

Vision of the urban future:  
**Dream or nightmare?**

## L'hebdo city politics issue illustrates disagreements

This week's L'Hebdo carries a number of articles and reviews on urban topics. Their appearance is one reflection of the tremendous interest in city politics that has marked the scene in recent years. Conflict in the cities has been one of the major ways that the social and economic contradictions of capitalism have expressed themselves in the sixties and seventies.

The responses to the problems of the cities have been varied and confused. So it should be understandable (if perhaps not entirely forgivable) that the articles in L'Hebdo, commissioned for this issue, are, on some fundamental points at odds with each other. The views expressed in this issue may not be consistent with one another, but they do at least partially reflect some of the debates going on among those who seek to bring about change. At the same time, of course, they can be no substitute for more thorough and searching analysis.

Much of the disagreement among those who consider themselves 'progressive' in the context of urban politics has centered around questions of 'community control' and 'participatory democracy'.

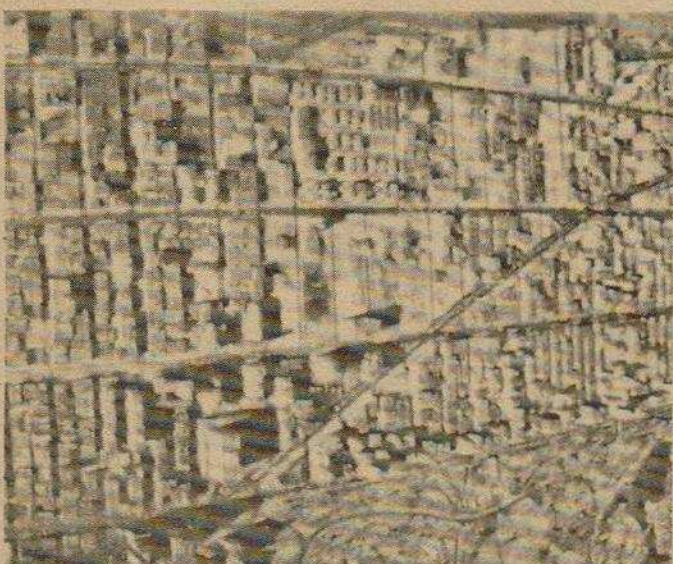
Critics of these concepts have pointed out that they do not effectively confront the sources of urban problems in a fundamental way. As long as corporate enterprise and private property, either of land or of industry and financial institutions, continue, they argue, attempts at community control will fail, because the loci of power are elsewhere: in the economy. Even progressive taxation (a very elusive goal thus far), they point out, would merely centralize control of funds in the hand of bureaucracies integrated in the corporate state.

A further result of 'community control', critics point out, is the creation of divisions among working-class (blue or white collar) people. An example is the support of labourers' unions for developers because development provides jobs, even while it destroys cities. As long as private enterprise is the source of most jobs, a political strategy must take that into consideration, and find ways of dealing with such contradictions. They cannot be ignored. Another example, as Marjaleena Repo has pointed out, is the 'organizing of the poor against the working class'. Organizing workers and "the poor" separately, she says, perpetuates divisions and deflects struggle.

A further effect of 'community control' has been the domination of 'community groups' by an elite of middle-class do-gooders and reformers who love to go to meetings, and who have more time and experience in these situations than the working class.

At the same time, despite these negative results, the only alternative to the reform movement at present seems to be the pro-developer old guard. So a political dilemma exists.

The articles in L'Hebdo should be regarded as material for further thought, rather than as definitive statements. Comment on them is invited.



## Stale pedantry and eclecticism: The state of urban history

*"To tell the story of a city one must love and understand it. This is not a science but a mystery and an art. Like loving and understanding a woman, it requires sensual and emotional receptivity the historian cannot permit himself, and at best only a partial success can be attained."*

*"It is this personality of the city which prevents either the historian or the social scientist from understanding it. The one looks at the past, the other plans for the future. Accurate records of the past are invaluable, wise plans for the future essential, but the city lives in the present — this instant of the here and now. In this, too, it is feminine-illogical, unpredictable, contradictory — but with a fine pragmatic realism. Immortal, as Wax Weber said of nations, it has neither regret for the past, nor fear of the future. It is as it is — now."*

**Alan Morley, Vancouver, From Milltown to Metropolis**

### *The Uses of Urban History*

In studies of urbanization and urban policy problems, cheaply coined insights on the city as the institutional framework of the Pepsi generation are commonplace. In this version, the city is a process characterized by the rapidity and effervescence of its constantly changing present.

But before succumbing to this characterization of the city as a corporate merger of present and future and before we dismiss tradition as an important component of the future, it is worthwhile remembering that the human body also undergoes a complete change in its cells every seven years yet continues to rest clearly on the structure and skeleton of its past.

The city's skeleton is too often kept in a closet and most of its monuments are destroyed lightly. But the weight of its past cannot be so lightly effaced. Its past is worth looking at for a sense of time and place and for a perspective on the problems we face.

Being present minded, government-hired academics use the past only to evade the future. In a typical example,

the author of a recent CMHC study on housing neatly sidesteps the problems of defining need: "Any attempt to define need takes us into a contentious, value filled area. Rather than attempt such a definition, it is more useful to survey the historical developments in the Canadian housing market to see if a problem does indeed exist and if so what its broad contours are."

Activists, who want to make and act on value judgements, have a different appreciation of the historical contours of a problem. In my own experience as a tenant activist, I constantly find myself looking for precedents and models for if history is, as they say, the index of men born too soon, it is also an index of lessons. It is also useful to have a perspective on the dimensions of a problem so as to more easily focus in on appropriate target systems or allies.

But activists will look in vain to urban history as it is now practised for answers to their problems. Although the city is at the centre of Canadian historical development, the focus of historical attention so far has polarized around an irrelevant dialectic. On the one hand we have a strong bias toward antiquarianism, in the tradition of W. D. Lighthall's 1892 *Montreal After 250 Years*, "dedicated to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal: My Friends and Fellow Strollers in Pleasant Fields". On the other hand we have urban history as national history writ small, which focusses on urban history only as it relates to stale national themes. Rarely have we been offered studies of the city which treats the city in terms of its own peculiarities, problems and dynamics. And rarer still are those who see urban history as a gateway to constructing an entirely different version of our past, a people's history seen from the bottom up.

The two books under review here serve as illustration of how work in this field has progressed. Glazebrook's is the more difficult to classify since it is written in the Midnight Cow-

boy tradition of Canadian historiography — skipping over the ocean like a stone. But, although there is no unifying thread running through the diversity of comments he makes, there are a definite set of principles of analysis beneath his doting eclecticism.

