PROGRESS IN AN AGE OF RIGOR MORTIS

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ABSTRACT

The <u>Painting in Canada</u> exhibition, held in the entrance
foyer of the Candian pavilion at the Montreal World's Fair,
Expo 67, was an example of the new cultural identity of a
mature nation state that had emerged from its history of
imperial subserviance vigorous, independent, and free. The
presence of the painting "For Ben Bella" by the Canadian
artist Greg Curnoe represented an example of the latest
efforts of Canadian artists to develop an artistic voice
corresponding to the nationalist euphoria characteristic of
English-Canada in the mid 1960's. The exhibition displayed,
through a brief overview of the last century of Canadian
painting, the traditional struggle of Canadian painters to
negotiate the treacherous shoals between the Scylla and
Charybdis of internationalism and nationalism.

The new interest in presenting a redefined national
culture was the outcome of several years of intense planning
on the part of the Canadian Liberal Party, under the
leadership of Prime Minister Lester Pearson. This period
witnessed the introduction of a variety of new national
symbols, such as a new flag and a new national anthem, in an
effort to prevent the fragmentation of Canada and restore
the political fortunes of the Liberal Party which by 1965
had reached their lowest ebb since the Conservative
landslide of 1957.

Between 1965 and 1967, Canadian culture underwent a massive reorganization in order to more readily facilitate the integration of culture into the political objectives of the Liberals. This meant promoting cultural forms suitable to address a wide variety of regional elites. By encouraging regional cultures with their financial aid and promoting intercommunication between these diverse regions the Canadian government could encourage the growth of elites with allegiances both to their region and the federal state.

The United States had pursued the instrumentalizing of culture in its foreign policy following the development of the Cold War and this instrumentalizing was further encouraged by several propaganda defeats by the Soviet Union between 1956 and 1958. To reconceptualize the American propaganda effort to oppose the Soviet Union and the growing problem of wars of liberation in the Third World more effectively. The United States developed strategies of promoting regional elites that could have a degree of independence but whose fundamental loyalties were nonetheless to the United States and the capitalist order. Canada, by pursuing its goal of a pluralist federalism, thus became a willing model of the interdependent yet independent nation state within the American empire. Ironically, the presence of Greg Curnoe's "For Ben Bella" at the Canadian pavilion seemed to contradict both the strategies of the Canadian and American planners by its attack on Mackenzie King, a former Liberal Prime Minister of Canada, and its

support of Third World revolutionaries, such as the Algerian socialist Ben Bella.

This thesis will analyze the relationship between "For Ben Bella" and its articulation of a new Canadian cultural identity and the policy objectives of both the Canadian Liberal Party and American foreign policy. The ideology of Expo 67 can be traced to the growing parallels between the Canadian and American governments domestic and foreign policy and their efforts to contradict this political and historical reality in order to maintain the illusion of Canadian sovereignty. Situated at the forefront of the developments to utilize new developments in technology and communications theory, Canada developed a model of the new cybernetic ideology, known as "technological liberalism," that was the culmination of efforts to modernize the Cold War effort of the Free World. Rather than contradicting this historical constellation, Greg Curnoe and "For Ben Bella" represent the dilemma of Canadian culture at that particular moment, trapped within the American empire at the transition point between 'modern' and the 'post modern' culture.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

> The work of salvage, removal of <u>debris</u> human
> remains etc. has been entrusted to Messrs. Michael
> Meade and Son....under the general supervision of
> H.R.H. rear admiral the right honourable sir
> Hercules Hannibal Habeas Corpus Anderson...
>
> James Joyce, <u>Ulysses</u> "Cyclops"

The following work stands as the culmination of four

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the world itself was bursting, bursting into black
spouts of villages catapulted into space, with
himself falling through it all, through the
inconceivable pandemonium of a million tanks,
through the blazing of ten million bodies,
falling, into a forest, falling---

                        Malcolm Lowry

Absolute negativity is in plain sight and has
ceased to suprise anyone.

                        Theodor W. Adorno

What does it mean to speak of progress in a world
that sinks into rigor mortis.

                        Walter Benjamin

As the Expo carillon chimed 'Deep in the Heart of Texas,' Commissioner General Pierre Dupuy, getting in a plug for Expo's theme, told Lyndon Johnson that "to millions of people, you are man and his world." In French, he added, the U.S. is a giant, but we have no intention of playing David."1

To many Canadians celebrating Canada's one hundredth birthday, these remarks by Commissioner General Dupuy sounded innocent enough. He was merely enunciating what had become, in recent history, the perception of the United States and its role in the world to which many Canadians had become accustomed. Yet for an organizer of an international fair, modestly described by Maclean's magazine as "the greatest show on earth,"2 to acknowledge the pre-eminent role played by the United States in Canadian and international relations highlighted a series of contradictions which permeated the facade of Expo 67 but which nonetheless failed to perceptibly weaken the central unifying theme of "Man and his World."

These contradictions were further heightened by the degree to which the organizers of Expo 67 tried to downplay the national and international dissensions which had plagued the world political scene since the Second World War. As the editorial in the January 1967 issue of Maclean's states:

The aim of Expo, staggering in its scope, is nothing less that "to tell the story of man's hopes, his fears, his aspirations, his ideas and endeavours."3

1 Time, 2 June 1967, Vol. 89, No. 22, p. 9.

2 Maclean's, January 1967, p.9.

3 Maclean's, January 1967, p.4.

Inspired by the rhetoric of the French writer Antoin de Saint-Exupery's <u>Terre des Hommes</u>, the organizers of Expo 67 were determined to supply a theme that would cast aside all hints of ideological preference in favour of expressing <u>la conditione humaine</u>. "To be a man," wrote Saint-Exupery, "is to feel that through one's own contributions one helped to build the world."4

The effectiveness of this rhetoric in capturing the Canadian imagination can best be summarized by the remarks of Canadian populist historian, Pierre Berton:

> . . .And threaded through it all [Expo 67] is the constant moral: that man's future, clouded and uncertain, rests in his own hands. "Look around you at these marvels," Expo says, "and see how far you've come. Do you really want to louse it up?" It is a soaring and noble theme, worthy of the global village we have devised for it; and any Canadian who walks those captivating streets can be forgiven if he feels momentarily a moisture in the eye and a certain huskiness in the throat.5

Abandoned for a moment in these flowing sentiments are the major crises that were constantly challenging the Canadian body politic: the vigorous protests of Quebec nationalism; the anxieties over the pervasiveness of the economic, military, political, and cultural influence of the United States; and, in addition, American involvement in Vietnam and the Cold War with the Soviet Union. Expo 67, however, gave Canada a brief respite from these anxieties, in order to promote an image of a national purpose that

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4 <u>Newsweek</u>, 6 May 1967, p.54.

5 <u>Maclean's</u>, June 1967, p.3.

would assert national unity and a maturing nationhood under the veil of technological developments and a redefined liberalism, cast in the light of the political realities of the mid-1960's.

However, the true success of Expo 67 was the dovetailing of Canadian ambitions both nationally and internationally with those of the United States, as outlined in the opening quote. The emergence of this co-operative ideology in the face of a considerable upsurge in Canadian nationalism becomes socially significant when examined in the light of U.S.-Canadian relations since World War II, especially in the context of technological and consumer advances, and the ongoing relationship of Canada and the United States to the Cold War with the Soviet Union. Canada, and Expo 67, would symbolize the triumph of the new ideology through the symbolic overcoming of Canada's own internal contradictions. As an editorial in Maclean's magazine stated in 1967:

> Confederation did not magically erase the stubborn differences of language, culture, and clashing regional ambitions. . .but we have learned to live with them and so we have matured.6

Thus, symbolizing passive assertion of national unity and maturing nationhood, Expo 67 and Canada posed a re-orienting of Cold War strategy that originated in the United States at the height of the Cold War in the 1950's.

6 Maclean's, January 1967, p.4.

In this light the appearance of the painting "For Ben Bella" (see fig.9) by the Canadian artist Greg Curnoe in a small painting exhibition in the Canadian Government Pavilion at Expo 67 strikes a suprisingly conradictory note. Within a "symbolic universe" asserting the theme of `Man and His World,' the presence of a painting that appears to support the struggles of Third World liberation movements (Ben Bella was the leader of the Algerian Socialist movement who exemplified the anti-colonial struggle of the Third World), is somewhat antithetical to the image of the world and its culture the Fair was striving to present.

The Painting in Canada exhibition held in the Canadian Government Pavilion, though a modest exhibition in size, was a significant element in the new redefining of the role of culture in Canadian society under the Liberal Prime Minister Lester Pearson government of the mid-1960's. This redefining of Canadian culture was occurring at a particularly crucial moment in post war Canadian history. As Canadian critic William Withrow characterizes it, Expo and the Centennial year were a `climax' to the period between 1945 and 1970 that "saw radical changes in the state of art and the artist in this country."[7] This was the time, according to Withrow, that Canadian art woke up from its provincial backwater role to emerge "finally caught up with the twentieth century."[8]

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7 William Withrow, Contemporary Canadian Painting (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), p. 6.

8 Withrow, p. 6.

Unlike the <u>Three</u> <u>Hundred</u> <u>Years</u> <u>of</u> <u>Canadian</u> <u>Art</u> exhibition held in Ottawa the same year, also to celebrate the Centennial, the <u>Painting</u> <u>in</u> <u>Canada</u> exhibition avoided presenting a retrospective of the development of Canadian painting in order to emphasize "a selection of major works by outstanding and contemporary Canadian painters, both abstract and representational."9 Exhibition organizer Barry Lord 10, then editor of the new <u>artscanada</u> magazine (formerly <u>Canadian</u> <u>Art</u>), further stated in his introduction to the exhibition catalogue, "This display is intended as a sample at the very highest level of quality of the most exciting painting done in Canada today."11 Curiously on the front cover of the January, 1967 issue of <u>artscanada</u>-- its first issue with a new international perspective, a new title, and a new editor, none other than the <u>Painting</u> <u>in</u> <u>Canada</u> exhibition organizer Barry Lord-- appeared the painting "For Ben Bella" (see fig. 2). The presence of "For Ben Bella" on the cover of the first issue of <u>artscanada</u> as well as its inclusion in the <u>Painting</u> <u>in</u> <u>Canada</u> exhibition would seem to indicate that a visible shift was occurring in

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9 Barry Lord, "Introduction" to Painting in Canada Exhibition Catalogue, Canadian Government Pavilion, Expo'67, Montreal.

10 Barry Lord was born in Hamilton, Ontario in 1939 and became one of Canada's most well known art critics in the late 1960's. Editor of <u>artscanada</u> magazine in 1967 and a former critic for the Toronto star, he has also served as curator at the Vancouver Art Gallery and the New Brunswick Museum.

11 Lord, <u>Painting</u> <u>in</u> <u>Canada</u> <u>Exhibition</u> <u>Catalogue</u>

aCanadian painting away from the austere High Modernism advocated by the American critic Clement Greenberg towards a more regionalist and populist style without the usual High Art aloofness to political content.

It is interesting to note Greg Curnoe's reputation as a social critic through his art was enhanced by the growth in English Canadian nationalism from 1965 to 1972. This movement formally organized itself under the left of center New Democratic Party in 1969 as the "Waffle" movement, an avidly pro-nationalist group on the left wing of the NDP12 In 1970, the Committee for an Independent Canada was formed, claiming to cross the class lines of Canadian society but definitely promoting a socialist perspective. Curnoe's

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12 The Waffle Movement formed from a meeting of members of the New Democratic Party in Toronto, April 29, 1969. This meeting originated out of a desire to discuss the right wing drift of the party and resulted in the decision to issue a statement of the group's position.
    As Phil Resnick summarizes:
"Jim Laxer, then living in Ottawa, wrote a first draft of the statement. He started from the premise that Canada had become a resources colony within the United States. The imperial fact came first. Then came socialism and public ownership of the commanding heights of the economy as an instrument of breaking the chain of economic dependence, providing greater regional equality and ending the rule of the profit system and the giant corporation. Then came statements on Quebec worker's control, womens liberation, and the freeing of politics from the slavery of electioneering and money raising in favour of extraparliamentary politics."
    After much deliberation and arguing " the hedging stand over the extent of nationalization came under heavy fire. Someone arguing for a stronger position said: "If we're going to waffle, I'd rather waffle to the left than waffle to the right."
    "The 'Waffle' Manifesto was born."
Phil Resnick, The Land of Cain, (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1971) p. 229.

association with this leftist nationalism was given new
visibility with the appearance of one of his 1968 paintings
as the jacket cover for <u>Close the 49th Parallel, Etc</u>.
(1970), edited by Ian Lumsden of the University League for
Social Reform. Curnoe's painting was a text of stencilled
words repeating the phrase "Close the 49th Parallel, Etc."
reflecting the joint concerns this group and Curnoe shared
in their attitudes towards American cultural domination. The
cultural position of this group is outlined by the critic
Gail Dexter in an essay entitled "Yes, Cultural Imperialism,
Too!" Like Curnoe, Dexter observed the difficulty of
articulating a socially critical art in a Canadian art world
dominated by the formalist tendencies of late modernist art.
Curnoe's efforts to create a populist, regionalist and anti-
formalist art was seen as being in opposition to modernism's
relationship to the imperial art center of New York which
was considered as "part of the same direction toward
replacing aesthetic values and thereby making art a more
palatable commodity."13

Dexter's essay established in the eyes of the leftist
English Canadian cultural nationalists the relationship of
high modernism to imperialism and commodity fetishism.
Dexter further identified the London, Ontario regionalist
artists, whom Curnoe helped to organize, as having developed
a post-formalist, locally flavoured regionalism that would

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13 Gail Dexter, "Yes, Cultural Imperialism Too!" in <u>Close
the 49th Parallel, Etc.</u> (Toronto: University of Toronto
Press 1970), p. 178.

be the foundation of the cultural opposition to perceived

American cultural domination. This art, according to Dexter,

avoided elitist tendencies contained in late modernism

through its populist impulse which enabled the nationalist

appeal to cross all boundaries.14 Overlooked in this

analysis was the influence of Pop Art on the London based

regionalist artists and the obvious possibility that this

art movement could be as implicated in American cultural

domination as Post-Painterly Abstraction.

By 1974, Barry Lord's book The History of Painting in

Canada, claimed Curnoe's "For Ben Bella" as a landmark

"along the way to a people's art."15 Having moved to a

virtually orthodox Marxist-Leninist position, with Maoist

influences16, Lord found in Curnoe's painting the necessary

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14 Dexter, p. 165.

15 Barry Lord, The History of Painting in Canada (Toronto: New Canada Publications, 1977) p. 239.

16 Lord uses Maoist principles to provide the foundation for an art engaged in an anti-colonial struggled. The three major principles for Lord are:
     (1) that it is national. It upholds the dignity and independence of the nation and opposes domination from the imperial centre.
     (2) that it is scientific. It stands for seeking truth from facts, depicting the realities of struggle and change; in painting, this means socialism. New Democratic culture is opposed to idealism, metaphysics and mysticism.
     (3) that it is democratic. It serves the working people, the vast majority of the population, and will gradually become understood and supported by them. This is not the art of one class only, but of all the classes in the colony united in fighting imperialism, led by the working class. Neither does it ignore the art of other countries, nor deny the people's cultural heritage, but learns from them." Lord, History of Painting p. 143.

cultural requirements for the newly founded Canadian

Liberation Movement, "devoted to building an independent

socialist Canada."17 Thus, "For Ben Bella" represented an

important cultural and political statement , as Lord briefly

noted:

> Most Canadians know that the country has been sold
> out, but there are many who have not yet clearly
> identified all the well paid agents of the sale. Curnoe
> satirizes a man (Mackenzie King) who is supposed to be
> a Canadian institution, and helps us to recognize him
> as the despicable character he was. This is rational,
> scientific, and democratic art with high spirits, and a
> lively sense of fun.18

Thus, over a period of seven years Barry Lord's

interpretation of "For Ben Bella" spanned a range of

meanings, from a symbol of a maturing Canadian cultural

identity to a landmark of a democratic "people's art". A

more critically sophisticated effort to break free of the

cul-de-sac of High Modernism in favour of a non-elitist

politically involved art has been articulated by the critic

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17 Lord, History of Painting p. 254.

18 Lord, History of Painting, p. 229 Ironically, in a 1973
interview, Greg Curnoe criticized attempts to formulate a
Marxist analysis of culture and Canadian nationalism,
stating:

> I reject rhetoric. I reject the talk of
> 'struggle'...that turns people off and it turns me off
> because it doesn't mean much, it carries too many
> meanings. And I reject that. File, May, 1973

> By 1975, Curnoe had rejected the parochial label with
which he had become associated and instead opted for a 'pro-
world' stance. (London Free Press 18 October, 1975.) This
new position catapulted him into the sensual and painterly
world of the post-modern, emulating painters such as Matisse
and Van Dongen, and the elimination of overt political
content from his work. As reported in the London newspaper
it is significant to observe Curnoe ranking Matisse and Van
Dongen as the top influences on his work since he was a
student. Speaking of Van Dongen, he said,"The works are
erotic,sensual,beautiful and I think we're ready for that."

Andreas Huyssen, an associate professor of German and
Comparative Literature at the University of Wisconsin-
Milwaukee. Arguing that modernism had outlived its
historical moment, Huyssen broadens his critique to include
the leading Western Marxist defender of modernism, Theodor
W.Adorno, along with Clement Greenberg as being complicit in
defending this mode of cultural expression. Adorno,
according to Huyssen, is guilty of "excessive privileging of
the pivotal categories of reification, totality, identity
and commodity fetishism and to his presentation of the
culture industry as a frozen system."19 Huyssen correlates
the modernism of Greenberg and Adorno into one monolithic
theory that "has perhaps outlined its usefulness and now
takes its place as a historically contingent and
theoretically powerful reflection on fascism."20 In a
similar but less simplistic maneuver than that of Barry
Lord, Huyssen promotes other forms of cultural expression
as harbouring opposition to the dominant ideology. Huyssen
points to the art, writing, filmmaking, and critical
capacities of women and minority artists as creating forms
of aesthetic expression that are opposed to the rigidified
status of modernism and the opposition between high and low
art. However, do Lord and Huyssen's strategies succeed in
creating some breathing room for a renewed cultural

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19 Andreas Huyssen, "Adorno in Reverse: From Hollywood to
Richard Wagner" in New German Critique 29(Spring/Summer
1983), p.17

20 Andreas Huyssen, p. 37.

resistance? What are the implications for Barry Lord's
strategy if, as the American Marxist critic Frederic Jameson
argues, "the Popular front class coalition of worker's,
peasants and petite-bourgeois generally called "the people"
has disappeared."21 What does it mean for Huyssen's position
if the social analysis of Adorno still has validity despite
the weaknesses of his critical defense of modernism? If the
categories of reification, totality, identity and commodity
fetishism still have historically grounded validity, the
possibility does therefore exist that "a decentered reality
may fit comfortably inside a dominating structure."22
Whether in Lord's case it is the "people" or in Huyssen's it
is the advocacy of the excluded minorities which are being
privileged as providing the social basis for opposition to
capitalism in its multinational phase of the post-war era,
ultimately their possible accomodation within the social
totality renders their definition of cultural resistance as
powerless and even as affirming as Greenberg's and Adorno's.

However, social theorists such as Theodor Adorno and
his colleagues of the Frankfurt School for Social Research,
Walter Benjamin and Herbert Marcuse, provide an opposing
theoretical basis for understanding the political and
historical constellations of the 1960's and raise the

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21 Frederic Jameson, "The Politics of Theory: The
Ideological positions in the Postmodernism Debate" in New
German Critique 33(Spring/Summer 1983),   p. 65.

22 Steven Cresop, "Review of Martin Jay's "Marxism and
Totality: The Adventures of a Concept from Luckas to
Habermas" in New German Critique 33(Fall 1984), p. 263.

spectre of the `totally administered' society, which forces

a reconceptualization of the very nature of cultural and

political opposition in our society.23 As Herbert Marcuse

succinctly summarized in One Dimensional Man (1964):

> But the struggle for the solution has outgrown the
> traditional forms. The totalitarian tendencies of the
> one dimensional society render the traditional ways and
> means of protest ineffective---perhaps even dangerous
> because they preserve the illusion of popular
> sovereignty. This illusion contains some truth: "the
> people", previously the ferment of social change, have
> "moved up" to become the ferment of social cohesion.
> Here rather than in the redistribution of wealth and
> equalization of classes is the new stratification
> characteristic of advanced industrial society.24

The prospects for resistance to societal totalization

become ever more remote in the writings of Theodor Adorno,

as he argues in Negative Dialectics, published in 1966

appropriately one year before the opening of Expo 67 :

> With society, ideology has so advanced that it no
> longer evolves into a socially required semblance and
> thus to an independent form, however brittle. All that
> it turns into is a kind of glue: the false identity of
> subject and object.25

The false identity of subject and object is promoted

through the development of the "culture industry" with which

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23 The Frankfurt School was the name attributed to this
group of intellectuals who developed a methodology known as
"Critical Theory" in Frankfurt, Germany prior to Hitler.
They were ultimately forced into exile except Walter
Benjamin who committed suicide fleeing France in 1940.

24 Herbert Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man (Beacon Press:
Boston 1964) p. 256.

25 Theodor W. Adorno, Negative Dialectics (The Seabury
Press: N.Y. 1979) p. 348.
"True pluralism," wrote Max Horkheimer of the Frankfurt
School," belongs to the concept of a future society." quoted
in Russell Jacoby, Social Amnesia (Beacon Press: Boston,
1975) p. 73.

the French intellectual Roland Barthes argues that "the fact

of the bourgeoisie becomes absorbed into an amorphous

universe, whose sole inhabitant is Eternal Man, who is

neither proletarian nor bourgeois."26

Crucial to the success of the "culture industry", a

term deemed by Adorno more concise than the traditional

concept of mass culture,27 as a function of hegemonic

control is not that it is solely based on the notion of an

elite manipulating the masses but that it performs as a new

"symbolic universe" which outstrips traditional forms of

analysis. The critical semiology of another French

intellectual, Jean Baudrillard, points to a radical

restructuring of the function of language with the

development of mass culture and the consumer society. For

Baudrillard the change in the language usage revolves around

the transition from signs to signals that arises with modern

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26 Roland Barthes, Mythologies (Hill and Wang: N.Y. 1953)
p. 153

27 Adorno defined the term "culture industry" in a 1963
radio lecture as:
         Culture industry is the purposeful
    integration of its consumers from above. It also forces
    a reconciliation of high and low art, which have been
    seperated for thousands of years, a reconciliation
    which damages both. High art is deprived of its
    seriousness because its effect is programmed; low art
    is put in chains and deprived of the unruly resistance
    inherent in it when social control was not yet total.
Quote cited in Andreas Huyssen, " The Cultural Politics of
Pop," New German Critique, Winter 1975 p. 81.

advertising and consumerism.28 Baudrillard discusses the

strategic implications of this shift in the following

quotation:

> The social logic of consumption...is not at all
> that of the individual appropriation of the use value
> of goods and services, nor is it a logic of
> satisfaction. It is a logic of the production and
> manipulation of social signifiers.29

In the <u>Mirror of Production</u>, Baudrillard argues that

capitalism has developed in three stages; the traditional

Marxist critique of the mode of production is applicable to

the first two stages. The third stage is characterized by

the shift from sign to signals which renders analysis on the

basis of the mode of production problematic. A critical

semiology would reveal, however:

> ...that in addition to the reversal of subject and
> object, the commodity also reverses the normal pattern
> of communications. The signifier is detached from the
> signified just as exchange value is detached from use
> value. Like the price, the signifier floats in the

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28 Vincent Leitch, <u>Deconstructive Criticism</u> (Columbia
University Press: New York, 1983) p.280 Leitch summarizes
Baudrillard's argument as a process by which, "The semiotic
structure of the signal collapsed word and image,
conditioning the individual to accept the correspondance
without the mediation of critical reason." p.280.

29 Quote cited in Leitch, p. 280.

social space of consumer capitalism, mystifying the
whole relation of man to man and man to thing.30

Modern society loses the power to conceive of a
world different from that which exists. Societal control,
which has been the overarching ambition of bourgeois society
since the very first international exhibition reigns supreme
in the control of meanings disallowing criticism by
prescribing every conceivable reaction to it. Advertising
and consumerism ensure the alienation of the modern world
under the aegis of the dominant code.

World's Fairs have historically played a crucial role
in this process but Expo 67 is of particular significance in
that it is the consummate example of the fusing of sign and
commodity and the transformation of mass marketing, fashion,
and status competition into commodities . Expo 67 will be
analyzed as a symbol of Jean Baudrillard's thesis of
"commodity semiosis" and the "implosion" of meaning that
occurs in the transition from sign to signal activity. The
ability of North American social scientists to grasp the
importance of signals as opposed to signs ensured a
propaganda victory for capitalism at Montreal in 1967.

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30 Mark Poster, "Semiology and Critical Theory: from Marx to
Baudrillard." in Boundary 2 vol.viii no.1 Fall 1979 p.
282. On the transition from signs to signals see also, Henri
Lefebvre, Everyday Life in the Modern World (Harper
Torchbooks: N.Y. 1971) Lefebvre argues that the transition
in the semantic field from signs to signals,"..involves the
subjection of the senses to compulsions and a general
conditioning of everyday life, reduced now to a single
dimension (reassembled fragments) by the elimination of all
other dimensions of language and meaning such as symbols and
significant contrasts." p. 62.

Chapter one of the thesis will examine the development of World's Fairs, from the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851 up to Expo 67, in order to outline the evolution of fairs as devices of imparting ideological coherency to diverse social and political groups. With Expo 67 the shift in the meaning of signs takes on additional significance with its successful articulation of the third stage of capitalist development, as outlined by Baudrillard and Lefebvre.

Chapter two of the thesis will describe the development of U.S.-Canadian relations following World War Two. It will focus on the limited range of options the Canadian government felt it was compelled to operate within concerning the dominance of American military, economic, political and cultural influence. However, Canada's role is crucial to the development of the new Cold War ideology of 'technological liberalism' and the new role which culture was cast into in the mid 1960's. Canada's role is summarized by the Canadian political scientist Andrew Wernick who notes:

> The Canadian contribution to the social thought of the American Empire has been great: Canadian liberals are the perfect exponents of the technological cosmopolis.31

Within the period 1963-1967, as Canadian Liberals sought to redefine liberalism in order to avoid political extinction and hopefully achieve a majority government,

31 Andrew Wernick, "Lament and Utopia" in the <u>Canadian Journal of Political and Theory</u> 3:Fall 1981 p.48.

culture was to play an integral role in the political strategy.

Chapter three of the thesis will look at the role of Greg Curnoe's "For Ben Bella" in the Painting in Canada exhibition in terms of how it represented the new role of culture in the environment of the new liberal and technological ethos. "For Ben Bella" will be shown to portray a moment in Canadian culture poised between the demise of modernism in Canadian culture and the establishing of a post modern sensiblity, which characterizes the later work of Greg Curnoe, and which is the fate of contemporary Canadian culture. This chapter will demonstrate the compatabilty of the visual ideology of "For Ben Bella" with the revitalization of the Liberal party and ideology in Canada. Ultimately, the new role of culture would be formalized under the banner of the Trudeau Government's cultural policy of `democratization'and `decentralization' which represents, as Baudrillard argues, a demonstration of capitalism's "control of meanings".32

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32 Quoted in Poster, p. 284.

CHAPTER 1

The Pilgrimage: An Historical Overview of World's Fairs

World exhibitions were places of
pilgrimage to the fetish Commodity.1

World's Fairs have traditionally functioned as

"symbolic universes" which, the sociologists Peter L. Berger

and Thomas Luckman have noted, are themselves social

products with a history.2 The function of these "symbolic

universes" is to create an ordering system for embracing

marginal situations within the apparent social reality of

everyday life. This is a crucial aspect of their existence

as,"...these situations constitute the most acute threat to

taken-for-granted, routinized existence in society."3 They

serve to provide the means of naturalizing and legitimating

a social order necessary to maintain social order and "by

their very nature, present themselves as fullblown and

inevitable totalities."4 As such, world's fairs have

functioned as the consummate physical embodiment of

"symbolic universes" since their inception at the Crystal

Palace Exhibition of London, 1851, to the present day Expo

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1 Walter Benjamin, Charles Baudelaire (Verso Edition:
London, 1983) p. 165.

2 Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, The Social
Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of
Knowledge (Doubleday and Company Inc.: Garden City, New York
1966) p. 90.

3 Berger and Luckman, p. 91.

4 Berger and Luckman, p. 90.

86, held in Vancouver, British Columbia. They have served as integral instruments of the hegemonic control and promotion of capitalism "precisely because," as Robert Rydell argues, "they propagated the ideas and values of the country's political, financial, corporate and intellectual leaders and offer these ideas as the proper interpretion of social and political reality."5

These manifestations of "symbolic universes" were designed ultimately to be an integral aspect of defusing and eliminating the working class politics of the nineteenth century. By presenting the phantasm of material abundance as potentially realizable through industrial capitalism as opposed to socialist means, the "symbolic totalities" of world's fairs provided the new age of growing mass consumption and consumerism with it ideal embodiment.

This chapter will summarize the modern history of world's fairs in order to provide the necessary context by which to analyze the full significance of Expo 67, particularly as it relates to the Cold War and the evolution of varying strategies of symbolic representation to promote one or another ideology. After analyzing some of the historical precursors of Expo 67, I will discuss the Fair and its relationship to the growth of technological liberalism, and technological liberalism's ideological

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5 Robert Rydell, <u>All</u> <u>the</u> <u>World's</u> <u>a</u> <u>Fair</u> (University of Chicago Press, 1986) p. 3.

handmaiden, known in America in the mid-1950's and 1960's as "total communication."

