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Canada Today

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Volume 1 No. 5
Jan/February 1974



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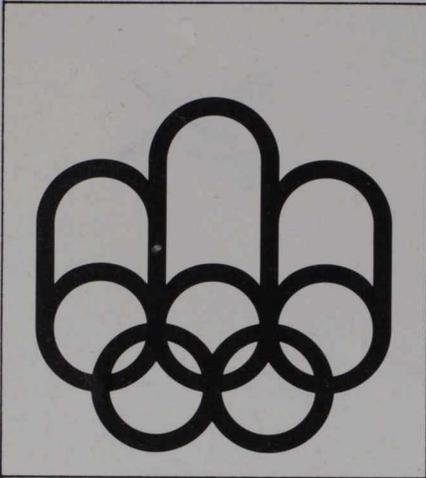


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Cover picture shows the emblem for the Games of the XXI Olympiad. A descriptive breakdown can be found on page 4

Canada Today



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'Canada Today'
Published by:
The Counsellor (Press),
Canadian High Commission,
Canada House,
Trafalgar Square,
London SW1Y 5BJ

Design: Dennis Fairey, F.R.S.A. N.D.D.
Production: Osborne BC Public Relations
Printed in England by:
C. Nicholls & Company Ltd

Drapeau brings Montreal the Olympics

by Simon Jenkins of the Evening Standard

When the 1972 Olympics ended beneath a pall of tragedy in Munich, it was widely said that the old Olympic era had come to an end. The formula of nationalist razzmatazz had finally gone sour. The Games had become far too big and expensive even for the richest of cities – and way beyond the means of the poorer ones. In future, the event would have to be a more sober, less grandiose affair.

If this was said, however, Mayor Jean Drapeau of Montreal can never have been listening.

The 1976 Olympics are going to be the biggest thing that ever happened to Montreal, and if anything stands in their way, it will have to be over Mayor Drapeau's dead body. Mayor Drapeau, 57, has ruled this, the second-largest French-speaking city in the world, for some 13 years and has never done things by halves; and certainly not when he can feel the heat of the world's spotlights turning on him.

The '76 Olympics will be housed in one of the most remarkable sports arenas in the world, designed (needless to say) not by a Canadian but by a Frenchman, Robert Taillibert. It will include two Olympic swimming pools, a special diving pool, a velodrome for cycling, and a stadium which is so designed that it can be covered in winter. This will be used after the Games to stage American-style football and for the Montreal Expos baseball team. Seats can be adjusted for different sports by gliding round the stadium on an air cushion.

The sports facilities will be on the site of a railway yard in the city's poorer East End. The Olympic village has required the surrender of the adjacent municipal golf course. And there will be no nonsense from Free Quebec guerillas, whose spectre looms much larger over the Games since the tragic experiences at Munich. Security will be of truly Gallic severity.

For once, however, Drapeau is having to meet some real criticism. As his colleague in arms, Mayor Vogel of Munich, found in 1972, not everyone in a host city is necessarily delighted to have the Olympics on their doorstep. In their present form in particular, they have an unfortunate tendency to lunatic extravagance.

Drapeau has been ominously silent about his precise estimates for 1976. His staff still maintain that, forgetting about the housing and recreational gain from the Games, they will actually be self-financing. They are relying heavily on sales of coins, stamps and lottery tickets to break the back of the cost.

However, their chief problem is that, unlike Vogel in Munich, Drapeau neither wants nor is likely to get any sympathy from the Canadian Government if he runs into financial trouble. "It's Drapeau's show. It was his idea and he can get on with it alone" was one Ottawa politician's view, fully shared by Prime Minister Trudeau. This federal attitude represents less a gulf between French Canada and the rest than vivid memories of the vast amounts the rest of Canada finally had to pay for the big Drapeau extravaganza – Expo '67.

The cost of the Munich Olympics escalated from an original estimate of £60 millions to £300 millions. Montreal's have already reached over £250 millions. And even the Olympics planning staff concede that public opinion could turn "very sour" if the financing gets out of hand.

Some criticism

Further criticism has come from Drapeau's blunt decision to requisition the Viau Park golf course. Even his own normally quiescent and largely impotent planning department last autumn finally revolted against this. In a letter bravely signed (very bravely under the circumstances) by 27 of the department's 34 staff, including the director, Guy Legault, they pleaded with Drapeau that "encroachment upon one of the largest and most valuable improved spaces in Montreal is totally unjustified." They pointed out that the site was "totally unsuited" for use afterwards as a housing estate and would become "an expensive and difficult-to-run ghetto".

All this, of course, just slides like water off Drapeau's back. Whenever he is asked critical questions about the Olympics, he just smiles and trusts that "the spiritual value of the Olympics will take precedence over the financial aspects".

For the Olympics are no more than the latest in a long list of feathers in this remarkable man's cap. The greatest was undoubtedly the extraordinary tourist bonanza of Expo '67. The World Fair's dejected remains still litter a group of man-made islands in the St. Lawrence. Drapeau gave his city the second Underground in Canada (after Toronto), called the Metro, and ran it exotically on rubber wheels as some lines in Paris. He gave Montreal Canada's first major league baseball team – inevitably naming it the Expos.

He led the massive trans-Canada highway slap through the historic part of downtown

Montreal, at horrific environmental cost, lest so important an artery should dare to by-pass his city. He built a lavish cultural centre at Place des Arts. He even opened a grand restaurant with his own money with full orchestra to give the city's nightlife a bit more class. (A disastrous venture, it soon closed.)

The appearance of the city as I remember it from 12 years ago has changed almost beyond recognition. It was then a city whose historical continuity was still expressed in its buildings. The older streets led through into the newer ones without visual offence. And even in the downtown area, a healthy variety of buildings, activities and people could be found. Montreal was unusual and colourful among North American cities.

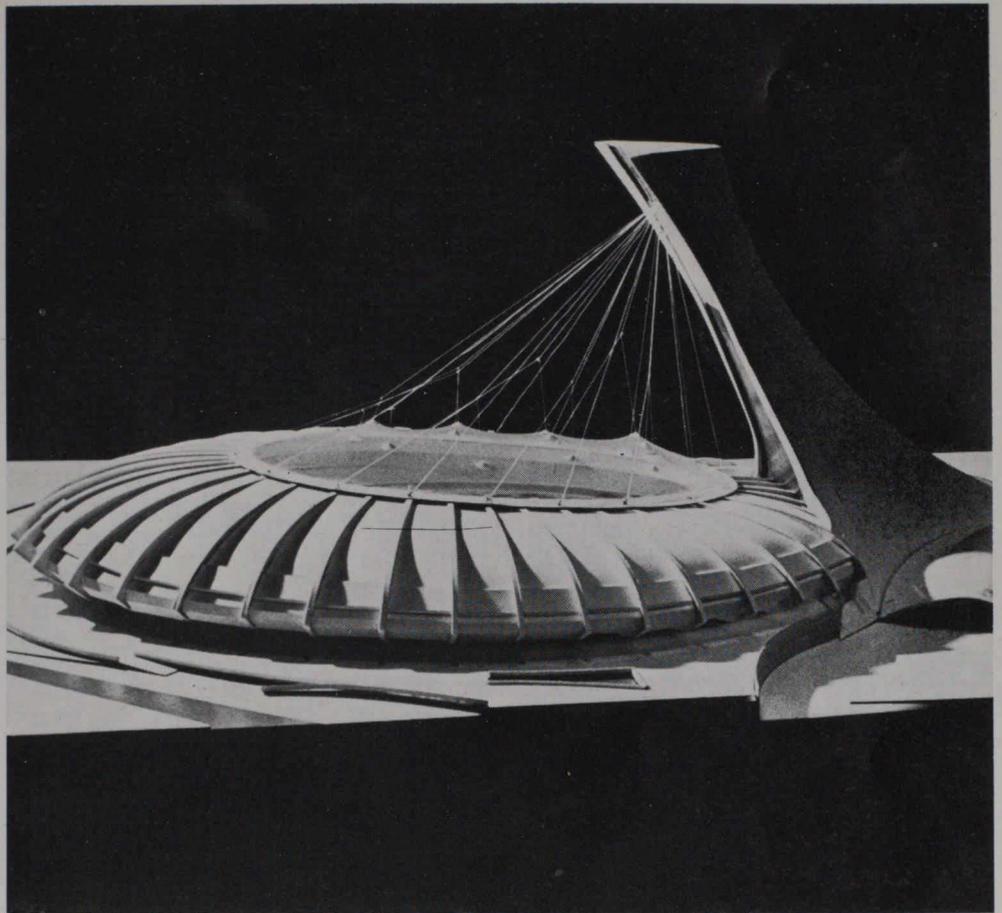
Mayor Drapeau has been hard at it for the past decade putting an end to that sort of nonsense. While other Canadian cities have flowered with citizens groups and "reform politicians," Montreal politics have remained firmly in the ice age. Montrealers vie with one another for Drapeau metaphors: "a rotary club de Gaulle" or "a city planner's nightmare" were just two I heard. He is a bizarre marriage of American big-city boss with old-style French politician. And he rules autocratically over a city council composed 100 per cent of his supporters.

Downtown Montreal is now as uncompromisingly American as any city I have seen. Car parks, freeways, demolition sites and skyscrapers occupy great swathes of land like a monopoly board where half the players have collapsed through overheating. A terrible destruction has been wrought on famous historical streets. And Drapeau has nurtured into the air a Manhattan-style skyline which lies against the ancient hill of Mount Royal as a row of exclamation marks on his time in office. If his Montreal has not perhaps gone from strength to strength, it has certainly gone from gloire to gloire.

But there are now many people who wonder if the '76 Olympics may not be just one extravaganza too much even for this city. The enthusiasm which fuelled Expo '67 evaporated in an economic stagnation afterwards. The current construction boom, fed by huge tax incentives and largely inoperative planning, could well go the same way after '76.

Montreal today has the worst housing problems in Canada, as well as high unemployment and some 120,000 people below the official poverty line. The city continues to live in an eerie schizophrenia between its two-thirds French and one-third English-speaking residents. And it is now facing that most cutting of blows - the fact that its arch-rival, booming Toronto, is about to overtake it as Canada's biggest city.

It is hard not to feel that for all its love of superlatives - and for all the French charm still lingering in those buildings as yet surviving the demolishers' axe - Montreal is soon going to find its priorities changing. It seems a city full of indigestion. ♦



An architects drawing of the main stadium to be built in Montreal for the 1976 Olympics.