His methodology is elitist and orthodox in the finest tradition of Canadian history. He feels for instance that "no mirror reflects as much of the complicated life of a city as does the press. "Would it not be more accurate to take housing and working conditions as the true mirror? To be sure, he does include descriptions of the poor interspersed with photos of the Mendelssohn Choir or the Prince of Wales visit, but this is an illustration of his ability to include a wide variety of material rather than the reflection of an attempt at a People's History of Toronto.

His moralism illustrates the same eclecticism of the two handed liberal (on the one hand... but on the other... or give from the right, take from the left.) This is his assessment of the depression: "The generations growing up after the thirties living in an affluent society and protected on every hand by social security, cannot with the best of will, understand what disciplines the depression imposed, how people were driven to the old-fashioned virtues — or what had once seemed to be virtues of frugality and competitive work. Perhaps its results were not all bad, for in it grew up the men who wrote the name 'Canada' on many battlefields. "If however, the depression dominated and circumscribed life in Toronto it was not the sole subject of conversation, nor was it a barrier against a wide range of intellectual and artistic advances..."

And so it goes — from consoling comments on poverty to the battlefields where men who had been treated like scum died in glory and back to the warm salon. This book exudes the moralism of the person who felt sorry for poor people with no shoes until he met a man with no feet and then continued with his martini, armed

**SAC General Meeting**  
**MONDAY DECEMBER 4**  
**6:30 P.M.**  
**EAST HALL UNIV. COLLEGE**  
 NOTE CHANGE IN DATE AND TIME

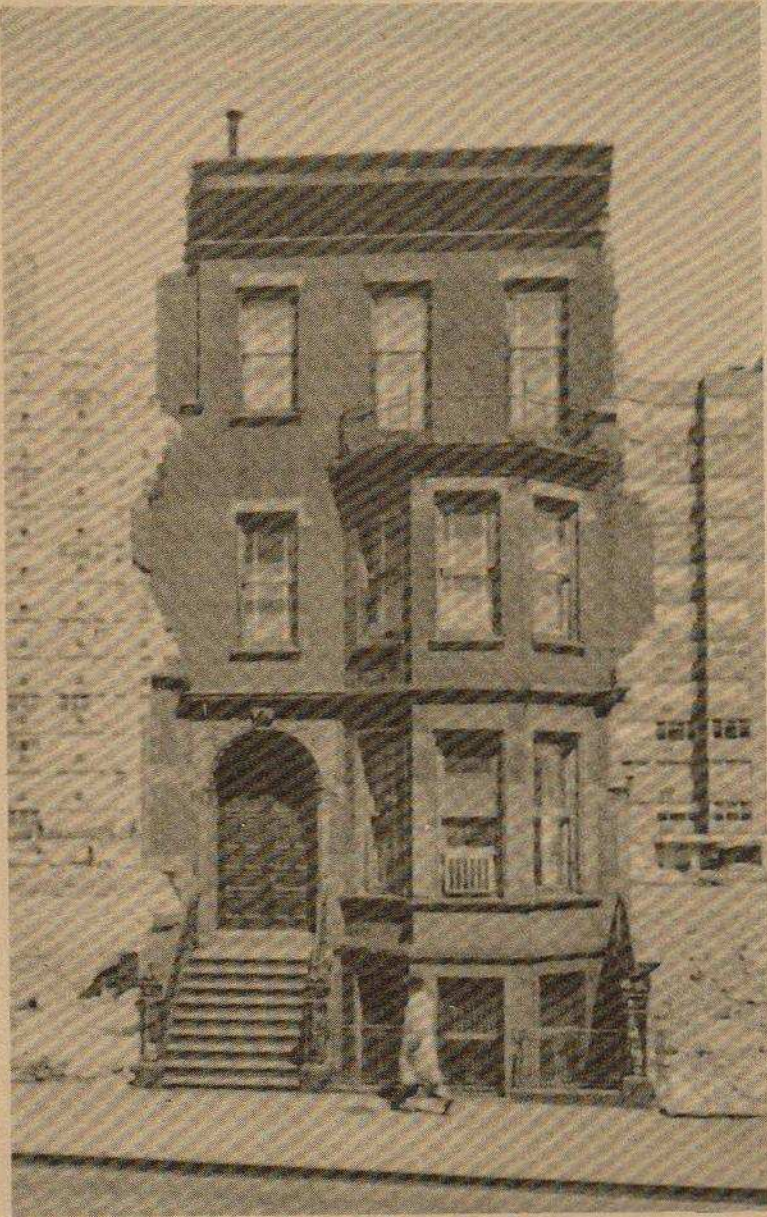
**SMC FILM CLUB PRESENTS**  
 "NEVER GIVE AN INCH" was the motto of the Stammers of Oregon...and live it they did!

**PAUL NEWMAN · HENRY FONDA**  
**LEE REMICK · MICHAEL SARRAZIN**  
 RICHARD JAECKEL · LINDA JACKSON · CLIFF POTTS

*Sometimes a Great Notion*

**FRIDAY, DEC. 1**  
**SATURDAY, DEC. 2**  
**CARR HALL**

**7:30 & 10:00 p.m.**  
**ADMISSION \$1.00**



those who are planning their future.

Peter Goheen's *Victorian Toronto*, a study of the changing ways people lived as Toronto industrialized into its essentially modern form in 1900, differs sharply from Glazebrook in method, technique, orientation and scope. The sheer sophistication and overpowering pedantry of the book work against a critical, not to say a Sunday-afternoon reading. Here is a partial explanation of his methodological bombast:

"The analysis included three principal investigations. First, the relationships among the series of variables were studied using the multivariate statistical techniques known as factor analysis whereby the matrix of correlations may be reduced to a conceptually more manageable form and a series of index measures derived which summarize the correlations among the variables. Following this inquiry, the distributional properties of these derived "factors" were investigated employing a method of mapping based on the calculation of polynomial trend expressions. Trend surface mapping is designed to eliminate subjective bias from cartographic presentation through the use of exact mathematical procedures by which the recognition, isolation and measurement of trends is computed. In the third place, multiple regression expressions were formulated in order to decide whether some variables possessed predictive value in describing the distribution within the city of various economic and ethnic groups."

Some of this high-powered technique can be excused since a tight study of the forces unleashed by industrialization on residential and work patterns is warranted. What he is tracing essentially is the transformation from a city characterized by considerable social and land-use mix to one whose class segregation is an important component of the modern city. By 1900 both occupation and landscape were stratified by industrialization.

These are certainly important findings for the urban critic, the conjuncture of industrialization and class oppression on a variety of levels — residence, life — opportunities et cetera — sustains a certain type of

analysis of the problems we are facing. It strongly suggests that the praxis of community organizing is weak if it attempts to organize independently of the major social and class outlines of the city.