The History and Social Significance of World's Fairs, 1851-1939

The first international exhibition was held in the Crystal Palace, London, in 1851, and was entitled "The Great Exhibition of the Works of All Nations." It was to provide the role model of all subsequent international fairs. This first exhibition was entirely concerned with promoting the positive consequences of the industrial age and sought to provide an adequate display space for the new products of thea capitalist era. The Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition illustrates this objective clearly, opening with the words: "The activity of the present day develops itself in commercial industry, and is in accordance with the spirit of the age that the nations of the world have now collected together their choicest productions. . . ."6

Originally conceived and sponsored by Prince Albert, the exhibition provided a world stage for new forms of industrial promotion and consumption. The exhibition stood as a symbol of a nascent middle class consumer culture that sought to expand its influence beyond its particular class boundaries. The relationship between the middle class and

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6 Quoted in Burton Benedict, An Anthropology of World's Fairs (London: Scholar Press, 1983), p.2.

the exhibition was a natural alliance of values in the face

of the class disruptions of the earlier part of the century

that culminated in the 1848 revolution in France. As John

Brenkman observes, the origins of modern mass culture

originate from this period precisely because of class

conflict:

> The European bourgeosie, still fighting to secure
> its triumph over aristocracy and monarchy, suddenly
> faced the counterrevolutionary task of suppressing the
> workers and preventing them from openly articulating
> their interests.[7]

The necessity of providing a coherent ideology to

perpetuate the status quo was summarized by Karl Marx and

Frederick Engels in the following quotation from The German

Ideology, written just prior to the 1848 revolution:

> Each class which puts itself in the place of the
> one ruling before it, is compelled, merely in order to
> carry through its interests of all members of society,
> that is, expressed in an ideal: it has to give its
> ideas the form of universality, and represent them as
> the only rational, universally valid ones.[8]

In response to the class upheavals and out of a desire

to stabilize the new industrial social order, the Crystal

Palace presented all the manufactured benefits of the age.

Housed in a single mammoth structure composed of 300,000

forty-nine inch by ten inch glass panes supported by 3,230

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7 John Brenkman, "Mass Media: From Collective Experience to
the Culture of Privitization," Social Text, 1(Winter 1979)
p. 101.

8 Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The German Ideology
(Progress Publishers: Moscow, 1976) p. 68.

pre-fabricated tubular iron pillars and girders9 were four categories of exhibitions originally suggested by Prince Albert. These four categories were:

1. Raw materials. The process of extracting useful substances from animal, vegetable, and mineral sources.

2. Machinery. Everything from railways through ordinance and optical instruments.

3. Manufacturers. Clothing and decorative arts.

4. Fine Arts. Sculptures, models, and artistic process which could be used in manufacture.10

The purpose of this classification system, which would expand in the future to encompass all aspects of social life with subsequent re-ordering of priorities, was to impose on the world a sense of order that was deemed lacking in reality, a sense of order that, as Burton Benedict notes, "was the aim of the expanding middle class."11

In light of Marx and Engel's arguments in The German Ideology on the need for a ruling ideology Walter Benjamin wrote of World's Exhibitions as glorifying "...the exchange value of commodities. They created a framework in which

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9 Lawrence G. Zimmerman, "World's Fairs: 1851-1876," Progressive Architecture 8(1974), pp.64-72.

10 Benedict, p.27.

11 Benedict, p. 27.

their use value receded into the background."12 The
dominance of exchange value as opposed to use value embodied
in Marx's notion of "commodity fetishism" was the key to the
new dominant ideology. Writing further on the role of fairs
Benjamin concluded, "...the world exhibitions erected the
universe of commodities. Grandville's fantasies transmitted
the commodity-character onto the universe. They modernized
it."13

The special classification given to Fine Arts and its
relationship to manufacturing draws particular interest from
Walter Benjamin, who was writing in his own period of social
upheaval between two world wars. In this ordering system,
the prominence given to Fine Arts is a direct result of the
social transformation brought about by the new middle class
which Benedict refers to. As Susan Buck-Morss notes in an
analysis of Benjamin's Passagenwerk essay:

> The result is the liquidation of art in its
> traditional bourgeois form. Art's power as illusion
> moves into industry (painting into advertising,
> architecture into technical engineering, handicrafts or
> sculpture into the industrial arts) creating what we
> have come to call mass culture, and is taken into the
> service of capitalist interests for profits.14

The increasing social role of the fine arts within the
terms of the concept of mass culture set forth by Benjamin

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12 Benjamin, p. 165.

13 Benjamin, p. 166.

14 Susan Buck-Morss, "Benjamin's Passagenwerk: Redeeming
Mass Culture for the Revolution," New German Critique
29(1983), pp.212-213.

would be further enhanced at the 1855 Paris Exhibition. A
separate Palais des Beaux Arts was constructed as a forum
within which the artifacts of culture could compete and
interact with each other in the same way as the products of
industry were competing and interacting. This phenomenon of
mass culture has a strong relationship to the growth of the
middle class and the creation of world's fairs, and its
evolution would reach a pinnacle at Expo 67, where middle
class values and culture would totally dominate the culture
of the mid-twentieth century in the absence of any surviving
bourgeois or proletarian cultural values. As Andreas Huyssen
observes, "The salient fact is that with the
universalization of commodity production mass culture begins
to cut across classes in heretofore unknown ways."15

The Great Exhibition of 1851 was open for almost five
months and had a total attendance of six million16 when it
closed on October 11. The stunning success of the
'phantasmagoria,' the name given by Walter Benjamin to the
new expression of mass culture, was reflected in the
enthusiastic responses of the fairgoers, such as one visitor
from Nottingham, who exclaimed:

> What a sight is there! Neither pen nor pencil can
> portray it; language fails to give an adequate
> description of it. A Palace of iron and glass of
> astonishing magnitude, such as the world had never
> witnessed before, and maybe styled one of the wonders

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15 Huyssen, p.10.

16 John Allwood, The Great Exhibition (London:Studio Vista,
1977)

of the world...I was astonished at the outside of the
building, but when I entered at the door of the south
transept I beheld a site which absolutely bewildered
me. The best productions of art and science of almost
all lands in the civilized world lay before me . I knew
not what direction to take.17

These remarks stand as classic observations on the

psychic warfare unleashed by mass culture through its most

immediate expression in world's fairs. This phantasmagoria,

a term which more effectively captures the totality of the

social ideology sweeping the industrial world than any

other, enabled people to be distracted from the

contradictions of a class structured society:

> The entertainment industry made that easier for
> them by lifting them to the level of the commodity.
> They yielded to its manipulation while enjoying their
> alienation from themselves and from others.18

The success of the 1851 Great Exhibition spawned two

imitations within two years. The exhibitions in Dublin and

New York were imitations of the Crystal Palace, but on a

much smaller scale. The next two major international

exhibitions, however, took place in Paris and London in 1855

and 1862, respectively. With attendance figures of

approximately five and six million19 , their success did

approach or equal that of the original London fair. However,

for the purposes of understanding the modern concept of the

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17 Nottingham Mercury and Midland Adviser, 14 May 1851,
quoted in Allwood, p. 22.

18 Benjamin, p.165

19 Allwood, p. 43.

world's fair, the next most important exhibition was the
1867 Exhibition Universelle in Paris.

In terms of size and attendance, the exhibition was the
most successful yet. Almost seven million people visited the
largest site yet utilized for a fair (sixty-five acres plus
an additional annex of fifty acres)20, the 1867 exhibition
contained several major adaptations which brought the fair
concept closer to its twentieth century manifestations. The
most significant deviation from the model established by the
1851 London exhibition was the addition of separate national
pavilions apart from the main exhibition structure. Unlike
the Crystal Palace, which housed all the exhibitions of all
nations under its one massive roof, small national
pavilions, erected at the expense of the country of origin,
were constructed on a pattern radiating out from the
elliptically shaped central exhibition hall. Although small
in scale, basically housing national commissioners or other
officials, these pavilions established the foundation of
subsequent international competitions at world's fairs.
culminatiing at Expo 67 (which coincidentally celebrated the
centennial of the Paris Exhibition as well as the emergence
of Canada as a separate national entity.)

The problem of relating these separate structures into
a whole also resulted in the first tentative attempts to
establish a 'total' fair environment through restaurants,

20 Allwood, p. 43.

gardens, and waterways. Efforts to evercome the fear of disunity in the fair's layout even resulted in the first prototype amusement park offering rides with popular entertainment. Thus, the early broadening of the fair's concept beyond trade and industry to the social totality of nineteenth century European society was begun, increasing the potential audience of the fair itself. This led to an increasing orientation towards middle class values and a further decline in the luxury exhibits that had primarily appealed to an elite bourgeois audience in the 1851 fair.

Another significant departure from earlier exhibitions was the development and use of a theme--"L'histoire du Travail"--at the 1867 fair. The idea for this theme was not wholly unusual, however, considering that the Director of the Exhibition was Frederic le Ploy, who was, among other things an "acknowledged expert on European labour conditions."21 Acting as an adjunct to the whole exhibition, the theme portrayed the various stages of evolution nations underwent to reach civilization.22

The four categories of exhibition at the Crystal Palace were now expanded to ten, with Fine Arts at the top of the list. As Burton Benedict notes, in conjunction with the profile of the Fine Arts was the addition to the categories of display of "articles exhibited with the special object of

21 Allwood, p. 43.

22 Allwood, p. 41.

improving the physical and moral conditions of the people."23 The earlier emphasis on manufactured items was not downplayed so as to include "apparatuses and methods used for education of children, libraries, adult education, furniture, clothing and food from all sources remarkable for useful qualities combined with cheapness, crafts, displays of costumes of all peoples."24

This expanded ordering of the social world was also reflected in the manifesto published by Victor Hugo for the 1867 exhibition, entitled "To the Peoples of Europe":

> To make a circuit of this place, circular, like the equator, is literally to go around the world. All peoples are here, enemies live in peace side by side. As in the beginning of things, on the globe of waters, the divine spirit now floats on this globe of iron.25

This rhetoric, however, immediately crumbles in the face of history. With the Franco-Prussian War 1870 and the subsequent Paris Commune, international warfare and class struggle continued unabated. Yet the symbol of the globe of iron would be repeated time after time, in New York in 1939 and at Expo 67, for example, with the Perisphere and the Geodesic Dome. As an instrument for the projection of an image of a stabilized social totality under the aegis of mass culture, the fair concept would continue more and more successfully to replicate this message until the point that

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23 Benedict, p. 27.

24 Benedict, p. 28.

25 Allwood, p. 43.

the world wide domination of mass culture was to have

incredible significance in the modern world. The

implications of this expanded social role of mass culture

were only too apparent to Walter Benjamin who wrote about

the 1867 "Exposition Universelle":

> The phantasmagoria of capitalist culture attained
> its most radiant unfurling in the World Exhibition of
> 1867. The Second Empire was at the height of its power.
> Paris was confirmed in its position as the capital of
> luxury and fashion.26

By the 1930's world's fairs had assumed enormous

inportance in capitalist societies, fulfilling their earlier

mandate of promoting social stability and middle class

values. The impact of the 1929 market crash and the

subsequent Great Depression were significant factors in the

transition of capitalism from its earlier entrepreneurial

stage to a form of monopoly capitalism based on the largest

corporations. This evolution in capitalism was to alter the

complexion of world's fairs in the 1930's, as the new

corporate values sought to consolidate their positions and

then project them into the future, which would be the

primary function of the two main fairs of the Depression

era: Chicago, 1933-4, and New York, 1939-40.

During the Depression, it was realized that earlier

efforts at enticing consumers through the mass presentation

of the benefits of manufacturing and industry could be

refined by adapting techniques of promotion and selling from

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26 Benjamin, p. 166.

the advertising industry to the fair itself. This adaptation of advertising strategies, combined with their desire to be directly involved, led to the appearance of corporate pavillions on the fairgrounds in ever-increasing numbers in the 1930's, culminating with their dominance at New York in 1939. At the Chicago fair, entitled "A Century of Progress," were exhibition structures erected by General Motors, Chrysler, Sears and Roebuck, and other corporate giants. These structures took their place alongside traditional world's fairs exhibits.

One example of the strategies used by corporations at the Chicago fair is the display of Nash Corporation. This display was a classic example of the enticements of a consumer item, in this instance, an automobile, which a majority of the fairgoers obviously could not afford. This exhibit, however, imparted the idea of the delayed gratification that the promise of capitalism would ultimately provide. The exhibition was displayed ona souvenir postcard with the caption: "A building of plate glass with a high glass tower in which Nash Sixes and Eights keep moving up and down, up and down, day and night. A dazzling spectacle."27 By emphasizing advertising techniques of change and motion, this and other corporate displays heightened the impact of the fair.

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27 Benedict, p. 25.

Attendance at the fair exceeded forty-eight million, just slightly ahead of the previous record for fair attendance set at the 1900 Paris Exposition and far exceeding any previous American fair.28 This attendance figure testifies to the success of the new alliance between monopoly capital and the fair concept. The future, which was decidedly gloomy in the Depression of 1933, was to be guaranteed by science and progress, and, as the Nash display revealed, perpetual movement and rapid change assured the attractiveness of the `spectacle' by presenting a display of pseudo-scientific achievements, mass education, and mass entertainment. Modernity meant flux and movement and who could better safaeguard the future than the corporations which symbolised change itself. Stewart Ewen, in his book Captains of Consciousness, summarizes the strategy in the following way:

> The ideologically politicized realm of consumption was clearly seen by the industrial society as a device by which social change ...might be symbolically acted out in the public culture. Through the creation of a spectacle of change, frustrations and boredom within the context of industrial society might be mobilized to maintain and sustain that order. Thus the political imperatives of legitimizing the individual and the immediate expressions of community as proper expressions of authority would be achieved.29

The New York world's fair of 1939-40 was the crowning achievement of this nexus of government, business,

28 Allwood, p. 182.

29 Stuart Ewen, Captains of Conciousness (McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, 1976) p. 87.

and advertising that emerged from Chicago. No longer concerned with consolidating the previous accomplishments of capitalism, the theme of the fair pointed towards a new concern: not a "Century of Progress" but "The World of Tomorrow." Stability and order were to bury class distinctions under the rubric of the Average American and the Average American Family. This averageness, of course, corresponded to the values of the middle class, which the fair presented even though the effort was made to appeal to all the 'masses.' Grover A. Whalen, the fair's president, argued that, unlike any other fair, values of scientific progress were to be wedded to the life of the Average American. This union would, in turn, promote the ideals of the World of Tomorrow, especially since the fair "conveyed the picture of the interdependance of man on man, class on class, nation on nation. It attempted to tell of the immediate necessity of enlightened and harmonious co-operation to preserve and save the best of modern civilization as it was then known."30

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30 Quoted in Warren Susman, Culture as History (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), p. 214.
    Roland Barthes, who saw cars as contemporary equivalents of the great Gothic cathedrals, wrote in Mythologies:
        The object here is totally prostituted, appropriated: originating from the heaven of Metropolis, the Goddess is in a quarter of an hour mediatized, actualizing through this exorcism the very essence of petit-bourgeois advancement. (p. 90.)

The seven display zones of the fair demonstrated the comprehensiveness of the exhibits in their efforts to totalize the entire experience of man under the aegis of `consumerism.' Displays ranging from "Production and Distribution," an exhibit of manufacturing prowess and advertising techniques, to the enigmatic-sounding display of "Community Interests," an all-encompassing title for a display of everything from religion to cosmetics,31 demonstrated that the fair sought to categorize and target every aspect of human existence in order to serve fairgoers up unto the advertising of the corporations. This relationship between fairgoers and exhibitors is best summarized in a pamphlet issued by General Motors in 1933, entitled "The Philosophy of Consumer Research":

> If a company can ascertain concretely and in detail just what the buyers would like to have, if it can build products in conformity with those desires and design its sales and advertising messages so that they will answer definitely the questions that are uppermost in the mind of the motorist, obviously there will be continued improvement in the merchandising process and a broadening of the service rendered.32

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31 The Fine Arts were included under the heading of "Community Interests," but the presence of art at the fair was minimal. Either Fine Arts were a product of the `Masters,' in which case their exhibition was more appropriate to museums, or as popular culture the Fine Arts were instrumentalized within the corporate advertising schemes.

32 Susman, p.221

The world's fair had become, as the <u>New York Times</u> acknowledged in a headline, the Research and Development art of "Tomorrow's Propaganda."33

To symbolize the theme of the fair, two large structures were built: the Trylon and the forerunner to Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome at Expo 67, the Perisphere, an eighteen storey high spherical dome. Exhibited within the Perisphere was a futuristic-sounding exhibit entitled "Democracity," which further entwined progress, capitalism, and democracy into a symbiotic relationship holding the key to the future. However, despite the presence of the Trylon, Perishere, and Democracity, the true significance of the fair was reflected in the dominance of corporate exhibits on a previously unheard of scale. Thirty-four of the largest American corporations crowded the grounds with their own pavilions for the first time.34 The meaning of the fair can be located in the presentation of an ordered path to the future, which had been the hallmark of the rise of middle class values since the mid-nineteenth century. As Warren Susman concludes:

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33 Susman, p.225

34 Benedict, p. 26. Examples of corporations present include American Telephone and Telegraph, the Crosley Corporation, RCA, Maison Coty, American Tobacco Company, Heinz, Standard Brands, Libby, Macneil Libby, Swift and Company, Borden, Consolidated Edison, Eastman Kodak, DuPont, General Electric, US Steel, Westinghouse, Chrysler, Ford, Firestone, BF Goodrich.

For the people, the "World of Tomorrow" projected
not a new world, but a new fantasy world based on the
possibilities of modern technology, a world that could
be enjoyed because it could be controlled--a veritable
Disneyland.35

(A truly accurate symbol of the meaning of the New York
fair was created when the Trylon and Perisphere were melted
down into weapons of war with the advent of World War Two. A
realistic portrait of the world's fair was made two years
later with the construction of the Pentagon, which presented
another variation of the image of `totality'--a self
contained world utilizing the latest technology and most
efficient building means. As Susman states, "It (the
Pentagon) was a world's fair gone to war."36)

Post War Fairs and the Cold War

After World War Two, the United States and the Soviet
Union became immersed in the Cold War of which military
competition was only the most visible sign of superpower
rivalry. Competition occurred in many other arenas and
world's fairs were seen by both sides as presenting the
perfect forum in which to compete for the mantle of
leadership in `human progress.' In the 1950's, however, the
United States was slow to formulate a coherent exhibition
strategy within the framework of its Cold War campaign and,

35 Susman, p. 228.

36 Susman, p. 208.

subsequently, took a backseat to the Soviet Union in developing a successful exhibition policy. Perceived American failures at the minor 1956 fair at Damascus and at the first Class One Exhibition held after the war in Brussels, 1958 37, combined with the tremendous propaganda victory of the launch of Sputnik in 1957 prompted the serious re-examination of American propaganda strategy in non-military fields. Significantly, within the space of a few years, America seized back the initiative with a newly-forged strategy that reversed the earlier setbacks at world's fairs and in the space race; world's fairs and the space race were to become remotivated symbols of American and capitalist power shrouded in the powerful allure of 'human progress.'

The first signs that America was lagging behind the Soviet Union in the competition at world's fairs was at Damascus, in 1956. Small in size but significant in a politically symbolic sense, the fair provided a forum for competition in a Third World nation. This competition would measure the ebb and flow of the influence of the superpowers in the most important stage of Cold War competition: the Third World.

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37 In November, 1928, the International Exhibition Bureau arbitrarily divided the world into three zones: European, American, and Other. No country is allowed to hold a Class One Exhibition more than once in fifteen years; countries in the same zone may not hold such exhibitions more than once in six years; and, whatever the zone, such an exhibition may not be held more than once in two years.

Both countries utilized their latest technology and display techniques to influence the Syrians. In terms of symbols, however, a decisive encounter was between a display of helicopters by both powers. The American machine was the latest, most highly advanced design while the Russian counterpart was large, hulking, and slow. What was, on the surface, a potential propaganda coup for the Americans became, very rapidly, a defeat. As William Swaith, president of the international design firm of Raymond Lowry and William Swaith, wrote in Dateline, 1962:

> In the rare moments when the Russian and American units were in simultaneous flight, the American literally flew rings around the other. Unfortunately, they were seldom seen together. It would take a gifted eye to see any marked difference in flight characteristics when they were on the ground. The Russian machine outbulked the American, and the Syrians considered the Russian machine to be better because of the size.38

Although on the surface the `helicopter competition' seemed but a minor setback for the Americans, it was in fact a classic victory for the techniques of non-verbal communication, which the Americans had utterly failed to understand and utilize at the fair. This failure was to be compounded at the Brussels Universal and International Exhibition of 1958.

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38 Quoted in Walter Joyce, The Propaganda Gap (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p.8

Attended by over forty-one million people39, the Brussels Exhibition was a classic Cold War confrontation on the largest stage yet provided in the post-war period. Once again, America's presentation and display methods drew criticism for failing to meet and exceed the Soviet effort. The launching of Sputnik the previous year has tremendously increased the pressure on America to counter the Soviet image of technological superiority. The Russians, for their part, repeated their strategy from Damascus with an exhibition exploiting size and image:

> The building was big, crass and vulgar, of semi-monumental design. Inside, were symbols of giantism. Everything was larger than life size, from the huge statue of Lenin to the huge cut away model of the Tupolev plane. All this was dominated by models of Sputnik.40

Once again, the Russians provided non-verbal cues in their displays that successfully outmaneuvered American efforts. Their exhibits showed a classic understanding of previous modes of world's fair display techniques which effectively demonstrated the "symbols of their rapid growth and power."41

As the Cold War was progressing throughout the Third World, it became crucial for the superpowers' propaganda efforts to co-opt the symbols of human progress and development to their political ends. The conclusion of the

39 Allwood, p.185

40 Joyce, p.9

41 Joyce, p.9

colonial period after World War Two, combined with the economic and other shortcomings of Third World nations, meant that images of technology and economic development would be vital in influencing which superpower would by the role model for economic development. Soviet efforts to promote nationalistic revolutions on the Marxist model were greatly enhanced by their images of growth and power at world's fairs. On the other hand, America was seen to display signs of decadence and effeteness.[42] American virility was being undermined by exhibits that did not challenge the Russians over the direction of the future so much as present an image of a decadent and loathesome present. One example, in particular, again drew criticism from William Swaith. This controversial display was, in fact, the central attraction of the American exhibit: a fashion show held in the main American pavillion. Beautiful models drew large crowds, but the symbolism was too decadent for Swaith and for other critics as well.[43]

The growing number of Soviet propaganda victories in the mid to late 1950's led to President Eisenhower's formation of the Sprague Committee to investigate the shortcomings of the American propaganda effort. The committee's report focused on the poor handling of the Cold War by the United States government because of its underestimation of the importance of non-military

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42 Joyce, p.9

43 Joyce, p.9

competition. It was apparent to the Sprague Committee that the future of this protracted non-military confrontation could only be won by influencing the attitudes of Third World peoples.44 The Committee reached the conclusion that "the scale of the total U.S. information effort will have to be progressively expanded for some time to come."45

William Albig, a professor at the University of Illinois, states in his book Modern Public Opinion that the failure of the American propaganda efforts was the result of an over-reliance on commercial adventurers. Noting that "propagandizing an idea [is] not the same as advertising a commodity,"46 Albig concluded that the United States needed to subordinate commercial advertising campaigns and strategies under the direction of social scientists with a much "broader training and knowledge in the analysis of cultural diversities."47

These criticisms and analysis of American failure in the 1950's contributed to the initiation of a new propaganda strategy at international fairs, which would establish the foundations of the ideology of Expo 67. This initiative necessitated a rejection of the strategies that had been so successful at American fairs in the 1930's under dramatically different circumstances. The object now was to

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44 Joyce, p.12

45 Joyce, p.12

46 Quoted in Joyce, p.49

47 Quoted in Joyce, p.49

combine propaganda with a coherent national information policy that would utilize the latest in communications and media theory and technology.

The beginning of John F. Kennedy's presidency in 1960 resulted in a new and concerted effort to mobilize America's social scientists and intellectuals in promoting the United States to the world, utilizing lessons culled from the apparent failures of the 1950's. Central to this new strategy was a need to understand and manipulate the latest developments in technology, presenting America's high moral purpose. Such efforts would contribute, as President Kennedy noted, to "reshape the world in our image."[48]

Combined with a new counter-insurgency campaign in the Third World and a unified social, political, and economic effort, America prepared for `total' Cold War with the Soviet Union in the 1960's.

Counter-revolutionary theorist Walt W. Rostow, in an address to the Green Berets in 1961, succinctly noted the change in superpower conflict and emphasized the new means necessary to winning this phase of the Cold War:

> Throughout the world, old societies were trying to change to gain a position in the modern world and to take advantage of the benefits of technology. This was `the revolution of modernization.'[49]

According to Rostow, Communism could be out-maneuvered by depicting America and its technology as holding the keys

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48 Quoted in Louise Fitzsimmons, The Kennedy Doctrine (New York: London House, 1972), p.8

49 Quoted in Fitzsimmons, p.175

to modernization and social progress and by convincing the
Third World that the Soviet Union was archaic in its
conception of modernity for its own development, let alone
that of the Third World. This strategy was outlined by
President Kennedy in the following way:

> Economic development, industrialization, a higher
> standard of living, consumer goods, Western style
> democratic elections, good government, and his own land
> could be the lot of every man. Freedom, not communism,
> would bring it to them.50

Media and communications would be strategic, however,
because--much like the ever-moving automobiles in the Nash
Corporation display at the 1939 world's fair--images of
consumerism and commodities could virtually postpone real
economic and social development indefinitely while quelling
any opposition to the resulting underdevelopment with a
cavalcade of consumer symbols.

Utilization of media and communications meant the
harnessing of social scientists and intellectuals to the new
strategy, and this action would prove decisive in the
implementation of the Kennedy programme. Universities, such
as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and the
University of Chicago, provided the focus of new studies in
the relationship between media, technology and the Third
World. Intellectuals such as Lucian W. Pye and Daniel
Lerner of MIT provided the crucial theoretical foundations
of the new policy. Professors such as these were

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50 Quoted in Fitzsimmons, p. 180

characterized by journalist Theodore H. White as the "Action
Intellectuals" who had, decades earlier, abandoned their
leftist sympathies in order to promote a new liberal
conception of human progress utilizing sociology and
technology. Urban decay in America and development in the
Third World provided two different but integrally related
aspects of the Action Intellectuals' research. The need to
rejuvenate the inner core of America's cities was directly
paralleled by efforts to provide the road to modernization
in the Third World. Daniel P. Moynihan, a professor at MIT
in the early 1960's, described the task ahead of the Action
Intellectuals in this manner:

> We have to find out what's happening. We know
> that an uncontrolled introduction of technology is
> spoiling city life. We have to find out how it works
> in order to manage it. We know, for example, there is
> an Urban Lower Class--but how do you absorb it,
> eliminate it, control it? We have to know more.51

(The correspondence between urban decay and renewal and
similar developments in the Third World is crucial to
understanding why the theme "Man and His World" was so
successful at Expo 67 in galvanizing for a moment a combined
image of a controlled world and a controlled environment.)

The new information and technology strategy--that would
become familiar as "total communications"--was a significant
departure from the earlier Cold War policy. Walter Joyce
notes that "It [this new approach] does not have to resort
to lies or `black propaganda' and it is in fact difficult to

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51 Theodore H. White, "The Action Intellectuals," Life 23
June 1967, p.76

do so when he [the intellectual] represents an open society like ours."52

In contrast, the use of "white propaganda" developed by the social scientists is seen as being much more effective. Truth and accuracy could effectively undermine the resistance of the Third World to American overtures. Efforts to understand and empathize with the Third world, combined with the apparently value-free introduction of media technology into the Third World would ensure the flourishing of American interests. Action Intellectual Daniel Lerner, in an article entitled "Revolutionary Elites and World Symbolism," observed the necessity of the new method to pursue United States counter-insurgency policy:

> The failure to diffuse a persuasive universal symbolism in a political arena that has become technologically global contains ominous problems for the future of humanity....To avert these catastrophic dangers, there is a clear and present need for a positive politics of preventive therapy. This requires a flow of information that is relevant and reliable-- information of the sort that can be produced by the polity of sciences in the service of democratic development. Such information, while it is most urgently needed by policy advisers, cannot be confined to elites. Indeed, such information can support political therapy of appropriate scope only if it is diffused on an adequate scale to shape a new global concensus on the desirable way of the world.53

For American strategy at Cold War competitions such as world's fairs to be successfully integrated into the total

52 Joyce, p.51

53 Daniel Lerner, "Revolutionary Elites and World Symbolism," in Harold P. Laswell (Ed.), Propaganda and Communication in World History (University of Hawaii Press, 1980), p. 392.

propaganda effort, removal of whatever impediments to effective "white propaganda" that existed in fair structure and organization was essential. Of necessity, this meant promoting American Capitalism by means other than the instruments previously used by businessmen and advertisers. Under the guidance of the federal agency responsible for foreign exhibitions, the United States Information Agency, capitalism would have to stop its own overt promotion. For Walter Joyce, the greatest service America could perform for communism would be to promote capitalism--"that is the word, not the economic system."54 Obviously, the 1939 success of the New York fair could not be repeated as it was a blatant promotion of capitalism and the failures of Damascus and Brussels had to be avoided.

Yet America's image was to undergo one more blow at a world's fair because of a repetition of the emphasis on corporations, business, and consumerism. This failure occurred at the 1964 New York fair whose organizer, Robert Moses, was a legacy of 1939 and who sought to repeat that earlier fair's success by implementing a similar approach. The theme, "Peace Through Understanding," paid lip service to the changed Cold War environment, however. President Kennedy, echoing his newly-forged propaganda strategy, tried to use the fair as a platform for the new approach, but his words would be lost amongst the future commercial clutter

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54 Joyce, p. 82.

Walter Joyce had warned of, a commercialism that would

promote the interests of communism, not those of capitalism.

