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DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER AND IMMIGRATION

CENTRE DE MAIN-D'OEUVRE CANADA
MINISTRE DE LA MAIN-D'OEUVRE ET DE L'IMMIGRATION

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TO
NOVEMBER 30, 1970**

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Canada - Uncle Sam's branch plant

"Americanization and Atlantic Underdevelopment" is the theme of a teach-in held this weekend, October 30 and 31. The teach-in which draws noted speakers from across the country, is sponsored by student groups at the three Halifax Universities.

The teach-in approaches the problem from four areas, Americanization of the University and Culture, Labour Perspectives on Americanization, Economic Underdevelopment in the Maritimes, and Americanization of the Canadian Economy.

Basic information will be presented by a panel of "experts", after which discussion will be opened to the public. The sessions will take place at the Kings College Gymnasium.

By BRUCE ARCHIBALD

What does it mean to say that Americans are buying up huge sections of Nova Scotia water front? To say that 97% of the Canadian auto industry, 75% of petroleum and natural industry and over 60% of Canadian manufacturing are foreign and largely American owned? To say that certain university faculties are now composed of a majority of Americans who have American research interests, who use American texts, and who recruit American buddies for their faculty when Canadian academics are having a hard time getting jobs? To find that between 1963 and 1967 over six hundred Canadian businesses were sold out to foreign owned or controlled companies? To find that Uncle Sam will not let his Canadian subsidiaries sell trucks to China, flour to Cuba, or drugs to North Vietnam when this could provide good solid jobs to hundreds of Canadians? To go to a

University English Department and find only one course on Canadian literature? To discover that President Kennedy thought the propaganda value of *Time* and *Readers Digest* so important that he personally intervened to prevent increased taxation on their advertisers - with the threat that if he did not get action he would cancel the auto agreement between the U.S. and Canada? Some people think there may be a problem of Americanization in Canada. When I add up the total I get a clear-cut picture of the workings of American imperialism in Canada. But I also get a picture of a great many colonial minded Canadians who can't seem to get the picture. It has been said that for every *Manhattan* there is a Canadian ice-breaker and it seems only too true.

Let's look at these things in detail. The sale of property to individual Americans may not seem at the outset to be a very serious thing, certainly not as important as the operations of the American multinational corporation.

Early results of a Nova Scotia study indicate that at least 10,000 land owners reside outside the province according to the October issue of *MacLeans Magazine*. Estimates indicate that 50% of the Ontario shorelines of the lower Great Lakes is American owned.

We could easily be financing our own economic development in a rational, egalitarian and democratic way, but the American corporations, the complicity of the unsuspecting colonial Canadian mentality and the short run greed of the Canadian business class are preventing it.

Meanwhile, potential Canadian buyers get caught short, but more important the best land from which to create public recreation facilities for all the people of Canada is spirited from our hands.

It is important to see, however, that the business of recreation land is merely the

exotic, luxurious tip of a huge economic and cultural iceberg. Its the branch plant nature of the Canadian economy which holds the key to Americanization and its solution.

No other nation in the western world has so willingly and so unsuspectingly allowed a foreign power to take over its economy in such a huge and startling way as has Canada. Much of the difficulty in understanding the problem lies in the fact that this economic take-over was done under the guise of bringing in "investment" which was to develop Canada.

Furthermore, the situation has its roots in the eminently respectable "National Policy" of Sir John A. MacDonald which was designed to cut out the competition of American manufacture and aid fledgling Canadian production. The immediate and profitable American business response to this move was to create subsidiaries which would be controlled by the American parent but incorporated under Canadian law. This process of what is known as "direct investment" has continued unabated ever since and has increased at an alarming rate since the American economy reached its height of unrivaled dominance in the western world following World War II. Unlike "portfolio investment" or bonds where a foreign investor may put money into a project in the form of a loan which will be repaid and forgotten in a certain amount of time, direct investment in a subsidiary by a multinational corporation leads to the outflow of profits from Canada in perpetuity. Although this investment may create employment in the short run, in the long run "the multinational corporation is more certainly a means of draining surplus than creating it". In other words, Canadian workers have jobs but are financing the profits of American corporations which can invest the wealth they have created anywhere in the world and in a way which can just as easily be detrimental as healthy to Canadian interests.

Playing heaver of wood and drawer of water for the American imperial metropolis is seriously distorting our economy, limiting our potential markets and also our political independence. As the U.S. Army publication *Military Review* stated: "If the mining potential of the far north should be tapped, if harbour facilities and storage areas should be constructed... then the northern region would suddenly become rich in military targets. The U.S. defence posture - for the first time in history - would have to become northern oriented". To become the "safe source" of strategic military material for the United States, to become locked in a continental energy deal which would make Canada's resources absolutely essential to the sources. Interall financing within these United States would limit Canada's corporations amounted to 78% while 17% was

... Independence of necessity implies socialism as the only workable alternative.