Unfortunately an awareness of this is weakened by Goheen's abstract formulation of the categories at work which ignore the dimensions of social and political power. "Industrial development, population growth and the changing system of internal transportation were three of the most conspicuous agents of change," he writes. This abstract analysis does not distinguish Goheen from the work of Nixon's ultra-conservative advisor on urban affairs, Edward Banfield. Nor does it elevate his insights

above the level of cliché. What he ignores is the dimension of inequality. It is precisely in the concrete inequality created by industrialism that its meaning for the modern city is forged.

Further work on the city should take up this point of view. Then a fruitful dialectic between the study and the transformation of the city can be joined. Until then we are saddled with studies that bolster hierarchy with pedantry, suffering with footnote condolences and polarization with smothering eclecticism.

P.G. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto 1850-1900*, U. of Chicago Press, \$5.00  
G. Glazebrook, *The Story of Toronto*, U. of Toronto Press, \$13.75

Wayne Roberts

with his compleat cocktail party animator *The Story of Toronto*, while "in the room women come and go, Talking of Michelangelo."

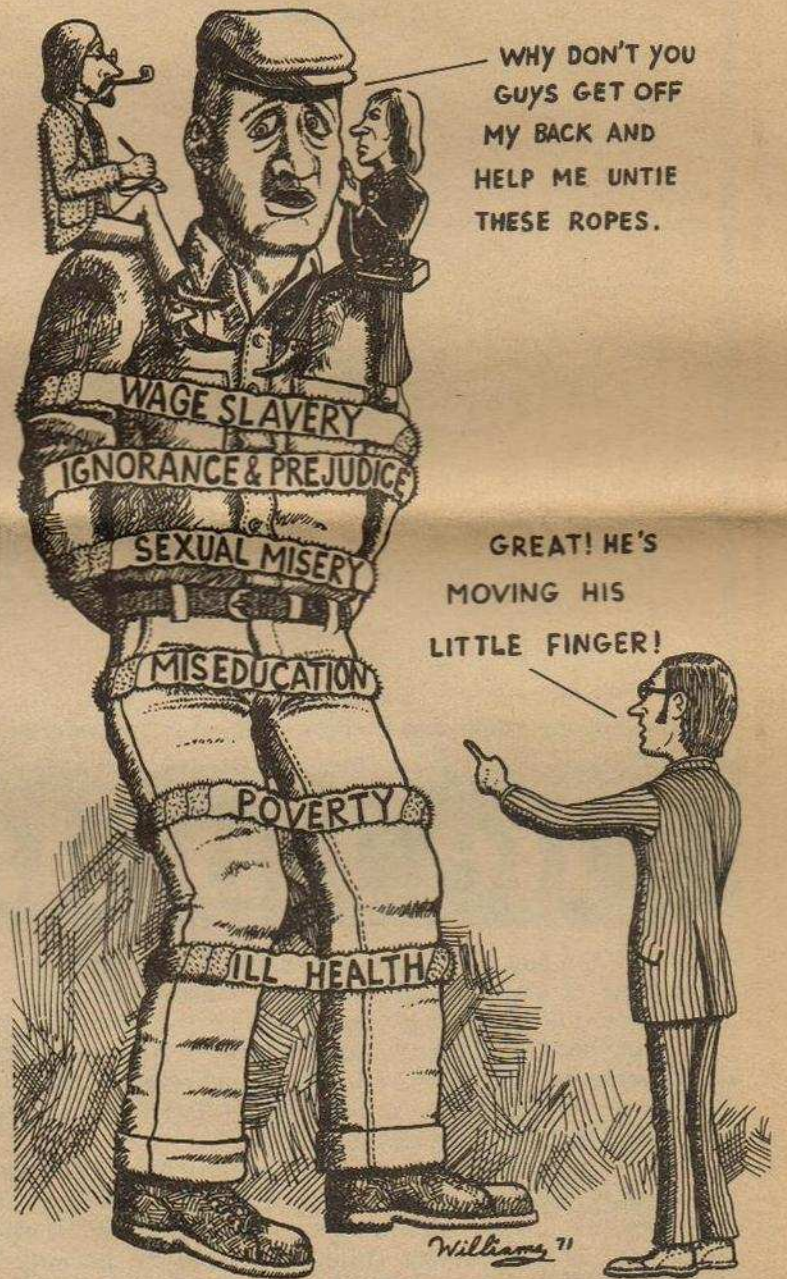
The same can be said of his treatment of the violation of rights of free speech which paraded under the banner of anti-communism. He heart-rendingly ponders the issues: "The argument was not wholly without validity but it did have two serious flaws. One was that the persons who were prevented from speaking publicly were not all communists. The other was to argue, that even if sedition were woven into communist doctrine, any remarks on communism were in themselves seditious."

"...In their usual pattern the communists described their opponents as fascists, with no referee to point out that, from the point of view of human liberty, no difference existed between communism and fascism."

His final comments on city planning stand on their own: "The hopes and skills of

planners are of no avail except to the extent that they lead governments to take wise and avoid unwise action. A plan is not an end in itself; and if it lulls the consciences of government or public it becomes a liability. By circulating draft plans to householders and businessmen for comment and by encouraging public meetings on them the planners have gone some way to engage public interest but it is probable that only a small minority of citizens have ever seen or read plans, or perhaps know that such things exist. The triangle of planners, executive government and public is not easily drawn. Between the first two understanding and co-operation are needed. The electors for their part must fulfill their traditional roles of encouragement and criticism."

Despite the breadth and scholarly pretence of this book, it lulls the conscience. To that extent, it is of little value to those who wish to do more than encourage, criticize or sip cocktails with



