PROGRESS IN AN AGE OF RIGOR MORTIS

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ABSTRACT

The Painting in Canada exhibition, held in the entrance foyer of the Canadian 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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The work of salvage, removal of debris 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, *Ulysses* "Cyclops"

The following work stands as the culmination of four years of graduate study. During this period I have become indebted to the guidance and intellectual stimulation of a number of people. I would like to thank my fellow graduate students, in particular, Laurie Monahan, Dian Kriz, Steve Harris, Toby Smith and Marilyn Daniels for their ongoing support and friendship. I would like to thank Doreen Walker for her criticism and her support of my study of Canadian art history at U.B.C. I would especially like to thank Serge Guilbaut who more than anyone else is responsible for changing the direction of my university career and encouraging my efforts to develop a social art historical perspective. Particular appreciation goes to Vivian Galbraith Howard for her patience while the manuscript was being completed and for helping to keep my mind and body together over the last four years.
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 surprise 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

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 *Terre des Hommes*, the organizers of Expo 67 were determined to supply a theme that would cast aside all hints of ideological preference in favour of expressing *la condition humaine*. "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

4 *Newsweek*, 6 May 1967, p.54.
5 *Maclean's*, 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 surprisingly contradictory 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

8 Withrow, p. 6.
Unlike the Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art exhibition held in Ottawa the same year, also to celebrate the Centennial, the Painting in Canada 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." Exhibition organizer Barry Lord 10, then editor of the new artscanada magazine (formerly Canadian Art), 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." Curiously on the front cover of the January, 1967 issue of artscanada -- its first issue with a new international perspective, a new title, and a new editor, none other than the Painting in Canada 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 artscanada as well as its inclusion in the Painting in Canada exhibition would seem to indicate that a visible shift was occurring in

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 artscanada 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, Painting in Canada Exhibition Catalogue
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 NDP.

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

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, women's 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."

association with this leftist nationalism was given new
visibility with the appearance of one of his 1968 paintings
as the jacket cover for *Close the 49th Parallel, Etc.*
(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."

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 *Close
the 49th Parallel, Etc.* (Toronto: University of Toronto
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. 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." Having moved to a virtually orthodox Marxist-Leninist position, with Maoist influences, Lord found in Curnoe's painting the necessary

14 Dexter, p. 165.


16 Lord uses Maoist principles to provide the foundation for an art engaged in an anti-colonial struggle. 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." 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.

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

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


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." 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." 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


spectre of the 'totally administered' society, which forces a reconceptualization of the very nature of cultural and political opposition in our society. 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.

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.

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.


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


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 Mirror of Production, 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


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.

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,

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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 sensibility, which characterizes the later work of Greg Curnoe, and which is the fate of contemporary Canadian culture. This chapter will demonstrate the compatibility 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

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


3 Berger and Luckman, p. 91.

4 Berger and Luckman, p. 90.
1986, 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 interpretation 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 its 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

5 Robert Rydell, All the World's a Fair (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 the 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. . . ."

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

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 bourgeoisie, 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


pre-fabricated tubular iron pillars and girders 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.


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

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

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

12 Benjamin, p. 165.
13 Benjamin, p. 166.
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

15 Huyssen, p.10.

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

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, culminating 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 overcome 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." 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

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 importance 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

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 on a 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." By emphasizing advertising techniques of change and motion, this and other corporate displays heightened the impact of the fair.

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. 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 safeguard 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.

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 interdependence of man on man, class on class, nation on nation. It attempted to tell of the immediate necessity of enlightened and harmonious cooperation to preserve and save the best of modern civilization as it was then known."30


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, 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

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 *New York Times* 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, Perisphere, 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:

33 Susman, p. 225

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, 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.

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.

Attended by over forty-one million people, 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.

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."

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 effete ness. 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 pavilion. Beautiful models drew large crowds, but the symbolism was too decadent for Swaith and for other critics as well.

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

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. 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

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

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

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 consensus 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

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

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

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 within 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

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. 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 than an autocratic, method. Henri Lefebvre, p. 65.
Antoin de St. Exupery. St. Exupery was concerned about the spiritual 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." 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." This was particularly appropriate for the presidency of John

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.


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 disinterestedness. 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

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. 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 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 inoculated 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. 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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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 architecture 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. 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 Architectural Forum, 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 obsolescence 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

69 US News and World Report, 22 May 1967, p.96
71 Reporter, p. 40.
value' [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"\(^75\)

\(^72\) *Architectural Forum*, p. 75


\(^74\) 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)

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

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.

devoid of their troublesome human elements is demonstrated by Marshall McLuhan 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.


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 immediately 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, considering the charges of "effenness" 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.

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 important 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

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

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 McLuhan was teaching in 1967, who found that "students who are totally engaged by movies are open-minded and totally alert

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 and 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:

The 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 to interact with the comic epic insight of Labyrinth. (p. 3)

The alliance of art and science reached the height of absurdity when the thematic pavilion '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 metaphor: 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

87 Life, 7 July 1967, p. 28.


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 bourgeoisie 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

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 communicating 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 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.'

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." 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.

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,

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

5 Marchak, p.100

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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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." Therefore, seriously constrained in the area of foreign policy directives, Canada was forced to walk a path of ever-increasing interdependence.

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. 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. As well, the export of natural resources to the United States increased dramatically with the Korean War, further emphasizing continental economic integration.


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

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.

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 accommodate the needs of an American company.

Secondly, the Norman Affair involved the suicide of Canadian career diplomat 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

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 facade 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."