Olympic Stadium to be permanent civic asset

The Olympic Park stadium-swimming pool mast complex shown on the cover may appear at first glance to be a single structure, but it is actually made up of three buildings: the mast; the swimming centre and the stadium itself, each designed to serve several purposes.

This soaring mast is a building in itself. Its top reaches a height of 525 feet above street level (equivalent to a building more than 50 storeys high).

The layout of this building makes available 18 floors, covering an area of more than 200,000 square feet, to be used as sports rooms and restaurants.

The area of the 18 stories varies from floor to floor, ranging from 2,000 square feet up to 50,000 square feet without columns; there is also a difference in height from one floor to the other, ranging from 17 feet to 34 feet.

Thus athletes will find on 16 floors for the Olympic Games period and, on a permanent basis once the Games are over, all the space needed for systematic training activities in a variety of sports: judo, wrestling, boxing, fencing, racing, jumping gymnastics, body building, weight-lifting,

and several team sports such as basketball, volleyball, handball, etc.

The two remaining floors at the top of the mast will provide space for restaurants.

Public access to a terrace more than 8,000 square feet in area on the roof of the mast will be provided by outside panoramic elevators.

The mast is also used to house in its top section the covering membrane to be used as a roof, if need be, for the entire playing area of the stadium.

The base of the mast forms the roof of the swimming centre which adjoins the stadium itself.

The Swimming Centre includes regulation Olympic installations:

- one fifty-meter competition pool;
- one fifty-meter training pool;
- one diving pool designed for 1-meter, 3-meter, 5-meter, 7.5 meter and 10-meter diving.

Once the Games are over, this centre will also accommodate a scuba-diving pool and wading pools.

The swimming pool also makes available on five levels, a total area of more than

160,000 square feet to be used for various purposes: locker rooms, open areas, halls, restaurants, traffic, massage rooms, sauna baths, body-building activities, rest areas, teaching and offices.

During the Games, 9,000 spectators will be able to follow the Olympic competitions. After the Games, permanent stands will be provided to accommodate 2,000 spectators.

The main Olympic stadium itself forms the predominant building of the complex. It will accommodate 70,000 spectators for the Olympic Games. After the Games, 55,000 permanent seats will be provided.

The removal of the temporary seats from the stadium and swimming centre seats will make available space for the installation of an indoor 250-meter athletic track and of a soccer or football field in the centre. This site is located in the part of the building which is permanently covered and will therefore be in use throughout the year.

The layout of the stands and positioning of seats will guarantee perfect visibility for athletic contests and for all other sports contests or meets following the Games: baseball, American-style football, soccer, etc.

An atmosphere of intimacy between the athletes or participants on the track or field

on the one hand, and the public, on the other, is maintained for all sports. For this purpose, some seat sections can be moved on an air-cushion as the need arises. Lighting, sound and electronic communications will be designed in keeping with the most advanced developments in each particular field.

All the stands are completely covered on a permanent basis.

The play area (or sports field) can be covered or uncovered at will. A light covering membrane can be extended or removed within ten or fifteen minutes during the warm season. When less pleasant weather prevails, the same covering membrane can be attached to the rigid roof of the stands for as long as needed, thus permitting practical use of the premises throughout the year.

Under the stands, on six levels, is a total of one million three hundred and fifty thousand square feet (1,350,000). Space for pedestrian traffic covers some 650,000 square feet. There are therefore about 700,000 square feet available for occupancy, equivalent to a 70-storey building with 10,000 square feet per storey.

This space will allow the possibility of offering a wide variety of sports and games

on a permanent basis for the entire population, and a common meeting place for people of all ages and from all sectors to practice the sport of their choice without necessarily aiming for championship competitions.

The installations conceived for the Olympic Games are not devoted solely for what is generally called the sports elite, but equally for sports practised by the population in general.

Part of this huge space will also be used for a sports museum, offices, kitchens, bars and restaurants, and various public services still to be determined: post office, telegraphy, other communications, specialized library, and others.

In future the stadium complex will be used for meetings of all sorts: political, cultural, religious, business, convention, exhibition. It will answer on a permanent basis a need which grows greater every day.

It is linked by the Metro to all regions of Montreal Island as well as to the communities on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, and by direct covered access to the major hotels and buildings.

Construction was to begin in early 1974 and is scheduled to end in early 1976. ♦

New Airport

Mirabel, the new international airport for Montreal due to open in the spring of 1975, will cover the largest airport area in the world - 88,000 acres - and accommodate 50 million passengers a year when completed.

The new airport, to be situated 34 miles northwest of downtown Montreal, is being planned to meet traffic increases over the next 20 years. They would otherwise have swamped the existing airport at Dorval and necessitated extensive and costly land purchase in a highly urbanized area.

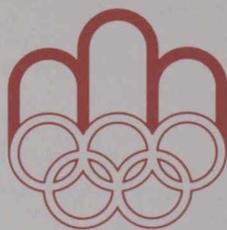
Mirabel, with its vast acreage, has been planned with a view to longevity well beyond the traditional 15-year-period in past planning estimates. Around the airport itself, the authorities are planning to create a commercial and industrial park, the first of its kind in Canada, but comparable to similar arrangements already existing in the vicinity of airports in the United States.

Montreal at present ranks sixth among North American cities in volume of outgoing cargo, with an annual growth rate close to 25 per cent. ♦

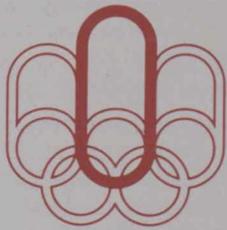
The emblem



The emblem for the Games of the XXI Olympiad illustrates the human element stressed by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the modern Olympics.



The podium, at the top, indicates the crowning glory for the winners as well as their spirit of chivalry on the way to victory. Symbolic of man's perfection, it also represents the graphic interpretation of the letter "M", the first letter of Montreal.



At the heart of the emblem, the simplicity and the dignity of the Olympic stadium's track imply man's faith in an ideal.



Finally, the five Olympic rings, representing the five continents, denote universal brotherhood, the Olympic ideal which is - and should be - basic to all human endeavour.

Reflections:

I have learned not to confuse power with greatness. I have learned power doesn't only at times corrupt, it diminishes a person. I don't ignore that it also has inspired and challenged people to things, to actions they never knew they could undertake but it's had the opposite effect on so many people and I've often been worried as I contemplate the present and the future, based on my experience of the past, in the inadequacy of our approach to the problems we had to face, the inadequacy of human leadership in the complexities of our societies.

It's very worrying for anybody who looks ahead to realize that things have got out of control in terms of human direction. I've seen men of great quality and integrity and sincerity and ideals lose some of these qualities under the pressures of leadership. The pressures imposed on them by public opinion. Pressures of the kind not normal in the previous generations. The pressures of public opinion which can be created instantly and make an instant impact on people and drive them off the course, as individuals, that they were hoping to pursue for their countries. This is very worrying, I think, to anybody who is worried about the future.

I've also learned not to confuse a vision with greatness. I have as much respect for good tradition as anybody I think should have, but my training and my experience has led me to believe that there are a lot of men of power in the world that haven't much wisdom. And there are a lot of very wise people in the world who haven't had much opportunity to show their wisdom in positions of responsibility.

Because of that and because of my background, my upbringing, I've never been unduly impressed by pomp and circumstance. I've seen more common sense expressed around a table in a farmhouse in my constituency when some of my political friends there were talking about what we ought to be doing in politics than I have around the table in the foreign office in London, or at NATO, or around a table in a United Nations committee room.

And so I've often felt that if you could only get this popular wisdom and common sense channelled into the agencies of political decision. You find that the leaders are often there, not because of their wisdom but because of their ability to manipulate the media of information and to rouse passionate public opinion, and they get to positions of responsibility on that basis rather than having earned them.

Modern Information process is unlike anything in the past

by L. B. Pearson

In a series of historical interviews with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation following his retirement as Canadian Prime Minister, the late L. B. Pearson made this candid review of what he had learned about diplomacy, politics and other facets of the modern world during his long career in public life.

He displayed a particular concern about the new role of the news media in the democratic process.

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I've seen what bad men's control of a passionate intensity could do to a people and destroy them, to rouse them to a passionate intensity themselves, and then have them destroyed by that very passion and intensity; so I've always suspected the ability to rouse, the ability to incite.

... On politics

I should apologize for this self-analysis and bring myself on a couch, but the qualities I had inside me and perhaps I inherited were the qualities which made me happy and pretty successful in diplomacy: the finding of a way out; the looking at both sides of a question and coming to an agreement. Those very qualities – I had to use them for a good many years in External Affairs – are not always the qualities that are most successful in the adversary concept of partisan politics, where really you should look at things in terms of black and white.

There are good politicians that do that. Everything you do is white and anybody who gets in the way of your policies and

your plans, which are right, and moral, you sweep him into outer darkness whoever he may be. I never could quite feel that about most of the things I was doing in politics. I would like to think I was always right but I didn't feel all my opponents were devils. Perhaps the devil concept of politics is a little overdone these days.

Another thing that used to worry me – I'm not talking about looking back on political leadership – is the criticism I used to get from some of my own friends, some of my professional political friends, that I didn't have the killer instinct.

One man used to say to me, a friend of mine from Vancouver, said you never go for the jugular. Well, I was never much impressed by that kind of friendly criticism because it doesn't seem to me that going for the jugular is the right way to approach political leadership.

I was the kind of person that preferred to roll with the punch than stand up and be knocked down.

... On the media

There is an instinctive and an inevitable conflict between government and the media. In this sense, that it is the duty of the media to get all the information they can and get it before the people, subject to, of course, their own sense of responsibility.

It is not the duty, the preoccupation of government to hold back things at times until they can get them completed, until all the arguments are in and all the decisions are made: To keep things from the press, subject to, of course, their own sense of responsibility in making things known.

I don't know of any problem that is more important in Government than this problem of information. It's nothing that we have talked about. But when you talk about the new situations in government, the new complications, the new problems, the new difficulties one of the most important new problems, one of the most important new difficulties, one of the most important new opportunities in the broadening and deepening of democracy is the role of the press, the function of the press and the media.

No one who is interested in democratic government and parliamentary government can be otherwise than very disturbed about this kind of relationship, this kind of obligation on the part of the media to government and to the people.

