

CANADA

TODAY / D'AUJOURD'HUI

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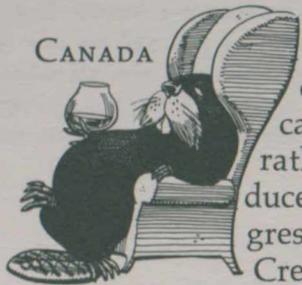
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1977

[A GRAPHIC CALENDAR WITH A NORTHERN VIEW

OF CANADIAN POLITICIANS, POLITICAL PROBLEMS, PROVINCES, PARLIAMENT, PRIDE AND PREJUDICES]



CANADA

has a mysterious abundance of political parties and political cartoonists. Why should one rather small group of people produce not only the Liberals, the Progressive Conservatives, the Social Crediters, the New Democrats and the recently triumphant Parti Québécois but also Messrs. Aislin, Chambers, La Palme, Macpherson,

Norris, Girerd, Peterson, Franklin and Uluschak. Perhaps it is something in the cool, crisp, stinging air.

In this Christmas issue of CANADA TODAY/D'AUJOURD'HUI, we review the often scathing work of Canadian cartoonists from J. W. Bengough on and, in the process, examine some of Canada's past and recent political controversies, compromises and painful resolutions.

CANADA
TODAY / D'AUJOURD'HUI

La Grip

Canadian cartooning grew on the end of John A. Macdonald's nose. That nose, invented by J. W. Bengough, was more than flesh and cartilage. It was the prow of the ship of state, a red warning against intemperance, a national treasure and a comfort to mothers of small boys with exaggerated features. Mr. Macdonald's natural nose was robust and bold, but it became, in the popular mind, only an imitation of the triumphant beak that Bengough had created. Voters viewing the real thing for the first time were often disappointed.

Mr. Bengough was the founder, owner, editor and cartoonist for *Grip*, a phenomenally successful weekly magazine, and a man of many passions. He was emotionally in favour of women's suffrage, free market economics and the prohibition of hard drink. He thrived as long as Macdonald did — which was, of course, a very long time. He was a critic of both parties, though not precisely evenhanded.

The Conservatives and Liberals had evolved from the Tories and the Reformers of the colonial legislature. The Liberals and the Conservatives worked together for confederation in 1864; but as soon as the British North America Act passed in 1867, the Liberals reasserted their independence. Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister, a Conservative, wished to see Canada unified by a



"WE IN CANADA SEEM TO HAVE LOST ALL IDEA OF JUSTICE, HONOR AND INTEGRITY."—THE MAIL, 26TH SEPTEMBER.

railroad all the way from the east to the west coast, as soon as possible. Alexander Mackenzie and the Liberals took a more conservative stance. (Canadian party labels can be confusing.) They were not so much against the railroad as they were against the unseemly rush and the intrusive interest of business tycoons.

The Liberals and Mr. Bengough got their great opportunity when word leaked out that Canadian and American railroad interests had contributed satchelsful of money (possibly as much as \$350,000) to Conservative campaigns. One of Mackenzie's cohorts turned up a telegram in which Sir John unabashedly asked the railroad magnates to shoot \$10,000 to him immediately to meet a political emergency. Bengough let John A. have it with the full force of his pen, and in 1873 the Liberals took control. (In a unique succession, Macdonald resigned, and the Liberals simply walked across the floor of the House of Commons and sat down in the seats vacated by the Conservatives.) Five years later Bengough helped get Mackenzie out and Sir John back in.

Meanwhile off in Quebec, the Liberals' next champion, Wilfrid Laurier, was building new fences. He would have a splendid companion cartoonist all his own.

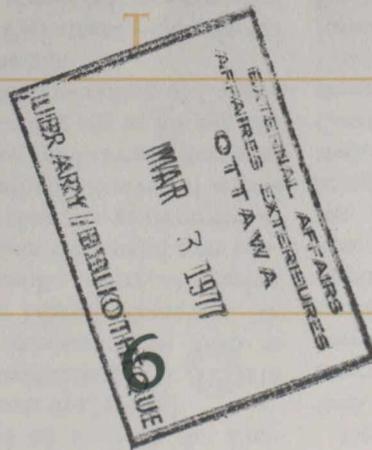
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Sir Wilfrid Leads the Band



Sir Wilfrid Laurier
134

It is said, with more poetry than truth, that the railroads made Canada one. They were indeed vital in the early days of Confederation. (The promise of rail links brought in British Columbia in 1871.) But the railroad ties that bound Canada were not enough.

Canada began with two solitudes — the French and the English — divided by religion, language, philosophy and alienating myths. The country has been held together for more than a century by judicious and determined men, who have kept a variety of diverse forces in working balance. In Canada, politics has often been described as the art of the impossible.

John A. Macdonald tactfully ignored his Ontario supporters' loud demands that he find and hang Louis Riel, the part French, part Indian leader of the Métis uprising of 1869. (Riel would hang in 1885 after another rebellion, and as a result the Conservative party would diminish in Quebec.)

