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CANADA



TODAY / D'AUJOURD'HUI

"What the Commons — and the bill was an all-party creation — has attempted to provide is a framework that will limit from both ends the degree to which money can influence the outcome of an election. Those with an overabundance of cash will face controls on how much they can spend to win a seat and those without enough to adequately spread their message to the voters will receive help from public funds." TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL

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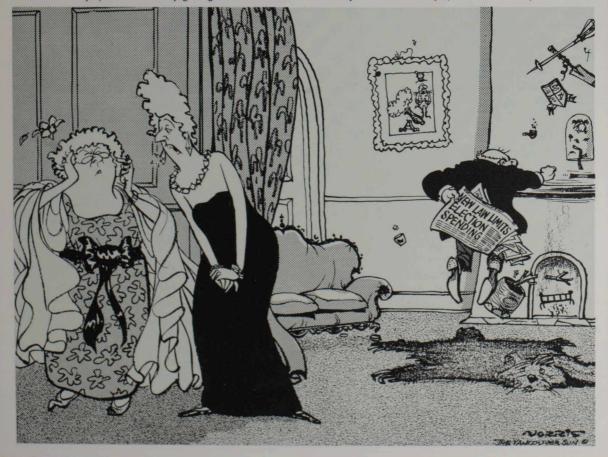
A Lid for Election Expenses

Canada does not elect a President or a Vice President and its voters are not registered by party (they are enumerated by persons who come in pairs to the voter's door). Canada does, however, have national elections, and in recent years they have become very expensive.

On January 14, 1974, the Canadian Parliament passed the Election Expenses Act. It puts a lid on the amount which can be spent in any election (or by any one candidate) and provides for subsidies and a limited amount of free TV time for all serious candidates. It requires that all campaign contributors who give more than \$100 be publicly named. It encourages small contributors by making donations of \$500 and less (but not those above) tax deductible. It is designed to make political parties less dependent on vested interests.

The new law reflects the structure of Canada's Parliamentary government; national elections in-

"It's not how they spend their money getting elected that infuriates Rodney . . . it's how they spend his after they're elected."



volve only the seats in the House of Commons. Party leaders run for the House from their own ridings and in a literal (but not realistic) sense, the voters in all the other ridings simply elect their own members. In fact, of course, the voters are very much involved in deciding which party gains a majority in the House, since that party's leader becomes the Prime Minister and forms the Government. By its nature, the new law is aimed at both national and individual campaigns.

A salient feature of the new law is a precise limitation on the amount of money to be spent, calculated in terms of the number of voters. (Voters are enumerated anew each time an election is called.) A party may spend no more than thirty cents for each voter listed in ridings in which it has a candidate running. This money is spent nationally, and it must not be used to favour a particular candidate in a particular riding. The individual candidate may spend one dollar for each of the first 15,000 voters registered in his riding, fifty cents for each of the next 10,000 and twenty-five cents for each of those over the 25,000 mark.

The limitations mean that national parties will spend less in the future than in the past — in terms of present registration a party may spend no more than \$3.8 million. In the 1972 election the Liberals spent \$5.3 million and the Conservatives \$3.95 million.

In terms of particular campaigns, the curtailment will be even more notable in some heavily populated ridings. In 1972 the most expensive single campaign was in North York, a Toronto constituency, where the victor, a Liberal, spent some \$60,000, and his opponent, a Conservative, spent some \$90,000. In 1972 North York had some 48,000 voters; had the Election Expenses Act been in effect, candidates there would have been limited to expenditures of about \$28,500 each.

The least expensive campaigns in 1972 were in Québec, where some successful Social Credit candidates spent only a few thousand dollars.

The candidates and the parties will not have to raise all the money spent — serious candidates (those drawing at least 15 per cent of the vote) will be reimbursed for certain mail costs, travel and the cost of having their financial statements audited. They will be given the cost of sending one first class mailing to each registered voter, plus eight cents for each of the first 5,000 and six cents for all voters beyond that number; they will be able to claim up to \$3,000 for travel, de-

pending on the size of their riding, and up to \$250 for having their figures certified.