By that I mean, instant communications can do amazing things in bringing news into the drawing rooms of the nation, but it can do amazing things in bringing that information in a form which makes it much more difficult for government to carry on effectively and responsibly. This new kind of information process is unlike anything we ever experienced in the past. In the face of this, the pressure on government will increasingly be to be more rather than less careful in what it gives out.

I don't know how to put it. Supposing we had nothing but weekly newspapers or nothing but newspapers, the reader has a chance to compare what is written with something else that is written. There may not be another newspaper for a few days. He can ponder over it; he can brood over it; he can make up his own mind.

When the picture appears (on television) at 6:30 of something that happened at 6:25 and the photographer hasn't had much chance to do anything much but take the picture and nobody's had much chance to do anything but show the picture and 20 minutes later you get some pundit telling you what it means; the impact this must have on government, on its responsibilities and on what it is doing – well you can see this new problem. I mention it not because it caused me any unusual trouble; it didn't. I had a better experience with the press and the media as Prime Minister than most Prime Ministers have. I have no complaint.

I am profoundly concerned about the problem as a problem, as you would be and as my friends in the press and the media are.

... On civil servants

I'm in a pretty good position to analyze the strength and weaknesses of a strong bureaucracy. We hear a lot about that these days. As government gets more complicated, the experts and officials become more and more important and get more powerful. This is, in itself, almost inevitable.

It's extremely important how they use that power and how they use it in subordination to the greater power of Parliament and the elected representatives of the people and government in that sense.

Now I was a civil servant and I don't recall doing anything in my civil service days that I didn't do under the authority and the instruction of my minister.

I've heard a lot of talk in recent years that the civil service does dominate, that they lead the politicians by the nose. It wasn't so in my day in the civil service, believe me, and it wasn't so in my day as a Prime Minister.

I know they have great power and it's inevitable they should have great power but they have a very real sense of parliamentary responsibility in my experience.

The danger is that so much has to be done, so much preliminary work has to be done, so much has to be done in the way of report and analysis, and investigation that, in spite of themselves, they will usurp func-

tions which are parliamentary and governmental functions.

There is danger of this happening. More now than previously. It is not by design on the part of the civil service but almost by accident – by default. The politicians have to be very careful about that – the Cabinet ministers. Therefore it is very important to have the good kind of relationship between a minister and his deputy.

This is going to be an even greater danger if you build up in the East Block (the Prime Minister's office) a sort of great general staff of civil servants. Or not even civil servants, people brought in. Some of this is inevitable, but it has within it great dangers because a civil servant who has come through the ranks does learn something about responsible government in relationship to a minister.

A dollar a year man who may be brought in from outside hasn't got that same kind of feeling or background.

... On Parliament

It's a very slow, long, slow process to alter the structure of legislative processes, which, in our minds, seem to be almost eternal. After all they only go back about 200 years but we have been taught in our school systems and in our history that this is the finest flowering of human political genius, our existing parliamentary system based on the House of Commons in London and Westminster.

So it is in a sense; but it can disappear, not because of attacks directly made on it by subversives outside, but because of its inability to take care of the business of the country; and this means we have to speed up our processes and we have to broaden the responsibilities of committees and give them more important things to do and give the private members more to do. This means changing a lot of the regulations.

If you try to adapt your machinery of government in an organized way, as a sort of scientific technical process, to the problems today, I don't think you'll get very far, any further than you used to in the old method.

So what are we going to do? We have problems facing this country that are so far removed from anything we ever had in the past and so far beyond the ability of our ordinary parliamentary and executive process to deal with them quickly that I just don't know what we are going to do.

Somebody said the other day there are 53 items of legislation the government has that they'd like to get through Parliament. They can't do it. Now this is what makes me most depressed about the whole future nationally and internationally. Nationally that we are not going to be able to adapt our institutions and our parliamentary and democratic processes to the requirements of all these new problems.

Why even now in the House of Commons when we tried to streamline our rules and our regulations and to try and reconcile the requirements of parliamentary discussion

with the even greater requirement of facing up to the problems, there is a tendency to look at that in terms of a threat to Parliamentary democracy of the nineteenth century.

While nobody could believe more in discussions and the prelude to agreement or disagreement – that's been my whole life – that's diplomacy, I get very worried about the inability to relate this kind of thing to new conditions.

Internationally it's even worse but it's even simpler. Falling back as we seem to be now, even more than 10 years ago, falling back on national sovereignty, national pride, national interests and we have had examples of it in our own country – each nation for itself, God for us all – this kind of attitude, at a time when we have discovered ways of destroying the globe because of the play of international forces, national sovereignties competing against other national sovereignties.

To talk in terms of nineteenth century international power politics at this day and age makes, well it's just tragic nonsense; and yet, when I talk about this now – I get less of a response when I talk about it publicly than I would have 10 years ago.

We are not as frightened as we were 10 years ago or 20 years ago, and if I have learned one thing from my international experience, more than anything else, it is that the progress towards internationalism, toward international organization and international action in international life, is very often related to a crisis or a fear. If the crisis is resolved, or the fear becomes diminished by custom, then you fall back on the same old shopworn sort of national attitudes and institutions of 100 years ago.

This planet can't live with them. Not in the days of nuclear energy and everything else that is happening to the planet.

... On religion

My religion was never one of passionate intensity and so there hasn't really been any change in my fundamental beliefs. I would put at the front of my fundamental beliefs a belief in the inherent good of the individual person, my belief in the perfectability of human nature under the influence of what you might call a divine being; there is more of that in human beings than there is of the opposite: More God than anti-Christ.

When I get depressed as I have been, and I have been speaking as if I were depressed about the state of the world, I can take encouragement from that belief that there are more good people in the world than there are bad and that somehow the good will overcome the evil.

You must cling to that. If we hadn't had that in the world in the last 50,000 years, we wouldn't be around here at all. There must be over the long run a move upwards in humanity.

What worries me about this movement is that we are moving faster now in some directions and have moved faster in some

directions, in the technical matters and scientific matters, in material progress than we moved in 2,500 years before these 25 or 50 years.

How are we going to adapt ourselves to this kind of change? I wonder anybody can view their future with equanimity in the face of the rapidity and the nature of change. All you have to do is look at the population problem. So this is the thing that worries me but the thing that en-

courages me is, as I say, the essential decency of the individual human being.

That's why, I suppose my feeling in that regard is why I have always gotten on better with persons than with people. I seldom met anybody that I wasn't able to get on human and usually friendly terms with. I may have found out later that you couldn't maintain that because he wasn't that kind of person but I've always been much easier in trying to get on to good

terms with the individual than to get on good terms with an audience.

Because I have more faith in the individual than I have in the collectivity makes me, I suppose, a good democrat.

I think maybe we can stop there. ♦

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New loans for new farmers

Young men dreaming of owning a farm are finding the outlook a little brighter thanks to Canadian government efforts to make attractive loans available to new farmers.

Mr. George Owen, chairman of the Farm Credit Corporation, says the young Canadian farmers' basic problem is that with limited resources he must compete for land with established farmers more able to take risks.

"In spite of this, more than 41% of the Corporation's loans in 1972 were to farmers under 35 years of age. This age group makes up 15.3% of all Census farmers and the trend towards young borrowers continued in 1973," says Mr. Owen.

"In fact in Saskatchewan over 21% of the borrowers are now under 25 years of age and about 52% under 35."

A farmer under 45 can borrow up to 75% of the value of his land, buildings, livestock and equipment while older farmers can get maximum loans of 75% of the value of their farm land and buildings.

"This means we can make a very significant loan to the young farmer. In some cases these loans add up to 125% of the value of land and buildings. About four years ago an amendment was introduced to the Farm Credit Act enabling us to loan up to 90% of the value of the land, building, livestock and equipment of a farmer under 35 years of age if we feel the potential of the expanded farm merits such a large loan."

Loans are based on the productive value of the land, not market value. Mr. Owen explains the reason for this: "The price of farm land is often influenced by city dwellers who wish to purchase land for non-farming purposes. However, our loans are based on the productive value of the land."

In the past few years other amendments have been added to the Farm Credit Act making it easier for young farmers to borrow money from the Corporation. "The

minimum age for a corporation loan now depends on provincial legislation governing legal majority and the borrower need not be 21 years of age."

The Act was also amended to provide for a maximum loan of \$100,000 to any single farmer or any group running a single farming operation.

Another boon for the young farmer has the special credit available under the Small Farms Development Program. While these loans are not especially designed for young farmers, it is the young farmer who has most often borrowed through the program. Under this plan, farmers with assets of less than \$60,000 can buy farms from other low-income farmers selling under the program. The buyer must only supply a down payment of \$200. "If the farm fails, the agreement can be cancelled. The young farmer does not need to mortgage the rest of his farm. In other words, he can try expansion with very little risk."

Farm Improvement Loans are another way the young farmer may better his position. These loans, for intermediate credit only, are arranged by the federal Department of Finance through the charter (private) banks and can be used to buy machinery, livestock and make farm improvements. The current ceiling for these loans is \$15,000, but they may be increased by up to \$15,000 if the farmer wishes to purchase more land. However, the combined farm improvement and land purchases loans cannot exceed \$25,000.

It is a challenging task for a young man to make an adequate living as a farmer.

The mortgage rate for a regular FCC loan is 7% and Mr. Owen says that rate will probably rise along with other general interest rates. "You must remember there are few businesses where a young man can be an owner-operator without a large initial outlay of cash. It's never easy to get started." ♦

Unemployment frauds prevented

Elaborate new procedures have been introduced to prevent a form of fraud with which until recently Canadians have been able to cheat over unemployment benefit.

Known as a "sweetheart deal," this is a malpractice by which employers who wanted to get rid of their workers would occasionally persuade them to "go quietly" by offering to inflate the record of their earnings on the form that was sent to the Unemployment Insurance Commission. The result of this misinformation, if it went undetected, was that the worker received more unemployment money than he was entitled to.

The new procedures are also designed to overcome delays in obtaining information about unemployed people, due to the difficulty of extracting such information in a hurry out of computerized pay systems.