The second master of unification, Sir Wilfrid Laurier of Quebec, prime minister from 1896 to 1911, made Quebec into a Liberal stronghold. In 1896 he convinced the Catholic voters of Quebec that they should solidify provincial control over education rather than demand that the government of Manitoba support a dual Catholic/Protestant school system. Laurier could balance conflicting interests as deftly as he balanced the morning egg in his egg cup because he had a profound understanding of Canada and of parliamentary government.

Canada is governed by Parliament — an elected House of Commons and an appointed, less powerful

Senate. The prime minister is the member of the House who is head of the party forming the government. Each member of his cabinet is a member of Parliament too. Within the covenant of Cabinet solidarity they can (and sometimes do) exercise considerable independence. The prime minister can take away their portfolios but not their seats.

Laurier was the master of his own House. Henri Julien, the brilliant draftsman who drew cartoons for the *Montreal Daily Star*, saw Laurier and his cabinet as one harmonious minstrel band, composed, as it were, of members from all provinces and both linguistic groups. (It was common North American practice in the late nineteenth century to picture politicians in black face as lackeys, reflecting a prevailing, if unconscious, racism.) Julien didn't hurt as much as Bengough, but he was a much better draftsman.

Laurier brought the Confederation into the twentieth century with its parts distinct but the whole intact. His juggling of interests was helped by an ever-expanding economy — exports poured out and immigrants poured in — but the old balance was tipping and he was not in tune with the farmers of the west. They helped bring back the Conservatives in 1911, and the Conservatives remained in power through the First World War, when they formed a coalition with English-speaking Liberals.



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A Free Press Can Look at a King

Canada changed radically in the first third of the twentieth century. Wheat prices slumped after World War I, and new parties formed in the prairies. The Progressives sent sixty-five members to the House of Commons, but within a decade, most of them had been absorbed by the Liberals.

The Great Depression created the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, which was a socialist party, and the Social Credit party, which was not. The CCF controlled Saskatchewan from 1944 into the 1960s and then evolved into Canada's third national party, the New Democratic Party.

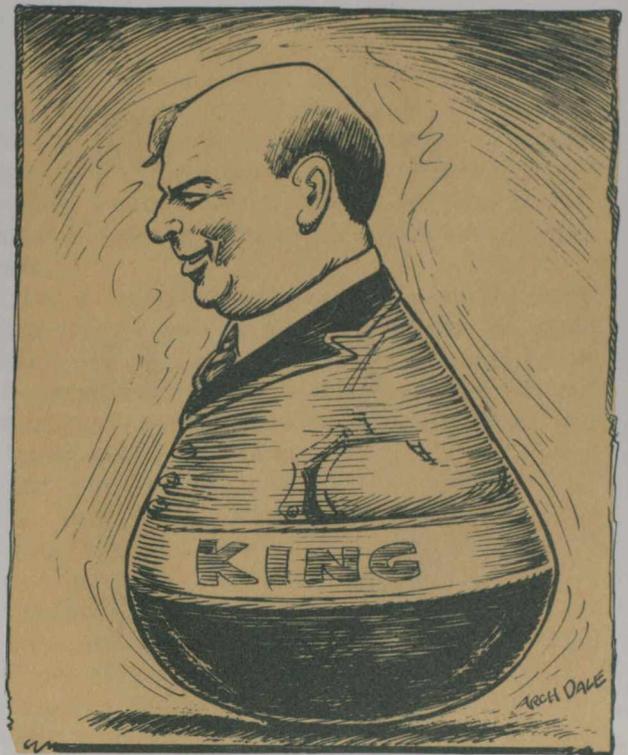
THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SOCIAL CREDIT FROM A TO Z



The Socreds and their leader, William Aberhart, became a favourite target of Arch Dale of the *Winnipeg Free Press*. Aberhart, known as "Bible Bill," was the principal Canadian apostle of a novel theory of monetary reform. Put simply, it called for a monthly payment of twenty-five dollars to each adult. The federal government blocked the Social Crediters' attempts to create new money, but the party dominated politics in Alberta and in British Columbia. Today, much altered in philosophy, it has a premier in British Columbia and a variation in Quebec, the Ralliement des Cr ditistes.

It was the Liberal party which emerged from the thirties in the best fettle with William Lyon Mackenzie King as its skilled leader. A man of unemphatic personality and appearance, cartoonists were reduced to drawing him matter-of-factly and labeling him "KING." Still he was a marvel — an awkward bachelor, a mystic, a loner whose closest friend was his dog, a consummate politician and prime minister for twenty-two years — longer than any other prime minister in British parliamentary history. He first held office from 1921 to 1930 (except for a few months in 1926). After allowing the Conservatives to be blamed for the Depression, he was re-elected in 1935 and endured triumphantly until his retirement in 1948. He held Canada together with unobtrusive skill during World War II, manoeuvring endlessly, cleverly, cautiously, avoiding absolute positions and measuring the winds. Dale, one of the first of the modern cartoonists to be a commentator rather than an illustrator, pictured him as a round-bottomed punching bag, easily knocked over, but never, ever knocked out. It was an image that was

more disrespectful than inaccurate. The scholar H. Blair Neatby has proposed that King's "guideline" was the simple but fundamental conviction that Canada was a political association of diverse cultural, regional, and economic groups. He saw it as a voluntary association, a political partnership. . . . His never-ending task as leader was to identify the policies. . . which would be acceptable to all even if no group was fully satisfied."