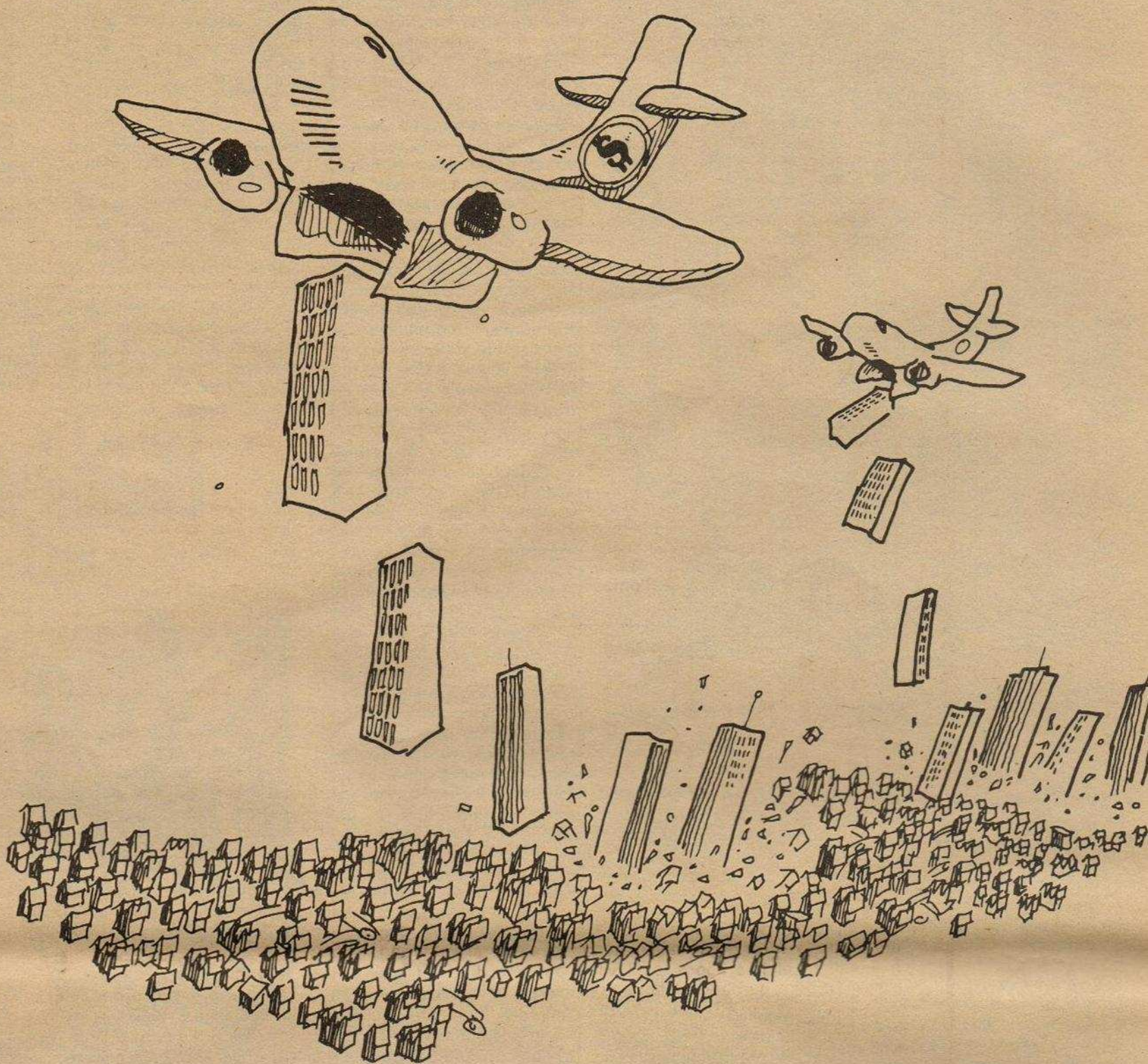
**UNIVERSITY LUTHERAN CHAPEL**  
610 SPADINA AVE. TORONTO 4, ONTARIO  
ADVENT SERMON:  
"REPENTANCE: FAITH'S GENIUS FOR HEALTH"  
11 A.M.  
**DR. ARNE SIRAAALA**  
OF WATERLOO LUTHERAN SEMINARY  
"Wholeness of Person In  
A Time of Destruction"

Dr. Siraala is a noted clergyman-psychologist, author of articles in dozens of journals; author of "The Voice of illness," a provocative probe into possibility that man chooses his illness to fit his family and job.  
**Dr. Siraala will speak 6:30 p.m.**  
Campus and Community Invited

**Faculty, Students,**  
WITH YOUNG CHILDREN, INTERESTED IN  
CREATING A JEWISH EDUCATIONAL  
PROGRAM FOR THEM -

**COME TO A MEETING**  
**SUNDAY, DEC. 3, 11:00 A.M.**  
**HILLEL HOUSE**  
**186 ST. GEORGE**

I JUST DON'T KNOW WHAT  
TO THINK ABOUT CHRIST?  
**WORSHIP CHRIST  
WITH US.**  
**HART HOUSE SERVICE,**  
Sundays, 11 a.m.



# The limitations of the reform

"Big Mao and Little Mao", that's how Richard Kirkup, the white hope of the developers in Ward 7 sees his opponents John Sewell and Karl Jaffary. In the idiom of the Archie Bunker wing of the property industry, that's how the opponents of high-rise development are seen. "Maoists, Communists, pinkos, left wingers and hamburgers" are the labels Vancouver's Mayor Tom Campbell flings about.

In Toronto these people are spearheading a reform movement; that is, defining the central issues of the forthcoming municipal election. Since last December 1st when supporters of Community Organizing (CO) 72 packed St. Lawrence Hall sporting rabbit buttons after Mayor Dennison charged that citizens' groups are like rabbits in a swamp — a lot of tracks but few rabbits — they have been multiplying rapidly. They are now prepared to field at least one serious contender for every ward of the city in opposition to the old-guard, pro-developer wing of City Council.

Family housing, neighborhood stability and local control form the core of the reformers' Holy Trinity. And the developers at least seem to agree with them on the centrality of the issues. "Toronto faces one fundamental development issue — whether important planning decisions should be made centrally by elected representatives of the whole municipality or, as some ratepayers groups are saying, on a strictly local basis by them", writes Allan J. Scott, president of the big developers public relation's front, the Urban Development Institute of Ontario.

On the reform side of the line-up, a common stance on certain key issues does seem to promise some measure of sustained collaboration. However, there is no necessary reason for feeling that they will hold together any more than the Civic, Liberal or NDP slates of the last election. From Conservative Hope to NDP Runge, from Sewell the polarizer to Crombie the compromiser, from ex-Waffler Dan Heap who sees the campaign as "a small part of the mobilization...to fight the tycoons, Canadian and foreign, who control us", to Colin

Vaughn who seems to express the preference of the urbane middle class to shop in funky areas like Kensington, they share a common dedication to a contradiction — radical conservatism. Quality of life rather than quantity of concrete might be the salon battlecry but the rubber cement that binds this coalition together is based on a philosophy of urban life essentially geared to amalgamating a classical conservative commitment to conservation and preservation with the radical rhetoric of local control. Their points of disagreement, which theorist Karl Jaffary sees as irrelevant to the urban scene, may come to haunt them. Some day they may have to face the great divide on the classical questions of the demarcation of political alignments — international issues, economic development issues and social development issues. The issues which Toronto will face will not be permanently contained by the ties of their tenuous alliance.