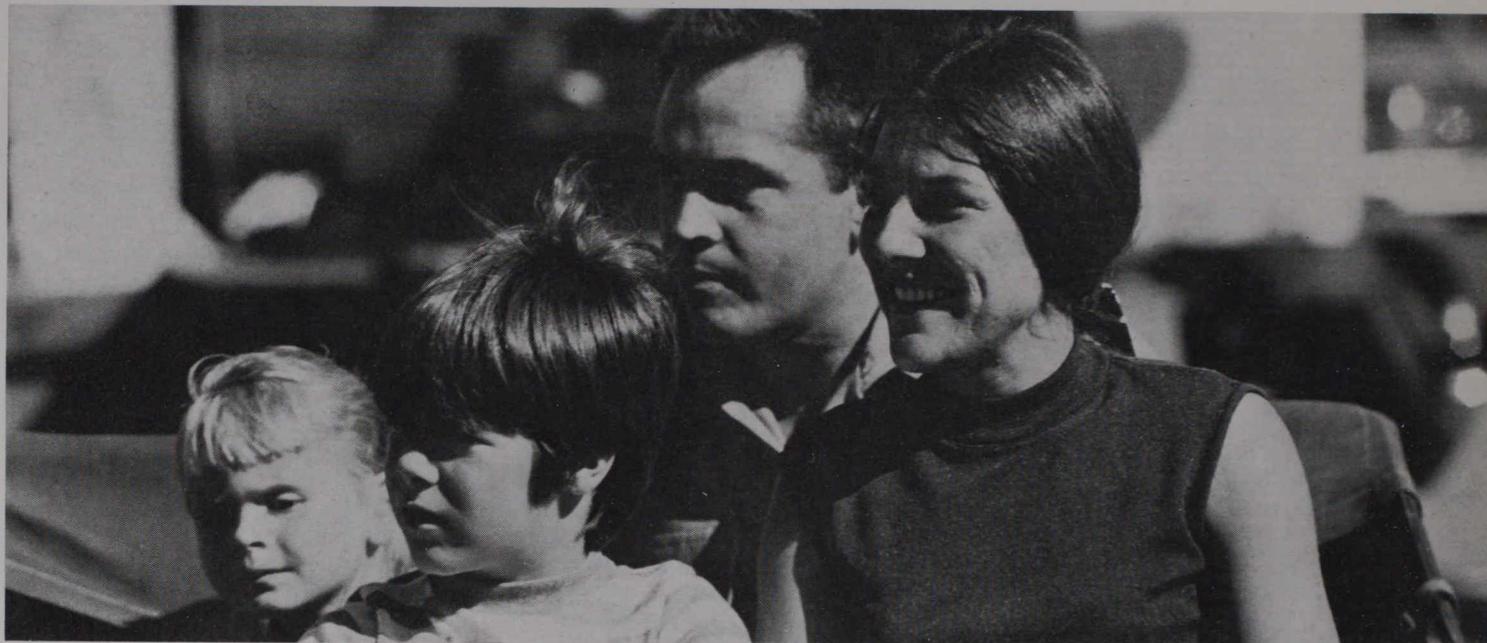
Last year a dozen companies were prosecuted for false information and for delays in providing the form needed to claim unemployment benefit. One case resulted in a \$100 fine to an employer for giving false data as part of a "sweetheart deal."

Now the UIC is building up a complete collection of data on all 500,000 employers in Canada, which will not only supply the relevant information on workers who make unemployment claims: it will also supply, for the first time, a full picture of the movement of the labour force. ♦

Social Welfare

Family allowance is also an economic instrument

by Jenny Pearson



Family allowances, when they arrive in the home, have something of the aspect of Christmas presents from a super-reliable godparent, an extra which you are very soon counting on to fill an established gap in the household economy. You don't often pause to consider what would happen if the gift ceased to arrive: nor, on the other hand, do you spend a lot of time wondering about the motives of the giver.

Yet these motives are more complex and oblique than at first they may seem. What looks like a simple giveaway to help out with the expenses of the family is, in the wider context, also a tool for manipulating the social and economic development of a country. This has been true of family allowances in Canada since they were first introduced in 1945 and it is true of a dramatically different programme which came into effect on January 1 of this year.

Under the new programme, government expenditure on family allowances is three times what it was this time last year, providing for an average of \$20 a month to be paid out on each child under the age of 18, regardless of parental income. In British terms, this amounts to roughly £2.30p a week as compared with our scale of no allowance for a first child, 90p for the second and £1 for each child after that.

The increased cost of this is to some extent counteracted by the fact that Canada's family allowances are for the first time being made taxable (as they have always been in Britain) so that better-off families may receive the full statutory allowance

with one hand, but they are then required to hand back some or all of it with the other.

Thus the Canadian government have cast themselves in the role of a rather benevolent Robin Hood – not exactly robbing the rich, but in the final analysis giving them rather less in order to give rather more to the poor. Observers in Canada have commented that the new measures are the beginning of a 'guaranteed family income'.

The thinking behind Canada's family allowances legislation has always extended beyond a simple desire to raise living standards, though that is of course its most important single effect. When they were first introduced in 1945 there was a strong economic motive behind them.

Politicians were anxious at that time about the possibility of an economic depression following the war. It was argued that family allowances would help to ward off a depression because money put into the pockets of the poor and needy is bound to be spent. How this can help to stabilize the economy was explained in a recent review of Canada's family allowances programmes by Joseph W. Willard, the deputy Minister of National Welfare.

He wrote: 'Payments under the family allowances programme involve a transfer of income from those with higher incomes who have lower marginal propensities to consume to families with a relatively high propensity to consume. Thus the net effect is to increase the propensity to consume. . . .

Family allowances, which have recently been increased in Canada, serve not only to support the economies of families like the one shown here. They also serve as an instrument of stabilization for purchasing power in the Canadian economy, so experience indicates.

'The allowances not only increase the purchasing power of those who need the money but put this additional buying power in the hands of those who are most certain to use it immediately. Those in the lower income groups who are not orientated to saving or have a high marginal propensity to consume will tend to spend the allowances promptly and wholly.

'It should be noted, too, that in contrast with public works, these transfer payments tend to increase aggregate demand without intruding on the province of private enterprise. Moreover, they provide a large sector of private enterprise with a greater measure of stability in the market for their products. The fact that the payments are continuous and nonseasonal also provides some stability in the flow of this type of purchasing power. Further, the allowances are channeled to recipients over the full range of occupations from one end of the country to the other.

'All these factors argued strongly for the introduction of family allowances on economic grounds.'

Another useful economic side-effect of the family allowances programme, according to Mr. Willard, has been a redistribution of income – not only in favour of families with children, but in favour of certain regions in the country. Statistics

show that the poorer regions, where incomes are lowest, tend also to be those where the proportion of children is highest. Thus, in effect, money is gathered in the form of tax from the richer regions and redistributed in the poorer regions in the form of family allowances – an effect which will surely be intensified under the new system which makes the allowances taxable.

Alongside the economic considerations there were, of course, strong social motives for introducing family allowances in 1945.

Burden sharing

First, the government of the day wanted to give recognition to the fact that families with children had problems that families without children did not have. During the debate in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister quoted statistics to show that 84 per cent of Canadian children under the age of 16 were dependent on only 19 per cent of the gainfully employed. In other words, the major burden of raising the next generation of Canadians was falling on less than one-fifth of the working population. The Prime Minister argued that it was only fair that at least a portion of the burden should be shared by all. In this connection, reference was made to the Beveridge Report in Britain which had shown a major cause of poverty to be that workers had families which were too large to support on their wages.

The second social objective was equality of opportunity for children. There had already been efforts in this direction in the form of public education and income tax exemption (which of course did nothing for the poorest families whose incomes were too low to be taxable). Family allowances helped all parents, regardless of income.

Thirdly, the programme was designed to insure an adequate income for families on social insurance and social assistance while avoiding the dangers of encouraging workers to mangle and weakening work incentives – something which might happen when payments on behalf of dependants are paid through unemployment and assistance programmes.

When family allowances started in Canada, the amount of the allowance varied according to the age of the child, from \$5 a month for children under six going up in stages to \$8 for children aged 13–15. At first the rates were subject to reduction for the fifth child and others thereafter, but this discrimination against large families was removed in 1949. Youth allowances were added to the programme in 1964, for those in the 15–17 age group still attending school. Now the condition of school attendance has been dropped and allowances are paid on behalf of all young people under 18.

The basic \$20 allowed for every child and young person by the federal government is still subject to a degree of variation by provincial governments when they come

to distribute the allowances. They can vary the amount according to the age of children or size of family or both, but not in relation to family income. Thus some children may get more than \$20 and some may get less, but the law insists that all get a minimum of \$12 a month and that payments within each province must average out at \$20 a month for each child.

Even with taxation to recover a proportion of it, the cost to the government is going to be considerable: it is reckoned at about \$1,365m. as compared with \$640m. a year ago. The decision to tax them means that the greater part of the allowances will remain in the hands of those who need them most – the families with low incomes. It has been worked out that, assuming the national norm of \$20 is paid, a non-taxpayer would keep it all; the average Canadian taxpayer would get \$15 net for each child; and the taxpayer in the highest bracket would get \$8. Even after taxes, most Canadian families are better off.

Children of immigrants become eligible for these allowances as soon as they are legally landed. They are also paid to Canadian families temporarily living abroad, so long as they are still paying Canadian income tax.

There was some energetic criticism of the new legislation when it was on its way through Parliament last year. Inevitably there were those who saw in it a threat to their own standard of living, believing it would bring increased taxation: the government have, however, given assurances that the new allowances will be paid for out of existing revenue.

Others attacked the programme on the grounds that higher family allowances would encourage people to have more children and thus aggravate the 'population problem'.

Fertility unaffected

Marc Lalonde, the Minister of National Health and Welfare, gave a detailed reply to this criticism in the House of Commons last autumn, stating categorically that 'All available evidence suggests that this claim is unfounded.'

He explained: 'There are a number of factors which can affect fertility. These include, for example, the level of family income, the economic outlook, trends towards urbanization, higher living standards, increased employment of women outside the home, spread of knowledge of family planning and development of effective contraception devices as well as changing social and cultural attitudes towards family size.'

'There appears also to be a high correlation between higher incomes and lower fertility. Taking account of long-term trends, young married couples today are relatively better off than their counterparts a generation ago and are limiting the number of children they have to maintain the

standard of living they have achieved. Moreover, it is estimated that it costs between \$500 and \$700 annually to maintain a child. Consequently, a family allowance of \$240 can hardly be said to provide an incentive to procreate.'

'If one examines the statistics of population trends both in Canada and in other countries, there appears to be no evidence that family allowance programmes have stimulated the birth rate. This holds true even for those countries that have deliberately set about to use family allowances or other forms of income support to stimulate the birth rate.'