At the ground breaking ceremonies held in 1962, Kennedy

declared:

> This is going to be a chance for us in 1964 to
> show 70 million visitors--not only our countrymen here
> in the United States but people from all over the
> world--what kind of people we are. What kind of
> country we have. What our people are like and what we
> have done with our people. And what has gone on in the
> past, and what is going on in the future. . . .That is
> what a world's fair should be about and the theme of
> this world's fair--Peace Through Understanding--is most
> appropriate in these years of the 60's.55

Kennedy's liberal rhetoric provides a textbook

presentation of the new Cold War strategy. Unfortunately

for the Kennedy Administration, this strategy was not heeded

by Robert Moses. However, even the 1939 fair had not been

as ruthless a presentation of business and corporate

interests as the 1964 fair turned out to be. The inevitable

criticism the fair drew because of its outmoded exhibition

strategy provided even greater impetus for mobilizing social

scientists and intellectuals to formulate the government's

policy. As the neo-conservative social theorist Daniel Bell

remarked these new elites were necessary for the new era of,

in his words, "Post-Industrial Society" so that:

> ...the leadership of the new society will rest not
> with businessmen or corporations as we know them, (for
> a good deal of productions will have been routinized),
> but with research corporations, the industrial
> laboratories, the experimental stations, and the

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55 Quoted in Zimmerman, p.70

universities. In fact the skeletal structure of the new society is already visible.56

As an example, in 1961, the USIA knew very little about the research efforts at MIT and the University of Chicago, yet in the wake of the 1964 disaster, Lucian W. Pye, one of the leading exponents of the new propaganda strategy, was working as an adviser withing the USIA, fulfilling Kennedy's desire to have intellectuals work at policy-making within government agencies.

Expo 67 Planning and Development

The decision to hold a class one exhibition in Montreal for the 1967 Canadian centennial was originally pursued by Canada in 1960. Two applications were made to the International Exhibitions Bureau for 1967 world's fairs: Canada's and the Soviet Union's (to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution). The Soviet Union was initially awarded the fair, but decided to drop its option. Upon subsequent re-application in 1962, Canada was awarded the world's fair for 1967.

Even without the example of the New York fair as a model to be avoided, Expo 67, from its very early organizational stages, was conceived with a new exhibition strategy in mind. Shortly after having been awarded the fair, Expo officials went to MIT and asked Dean Burchard for

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56 Daniel Bell, "Notes on the Post-Industrial Society (1)," quote cited in Noam Chomsky, Towards a New Cold War (Pantheon Books: New York, 1982) p. 399.

advice on the organizational foundation of the fair. His

major conclusion was that creative people should be the

basis of Expo planning. Consequently, a variety of

professionals and intellectuals were invited to a planning

conference at Montebello, Quebec.57 The theme arising from

this conference was "Terre des Hommes" or "Man and His

World," a notion derived from the French writer and aviator

57 Some of those invited included Dr. Penfield, the Montreal
neurological surgeon; Dean Frank Scott, member of the McGill
Law Faculty; Jean-Louis Roux, member of the Theatre du
Nouveau Monde; and Roy Afflick, one of the leading Canadian
architects. (Jeremy Baker, "Expo and the Future City,"
Architectural Review 896(1967), p.156 This introduction of
creative people into the planning process is an integral
aspect of the third stage of capitalist development after
1960 as outlined by Henri Lefebvre:
>...the 'man of synthesis' is very much in demand, and
>there are many candidates among philosophers,
>economists, architects, town planners, demographers
>and other technicians; nearly all of them bank
>inconspicuously on a certain 'robotization' shaped on
>their own synthetic model which they would programme;
>the more intelligent among them hope to achieve this by
>a spontaneous, or democratic, rather that an
>autocratic, method. Henri Lefebvre, p. 65.

Antoin de St. Exupery.58 St. Exupery was concerned about the
spirtual deprivation of man in modern society and offered an
alternative view of human society. S.Beynon John observes
that the alternate view offered by St. Exupery is
"organicist, rooted in rurality."59 However,most appropriate
for a revitalized liberal ideology and the theme of Expo 67
was his stress on the "power of the creative imagination,
the importance of communal and fraternal bonds, the appeal
of moral idealism, the readiness to subordinate self to the
service of something greater than self, and the need for
charismatic leaders capable of showing the way forward."60
This was particularly appropriate for the presidency of John

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58 Saint-Exupery, Antoine de. 1900-(?)1944
        A thumbnail sketch of Saint-Exupery's life is found in
Germain Bree, Twentieth Century French Literature,
(University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1983.) p. 342-3:
        Saint-Exupery rode in the Vedrines airplane when he was
        twelve years old. When he failed his entrance
        examination for the Ecole Navale, he did his military
        service in the air force. In 1926 he became a
        commercial pilot, later squadron commander for the
        Toulouse-Casablanca line. In 1930 he published Courrier
        Sud. Vol de nuit came out one year later and won the
        Prix Femina. He continued his career as a pilot, flew
        in the Paris-Saigon rally, did some journalism. In
        Terre des hommes (1939) he celebrated a sense of human
        solidarity. During World War Two he managed to get to
        New York, where he published Le Petit Prince in 1943.
        He began flying again, and on 31 July 1944 he
        disappeared over the Mediterranean while returning from
        a mission. Citadelle, which in some ways constitutes
        his moral and spiritual testament, was published in
        1948.

59 S. Beynon John, "Saint- Exupery's Pilote De Guerre:
Testimony, Art and Ideology," in Roderick Kedward, Roger
Austin and Croon Helm, Vichy France and the Resistance:
Culture and Ideology , (London and Sydney: 1985) p. 91-105

60 John, p. 91.

F. Kennedy but it is also applicable to the new image of
leadership Pierre Elliot Trudeau would exploit as well in
the federal election that would follow Expo 67. More
important for the organizers of Expo 67 were Saint-Exupery's
models of human behaviour which included "...the virtues of
creativity, nature and disinteredness. They are artists
(whether architects, musicians, or writers), scientists,
priests, gardeners, or shepherds."61 This theme, ripe with
liberal associations, was vital in establishing a coherent
connection with the Cold War liberalism of the Kennedy
Administration. The broad liberal humanism of the theme
combined with the efforts of Canadian professionals and
intellectuals paralleled the new proposals for a Cold War
strategy being promoted by MIT. For example, when
conference delegate Jean-Louis Roux noted that the theme
meant "Man, as opposed to corporations" and "Man, as opposed
to nations"62 he was merely stating the liberal ideology
which was becoming prevalent in both Canada and the United

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61 John, p. 91. However, as John points out Saint-Exupery's
sentiments on the primacy of `Man' as the only proper
foundation for liberty and equality were pathetic in the
face of Nazi domination and "...strike one as the last
remnants of an archaic and discredited rhetoric." p. 104.
However, this archaic rhetoric was to undergo a dramatic
revitalization under the ideological thrust of technological
liberalism.

62 Baker, p.156

States.63   These statements reflect the anti-nationalist

bias of the American counter-insurgency campaign in the

Third World.   The anti-nationalist bias was also geared to

meet the challenge of the Quebec Quiet Revolution, wherein a

growing Quebecois middle class was faced with the choice of

federalism or separatism.   A little irony would seem to

exist with the promotion of anti-nationalism at an

exhibition meant to celebrate Canadian nationhood, but this

apparent paradox was deliberate.   It was, in fact, a natural

outgrowth of the opposition to Russian-supported wars of

liberation in the Third World in favour of an American

policy of promoting national independence and international

interdependence.   The influence of American thought through

the link to MIT had a dual ideological and organizational

impact on Expo 67, as Jeremy Baker summarizes:

> . . .The Montebello report had an 'inspirational'
> effect on those at Expo. The executives who were taken
> from the ordinary world of the army, diplomacy,
> business, suddenly found themselves trying to discuss
> the most important problems of the twentieth century.
>   Secondly, Montebello gave Expo a group philosophy
> which permeated all levels of the staff.64

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63 Stewart Ewen summarizes the strategy as follows:
          Within business thinking, then, it appeared
    necessary to eradicate the productive process from the
    ideology that surrounded the products. In ads, the
    commodities of industrial society were presented as
    means of circumventing the ills of industrial society.
    The reality of life within the factory only tended to
    cast aspersions on the visions on the visions of
    happiness projected in consumer ideology, and it was an
    essential principle of commercial propaganda that this
    depiction of this reality be avoided at all costs. (p.
    78)

64 Baker, p.156

As a result of these twin factors, Expo 67's planning and development was innoculated against the possibility of repeating the mistakes of Damascus and Brussels and would further avoid making the same mistakes as New York in 1964. It is interesting to note that right from its inception, Expo 67 was already influenced by new strategies being designed in the United States to wage the Cold War more effectively.

In its most overt expression, America's new exhibition strategy was to be displayed in the selection of Buckminster Fuller's Geodesic Dome concept to house the American exhibits. The USIA, under director Leonard H. Marks, approached Fuller in 1964 to ask him to consider designing the American pavilion.65 The dome concept had always functioned at world's fairs as the epitome of the latest technological advancement. However, unlike the Perisphere at New York in 1939,, for example, Fuller's Geodesic Dome had significant ideological implications for America's self-representation at Expo 67. Fuller, as a humanist and an intellectual, approached the problem of America's image with an intention similar to that of the USIA. As Fuller stated in his Prospects for Humanity:

> I told the United States Information Agency in
> 1964 that by 1967 the regard of the rest of the world
> for the United States would be at its lowest ebb in
> many decades--if not in the total two centuries of the
> USA's existence. Since each country's world's fair

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65 R. Buckminster Fuller, "Prospects for Humanity," in James E. Gunn, Man and the Future (University of Kansas Press, 1968), p.165

exhibit would be well-published all around Earth, I
felt it would be very important the the United States
do something that would tend to regain the spontaneous
admiration and confidence of the whole world. This
could be done by inaugurating at Expo 67 a computerized
exploration for the most universally creative and
economically sound internal and external USA policy
formulation.66

Fuller's Geodesic Dome, combined with the theme of

"Creative America," provided the new American image to

counter the negative one that was becoming increasingly

prevalent throughout the world due in part to the Vietnam

War, riots in American cities resulting from racial

conflicts and America's pro-capitalist image.

The decisive impact of Fuller's Dome at Expo 67 lay in

its implicit humanism refracted through a structure

promoting technical virtuosity but not at the expense of its

human component. The impression was created by emphasizing

the architectural aspect of the pavilion and downplaying the

internal displays, de-emphasizing traditional promotion of

technology or propagandizing through the exhibits. The

pavilion cost 9.3 million dollars, but this sum was heavily

weighted toward financing the twenty storey high and 250

foot diameter Geodesic Dome67 (figure 2.). By the time the

construction of the Dome was completed less that a million

dollars remained for actual display purposes. The message of

the American pavilion was to rely significantly on the

design and structure of the archtitecture as opposed to

66 Fuller, p.167

67 Architectural Forum 124(1966), p.76

internal displays, which even though with limited resources was able to mesh effectively with the overall concept.

The Dome was composed of 1900 transparent acrylic pads, each with a green bronze tint that graduated the amount of light entering the Dome from 93% at the top down to 45% at the base. Despite its dimensions, the actual weight of the Dome was only 600 tons. In other words, the Dome utilized about four ounces of material to enclose each cubic foot of space.68 This construction process was an important departure from previous dome architecture. The classic example, New York's Perisphere, was an opaque monolith, overpowering and threatening, housing inside it "Democracity," which was invisible until spectators actually entered the dome itself. The external form and internal function were two very separate entities that operated independently of one another. In marked contrast, the translucent qualities of the Geodesic Dome, its lightweight construction and appearance, all contributed to a positive response from fairgoers and, importantly, made it easily recognizable to millions of television viewers around the world.

Complementing this exterior was an interior display designed by the Cambridge Seven Associates under the auspices of the USIA, focusing on the theme of "Creative America" (figure 3.). As light and playful as the Dome itself, the interior exhibition was displayed on seven

68 <u>Architectural Forum,</u> p.75

levels connected by several escalators. Here, the image of America that was promoted was, to all appearances, a de-escalation in Cold War rhetoric. With the exception of the stereotypical space exhibit of an Apollo capsule, little remained of traditional American exhibition policy. None of the traditional United States' exhibits utilizing charts, graphs, or working models appeared. Instead, exhibits included wooden ducks, old election posters, "Raggedy Ann" dolls, cherry pitters, apple peelers, movie star blow ups. Written messages were limited to less than fifty words. The emphasis, as a spokesman for one of the designers states, was on the idea that people go to expositions mainly for entertainment.69 Ivan Chermayeff, one of the Cambridge Seven Associates, commented that with the oblolescence of the traditional fair concept didacticism could be thrown aside in favour of a lighthearted America70:

"There is no one thing we are trying to get across," Chermayeff said. "We tried to make an exhibit that has to do with aspects of America. Some of what we have is corny, some beautiful, some worthy. But everything we put in there is, I think, good."71

The playful interaction of exterior and interior was not only for entertainment purposes, but as Fuller stated: "The pavilion can be regarded as a prototypical `environment

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69 US News and World Report, 22 May 1967, p.96

70 Reporter, February 9, 1967 p. 37.

71 Reporter, p. 40.

valve' [which] will enclose sufficient space for whole communities to live in a benign physical microcosm."72

The absence of overt signs of capitalist self-promotion and the innovative features of transparency and interacting interior and exterior reflect a strategy of social and political design that had its origins in Baron Haussman's redesigning of Paris, a strategy which Timothy J. Clark characterizes as the "politics of invisibility, itself an important (though double-edged) factor in social control."73 Clark further adds that the politics of invisibility is a crucial aspect of the society of the "spectacle."74 Clark's observation is particularly relevant in the light of the new 'urbanism' of the Action Intellectuals. With this reasoning in mind Lewis Mumford captures the essence of Fuller's Geodesic Dome when he states in his book The City in History, that the "dematerialization or etherealization"75

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72 Architectural Forum, p. 75

73 Timothy J. Clark, The Painting of Modern Life, (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1985) p. 276-7

74 Clark summarizes the concept of the "spectacle" in the following way:
> It points to a massive internal extension of the capitalist market--the invasion and restructuring of whole areas of free time, private life, leisure, and personal expression which had been left, in the first push to constitute an urban proletariat, relatively uncontrolled. It indicates a new phase of commodity production--the marketing, the making-into-commodities, of whole areas of social practice which had once been referred to casually as everyday life. (p. 9)

75 Lewis Mumford, The City in History, (Harcourt, Brace and World: New York, 1961) p. 563.

of the modern urban space was leading toward the concept of

the _Invisible City_. Mumford goes on to describe the future

Invisible City in terms particularly appropriate for a

`politics of invisibility' characteristic of the transition

from `signs to signals' occurring in the third stage of

capitalist development and reflected in the ideology of

Buckminster Fuller's dome:

> This is itself an expression of the fact that the
> new world in which we have begun to live is not merely
> open on the surface, far beyond the visible horizon,
> but also open internally, penetrated by invisible rays
> and emanations, responding to stimuli and forces beyond
> the threshold of ordinary observation.76

Thus, the Dome stands as a symbol of a controlled

environment which echoes the ideas of the Action

Intellectuals, who emphasized the technological control of

nature under the banner of a liberal technological

humanism.77 However, the actual inhumanity of this strategy,

in terms of making the urban environment a sterilized space

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76 Mumford, p. 563.

77 The Orwellian implications of this view of future human
development take on even more ominous tones in the writings
of liberal intellectuals when they project their visions of
a future society of man and his world as the following
passage indicates:

> The changes which are taking place now will end in a
> completely new system of life in form and will lead us
> from civilization to ecumenization. Human settlements
> will have a completely new physical structure, a total
> global system of linked unities of every size.

C.A. Dioxiadis and J.G. Popaioannou, _Ecumenopolis_: _The_
Inevitable City of the Future (W.W. Morton: New York, 1974)
See also Ihab Hassan, "Toward a Transhumanized Earth:
Imagination, Science, and Future," in _The Georgia Review,_ 32
no.4 Winter 1978-9.

devoid of their troublesome human elements is demonstrated
by Marshall McCluhan writing in an article entitled,
"Technology and Environment", "The future of the city may be
very much like a world's fair--a place to show off new
technology--not a place of work or residence whatever."78
Nonetheless, the effectiveness of the USIA's "white
propaganda" campaign is expressed by the journal
Architectural Record in an article entitled "Expo 67--A
Brilliantly Ordered World":

> Understandably, it confounds those who expect to
> see only quantitative boasts of industrial strength,
> military power, scientific progress, and cultural
> ascendance.79

The pavilions of the United States and the Soviet Union
faced each other, on their respective islands of Ile Ste.
Helene and Ile Notre Dame, connected by a small foot bridge
called the Cosmos Walk or, as it was more appropriately
nicknamed, 'The Hot Line' (figure 1.). Having experienced
considerable success with their exhibition policy at world's
fairs in the late 1950's, the Soviet Union sought to repeat
its success at Expo 67 using its well-tried formula. The
major exception was the elimination of some hardline
propaganda in sculptures and posters; such hardline tactics
were a product of the Stalinist era and were deemed
inappropriate for a North American propaganda effort.

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78 Marshall McCluhan, "Technology and Environment" in
artscanada, February, 1967. p. 7.

79 "Expo 67--A Brilliantly Ordered World," The Architectural
Record 142(1967), p.119

The Russian pavilion (figure 4.) was financed at a cost of 15 million dollars, making it the second most expensive behind the host Canadian showcase. Rectangular in shape with a gently rising curved roof, the structure utilized glass walls to relieve the oppressiveness of the structure's scale. Designed by the Fiat corporation, the parts were actually prefabricated in Italy and built with Italian labour. The pavilion housed traditional Soviet displays of high technology and industrial progress (figure 5.). With approximately equal allocation of resources to both structure and exhibits, the Soviet pavilion was immeldiately overpowered by the physical size and presence of the Geodesic Dome while the Soviet exhibits, lacking the crucial relationship between interior and exterior display, were easily outclassed by the conceptually superior American pavilion.

The exhibits of scientific and industrial progress were jammed together in a confusing jumble of gadgets while the fairgoer was confronted with a bas relief of Lenin's head, consumer goods, and a fashion show, which was an unparalleled success. The success of the fashion show at the Soviet pavilion is ironic indeed,1 considering the charges of "effeteness" and "decadence" levelled at the American exhibit in Brussels, 1958, for a similar and equally successful fashion display. Adding insult to injury, the US News and World Report described the Russian

exhibit as being exactly the kind of thing Americans had

done at international fairs ten years earlier.80

The symbolic victory of the United States pavilion over

the Russian was summarized by Canadian journalist Pierre

Berton in the following way:

> After the impressive oppressiveness of the USSR's
> phalanxes of machinery, I found it [the US pavillion]
> an unexpected delight. I mean, one expects places like
> Jamaica and Trinidad to be gay and frivolous: but the
> United States? The Russians are selling awfully hard
> at Expo: the Americans by relaxing make their own
> subtle point.81

American success with Buckminster Fuller's Dome was not

the only aspect of the success of American Cold War strategy

at the fair. The real significance of the American success

was the meshing of the ideology of Fuller's pavilion,

symbolizing the `invisible city', with the overall concept

of Expo, creating a `total' environment under the theme "Man

and His World." Even though the Geodesic Dome was only a

national pavilion, it successfully functioned as a surrogate

fair symbol, an embodiment of the meaning of the fair. Like

Fuller's Dome, the fair was conceived as a symbol of man's

control of the environment through technology. The one

thousand acre site of Expo 67 was composed of two islands

and a peninsula, with most of the exhibits contained on the

islands. Located in the St. Lawrence River across from

Montreal, the islands were either created or enhanced by the

addition of 15 million tons of landfill.

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80 US News and World Report, 22 May 1967, p.96

81 Quoted in Maclean's, June 1967, p.143

A complex web of transportation systems and communications tied the fair to the city, hastening its urban redevelopment and emphasizing the possibilities of urban renewal through the means of technology. These transportation systems, ranging from subways to moving sidewalks, created a hierarchy of human circulation that contributed to an overall sense of unity on the fairground itself. By carefully controlling the environment of the fairground through landscaping, waterways, mass transit, and a consistent policy in the design of minor items such as benches or ticket kiosks, Expo 67 created a technological totality on the site unequalled by any previous world's fair.

With sixty-two participating nations, the theme "Man and His World" flourished, appearing to provide a peaceful forum for the gathering of humanity while not overtly promoting any one system or set of national interests. However, 1200 Canadian corporations alone participated and the international corporate business presence was strongly felt at the fair. Nonetheless, unlike the New York fair of 1964, the massive business presence was camouflaged and downplayed by the presence of national pavilions. The unity of Expo was contrived in such a way as to promote the appearance of the independance of nations while indicating the inter-relatedness of all 'Man' in its theme. Promoting the decentralized appearance of the fair meant the omission of a central symbolic structure, as Donald Theall notes:

"Expo has no single symbol, but is itself a symbol as a
total environment, a work of art."82

The Canadian pavilion (figure 6.) actually aided to
solidify the American strategy of asserting Cold War
supremacy over the Soviet Union. By presenting an image of
national purpose unified under the aegis of technology and
modernization, Canada made its own importand contribution to
the fair's overall ideology. The Canadian pavilion was
dominated by an inverted pyramid nine stories high and
entitled 'Katimavik,' the Inuit word for meeting place.
Behind the main exhibition (figure 7.) space were a series
of timber and canvas-covered spaces providing room for a
two-part display programme, one focusing on the exhibit and
the other an entertainment. The exhibits presented a
reassuring social image of the benefits of technology and
expertise. The formal arts were presented in a 500 seat
theatre as well as in a separate exhibition area for a
display of contemporary painting in Canada [see Chapter 3].
Popular culture was apparent throughout the pavilion
although the climax of popular culture displays was 'Uki,' a
sea monster which would rise up and belch flames, and which
threatened at one point to incinerate the Trans-Canadian
Canoe pageant.83

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82 Donald Theall, "Expo 67: A Unique Art Form," ArtsCanada,
April 1967, p.3

83 Newsweek, 1 May 1967, p.51

The central thrust of the Canadian pavilion was a
desire to influence public attitudes in three major
exhibits. First, an exhibit of natural resources was
designed to demonstrate Canada's evolution from a nation of
`hewers of wood and drawers of water' to a modern
industrialized state. Displays of transportation and
communications demonstrated Canada's intimate relationship
with and reliance upon technology for its very existence.
Second, the `Changing Times' display emphasized leisure
activities that modernization could provide. Third, the
`Interdependence of Canada in the World' display exemplified
Canada's role as a model of a mature independent nation
state in an interdependent world.

These three exhibits helped Canada provide a concrete
realization of the American programme of modernization which
was being promoted around the world by the USIA. The image
of Canada as a successful model of technological liberalism
was a crucial aspect of the neutralization of the Soviet
Union's national wars of liberation. The collaboration of
Canadian and American efforts in this ideological struggle
was possible in part due to the driving need to English
Canada to defuse the Quebec separatists (see Chapter Two) in
much the same way that America was trying to cope with Third
World nationalism.

The parallels of the new Canadian liberalism with
American Cold War strategy were outlined by seven French

Canadian intellectuals (including Pierre Trudeau) writing in

Cite Libre:

>   The most valid trends today are toward more
> enlightened humanism, towards various forms of
> political, social and economic universalism. Canada is
> a reproduction on a smaller and simpler scale of this
> universal phenomenon. The challenge is for a number of
> ethnic groups to live together. It is a modern
> challenge, meaningful and indicative of what can be
> expected of man. If Canadians cannot make a success of
> a country such as theirs, how can they contribute in
> any way to the elaboration of humanism, to the
> formulation of the international structures of
> tomorrow? To confess one's inability to make Canadian
> Confederation work is, at this stage of history, to
> admit one's unworthiness to contribute to the universal
> order.84

The success of Canada in contributing to the universal

humanist order is the success of Expo 67, and consequently

the fulfillment on this level of precisely the objectives of

Cold War intellectuals in the early 1960's. As an ex-colony

of France and Great Britain, Canada reassured the Third

World of the positive aspects of modernization as conceived

by the new American liberalism, while maintaining Canada's

independence of action within the American Empire. It

projected an image directly contradictory to historical

reality.

Ultimately, the values of technological liberalism

which were the moving force of the American and Canadian

pavilions permeate the totality of the fair itself. The

spectacle of Expo 67 was promoted through the vast range of

cultural expressions and the strategic use of media and

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84 Quoted in George Grant, Lament for a Nation (Toronto:
McClelland and Stewart, 1965), p.84

transit systems. Art, science, and entertainment formed a
unified front of images and sensations which were intended
to promote and perpetuate the implicit consumerist values of
the fair.85

The role of media in terms of science, art, and
technology becomes, in effect, a "blitzing of the mind,"
which "is basically a softening up operation which can
become a basic part of the education process. The mind
blitzed is a mind burst open."86 A similar observation was
made by Father John M. Culkin, Director of the Center for
Communications at Fordham University where Marshall McCluhan
was teaching in 1967, who found that "students who are
totally engaged by movies are open-minded and totally alert

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85 Two exhibits which symbolize the nexus of this strategic
alliance are the Gyrotron and The Labyrinth. The Gyrotron
was a ride wherein the spectator was hurtled through space
and through a volcano inside which he encountered various
monsters. The Labyrinth was a National Film Board
presentation of Northrop Frye asnd the sociologist Fernand
Cadieux reflecting on the nature of man's perception. It is
a totally software presentation; there are no walls, no
ceiling--the whole environment can be manipulated. Donald
Theall noted:
> Labyrinth becomes a large mirror of Gyrotron.
> With greater depth and complexity, Labyrinth also
> provides a maze, a monster, a hero, and a quest.
> Consequently, the art of Expo itself is the way in
> which it allows the comic book world of Gyrotron th
> interact with the comic epic insight of Labyrinth. (p.
> 3)

The alliance of art and science reached the height of
absurdity when the thematic pavillion 'Man in the Community'
displayed a variety of pop-op exhibits, including a Venus de
Milo with moving mechanical arms.

86 Quoted in Life, 7 July 1967, p. 28.

for intellectual combat. Apathy, not stupidity, has been the
enemy of our time."87

Various mixed media were displayed at every pavilion of
Expo, bombarding, blitzing, the fairgoer. No longer a
passive observer of the revolving Nash of 1939, the 1967
fairgoer became a victim of the media and its values. The
preparation for intellectual combat is one of the ways in
which "the system succeeds in getting people to
participate."88 Jean Baudrillard states:

> [By presenting] the eternal humanist mataphor: the
> more signs there are, the more messages and information
> there are, the more one communicates--the better it is.
> Having revealed to the advent of sign value and its
> indefinite extension on the basis of rational
> productivity, he sees in it, without hesitation, an
> absolute progress for humanity. It is an analogous
> reaction to that which sees the industrial upsurge more
> or less in the long run as abundance and happiness for
> all. This was the nineteenth century illusion with
> respect to material production. In the twentieth
> century, it takes off again with even more strength in
> sign activity. Now we have cybernetic idealism, blind
> faith in radiating information, mystique of information
> services and the media.89

Media and transportation also helped to form a view of
the `invisible' modern city that appealed to the middle

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87 Life, 7 July 1967, p. 28.

88 Jean Baudrillard, For a Critique of the Political Economy
of the Sign (St. Louis: Telos Press, 1981), p. 20.
The Architectural Review of August, 1967 also noted in
regards to this point: "The fun life has merged into the
education system, and it is perhaps the influence of Expo
that the medium has suddenly developed along didactic lines.
To see Montrealers queuing up to learn about public health
in Tehran at 9 o'clock on a Saturday night is to realize the
potentials of the new methods. It makes you revise your
ideas about entertainment." (p. 153)

89 Baudrillard, p. 199.

class in its war against the urban lower class, a war that
Daniel Moynihan of MIT had deemed essential in controlling
class conflict. Expo offered the image of the modern city
purged of its urban decay and the visible signs of the
productive process, as well as of the troublemaking lower
classes. The success of this new urban 'totality' is
reflected by Jeremy Baker when he lauds the new urban
concept presented by Expo 67:

> In a normal city there is no one on the side of
> 'us.' At Expo, the ultimate authority is concerned with
> 'our' environment. Total environment presupposes a
> 'total' system.90

Since the 1851 London World's Fair, international
exhibitions have reflected a desire to promote cultural
values that could absorb and negate the ongoing class
upheavals of the nineteenth century which constantly
threatened the class order of Europe. The role of humanism
becomes an ideological adjunct to the instrumentalizing of
world's fairs for this political role, especially in
fulfilling the ideological imperatives of the USIA and the
Action Intellectuals. The alliance of art, science, and
industry over the course of the history of world's fairs
enables the class rule of the bougeois to be perpetuated,
perhaps indefinitely, into the future. "The bourgeois class
has precisely built its power on technical, scientific
progress, on an unlimited transformation of nature.
Bourgeois ideology yields in return an unchangeable

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90 Baker, p. 154.

world."91 Expo 67 therefore provides "the basic idea of a

perfectable, mobile world [which] produces the inverted

image of an unchanging humanity, characterized by an

indefinite repetition of its identity."92

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91 Barthes, p. 141.

92 Barthes, p. 142.
On this point, Herbert Marcuse states in One Dimensional Man
(Boston: Beacon Press, 1969):

> The productive apparatus and the goods and services
> which it produces,'sell' or impose the social system as
> a whole. The means of mass transportation and
> comunicating the commodities of lodging, food, and
> clothing, the irresistable output of the entertainment
> and information industry carry with them prescribed
> attitudes and habits, certain intellectual and
> emotional reactions, which bind the consumer more or
> less pleasantly to the producers and, through the
> latter, to the whole. The products indoctrinate and
> manipulate: they promote a false consciousness which is
> immune against its falsehood. And as these beneficial
> products become available to more individuals in more
> social classes, the indoctrination they carry ceases to
> be publicity; it becomes a way of life." (pp. 11-12).

CHAPTER 2

Celebration on the Edge of the Empire

...By historical accident, Canada has found itself
approximately 75 years ahead of the rest of the world
in the formation of a multi-national state and I happen
to believe that the hope of mankind lies in
multinationalism...