The viability of the alliance to this point however, is testimony to the vitality of a new reform both in Europe and America. Reformers of the 19th and early 20th centuries fought eagerly for centralized authority as against local autonomy. According to Mack Walker's study of *German Home Towns* for instance, the slogan of the "common weal" was used to destroy the narrow corporate rights of integrated communities in favor of incorporating them into the larger rational capitalist society. Liberalism was the cloak for a class of bourgeois "movers and doers" and their civil servant custodians. "For local self government," writes Walker, "in the individualized country of the communities, was a contradiction of the goal of progress through the unimpeded rational movement of individual and impersonal commodities that was the concrete basis of German bureaucratic liberalism. Free movement of persons and of impersonal commodities was a denial" of their concept of community.

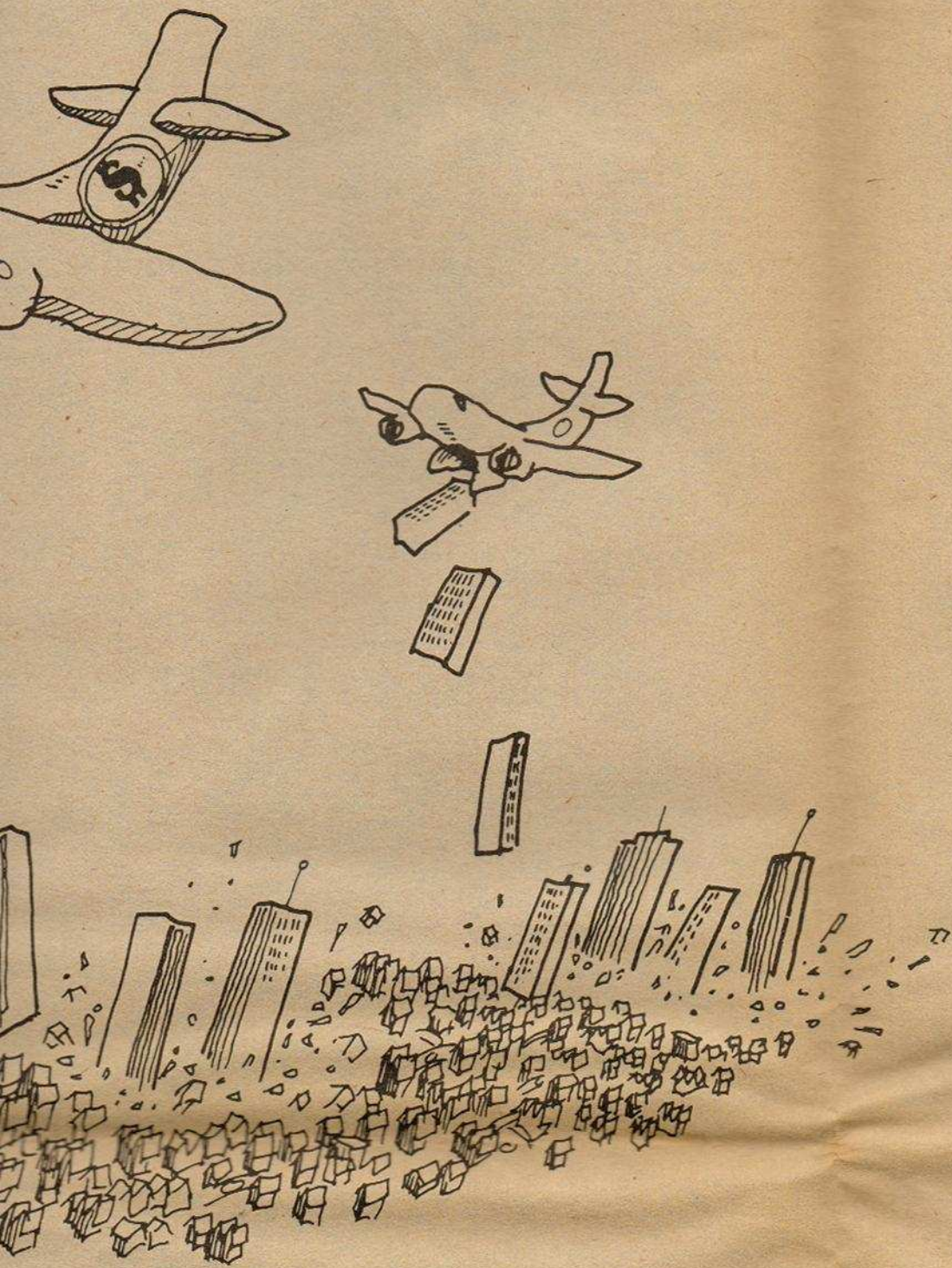
In North America the same forces were responsible for the Kafkaesque imprint of urban reform. Hostility to the wards and

local control was their theme. A recent study of Toronto blamed our "office-seeking aldermen and other gratuities for public money" which the Commission investigating the Commission concluded with the following division and representation condemning this system of abuses and recommending another system created representing the entire and prosperity. 7. The and coteries struggling that they necessarily community."

Reformers were pro forms of city government Toronto's S. Morley Wick of personal responsibility monopolization of Canada "fresh stage of development a school of democracy are bound to do much fields of political life. It

J.S. Woodsworth, himself a centralizer. The influx of new industrial destroying the bases of visions of a Golden Age oversee morality across from the ward heelers.

This wave of reform unchanged. In fact its to the WASP homeowners



# ns of the reformers

ms to express the preference of the urbane  
shop in funky areas like Kensington, they share  
dication to a contradiction — radical  
uality of life rather than quantity of concrete  
on battlecry but the rubber cement that binds  
ether is based on a philosophy of urban life  
d to amalgamating a classical conservative  
onservation and preservation with the radical  
ontrol. Their points of disagreement, which  
ary sees as irrelevant to the urban scene, may  
em. Some day they may have to face the great  
ssical questions of the demarcation of political  
nternational issues, economic development  
al development issues. The issues which  
will not be permanently contained by the ties  
alliance.

y of the alliance to this point however, is  
vitality of a new reform both in Europe and  
ers of the 19th and early 20th centuries fought  
ralized authority as against local autonomy.  
ck Walker's study of *German Home Towns* for  
an of the "common weal" was used to destroy  
rate rights of integrated communities in favor  
hem into the larger rational capitalist society.  
e cloak for a class of bourgeois "movers and  
r civil servant custodians. "For local self  
ites Walker, "in the individualized country of  
was a contradiction of the goal of progress  
ped rational movement of individual and  
modities that was the concrete basis of  
ratic liberalism. Free movement of persons  
al commodities was a denial" of their concept

local control was their battle cry. Pelham Mulvany in his 1882 study of Toronto blamed our lack of tourist-attracting parks on our "office-seeking alderman... allowed to waste on sidewalks and other gratuities for his grasping constituents sums of public money" which could go to parks. The 1909 Royal Commission investigating widespread corruption in Montreal concluded with the following recommendations: "6. As for the division and representation of the city by wards, all agree in condemning this system which gave rise to patronage and to its abuses and recommend to the citizens of Montreal...to adopt another system creating council composed of aldermen representing the entire city and working in unity for its growth and prosperity. 7. The council of today is composed of groups and coteries struggling one with another with such bitterness that they necessarily lose sight of the high interests of the community."