France and Czechoslovakia had both tried to stimulate population growth by means of family allowances, yet in both countries the fertility rate had gone down.

Fertility levels in Canada and the United States had fallen at about the same rate between 1960 and 1971, in spite of the fact that Canada had family allowances and the United States did not.

A United Nations study had shown, in a report published in 1965, that there was a high correlation between high levels of economic growth and economic development and low birth rates, while high birth rates predominated in less developed countries: indeed, the level of fertility divided the less developed countries from the more developed countries more consistently than any other factor.

The same year, the World Population Conference had reported that an advanced economy with a high per capita product imposed a demographic pattern on the country under which the birth rates could not be as high as those found in less developed countries.

Mr. Lalonde concluded: 'On the evidence I have seen, I am convinced that in an economically advanced country such as Canada, family allowances at the levels proposed would not affect the underlying factors that are encouraging and stimulating the trend toward still lower birth rates.'

Finally, he spoke up strongly for the children who need extra support and deserve to have it regardless of other considerations. 'Some critics have suggested that we should eliminate family allowances completely or, alternatively, limit allowances to one or two children per family. . . . I reject this proposition out of hand. In all humanity, one cannot argue that because parents ought, perhaps, not to have had children, we should allow those children to suffer from poverty and malnutrition.'

'Other measures should be and are being adopted to encourage family planning. . . . It is through improved programmes of public information and education that we are trying to come to grips with the issue of family planning. It is through family allowances programmes that we are hoping to improve the living standards of the present generation of Canadian children who, through no fault of their own, find themselves living in conditions of poverty.'

Canada on Wheels

Once upon a time, Canada had wheels of its own

by Jenny Pearson

For enthusiasts of early motoring history, Canada has its own special chapter.

Pioneers of internal combustion were at work in Canada way back in the middle of the last century. Beginning in 1851 with a three-wheeled wagon built by a New Brunswick carpenter, Thomas Turnbull, Canadians were inventing and in due course marketing their own cars up to the early thirties, when the giant American corporations completed their takeover of the market.

Canadians were, however, extraordinarily slow to realize the value of their early motoring inventions. In 1867, the year of independence, Henry Seth Taylor, a watchmaker in Stanstead plain, Quebec, built a "steam pleasure carriage" and told the local paper it would run against any trotting horse that could be produced at the local fair. Afterwards the paper commented: "This mechanical curiosity is the neatest thing of the kind yet invented". But nobody took much notice and the machine was forgotten. It was rediscovered in 1960 and has since been on display at the Ontario Science Centre as one of the oldest self-propelled vehicles in the world.

When they took to the roads at the turn of the century, the early Canadian cars had a rough ride in competition with horses and fierce conservative prejudice. Horses became very frightened at the shuddering and banging noises they made. Lawmakers, newspaper editors and farmers piled into the attack. In 1910, a Mr. Carleton, on the Ontario Legislature's municipal committee, described motorists as "scoundrels" who "should be shot."

In Newcastle, Ontario, the *Independent* newspaper said: "We can compare (motorists) to nothing but a lawless gang of hoodlums and stop they must." Restrictive speed limits were imposed: Prince Edward Island banned motor cars altogether for four years, then relented in 1913 to allow them on the roads for three days out of seven. A few of the diehards went physically to war, spreading tacks and glass on the roads and stringing wires across them at neck level. But progress and the car sailed on more or less oblivious.

This progress is beautifully illustrated in two calendars put out by the McLaughlin Carriage Company of Oshawa in 1906 and 1908 respectively. The first shows a handsome couple spinning along a country road in a horse-drawn carriage and looking down in haughty astonishment as a doctor feels the pulse of a stricken motorist at the roadside, while his car lies abandoned in a

nearby stream and his passengers struggle to safety. The second shows the *belle monde* on the road, with horse-drawn carriages and automobiles side by side on a Saturday afternoon. The explanation is too easy: the McLaughlin Company had realized the error of their ways in the intervening years and decided to jump on the horseless wagon, producing their first automobile in 1908.

These and many other old advertisements are gathered together by John de Bondt in an evocative study of early motoring in Canada, published under the title *Canada on Wheels*.* It is a fascinating study, not only for the car historian but for any student of the manners, attitudes and dreams of past decades. For the car has always been seen as something far more than a useful machine to get you there. It is the gateway to your dreams, the key to the life you want, the extension of the personality you want people to recognise as you.

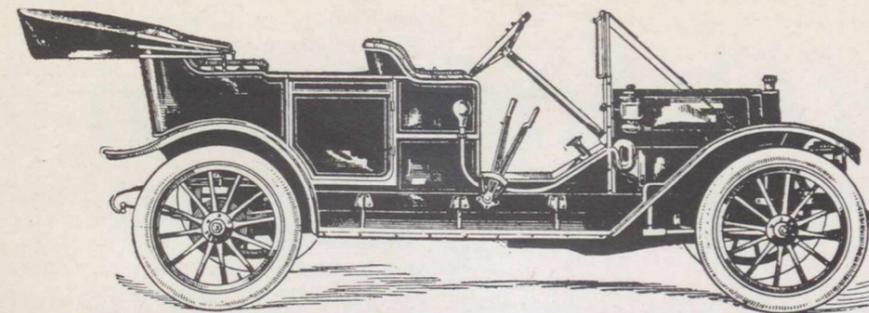
Cars have been advertised in Canada since the first decade of this century. The Canadian Cycle and Motor Company urged people to "get a Russell and enjoy our glorious open air and sunshine," Willys-Overland enticed buyers with a vision of green meadows glinting with mottled gold: "Summer air stirs the fields of growing grain. All nature sets you yearning to drive this perfect summer car."

That the early advertisements harped on the joys of fresh air is hardly surprising, since many of the cars were without wind-screens or doors. The "Every Day" car of the Woodstock Automobile Manufacturing company was advertised in 1911 as "fully equipped" with neither windscreen nor doors, but merely a hood.

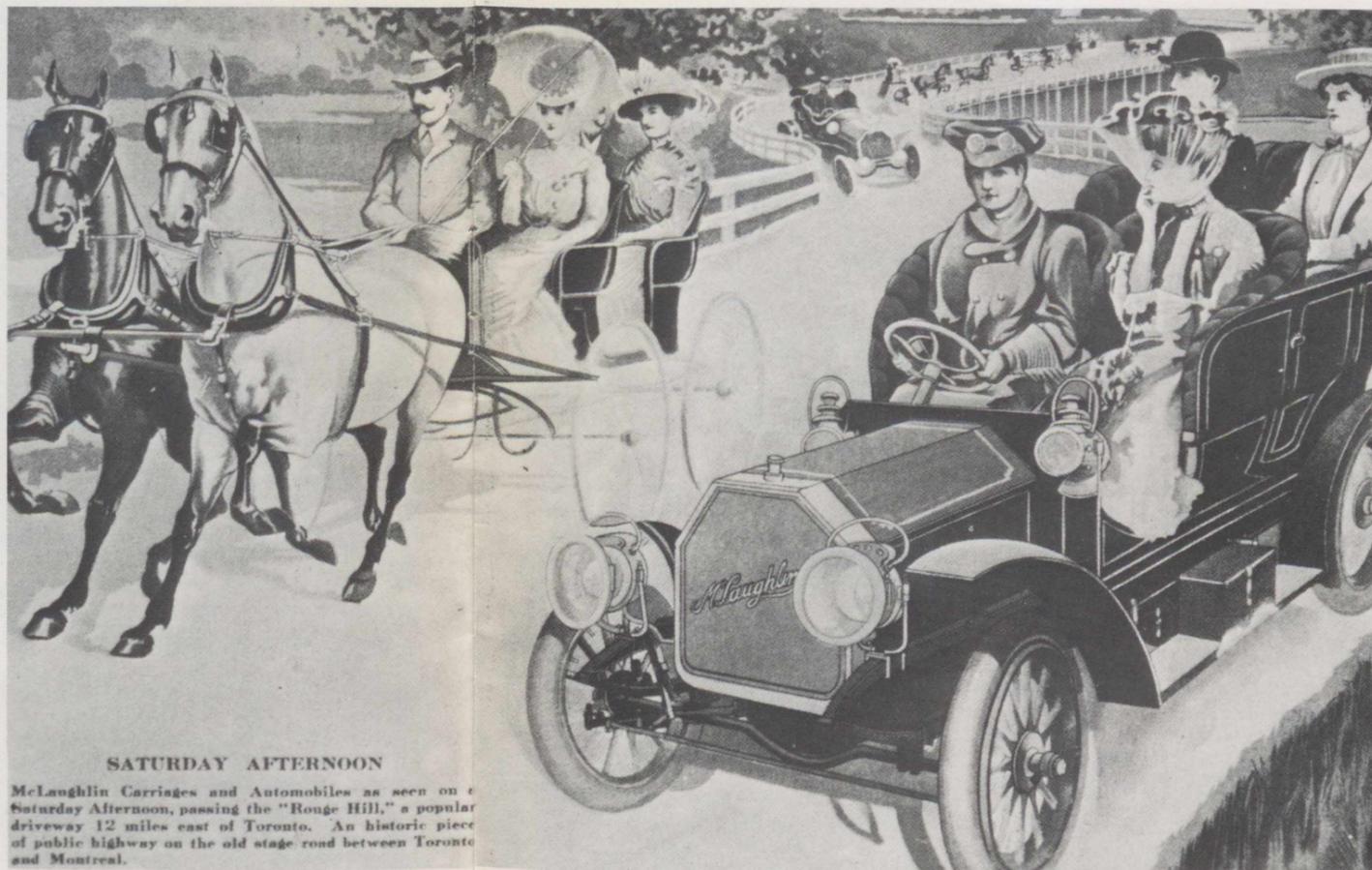
However, the manufacturers did recognize a special appeal that motoring could have to women: not outdoor appeal in this instance, but the more sheltered, cosy convenience of little glass-framed boxes on wheels to convey them easily from place to place, rather in the style of a sedan chair. Small electric cars were popular in this context, relatively slow and simple to operate, and in some models the driver sat on the back seat - "with instead of in front of her friends."

A stylized advertisement of 1914 in the *art nouveau* manner illustrates the appeal of the Tate Electric, a car designed specially to attract women and produced in Walker-

* Published by Oberon Press, available at Books Canada, Cockspur Street, London SW1



Left
The Dominion delivered a road speed of more than 50 miles per hour with a full load of passengers. It was introduced in 1910, first as the Dominion Thirty, and later as the Dominion Limited.