Policy makers (such as the Nova Scotia government and Industrial Estates Limited) claim that this "foreign investment" is absolutely vital to our development. But according to Kari Levitt in her recently published book *Silent Surrender - The Multinational Corporation in Canada*, in 1964 of the gross investment of American branch plants and subsidiaries in Canada, only 5% originated directly from United States sources. Interall financing within these United States would limit Canada's corporations amounted to 78% while 17% was

mobilized by Canadian financial institutions. Thus only 5% of the investment actually came from outside Canada but the decisions on how 78% of Canadian created wealth was to be invested were made by corporations who have not Canadian interests at heart but their own global profit aspirations. We could easily be financing our own economic development in a rational, egalitarian and democratic way but the American corporations, the complicity of the unsuspecting colonial Canadian mentality and the short run greed of the Canadian business class are preventing it.

Canada's vast natural resources and reserves of potential energy fuels, provide the most telling example of how American imperialism operates through the multi-national corporation. According to figures released by Jean-Luc Pepin, title 99.9% of oil refining, 82.6% of the oil and gas wells, and 84.9% of primary metal smelting and refining are foreign owned. This has three detrimental effects. 1. foreign or American controlled firms can extract resources in Canada and then have them processed by their parent plants in the home country. By this process they win two ways: most of the profit comes from the stage where end products are produced, not at the stage of mining resources. The tax revenue and employment generated at this point then benefit the other country. 2. Canada has to buy back finished products at great expense some of which she could have produced herself. (Note the export of gypsum mined in Windsor, N.S. and the import of wall board). 3. resource industry is most often highly capital intensive. In other words, it uses a lot of machinery and creates proportionately fewer jobs than equivalent investment in manufacturing!

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even more seriously than it is at present. Surely this dependent role is not what Canadians really want?

The effect of American imperialism also has effects which specifically relate to the Atlantic region. Aside from the fact the resource sector is highly important to the Atlantic economy, and that the provincial governments all subscribe to the theory that all investment in the area is of help no matter what the source, there is also a problem in that most American corporations like to locate their branch plants close to home. This facilitates the movement of parts between different segments of the corporation and has the advantage of promoting the efficient use

greatness is more to him than new truth. Above all he fears originality, which might cut him off from his secure base.

Using the current jargon of economics Mel Watkins says much the same thing: "a branch plant economy leads to a branch plant culture". Much of the problem lies with the fact that the Canadian elite, our business and political 'leaders' have too often taken the line of least resistance or the line of the short-term profit. The managers of a branch plant satellite have a lot at stake in the smooth operation of that country. Their power lies not in change or greater independence which might entail personal loss or social sacrifice but rather in the maintenance of the status quo. Put more succinctly, the majority of the working people in Canada are losing the potential for the democratic control of their economy, losing the ability to rationally plan in the best interests of all, while a few people maintain the affluent status of colonial managers.

But the hue and cry has rung out. Despite George Grant's pessimistic *Lament for a Nation* or several years back there is a new spirit of confidence and awareness developing in Canadians. The colonial kow-towing is no longer the order of the day. The struggle for truly Canadian and liberated universities for an independent and constructive intellectual life has begun.

The CRTC with its new rulings has recognized the need for the maintenance and development of a creative and self-confident culture and sense of identity on the part of Canadians. Some businessmen, journalists and academics have gathered around Walter Gordon, Claude Ryan and Jack McClelland to form the "Committee for an Independent Canada". The NDP at the insistence of the Waffle Group has come to the recognition of the fact that the branch plant economy can only be effectively replaced by an economy which is rationally planned with the interests of the people of Canada as a whole in mind., that independence of necessity implies socialism as the only workable alternative.

Early results of a Nova Scotia study indicate that at least 10,000 land owners reside outside of the province, according to the October issue of *MacLean's* magazine. Estimates indicate that 50% of the Ontario shorelines of the lower Great Lakes is American owned.

All these things are indicative of a growing awareness on the part of Canadians that they must take their destiny into their own hands and out of the sphere of the branch plant colonial economy and colonial way of thinking. There remain a lot of unanswered questions and there remains a great deal of misunderstanding. But the main thing is that the process appears to have begun and it is up to Canadians of conviction and courage to take up the challenge and carry it through.