Reformers were particularly concerned with adopting the forms of city government to the new realities of industry. Toronto's S. Morley Wickett worried about the weakened sense of personal responsibility that went along with the increased monopolization of Canadian industry. He therefore called for a "fresh stage of development", breaking from medievalism. "As a school of democracy the standards of efficiency it holds up are bound to do much towards shaping ideals for the wider fields of political life. It means business before politics."

J.S. Woodsworth, the most radical of the critics, was himself a centralizer. The home was being undermined by the influx of new industrial techniques and immigrants who were destroying the bases of clean urban government. Revelling in visions of a Golden Age when Vigilance Committees would oversee morality across the city, he would take power away from the ward heelers.

This wave of reform left Toronto's residential patterns unchanged. In fact its centralising tendencies partially catered to the WASP homeowners who now call for decentralization.

Centralism was designed to enforce their  
the city. "The pride of Toronto" wrote Mid  
"is in the infinity of moderate-sized house  
and for the most part faced by well-kept  
gardens...Undoubtedly there is no other  
size where the population is as homogene

This dominance of homeowners conti  
and early sixties. It formed one of the bas  
scientist Harold Kaplan, writing in 1967, c  
consensual, deferential nature of Toront  
came the high rise on a big scale, rising like  
give the lie to the homeowner's concept

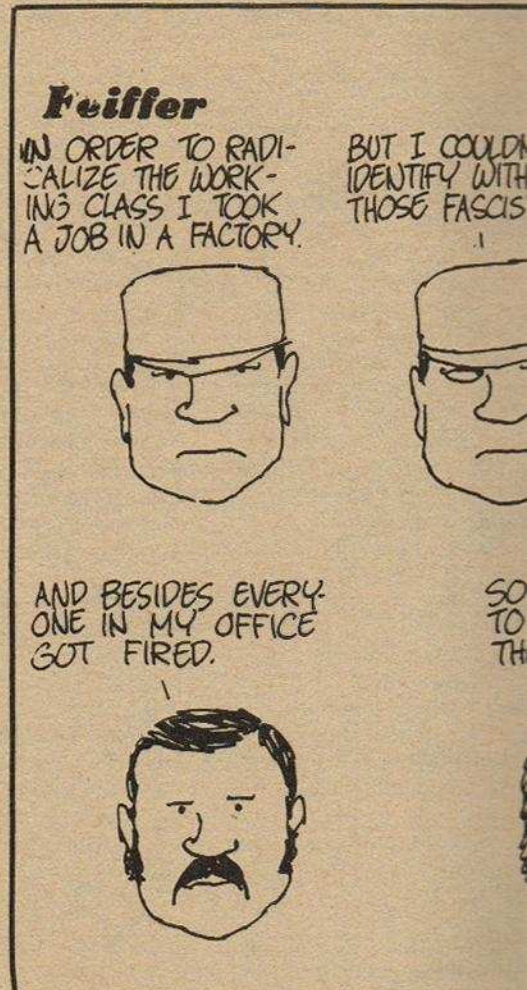
This development cannot be explain  
clichés. Pollution Probe's *Rules of the G*  
myth that the popularity of the high rise  
provision of tax revenue to the city.  
probably eat up more in taxes than the  
Stein in *Toronto for Sale* demonstrates th  
cannot account for the rash of high-rise de  
decade. The main population growth area  
rather than the downtown areas most subj  
From 1966 to 1971 when the number  
increased by 22,832, the population incre

One can understand this phenome  
class — classes moving in and classes m  
low income families are being forced out b  
corporations catering to the high-rise sing  
dwellers who can afford the rent.

It is in this context that the propo  
stable neighborhoods are forced to ad  
beseiged garrisons. "The new apartment  
the sky and expressways threatening to c  
neighborhoods are creating a mood of c  
wrung its hands in 1969. That was the ye  
still seen as a hayseed down-home New D  
an agent of the developers.

Since then the hayseed is gone a  
colored in the tones of a class war morality  
down to details," writes James Lorimer  
*Guide to City Politics*, we need to be cl  
issue: there is a fundamental, overriding  
interests of the property industry and  
ordinary citizens. The industry's basic de  
values, building prices and rents as high  
times, and to see property values goin  
possible, rents going up just as fast, and  
construction and development as is consi  
to maximize their profits and wealth. T  
ordinary people is exactly the opposite."

But before we marvel at the rece  
genteel to class war politics, it is worth  
strategy for attacking the new feudalism of  
the ward system of organization, geared to  
residential neighborhoods deal with the  
issue? Or does it rather reinforce the inter  
who more naturally define themse  
neighborhoods against those of tenants, w  
who more naturally orgnize on city, provin  
wide levels? Is it more than a coinciden  
meeting of CO72 was held the same ever  
meeting of the Ontario Anti-Poverty Assc  
groups frequently complain that apathetic  
are not active in their associations. Perhap  
insight that accounts for their boycott.



merica the same forces were responsible for the  
int of urban reform. Hostility to the wards and

Centralism was designed to enforce their morals and vision of the city. "The pride of Toronto" wrote Middleton in the 1920's "is in the infinity of moderate-sized houses, nearly all of brick and for the most part faced by wellkept lawns and flower gardens...Undoubtedly there is no other city of comparable size where the population is as homogeneous as in Toronto."

This dominance of homeowners continued into the 1950's and early sixties. It formed one of the bases for what political scientist Harold Kaplan, writing in 1967, defined as the highly consensual, deferential nature of Toronto politics. But then came the high rise on a big scale, rising like Pinocchio's nose to give the lie to the homeowner's concept of the city.