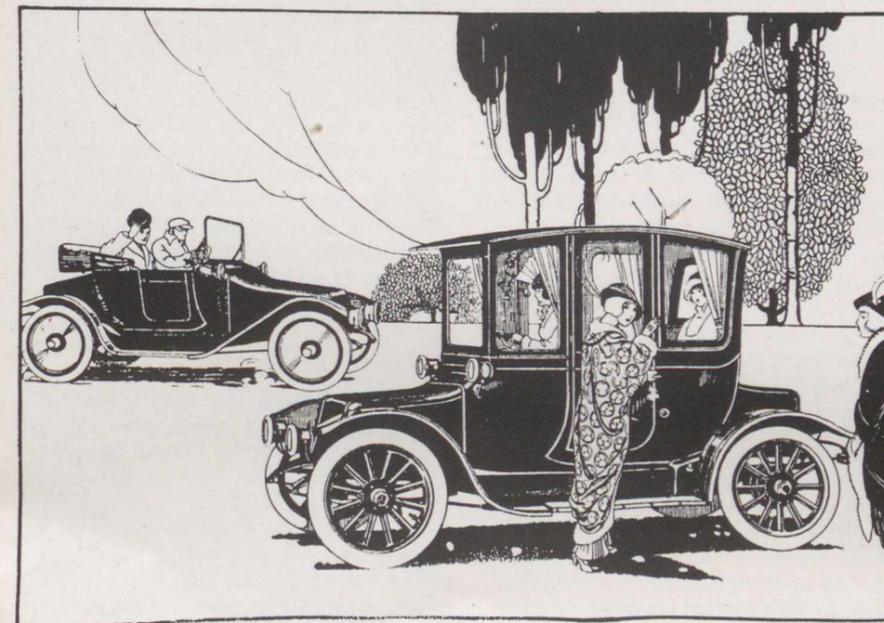
SATURDAY AFTERNOON
McLaughlin Carriages and Automobiles as seen on a Saturday Afternoon, passing the "Rouge Hill," a popular driveway 12 miles east of Toronto. An historic piece of public highway on the old stage road between Toronto and Montreal.

Above
The McLaughlin Carriage Company of Oshawa presents its products in 1908 in a calendar, showing a procession of McLaughlin carriages and automobiles out for a drive near Range Hill, east of Toronto.

Right
The 1914 Tate Electric came as a roadster, and as a coupé, ideal for women 'after five minutes' instruction.

ville, Ontario, between 1913 and 1915. Three ladies attired in long patterned dresses and feathered hats are taking their places in an elegant little car with curtains at the windows, the inevitable poplars beetling over the road, and two gentlemen are spinning past in the opposite direction, enthroned in a large open tourer, the one bent over the wheel in cap and goggles while his passenger raises a windblown bowler to the ladies.

Here the appeal to the reader's self-image is subtly and charmingly suggested. By 1921 it is more blatant: a McLaughlin Master Six Roadster is pictured before the towers of Toronto University, with textual



reference to its "racy appearance that is extremely pleasing."

In 1924 the Model T Ford was advertised in Canada with a touch designed to make every woman picture herself as the competent and charming wife to whom that particular car was an indispensable tool. The driver is stopping to give her friend a lift in the rain:

"Not even a chilly all-day rain need upset the plans of the woman who has a Ford closed car at her disposal. Knowing it to be reliable and comfortable in all weathers, she goes out whenever inclination suggests or duty dictates. The car is so easy to drive that it constantly suggests thoughtful services to her friends. She can call for them without effort and share pleasantly their companionship. All remark upon the graceful outward appearance of her car, its convenient and attractive interior, and its cosy comfort. And she prides herself upon having obtained so desirable a car for so low a price."

In the same way, the 1924 Ford Sedan was advertised to appeal to any woman who wanted to see herself (and be seen) as an efficient and companionable mother.

By contrast, there was a splendid 1927 colour advertisement for the luxurious and stylish Canadian Hupmobile, its beautifully proportioned lines and curves downstaging two fashionably bobbed and short-skirted ladies who gaze at it in silent awe from the foreground of the picture. There was something solid to a car then, something which commanded respect, something akin to architecture: a quality that in these days of speed imagery is quite, quite gone.

The Hupmobile - a Canadian car with a style and class all its own - was one of the last truly Canadian automobiles. The very last car of Canadian design was the Frontenac Six, introduced in 1931, which lasted just two years. Competition from America proved too strong and since 1933 branch plants of the big American corporations have been responsible for all cars produced in Canada. As John de Bondt sadly remarks: "Canadian cars no longer have a distinctive identity."

But his book is ample evidence that once upon a time they had: the lines and details of the old cars, the drum headlights, overhanging hoods and gently curving windows, together with the old lamps and flower vases and the upright dignity of the older models, serve even more powerfully than the more obvious fashion details of the advertisements to conjure up the perfume of time past.

Politics:

A couple of Oxbridge men face each other in Quebec

by Joseph MacSween

In 1974 in French Canada, home of the unexpected, you find Premier Robert Bourassa, an Oxford man, facing Opposition leader Jacques-Yvan Morin, Cambridge, across the floor of the Quebec national assembly.

"The test of a free country is to examine the status of the body that corresponds to Her Majesty's Opposition," Mr. Morin told the assembly one day, with an accusing glance at the premier.

At first those words might seem strange coming from a man dedicated to taking Quebec out of the Canadian Confederation of which Her Majesty is Queen. But Professor Morin is a frank admirer of the British parliamentary system, though he and his Parti Quebecois feel Confederation has been bad for Quebec. He is parliamentary chief of the separatist party of which Rene Levesque, who suffered personal defeat in the Quebec general election last Oct. 29, is founder and leader. Mr. Morin and Mr. Levesque contend that the stunning victory achieved by the Bourassa Liberals — they won all but eight seats in the 110-member assembly — causes them to dismiss the tiny Opposition in a haughty and amused manner.

Why did the election turn out the way it did?

With the economy on an upswing, most observers saw federalism versus Quebec independence as the sole clearcut issue in the 33-day campaign, which was conducted under a new electoral law with a new electoral map. While Quebec's role as the only majority French-language territory in North America was reflected in the policies of all four parties in the campaign support polarized largely toward the Liberals and the Parti Quebecois.

"Bourassa the Builder" won a greater victory than even he expected on the theme of economic federalism and cultural sovereignty, while two other non-separatist parties skidded badly. The 40-year-old premier, lawyer-economist from Harvard and Oxford, went to the polls in a year that has since been described by Guy Saint-Pierre, minister of industry and commerce, as the most prosperous Quebec has known in a quarter-century. A record 130,000 jobs were created. Unemployment dropped for the first time in seven years. Weekly wages rose at a rate of 7.1 per cent, matching Ontario though slightly below the Canadian average.

European and other investors, surveying a troubled world, are courting Quebec in a

way that could hardly have been imagined only a few winters ago. Montreal is undergoing the biggest building boom since Expo '67 as it prepares to stage the 1976 Olympic Games. Building cranes are busy as well amid the turrets of old-worldish Quebec City. So robust is the construction surge that citizens worry whether demolition hammers will destroy the character of their cities.

The Quebec election was picked by editors in a coast-to-coast poll by The Canadian Press as one of the biggest domestic news stories of the year, topped in impact only by the energy crisis. Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau commented that the provincial election transformed itself into a referendum in which "people voted for or against federalism instead of basing their choice on social or economic policies." He regretted such polarization: "You polarize the people for or against independence, but meanwhile the machinery of social and economic progress is not utilized. I prefer elections based on issues other than this sort of subject."

Support federalism

The Bourassa Liberals, espousing federalism without any ifs or buts, captured 102 seats though their own chief organizer later reported he had expected a maximum of 85. The Liberals won 55 per cent of the popular vote compared with 45 per cent in the 1970 election, when they came to power with 72 seats in a 108-member house. Redistribution changed the boundaries of virtually all constituencies and increased the total to 110 while reducing the weight of the vote in rural areas, where the conservative Union Nationale, the former official Opposition, and the populist Parti Creditiste, had found their greatest support in 1970.

Mr. Bourassa found proof in the election that the great majority of Quebecers, whether of French or other ethnic origin, see the future of their province within Confederation. But Rene Levesque countered that the Parti Quebecois attained, in fact, its "minimum" objective of official Opposition on 30 per cent of the popular vote, though winning only six seats, down one from 1970 when the PQ popular vote was 23 per cent. He renewed his demand for proportional representation — the German model is frequently mentioned — that would assure each party representation in the assembly at least roughly equivalent to its popular support.

A "caricature" — that was Mr. Levesque's word for the election outcome. And the Montreal *Gazette* commented editorially that redistribution had managed only to achieve fairer representation as between rural areas and rapidly growing districts. "But the political inequity has been augmented," the *Gazette* observed.

The Parti Quebecois won only about five per cent of the seats on 30 per cent of the popular vote. The Parti Creditiste, going into the election under a new leader, Yvon Dupuis, collected only two seats, though its 10 per cent of the vote was only slightly below 1970 when it came up with 12 seats. The Union Nationale, also under a new leader, Gabriel Loubier, went seat-less with five per cent of the vote.

"It has been shown over and over again at both the federal and provincial levels in Canada that the un-modified single-member constituency system can give extremely unfair results," said the *Gazette*.

Where does the election leave the separatist movement?

"Separatism in the strict sense of the word is a dead issue," says Premier Bourassa, whose analysis is that the increase in Parti Quebecois support represents protest — not separatist sentiment. He maintains some PQ supporters are simply not satisfied with his government while others do not consider the PQ a truly separatist party. But he has not estimated publicly what proportions of PQ votes were cast by such voters.

The second consecutive defeat for Mr. Levesque, who at age 51 was the oldest party leader in the campaign, raises obvious questions for the former Liberal minister, a leader in Quebec's Quiet Revolution of the early 1960s. He reported he will remain as leader at least until the next party convention in October and there is nothing remotely like a rebellion in the party against his leadership.

Levesque regrets

Professor Morin, a 42-year-old constitutional expert who is a graduate of McGill and Harvard as well as Cambridge, is on record as offering his seat in the legislature to Mr. Levesque and at least one other PQ member has done likewise. Mr. Morin, defeated in 1970, was elected in October and succeeded Camille Laurin, the former parliamentary leader, victim of the Liberal landslide.