Pierre Elliot Trudeau

The development of "technological liberalism," which

was the ideological correlate of the new 'signalling' system

of multi-national capitalism arose in part from the

particular nature of the United States-Canadian relationship

in the post war period. Canadian social, economic and

cultural modernization became accelerated with the

disintegration of the British Empire and the growing

dominance of the United States in all sectors of Canadian

society but in particular through the mass media and

advertising. The Cold War accelerated the growing dependency

of Canada within the American sphere of influence and its

rapid transition from a staple based economy to a highly

modern technologized society. This complex relationship was

to evolve into the ultimate expression of the potential for

the cybernization of the modern world. This chapter will

examine the United States-Canadian relationship in the

period 1945-1967 and how in politics and economics as in

culture Canada was torn between the pursuit of nationalism,

and the myth of a national identity, and internationalism,

with its attendant myths of humanity and the brotherhood of man as reflected in the ideology of `Man and His World.' Canada's role as the foremost exponent of "technological liberalism" became the dominant path and reached its apogee with the election of Pierre Trudeau and the slogan `Trudeaumania' which, the Canadian journalist Richard Gwyn argues, really could have been interpreted as `Canadamania.'1

US-Canadian Relations, 1945-1957

The significance of the Cold War in the development of Canadian society cannot be underestimated. As Canadian historian M. Patricia Marchak notes, the Cold War was probably "the single most important event in Canadian history."2 In the post-war period, Canadian apprehensions of Soviet aggression appear in popular magazines as early as 1946. In a 1946 article entitled "Marked for Soviet Conquest," The Financial Post, for example, stated:

> Russia is on the move. The overthrow of
> capitalism is her declared objective. Canada stands
> between Russia and the last great citadel of
> capitalism. Canada is economically very vulnerable.
> Canada stands in great need of becoming alert to
> dangers which lie in her path.3

This perception of the Soviet threat was to be a crucial factor in determining Canada's various policy objectives, both foreign and domestic. Even in the cultural

1 Richard Gywn, The Northern Magus (McClelland and Stewart:

sphere, perceptions of a Soviet threat easily dominated the thoughts of Canadian intellectuals, seriously tainting attempts to understand the growing significance of American culture in Canada. This anxiety over the Soviet threat to Canadian culture is reflected, as political scientist Philip Resnick notes, in the introduction to the 1951 Massey Report on Canadian culture. The Report's writer quotes a passage by George Grant which reads:

> Unfortunately, just as in the Western World, we are beginning to understand how deeply our spiritual traditions need guarding, just as we are ready to divert some of our energy from technology for that purpose, our society is being challenged to defend itself against a barbaric empire [the Soviet Union] that puts faith in salvation by the machine.4

Thus, while apprehensions did exist over American cultural penetration in Canada, this problem had to take a back seat to the more pervasive question of the Cold War. The increasing perception of a Soviet threat to the western world and, as a consequence, Canada's increased reliance on the United States, were reinforced by Canada's growing economic connections with the US. American influence in Canada was legitimated by America's ability to "deliver the goods," that is, by the superior performance of the Canadian economy as a result of the American presence. Marchak states:

> The explanation for [Canadian tolerance of the American presence] appears to be that a very substantial portion of the Canadian population benefitted materially from the Cold War, and that they,

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4 Quoted in Frank H. Underhill, "Notes on the Massey Report," Canadian Forum, August 1951, p.36

or their children, were upwardly mobile in an expanding economy; their mobility was entirely consistent with a belief in achievement, private freedom, and the general goodness of democracy and private enterprise.5

Thus, US-Canadian relations were impelled by the perception of the Soviet threat, as well as by mutual benefits, to establish a relationship much closer than the one that had existed before World War Two. An increasingly close US-Canadian relationship was further facilitated by the declining role of Great Britain's metropolitan relationship with Canada.

In the immediate post-war period, Canadian foreign policy tended to follow the British view which, in brief, perceived the Russian threat to North America as a diversion from the real Soviet objective, Europe. The United States, however, perceived that the technical advances in warfare made the Soviet Union a threat to North America itself, rendering Canada crucial to American defence interests.

Until 1947, the contrary foreign policy interests of the United States and Canada were managed through a policy of "functional theory." This policy attempted to negotiate international problems as a series of "discrete socio-economic problems amenable to pragmatic incremental solutions."6 This attempt to retain an individual voice in international affairs was quickly eroded by the rapid expansion in Cold War hostilities by 1948. Canada

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5 Marchak, p.100

6 Aloysius Balawyder [Ed.], Canadian-Soviet Relations 1939-1980 (Toronto: Mosaic Press, 1980), p.1

consequently became more aligned with American Cold War
policy, but continually tried to forge policy directives
that avoided the intensity of the American hostility to the
USSR.

The implications of the Cold War on Canadian foreign
policy were first examined in an article entitled "The US
and the Soviet Union: A Study of the Possibility of War and
Some Implications for Canadian Policy" by Escott Reid.
Published on August 20, 1947, the article acknowledged that
increased tensions between the United States and the Soviet
Union means a decline in Canadian foreign policy options.[7]
Reid asserted that a moderate foreign policy would provide
the greatest leverage in terms of Canada's range of decision
making: "We should endeavour to follow a course which is
neither that of excessive flattery nor of excessive
ostracism."[8] Reid's report also mentions that the ability
of American culture to seep into Canada indicated a lack of
an indigenous political culture on Canada's part--with the
implication that an independent Canadian foreign policy
would have difficulties justifying itself.

Between 1947 (with the re-affirmation of the Joint
Board on Defense) and 1957 (with the formation of NORAD
under the Diefenbaker government), Canada became involved in

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7 Escott Reid, "The US and the Soviet Union: A Study of the
Possibility of War and Some Implications for Canadian
Policy," (originally a Department of External Affairs
publication, 20 August 1947) Canadian-Soviet Relations
1939-1980, p.44

8 Reid, p.18

a greater and greater series of political alignments and allegiances. Constantly trying to balance the overwhelming influence of the United States with multilateral alliances such as NATO in 1949, rather than denying dependence on bilateral relations with the US, implicated Canada in a network of military alliances that ultimately received their direction from the requirements of American foreign policy.

In 1951, the Department of External Affairs released another report entitled "General Limitations on Canadian Foreign Policy" which also took into consideration the increasing pressures of American economic strength. The extent of American influence "prevented effective use of economic foreign policy instruments. . .[Canada] could not rely on a subsidiary dominated system for action to support her objectives."9 Therefore, seriously constrained in the area of foreign policy directives, Canada was forced to walk a path of ever-increasing interdependence.10

The new continental framework into which Canadian foreign policy was plugged functioned just as powerfully in the area of economics. Although for two centuries prior to World War Two, the Canadian economy had rested on a staple

9 "General Limitations on Canadian Foreign Policy," (originally a Department of External Affairs Publication, November 1951) Canadian-Soviet Relations 1939-1980, p.50

10 The Report also carried this warning:
"To act contrary to American interests. . .would result in risks of losing access to raw materials either because Canada imports directly from the US and/or because it imports them from countries will allocative agreements with the US. Thus in periods of keen competition, Canada must act with care." (pp.4-5)

base of furs, fish, and lumber, this staple base economy encouraged political dependancy on the respective metropolitan powers of France and Great Britain and encouraged an East-West trade orientation. The economic weakness of Great Britain after 1945 created a vacuum which the Canadian Liberal government felt could be filled by increased trade with the United States. However, the need to redress a sagging balance of payments was tackled so as to emphasize short term growth at the expense of the sale of natural resources. In 1947, the same year as the Joint Board on Defense agreement was signed by Canada and United States, signifying continental military integration, the Canadian economy was also shifting to a continentalist North-South perspective with the signing of the Abbott Plan in November.

The Abbott Plan addressed the issue of the drop in Canada's dollar reserve from $1,250,000,000 at the end of 1946 to 500,000,000 some ten month later.11 Canada obtained a $300 million credit but, more significantly, future trade deficits would be resolved by the increasing sale of natural resources to American industry.12 As well, the export of natural resources to the United States increased dramatically with the Korean War, further emphasizing continental economic integration.

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11 Phillip Resnick, The Land of Cain (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1977), p.76

12 Resnick, p.76

A further development in the 1950's was the
construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. The Seaway
functioned as a gateway for middle American industry to the
raw materials bases of Quebec and Ontario. The economic
advantages derived from the opening of the Seaway
unfortunately masked the additional impetus to North-South
trade and the heightening of economic integration. Canada's
experience of American resource extraction paralleled the
situation of many Third World countries. In an article
entitled "The Changing Structure of the Canadian Economy,"
H.G.J. Aitken observed in 1939 that the price of Canadian
post-war economic development had been high:

> The nation that today is Canada has never been
> under its own destiny; as a satellitic staple-producing
> economy, it reflected, and still reflects, in its rate
> of development, the imperatives of more advanced areas.
> . .The influence of the United States upon the
> character of Canadian development is in the direction
> of perpetuating Canada's traditional status as a
> staple-producing country.13

Canada provided, as it would later at Expo 67, a model
to the Third World of the benefits such an economic
relationship would bring. The resource-based economic boom
and the additional influx of American media and technology
provided a clear-cut example of the benefits to be derived
from economic dependance on the United States and
ideological adherence to capitalism. Despite the
vulnerabilities to world market shifts, increased dependancy

13 H.G.J. Aitken, "The Changing Structure of the Canadian
Economy," <u>Modern Canada</u>, Michael Cross [Ed.] (Toronto:
McClelland and Stewart, 1984), p.45

on the United States, the exporting of processing jobs to the United States, and an economy slow to industrialize because of the staple dependancy, Canada could nonetheless display itself as a benefitting partner in the continental totality.

The importance of Canada as an example of a particular type of economic relationship in the post-war period revealed:

> . . .America's ability to procure at will such materials as it needs, and at a price it can afford. [This ability] is one of the keystones of its economic power this century. The stakes are vast, and its capacity to keep intact something like the existing integrated but unequal relations between the poor, weak nations and the US is vital to the future of its mastery of the international economy.14

The extent of the successful integration of Canada and Third World staple producing societies into the new economic order is reflected in the overall decline in the share of developing nations in world exports from 31.2% in 1950 to 19.1% in 1966 15, one year before Expo 67. Canada's passive acceptance of American influence on its foreign and domestic policy went unshaken until 1956. At that time, three major events shook Canadian complacency for a brief moment that ultimately contributed to the rejection of post-war liberalism in favour of the nationalistic platform of John Diefenbaker. These events are the Pipeline Debate, the Norman Affair and the Suez Crisis.

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14 Gabriel Kolko, The Roots of American Foreign Policy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p.55

15 Kolko, p. 56

The Pipeline Debate centred around a proposed oil
pipeline to be constructed from Alberta to Eastern Canada.
The route was proposed to be constructed by an American
firm, and the consequent debate in Parliament over the issue
was not resolved until Louis St. Laurent's Liberal
government introduced closure to force the Pipeline Bill
through Parliament. The impression that was created was one
of a government bowing to accomodate the needs of an
American company.

Secondly, the Norman Affair involved the suicide of
Canadian career diploman Herbert Norman in Cairo, Egypt.
Having been involved in the Communist Party in the 1930's,
Norman was subjected to harassment by an American Senatorial
Sub-Committee. Allegations of Communist connections in
relation to his diplomatic post resulted in his suicide. The
apparent refusal of the Canadian government to repudiate the
Senate inquiries again highlighted the lopsided nature of
US-Canadian relations. As A.D.P. Heeney recollected in his
Memoirs of a Canadian Public Servant: ". . .the senators'
activities produced a wave of anti-Americanism in Canada
which Pearson told me exceeded anything in his
experience."16

The third major event which contributed to a growing
sense of Canadian nationalism was the Suez Crisis. The
intervention of Anglo-French troops in the seizure of the

16 A.D.P. Heeney, The Things That Are Caesar's: Memoirs of a
Canadian Public Servant (Toronto, 1972), p.144

Suez Canal was severely criticized by Lester Pearson, but
Canada's participation in the United Nations' Peacekeeping
Force did little to disavow the appearance that Canada was
ready to do whatever was necessary at the behest of American
foreign policy.

These three events shattered, for a brief moment, the
faca of continentalism forged by Mackenzie King and the
subsequent Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent. The
Conservatives under John Diefenbaker exploited these issues
and were elected on a nationalistic platform.

Diefenbaker and the United States

The ten years between the election of John Diefenbaker
in 1957 and Expo 67 saw a continual erosion of Canada's
national sovereignty despite the growing realization that
American and Canadian interests did not always coincide.
Immediately after its election, however, the Diefenbaker
government was confronted by the same geopolitical pressures
that cajoled Canadian foreign policy along the lines of
American Cold War interests. The North American Air Defense
Command (NORAD) agreement, for example, was signed by the
Diefenbaker government after severe lobbying from the
Canadian military who, along with the American military, had
wanted to nationalize continental defence since 1955.

Canadian attempts to establish a separate military
aviation industry in the 1950's also ran afoul of American
government interests. Cancellation of the Avro Arrow jet

interceptor because of pressure from American interests in
Europe to purchase an American plane resulted in the Defence
Production Sharing Agreement of 1960. This agreement
further unified the continental defence industrial complex,
but Diefenbaker had no choice if he were to salvage what was
left of the Canadian defence industry. However, two issues
in particular signified Diefenbaker's crossing of the line
of US interests and set up a chain of events that would
topple the Diefenbaker government and stand as examples to
all Canadian politicians of the actual margin of foreign
policy freedom they could entertain in the Cold War.

The first incident was the Bomarc missile crisis which
then dovetailed with the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. The
Bomarc missiles were basically anti-bomber defence missiles
that required nuclear warheads to be at all effective.
Developments in ballistic missile technology persuaded the
Diefenbaker government that the Bomarcs, located on two
bases in eastern Canada, were obsolete and not vital to
NORAD. The American government, suspicious of Canadian
reliability, pushed for acceptance of the nuclear warheads.
At this point, the Liberal opposition leader, Lester
Pearson, recognized the political advantages and reversed
his party's policy to fall in line with the American. Yet
the significance of the Bomarcs was revealed in secret
testimony by American Secretary of Defense Robert MacNamara,
proving ". . .that one of the purposes of the Bomarc bases
in Canada was to attract the fire of Soviet missiles which

would normally be targetted at American locations."17

Diefenbaker reproached Lester Pearson for his support of

American policy, for wanting to make Canada "a decoy duck in

a nuclear war."18

The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis represented a deliberate

decision by the Diefenbaker government to break with

American foreign policy. The placing of Russian Medium

Range missiles in Cuba alarmed the Kennedy Administration to

such an extent that all of America's western allies were

expected to follow lock step behind American decisions.

After viewing American aerial photography of Cuba,

Diefenbaker went before the House of Commons and refused the

American interpretation of events until more evidence was

supplied. Canada was the only western ally to break with

American policy. In his statement to the House of Commons,

Diefenbaker argued:

> What people all over the world want tonight and
> will want is a full and complete understanding of what
> is taking place in Cuba. . . .The determination of
> Canadians will be that the United Nations should be
> charged at the earliest moment with this serious
> problem. . . .As late as a week ago, the USSR contended
> that its activities in Cuba were of an entirely
> defensive nature. . . .The only sure way that the world
> can be secure of the facts would be through an
> independent inspection.19

In early 1963, the Kennedy Administration retaliated.

The first blow was the press conference given in Canada by

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17 Lawrence Martin, <u>The Presidents and the Prime Ministers</u>
(Toronto: Doubleday, 1982), p.208

18 Martin, p.208

19 Martin, p.199

American General Norstad, lambasting Canada's lack of enthusiasm for the western alliance and continental defence. Secondly, a press release was issued by the Kennedy Administration, savaging the Diefenbaker government on Canadian defence policy and Canadian attitudes towards the question of nuclear weapons. The Diefenbaker government subsequently lost a non-confidence vote over these foreign policy embarrassments. The deliberate manner in which the Canadian government was embarrassed was noted by McGeorge Bundy, National Security Advisor, who wrote to Lyndon Johnson:

> I might add that I myself have been sensitive to the need for being extra polite to Canadians ever since George Ball and I knocked over the Diefenbaker government by one incautious press release.[20]

John F. Kennedy's attitude was somewhat more direct. He stated, "I don't think Diefenbaker was a son-of-a-bitch. I thought he was a prick."[21]

The Diefenbaker episode highlighted Canada's dilemma in the Cold War. Diefenbaker sought to establish a more independent foreign policy that did not jeopardize the west and actually signed Canada into NORAD. However, the geographical implications of its proximity to the United States made proclamations about Canadian independence hollow. Aloysius Balawyder summarizes the Canadian position

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20 Martin, p.7

21 Martin, p.210

as a result of the Diefenbaker experience in the following

quotation:

> If a natural alliance orientation exists in a
> tight bipolar system, and if geographical, cultural,
> linguistic, trade, and all other ties determined this
> orientation, then no change in government though
> democratic processes will seriously affect those
> underlying magnetic forces, even if the superpowers
> were so foolish as to permit their satellites to try.[22]

In 1965, the Canadian philosopher George Grant,

reflecting on the demise of the Diefenbaker government,

wrote Lament for a Nation. Although politically and

philosophically a conservative, Grant's lament for Canadian

nationalism argues that the only hope for an independent

Canadian society was one that would involve abandoning the

ideological imperative of liberal capitalism and the dynamic

impetus of American culture. Seeing in the defeat of

Diefenbaker the death of Canadian aspirations, Grant

concludes:

> The impossibility of conservatism in our era is
> the impossibility of Canada. As Canadians, we
> attempted a ridiculous task in trying to build a
> conservative nation in the age of progress, on a
> continent shared with the most dynamic nation on earth.
> The current of modern history was against us.[23]

Even if one disavows Grant's plea for conservatism, one

can agree with him on the basis of his perception of a

growing continentalist alliance beatween Canadian liberalism

and American capitalism. The discussion of US-Canadian

relations between 1963 and 1967 will revolve around this

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22 Balawyder, p.61

23 George Grant, Lament for a Nation (Toronto: McClelland
and Stewart, 1965), p.68

growing philosophical compatibility of Canadian liberalism with American interests, despite lip service to Canadian self-identity and the growing challenge to American hegemony in the 1960's presented by the Vietnam War, revolution in the Third World, and internal domestic dissension. In the 1960's, the foreign policy of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson sought greater and greater loyalty from Canada as the Cold War entered a new phase with a new strategy.

America and "Total Communication"

Crucial to the understanding of the ideological significance of Expo 67 was the evolution of American Cold War strategy towards media and technology that evolved from the late 1950's onwards. In regards to Canada, this shift manufactured a myth of technological liberalism that would provide the political basis for a new Canadian federalism fulfilling the hegemonic requirements of American foreign policy. In this section, I will briefly analyse the evolution of the new Cold War strategy in media and technology and then draw the comparison with the evolution of Canadian liberalism in the 1960's.

The new strategy of ideological warfare which America was to exploit in the 1950's and 60's was expressed in its earliest form in 1947 by Edward Bernays. Writing in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Bearnays, a leading public relations figure, argued:

> Leaders...of major organized groups, with the aid
> of technicians...who have specialized in utilizing the
> channels of communications, have been able to
> accomplish...scientifically what we have termed `the
> engineering of consent.'24

Bearnays prophetically lays the foundation for the basis of social control in democratic societies which will be exploited in the 1950's and which necessitated a more sophisticated approach to `the engineering of consent' than the simple self-promotion of capitalism. As Noam Chomsky points out the phrase `engineering of consent' meant for Bearnays:

> ...quite simply means the application of
> scientific principles and tried practices to the task
> of getting people to support ideas and programs...The
> engineering of consent is the very essence of the
> democratic process, the freedom to persuade and
> suggest...A leader frequently cannot wait for the
> people to arrive at an even general
> understanding...democratic leaders must play their part
> in...engineering...consent to socially constructive
> goals and values.25

In the late 1950's, extensive research was done in America on the relationship between mass media and technology. One of the first texts to discuss these new developments was The Passing of Traditional Society written in 1958 by David Lerner, former World War Two Chief Editor of the Intelligence Branch of the Psychological Warfare Division of SCHAEF (Supreme Command Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force). Lerner's book specifically focuses on the influence of American mass media in developing Third

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24 Quote cited in Noam Chomsky, Towards a New Cold War (Pantheon Books: New York, 1979) pp. 66-7.

25 Chomsky, pp. 66-7.

World societies. Based on surveys of Egypt, Iran, Jordan,
Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey, all of which were undergoing a
significant modernization process, Lerner's book promoted
the belief that the American media was winning the Cold War
in these countries with little opposition from the Soviet
media.26 As Jeremy Tunstall summarizes, Lerner saw a vital
but unclear connection between organization, media
development, and development generally. Following Lerner's
book, significantly more research was conducted concerning
the relationship of the Cold War with Mass Communications.
The political motivations of these researchers was quite
clear, as Lerner reveals, as most of them were Cold Warriors
advising Asian governments and American federal agencies.27

In 1964, the publication of Wilbur Schramm's Mass Media
and National Development revealed the requirements that had
been made in terms of the political value of mass media.
The relationship between economic developments and modern
mass media was successfully articulated in Third World
countries to such an extent that the book became the 'Bible'
of UNESCO in the 1960's.28 Texts such as Lerner's and
Schramm's provided much of the ideological foundation for
Kennedy's 'New Frontier' foreign policy.

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26 Jeremy Tunstall, The Media are American (London:
Constable, 1977), p.206

27 Tunstall, p.208

28 Tunstall, p.210

Leonard G. Benson, in his book <u>National Purpose</u> written
in 1963, discusses this new awareness with its obvious
political implications in a chapter entitled "Ideology in
Modern Cultural Warfare":

> Due to technological developments, the modern
> nation has new ways of administering itself--ways that
> can be considered among the most significant new
> ingredients in international relations.29

The Cold War was continuing into the 1960's, but now a
new awareness, a new strategy could be implemented.

President John F. Kennedy's adherence to the
technological strategy is demonstrated in his address at
Yale University on June 12, 1962:

> What is at stake in our economic decisions today
> is not some grand warfare of rival ideologies which
> will sweep the country with passion, but the practical
> management of a modern economy. What we need are not
> labels and cliches, but more basic discussions of the
> sophisticated and technical questions involved in
> keeping a great economic machinery moving ahead.30

Louise Fitzsimmons, in <u>The Kennedy Doctrine</u>, writes
about the significance of the new strategy, which after 1961
was to take the offensive against revolutionary and
nationalist movements in the Third World, with implications
for the growing nationalist sentiment in the Canadian
province of Quebec and the Canadian government's response to
it. She states:

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29 Leonard G. Benson, <u>National Purpose</u> (Washington, DC:
Public Affairs Press, 1963), p.28

30 Quote in Alvin W. Gouldner, <u>The Dialectic of Ideology and
Technology</u>, (Oxford University Press: New York, 1976) p.
250.

America's anti-Communist mission was to be strengthened by the benefits of advanced technology and justified by our moral purpose. We now had the capacity and we could therefore develop the means--as well as the will--to affect significantly the course of events around the world, and, in effect, reshape the world in our image.31

Kennedy's counter-insurgency programme was able to take advantage of America's dominance of media and technology in order to manipulate not only political outcomes but the economic, cultural, and social development of the Third World as well.

Walt Rostow, a counter-revolutionary theorist, in an address to the graduating class of Green Berets at the US Army Special Weapons School in 1961, made the connection between the development of the Third World and American interests through technology, a crucial development in the new Cold War doctrine:

Power is moving from the social hierarchy to those who command the tools of modern technology. The American purpose is to create truly independent nations, each of which must be permitted the kind of society it wants. We believe that if independence can be maintained, these nations will choose their own interpretation of the open society, of democracy. We seek nations that will stand up and maintain their independence, and which will move toward human freedom and political democracy in our time. We seek to protect the independence of the revolutionary process; communism does not. Rather, it seeks to subvert it. The Communists are by the nature of their system driven to violate the independence of states while we, by the nature of ours, are moved to support the course of national independence.32

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31 Louise Fitzsimmons, The Kennedy Doctrine (New York: Random House, 1972), p.8

32 Quoted in Fitzsimmons, p.175

Rostow's speech articulates the major aspects of American foreign policy in the 1960's. Independence was to be encouraged, yet, as we have seen and will see in Canada's case, this definition of independence is entirely American in tone and substance. As the Diefenbaker era revealed, attempts to cross that line between Canadian interests and American foreign policy interests led to humiliation and the ultimate defeat of a democratically elected government through an unabashed use of the pressure of the United States government.

The 'spearhead of modernity' which Rostow attributes to America by his defence of the revolutionary process will become fully realized in the Canadian experience. Canada, and Expo 67, were to show this new strategy in its full functioning. The rhetoric of independence and the momentary success in defusing Quebec nationalism combined with the consumer benefits of high technology were to be expressed as never before at Expo with Canada the prime example of the new objectives of American Cold War strategy in the 1960's.

In his book <u>The Propaganda Gap</u>, Walter Joyce refers to the new alliance of media, technology, and American foreign

policy as "Total Communication."33   Total Communication

would be expressed at Expo 67, not only in the Buckminster

Fuller designed Geodesic Dome, but in the total layout of

the fairgrounds as well.   Thus, Expo had no single symbol,

as Douglas Theall observed in artscanada in 1967:

> Traditionally, international expositions have
> created symbols, such as the Crystal Palace or the
> Eiffel Tower, which are visions of the future. Expo
> has no single symbol, but is itself a symbol as a total
> environment, a work of art. If there is a key to the
> labyrinth of Expo itself, it is Man in the Community.34

The successful application of technology and media as

'total communication' -- and instrument of American foreign

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33 Walter Joyce, The Propaganda Gap (New York: Harper and
Row, 1963)
In The Propaganda Gap (p.73), Joyce summarizes US objectives
in the following way:
1) Convince the world that the wave of the future is
represented by free and democratic societies, which can
provide the greatest economic, social, and cultural benefits
to their members.
2) Convince the world that the US is vitally concerned in
helping less developed countries grow economically and
socially, so that they will become useful members of the
Free World.
3) Beat down the misconceptions that world communism is
inevitable, that our economic system is geared to
exploitation, and that the United States is bent on world
domination.
4) Feed the discontent of citizens of the Iron Curtain
countries with a system that has failed to live up to its
promises, that must foment strife with other countries if
its leaders are to maintain control at home, and that denies
its own citizens the basic human rights held sacred in free
nations.
5) Spread the idea that communism is a disease that must
consume itself.
6) Explain the difference between the USSR and the satellite
nations.

34 Donald Theall, "Expo 67: A Unique Art Formm" artscanada,
April 1967, p.3

policy -- finds no clearer application than at the end of
Theall's article, when he states:

> The minirail weaving in and out provides a means
> of becoming visually aware of the interconnecting
> networks within. In this way, the totality, and not
> just the parts, become a dynamic process mirroring man-
> -an artistic vision of man's total potential in
> contemporary life.35

Expo 67 succeeded, therefore, in promoting the American
Cold War effort while at the same time presenting itself as
an image of benign technological development that
contradicted any appearance of propaganda in the redefining
of the world in America's image.

As previously mentioned, Canada, throughout the post
war period, tried to find room to maneuver in the Cold War
environment between the United States and the Soviet Union.
However, as the new strategy of total communication began to
unfold, Canada found itself at the forefront as a model of
the new propaganda effort. The acceptance of the new
American strategy coincided with the demise of John
Diefenbaker's nationalistic government and the restructuring
of the Liberal party following the 1965 federal election.
The new liberalism that would emerge from this period under
the leadership of Pierre Elliott Trudeau in 1968 would
harmonize Canadian interests with the new American
perspective. This was made possible because of the
similarity between Canadian technological liberalism under
Trudeau and his understanding of Marchall McCluhan's media

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35 Theall, p.3

theories, with the new American propaganda strategy, hinging on the concept ot total communication.

US-Canadian Relations, 1963-1967

The re-orienting of Canadian liberalism to the new ideological imperatives of the Cold War began slowly following the federal election of 1963. Under Lester Pearson, Canada's foreign policy attempted to re-establish the boundary line of co-operation, over which Diefenbaker had deliberately stepped in the name of Canadian self-determination. Pearson was determined to reach an accomodation with the United States and introduced two major new policy thrusts to correct the damage. The first was to pursue national interests not by antagonizing America but by `Quiet Diplomacy'; the second was the principle of `Good Allies.' Both of these policies promoted Canada's position and stance in the Cold War as being unquestionable pro-west. The `new happiness' with the direction of the Canadian government was reflected in a memo by President Kennedy's advisor, McGeorge Bundy:

> The advent of a new government in Canada has naturally stirred all branches of the government to new hope that progress can be made with the most important neighbour on all sorts of problems. It is the President's wish that these negotiations should be most carefully co-ordinated under his personal direction.36

With a minority government, Pearson was faced with growing internal problems, the tremendous growth in Quebec

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36 Quoted in Martin, p.211

nationalism in the 1960's and the divisiveness created

externally by the Vietnam War. While Canada was

politically, militarily, and economically moving further

into the orbit of American policy, the liberal government of

this era embarked on a programme of national symbols, such

as the new Canadian flag, new national anthem, and the

initiative for Expo 67 in order to contradict the internal

regionalism threatening national unity as well as to assert

Canadian independence internationally, even though the

opposite was actually the case.

Pearson rejected the nationalism of the New Democratic

Party as well as the nationalism of Diefenbaker's

Conservatives.37 However, following his failure to achieve

a majority government in the 1965 federal election, the need

to rejuvenate Liberalism to cope with internal division and

international pressures was becoming paramount. The day

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37 Liberal policy prior to Trudeau was derived from a Royal
Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which, as James
and Robert Laxer observe,"developed the concept of
"cooperative federalism," the idea that some provincial
governments would choose to opt out of federal provincial
programs in favour of their own programs, if they wished."
James and Robert Laxer, The Liberal Idea of Canada (Toronto:
James Lorimer and Company, 1971), p. 175. The other
political parties positions on Quebec are summarized as:
    The Conservative Party is torn between two positions,
    the one-Canada position of John Diefenbaker with its
    insistance on the indivisibility of Canada, and a
    position associated with Robert Stanfield that was
    based on the idea that Canada had been created by "two
    founding peoples. p. 175.
The NDP position revolved around the "two nations" concept
and whose spokesman favoured the idea of "special status"
for Quebec, the notion that constitutional reform could be
undertaken to provide Quebec with constitutional quarantees
that would allow it to protect and enhance the developments
of its francophone culture." p. 175.

after the 1965 election, the largest Liberal newspaper in

Canada, <u>The Toronto Daily Star</u>, predicted the demise of

Canadian Liberalism:

> The Liberals may be on the same downhill slope as
> the British Liberal Party of 40 years ago. It is
> entirely conceivable in the next few years that Liberal
> support may drain away to the New Democrats just as
> British Liberals lost their votes to the Labour
> Party.38

Yet, between 1965 and the overwhelming election victory

of Trudeau in 1968, Canadian Liberalism fashioned a workable

political ideology that found its purest expression the

technocratic, humanist theme of Expo 67: 'Man and His

World.'