Since only donors giving more than \$100 to a particular candidate will be identified by name, a donor determined to remain anonymous could contribute \$99 to a candidate in each of the 264 ridings, thus spending \$26,136 without being identified. The framers of the Act would be pleased if a large donor spread contributions around in this fashion. The biggest contributions in the past have come from corporations - in Canada such contributions are legal - and the names of the contributors were often unknown to both the public and the corporations' own rankand-file stockholders. The new requirement for disclosure as well as the \$500 top tax deduction limit may affect the size and frequency of such contributions, but no one yet seems certain to what degree. Sen. John Godfrey, who has been the Liberal Party's leading fund raiser, said during the debate on the Act that he always approached corporations with the suggestion that they should contribute equally and substantially to both parties to help maintain a strong party system.

He said that while corporations have been the main source of contributions for both the Liberal and Conservative Parties (organized labour has been the principal backer of the New Democrats), they have not gotten — and have not expected — favours in return. He said the party leaders do not know the size or source of contributions and that party fund raisers such as himself have no part in setting party policies.

"Contributions" and "expenses" depend to a great degree on how those words are defined, and the writers of the bill have made great efforts to be precise. Expenses include: ". . . amounts paid . . . liabilities incurred . . . the commercial value of goods and services donated or provided other than volunteer labour and . . . amounts that represent the differences between amounts paid and liabilities incurred . . . and the commercial value thereof where they are provided at less than their commercial value. . . . " To discourage informal contributions from being made by suppliers who do not press for payment, the bill requires that "all bills, charges or claims incurred by or on behalf of a registered party shall be paid within six months. . . ." Before the new law, which requires publication of donors of over \$100, donations from many sources could be reported collectively through campaign committees.

The most significant expenditures in most campaigns are those for television time, and the

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Act is notably specific about the use of TV. It provides that all broadcasters must be ready to sell a total of six and a half hours of broadcasting time to political candidates in each riding. This time is to be divided among the candidates in an equitable way, and each candidate must be charged the same advertising rate. The broadcasters previously provided time as a matter of policy but were not required to do so by law.

In addition, all network stations are now required to provide a limited amount of free time to all parties on an equitable basis. The amount of this free time is to be determined by the Canadian Radio-Television Commission after consultation with party representatives. All broadcasts (free or purchased) must be made within a

specified period of twenty-seven days. Since Canadian elections are usually held on Monday, the period usually extends from the Sunday twenty-nine days before to the Saturday two days before. The purpose of the time limit is to prevent the campaigns from beginning too soon and from including last-day broadcasts which might, in some instances, misinform the public.

The bill passed the House of Commons by a vote of 174 to 10, with broad backing from Liberals, Conservatives and New Democrats. The Senate, an appointed body, promptly followed suit. The Act received Royal assent on January 14 and will go into effect in July or earlier, if needed.



The National Museum of Man in Ottawa has acquired the best and indeed the only substantial collection of 18th and early 19th century Canadian Indian artifacts, from Arthur Speyer of West Germany. Among the European upper class and nobility two hundred years ago were many fervent collectors of exotic curios. Nearly everyone involved in the exploration and settlement of North America sent samples of native arts and crafts back home. They came to rest in private and public museums. More recently Arthur Speyer, Sr., a Berlin professor, and his son, Arthur, Jr., began a systematic collection from the collections. Mr. Speyer, Sr., died in 1958. In 1968 the Speyer Collection, 259 objects from before 1850, were put on display at the Leder Museum, Offenbach am Main. In early 1970 the Museum of Man embarked on its project of acquiring the unique collection. After three years of negotiation and persuasion, Mr. Speyer generously agreed. Above is a ritual mat used by the Naskapi in 'makushan' ceremonies to propitiate the game spirits. It was made sometime before 1770.

The Eating Habits of a Nation

The Canadian government has completed the first comprehensive study ever made of the eating habits of an entire nation.

A team led by Dr. Z. I. Sabry, Director of Nutrition Canada, for the Department of Health and Welfare, spent four years examining 19,000 people in the ten Canadian provinces and compiling twenty-six million facts.

It concluded that Canadians are ill-nourished (though not undernourished), but are probably no worse, Dr. Sabry said, than the citizens of other industrially advanced countries such as the United States.