A French-language newspaper headlined the "decapitation" of the separatist movement in the election, but only one major figure departed the upper echelon of the Parti Québécois, though several suffered defeat. Mr. Levesque expressed his personal regret at the resignation of Jacques Parizeau, PQ council vice-president and chief economic adviser who, however, remains as a party member. The resignation followed an election post-mortem at which, informants said, the council was criticized for making the economic aspects of Quebec independence a main theme of the campaign. Critics felt voters had been inundated by statistics beyond their comprehension.

Even while the campaign was in progress, the Parti Québécois "image" of independence softened somewhat and the concept has come under further public debate in party ranks in the post-election period. Mr. Levesque told campaign meetings it would take at least 18 months to two years of negotiations before Quebec independence could be declared after a Parti Québécois win. He pledged a referendum in the form of a vote on the constitution of a sovereign Quebec. He even conceded more than one referendum might be required — Newfoundland, after all, had required two on the way into Confederation in 1949.

Shortly after the election, Andre Normandeau, a university dean and defeated Parti Québécois candidate, caused a stir by proposing a re-examination of goals with the idea of presenting independence in a different manner. The ideas of Claude Morin, another professor who had been a close adviser to four Liberal and Union Nationale premiers before going over to the independence cause, created a greater stir. Defeated in a close race in a Quebec City riding, this formidable former civil servant proposed that the PQ program should envisage independence by stages. The gradual approach would reassure those voters fearing the economic consequences of an abrupt break. Still another professor, and Party official attacked not so much ideas as attitudes and illusions. He criticized cocksure confidence and tendencies to despise political opponents.

Some observers feel the post-election picture makes it difficult for Mr. Levesque to shed his mantle, even though he has commented on the physical and intellectual drain imposed by 13 hard years in politics. He also continues to earn his bread as a newspaper columnist, journalism being his first calling. Mr. Levesque came close to resigning after the 1970 election. He was deterred only by the kidnap-murder crisis of October of that year. He saw a risk that the Parti Québécois would be discredited by identification in the popular mind with the activities of the Front de Liberation du Quebec, the terrorist organization that kidnapped British trade diplomat James Cross and assassinated Pierre Laporte, Quebec labor minister.

Reviewing the scene, Dominique Clift, Quebec editor of the Montreal *Star* said

of Mr. Levesque and his party: "He is under considerable pressure to remain at the head of a party which has a hard time imagining what its prospects would be without him. It is a party which the process of ageing makes extremely uncomfortable."

In one interview, Premier Bourassa said it appears the Parti Québécois is, in effect, trying to find "a position in which they can accept a federal tie." The party has always espoused economic association with the rest of Canada and Mr. Levesque personally rejects the word "separatism" in favour of independence and sovereignty.

Nothing is simple

An oddity is how both federalists and "independantistes" point to the European common market to bolster their opposing views on constitutional evolution. Nothing is simple in Quebec. Political scientists who conducted public opinion polls for Montreal *La Presse* disagreed with those who saw the election as a straight federalist-separatist fight. The results of three polls conducted among 1,300 citizens indicated only 12 per cent "very favorable" to federalism and opposed to independence. About 40 per cent fell in the undecided list and 30 per cent had not made a definite choice, eight per cent did not consider the options irreconcilable.

An earlier analysis of 10 opinion polls conducted over a 10-year period up to 1973 indicated separatist sentiment as such never exceeded 15 per cent in the whole electorate or 17 per cent in the French-language sector. Quebec's population of six million is 80 per cent French. The polls found that factors in Parti Québécois support distinct from separatist sentiment — included the personal appeal of Mr. Levesque, the desire to support a left-of-centre party and discontent resulting from unemployment and social injustice.

At any rate, many citizens find an endlessly fascinating study in the aims of French Canadian nationalism, which assumed new and more aggressive forms in the Quiet Revolution.

The opinions of Claude Castonguay, Liberal social affairs minister who resigned from politics before the election, though he has continued to serve as consultant to both federal and provincial governments, carry considerable weight on this question. Architect of Quebec's social security system, he was regarded as one of the ablest ministers in the first Bourassa cabinet and a tough bargainer in federal provincial matters. In a major interview with Montreal *Le Devoir*, which has a special place in the intellectual life of French Canada, Mr. Castonguay makes it clear that he regards nationalism as a positive force. But he fears it has taken on a character than does not always serve the true interests of the province. It breeds intolerance amid proponents and opponents alike.

"The debate on independence which we have had in 1970, again in 1973, and which

will have to be carried out all over again in 1977, is too broad and comprehensive," said Mr. Castonguay. It distracted attention from such issues as education, justice, social affairs, foreign investment and natural resources development.

"How many other problems have been ignored? And in the periods between elections how many issues are discussed solely from the angle of federal-provincial relations, in an atmosphere of conflict between Ottawa and Quebec? Instead of looking at them on their own merits, such issues are distorted in the end.

"All this is very sterile, in my view. Before going off on this road for the next four years, we should think about it."

Voters had shown something less than "profound enthusiasm" for the Parti Québécois in two trips to the polls while at the same time a "definite malaise" is apparent in attitudes to Canada. "It shows up in the votes given to the Parti Québécois and by the vote given to other parties in the past. Even the vote given to the Liberals comes from people who are not blindly enthusiastic about Canada. But to say that they want to break everything up, that is a different proposition altogether."

Cultural status

The former minister maintains Quebec's constitutional claims should be specific, not broad and general lest other provinces think they are forever asked to do favors for Quebec. "It is in the things that concern our culture that we should have asked for special status, on things which concern the organization of our society, such as education. As for other matters, such as fiscal relations, we should have been ready to play the game according to the same rules as the others..."

Some observers see Mr. Castonguay's words as an outline of future Liberal policy. Others feel the opposition parties could profit from his ideas in trying for a comeback. The Union Nationale went into the election campaign with more nationalistic fervor in some respects than the Parti Québécois. Though sadly humiliated, the party still has a big war chest and its leader, Gabriel Loubier, has indicated the party will fight another day, but he is resigning.

Even Premier Bourassa concedes the Credistes have a future in Quebec politics, though they fell into rival factions after the election. The two sitting Creditiste members have rejected the leadership of Yvon Dupuis, a city boy who failed to establish a city bridgehead for the rural party and instead went down to personal defeat.

What are the main challenges now facing the Bourassa Liberals?

In an era leery of big government, the very size of the Bourassa majority perhaps requires skills differing from the kind of expertise shown by the premier in holding the tax line and creating industrial development in earlier years. Mr. Bourassa has already expressed willingness to negotiate

a settlement with Indians and Eskimos trying through the courts to halt temporarily the \$5.8 billion James Bay hydro-electric project, heralded by the government as the glittering jewel in its development diadem.

"Economic progress is the basis of social justice," in the philosophy of Mr. Bourassa, who pledged improvement in the quality of life as his first priority in the coming years.

The oil squeeze will likely require fast and flexible action by the government, though the Quebec situation is eased by vast resources of electric power. Mr. Saint-Pierre, the Industry Minister, reported Quebec's 1973 gross national product increase rate at 7.5 per cent compared with the all-Canada figure of 7 per cent. But both the minister and the premier spoke of the coming year with some caution.

Encouraging assets

While the international situation causes concern about exports, Mr. Bourassa lists such encouraging domestic assets as the forthcoming Olympics, numerous investment projects and political and social stability. The province has indicated it still plans to go ahead with a state-owned oil refining and distribution company despite the federal intention to set up its own operation on a national scale. The province also is active in joint state-industry enterprises.

In pursuit of cultural sovereignty, Mr. Bourassa wants constitutional transfer to the province of jurisdiction over communications – radio and television – now exercised by the federal government.

"It is easy to understand that a French minority in Canada cannot leave its cultural future to an English majority," says Mr. Bourassa.

The emotion-charged question of language faces the Bourassa government with one of its greatest challenges. The problem is to give greater status to the French language without damaging the economy or discouraging investment. The government now sees language of work as the key approach, rather than language of school instruction, though that is important too. Apparently the government feels the work aspect can be achieved without coercive legislation.

But legislation has been variously described as "possible" and "probable" to place immigrant children in French rather than English schools. The picture is full of anomalies. Some French-Canadian parents, not only immigrants, want to place their children in English schools. Others show a strange lack of interest in the dominant language of North America. The government is striving to improve second-language schools in the dual system.

Factory Theatre

(continued from back page)

unique about themselves in their own Canadian environment.

Gasse puts it this way: "I don't think any writer can escape his environment. George Walker's *Bagdad Saloon*, which was also in the festival, has absolutely no allusions to Canadian symbols, the beaver or whatever, but somehow the play feels very much a part of the country. It is set in a mythical Bagdad, but in fact it's a kind of reflection of Canada in a state of change.

"It's about Canadian inertia. There's an artist trying to accomplish something in impossible surroundings, trying to cope with his own frustrations, living in a desert – and Canada is in fact a desert, a cultural desert, with no roots, no history, no viable literary tradition. Our only traditions are artificial colonial traditions which we are trying to extricate ourselves from. And the artist has this impossible dream of building up a special saloon in the desert and bringing together various famous people – Gertrude Stein, Henry Miller . . . Maybe it's an answer to the Factory itself, that we are trying to achieve the impossible. . . ."

very rare Canadian play. So that in the theatre Canada is still a colony, borrowing from another country for all the major institutions – importing directors from Britain even more than from the United States to give them direction."

Rosemary commented here that everyone in the Canadian theatre was "up in arms" about the recent appointment of Robin Phillips from London to direct the Stratford Festival in 1975. They respect him professionally, but they don't want him.

In its historical context, Ken Gasse's decision in 1970 to perform only Canadian plays was revolutionary – comparable in its rashness to the declaration of Canada's famous coterie of landscape painters, the Group of Seven, that the landscape of their country was as worthy of an artist's attention as a Dutch canal or a misty English hedgerow. Their detractors were legion, but they eventually made their point with a blaze of powerful canvasses. The Factory Theatre in Toronto have had a better start. Perhaps they, too, are at the beginning of a major breakthrough.

The Factory Theatre Workshops



He paused and a cold wind blew over the conversation. It was late and Rosemary was packing for them to fly back to Canada the next day. Everyone was tired. One felt the weight of the mountain these young enthusiasts are trying to shift.

Earlier, they had talked at length about the state of the Canadian theatre in the years before 1970.