The most important aspect of the revitalized Liberalism

was the need to defuse the appeal of Quebec nationalism. In

the 1950's, with the new exploitation of Quebec's raw

materials and hydroelectric power, the middle class in

Quebec experienced tremendous growth particularly with the

changing nature of trade unionism in the province. Social

change was brought about as the clerical unionism that had

been prevalent within the society was broken by the Asbestos

Strike of 1949. Political change was witnessed a decade

later with the overthrow of Maurice Duplessis, as the

changing political consciousness was reflected in the voting

patterns of the province.

The debate concerning French Canadian nationalism was

revitalized as the new industrial middle class became the

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38 Quoted in Cy Gonick, "Right Wing or Left Wing
Liberalism?" <u>Canadian Dimension</u>, 3(November 1965), p.58

mainstay of contemporary French Canadian nationalism. As

James and Robert Laxer point out:

> The new middle class of technicians, engineers,
> teachers and government and corporate executives wanted
> opportunities for themselves and their children in
> Quebec. They had become too numerous and too secular to
> be convinced that they should stand aside and allow
> their English speaking counterparts to enjoy the best
> jobs in Quebec.39

French Canadian nationalism, in the era of multi-

national capital, revolves around a continuing historical

debate, clarified by Michel Brunet's thesis, derived from

Lord Durham's concept of two nations at war within a single

state. The concept takes root in the argument of the neo-

nationalists:

> As long as traditionalist nationalism in the form
> of Maurice Duplessis' Union Nationale held power, all
> the critics stood together in opposition. But once the
> Duplessis regime was replaced by a reform
> administration, the former allies in opposition
> discovered that their ultimate objectives had always
> been different. For men like Trudeau, nationalism
> itself lies at the root of French Canada's problems.
> Therefore, they find the new nationalism as deficient
> in principle, if not in practice, as the old. The other
> school which might be called the Rene Levesque school,
> really follows Brunet in rejecting only the traditional
> aspects of nationalism. For them, nationalism is valid
> if brought into conformity with the social and economic
> needs of modern society.40

Michel Brunet postulates that of the three elements

which typified French Canadian society: agriculturalism,

anti-statism and messianism; the first is no longer relevant

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39 Laxer, p. 169.

40 Ramsay Cook, <u>Canada</u> <u>and</u> <u>the</u> <u>French</u> <u>Canadian</u> <u>Question</u>
(Toronto: Hignell Press, 1966) p. 141.

(with only 5.7 per cent of the work force employed in

agriculture), but the other two are fundamental to an

understanding of French Canada's future:

> Brunet holds that the fear of the state prevented
> French Canadians from making adequate use of their
> provincial government the Confederation put in their
> hands. Today, when state intervention is in so many
> spheres, they are finally beginning to utilize this
> instrument. Will they be content to use it within the
> confines of the Confederation? The answer will depend
> on the reinterpretation of the messianic function.
> French Canada is reassessing the missionary role it has
> traditionally seen as its peculiar charge. If a
> majority of French Canadians became convinced that
> their cultural interests could be advanced without
> hindrance only by concentrating on the territory where
> French Canadian political control is beyond a doubt,
> the outlook for Confederation is dim.41

For Rene Levesque, the dynamics of the new nationalism

were "the secret to the new Quebec."42 In 1963, he commented

in Le Devoir that nationalism was the self-respect derived

from having control over one's own destiny:

> What is at stake? The right to live one's life, to
> live our life; the right of men to live, whether we are
> weak or powerful; the right of peoples and nations to
> live, whether they are large or small.43

According to Levesque, the misunderstanding and

domination of French Canada by English Canada were

considerable. He pointed to the 1959 Canadian Broadcasting

Company's French network strike, which he felt was ignored

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41 Edward M. Corbett, Quebec Confronts Canada, (Baltimore:
Johns Hopkins University, 1967) p. 40.

42 Rene Levesque, An Option for Quebec, (Toronto: McClelland
and Stewart, 1968) p. 6.

43 Levesque, p. 8.

in relation to the public attention the English network
would have gained in a similar action. He concluded "that
Ottawa had little understanding of French Canada and even
less concern about developments which affect only French-
speaking cities."44 His reflections concerning current
French Canadian society attempt to demonstrate that, because
of the fundamental inequities of the existing `unitarism,'
or phony federalism, new wrinkles must be added either to
existing institutions, or from within the framework of a new
state, in order to accommodate the growing demands of the
community.

In opposition to Rene Levesque was Pierre Elliott
Trudeau, who saw behind the thin veneer of dynamic
nationalism a potential nationalist socialist state,
resulting from the historical traditions of Quebec that have
imbued its people with a deeply-seated mistrust of democracy
and individual rights. In Some Obstacles to Democracy in
Quebec, Trudeau emphasized that the conservative
traditionalist role of nationalism in French Canadian
society has not established a foundation wherein democracy
and individual rights would be safeguarded. Instead, he saw
a Quebec that has had democratic institutions forced upon
it, to bind the hands of French Canadians. Democratic
processes were used to secure an inordinate amount of power
for the English Canadians. This power was inordinate because

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44 Levesque, p. 34.

of the aformentioned clericalism, agriculturalism and anti-statism of the elite classes in Quebec.45

In 1965, the newly-elected Trudeau, Jean Marchand, and Gerard Pelletier were summoned to Ottawa by Pearson to establish a strong French Canadian presence in the federal Liberal Party. The emergence of Trudeau on the Canadian political scene seemed to be, according to James and Robert Laxer, the logical development in the direction of Canadian Liberalism, as they state, "The nation had become urban, sophisticated, and fully integrated into the world of communication. Trudeau's style seemed the appropriate adornment to the nation's substance."46 The special status that had previously been implied in all three positions of the federal political parties on Quebec was tossed aside by Trudeau in favour of technological rationalism and a fervent anti-nationalism:

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45 Mason Wade argues:
>   In such a mental climate, sound democratic politics could hardly be expected to prevail, even in strictly provincial or local affairs where racial issues were not involved. For cheating becomes a habit. Through historical necessity, and as a means of survival, French Canadians had felt justified in finessing at the parliamentary game, and as a result the whole game of politics was swept outside the pale of morality. They have succeeded so well in subordinating the pursuit of the common weal to the pursuit of their particular ethnic needs that they never achieved any sense of obligation towards the general welfare, including the welfare of the French Canadians on non-racial issues.

Mason Wade, Canadian Dualism, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960) p. 243.

46 Laxer, p.15.

> ...I am not predicting which way Canada will turn.
> But because it seems obvious to me that nationalism—
> and of course I mean the Canadian as well as the Quebec
> variety—has put her on a collision course, I am
> suggesting that cold, unemotional rationality can still
> save the ship.47

The relationship of Canada's integration into the world

of communication and Quebec nationalism becomes very

significant when viewed with the American strategy and total

communication and Walt Rostow's defence of national

independence and the revolution of modernity. Canada could

signify the independent nation state, but also maintain

control over its regionalism and particularisms. In light

of this American strategy, Trudeau stated in his 1962

analysis of French Canadian nationalism:

> The die is cast in Canada: there are two ethnic
> and linguistic groups; each is too strong and too
> deeply rooted in the past, too firmly bound to a mother
> culture, to be able to swamp the other. But if the two
> will collaborate inside of a truly pluralistic state,
> Canada could become a privileged place where the

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47 Laxer, p. 203.

federalist form of government, which is the government of tomorrow's world, will be perfected.48

The urgency of this message in terms of American foreign policy and the strategy of total communication is stressed in magazine articles in 1967. In the March 6, 1967 issue of US News and World Report, published shortly before the opening of Expo 67, an article proclaims "Why America Carries the World's Burden." The article highlights the role of America as the international policeman and further stresses Russia's role as an international troublemaker. The UN is characterized as a debating society; alliances are portrayed as crumbling. As a result, "US military capability, not the weight of alliances or of the UN is the principle force for world stability."49 As a consequence of this political turmoil the need to reassert a universal humanist visage for American power was essential to maintain

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48 Cook, p.166
Cook also notes that along these same lines, John Holmes, the president of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, wrote:
"One purpose Canada can serve in a world threatened by tribal anarchy is to prove that state and nation are not necessarily coterminous, that peoples of different cultures and languages can co-exist within a single sovereignty. It is not the same lesson as that of the United States--that diverse peoples can be netted into a successful nation with one official language. Noble as that example has been, it is less applicable that the Canadian experience to new countries which must embrace distinct tribes and clans as founding members within the framework of one effective state." (p.166)
Given the degree of Canadian dependency on the United States, except in the most symbolic forms, the example of Canada as a disciplined auxiliary of American power becomes particularly significant in a world where American hegemony was being challenged.

49 "Why America Carries the World's Burden," US News and World Report, 6 March 1967, p.38

the technology based propaganda strategy of "total

communications" and "technological liberalism."

American opposition to Third World nationalism found an

ideological proponent in Trudeau's opposition to Quebec

nationalism. The parallels with the United States Cold War

strategy formulated in the Kennedy Administration is

articulated in Trudeau's pre-1965 writings, especially the

opposition of reason and technology to emotion and

nationalism.50 These attitudes are expressed in the

following quotation, which could stand as an assertion of

international American interests:

> In the world of tomorrow, the expression 'banana
> republic' will not refer to independent fruit growing
> naitons, but to countries where formal independence has
> been given priority over the cybernetic revolution. In
> such a world, the state--if it is not outdistanced by
> its rivals--will need political instruments which are
> sharper, stronger, and more finely controlled than
> anything based on mere emotionalism. Such tools will
> be made up of advanced technology and scientific
> investigation, as applied to the fields of law,
> economics, and social psychology, international
> affairs, and other areas of human relations; in short,
> if not a pure product of reason, the political tools of
> the future will be designed and appraised by more
> rational standards that anything we are currently using
> in Canada today.51

The belief in reason over emotion, the unbridled faith

in the hopes of the Enlightenment

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50 Laxer, p.92

51 Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Federalism and the French
Canadians (Toronto: McMillan, 1968), p.203

52 and pluralism provided Canadian Liberalism with a
new-found ideology that forcefully articulated an
alternative to the nationalist sympathies of either the NDP
or the Conservatives, as well as solidifying the Liberal
position in Quebec.

The success of this new technological liberalism that
would be articulated at Expo 67 and publicly acclaimed in

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52 The major critique of the Enlightenment which was largely
unknown in Canadian intellectual thought at the time was
provided by the continental social theorists of the
Frankfurt School. Encapsulating his critique within the
concept of reified consciousness, Theordor Adorno wrote in
Prisms (MIT Press, 1981):
"Not only does the mind mould itself for the sake of its
marketability, and thus reproduce the socially prevalent
categories. Rather, it grows to resemble even more closely
the status quo even where it subjectively refrains from
making a commodity itself. The network of the whole is
drawn ever tighter, modelled after the act of exchange. It
leaves the individual consciousness less and less room for
evasion." (p.21)
Herbert Marcuse, in the 1964 text One-Dimensional Man
(Boston: Beacon Press), gives the theoretical expression of
monopoly capitalism in the immediate post war prosperity
boom of increasing consumption and higher standards of
living for the working class:
   "The productive apparatus and the goods and services
   which it produces 'sell' or impose the social system as
   a whole. The means of mass transportation and
   communication, the commodities of lodging, food, and
   clothing, the irresistible output of the entertainment
   and information industry carry with them prescribed
   attitudes and habits, certain intellectual and
   emotional reactions which bind the consumers more or
   less pleasantly to the producers and, through the
   latter, to the whole. The products indoctrinate and
   manipulate; they promote a false consciousness which is
   immune against its falsehood. And as these beneficial
   products become available to more individuals in more
   social classes, the indoctrination they carry ceases to
   be publicity; it becomes a way of life." (pp.11-12)

This passage provides the clearest definition of the
implications of the American concept of total communication
from a neo-Marxist perspective.

1968 was partially attributable to the Canadian discourse on
technology which, because of Canada's historical
relationship to metropolitan technologies, was highly
advanced. This was combined with the particular political
context of Canada which made it receptive to new strategies
meant to combat nationalism. As Richard Gwyn summarizes:

> If he was unsure about ends, Trudeau was crystal
> clear about means. Problems would be solved by reason
> than "mere emotionalism", and by the techniques of
> "advanced technology and scientific investigation."
> Participatory Democracy was the mandatory, rational
> corollary to rational planning within. Combined, these
> forces would create the "servant state," efficient yet
> responsive, scientific yet humanist. Planning of course
> would require planners. "New guys with new ideas."53

Trudeau based his philosophy of technology in large
part on the writings of Marchall Mcluhan, who became the
major guru of North American media and technology in the
1960's. Mcluhan interpreted the new media world from an
entirely new perspective. The previously privileged
position of content in media was overturned, as it had been
the American Cold War studies on technology mentioned
earlier. The media thus created a new sign language of
rhetorical and symbol effects which Canadian Liberalism was
able to use to advantage. Mcluhan understood that the
metonymic function of technology created a new symbolic
universe in which the metaphoric capacities of language were
the true message of media. Like Trudeau, Mcluhan's
Catholicism forced an interpretation of this phenomenon

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53 Richard Gwyn, The Northern Magus (Toronto: McClelland and
Stewart Limited, 1980) pp. 94-5.

towards a strongly anti-nationalist, pro-technological

stance.   Arthur Kroker summarizes:

> Mcluhan could never be a nationalist because his
> Catholicism, with its tradition of civil humanism and
> its faith in the immanence of 'reason' committed him to
> the possibility of the universal world culture.   In the
> best of the Catholic tradition followed by Etienne
> Gilson in philosophy as much as by Trudeau in politics,
> Mcluhan sought a new 'incarnation,' an 'epiphany,' by
> releasing the reason in technological experience.54

Trudeau and Mcluhan's alliance of rationality and

technology over irrationality and nationalism revitalized

the political philosophy of Canadian Liberalism.   However,

in terms of Canadian nationalism, the relationship of total

communication and technological liberalism became complete

with Mcluhan's work in the United States.   As Kroker points

out, "Mcluhan's (and Trudeau's) Utopian vision of

technological society provided the corporate leadership of

the American empire with a sense of historical destiny."55

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54 Arthur Kroker, <u>Technology and the Canadian Mind</u>
(Montreal: New World Perspectives, 1984), p.63

Kroker continues on in describing the political value of
McCluhan:
"McCluhan's political value may have been the creation of a
universal community of humanity founded on reason, his
axiology may have privileged the process of communication--
but his ontology, the locus of his world vision, was the
recovery of the 'poetic process' as both a method of
historical reconstruction of the mass media and a 'miracle'
by which technological society is to be illuminated, once
again, by meaning." (p.65)

55 Kroker, p.83

CHAPTER 3

Fin de Partie

Spender: Then there will be no revolution.

Marcuse: That is justification for hitting the bottle.

The strategy of displaying Canada at Expo as a model of
a maturing independent yet interdependent nation state was
demonstrated in Chapter Two as fully compatible with
requirements of American foreign policy. However, the
pressure to resist the internal regional fragmentation of
the country as well as the all too visible dominance of
American society meant that nationalism had to be exerted in
some aspect of national life that would make the symbolism
of the new flag and new national anthem tangible rather than
merely hollow gestures. As was examined earlier, attempts at
steering an independent path in the political, military and
economic fields only brought harsh retaliation from the
Americans. Thus, the cultural expression of a Canadian
national identity was the major aspect of Canadian life
where some degree of flexibility was still felt to be
present. With a weak Liberal minority government in power
threatened by separatism with the loss of Quebec as its
major power base in Canadian society, Canadian Liberals
began focusing on culture as the primary instrument of their
political resurgence. After a short overview of the status

of culture in Canadian society following the war, this chapter will focus on the restructuring of the role of culture in Canadian society, beginning with a lengthy analysis of the first cultural conference, Seminar '65, to bring artists and politicians face to face with one another. The resulting impact on institutions like the Canada Council, the National Gallery, and the national art magazine, Canadian Art, is ultimately expressed in the choice of artists who were chosen to represent visually the new alliance of government and culture, an alliance which would ultimately also include business. Ironically, this new sense of Canadian cultural identity arose at a time when Canada's actual international role was to epitomize a subservient relationship to the imperial centre, the United States.

Canadian Culture After the War

After 1945, in the field of culture, the Canadian government began to recognize the availability of American mass culture through books, radio programmes, and soon, television programmes; all of these forms of culture created a concern about the dangers of over-exposure to American content. Specifically, these concerns focussed on how this exposure would influence the Canadian public towards identifying with American, as opposed to Canadian, policy both domestically and internationally. The Canadian government's concern over culture after World War Two was further motivated by the realization that culture was one

field wherein the exercise of nationalism invited less

economic retaliation and consequently, was less of a threat

to the Canadian standard of living than was nationalism in

other realms. Thus, while Canadian economic, military, and

foreign policy became more closely integrated with the

United States, particularly after 1947 with the 'heating up'

of the Cold War, culture became the only field in which

Canadian nationalists could exert the appearance of

independence.

After the War, as early as 1945, the Arts and Letters

Club (a luncheon club in Toronto made famous by the

membership of the Group of Seven) began lobbying the federal

government for support for Canadian culture. These concerns

culminated in the Louis St. Laurent government asking

Vincent Massey, the former Canadian High Commissioner to

London, to lead a group of eminent intellectuals to survey

Canada's cultural resources in June 1949. The 1951 report

of the Massey Commission warned of:

> . . .the difficulty of developing Canadian culture
> because of the enormous influx of artists from the
> United States. The Commission recommended that federal
> financial aid be given to the universities and that a
> government agency be established to encourage the arts
> and social sciences by awarding grants and
> scholarships. The St. Laurent government agreed to
> help the universities, but waited another six years
> before announcing the formation of the Canada Council.1

Canadian historians such as W.L. Morton, Donald

Creighton, and Arthur Lower felt that as a result of the

pressures of foreign influence, concrete steps could be

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1 Joseph Levitt, A Vision Beyond Reach (Ottawa: Deneau
Publishers, 1982), p.151

taken to assure a distinctive cultural identity.2 However,
the pervasiveness of American cultural penetration,
especially on the level of mass culture, caused historian
Frank Underhill to question the ability of a Canadian
culture to differentiate itself from this pressure to
conform. He accused the Massey Commission's branding of
American mass culture as `alien' as being a distortion of
the nature of modern mass culture. For Underhill, these
were the products of modern technological society and since
all societies were attempting to modernize, rejecting this
culture as "unbearably vulgar and anti-intellectual"3 was a
mistake.

Despite these objections, however, a rough concensus
did occur over the issue of government support of culture,
even though the assimilative pressures of American mass
culture caused Underhill to fear that:

> Canadians, becoming neurotically obsessed with the
> danger of cultural `annexation,' would waste energies
> which otherwise would go into those positive individual
> things that would make them distinctive.4

Underhill saw the modernizing forces of contemporary
society as epitomized by the United States, ultimately
resulting in the integration of Canada into America.
Nonetheless, all would agree that "Canada appeared to be on

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2 Levitt, p.151

3 Levitt, p.152

4 Levitt, p.152

the defensive against American continentalism."5 Cultural
nationalism was the one secton of Canadian society in the
post-War era in which a virtually common front could be
formed against America. However, this emphasizing of
culture to the exclusion of economics or politics ignored
the degree of integration that was occurring between the
United States and Canada up to the mid 1960's and
arbitrarily promoted Canadian culture as a defense to
preserve Canada's separate identity.

The Canadian government's concern over culture
continued through the decade. By the end of the 1950's, the
Canadian publishing industry came under attack over its
content. Growing concern about the Canadian publication of
materials aimed at the American market, and ultimately, at
Canada as well, resulted in the Conservative Diefenbaker
government appointing Gralton O'Leary to head a commission
investigating this problem. The O'Leary Commission proposed
using the tax structure to improve the Canadian position by
supporting Canadian publications and by 'Canadianizing'
American publications such as Reader's Digest and Time.
After fifteen years of recommendations, action began to
occur.

In the early 1960's, as Frank Levitt notes, a variety
of institutions such as the CBC, the Canada Council, and the
National Film Board, were functioning as support structures
for the Canadian arts community, "reinforcing the notion

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5 Levitt, p.157

among the educated public that Canadian nationhood was coming of age."6 Nonetheless, the inability of the government to control the influx of American mass culture was demonstrated by the recommendations made by the O'Leary Commission—the Commission recommended limiting Canadian advertising in American magazines—but these recommendations were ignored by the Canadian government even though the federal government had established the Commission and given it its mandate in the first place.

Between 1945 and 1965, the debate over culture and nationalism took place between very small groups of artists, politicians, and intellectuals, reflecting the limited audience and appeal of Canadian culture throughout this period. The fine arts were still perceived as elitist, having very little to do with the average Canadian. This attitude was reinforced by the adoption of modernist artistic strategies from New York after the War, strategies which gradually came to dominate the visual arts scene. For example, the First Biennial of Canadian Painting, held at the National Gallery in Ottawa in 1955, was predominantly figurative. Two years later, in 1957, over sixty per cent of the represented works were abstract.7

While Canadian artists such as Jean Paul Riopelle, Jack Shadbolt, William Ronald, and Paul Emile Borduas became more

6 Levitt, p.173

7 William Withrow, Contemporary Canadian Painting (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), p.6

visible in the international art scene, the distinction between High and Popular culture remained relatively intact. However, by 1965, this status within Canada of art and artist was to undergo a significant transformation, epitomized by Greg Curnoe's painting "For Ben Bella" at Expo 67.

The early 1960's saw a renewed emphasis on culture that was reinforced by the decision to pursue the World's Fair for Montreal and planning for a variety of Centennial celebrations in 1967. Even prior to the 1962 meeting at Montebello, (see Chapter One), with its emphasis on creativity as opposed to business, the planning efforts for the Centennial were initiating a new period of interest in the creative arts in Canada. In 1961, the Centennial Commission, which had been formed by the Federal Government, was made responsible for all Centennial commemorative projects. The Commission argued that a process was being set in motion that could "free the creative energies that will be of great benefit to the country and to the arts."[8] By the shrewd application of resources the Commission saw the possibility that "it [could help] to prepare the growth into the future."[9]

The strategic role the arts could play in the pursuit of national policy, particularly in the defusing of Quebec nationalism and various regional political and economic

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[8] Seminar 65, p. 6

[9] Seminar 65, p. 7

disparities, was clearly understood by Pierre Trudeau. In an

essay entitled <u>Federalism, Nationalism and Reason,</u> written

in 1964, Trudeau outlined his arguments as to how to

neutralize regional separatist sympathies by creating a

federalist ideology that could contain the loyalties of the

diverse regions of Canada. One aspect of this strategy was

to create new national symbols which would be rallying

points for regional elites sympathetic to national unity.

Trudeau outlines his strategy in the following way:

> One way of offsetting the appeal of separatism is
> by investing tremendous amounts of time, energy, and
> money in nationalism, at the federal level. A <u>national
> image</u> must be created that will have such an appeal as
> to make any image of a separatist group unattractive.
> Resources must be directed to such things as national
> flags, anthems, education, <u>arts councils,</u> broadcasting
> corporations, film boards; the territory must be bound
> together by a network of railways, highways, airlines;
> the <u>national culture</u> and national economy must be
> protected by taxes and tariffs; ownership of resources
> and industry by nationals must be a matter of policy.
> In short the whole of the citizenry must be made to
> feel that it is only within the framework of the
> federal state that their language, culture,
> institutions, sacred traditions, and standard of living
> can be protected from external attack and internal
> strife.10 [underlining mine]

Clearly a national culture is decisive in order to

prevent the fragmentation of the country into competing

regionalisms. The problem was further complicated not just

by the growing Quebec separatist movement but also by a

strong wave of separatism which was beginning to develop in

the English speaking regions outside of Central Canada.

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10 Pierre Elliot Trudeau, <u>Federalism and the French
Canadians,</u> p. 93

Painting in Canada exhibition organizer Barry Lord himself
was only one of many English Canadian intellectuals who drew
parallels between the nationalism of Quebec and that of
English Canada.11 As in Quebec, the growth of English
Canadian nationalism was in part stimulated by, as Phil
Resnick argues:

> ...this new petty bourgoisie--embracing salaried
> professionals, many of them working for the state, in
> research institutions, as well as the student estate
> i.e. those in training for future positions as salaried
> professionals--came into its own with the fantastic
> take off of the state sector in the 1960's.12

Between 1961 and 1971 the growth of the middle class
was reflected in the teaching profession, increasing in
number from 153,000 in 1961 to 262,000 in 1971; in the
increase in university enrolment during the same period from
113,867 to 356,736, and in the increase in the percentage of
Canadians classified as petty bourgoisie, which rose from
7.4% to 12% in 1971.13

Despite the cultural differences between the two major
ethnic groups in Canadian society the common factor
contributing to a growing nationalist sentiment in both was
the parallel development of this new middle class. A formula
of national unity had to have the flexibility of appealing
to these diverse groups without encouraging disintegration

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11 "Let us answer Quebec by developing and equally strong
struggle at freeing Canada from U.S. domination." in Al
Purdy, The New Romans, (Edmonton, 1968.) p. 150.

12 Phil Resnick, The Land of Cain, (New Star Books:
Vancouver, 1971) p. 167

13 Resnick, p. 253

or the appearance of power being over-centralized. John
Porter in The Vertical Mosaic (1965), an analysis of the
class structure of Canadian society, summarizes the
obstacles facing any effort aimed at achieving a coherent
national strategy: "But somehow, if a complex structure is
to survive, the overall value system must have some meaning
for all groups, and at the same time consistency for the
total society."14 Trudeau's writings on federalism in the
early 1960's seemed to offer a new vision of potential
solutions to the dilemmas of nationalism through Trudeau's
emphasis on a pluralist federalism, rational planning, and
what Trudeau called `Participatory Democracy.' For Trudeau,
this solution was the key to national unity and to unlocking
Canada's potential. It was also Trudeau's only way out of an
unpalatable either/or situation. Richard Gwyn observes that
"Trudeau himself evaluated the ethical and moral stakes. If
rationalism failed, demagoguery and totalitarianism would
triumph."15

The turning point for Liberal cultural policy came at
Seminar`65, the Canadian Conference of the Arts held at Ste.
Adele-en-Haut, Quebec. The Conference objectives were to
examine the present state of the arts, to assess and advise
the Centennial plans and "to make recommendations to the
federal government for the continuing development of

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14 John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, (University of Toronto
Press: Toronto, 1965) p. 459

15 Gywn, p. 97

cultural and artistic resources."16 Seminar`65 begins the

process, along with the new national anthem and the new

flag, of the creation of symbols of a revitalized Canadian

society under the leadership of the Lester Pearson Liberal

Government. The new impetus for an expanded role for culture

is contained in the preface to the Seminar`65 Conference

Papers:

> In a modern society, economic development must be
> accompanied by social and cultural development if the
> social and psychological consequences resulting from
> rapid economic change are to be retarded or avoided.
> Often such diverse and adverse social and psychological
> consequences as increased alcoholism, drug addiction,
> mental disturbance, and general mass discontent,
> directionlessness, and purposelessnesss are here
> manifestations or symptoms of an affluent, but totally
> bored society. In order to circumvent these pitfalls of
> accelerated economic change, a society must learn to
> utilize its increasing affluence and leisure time
> effectively and constructively.17

The revolution of capitalist modernization, which

Canadian society experienced from 1945 onwards and which was

to a large extent responsible for the new social and

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16 Seminar`65 Conference Papers, p. 1. The number of
provincial representatives per province at Seminar`65
revealed the overcentralization of culture in Central
Canada, which gave impetus to the arguments for a new
regionalism in the arts.
Representatives:

> Newfoundland 0/140
> Nova Scotia 0/140
> New Brunswick 1/140
> Prince Edward Island 1/140
> Quebec 52/140
> Ontario 72/140
> Manitoba 3/140
> Alberta 2/140
> Saskatchewan 2/140
> British Columbia 6/140

17 Seminar`65, p. 1

political problems, had to be controlled without tearing

apart national unity. The harnessing of culture was seen to

be a way to ensure a smooth transition to a modern

technological world while minimizing the socially

destabilizing effects. Seminar`65 warned that placing faith

in modern technology would end up in the "manufacture of a

dull uniformity,"18 which the arts could alleviate because

"the arts contain the diversity of expression and variation

of character which are fostered by a vigorous and healthy

community."19 This outlines the key aspect of the strategy

suggested by Seminar`65; by encouraging diversity in the

various regions of the country and supporting them

financially it would be possible to encourage the

development of regional elites with loyalties to the overall

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18 Seminar`65, p. 6

19 Seminar`65, p. 6. The desire to merge the worlds of
business and culture as well as the merging of High and
Popular culture that originates with Seminar`65 contributes
to the perception of a cultural renaissance in Canada. The
following quotation from the Conference papers is noteworthy
for how it describes the growth of culture and its
relationship to the middle class:

> No longer must audiences politely ignore the ubiquitous
> reminders of last night's basketball game: in many
> cities, they can now enjoy fine performances in
> comfortable air conditioned theatres and auditoria, as
> they soon will be able to do in those additioinal
> facilities being built to commemorate the Centennial.
> The gallery goer has a much wider range of museums and
> art galleries to satisfy his appetite, and cultural
> publications have increased markedly. All these
> privileges have been appreciated by an ever-increasing
> public. The cultural climate has been warmed by the
> many thousands of new Canadians, by the spread of
> higher education, and by the imminence of the age of
> leisure. The old charge of Canada's indifference to the
> arts does not apply to the Canada of 1965.(p. 1.)

federalist concept as outlined by the Liberal Party. This
new strategy reflects many of the new concepts developing in
the United States regarding the relationship of culture and
social rationalization expressed in books such as The
Passing of Traditional Society by David Lerner (1958), and
Mass Media and National Development by Wilbur Schramm (1967)
(see Chapter Two). The implications of culture for domestic
and international politics are overtly summarized by Leonard
G. Benson in National Purpose, written in 1963, where he
discusses the obvious political advantages of culture in a
chapter entitled "Ideology in Modern Cultural Warfare":

> Due to technological developments the modern
> nation has new ways of administering itself...ways that
> can be considered the most significant new ingredients
> in international relations."20

Further justification for the new cultural objectives
and the increased role of the state in the cultural sector
was elaborated by Seminar'65. It was pointed out that
culture could also provide a considerable contribution to
the economic expansion of capitalism, in the third stage of
its evolution with its emphasis on the mode of information
as opposed to the mode of production:

> Traditional factors affecting the location of
> economic activity, such as availability of suitable
> natural resources, evergy sources, and cheap domestic
> labour supply are diminishing in attractional
> importance. It is evident, for example, from more
> recent inter-regional competition in there attraction
> of productive activities that available, suitable and
> convenient social facilities and cultural activities
> often exert an important influence on location

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20 Benson, p. 28

discussions and on contemporary regional
developments.21

The Commission understood that the traditional economic
advantages of the Canadian economy, as a staple based
economy, were inadequate to maintain and further develop the
economic expansion that was so crucial to encouraging and
maintaining the loyalty of regional elites. Barriers
separating culture and business were seen as arbitrary,
paving the way for a new alliance of business and culture,
demonstrating that "Canadians no longer live in a culturally
underprivileged society."22 Meshing perfectly with the
creative emphasis of the theme of Expo 67 `Man and His
World' Seminar`65 argued for a recognition that the arts are
more than merely a concern of a small elite, as the
following quote illustrates:

> Properly treated, artists do more than enhance our
> lives. Like scientists, they illuminate and enrich it.
> The time has come in Canada to appreciate that they
> serve the highest aspirations of government and the
> highest aspirations of Canadian policy: they further
> human understanding at home and abroad.23

This expressed humanistic role forseen by the policy
planners of Seminar`65 assumes greater Cold War significance
in the light of the role of `liberal humanism' in Expo's
theme. However, the role of this alliance of business,
culture, technology and humanism found an earlier exponent
in Louise Fitzsimmon's work, The Kennedy Doctrine, which

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21 Seminar`65, p. 1

22 Seminar`65, p. 1

23 Seminar`65, p. 3

outlined the new American offensive against revolutionary

and nationalistic movements in the Third World (see chapter

2), with obvious parallels for the growing nationalist

sentiments in Quebec and the strategy of the Canadian

Government in coping with the threat to national unity. The

integral role outlined for culture was, as an example, first

demonstrated at Seminar'65 where for the first time artists

sat across from a Minister of the Federal Canadian

Government, Secretary of State Maurice Lamontagne, who

proposed in accordance of the new social alliance being

forged between culture, business, and government, "the

development of our artistic life as the major objectives of

the Centennial observances."24 The objectives of the new

political awareness of culture were to have the arts play a

suitable role in elaborating and fulfilling the theme of

Expo'67--'Man and His World':

> 1967, as well as marking a century of building
> Confederation, may well prove to be the year of its true
> completion; true in the sense that the modern forces of
> technology impel us towards unity, and at least makes it
> possible to share in a common heritage and a common destiny
> as we never could before.25

With Seminar'65 culture becomes not a side issue, but

the central instrument of appealing to regional elites and

interests, reinforcing a revitalized Liberal political

ideology that with the success of Expo 67 would culminate in

the 'Trudeaumania' of 1968.