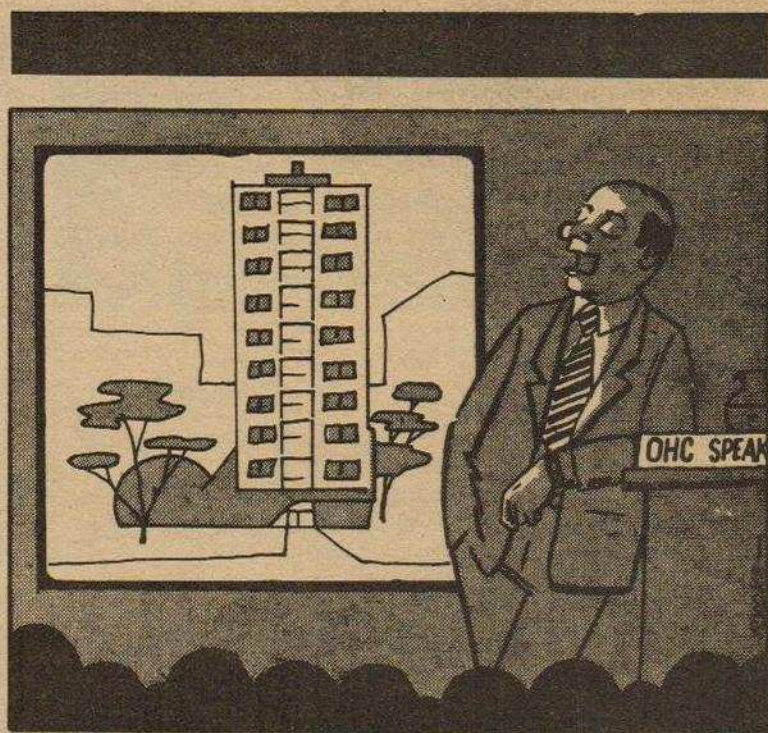
This development cannot be explained by the traditional clichés. Pollution Probe's *Rules of the Game* demolishes the myth that the popularity of the high rise derives from their provision of tax revenue to the city. On the contrary, they probably eat up more in taxes than they provide. David Lewis Stein in *Toronto for Sale* demonstrates that population growth cannot account for the rash of high-rise development in the last decade. The main population growth areas are in the suburbs rather than the downtown areas most subject to urban removal. From 1966 to 1971 when the number of apartment suites increased by 22,832, the population increased by only 1,212!

One can understand this phenomenon only in terms of class — classes moving in and classes moving out. The large, low income families are being forced out by huge development corporations catering to the high-rise singles swingers and cliff dwellers who can afford the rent.

It is in this context that the proponents of conservative, stable neighborhoods are forced to adopt the mentality of besieged garrisons. "The new apartment towers stabbing into the sky and expressways threatening to cascade over settled neighborhoods are creating a mood of confrontation" the Star wrung its hands in 1969. That was the year that Dennison was still seen as a hayseed down-home New Democrat rather than an agent of the developers.

Since then the hayseed is gone and analysis is now colored in the tones of a class war morality play. "Before we get down to details," writes James Lorimer in his new *Citizens Guide to City Politics*, we need to be clear about one basic issue: there is a fundamental, overriding conflict between the interests of the property industry and the interests of the ordinary citizens. The industry's basic desire is to have land values, building prices and rents as high as possible at all times, and to see property values going up as quickly as possible, rents going up just as fast, and only as much new construction and development as is consistent with their desire to maximize their profits and wealth. The basic interest of ordinary people is exactly the opposite."

But before we marvel at the recent conversion of the genteel to class war politics, it is worthwhile examining their strategy for attacking the new feudalism of the developers. Can the ward system of organization, geared to electoral slates and residential neighborhoods deal with the magnitude of the issue? Or does it rather reinforce the interests of homeowners who more naturally define themselves in terms of neighborhoods against those of tenants, workers and the poor who more naturally organize on city, province and even nationwide levels? Is it more than a coincidence that the founding meeting of CO72 was held the same evening as the founding meeting of the Ontario Anti-Poverty Association? Ratepayers groups frequently complain that apathetic tenants and roomers are not active in their associations. Perhaps it is not apathy but insight that accounts for their boycott.



Can a Manichean analysis focusing on the property industry alone provide sufficient insight into the processes at work? In fact developers are representative of the entire capitalist class. As last year's *Guerilla* series on the developers pointed out: "The most important bank directors hold directorships in the life insurance companies, in the important investment trusts, and until recently in the big trust companies. They also sit on the boards of the big conglomerates: Acres, Power, Weston Industries, and so on. They control mining and industrial enterprises, transportation companies, utilities, department store chains...and of course, development corporations."

The reformers' insistence on seeing the developers alone as the enemy leads not to the common charge of urban populism but the more precise charge of urban popular frontism based on the union sacrée of homeowners, small businessmen and good capitalists. Not the least repercussion of their refusal to take on the broader issues involved is the opposition of construction labourers to the reform slate. Do labourers not have a place in a new coalition of reformers? Should not a reform coalition address itself to their need for jobs? Could not the demand for mass public housing under tenant control serve the needs of both labourers and those who need new homes? Or would that kind of demand jeopardize their holy alliance?

The lawyers and professionals who take their seats on council in the new term will have a number of problems to confront. But if they are truly to represent the interests of the majority of Toronto's citizens which includes a near majority of tenants, an overwhelming majority of workers and substantial numbers of the poor, they may well have to question whether they have the tools for the task. Otherwise they will be in need of a Cervantes to applaud and lament their quixotic tilting at highrises.