NATIONAL-IDENTITY

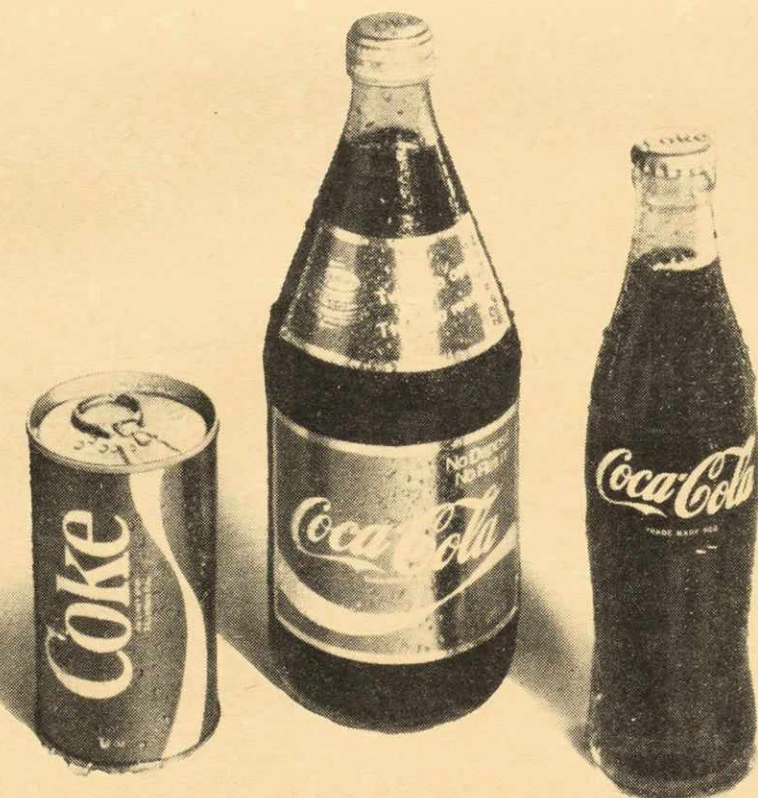
The Canadian Centenary Council Meeting in Le Reine Elizabeth To seek those symbols Which will explain ourselves to ourselves Evoke unlimited responses And prove that something called Canada Really exists in the hearts of all Handed out to every delegate At the start of proceedings A portfolio of documents On the cover of which appeared In gold letters

not
A Mari Usque Ad Mare
not
Dieu Et Mon Droit
not
Je Me Souviens
not
E Pluribus Unum
but
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F. R. SCOTT

of management personnel on the international scale. However, economic geographers have found that this policy, while in the interests of profit for the multinational corporation, has the effect of concentrating Canadian industry in the "Golden Horseshoe" area of Ontario. Such concentration, artificially induced if judged by rational Canadian priorities, increases regional disparities by making areas like the Maritimes even more dependent on central Canada rather than becoming the locus of a manufacturing industry.

Why have Canadians not reacted in a more positive and spirited way? In a "Note on Canadian War Poetry" in *Preview* of November 1942, F.R. Scott said: Canadian colonialism... is a cast of thought, a mental climate. The colonial is an incomplete person. He must look to others for his guidance and far away for his criterion of value. He copies the parental style instead of incorporating what is best in something of his own. He undervalues his own contribution and over-estimates what others do for him. Old

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Schedule of events

Friday, Oct. 30 - 8:30 p.m.:

"Americanization of our Universities and our Culture"

With: Don Clairmont, Soc. Chairman, Dalhousie

Laurier Lapierre, journalist professor

Robin Mathews, nationalist poet & professor at Carleton Univ.

W.A. MacKay, V.P., Dalhousie

Chairman: Art Monihan

Saturday, Oct. 31-10:00 a.m.:

"Labour Perspectives on Americanization and Underdevelopment"

With: J.K. Bell, N.S. Federation of Labour

Gil Levine, Canadian Union of Public Employees

Homer Stevens, UFAWU

Chairman: P. Prouse, NDP

2:00 p.m.:

"Economic Underdevelopment in the Atlantic Region"

With: Bruce Archibald, Dal Student

H. Flemming, Exec. V.P.-APEC

Andy Harvey, Dal. Inst. Pub. Affairs

Mel Watkins, Dept. Pol. Ec., U. of T.

Chairman: G. Morgan, Pres. King's College

8:30 p.m.:

"Americanization of the Canadian Economy"

With: Bob Comeau, Ec. Dept., Dal.

James Laxer, Hist. Dept., Queen's U.

Jack McClelland, Publisher

Terry McGrath, World Bank

Mel Watkins

Chairman: A. Andrews, Theatre Dept.

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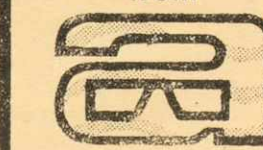
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