The study found that:

- More than half of all Canadians are overweight.
 - One out of six has high cholesterol.
- One out of sixteen (mostly in the Prairie Provinces) has an enlarged thyroid.
- Iron deficiencies, expected in women of childbearing age, were found among all age groups, in both sexes, and in as many as two out of three Indian children.
- There is a moderate deficiency of thiamin among adults and some deficiency of vitamin C. The latter is particularly prevalent among Eskimos, since foods containing the vitamin are not part of their diets.
- At least one out of every ten pregnant women was short of vitamin A.
- Most Canadians don't drink enough milk and, consequently, lack bone-building calcium and vitamin D.

Most interestingly, the survey - which included dietary interviews, dental, medical and anthropometric examinations and, in most cases, lab tests - found that in obesity "calories don't count," and that the caloric intakes of the overweight and the normal don't differ very much. Dr. Sabry said that some obese persons were found to have very low caloric intakes, but that this was counterbalanced by very low levels of physical activity; a person might take in only 1600 calories a day but if he expended only 1400 he would grow fat. (A person taking in 120 calories daily above his energy expenditure level will gain a pound a month.) Dr. Sabry said that changes in life styles and the misuse of technological aids has resulted in lowering of physical activity levels, and he suggests that government and industry should fight fat by providing gymnastic facilities and encouraging sports.

The iron deficiency was found among all types of Canadians except young Eskimo men, who eat great amounts of caribou. (Anemia is unfortunately common among them, possibly because of non-nutritional problems, such as parasites.) The iron shortage may be due to the increase of refined foods and to the use of aluminum cooking pots instead of cast iron ones. A cast iron pot, "particularly a rusty one," is a good source of iron.

The survey was broken into three divisions, the biggest covering the general population and the two smaller ones covering Indians who live in bands and Eskimos who live in settlements. Most of the tests were done both in winter and summer. (Canadians maintained the same pluses and minuses in their diets in both seasons, which indicates a good food distribution system.) The deficiencies were found equally among income groups above and below the poverty level.

The report, which was presented to Parliament late last year, will be followed by more than a dozen supplementary ones on separate provinces, Eskimos, Indians, transient youth, food patterns, dental health and other subjects.

The report specifically calls for a national nutrition policy to "monitor the nutritional health of the nation," and it asks that the food industry consider nutrition with the same weight it gives texture, flavour and colour when it packages a new product. If the industry fails to accept this responsibility, the report said, the government should make sure that foods eaten as snacks or in place of meals have nutritional value. Dr. Sabry said that some foods which cannot be labelled "dangerous" are nevertheless poor nutritional choices. He cites as an example an orange drink that looks and tastes like orange juice but which lacks its nutritional quality. The report points out that food processing, storing and shipping have been "revolutionized" in the last ten years.

"We must decide that there is a limit to how far we can go in purifying our foods," Dr. Sabry said.

"If salad oil is purified to the point that vitamin E is removed for the sake of decolourization and deodourization, we have gone too far."

Creeps, Fellows, Cups and Games

[CANADA AT THE FOLGER]

As readers of Canada Today/D'Aujourd'hui are aware, many Canadians feel that Americans are not particularly conscious of Canadian culture. There are, however, clear exceptions. We describe one below.

Without any diplomatic agreements or even a coordinated plan, a small but renowned library in Washington, D.C., has woven more and more Canadian culture into the fabric of its public and private programs.

In 1970, O. B. Hardison, Jr., the then new director of the Folger Shakespeare Library, which houses the largest and most valuable collection of Shakespeariana in the world, began its first public program, a film series, with a Norman McLaren documentary from Canada's National Film Board. For the library, which had been considered purely a scholar's retreat, this was a singular departure, but it was a mild portent of things to come. The library, which occupies a beautifully sculptured marble building across the street from the Library of Congress, has an impressive Founder's Room, where tea is served each day

at two, and a replica of an Elizabethan theatre, which has become a mecca for intellectual Washington. When Hardison arrived on the scene, the stage had been used only once in thirty-odd years. He began using it, first for the films and then for poetry readings. Among the early poets who read were Canada's Margaret Atwood, the novelist, literary philosopher and recipient of the Governor General's award for poetry, and Frank Scott, poet, civil libertarian and former dean of law at McGill University.