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La Palme Reads the Future



Citizens of the United States may not grasp fully the transcendent importance of some Canadian provincial premiers. Provinces are not states — a state governor is almost always a Democrat or a Republican, and as part of a national network, he may aspire to the Senate or even to the presidency.

Few provincial premiers become prime ministers, but they occupy powerful pinnacles of their own. Provinces control education, health, welfare, local commerce and highway construction. They control their own natural resources. The premier may very well lead an independent party of his own. (At the moment four of the ten premiers are neither Liberals nor Conservatives.)

During the 1940s, while Mackenzie King was manoeuvring tirelessly in Ottawa, Maurice Duplessis was ruling absolutely in Quebec. Duplessis's party, l'Union Nationale, was composed of off-shoot Conservatives, but it owed allegiance only to Duplessis. To begin with his positive qualifications, he was a very intelligent and witty man. He was, on the other hand, no lover of democracy, of trade unions nor of civil rights. He supported an intimate connection between church and state and used the "padlock law" to seize any place that he thought was used for "communist" propaganda.

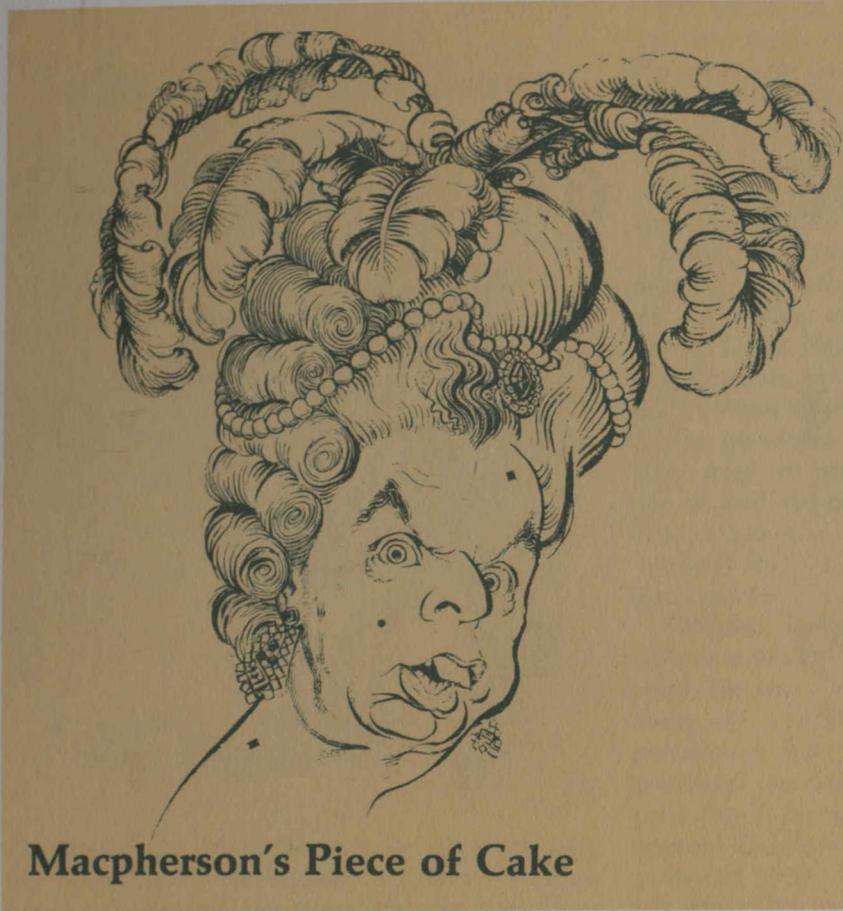
To Robert La Palme, a Quebec cartoonist, Duplessis was a pimp selling the province to US corporations. He was Dorian Gray, a concealed mass of decay. He was the improvident Santa Claus whose pre-election pork barrel spending exhausted the provincial treasury. La Palme has a distinction beyond the distinction of his graphic line — he openly opposed Duplessis and survived. La Palme was the iconoclast of Quebec, and he once, reportedly, was offered \$25,000 to lay off the premier.

When Duplessis died in 1959, his party disintegrated. His opponents, young radicals such as Pierre Elliott Trudeau and René Lévesque (friends of



La Palme), would see the quiet revolution bring freedom from old ideas and old politicians. Montreal would be rebuilt, the theatre would break into dazzling new modes, and a powerful pride would energize the province.