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24 Seminar'65, p. 1

25 Seminar'65, p. 6

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The process of change set in motion by Seminar`65 was

pursued further in The Canadian Conference of the Arts

Supplementary Brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism

and Biculturalism, written in the fall and winter of 1965

but published in 1966. The focus of the Supplementary Brief

was to give added weight to the arguments that the arts

could play a significant role in unifying Canada. In a

letter sent to the Chairman of the Brief Committee Willard

E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist in Victoria,

B.C., emphasized the efficacy of this role at this

particular moment in history:

> We perhaps have now a golden opportunity to do
> something positive to weld this country together
> through the aegis of the arts, where diversity is a

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26 The central role of the arts is even more clearly stated
in the section of Seminar`65 that highlights the `Plans For
1967':

> But if the total culture of a country may be likened to
> an arch, then surely the keystone is the arts. A nation
> reveals itself to posterity through the arts, for the
> arts are the apex of culture, the crown of its total
> achievement. Until recently the arts in Canada were
> unable to assume their rightful place. The new
> technology of communications offers the means for a
> national expression but only the arts can provide the
> significant content by which a nation comes to know
> itself. (p. 6.)

This quotation provides a clear link between the ideological
imperatives of "technological liberalism" and the renewed
interest in the role of culture, paricularly with the
dependency of culture on communications in order to function
properly in uniting vastly different regions.

recognized fact of life without necessarily being
divisive.27

The Brief notes that the old attitudes in Canada
regarding Quebec were changing as a result of the growth of
public education and a subsequent desire to see Quebec
remain in Canada. The major recommendation of the Brief
Committee was to take advantage of the interest in other
regions of the country by encouraging indigenous growth in
the arts and emphasizing that..."regional development in the
visual arts should be encouraged."28 The Committee
recognized the debilitating aspects of over-centralizating
cultural activities and at the same time the need to
increase communications between the regions in order to
facilitate the exchange of cultural productions. Both points
were accepted by the Canadian Conference of the Arts which
further elaborated the strategic role regional autonomy and
regional intercommunication played in promoting the Liberal
conception of a bilingual and and multi-cultural united
Canada. The following recommendations to the government were
to increase the allocation of funds on the Canada Council,
CBC, and the National Gallery to help promote Conference
objectives. If this course was pursued it was felt that the
hopes for culture could be realized:

> ...there may result a simultaneous flowering of
> several provincial or regional cultures--Quebec is

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27 The Canadian Conference of the Arts Supplementary Brief
to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,
p. 1

28 Supplementary Brief, section 4, p. 1

already the foremost among them—and that with each of these cultures spurring the other on through inter-communication of ideas and exchange of person and performance, there may emerge a sense of common pride in our diversity and unique identity as a nation.29

Mavor Moore further added in this document, "It would be a sad day if culture became one shade of universal grey."30 Echoing the sentiments of Seminar`65 on the potential for a dull and boring life under a technological society Moore suggested his own alternative. He felt the present homogenization of culture with its emphasis on New York could be countered if Canada developed a cultural style of her own, stating, "The more colours the merrier, whether they're national, provincial or regional."31 Failure to bridge these regional discrepancies, the Committee warned, presented the possibility of an ominous alternative. A section of the Supplementary Brief entitled, "An Increasing Danger of Regional Separatism and a Drift to the South," sounded the warning that failing to increase regional funding for the arts could result in the separation of Quebec and warned that it could become "catching." The Maritimes would drift into the orbit of New England while the West would be drawn into closer ties to the South. As one voice from Western Canada, George Shaw, Executive Director of the Saskatchewan Arts Board, expressed in his opinion, "Quebec's separatist ideas are attractive and

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29 Supplementary Brief, section 4, p. 1

30 Supplementary Brief, section 4, p. 1

31 Supplementary Brief, section 4

infectious. If they work, other provinces will follow suit."32 Efforts must be made, argued the committee, to forestall these sympathies by establishing a visual arts tradition separate and distinct from Paris, London and New York. It was necessary to create "something that could set us apart from the international`stream.'"33 The Liberal government's enthusiasm for this cultural strategy between Seminar`65 and 1967 resulted in the allocation of a budget of 7.2 million dollars for the Canada Council, doubling what the Canada Council had actually requested for the same period. For the Supplementary Committee the new visibilty that would result for culture from the new alliance of business, government, and the arts would usher in a new era of professionalism after "the long night of amateurism," which was to be discarded for the reason that "random and impulsive pioneering won't do anymore."34

An article written in the January, 1966 issue of Canadian Art entitled `Canadian Art in the Sixties,' by David Silcox, an officer in the Arts section of the Canada Council, discusses how this differentiation from the `international stream' was to be realized. The Canada Council was the most immediate arm of government to reflect policy changes in the cultural field and David Silcox provides us with an indication of how the visual arts in

32 Supplementary Brief, p. 4

33 Supplementary Brief, section 23, p. 1

34 Supplementary Brief, p. 3

Canada would be affected by the new government objectives
for regional cultures. According to Silcox, the early 1960's
had witnessed the success of the Painters Eleven group in
Toronto and the resulting establishment of the international
idiom of modernist painting in Canada. However, despite the
ability of Painter's Eleven to demonstrate that Canada was
up-to-date in the techniques of modern painting, the
cultural environment was less than perfect. "Admittedly," he
argued," the Canadian artist is still on the periphery, but
has become less peripheral."35

The success of the Regina group of abstract painters,
two of which, Ken Lochhead and Art McKay, were included in
Clement Greenberg's Post Painterly Exhibition in the Los
Angeles County Museum in 1964, demonstrated that strong
regional centres in painting did exist outside of Toronto
and Montreal. Canadian modernist painters had achieved a
stylistic development that, for Silcox, was both a la mode
and Canadian.36 Silcox differentiated the new Canadian
abstraction from the old in terms radically different from
the Abstract Expressionist-influenced painters of the
1950's. Canadian painter's were now elegant, smooth, refined
and restrained. However, these advances were made at the

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35 David P. Silcox, "Canadian Art in the Sixties" in
Canadian Art, January, 1966. pp.56-59

36 Silcox, p.57

price of depersonalizing forms and "the creeping

expansiveness of space [which] has led to emptiness."37

Three new aspects of art in the mid-1960's revitalized

the visual arts to express more fully the concerns of the

Canadian Conference of the Arts. These three aspects are

the relationship of the arts to the mass media, the renewed

emphasis on sculpture, and a renewed interest in the

figurative. Most crucial is the return of representational

imagery which, given the proposed new strategic role of art

in Canada, allowed for an art that could be "rationally

apprehended and therefore [was] capable of greater didactic

import."38 The shift from abstract to the return of the

figure pinpointed (and endorsed) by Silcox was a perfect

complement to the recommendations of Seminar '65 of an art

that could reach out to the middle class of the Canadian

population, encourage regional elites to develop and, most

importantly, create loyalty to the federal system. Pierre

Trudeau's philosophy of government that would be enacted

after the 1968 federal election parallels many of the

cultural sectors recommendations with his emphasis on

pluralist federalism, rational planning, and Participatory

Democracy. With Expo 67 and the variety of Centennial

observances held across Canada, the Liberal cultural

strategy was unveiled.

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37 Silcox, p.51

38 Silcox, p.58

Expo 67 and the "Painting in Canada" Exhibition

The impact of the new Liberal cultural policy was most

visibly observed in the redesigning of the national arts

magazine Canadian Art, with the appointment of Barry Lord in

1966 as the new editor and the establishment of a new

mandate. The renaming of the magazine as artscanada is

enormously significant. In 1942, it had begun as a regional

journal--Maritime Art--which reflected the regionalism of

its origin and orientation. In 1967, Lord, the new editor,

explained the change of name to artscanada as symbolic of

the new magazine's entry into a new internationalist phase:

> It is as impossible to understand Canadian art
> today apart from its international context as it is to
> discuss the price of wheat or the sale of uranium
> without reference to world politics.39

Therefore, according to Lord, "we've changed the name

in accord with the global facts of life."40

However, internationalism is now defined apart from the

dull mainstream of New York, Paris, or London. The

internationalism of artscanada is tempered by the growing

awareness of the breakdown between the notions of 'popular'

and 'fine' arts. By adding an 's' to 'art' and not

capitalizing the first letter of the title, artscanada

expanded its mandate to include the plurality of mediums in

modern art, ranging from traditional fine arts to

environments and happenings, as well as popular and folk

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39 Barry Lord, "The New Magazine," artscanada, January 1967,
p.5

40 Lord, p.5

arts. To counter internationalism, the magazine also tried
to focus on personal responses to local environments. In
his efforts to erase the distinction between popular and
fine arts, Lord downplayed the importance of the traditional
gallery setting and capital `A' Art:

> Of course, we will always be welcome in the
> galleries--our artscan exhibition reviews alone should
> make us more useful there, but we hope that we will
> also be at home in the streets.41

Under the guidance of Barry Lord, artscanada epitomized
the cultural strategy as first outlined in Seminar '65 by
removing the isolation of high culture and by expanding the
mandate of the journal to include the variety of cultural
productions contained in the regions. According to Lord,
the distinctions between high culture and popular forms of
artistic expression were "problematic if not irrelevant."42

Lord's inherent humanism is reflected in the
championing of folk and craft arts which the Centennial
allowed to be fully elevated into the pantheon of Canadian
culture. In the cybernetic whirlwind of modern society,
craft and folk arts are a necessary palliative, as Lord
declares: "[Their] inherent humanity comes through. The

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41 Lord, p.5

42 Lord, p.5

craftsman's humour and his love for his material infuse the objects with warmth in a cool world."43

Thus, for Barry Lord, the arts scene in 1967 represented a recognition of internationalism and the realization that older forms of regionalism and nationalism in culture had to be rejected. Lord's selection of a series of regional cultures resisting the idea of New York as the centre of the art world while taking into account the pervasive influence of global communication was to be presented at the <u>Painting in Canada</u> exhibition held in the entrance foyer of the Canadian pavilion at Expo 67. The exhibition provided the perfect opportunity for Lord to present the new cultural attitudes of Canada in the mid-1960's, emphasizing the work of 'outstanding' contemporary Canadian painters, both abstract and representational. Lord, who not only organized the show but also wrote the exhibition catalogue, divided the show into two major

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43 Lord, p.20
Curnoe rebuffs the formalists of New York in order to appeal to the broad range of public taste for crafts. He states, "The purists of the art world would be inclined to refuse them entry, yet the factor of creativity, of design, and form has slowly imposed the crafts as valid 'visual arts,' part of a total evolution in the art world from narrow-mindedness to twentieth centurn versatility."

categories: The Tradition of Canadian Painting and Painting
in Canada Today.44

The catalogue establishes the tradition of Canadian
landscape painting in the first section, with artists such
as Cornelius Krieghoff, James Wilson Morrice, Tom Thomson,
and Emily Carr. The first painting reproduced in the
catalogue "The Habitant's Home" by Cornelius Krieghoff, a
22x36 inch oil on canvas dated 1870, establishes the
tradition of Canadian artists working with the influences of
European painting but developing, in Lord's view, an
instrinsically Canadian subject matter. The other painters
included in the first section emphasize this dialectic of
external influences synthesized through the Canadian
context, the struggle with which, according to Lord,
determines the extent to which a work can truly be labelled
'Canadian'. Lord includes David Milne's oil painting
"Dappled Sunlight" on the catalogue cover to demonstrate how
expressiveness and originality can develop in isolation from

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44 The catalogue was subdivided as follows:

    1. The Tradition of Canadian Painting

a) the Canadian scene
b) the figure in Canadian Painting

    2. Painting in Canada Today

a) the Teachers
b) Abstract Expressionism
c) Regina
d) Post-Painterly Abstraction
e) Hard Edge Painting
f) Op Art
g) the New Figure
h) New Techniques and Materials

the art capitals. This is a theme Lord consistently argues throughout the catalogue to establish a solid tradition of artistic development upon which, he maintains, the development of a distinct Canadian style within the "Global Village" is possible.

The section entitled The Figure in Canadian Painting asserts the tradition of the figure in Canadian painting in order to establish the links between the earlier generations of figurative painters and the resurgence of figure painting in the mid 1960's. While figure painting has been the subordinate tradition in Canadian painting, Lord emphasizes the work of an artist like Jean Paul Lemieux, represented by the oil painting "Solstice d'hiver," as representing the particularity of the Canadian experience. By playing off Lemieux against Morrice, Lord demonstrates the regionalist sympathies of an artist like Lemieux whose "primitive handling" provides a link to a certain type of regionalism and to " a country atmosphere and an isolation of the individual in relation to a vast, empty landscape that seems peculiarly Canadian."45

The connection between the old figurative tradition and the new figurative painters is made through the example of Miller Brittain's painting, "Boy and Torso"(1954), which establishes the persistence of the figurative style of painting even when the onslaught of Abstract Expressionism from New York was becoming more pervasive.

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45 Barry Lord, `Painting in Canada' Exhibition Catalogue

Situated between the figural traditions of past and
present are those Canadian artists who assimilated the
modernist painting techniques emanating from New York and
Paris in the post-war period. The "teachers", Alfred Pellan,
Paul Emile Borduas and Jock (JWG) Macdonald, are presented
as having helped "to characterize the mainstream of
development in Canadian painting from 1945 to the
present."46   The abstract idiom, once assimilated, was
elevated by the subsequent generation of abstract painters
to a level equal with the leading developments in modernist
painting in the United States. For example, both Art McKay
and Jack Bush, who were included in the Painting in Canada
exhibit, had been included in the 1964 Post-Painterly
Exhibition organized by Clement Greenberg at the Los Angeles
County Museum. Having demonstrated that Canadian artists
were now well informed in the mannerisms of abstract
painting, Lord could now demonstrate how the most
contemporary Canandian painters have returned to the
figurative tradition which he characterizes as "perhaps the
most radical of all breaks with the abstract
expressionists."47

Lord notes the resurgence of the figure in Great
Britain and the United States, especially with its emphasis
on contemporary iconography and mass media. However, unlike
abstract painting wherein notions of national identity are

46 Lord, `Painting in Canada'

47 Lord, section g.

dissolved in a rhetoric of `universalism', Lord makes
strenuous efforts to emphasize the difference between the
new figure painting in Canada and that of Great Britain and
the United States by arguing, "In Canada, this `pop art'
connection has been much less specific, and the antecedents
in art history have been closer to Dada and surrealism."48

Lord was pursuing the time-honoured Canadian position
of mediating between dominant international styles of
painting in order to define a distinctive Canadian voice. By
emphasizing the European antecedents Canadian painters could
be argued as having arrived at a new synthesis situated
between the light playfulness of American pop and the
political dimension contained in some European variants.
Thus rather than appearing to be only up-to-date in the
latest artistic fad, Lord was able to argue for a specific
use of the figure by Canadian artists proclaiming the
maturing of a disinctly Canadian style of painting. In the
Canadian context, Lord argues, "The figure has `returned' to
painting---but in a most unexpected way."49

From Lord's perspective, Greg Curnoe epitomized the
most significant advance in this particular attempt at
defining a distinctive Canadian figural style since Curnoe
was neither too provincial nor too international. In an
editorial for the June/July issue of artscanada, Lord

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48 Lord, section g

49 Lord, section g

describes the significance of global communications on the
arts and how this renders traditional nationalism in the
arts out of date. However, "internationalism", despite the
inevitability of its influence, can avoid being solely
interpreted as an over-dependence on New York: "On the
contrary, it provides a climate of the highest standard by
which regional or national achievements may be judged. The
current growth of Canadian nationalism--often characterized
chiefly by reaction against US influence--will certainly
have its effect on the arts, and may very well lead to work
very different from what we now call Canadian art."50

The artists of London, Ontario, of which Greg Curnoe is
the leading exponent, are for Lord an example of a
distinctly maturé Canadian voice that is both regionally
inspired while being fully cognizant of international
trends. The new regionalism, the art critic Ross Woodman
argued in artscanada, "derives in large measure from a
desire to avoid the anonymity that they believe awaits those
who approach painting as a disinterested problem-solving
technical solving game whose international rules and
procedures have been established by the main segment of the
New York school."51 Curnoe's work alternatively
acknowledges international developments in `pop' art and the
`return' of the figure while his overt social content and

50 Barry Lord, "the editor's page" in artscanada, June-July
1967

51 Ross Woodman, "London (Ont.): a new regionalism" in
artscanada, August/September 1967 No. 111/112

roots in Dada and surrealism embody a form of didacticism
that both Lord, David P. Silcox and even Seminar'65 openly
desire. However, in order to establish the dominance of this
new regionalism it was necessary for Lord to differentiate
it from the already visible and well established regionalism
of the modernist painters of Regina employing their own
definition of a "universal regionalism". Even Lord
acknowledged that in the early 1960's this regional school
of painters was composed of "the best informed and most
advanced painters in Canada."52 Thus the central issue for
Barry Lord in the Painting in Canada exhibition was to
differentiate between the two competing notions of "univeral
regionalism" in order to establish the superiority of the
London group of painters. In the following sub-sections I
will compare and contrast the two leading exponents of each
school. I have chosen to discuss Art McKay because he was
the only member of the Regina Five whose work was exhibited
in Clement Greenberg's Post-Painterly Exhibition and who was
also included in Lord's Painting in Canada exhibition. I
will discuss Greg Curnoe because of the appearance of "For
Ben Bella" on the cover of the first issue of the new
artscanada, reflecting the new editorial policy of the
magazine under Barry Lord, and because of the inclusion of
the painting in the Painting in Canada exhibition. By
analyzing these two separate approaches to the dilemma of
defining the nature of a distinctive Canadian regionalist

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52 Lord, section c

art, it is possible to discern why one particular vision of regionalism would be selected over another when viewed in the light of the tenets of the new government cultural policy.

Art McKay and the Legacy of Clement Greenberg

The career of Art McKay, a member of the Regina Five artistic group, provides a focal point for examining the broader issues of nationalism and internationalism in the arts. The provincial capital of Saskatchewan, Regina, was long a centre of artistic activity in western Canada. The strong dominance of England on the cultural development during the early and mid part of the twentieth century was reflected by the arrival of two British artists prior to World War I, Inglish Sheldon Williams [1870-1940], who taught at Regina College from 1913-1917, and James Henderson [1971-1951], who worked in Regina from 1911 to 1916.53 The Emma Lake Summer School for the Arts was initiated by another English artist, Augustus Kerderine [1870-1947]. The return of Art McKay to Regina in 1952, to accept an appointment as special lecturer in the School of Art, and of Ken Lochhead in 1950, to accept directorship of the Regina College School of Art, established an indigenous Canadian leadership of the art scene that would slowly replace the traditional orientation towards England with a new orientation towards the United States. The process of

53 Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting (Oxford University Press, 1973), p.269

establishing a Canadian artistic identity was to be based on a growing understanding of international art trends. However, the shift from England to the United States seemed to bypass the general division of Canadian history, one of colony-nation-colony, replacing it with a colony-colony relationship.

Nonetheless, the English impact was still felt by McKay, who in the late 1950's, described his style as "an abstract version of English landscape painting."54 Similarly, Lochhead's 1953 painting "The Dignitary" is an example of his earlier avoidance of Abstract Expressionism at the time of its growing influence in the United States.

In 1955, in an effort to broaden the acultural contacts with the larger art world, McKay and Lochhead began the series of workshops whose emphasis, initially modest, became one of inviting some of the most famous artists and critics from the United States. The timing of the workshops coincided with the transition period in American art towards a `linear' as opposed to a `painterly' style. The logic of Clement Greenberg's defense of Modernism in the 1950's was leading towards an art that was reduced to its purist, formal qualities. Greenberg himself states:

> It was the stressing, however, of the ineluctable flatness of the support that remained most fundamental in the processes by which pictorial art criticized and defined itself under Modernism. Flatness alone was unique and exclusive to that art. The enclosing shape of the support was a limiting condition, or norm, that

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54 Terry Fenton, A.F. McKay: Paintings and Drawings, 1959-1967 (Regina: The Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery, 1968), p.ii

was shared with the art of the theatre; colour was a norm or means shared with sculpture as well as with the theatre. Flatness, two-dimensionality, was the only condition painting shared with no other art, and so Modernist painting oriented itself to flatness as it did to nothing else.55

This definition of Modernism received added impetus at Emma Lake because, as William Withrow points out, "the invited artists almost exclusively represented that aspect of American painting known as Post-Painterly Abstraction."56 One of the important artists whose work was part of the transition phase from `painterly' to `linear' was Barnett Newman, who gave a workshop at Emma Lake in 1959. For Art McKay and others of the Regina Group, Newman's visit marked a turning point in their artistic development.57

The impact on the Regina Group of Newman's visit was echoed in Greenberg's article "Clement Greenberg's View of Art on the Prairies," published in Canadian Art, March 1963. In this article, Greenberg states:

> Newman came to Emma Lake without bringing any of his paintings along, and did no painting while he was there, but according to all reports, his personality and his ideas had a galvanizing effect upon the artists who attended his seminar. The new seriousness with which some among them began to take themselves as artists after Newman's visit became a main factor in the creation of the informal group of painters now known as the `Regina Five.'58

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55 Clement Greenberg, "Modernist Painting," The New Art, Gregory Battcock [Ed.] (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1973), p.69

56 Withrow, p.99

57 Arthur McKay, "Emma Lake Workshop: An Appreciation," Canadian Art 21(1964), p.280

58 Clement Greenberg, "Clement Greenberg's View of Art on the Prairies," Canadian Art 20(1963), p.91

The "new seriousness" Greenberg mentions was to redirect the artists' effort towards the Post-Painterly Abstraction aesthetic which Greenberg's subsequent visit in 1962 served to consolidate.

Art McKay's images and rhetoric began to assume more of the posture of the new artistic direction coming from New York. His paintings increased dramatically in scale; for example "Effulgent Image" (1961) measures 48 3/4 inches square, double the scale of his pre-Newman paintings such as "Untitled" (1959). The latter image further reveals his 1950's interest in Jackson Pollock and the more expressive gestural style of painting. By 1961, in "Effulgent Image," he has adopted the more formal characteristics of Newman, with an emphasis on flatness, colour, and purity, and other ideological catchwords of Greenbergian Modernism.

In 1961, the post-Newman, pre-Greenberg developments in the art of McKay were contained in an exhibition organized by the National Gallery of Canada. The Five Painters from Regina show established the reputations of the Regina Five and gave them visibility across Canada.

The influence of American artists on the Regina Five was noted by the show's curator, Richard Simmins. However, for his part, he felt direct imitation was avoided because of the "intellectual upheaval resulting in great experimentation and an artistic milieu unfavourable to the

production of important works of art."59 Nonetheless, Art

McKay's catalogue statement reveals the extent to which

nationalism in art was an anathema to him:

> There is no such thing as a distinctly Canadian
> art; there are only artists who happen to be Canadian.
> Each person makes his world which he shares with those
> who are interested, and people share only those things
> in which they have common awareness.60

The de-emphasis of nationalism and contrasting emphasis

of personal vision is reinforced by the following of Richard

Simmins:

> Lochhead, Bloor, McKay, Godwin, and, to a lesser
> degree, Morton, are essentially solipsists. That is,
> they look inward to see the world. And if the eternal
> questions of when, why, and whether cannot be solved
> intellectually, then the very fact that they have
> emotional realization seems sufficient.61

The reliance on personal vision, especially the

emotional realization of a work as being sufficient in

itself, reflected strongly the depoliticized Modernism of

Greenberg in 1961 and his defence of aestheticism as an

actual quality preservable in the conflict against kitsch.

The subsequent belief in the autonomy of art and the

consequent possibilities for communication were argued in

1961 by Art McKay, who wrote:

> Communication is a flow between two points, both
> of which must be open. A painting's communication is
> as dependent upon the receptivity of the viewer as it
> is upon the presence of meaning in the work viewed.
> Nothing happens unless the work has something to give,

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59 Richard Simmins, Five Painters From Regina (Catalogue),
National Gallery of Canada, 1961, p.2

60 McKay, p.280

61 Simmins, p.2

and the viewer has the experience, sensitivity, and insight. . .[to] receive that something.62

This possibility of communication and artistic autonomy was an important legacy of the arguments forged by Clement Greenberg. Greenberg's arrival at Emma Lake in 1962, at the invitation of Lochhead and McKay, solidified the artistic direction initiated by Barnett Newman. The extent of the influence is perhaps best reflected in Withrow's brief comment: "Greenberg, when he came in 1962, was a theorist and the evangelist of the doctrine, and to the provincial artists, what he had to say was nothing short of revolutionary."63

The importance of Greenberg's definition of modern art can also be seen in the response of other artists present at his 1962 workshop. Lochhead proclaimed:

> There are very few people who look close at art, and Greenberg had done that and had a lot to say. . Although he taught us that the best and the worst were in New York, there was a lot we could do in our environment.64

The artist Ernest Lindner further stated:

> There is no question that the artist seminars at Emma Lake have caused the most important upsurge of creative work in those who participated. The intimate contact with contemporary New York artists of first rank, and especially with the eminent art critic Clement Greenberg, has been simply invaluable to all of us who took part in these seminars. I for one am

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62 McKay quoted in Fenton, p.ii

63 Withrow, p.99

64 Withrow, p.99

deeply grateful for this `window' to the larger
contemporary art world.65

The `window' presented a series of arguments generally
promoting the Post-Painterly Abstraction of Clement
Greenberg. Art McKay argued that acceptance of that
particular window resulted in exposure to "a more civilized
and humane culture from the U.S.A."66 Further, the vision
of Modernism as progressive was upheld in the light of
"political coercion, economic domination, CocaCola and
predigested mass communications."67 These arguments again
parallel Greenberg's major premises in "Avant Garde and
Kitsch" in defending the need for a high culture--Modernism
in particular--to prevent cultural dissolution.

Pop Art, which arose in the United States in the
1960's2 as a reaction against the elitism of Modernism, drew
criticism from McKay precisely because it was opposed to the
elitist position implied by Greenberg. McKay stated: "It
[Pop Art] is anti-aesthetic and really more of a
sociological phenomenon than an artistic one. It contains
very little new visual experience."68

The magazine Canadian Art commissioned Greenberg to
write an article discussing Prairie art which reveals the
degree to which Art McKay's aesthetic approached that of

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65 McKay, "Emma Lake Workshop," p.281

66 McKay, "Emma Lake Workshop," p.280

67 McKay, "Emma Lake Workshop," p.280

68 McKay, "Emma Lake Workshop," p.280

Greenberg. In this article, Greenberg lauds McKay for being "big attack" and for being armed with an "up-to-date" style. He singles out McKay for his use of shapes in relation to their ground, describing his new style as being as modern as anything in Paris or New York.69

In 1964, Greenberg curated a show for the Los Angeles County Museum called Post Painterly Abstraction, which was to be the grand unveiling of his new linear Modernism. Both Lochhead and McKay were included in the show, which Greenberg characterized as a new episode in the development of painting. In this landmark show, Greenberg renewed his critiques of Abstract Expressionism and Pop, both now fashionable, to clear the ground for his new aesthetic. All the artists in the show were described by Greenberg as moving towards "a physical openness of design, or towards linear clarity, or towards both."70 In particular, Greenberg praises McKay for his linear clarity and plainness of design, and it is these specific qualities "which are more conducive to freshness in abstract painting at this particular moment than most other instrumental qualities are."71 It is from this period of McKay's work that Lord selects the oil on masonite painting "Circle",1964, 48 inches square, (figure 8.) to clearly emphasize the

69 Greenberg, "Greenberg's View of Art on the Prairies," p.92

70 Clement Greenberg, Post-Painterly Abstraction (Catalogue), Los Angeles County Museum, 1967, p.4

71 Greenberg, Post-Painterly Abstraction, p.4

overwhelming influence of Clement Greenberg on this style of painting.