In time the Folger sponsored a resident group of players and began producing plays — both Elizabethan and modern — in its theatre. In 1972 the group performed in the American première of *The Complete Works of Studs Edsel*, written by an American, Percy Granger, who lived in Canada (the play's locale) during the Vietnam War and had several plays produced on CBC-TV in Montreal. The Granger play has since become a staple work on American college campuses.

In 1973 the Folger produced Creeps by David Freeman, of Toronto, in its American première,

Creeps by David Freeman, a singularly stark but successful drama, had its American première at the Folger Shakespeare Library Theatre. It is about the grim daily routine of cerebral palsy victims in a sheltered workshop. It went on to New York.



PHOTO: ROBIN MOYER, FOLGER THEATRE GROUP

to great critical and audience acclaim. *Creeps*, a drama of singular intensity, is an account of the daily lives of several victims of cerebral palsy. It had previously won the first Floyd S. Chalmers Award as the best Canadian play of 1972 after being produced at Factory Lab and the Tarragon Theatre in Toronto. The Washington reaction was so favourable that Pulitzer Prize winner Orin Lehman took it off-Broadway.

The Folger has tended to produce plays which are often surprising and sometimes shocking. At a recent \$100-a-plate fund-raising dinner at the library, a University of Toronto drama group, Poculi Ludique Societas (Cups and Games) performed in a ribald 16th century play, Fulgens and Lucrece by Henry Medwall, which was considered startlingly outspoken by Washington critics. The Cups and Games group will return to Washington on April 10 to perform in Officium in Nocte Resurrectionis as part of the World Petrarch Congress marking the 500th anniver-

sary of the Italian poet and humanist. The Congress will be co-chaired by Dr. Hardison, of the Folger, and Dr. Aldo Bernardo, medieval scholar and President of the new Verrazzano College in New York. In addition to the Cups and Games production, the Congress will feature another University of Toronto group, the Toronto Consort, which will play musical selections against a reading of Petrarch's poems.

In addition to their role in the public and semi-public performances of plays and poetry, Canadians have become much involved in the scholarly side of the Folger.

Dr. Richard I. Shoeck, for many years chairman of the English Department of St. Michael's College of the University of Toronto, is the Folger's director of research activities; and the Italianist Beatrice Corrigan, also of that University, is on its editorial board. In addition, Bruce Nesbit of Simon Fraser University is the editor of the annual *Shakespeare Bibliography* pub-

The Folger has its own Elizabethan theatre, now in almost constant use.



lished by the library's Shakespeare Quarterly.

Harry McSorley, of the Institute of Christian Thought at St. Michael's College, was chairman of the scholarly conference marking the 400th anniversary of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre; Louis Knafla, of the University of Calgary, was a panelist on "Law and Order in Tudor England"; and Dr. McSorley, Dr. Knafla and Michael McDonald of Mt. Allison University in Sackville, N. B., all read papers at a conference, "European Conscience from Erasmus to Pascal", chaired by J. K. McConica of the University of Toronto. Paul Stanwood, of the University of British Columbia, was named by the Folger as one of its two senior fellows, to edit part of the collected works of Richard Hooker for an edition to be published by the Folger and the Harvard University Press.

Clifford Leech, of the University of Toronto and one of the world's most distinguished scholars in English literature, and Brian Parker, who specializes in theatre history at the University, have taken part in this program for fellows and readers, and so has Don Rowan, an authority on the history of Renaissance playhouses from the University of New Brunswick.

It is perhaps not surprising that Canadian scholars are more heavily represented among the Library's 500 readers than are those from almost any other foreign country.

Dr. Hardison is not Canadian, even remotely, and he says the Canadian connection came about with his hardly being aware of it. He would like it stronger still.

"I'd like to explore the possibility of increased relations with the Stratford, Ontario, Shakespeare Festival and think there might be some natural point of contact — such as their sending down a couple of actors or even a director.

"We certainly would like to see a fellowship program regularized. Two Canadian fellows a year would be splendid."