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Macpherson's Piece of Cake

It is a cardinal rule of modern Canadian politics that there are no sure things. In 1948 the Liberal party seemed to have achieved permanent primacy. Mac-

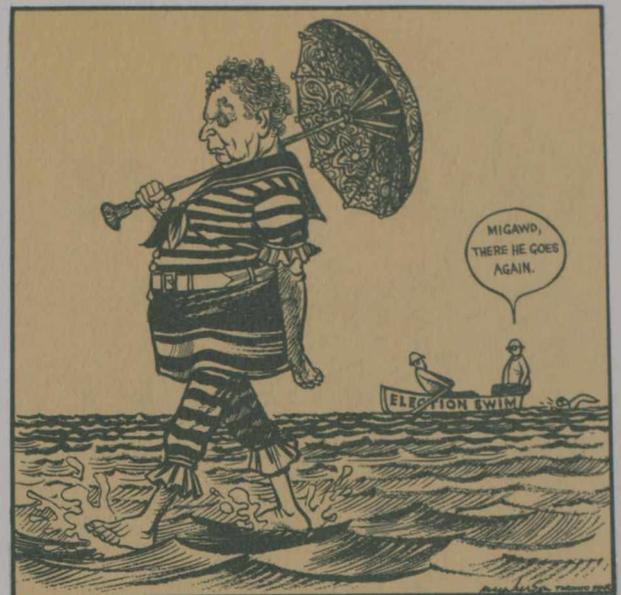
kenzie King stepped down; his old lieutenant, Louis St. Laurent stepped up. St. Laurent had what King lacked — charm; but his party's durability was wearing thin. In 1957, to the surprise of everyone but the voters, Canada had a Conservative prime minister.

John Diefenbaker began with a minority government (112 of the House's 265 seats); but in 1958, the second time around, he took 208 seats, the greatest majority in history — Dief the Chief was walking on water.

He was very unlike the unobtrusive King or the charming St. Laurent or anyone else you might think of. For one thing, his appearance brought joy to the hearts of cartoonists. He was visually as well as politically *sui generis*. He was briskly independent of the United States and fiercely loyal to the British Empire. He was a rousingly original orator.

No one took greater delight in Diefenbaker than Macpherson

of the *Toronto Star*. Macpherson set the modern ground rules for Canadian cartoonists — establishing the principle that cartoons should not simply il-



lustrate a newspaper's editorials. His portraits of Diefenbaker are perhaps the perfect illustration that wit need not be by words alone. Just as there are witty bars of music and witty contrasts of colour, there can be a great deal of wicked joy in the curves of black lines on white paper. Macpherson, considering the jobs lost by Diefenbaker's cancellation of the Arrow Interceptor Plane program, was inspired to depict that remarkable son of the prairies as Marie Antoinette.

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Pearson's New Leaf

In 1962 Diefenbaker started losing ground — his majority faded to a 116-seat minority — and in 1963, Lester Pearson and the Liberals took over.

In the eyes of the world Pearson was, perhaps, Canada's most celebrated twentieth-century statesman. He was a man of infinite good will and a strong believer in the basic good nature and good sense of mankind. He won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957 for his effort to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Suez crisis. His style was, perhaps, more suited to international than domestic crises.

For the provinces and their demands for increased autonomy, he coined a phrase, "cooperative federalism," and a technique: Conferences between federal and provincial cabinet members provided a quasi-constitutional forum for developing, among other things, social welfare legislation.

He also presided over Canada's centennial, contributed a distinctly Canadian maple leaf flag, and created the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which laboured and brought forth a preliminary report, then a five-volume final report, plus ten volumes of studies and thirteen volumes of documents. All of these led, in turn, to Canada's Official Languages Act of 1969. The act confronts the ancient issue that was born on the Plains of Abraham. It decrees that every Canadian can speak to his government in the language of his choice, French or English.



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FROG FABLES & BEAVER TALES



Not all cartoons are born and die in the daily press. Cartoonist Roy Peterson of the *Vancouver Sun* and writer Stanley Burke created *Frog Fables & Beaver Tales*, a splendid, moral, metaphorical, analogical, allegorical and impudent story about North American animal life. It begins: "Once upon a time long ago there dwelt a race of Beavers. These industrious animals lived in a faraway Swamp called Canada, where they built dams and cut down trees and were prosperous and happy." The Beavers ran into problems; for there were also "the Paranoid Eagles and the Perfidious Frogs."

The Beavers (perhaps it is already obvious) were the traditional English-speaking Canadians, most of whom lived in Ontario. The high-spirited Frogs who "in ancient times . . . had been owners of the Swamp lived in the shallow end of the Swamp." The Water Rats and Muskrats, who were somewhat poorer than the Beavers, and the Lobsters, who were relatively rich, lived on the far eastern edge. The Gophers lived in a sandy sort of place in the west, next door to the Otters, who lived in the far west, "where the water tumbled through a rocky gorge out to a lovely lake." There were also Turtles, the original inhabitants,

who had been left out of practically everything.

Below the Swamp was the vast land of the Eagles, the "richest and most powerful of the animals," though those who lived in the treetops were more rich and powerful than those who lived on the lower branches.

The chief minister was Peter E. Waterhole, a "strangely attractive" Frog, who "enchanted the Lady Beavers, whose male companions were, frankly, pretty dull." He married a radiant Otter princess. Peter Waterhole's challengers were Lugubrious J. Standfast, a Lobster who was, above all things, "Moderate," and Don Quickoats, who believed that the dam in the Swamp should not be owned by just the rich Beavers but by all the animals.

Suddenly, it seemed, all the animals had definite and conflicting opinions about the conduct of Swamp affairs. So they consulted the oldest and wisest of the Turtles, who told them: "Do you not see that you cannot unite a swamp? Nor can you separate a swamp. You can only live in it. And you can love it — or you can destroy it."