Greg Curnoe and "For Ben Bella"

In the early 1960's, Curnoe's artistic stance seemed to form out of a merger of a variety of artistic strains. Predominant in this stage of his career was an early Dadaist, anarchist stance which was initially reflected in such pieces as a framed fifty dollar bill (1961). Robert Fulford, in The Toronto Daily Star, found Curnoe's work to be typical neo-Dadaist. In the 1963 federal election, Curnoe demonstrated his nihilist tendencies by painting over the eyes of one of the Conservative candidates the words "destroy your ballot." His apparent disaffiliation from society was summarized by the London Free Press in September 1963 in an interview in which he stated he advocated "nothing at all, really no party, no vote, no democracy." At this time, Curnoe formed the Nihilist Spasm Band with other local artists; the band performed in a London hotel.

Curnoe's early pseudo-avant garde stance would remain as rhetoric, but the oppositional posture such positions had offered earlier in European society had, by now, become as Herbert Marcuse would say, "a vehicle of adjustment." In regard to Curnoe's early Dadaism, Robert Fulford stated in a review of his art:

> If the wild, anti-everything attitude of the old 1920's has appealed to you in the past (as it has to me) then you'll enjoy seeing its 1961 version in a Toronto setting. If, on the other hand, you suspect

the current art is essentially insane, then you'll be snugly confirmed in your belief--It is a show to please everyone.72

Developing alongside his anarchism, Curnoe also developed a painting technique that began to draw on Pop influences that were emigrating from the United States, the first Toronto Pop exhibition being held in 1963. This Pop influence, combined with a growing awareness of the region surrounding London, Ontario as opposed to the formal concerns of New York art formed the basis of his painted images over the next several years. The concerns with social activism and regionalism pushed Curnoe towards rejection of the Modernist culture dominant in New York. In a lecture on aesthetics at Waterloo University, Curnoe acknowledged his primary concern "with people who are involved, who have the guts to try something that costs them at least a passionate effort, at most their lives."73 For Curnoe, this need to 'try something' would merge with the rejection of Modernism and a growing nationalist consciousness to form the basis of his artistic position in the mid 1960's.

Ironically, as late as 1964, Curnoe was characterized by one critic as being "very New York"74 and by several

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72 Robert Fulford, "Anarchy," The Toronto Daily Star, 23 December 1964

73 David Colob, "A Man of Involvement," The Toronto Daily Star, 23 December 1961

74 Arnold Rockman, "About Art," The Toronto Daily Star, 3 October 1964

others as being very Pop. Lenore Crawford, in a review of a
Greg Curnoe show in 1964, stated in the London Free Press
that "it is too silly to read anything as ponderous as a
`message'into them [his paintings]. They are for those
moments of laughter in everyone's life."75

The painting "For Ben Bella" (1965) marks a decisive
change in Curnoe's painting towards a more specific
political criticism. Occurring at a time of profound
disillusionment of many Canadian intellectuals over the
American debacle in Vietnam, and social decay and race riots
in American cities, this painting signifies the explosion of
Canadian nationalism which had lain relatively dormant since
the war. "For Ben Bella" (figure 9.) is composed of one
vertical and one horizontal panel connected by metallic
exercise bars standing 59 1/2 inches high. The painted
image depicts William Lyon Mackenzie King, the Liberal Prime
Minister of Canada from 1921 to 1930 and from 1935 to 1948,
sitting in an easy chair and receiving an electric shock
from a vibrator held by an arm in the upper right hand
corner of the painting. The work itself is a classic
summary of Curnoe's efforts to differentiate himself from
the older international Modernist art world, represented by
Art McKay and the Regina regionalists, and he employs
several methods to do this.

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75 Lenore Crawford, "Urquhart-Curnoe Exhibit a Mixture of
Colour, Vitality, Humour," London Free Press, 14 November
1964

His rejection of the universalism of Greenbergian

Modernism is first established by an opposing concern with

the immediate and the personal. As Ross Woodman notes, the

concern Curnoe has for his immediate environment is

reflected in "Objects, persons, places. . .[which tend] to

glisten with meaning and become memorable for him."76   An

example of the intrusion of the immediate and personal from

Curnoe's life in London into "For Ben Bella" is the

inclusion of an arm holding a vibrator that shocks Mackenzie

King which is labelled "Ebert's arm," a reference to one of

Curnoe's friends. Another characteristic of this break from

modernism is the utilization of garish Pop colours such as

orange, purple, etc. which are highly idiosyncratic and

garish, and avoid formalistic colour concerns. Andreas

Huyssen notes that Pop art at this point in the 1960's

presented an attractive alternative to the aloofness of

modernism and a means of making art more responsive to life:

> ...Pop seemed to liberate art from the monumental
> boredom of Informel and Abstract Expressionism; it
> seemed to break through the confines of the ivory tower
> in which art had been going around in circles in the
> 1950's. It seemed to ridicule the deadly serious art
> criticism which never acknowledged fantasy, play and
> spontaneity. Pop's almost indiscriminate use of bright
> colours was overwhelming.77

Curnoe's anti-Modernism continues with his attack

on the flatness of the picture plane, a Greenbergian

priority. The two panels connected by metallic bars

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76 Ross Woodman, "London (Ont.): a new regionalism" in
artscanada, August/September 1967.

77 Huyssen, "The Cultural Politics of Pop" pp. 77-78

deliberately break the picture plane: while the painting is intended to lean against the wall, its sculptural aspect works against its sole appreciation as a painted surface. The stark whiteness of King's face and arm, as opposed to the flat handling of King's body, also serves to disrupt the formal smoothness of the painting. Furthermore, the face is taken from an election poster and, as a photograph, once again breaks with formalist painting tradition, emphasizing contemporary mass media. Curnoe's use of the figure, imagery from mass media, and introduction of sculptural elements, are the three main elements of his art which David Silcox emphasized earlier as being the key influences on the emergence of Canadian art on the international art scene.

Although visually related to Pop artists such as Tom Wesselman and his "Great American Nude" series, Curnoe adds social criticism to the image as well as in the texts that surround the image. Along the top and right side of the painting, Curnoe savages those responsible for Canada's sinking to a new colonial status but in a typically nihilist fashion:

THE LIBERALS SOLD US TO THE U.S.A.!

THE P.C.S DESTROYED PARLIAMENT!

THE N.D.P. BETRAYED THE C.C.F.!

THE NIHILIST PARTY OF CANADA AWAITS WITH JOY

THE DEATH OF OUR COUNTRY AND ENDORSES UNION

WITH OUR BELOVED AND SHY NEIGHBOUR THE U.S.&A.!

The sarcasm of the above text is tempered by the more
serious inclusion of leaders from the liberation struggles
of the past two hundred years stencilled on the border of
the floor panel. Two martyrs of Canadian history are
included, the Indian leader Tecumseh and the leader of the
1885 Metis rebellion, Louis Riel. Contemporary Third World
liberation struggles are noted with the names of Mao, Ho,
Lumumba, and, from the United States, Malcolm X. The title
of the painting honours Ben Bella, the socialist leader of
Algeria, who was overthrown in a coup led by Houari
Boumedienne on June 14, 1965.78 While the content and tone
of the text are very polemical in their attack on Canadian
and international politics, Curnoe curiously lists
Diefenbaker (Conservative Prime Minister of Canada from 1957

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78 Algeria is a classic example of a Third World country
whose ideology was characeristic of the anti-colonial
struggles the Americans were intent on defusing. At the
height of his power and before he was to host a Afro-Asian
Caonference in Algiers, which would have immeasurably
boosted his image in Third World politics, Ben Bella
declared that, "In Algeria there is a socialist revolution,
a regime and leaders who are more unified than ever, more
decided than ever to oppose plots from any quarter..." P.T.
Piotrow "Algerian Conflict", in Editorial Research Reports,
Washington, p. 649. Three days later Ben Bella was
overthrown.
     The United States, while feigning neutrality,
consistently supported France in the struggle against
Algeria. However, an indication of how well the United
States camouflaged its counter-revolutionary campaign in the
Third World is provided by Ben Bella's enthusiasm for the
major proponent of the new strategy, John F. Kennedy. As Ben
Bella pointed out, "Kennedy seemed to represent the moderate
element, in opposition to the bellicose policy of his
country. I felt that his death was a great loss for the USA
and for the whole world....A few days later, I named the big
square at El-Biar in memory of President Kennedy." Robert
Merle, Ahmed Ben Bella, (Walker & Company: New York, 1965)
p. 137

to 1963) as one of his heroes. As discussed in Chapter 2,
Diefenbaker's conception of nationalism was very much of an
anti-modern, anti-liberal orientation and Diefenbaker
himself was defended as a nationalist by the conservative
Canadian philosopher George Grant in his 1965 work, Lament
for a Nation, in which Grant argues that the impossibility
of the conservative vision of John Diefenbaker means the
impossibility of Canadian independence in the modern world.
This awkward conservative side to Curnoe will be partially
responsible for his assimilation within the mainstream of
the Canadian culture which he wishes to attack.

The preference for the type of regionalism represented
by Greg Curnoe and the London, Ontario school, as opposed to
that of Art McKay and the Regina school, was noted by David
Thompson, the art critic of the London Times, who wrote
three articles discussing Canadian art for Studio
International in 1968. Thompson saw Expo as crystallizing
Canadian attitudes and aspirations towards a variety of
issues, particularly including culture. The Canadian art
scene appeared to have successfully defined itself apart
from the older regionalisms and styles to envisage a
separate conception for Canadian art in the modern world.
According to Thompson, Curnoe's success in defining a
particular voice resulted from his role as:

> ...the passionate exponent of a particular kind of
> regionalism -- a regionalism which is not sequestered
> from any of the concerns of the outside world, but
> which, in accepting part as representative of the

whole, is content to work from a particular locality: London, Ontario.79

Another Englishman, William Townsend, saw the new Canadian art scene represented by the London, Ontario regionalists as free of "disabilities of isolation and dependence"80 and not a victim "of the crisis in moral attitudes that penalizes influence."81 This balance between old and new with a looking forward to the future finds, in Curnoe, a perfect spokesman.

Curnoe's compatibility with the new cultural policy is indicated in a 20/20 Gallery press release of February 14, 1967 in which Curnoe is described in terms similar to Barry Lord's rationale for the tranformation of Canadian Art to artscanada, "Curnoe resists abstraction because of the way it annihilates environment and seperates the "fine" from the "popular". His "regionalism" is contained in the comic strips of London, it reveals above all his extraordinary ability to come to grips with his environment."82 The interaction of art and life to which the formalists of Regina are innately in opposition opens the doorway for Barry Lord to select Greg Curnoe to represent the new editorial policy of artscanada on the cover of the first

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79 David Thompson, "A Canadian Scene," in William Townsend, Canadian Art Today, (London: England: Studio International, 1970), p. 18

80 Townsend, p. 11

81 Townsend, p. 11

82 20/20 Gallery Press Release, February 14, 1967

issue. Paralleling Barry Lord, Curnoe argues, "The age of specialization is going out and I belong to the new age of participation or involvement in many things."83

Acceptance of the validity of the London regionalists was not universal and received considerable condemnation from homegrown formalist critics such as Terry Fenton. In September 1968, he argued, "...[that] the regionalism in London, Ontario is simply another instance of provincialism in modern art, that despite its intentions, it failed to match the achievement of the best art shown in New York."84 For critics such as Fenton, the regionalist painters in Regina presented an equally strong definition of regionalism with even "better qualifications" than those artists in London. Art Mckay is described by Fenton as having "produced some of the most important works of art in Canada during the sixties."85 Fenton defends the traditonal way of defining Canadian art by the extent to which it positions itself between the art capitals of New York and Paris. For example, abstract painters like Art McKay and Jack Bush are more successful precisely because " both artists are in the peculiar position of looking very French in comparison to recent American painting and remarkably American in relation to recent painting form the continent. If there is such a

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83 London Free Press, December 3, 1966

84 Terry Fenton, "Looking at Candian Art", in Artforum, September, 1968. Volume 7 #1. p. ?

85 Fenton, p.?

thing as a Canadian national characteristic, perhaps that is it."86 Such an argument in defense of the modernist tradition of painting was not sufficient for the new cultural policy of the Liberals as it maintained the separation of art and life that rendered it too elitist in terms of the cultural objectives of Seminar 65.

The inclusion of "For Ben Bella" in the Painting in Canada exhibition does raise questions of its political acceptability in a pavilion sponsored by the Canadian government led by the Liberals, the political party of Mackenzie King himself. Curnoe's acidic attack on King's Liberalism as having sold Canada to the United States as well as Curnoe's overt defense of Third World revolutionaries would appear to be politically damaging to the Liberal ideology the pavilion was meant to promote. However, the increase in government involvement in the arts since Seminar 65 occurred in a period of Canadian Liberalism under Lester Pearson that was seeking to remotivate its image and ideology. In the light of the 1965 federal election of a minority Liberal government, the need to differentiate itself from previous Liberal governments, especially on the issue of nationalism during a time in which English Canadian nationalism was on the upswing, meant that an image had to be constructed to reflect the new Liberal ideology. Culture was seen as being an important instrument in pursuing Liberal objectives because it could

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86 Fenton, p. ?

reach, given the right art, the various regional elites with the image of itself it wished to communicate. The demonstration of social criticism in "For Ben Bella" initiated a new didacticism in painting that was a reflection of the new liberalism. As previously argued by David Silcox of the Canada Council in 1966, one of the ingredients he was looking for, in an effort to define a distinctive art, was the capacity of art to be more didactic and therefore capable of being "rationally apprehended". It is the latter phrase that makes the art of social commentary useful to the Liberals particularly with the growing interest in the concept of participatory democracy which Trudeau would make such an integral theme of his government.

This appreciation of didactic and socially critical art was reflected in the acquisitions policy of the National Gallery when it acquired "Sunday Afternoon (from an Old American Photograph)" by Claude Breeze, in 1966. The scene of lynched hanging figures in the American South demonstrated for Barry Lord the willingness of the National Gallery to set an example of an institution not willling to let its character influence the acquisition of works with overt social content:

> This is in marked contrast to the timidity of
> some public galleries and museums which have been
> reluctant to exhibit or purchase contemporary figure
> painting due to the nature of their subject matter.
> Like Dennis Burton and Greg Curnoe (whose"For Ben
> Bella" is on our cover) Claude Breeze is familiar with
> the economic and exhibiting difficulties encountered by
> a painter who wishes to deal frankly with the violence,

the eroticism and the social and political problems inherent in our society.87

The success of the London regionalists in becoming representatives of a new Canadian style lies with the presence in their work of this didactic and critical quality to which the Regina painters were inherently hostile. This acceptance of social criticism is indicated in the comments of the American critic William Seitz who was responsible for the selection of works for the Seventh Biennial of Canadian Painting in 1968. Seitz contrasts the festive mood in Canada following the election of Pierre Trudeau with the destruction of America's cities following the assassination of Martin Luther King in Memphis. This contrast is in part the result, argues Seitz, of the presence of artists willing to act as social critics:

> Essential in the art of a democracy that hopes to grow in diversity as well as affluence is the work of artists as social critics. Greg Curnoe and John Boyle in their extension of variations of the medium of painting, in turning from abstraction toward social subjects, and in the defiant stance their art projects, keeps criticism of the establishment within the aspirations of current arts.88

In the catalogue notes, Seitz goes on to describe precisely how the regionalism of London is the perfect cultural corollary of "technological liberalism":

> The existence in London, Ontario of a tight little avant-garde -- a situation only possible today in a provincial setting -- demonstrates Curnoe's principle. London is a reminder that the increasing

87 Barry Lord, "Sunday Afternoon" in artscanda, January 1967

88 William Seitz, Seventh Biennial of Canadian Painting, 1968, Exhibition Catalogue, p. 11

interdependence brought about by instant communication
need not pulverize regional experience into
international homogeneity.89

Seitz accurately describes and summarizes the
instrumentalized conception of culture that had first
tantalized Cold War planners in the 1950's and was the basis
of the theme of Expo 67 and the actions taken on the part of
the Canadian from Seminar 65. In language reminiscent of St.
Exupery, Seitz notes:

> Today Canadian art is free to grow within a more
> interconnected social structure that that of the U.S.
> It is a situation in which the artist, as source of
> ideas, environmental embellishes, critic and poet can
> play an indispensible social role.90

Even Art in America lauds the new socially critical
art and looks towards Greg Curnoe and the London regionlist
strategy as being appropriate for Mcluhan's `Global
Village'. An article entitled "What London Ontario Has that
Everywhere Else Needs" argues that the new regionalism
demonstrates the obsolescence of art capitals and loudly
proclaims, " London, Ontario is Canada's first regional
liberation front."91 The failure to perceive the
relationship of the new figurative painters with the new
Cold War strategy, within which Canadian Liberalism was
playing an important role, led Barry Lord to exaggerate the
political claims of this art, as in 1968 when he declared
that we "...need to create two, three, many Vietnams in the

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89 Seitz, p. 11

90 Seitz, p. 12

91 Toronto Globe and Mail, December 13, 1969

arts, an anti-imperialist culture to parallel peoples

liberation struggles in Vietnam, Angola and Latin

America."92

Following the success of Expo 67, the Canadian

Conference of the Arts met once again, between November 29-

December 2, 1967, to review the status of the Arts in Canada

and the influence of policy decisions made at Seminar 65.

The key word for the 1967 Conference was "creation" which

was to be applied to keep the cultural distinctiveness of

the two major ethnic groups of Canada but solely within a

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92 Kitchener Waterloo Record, December 28, 1968
    The dilemma of the avidly nationalist Canadian artist
trying to repudiate American imperialism is epitomized by
Joyce Wieland, who had a painting included in the 'Painting
in Canada' exhibit. Wieland's position emphasized a much
more pro-Canadian stance than did Greg Curnoe, as the
following quote from 1968 makes clear: "I think Canada is
the last stand, the last place where something could be
done. We could have utopia." Elizabeth Kilbourn, "Art and
Artists," Toronto Star, December 31, 1968.

    In 1968, Wieland threw her support behind the
leadership aspirations of Pierre Trudeau and made for him a
quilt decorated with one of his campaign slogans, "Reason
Over Passion." Meanwhile some critics, such as Barry Hale,
began to perceive Wieland as the great Canadian patriot
fighting "against the corporate and military institute of
the global village." Toronto Telegram, February, 27 1969.
Unlike Curnoe's pseudo-nihilist stance, Wieland functioned
as an active propagandist for Pierre Trudeau even while she
was living in New York. For example, Janas Makas stated in
The Village Voice, "After viewing some of Snow's and
Wieland's films, all of us went home knowing that Canada has
the most up to date P.M. of any country." (November 20,
1969) The sad irony was the inadvertent support provided by
Wieland for the corporate and military institute of the
'Global Village' through her support of Trudeau, the
foremost exponent of its ideology.

federalist structure. The efforts to promote the Centennial
year and create a distinct Canadian cultural identity were
intended, as the Canada Council Associate Director
explained, to create "...a state of mind which allows
artists of two languages to work together, each keeping his
integrity and his own individuality."93 The Conference
happily noted that the barriers separating the Arts from the
mainstream of Canadian life had been removed, thanks to the
reconciling of the old high culture and the newly emerging
Pop culture. This congenial synthesis is described in the
following quote from the Conference Papers:

> Though disciples of Mcluhan came with the Monkees
> on their shoulders, to scorn the established arts as
> 'dinosaurs' and 'mastodons,' they stayed to suggest new
> and happier ways of reconciling old and new. The
> classic arts seemed newly prepared to allow the
> frenetic, dynamic world of the pop arts a foothold in
> the palace of culture.94

By rejecting the elitist nature of high culture,
particularly modernism, as being the sole purveyor of
cultural values, Seminar 65 established the framework for a
new cultural policy. This policy successfully supported art
forms capable of functioning as symbols of a national
culture for regional elites and segments of the middle
class. The success of this policy was reflected in the
support these publics provided the arts in Canada in the
Centennial year. More than 600,000 persons in 210 towns,
cities and villages watched some 690 individual

93 Canadian Conference of the Arts (1967) p. 5

94 Canadian Conference of the Arts p. 2

performances, reported the Conference. These statistics

suggested to the Conference that, as a consequence of this

obvious success, the role of the government should shift

from merely "encouraging" the arts to actually "investing"

in them. Since the objective of having the arts recognized

as a "human service" and a "economic and social asset" had

been accomplished, it was time to encourage closer ties with

the Canadian business community.95 In summary, the cultural

strategy devised in 1965 had been an overwhelming

achievement, for finally, "after a hundred years the arts

[were] here to stay, a part of the Canadian mainstream at

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95 As one official added, the problems of administration
were now insignificant. As the man from Madison Avenue said
these problems were now "... happy problems about happy
people." (p. 3.)
Curnoe's participation in the new alliance of art and
business is best symbolized by his appearance on the cover
of the magazine, Business Quarterly Spring, 1972, which
served to intoduce a new section of the magazine devoted to
"Art and the Businessman." Described as Canada's foremost
`enfant terrible' Curnoe concluded the article by saying,
"Today I noticed the old Main Post Office. I can't really
say more than that because I don't understand what I'm doing
or what I notice." After this the magazine states, " And his
art does not say more than that either; the affirmation is
so strong, the Matisse palette so joyous that its sheer
presence nevertheless has a history of people's struggle to
shed a colonial skin and behold themselves newborn on the
sixth day of creation. And that too is an incarnation of
sorts."

last, and sure enough of their position to set out in new
directions."96

The culmination of years of remotivating Liberal
ideology was realized in 1968 with Pierre Elliott Trudeau's
election with an overwhelming Parliamentary majority. As
Richard Gwyn notes in his biography of Trudeau, the election
victory was the fulfilling of a collective dream: "All of
Canada, glued to its television sets, wanted a new guy with
new ideas to perpetuate Expo."97 Trudeau was deemed the
appropriate adornment to the nation's substance. The dream
was fulfilled "...in Centennial and in Expo, and now in
electing a Prime Minister whom almost everyone envied us
for."98 The successful resituating of culture in Canadian
society which followed from the planning sessions of Seminar
65 led to Trudeau being called Canada's first "cultural
Prime Minister."

The successful instrumentalization of culture under the
Liberals did not end with Trudeau's election. The benefits
to be derived from an ongoing government involvement in the

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96 Canadian Conference of the Arts p. 3
Between 1967 and 1970 the visibility of Canadian art
internationally increased dramatically with major shows in
Tel Aviv, Edinburgh, and Paris. Greg Curnoe represented
Canada at the 1968 Sao Paolo Biennial. In a show held in
Paris entitled "Art D'Aujourd hui", at the Musee National
D'Art Moderne in 1968, the catalogue stated the new role of
Canadian art under Trudeau as "...the first show this side
of the Atlantic to show Canada no longer as a provincial
consumer but as a contributing part of the International
Scene." Townsend, p. 8.

97 Gwyn, p. 68

98 Gwyn, p. 71

arts were too great. The three main planks of Trudeau's philosophy of government, i.e. pluralist federalism, rational planning, and Participatory Democracy, were established on a solid cultural foundation. In The Canadian Cultural Revolution, Dale McConathy notes that the popularization of the arts since 1968 has taken place under the twin banners of `decentralization' and `democratization':

> The initial objectives to the additional funding of the Canada Council in Parliament in 1965 have by and large died down in the last five years. Culture has taken its place, along with health and education, as undisputed social goods.99

`Decentralization' and `democratization' were officially formalized as an official government policy in a March 18, 1972 speech by Secretary of State Gerard Pelletier, one of the three French Canadians (along with Jean Marchand and Trudeau) who had come to Ottawa to help revitalize Canadian Liberalism in 1965. Pelletier outlined the cultural policy in the following way:

> Democratization means increasing access to the products of cultural activity for all tax payers, not only for a select group as has been the case in the past. Since this concerns the use of public funds, it would be unfair to promote cultural activities that are reserved for the happy few. Decentralization in a country such as Canada signifies an active battle against vast distances in order to make our cultural symbols available to all Canadians, no matter where they live.100

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99 Dale McConathy, The Canadian Cultural Revolution (artscanada: Toronto, 1970), p.2

100 McConathy, p. 2

John Chandler perceptively described this cultural policy in 1972 as "the new aesthetics" which may be as old as art itself."101

In this context, the explanation for the visibility of Greg Curnoe in 1967 on the cover of <u>artscanada</u> and in the <u>Painting in Canada</u> show is evident. The rejection, by Curnoe and the London regionalist painters, of an elitist Greenbergian Modernism in favour of a regionalist populism utilizing the figure, mass media, sculptural elements and social criticism formed a more useable definition of "international regionalism" for Liberal objectives than the regionalism of Art McKay and the Regina modernists. Greg Curnoe's regionalism provided a mid-point between old and new in Canadian art in a manner similar to the Liberal party's efforts to find a new ideology in the mid 1960's. "For Ben Bella" emphasized a new redeployment of the figure in Canadian painting which, despite its didacticism and overt social content, paved the way for the post-modernist malaise in Canadian culture in the 1970's and early 1980's. The melding of cultural and political stances is reflected in William Seitz's comments that:

> We live in a period, as Pierre Elliott Trudeau recognizes, in which style -- that is really to say art -- spreads into every facet of life. Canadian painters and sculptors have the creativity, vitality and energy to make contributions of incalculable value to the new

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101 John Chandler, "Notes Towards a New Aesthetics" <u>artscanada</u>, October-November 1972, pp. 172-173

spirit and image of Canada engendered by the Centennial year.102

The efforts of Canadian nationalists to use Greg Curnoe's imagery as a symbol of their political struggle against American imperialism fails to perceive the new role of culture in Canadian society and its implications for cultural opposition to the new signalling systems of multi-national capitalism. The rejection of the Clement Greenberg definition of modernism by Greg Curnoe does lead to a merging of art and life but in a totally commodified form devoid of any authentic criticism and easily co-opted within the Liberal cultural revolution. The dilemma of cultural criticism under the third stage of capitalist development is epitomized by this Canadian experience. As Jean Baudrillard concludes:

> All vague impulses to democratize content, subvert it, restore the "transparency of the code," control the information process, contrive a reversibility of circuits, or take power over media are hopeless – unless the monopoly of speech is broken; and one cannot break the monopoly of speech if one's goal is simply to distribute it equally to everyone.103

102 Quote cited in the <u>Toronto Globe and Mail,</u> December 13, 1969

103 Baudrillard, p. 170

CONCLUSION

Dolente....dolore.

Confronted with an American Empire, fully
expressive of the lead tendencies of modern culture
("mechanized communication" and the politics of spatial
domination), the Canadian situation is precarious.

Arthur Kroker

Confronted by such a dominant hegemonic system from

within and without, the melancholy of Canadian intellectuals

would seem to be justified. Their society has become, in the

post-war period, an overwhelming success in portraying the

smooth functioning of the refined cybernetic ideology of

American economic, military and cultural power. The tragic

fate of Canada in the post-war period is a product of its

role in reflecting the leading tendencies of the

transition phase of capitalism, as it progresses towards its

ultimate goal of the "Global Village." The Canadian

experience has serious implications for any social

organization occurring within the orbit of multi-national

capitalism. Yet this "precarious" position has afforded

Canadians the opportunity to observe first-hand the nature

of the utopia which capitalism seeks to offer. As the

Marxist intellectual Stanley Aronowitz has observed:

> Americans have been blinded to the dangers of
> modern technology because it has been central to
> building a world empire that has sustained material
> prosperity and political and economic domination over
> others. Canada, caught between its partial integration
> into technological society and the past of European
> culture, has forged a discourse about technology that

grasps, in the words of philosopher George Grant, that
`technology is ourselves.'1

Trudeau and Mcluhan's understanding of that technology
provided the basis for political synthesis of the cybernetic
revolution and liberalism which became "technological
liberalism." Combined with the new techniques of waging
propaganda warfare developed in the United States, this
American and Canadian hybrid provided a model of a new
"symbolic universe." This symbolic universe created a vision
of utopia that adhered the loyalties of the middle class to
the status quo while defeating the Soviet Union in the
international arena of the propaganda Cold War. This new
strategy was unveiled at Expo 67 entailing the most up to
date deployment of communication and transportation
technologies. Old style world fairs had become suspect in
the age of Mcluhan because the old forms of propagandistic
warfare between nations had been supplanted by the
techniques of "total communications." Expo 67 was a new
model of the idea of a "total system" which projected a
utopia of social cohesiveness by making a virtue of the
social disintegration of the modern world. Donald Theall
observes the relationship of this process to the vision of
Expo and the role of culture within it and states:

> The sensory world of Expo is a fragmented one,
> reflecting the fragmented nature of our world. But in
> this context the fragmentation assumes an order -- pop

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1 Stanley Aronowitz, Review of "Technology and the Canadian
Mind" in <u>Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory,</u>
Autumn, 1985, p. 127 pp. 126-133

art and pop kitsch both become part of the continuum of the arts of culture and a new utopian vision..."2

Alienation and social fragmentation shift from being a form of social existence to be overcome by some more rational form of social organization to forming the essence of the capitalist vision of the ideal society. Culture ensures the smooth functioning of the technological totality by recognizing "the essential harmony between the art of living and the arts of man informed by his sense of creativity and community."3 The paradox of this principle of capitalist organization is summarized by Henri Lefebvre as "...loneliness in the midst of overcrowding, lack of communication in a proliferation of signs and information."4

The year 1968 was an important one for the articulation of competing visions of social organization. The May uprising in Paris enabled many European intellectuals to visualize alternatives to technological totalization that seemed to disprove the overly negative analysis of Marcuse's One Dimensional Man or Theodor Adorno's bleak description of the "culture industry." For a former student of Adorno's, German poet and critic Hans Magnus Enzenburger, the spring of 1968 demonstrated the instability of what had appeared to be in the early 1960's a system within which the articulation of alternative discourses was non-existent,

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2 Theall, p. 43

3 Theall, p. 43

4 Lefebvre, p. 185

"When the totality of imperialism became evident, when
social contradictions could no longer be covered up, the
cracks began to show through the cultural facade."5 Paris,
1968 demonstrated for Baudrillard that " the street...was
the alternative and subversive form to all mass media."6
Finally, Henri Lefebvre proclaimed, "Let daily life become a
work of art!" sexual and urban reform and "the festival
rediscovered" on the cultural plane."7

However, in the Canadian context the exact opposite was
occurring. Expo 67 functioned as a model of a technological
festival, a showpiece of advertising, mass media, and the
'invisible city,' demonstrating the power of capitalism's
signalling system to unify within its grasp the vast
majority of the Canadian population and leaving the Soviet
Union lost in the industrial sign language of an earlier
phase of industrial modernization. The ideology of Expo was,
in effect, a new source of motivation and legitimation for
multi-national capitalism for which Canadian society
provides a perfect model of fealty. Concepts which
originated in Paris in 1968 as alternate responses to the
'total' system were lifted from their context and employed
in Canada as useful appendages to the ideology of

5 Hans Magnus Enzenburger, The Consciousness Industry, (A
Continuum Book, The Seabury Press: New York, 1974) p.84

6 Baudrillard, For a Critique of the Political Economy of
the Sign, p. 218

7 Lefebvre quote cited in Mark Poster, Existential Marxism
in Postwar France, (Princeton University Press: Princeton,
New Jersey, 1975) p. 255.