Edgar Z. Friedenberg is Professor of Education, Dalhousie University, Halifax, author of *The Vanishing Adolescent* and an American citizen. He is also an articulate commentator on the effect that Canada and the United States have on each other. We present a few excerpts from a long article by Mr. Friedenberg in the *American Journal*. It is not necessary to say that Mr. Friedenberg's views are his own; he is universally recognized as an independent, outspoken, original man. Under the pressures of space, we have left out more than we've kept in.

The Effect of Americans on Canadians (and vice versa)

[PROFESSOR FRIEDENBERG'S POINT OF VIEW]

". . . For their part, Americans usually ignore Canada, except for those corporations which exploit it and the thousands of tourists who come here every summer expecting to find a bigger little England with more grandiose scenery and harmless French overtones. . . . Like most tourists, they find what they expect to find; and indeed the scenery is picturesque, the people extraordinarily civil, the streets of the major cities — though urban conflicts sadly familiar to Americans have begun to erupt — alive and cheerful with pedestrians by night who do not expect to be mugged and seldom are. . . .

"The aspect of American policy that affects Canada most strongly is usually beyond Canada's legislative and judicial control. . . . Late last fall [1971] . . . an American-controlled factory that had the largest payroll in a medium-sized Ontario town . . . was abruptly closed by a decision taken by the management of a consortium in Los Angeles. . . . It is unlawful in Ontario to shut down a business without statutory notice to its employees, and the local manager, an American

who appeared on national television looking very apologetic, was technically subject to prosecution, but this would not have given his former employees any money for Christmas; the incident did, however, withdraw substantially from the already depleted reserves of goodwill toward America available in this country.

"Nevertheless, really hostile and aggressive anti-American expressions are still confined almost entirely to intellectual circles and academic life. Working class Canadians still like not only Americans, but the idea of life in America . . . America is still seen, correctly, as a land where much higher wages are paid and a much wider range of consumer goods is available more cheaply; where there is more economic diversity and a freer flow of money and hence, much more opportunity to make it in various ways. The defects are harder to imagine; Canadians don't really believe that a poor - or even a fairly rich - man can be bankrupted by hospital bills and have to pay for blood transfusions and surgery if he needs them.

"Working class Canadians do not despise and hate the poor as Americans do and they cannot really imagine what it would be like to be poor in the United States, where poverty is not merely an affliction, but a dread and loathsome disease that destroys self-esteem.

"Young Canadian freaks and street people who abound and have so far received a fair, though I fear decreasing, amount of official acceptance . . . are not hostile to Americans either. They are strongly opposed to American policies and to American domination of Canada; but when they think of individual Americans they are likely to picture other freaks like themselves. . . . The Americans they know are as anti-American as they are and more so. . . . But in the university and its ancillary organizations, Canadian-American relations no longer partake of the quality of mercy and are strained. . . .

"Canadian nationalism takes the form of intense anxiety about the threat of cultural domination, especially in and through the agency of the universities . . . the proportion of Canadian professors in Canadian universities has fallen to about half the total. American professors still make up only about a quarter of the foreigners but their numbers have been increasing rapidly, proportionately and absolutely over the past decade. . . . This does not mean that life for American professors has become disagreeable . . . though it does mean that it has become much harder to get an appointment. . . . Canadians are

still more polite when they are being rude than Americans are when they are being friendly . . . or than Canadians are when *they* are being friendly.

"How realistic, though, is the Canadian fear of American cultural domination? . . . On balance . . . it is in the most obvious sense quite realistic. Americans not only teach in Canadian universities; to a much greater degree Canadian television broadcasts American programs; the goal of obtaining current minimum prescription of 35 per cent Canadian content is achieved only by counting as Canadian such dubious cultural treasures as Guy Lombardo. . . .

"The continuing takeover of Canadian publishing firms by American corporations has precipitated as intense a reaction — though in the nature of the case not as protracted — as the slower, more insidious infiltration of the universities. . . .

"Neither Canadians nor Americans . . . have any adequate idea of the extent of the difference between them. It is enormous and the fundamental difference is greater than the superficial. No increase in American input, fiscal or cultural, and no degree of acquiescence by Canada, could make life in Canada like life in the United States. . . . Americanism is not a threat to the Canadian identity. . . . For anglophone Canada . . . there is a risk of exploitation but not of cultural annexation. Differences too profound are rooted in history. . . . "

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