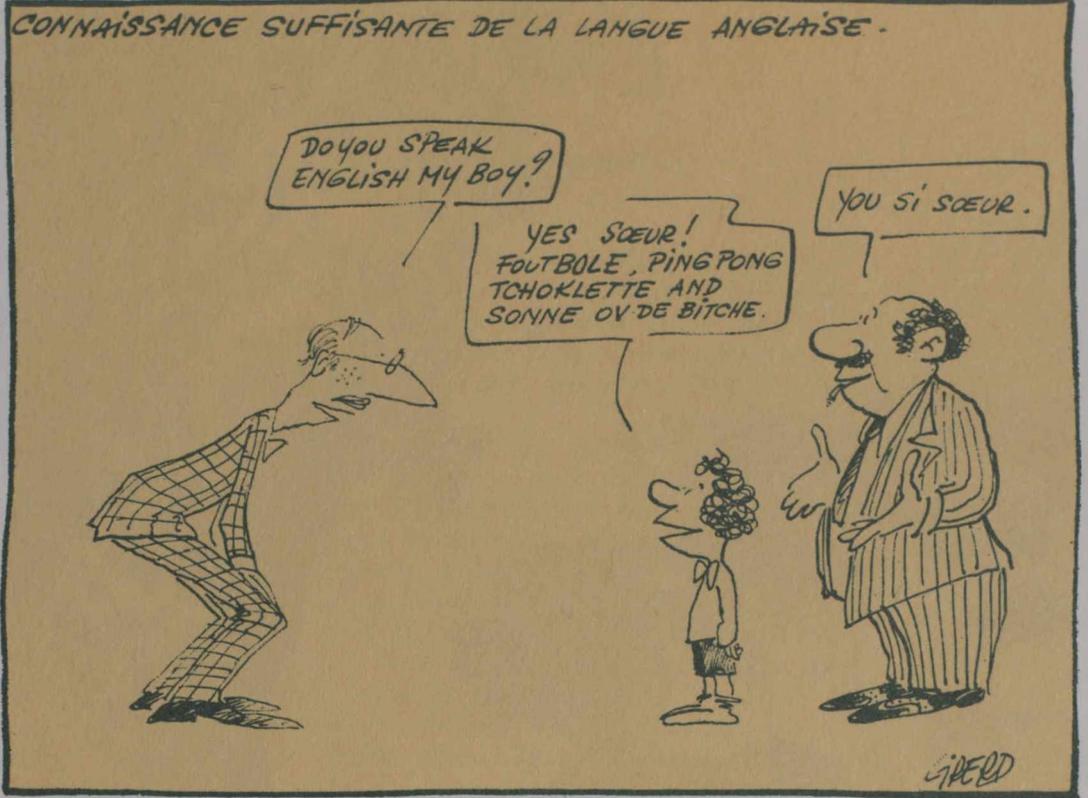
LE...er...CROAK ?





Silver Threads

Quebec's revolutionaries were not always quiet. Most pursued economic independence, educational reform and the peaceful expansion of provincial rights. A few violently sought total separation. Crisis came in the fall of 1970, when the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) kidnapped a British diplomat and a Quebecer, who was a provincial minister, and killed the latter. Canada was shocked. Still, silver threads of humour line the blackest cloud. Girerd of *La Presse*, a man who is basically apolitical, made a small, wry joke — a bewildered motorist asks if a



traffic cop, whose suspenders have snapped, is just fulfilling one of the FLQ's demands.

Girerd continues to rise to lesser crises. Bill 22, the Quebec government's language act, which includes a provision to admit only children with a working command of English to English-language schools, caused much resentment and some subterfuge among

Italian and other immigrant families, who wanted their children to enjoy also the opportunities available in English-speaking business and industrial centres in North America. Girerd showed Papa and son demonstrating their "sufficient knowledge of the English language."

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Underdogged

Len Norris is the gentle humorist of the west, determinedly on the side of the average, put-upon Canadian man and his even more put-upon wife. Cartoonists are basically against office holders and high civil servants. Norris is against all elitists.

The Canada Council gives grants to writers, painters and other creative people, and it has been much applauded at home and abroad. Norris, who draws for the *Vancouver Sun*, does not clap, and neither do the somewhat untidy, darkly suspicious, ordinary men and women who inhabit his cartoons. They are suspicious of power centres and beautiful people, but they themselves are not immune to passing fancies — the big world intrudes occasionally into their diaper-filled kitchens. However, the ultimate enemy is not the decadent artist nor the financial wizard; it is

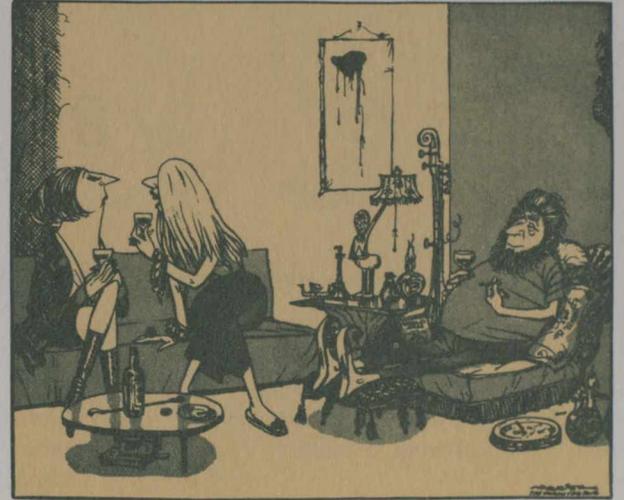
the former fellow citizen who is now a member of Parliament, writing laws that try men's souls. Norris's people never quite win. On the other hand, they never quite lose either.



