Review is offered the first option to publish winning compositions.

Yours truly  
R.S. Cumming  
Secretary of Senate

### The First Meeting

Dear Sir:

I should like to comment on your editorial, 'They Meet in Secret'. You obviously disagree with "in camera" meetings of the Students' Council, "free from the criticism of students and free from the prying eyes of the press." Therefore you sought to keep the students informed and revealed what took place during the second "in camera" meeting.

Perhaps you would like to give the students of Dalhousie, "a short, rough version" of the first "in camera" session of the Council of Students? - Again "in the public service". This should not be too difficult since you yourself were present at that meeting.

Yours truly,  
Alan Ruffman  
Don, Cochran Bay, King's

## Our Baptist friends

# Rules are made to be kept at Acadia

From the McMaster Silhouette

WOLFVILLE (CUP) - At Acadia University, students recently stayed up five nights in a row to create snow sculptures for the annual winter carnival.

The day before the carnival began, and while students were in class, one sculpture (a toilet bowl) was chopped down by university officials.

The action was typical of the type of administrative control exercised over student affairs at Acadia. It served to enflame a prolonged battle between students and the administration stretching back to the fall term, and highlighted by the co-ed calendar censorship at the University last month.

It is a strange conflict, pitting the administration against the student council, the student newspaper The Athenaeum and a large section of the faculty.

One result of this fight has been a surprising amount of public attention focused on the small Nova Scotia university, and a severe battering of the university's image, which was just recovering from the attempt by the region's Baptist Convention last summer to prevent all but Christian professors from teaching there.

A great deal of the problem has to do with student resistance to an overwhelming number of rules, written and unwritten, set up to control rigidly the lives of students.

Students maintain that such rules have no place in the academic community; University officials claim that the university has the responsibility to act in the place of parents.

The result is that students - especially females - find themselves saddled with far more restrictions than they ever had at high school or at home.

There are rules for everything. Quoting at random from the women's residence bylaws, we find: "Students are expected to sign out whenever they leave their residence to be out later than 7:30 p.m. . . ."

"As university organizations provide adequate forms of entertainment on the campus, women are not permitted to attend public dances. . . ."

"Women may send long distance calls with charges reversed or over pay telephones. There should not be any outgoing or incoming calls on any telephone after 11.30. . . ."

"Baths and showers shall not be allowed after 11.30. . . ."

"Any young woman having a car on campus must register it with the Provost and the Dean of Women. . . ."

"Young women are not permitted to visit men's residences nor their apartments. . . ."

There is an elaborate leave system set up for co-eds which reads like this: "Seniors are allowed late leaves after 7:30 any night; Juniors three; Sophomores two; Freshettes one, besides Saturday and Sunday nights. Dance leave on Saturday night does not count as a late leave.

"In addition, Seniors may have a 12:00 leave either Wednesday or Friday night of each week and a 12:30 leave on Saturday night providing there is not a dance leave. Juniors may have two 12:00 leaves on Saturday nights during each month. Sophettes may have one 12:00 leave on Saturday night during each month."

There are ways of getting out after 7:30 and not having it counted as a late leave. Students can work on certain organizations or sit on council and not have it counted as a night out; yet, if a student wished to go to the Library she would have to use a late leave. This means, for example, that Freshettes are permitted, by university regulation, to go to the Library JUST ONE NIGHT A WEEK.

And the rules are sometimes dangerous.

Every night, as soon as the leaves are over, each women's residence is locked up tighter than a drum. Not only is it impossible to get into the women's residences after hours, it is impossible to get out.

Since some of the residences are very old, and since none of

them has firebars on the doors, there is a serious fire threat to the lives of the girls locked up in the residences night after night.

For the men, rules are less restrictive. Men are strictly forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages, must "agree to obey the existing regulations governing student activities," and must conduct themselves in a manner that will "be of credit to the campus."

The university impinges on the prerogative of the law in some cases.

One rule, printed in the university calendar, states that "all occupants of student bachelor apartments shall agree to inspection of their apartments by a member of the administrative or provost staff if such visits are found necessary or desirable by the latter party in the best interests of the university."

"If it is found that in the opinion of the administration conduct in any student bachelor apartment be found to be detrimental to the interests and good name of the University, said student occupant (s) shall be ordered to vacate the apartment under penalty of the occupants being dropped from the roll of the university."

There are signs that things are changing at Acadia, however.

When Dean of Women Ethel V. Kinsman had a girl's motor scooter impounded this fall and announced a new rule that girls

were forbidden to ride them, pressure from the student newspaper forced an immediate rescinding of the rule.

The incident sparked a petition signed by over half of Acadia's female students asking for permission to rewrite the women's constitution, and brought to the forefront two girls who took over the fight for women's rights on campus.

One, an American, became disillusioned and left campus. The other, a Quebec girl, has just been elected president of the girls' Propylaeum Society, the organization controlling female activity on campus.

Last month's co-ed calendar impounding has also started a chain reaction.

Because of the administration's action, student union lawyers are studying the whole area of student discipline on campus; the students' union is obtaining a legal brief on incorporation; and the Students' Judicial Committee, used by the University Provost to penalize student punishments is in danger of being abolished by the Students' Representative Council.

Just as the destruction of the snow sculpture was symbolic of administration action, the reaction of the students involved was symbolic of the new resistance movement on campus: after finding their sculpture in ruins, the students simply rebuilt it.