Diefenbaker reproached Lester Pearson for his support of American policy, for wanting to make Canada "a decoy duck in a nuclear war."

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."

In early 1963, the Kennedy Administration retaliated. The first blow was the press conference given in Canada by


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 B. 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

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 between 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

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*, Bernays, 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.'

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.

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 SCHAEP (Supreme Command Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force). Lerner's book specifically focuses on the influence of American mass media in developing Third


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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27 Tunstall, p.208
28 Tunstall, p.210
Leonard G. Benson, in his book *National Purpose* 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 *The Kennedy Doctrine*, 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:


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


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 *The Propaganda Gap*, Walter Joyce refers to the new alliance of media, technology, and American foreign
policy as "Total Communication." 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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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.  

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 Marchal McCluhan's media

35 Theall, p.3
theories, with the new American propaganda strategy, hinging on the concept of total communication.


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 cooperation, over which Diefenbaker had deliberately stepped in the name of Canadian self-determination. Pearson was determined to reach an accommodation 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

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. 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

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 insistence 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 guarantees 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, The Toronto Daily Star, 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  

38 Quoted in Cy Gonick, "Right Wing or Left Wing Liberalism?" Canadian Dimension, 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 multinational 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

39 Laxer, p. 169.

(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."

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.

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


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

44 Levesque, p. 34.
of the aforementioned 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:

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.


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

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

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.

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 nations, 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 than anything we are currently using in Canada today.51

The belief in reason over emotion, the unbridled faith in the hopes of the Enlightenment

50 Laxer, p.92

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

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

53 Richard Gwyn, The Northern Magus (Toronto: McClelland and
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

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

Kroker continues on in describing the political value of Mcluhan:
"Mcluhan'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 focused 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.

1 Joseph Levitt, A Vision Beyond Reach (Ottawa: Deneau Publishers, 1982), p.151
taken to assure a distinctive cultural identity. 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" was a mistake.

Despite these objections, however, a rough consensus 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.

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 section 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

5 Levitt, p.157
among the educated public that Canadian nationhood was coming of age." 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.

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

8 Seminar 65, p. 6
9 Seminar 65, p. 7
disparities, was clearly understood by Pierre Trudeau. In an essay entitled *Federalism, Nationalism and Reason*, 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 national image 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, arts councils, broadcasting corporations, film boards; the territory must be bound together by a network of railways, highways, airlines; the national culture 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.

10 Pierre Elliot Trudeau, *Federalism and the French Canadians*, 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. As in Quebec, the growth of English Canadian nationalism was in part stimulated by, as Phil Resnick argues:

...this new petty bourgeoisie—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.

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 bourgeoisie, which rose from 7.4% to 12% in 1971.

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.


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

15 Gwyn, p. 97
cultural and artistic resources." 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 purposelessness 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

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," 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." 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

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 additional 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, energy 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

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 foreseen 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

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.

24 Seminar‘65, p. 1
25 Seminar‘65, p. 6
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

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, particularly 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-centralizing 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

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 intercommunication 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

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 visibility 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 \textit{a la mode} and \textit{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 \textit{elegant}, \textit{smooth}, \textit{refined} and \textit{restrained}. However, these advances were made at the

\footnote{35 David P. Silcox, "Canadian Art in the Sixties" in \textit{Canadian Art}, January, 1966. pp.56-59} \footnote{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.

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."

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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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, artsscanada 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

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 Painting in Canada 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

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.  

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 intrinsically 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

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.

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." 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 Canadian 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 distinctly 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

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 mature 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 "universal 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

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

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


56 Withrow, p.99


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." 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.

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.

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,

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

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

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


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.

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." 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

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. 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 1957-1963).

78 Algeria is a classic example of a Third World country whose ideology was characteristic of the anti-colonial struggles the Americans were intent on defusing. At the height of his power and before he was to host an Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers, which would have measurably 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.\textsuperscript{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"\textsuperscript{80} and not a victim "of the crisis in moral attitudes that penalizes influence."\textsuperscript{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 transformation of \textit{Canadian Art} to \textit{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."\textsuperscript{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 \textit{artscanada} on the cover of the first

\textsuperscript{80} Townsend, p. 11
\textsuperscript{81} Townsend, p. 11
\textsuperscript{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 traditional 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

83 London Free Press, December 3, 1966

84 Terry Fenton, "Looking at Canadian 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

\(^{86}\) 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 willing 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 arts/canda, 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 indispensable 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

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

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. 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

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 introduce 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."

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." 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." 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

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

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 *artscanada* and in the *Painting in Canada* 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 usable 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

spirit and image of Canada engendered by the Centennial year.  

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 multinational 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.  

102 Quote cited in the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, December 13, 1969

103 Baudrillard, p. 170
CONCLUSION

Dolente....dolare.

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."

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

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

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." 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." 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


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

"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 undermining it. Dale McConathy states:

No matter the challenge of decentralization to his world view, Trudeau had found an effective saying to dramatize the government's 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-existent. 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 consciousness 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 bourgeoisie that stood to be the chief beneficiary


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


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

13 Quote cited in Cook, p.63.
¿LE GUSTA ESTE JARDÍN?
¿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]
**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]
Figure 5: Floorplan of the Russian Pavilion
[source: Architectural Review, August 1967]
Figure 6: Canadian Pavilion Complex, Expo 67
[source: Architectural Review, August 1967]
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, 59% inches high
[source: Painting in Canada Exhibition Catalogue]
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