"... he had just dropped in his income tax when along came the paper boy..." (April 29, 1971)



"Buy gold! Buy gold! Nag, nag! Nag, nag!" (March 16, 1968)



"It's only vin du pays... we're a bit strapped as Cecil is between Canada Council grants." (January 15, 1969)

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Chamber's Music

Canada has been a country of great potential for at least a couple of hundred years. It has had vast

lands, marvelous natural resources and relatively few people. It has always attracted investors from abroad—once mostly from Great Britain, later from the US. (In 1900 eighty-five per cent of external investment came from the UK; by 1954, eighty per cent came from the US.)

Investors came along with the investments. Van

Horne, the builder of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and C. D. Howe, cabinet minister under both King and St. Laurent, were both American born. The immigrant tycoons were greeted with mixed feelings, and Mr. Howe managed to articulate both sides of the question. On one occasion he noted that "had it not been for the enterprise and capital of the United

States, our development would have been slower, and some of the spectacular projects about which we are so rightly proud, since they are Canadian projects, would still be far in the future." On another, he pointed out that "anyone who does business in Canada should reckon with the . . . normal feeling of nationalism which is present in Canada, just as it is in the United States." The second observation would prove more potent than the first. The control of great chunks of basic industries such as oil and mineral production by American corporations inspired widespread concern that Canadian sovereignty was being impinged upon. Bob Chambers, the dean of Canadian cartoonists, who recently retired after working fifty years on Halifax newspapers, summed up the view that the economies of the two countries might be more arm-in-arm than was altogether desirable.

"As long as I hold the mortgage on the rink I'll write the rules!"



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New Found Province

Canada's oldest settlement is its newest province. It was settled by fishermen perhaps as early as 1100. It was a "summer fishery" until 1817, and its first full-time governor died during his first bleak February in office. It became an official colony in 1824. When the rest of the colonies joined in confederation in 1867, the Newfoundlanders decided to wait. They waited until 1949.

Newfoundland is very much its own place. Its people live in its main city, St. John's (population 88,102), and in beautiful tiny villages with names like Left Hand Pond, Quidi Vidi, Bay Bulls, and Skibbereen, surrounded by water, fish and evergreen trees. The men and women are as distinctive, brisk and unexpected as the climate. So are their leaders. The most conspicuous (and the one who steered the island into confederation) was Joey Smallwood, who was premier for twenty-three years. He is a Canadian folk hero, who has been called a deadly serious clown and "a lonely visionary who has spent almost seventy years pursuing a dream." The dream, in Joey's own words, was to make Newfoundland "a self-supporting province, independent and proud." A proper Newfie leader is one who can — in the words of that grand old poem, "If" — look at success and failure and treat those two imposters just the same. Joey could. He seldom lost. When he was finally replaced as premier by Frank Moores in 1971, Franklin of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* pictured his sanguine departure.