"technological liberalism." The term "decentralization," for
example, meant in the Parisian context an attack on the
totality of the capitalist order while in Canada the term
was employed by Trudeau and the Liberal government's new
cultural policy which solidified the dominant ideology
rather than underming it. Dale McConathy states:

> No matter the challenge of decentralization to his
> world view, Trudeau had found an effective saying to
> dramatize the governments role in the extraordinary
> social and economic upheaval that Canada was already
> undergoing."8

In retrospect, the efforts of the Canadian nationalist
movement to base a critical art on a regionalist populism,
failed to perceive that such a strategy was inappropriate
given Canada's particular mission within the American empire
and the new "symbolic universe" of capital. The social
subject necessary to measure any possible success of social
change was non-existant. Efforts by people such as Barry
Lord, Greg Curnoe, and the Waffle movement (the left faction
of the Federal NDP) based their notions of cultural
resistance on a populist vision that was doomed to failure
in Canada. One of the reasons for this failure is summarized
by Cy Gonick in the following quotation:

> The nationalism of the Left, growing out of the
> deepening conciousness of Canada's subordinate place in
> the American Empire, had little or no class connection.
> This is one of the reasons why the Waffle, for example,
> was never able to penetrate the Canadian working class
> to any extent. And because of its preoccupation with
> the question of Canadian survival, groups like the

Waffle were unable to come to terms with the basis of
the Canadian state.9

The effect of this absence on positions such as Lord's
and Curnoe's leaves them vulnerable to the co-opting
capacities of the society in which they struggle, the
consequences of which are noted by Hal Foster, "In the
absence of such a social basis utopian desire may well
become a will to power -- or an identification with the
powers that be."10

Failing to comprehend the new ideological practices of
"technological liberalism," left-wing Canadian nationalism
and its cultural critique was easily rendered a
contributing partner to the "Global Village." The strategy
of calling for a strong socialist state to repel American
influence, once digested by the mechanisms of "total
communications," could be regarded as an act of the will to
power. Phil Resnick makes this point clear when he writes in
his analysis of English-Canadian nationalism, The Land of
Cain, that:

> Marxist analysis would underline the class
> interests of most of these (intellectuals) articulating
> this so-called classless nationalism. It was the new
> petty bourgoisie that stood to be the chief beneficiary

9 Cy Gonick, "Editorial Statement: A New Beginning,"
Canadian Dimension 10(1974), p.5

10 Hal Foster, Recodings, (Bay Press, Port Townsend:
Washington, 1985.) p. 96. Given Canadian society's ability
to function so well as a model of the "total system" the
"radical" conception of capital, which is epitomized by
Baudrillard, would seem to apply ideally to the Canadian
situation. Foster's notion of culture being "an arena in
which active contestation is possible" would seem to be
highly problematic in Canada. (p.149.)

of the symbolic investment now called for in `science policy,' `cultural policy,' `independant foreign policy,' and so on.11

Torn between the false dichotomy of either nationalism or internationalism Canadian cultural nationalism rapidly sank out of sight as the post-modernist malaise of the 1970's appeared, aided and abetted in Canada by the Liberal motto of "democratization" and "decentralization."12

Expo 67, Canada's one-hundredth birthday, was a celebration of a maturing nation, telling the story of man; a celebration which, should stimulate pride in our ancestry, faith in ourselves, confidence in our neighbours, and above all great hope in our national future. However, the unity of technology and empire embodied in the Canadian-American ideology of "technological liberalism" clearly raises doubts concerning the short and long term possibilities of Canada portraying anything other that a model of fealty to the capitalist way of life. George Grant's eulogy to the disappearance of Canada as a sub specie aeternitas stands as the problematic of our culture and our society:

> But what lies behind the small practical question of Canadian nationalism is the larger context of the fate of western civilization. By that fate, I mean not merely the relations of our massive empire to the rest of the world, but even more the kind of existence which is becoming universal in advanced technological

11 Resnick, p. 174.

12 As mentioned in the introduction Greg Curnoe gave up his political pretensions in the early 1970's to work in a style derived from Matisse and Van Dongen. Joyce Wieland, as another example of how a nationalist found a home in post-modernism, is basing her recent art partially on Tiepolo, among other Baroque masters.

societies. What is worth doing in the midst of this
barren twilight is the incredible difficult question.13

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13 Quote cited in Cook, p.63.

¿LE GUSTA ESTE JARDIN?

¿QUE ES SUYO?

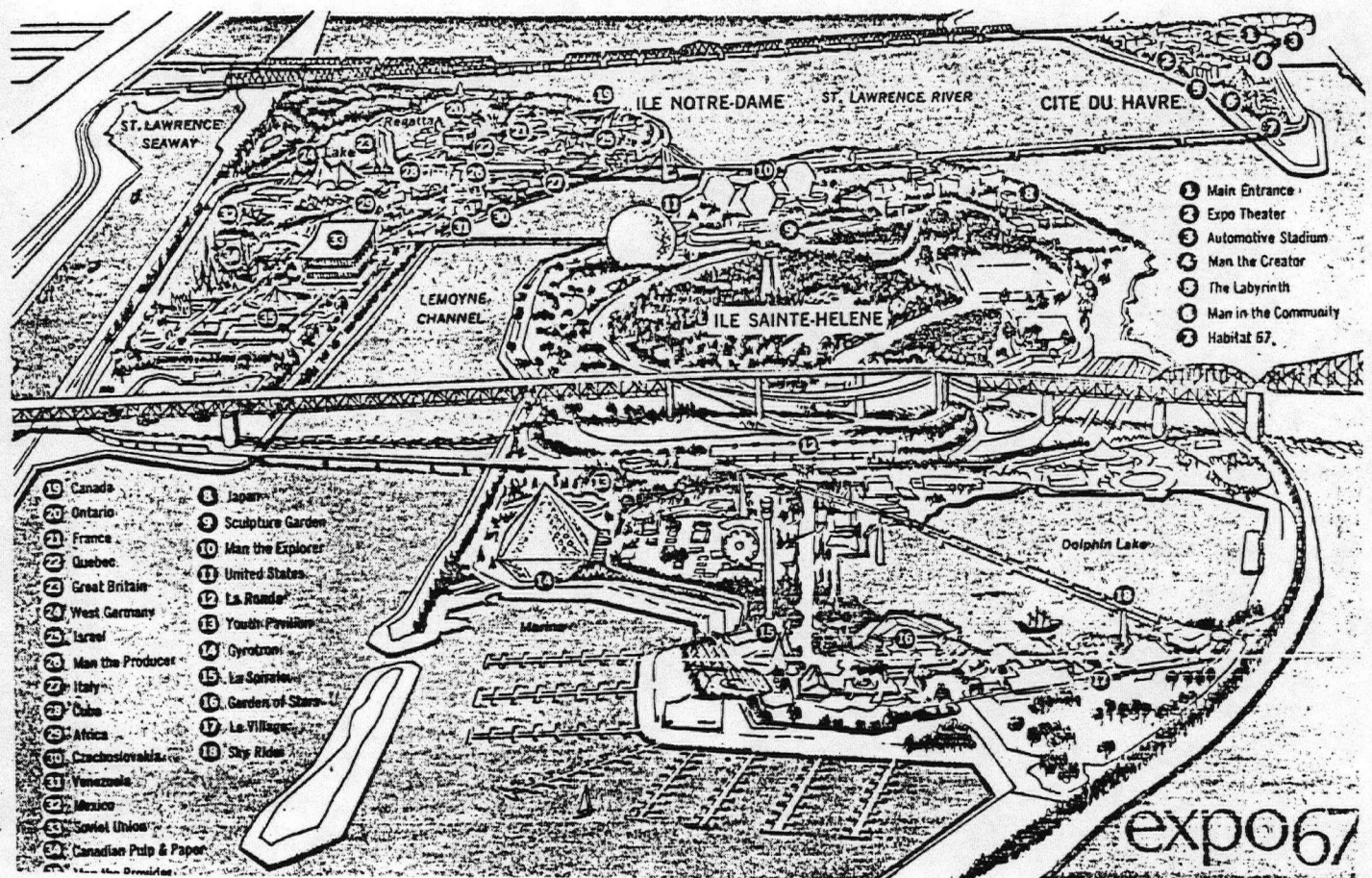¡EVITE QUE SUS HIJOS LO DESTRUYAN!

Figure 1: Overview Map of Expo 67
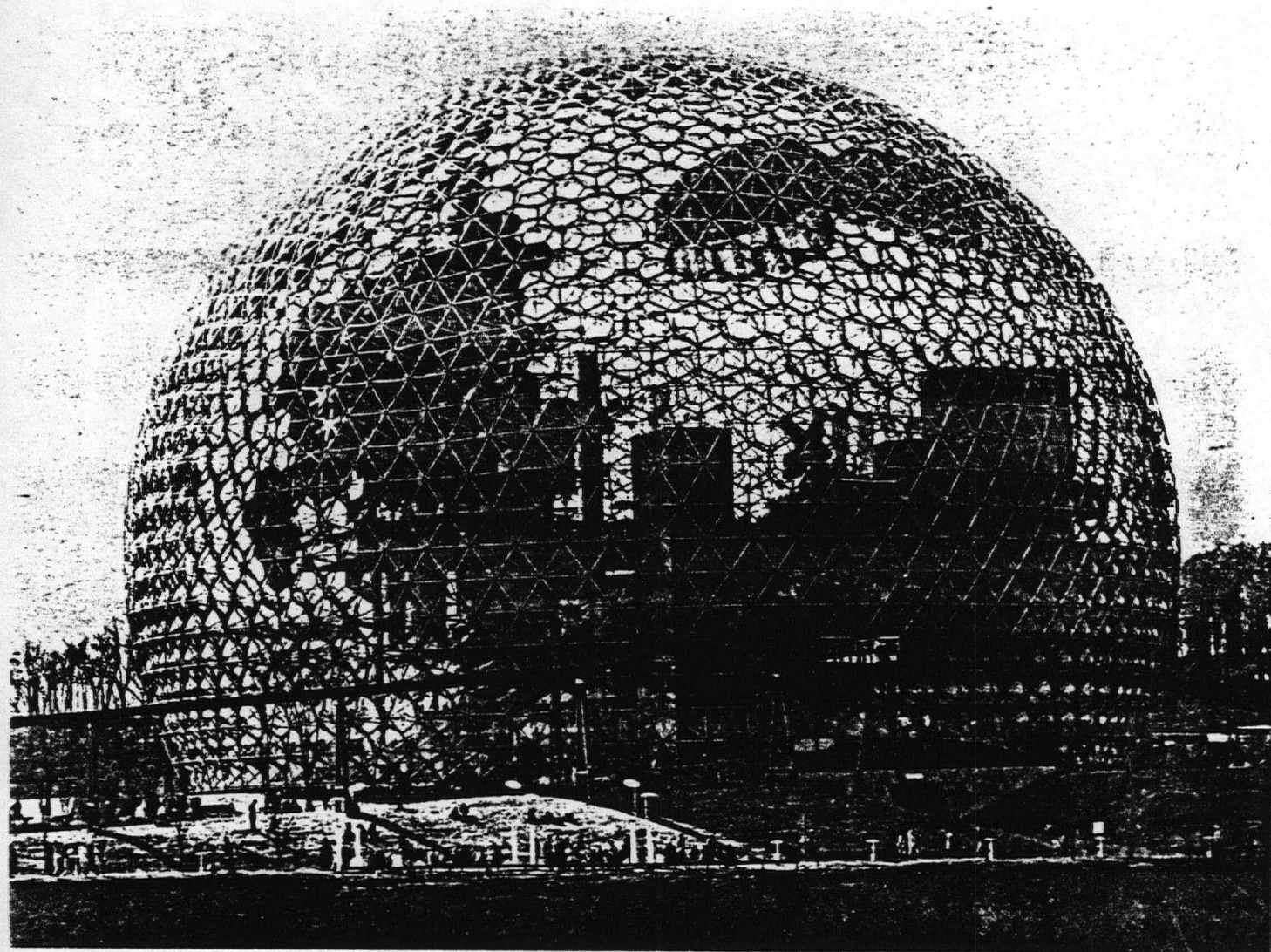[source: Newsweek, 1 May 1967]

Figure 2: Buckminster Fuller's Geodesic Dome, Expo 67
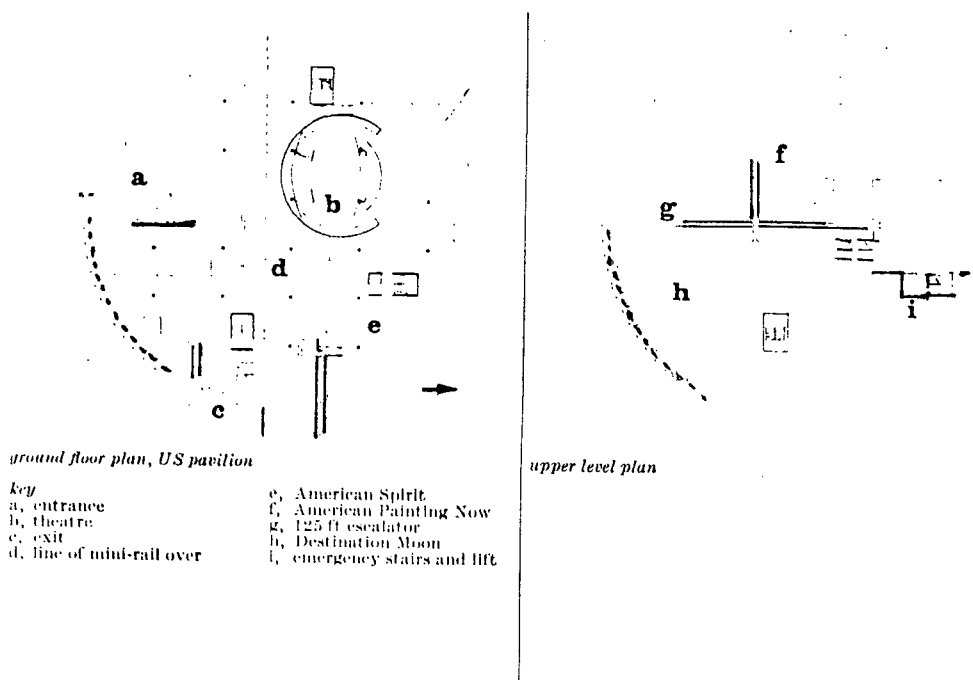[source: Architectural Review, August 1967]

ground floor plan, US pavilion

upper level plan

key
a, entrance
b, theatre
c, exit
d, line of mini-rail over

e, American Spirit
f, American Painting Now
g, 125 ft escalator
h, Destination Moon
i, emergency stairs and lift

Figure 3: Ground Floor Plan, American Pavilion, Expo 67
[source: Architectural Review, August 1967]
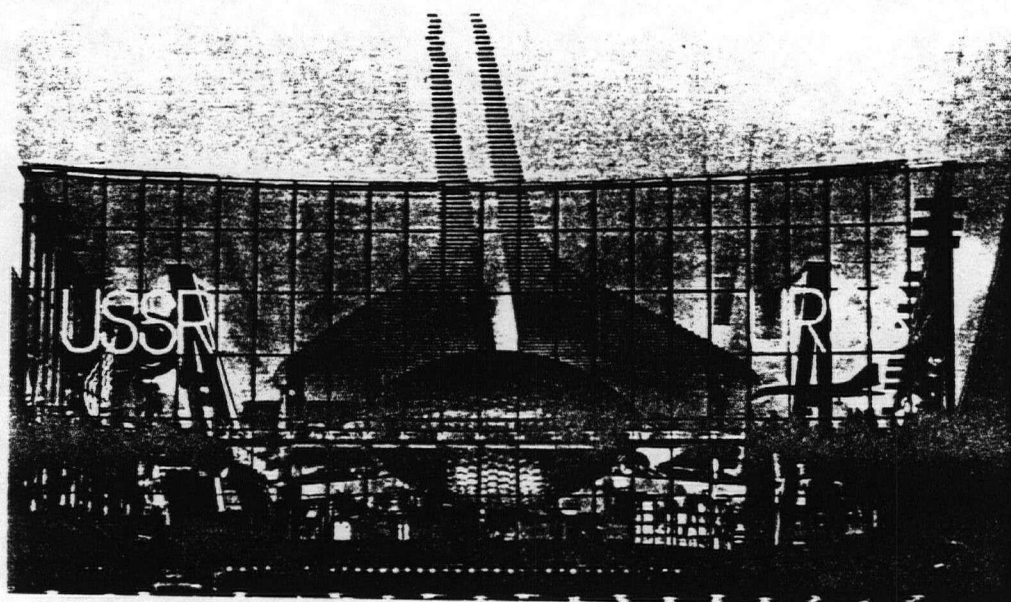
Figure 4: Soviet Pavilion, Expo 67
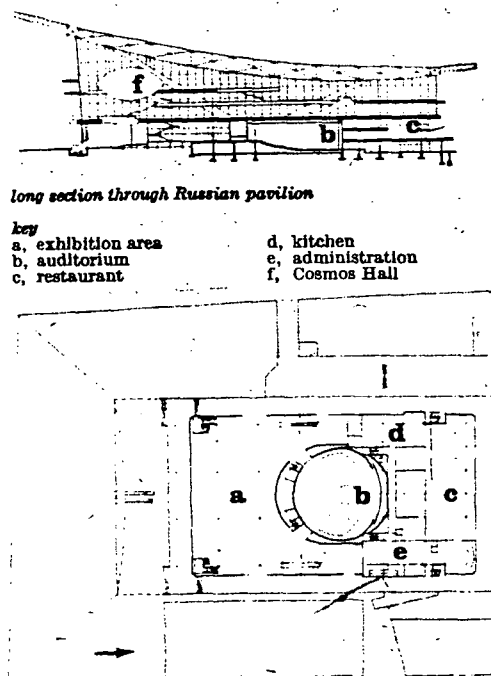[source: Architectural Review, August 1967]

long section through Russian pavilion

key
a, exhibition area   d, kitchen
b, auditorium   e, administration
c, restaurant   f, Cosmos Hall

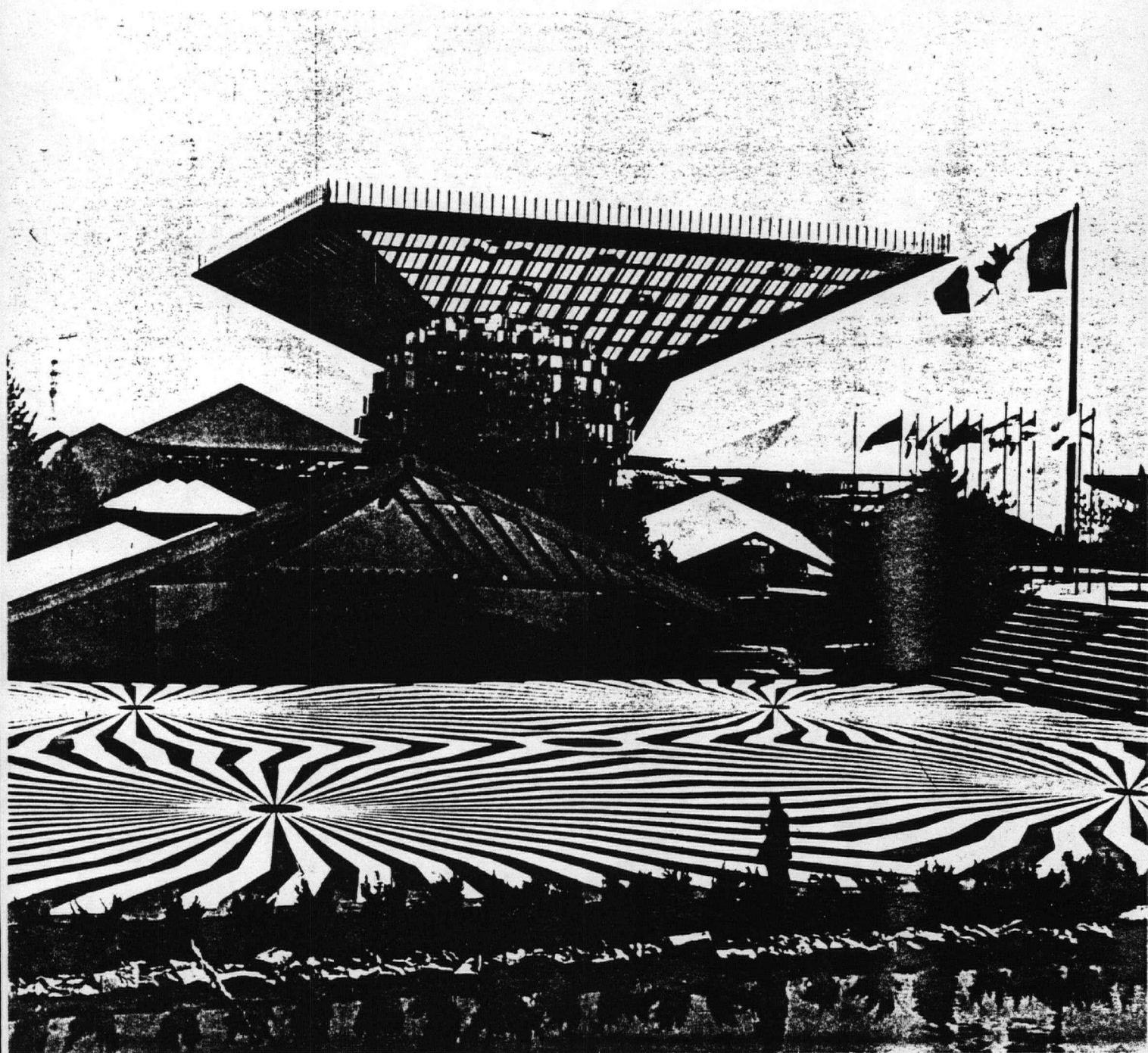Figure 5: Floorplan of the Russian Pavilion
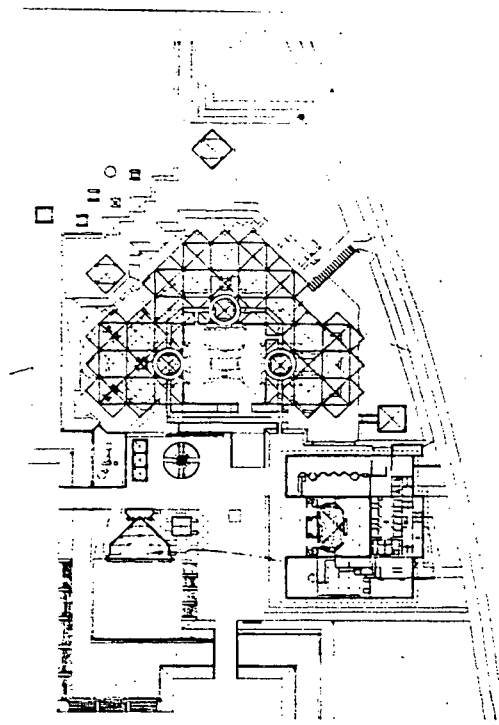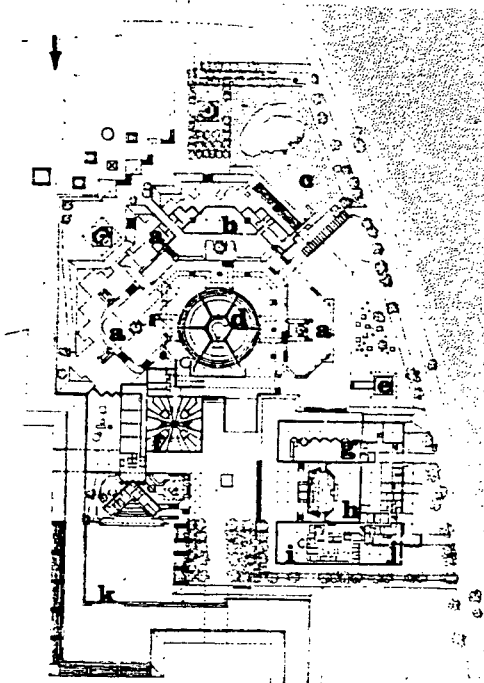[source: Architectural Review, August 1967]

Figure 6: Canadian Pavilion Complex, Expo 67
[source: Architectural Review, August 1967]

upper level plan

*ground floor plan, Canadian
pavilion*
key

a, exhibition areas
  (Katimavik over)
b, exhibit theatre
c, The Sea
d, cinema

e, sanctuary
f, The People court
g, fine arts gallery
h, theatre
i, café
j, restaurant
k, activities stage

Figure 7: Ground Floor Plan, Canadian Pavilion, Expo 67
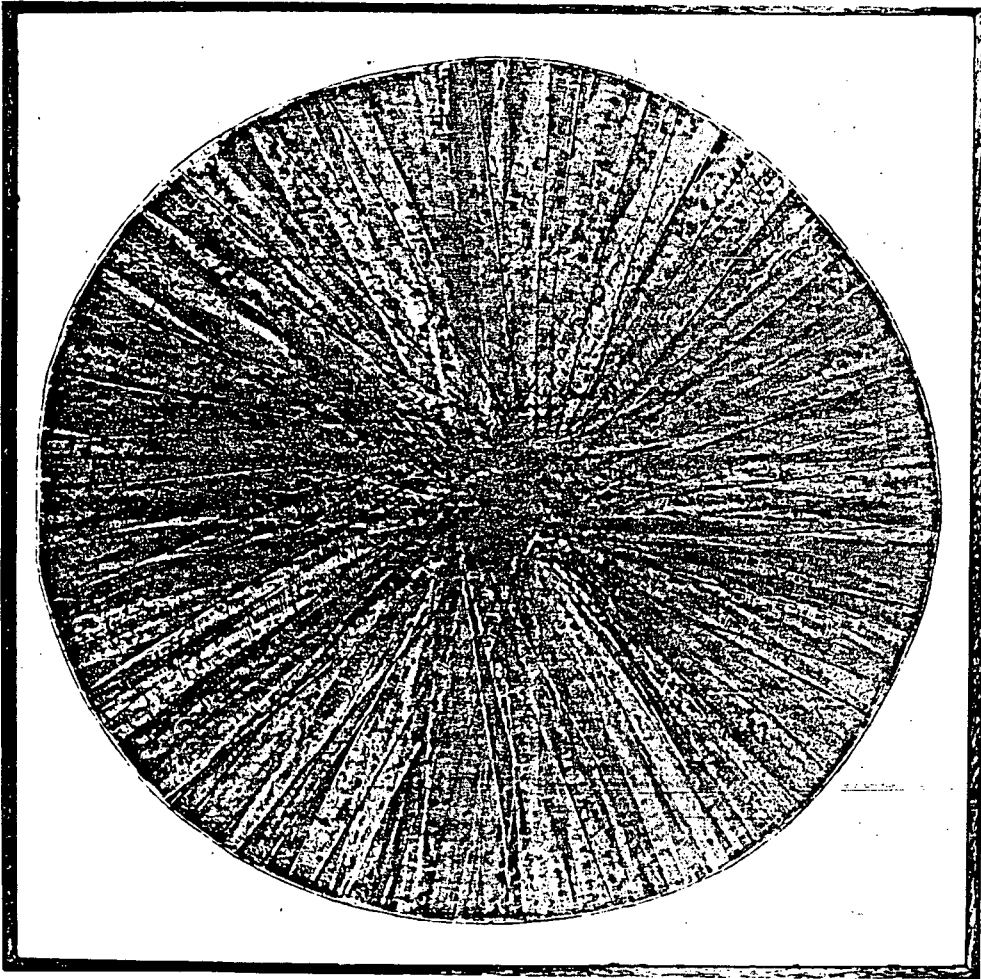[source: Architectural Review, August 1967]

Figure 8: Art McKay, Circle, 1964
Oil on masonite, 48 inches square. Painted in Regina in 1964.
[source: Painting in Canada Exhibition Catalogue]

Figure 9: Greg Curnoe, For Ben Bella, 1965.

Oil, plastic, metal, plaster, and rubber stamp paint on plywood, 59½ inches high

[source: Painting in Canada Exhibition Catalogue]

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