"Before the founding of Stratford (Ontario) in 1953 there was nothing to speak of beyond an amateur movement. Then regional theatre developed with a whole chain of play houses and a body of professional actors, but these Canadian playhouses have done little else than British and American hits with a few classics thrown in and the

Our mistake

In the Canada Today Issue Nov/Dec 1973, Simon Jenkins article on Canadian cities goes underground, said that Montreal was the first Canadian city to build a subway. This was an error, Canada's first subway was opened in Toronto in 1954.

Executives

Traditional methods of rewarding executives with raises, promotions or both may no longer be sufficient in a society of changing individual aspirations, says a Canadian motivational psychologist.

Dr. John Sawatsky, President of International Behavioural Consultants Ltd. of Toronto, says traditional performance rewards may not be adequate to get increased performance from executives or even to keep them in a firm. Dr. Sawatsky, in an interview, cited changing values and the growing routine of executive work as factors that may require changes in how executives are rewarded for their performance.

"You can no longer validly predict that all of your executives will be motivated by the same things," he said. "The bane of employment is the routiness of it and I find that the boredom of the assembly line is creeping into the executive suite."

More and more executives are questioning the worth of what they are doing and are increasingly opting for early retirement, he says. Heads of corporation and personnel managers are going to have to start rewarding their executives with different rewards and in different ways.

"It's not the same for every guy and corporate chiefs are just going to have to get close to them to find out what turns them on. Increasingly, we're going to have to get into quality-of-life themes with regard to executive performance." He listed travel, educational opportunities and the idea of a sabbatical leave as concepts that could replace bonuses, raises or promotions.

He related the case of an executive who more than anything wanted a \$35,000 yacht and was willing to work to improve performance to get it. The executive's boss found out and when performance improved, the man got his yacht. But then the executive wanted extra time off to enjoy his yacht rather than more money.

Snowshoes

Snowshoes, standard winter equipment for many Newfoundland outdoorsmen, were expected to become the most popular item in sporting-goods stores when the provincial government announced new snowmobile regulations.

In anticipation of the demand, all the large department stores in St. John's began displaying racks of snowshoes, harness and boots shortly before Christmas. Sales were reported brisk. An estimated 20,000 to 30,000 snowmobile owners in Newfoundland and Labrador are urban-dwelling weekend pleasure-seekers who have forgotten or never learned the lore of snowshoeing.

The Government proposed to include snowshoes as mandatory safety equipment for snowmobiles operating two or more miles from a road.

Economic Digest

Cost of living

The consumer prices index – interpreted as a main measurement of inflation in Canada – rose again in January. The index had its sharpest rise, 9.1 per cent, in 1973 of the last 22 years, since the Korean war of 1951. But the January increase was at a higher rate still. The overall January rise in typical family living costs was eight-tenths of one per cent – an annual rate of 9.6 per cent. Grocery prices, the chief factor in the 1973 inflation rate, were again the main contributor of the increase in January, rising 1.2 per cent to stand 15.6 per cent higher than a year earlier.

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau has made it plain, however, that he does not believe a compulsory prices and incomes policy is an effective answer to inflation. In a House of Commons exchange with Opposition Leader Robert Stanfield when the final 1973 consumer prices were published in December, Mr. Trudeau indicated, as he had done before, that he worried that this proposed cure shows evidence of being worse than the inflation disease. He said his government would not bring in its emergency plan for compulsory prices and incomes controls until it was sure "the consequences of bringing in the emergency plan are less serious than the consequences of the inflation."

He agreed with Mr. Stanfield that the inflation rate was serious, but said he wanted to point out that "those countries which attempted formal wage and price controls, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, have a worse rate of inflation and, therefore, more serious consequences with regard to the value of the savings of the little people than has been the case in Canada."

Minimum wage

The minimum wage for Canadian employees in industries under federal government jurisdiction has been raised to \$2.20 per hour, effective 1 April 1974. It had been at \$1.90 per hour since 1 November 1972.

Minimum wage law is an area of jurisdiction shared by the federal and provincial levels of government in Canada. Each province has its own legal minimum wage, which varies to some extent from the federal level, usually somewhat below. The federal legislation affects only about 19,300 of the total Canadian work force of

9,405,000 – but it tends to have a significant influence on the level of provincial wage laws, which cover the rest of Canadian workers.

The minimum wage laws, provincial and federal, include the provision that anyone required to work more than eight hours daily or forty hours weekly must be paid for the extra hours at time and a half.

Canada has had a variety of minimum wage laws stretching back to the 1930s, or earlier. But the more comprehensive application has come into effect in stages since the Second World War. A major revision, including the 40-hour work week, and universal application of the minimum wage level across the work force, came into effect in July, 1965.

Economic future

Shortages of skilled manpower and a lack of manpower mobility could limit Canada's economic growth in the next three years which will see a high demand for private investment construction. That was one of the problems foreseen at the first National Economic Conference in Montreal in December.

John J. Deutsch, Chairman of the Conference, which was sponsored by the Economic Council of Canada, said in summing up the conference's discussions that many industries in Canada are reaching capacity limits that will require them to expand. The construction trades will be among the strongest areas of demand immediately and in the years ahead, he told a news conference.

In a closing statement, the Conference said Canada has enormous potential for economic growth during the next four years, but the unknown effects of the energy crisis, material shortages and inflation will have on the economies of our major trading partners and Canada confront us "with difficulties and uncertainties in the period ahead."

The Arts:

Factory Theatre Lab pushes Canadian plays

by Jenny Pearson

The idea of making plays in a factory would have sounded pretty surrealistic a few years back. Today, in terms of the basic "no nonsense" that characterizes progressive theatre, it figures. The image takes you right down to the bare boards of life, in the tradition which Theatre Workshop pioneered in the east end of London.

It is a world into which you go prepared for hard seats, audience participation, simplified scenery, low prices, politics left of centre and new plays which will knock you off your prejudices and make you think. The confrontation of actors and audience is close and informal and it is tacitly recognized that they are sharing the one scene — quite a different feeling from the traditional theatre, where they face one another like opposing armies across the proscenium.

So it is at the Factory Theatre which opened three years ago in an old candle factory over the top of a petrol station in Toronto. But there is a difference here from the workshop theatres of Britain. The Factory, with its commitment to presenting only Canadian plays, has coincided with a larger wave of Canadian nationalism which is at this time sweeping the country and finding expression in every aspect of life.

Talking to young Canadians, one meets this enthusiasm, this sense of newly discovered identity, surging up in great bursts of impatience with the colonial cloak which has for so long hidden Canada from herself.

Ken Gasse, the founder and artistic director of the Factory Theatre, is well aware that its present success in terms of recognition and support has a lot to do with having appeared at the moment it was needed. He told me in an interview in London: 'It was an accident of history: like they say about a great man, he is the one who just happens to be in the right place at the right time. This new nationalism probably dates back to 1967 (the year of Expo), but it has really come to flower in the seventies. There is a social and political climate in Canada now that is separating itself from the powerful American mythology and media, separating itself from its colonial history and orienting itself towards something that is more indigenous.'

The first 'indigenous' plays to appear at the factory were, not surprisingly, political in content. There was one called *Branch Plant* about a British company closing down a plant in Toronto and putting a whole lot of people out of work. Another attacked the American influence under the title *Two Countries*. The theatre's slogan

Canadian tenor blasts arts nationalism

Jon Vickers, Canadian-Born Operatic Tenor, attacked Nationalism and Commercialism as enemies of truth in art.

He said at the Annual Luncheon of the Canadian Opera Women's Committee in Toronto recently that every major opera house is afflicted by Nationalism.

"La Scala years ago fell from the pinnacle of the operatic world because of it... Paris completely collapsed because of Nationalism and is now struggling to regain its feet under a new International regime. London is in deep trouble, even the mighty Met has very severe rumblings."

He attributed the trouble to the fact that people are afraid.

"Are we going to allow our arts to be suffocated in a deluge of Nationalism as well as the materialistic commercialism which has been brought about by an Artificially-created public demand for the sensational?" he asked.

Listing famous artists such as Picasso and Maria Callas, he said: "they belong to the world."

"How can we hope to appreciate them or emulate or indeed have any basis upon which to adopt policy if we seek to view them from the cramped confines of self-seeking chauvinistic minds? "The arts must know no national, linguistic or color boundaries."

At a news conference, he objected to questions about when he will sing in Toronto.

"Whenever I set foot in this city I hear nothing else," he said. "It's always, 'when are you coming back?'"

"People go out into the world and they throw their talents into the marketplace of the world. If this country continues to think the only important thing is for Jon Vickers, a Canadian tenor, to come and sing with the Canadian Opera Company, they're nuts."

"I think it's incestuous and dangerous only to bring back Canadian people... the only way we are going to establish a higher standard in this country is for the people to observe and be exposed to the great."

in those early days was 'Discover Canada before the Yankees do'. But Ken Gasse insists that this concentration on political plays was not policy on his part: it just happened that these were the plays which came his way. The second year, 1971, produced a spate of comedies.

When he first declared that he would put on Canadian plays exclusively he attracted like-minded people by the very extremity of the stand he took. Within a year an audience was established. Some of the best actors and directors in Canada came to work there. And there was no shortage of writers turning their talents to the making of new plays, some of which have subsequently been performed in London and New York. There was and still is an exciting sense of corporate energy at work: writers, actors and directors all switched on to the task of "churning out plays".

Talented young people have flocked to be part of the venture, whether working on stage, behind the scenes, or on menial jobs like painting the theatre. Among those who painted the walls in 1970 was Rosemary Donnelly, a young English actress who is now Mrs. Ken Gasse.

We Three, You and I is one of the Factory's successful products, a short play by a young west coast Canadian, Bill Greenland, which produced shock reactions of violent enthusiasm and equally violent disapproval when it was performed in London last autumn as part of a "Festival of Canadian Theatre" brought over by a group from the Factory.

It is an example of the kind of effect you can get with an unstructured audience arrangement, because it is thrust like an unplanned intrusion into a situation where everyone is expecting a more light-hearted entertainment. A lady suddenly announces that she wants to make a two-minute appeal because it is "disseminated sclerosis week" (by an extraordinary coincidence, it was disseminated sclerosis week when the play came to London) and a girl who apparently has disseminated sclerosis gets up on her crutches, talking about her disability and exclaiming in anguish "I want to get married and dance with my husband!" Because its emotional power lies in being utterly believable, Gasse produced it for London with an English cast.

This play is obviously a long way from the overtly nationalistic themes the Factory opened with. Today they are not so interested in being anti-American or anti-British as in trying to discover what is

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