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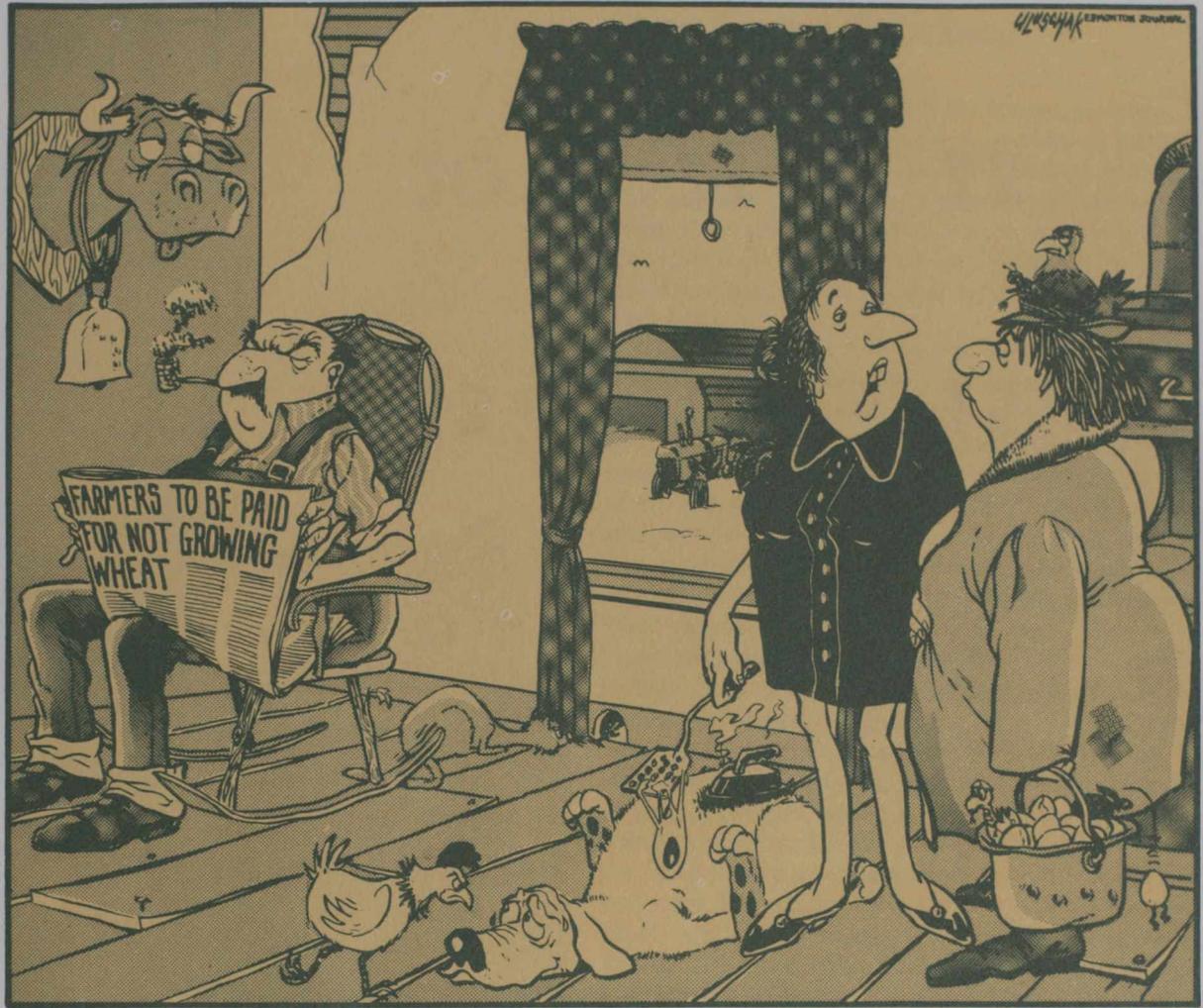
Entwistle Stop

The west is as independent minded as it was in the thirties, though times are ever so much better. Alberta, at this moment in history, seems the most blessed of lands. It has oil and wheat and cattle; and Calgary and Edmonton plant new skyscrapers every spring.

But what is the point of being a farmer if you cannot have dark suspicions of the urban slickers in Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal? When the federal government strove to strengthen wheat prices by offering to pay Canadian farmers to not grow wheat back in 1971, Ed Uluschak of the *Edmonton Journal* pictured an independent farmer's response.

In August 1976 Alberta, along with British Columbia, asserted a similar independent streak during federal-provincial attempts to resolve an ancient anomaly by moving the basic law establishing Canada as a federal state — the British North America Act — from London to Ottawa. Before bringing the BNA Act home, Canadians have been trying to find a formula for its further amendment. Various methods have been suggested which would allow changes without the complete unanimity of the federal government and all the provinces. Alberta wants itself (and all other provinces) to have veto power, and the BNA Act problem remains unresolved.

"Entwistle's too proud to accept handouts from the government. He's not going to grow BARLEY instead!"



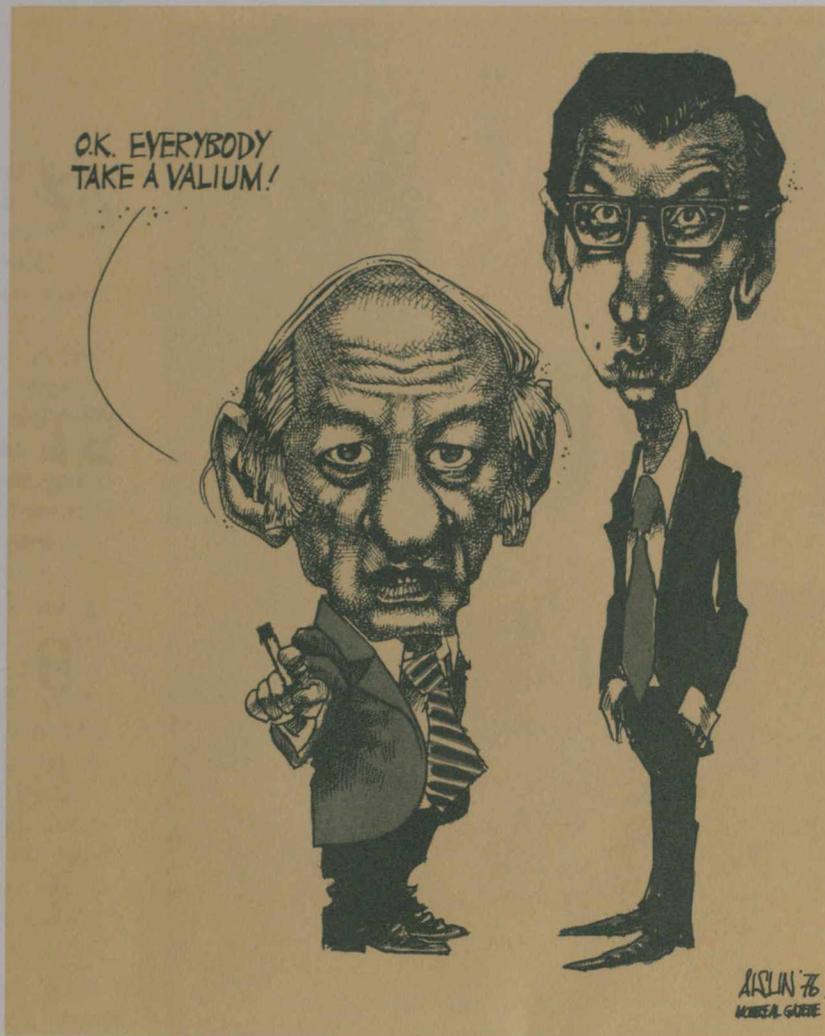
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L'Adaptation

It is a long way from Bengough to Aislin. Aislin's real name is Terry Mosher (or at least he claims it is), and both his line and his point of view are as modern and as unrelenting as rock music. He works at the *Montreal Gazette* — it would be absurd to say that he works for any man or institution — and he concerns himself with intricate questions. His cartoons, like good books and paintings, demand much from the viewer. He is, as Mordecai Richler has said, "even handedly malicious."

The shorter gentleman depicted here is René Lévesque. Mr. Lévesque was once a Liberal, but he left the party in 1967 to pursue the nonviolent creation of a politically separate nation of Quebec. In 1968 he helped found the Parti Québécois. The party was unsuccessful in two provincial elections, but in 1975 it began to stress basic government reform and such issues as unemployment. It promised to hold a referendum before moving on separation.

The shift in emphasis had an apparent effect. Though a post-election poll showed that only eleven per cent of Quebecers favoured separation, on November 15, 1976, Lévesque's party took forty-one per cent



of the vote and 70 of the 110 seats in the provincial legislature, which is interestingly called the National Assembly. Lévesque replaced an old Liberal party colleague, Robert Bourassa (the tall man), as premier; and as Aislin's cartoon suggests, there was some alarm.

Lévesque, for one, remained calm and counselled that others do too. He promised to preserve English language schools and attempted to reassure the financial community. Still Quebec separation is hardly a dead issue. Peter Newman, editor of *Maclean's* magazine, points out that "even if Lévesque's amazing sweep was less a vote for separation than a celebration of the true root and flow of democracy, the party he leads was created for only one purpose: to turn Quebec into an independent republic." Prime Minister Trudeau has also taken a realistic look at the Quebec situation: "There is no doubt that we have . . . entered into a period during which we will be examining and testing our structures, our institutions, our relationships, and perhaps our beliefs . . . Unity, for us in Canada, cannot mean sameness . . . Politics of federalism are politics of accommodation — on the part of governments and, it needs to be said, of people."

From Macdonald to Laurier to King to Trudeau, the Canadian Confederation has remained intact by always adjusting to changing realities. The challenge continues.

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Canadian Consulates and Consulates General in the United States

There are now fifteen Canadian consulates and consulates general in the United States. Information officers at each will be glad to answer any questions you may have about Canadian trade, culture or government policies. If your inquiries concern immigration, all consulates except those in Cleveland, New Orleans, Philadelphia and San Juan have immigration officers to help you.

Atlanta, Georgia, H. J. Horne. 260 Peachtree Street, N.E., P.O. Box 56169 Peachtree Center Station, 30343. (404) 577-6810.

Boston, Massachusetts, M. A. Macpherson, 500 Boylston Street, . 02116. (617) 262-3760.

Buffalo, New York, A. E. Johnston. One Marine Midland Center, Suite 3550, 14203. (716) 852-1247.

Chicago, Illinois, W. J. Collett. 310 South Michigan Avenue, Suite 2000, 60604. (312) 427-1031.

Cleveland, Ohio, Robert G. Woolham. Illuminating Building, 55 Public Square, 44113. (216) 771-0150.

Dallas, Texas, H. Stewart Hay. 2001 Bryan Tower, Suite 1600, 75201. (214) 742-8031.

Detroit, Michigan, Frank Harris. 1920 First Federal Building, 1001 Woodward Avenue, 48226. (313) 965-2811.

Los Angeles, California, D. H. Gilchrist. Associated Realty Building, 510 West Sixth Street, 90014. (213) 627-9511.

Minneapolis, Minnesota, John H. Bailey. 15 South Fifth Street, 55402. (612) 336-4641.

New Orleans, Louisiana, J. C. Cantin. International Trade Mart, Suite 2110, 2 Canal Street, 70130. (504) 525-2136.

New York, New York, Barry C. Steers. 1251 Avenue of the Americas, 10020. (212) 586-2400.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Howard Campbell. 3 Parkway Building, Suite 1310, 19102. (215) 561-1750.

San Francisco, California, Dr. R. M. Adams. One Maritime Plaza, Golden Gateway Center, 94111. (415) 981-2670.

San Juan, Puerto Rico, Paul D. Donohue. 16th Floor, Pan Am Building, Hato Rey, 00917. (809) 764-2011.

Seattle, Washington, Gordon Brown. 412 Plaza 600, Sixth and Stewart Streets, 98101. (206) 447-3804.

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