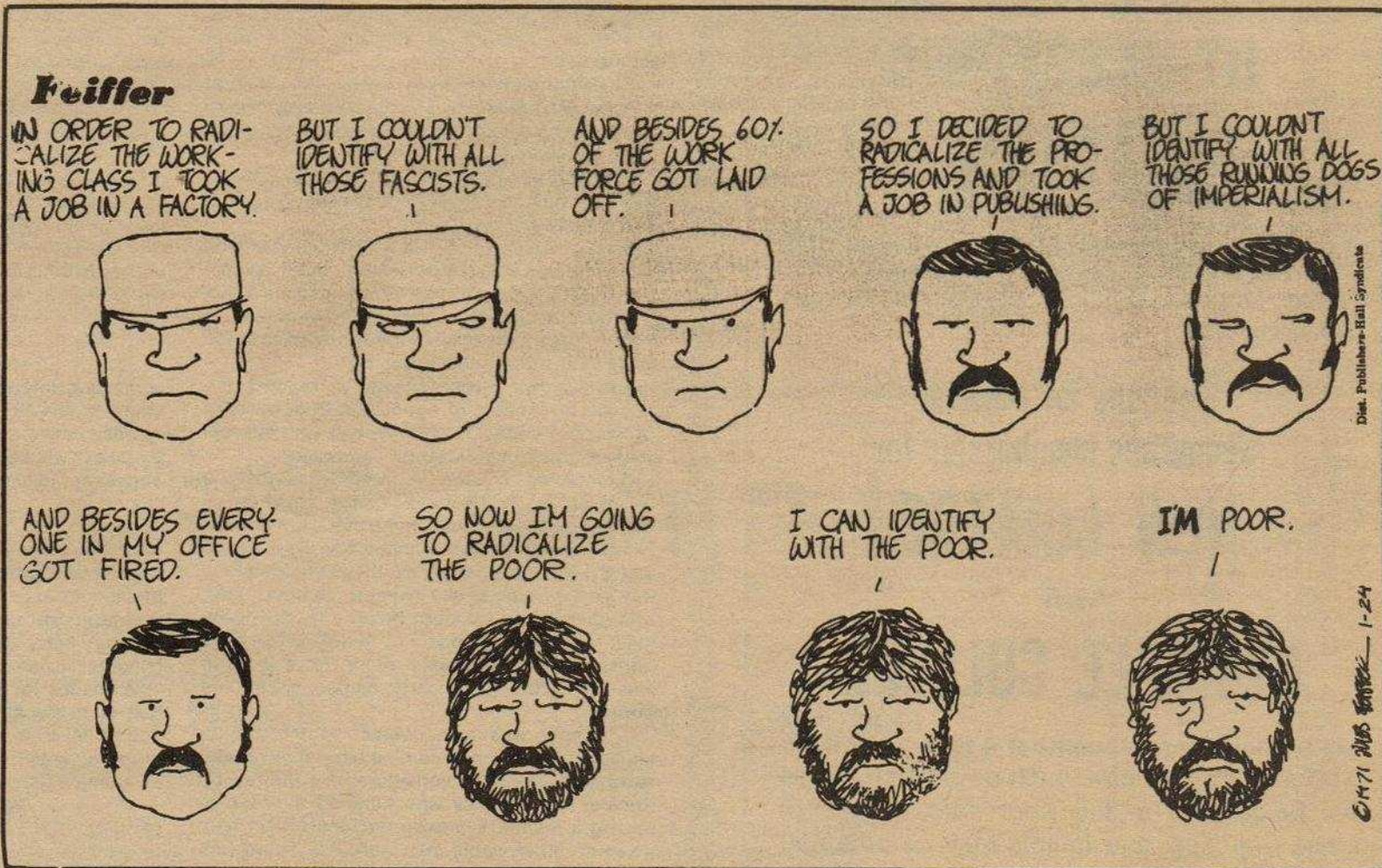
Wayne Roberts

# mers

y. Pelham Mulvany in his 1882  
k of tourist-attracting parks on  
allowed to waste on sidewalks  
rasping constituents sums of  
o to parks. The 1909 Royal  
spread corruption in Montreal  
commendations: "6. As for the  
the city by wards, all agree in  
ave rise to patronage and to its  
citizens of Montreal...to adopt  
ncil composed of aldermen  
working in unity for its growth  
f today is composed of groups  
h another with such bitterness  
t of the high interests of the

y concerned with adopting the  
the new realities of industry.  
ried about the weakened sense  
went along with the increased  
ustry. He therefore called for a  
reaking from medievalism. "As  
dards of efficiency it holds up  
s shaping ideals for the wider  
business before politics."  
st radical of the critics, was  
was being undermined by the  
ues and immigrants who were  
urban government. Revelling in  
Vigilance Committees would  
y, he would take power away

Toronto's residential patterns  
ng tendencies partially catered  
now call for decentralization.



Graduate Centre for the Study of Drama  
**MEDEA**  
 DIRECTED BY MARTIN HUNTER  
 STUDIO Theatre 4 GLEN MORRIS ST.  
 December 6 - 9 at 8:30  
 ADMISSION FREE

4¢ Self-Service  
 (by appointment only)  
**5¢**  
**XEROX**  
 OFFSET PRINTING  
 TYPING SERVICE  
**IMPRESS COPY CENTRE**  
 7 CHARLES ST. W. 967-1110  
 MON. - FRI. 9-5; SAT. 12-6

**HART HOUSE**  
 NEW YEAR'S EVE BALL  
 Dancing to Benny Louis  
 Two bars with professional entertainment  
 Buffet supper - 3 sittings  
 splash party  
 \$16. a couple  
 tickets available at Hall Porter's desk  
 or Undergraduate office

## FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCE BY-ELECTIONS NOTICE

As a result of nominations received last week to fill vacancies on various Committees of the Faculty Council, elections will be held for only two positions.

Elections for General  
 Committee membership for  
**NEW COLLEGE**  
 AND  
**ERINDALE COLLEGE**

will be held from **December 4 to 7, 1972** from 9.00 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. each day. Ballot boxes will be located in the Registrars' Offices of these Colleges, and ballots may be obtained there. Only full-time students registered in these Colleges may vote.

# Clarkson's Liberal panacea: Reforms and party politics

**Item:** Toronto's city council is a "madhouse" where personality clash and petty argument predominate, where policies and priorities "are seldom debated". Among the old guard who hold the power there is "no semblance of a program" other than upholding the status quo and serving monied interest. There is little expertise among aldermen, and little authority is held by the mayor.

**Item:** Transport, housing, police and planning are ruled by independent boards and commissions which are not accountable to citizens, leaving a "policy vacuum" at city hall.

**Item:** Metro council is a disordered body whose members represent local interests rather than working for the city as a whole. The Metro Chairman is chosen as a "palatable diplomat" by his colleagues, instead of the electorate.

**Item:** The OMB is "paternalistic", and the provincial government purposely keeps Metro weak and divided.

**Item:** When elections are carried out in Toronto they are "anti-democratic", since there is no true representation by population and because a man's property holdings can determine his voting power.

**Item:** The actual policy making and administration of the city is carried out by a web of "technocrats" who have no responsibility to the people and who work in support of real estate developers and leaders of the construction industry.

These are the accusations of Steven Clarkson in *City Lib*, the account of his campaign for mayor as leader of the municipal Liberal party in 1969.

Relating his campaign to the emergence of the reform movement in Toronto politics, Clarkson asserts his primary theme: that only when governed by a unified party with a clearly formulated policy will the city receive adequate government.

According to Clarkson, the 1969 election "put the spotlight on a political system experiencing its first shock wave of fundamental change". For the new movement quality of life issues took precedence over the desires for material development which rule city hall, reformers becoming deeply critical of a system which has failed to respond to the growing "urban crisis" and of the "inertia" and "deadening grasp of the old guard".

Parties are the answer to the constitutional faults of the city, says Clarkson. The electorate could then link individual candidates to concrete stands. Party unity would guarantee effectiveness, the majority party putting into effect a policy for which citizens had knowingly voted. Better communication could be developed between the city and the boroughs, since parties would have co-operating members representing all parts of Metro. Parliamentary debate of issues would take place in city council. A cabinet could be created, ministers being set in charge of various city departments, achieving expertise and taking control of the city back from technocrats.

Constitutional changes were the central themes of Clarkson's policy, all being based upon party politics. The solutions seem clear, fine and workable.

But Clarkson pays too little attention to a set of facts which nullify his argument for a Liberal government of Toronto.

Each of the three parties which fielded a slate of candidates (CIVAC, the NDP, the Liberals) was beset by a basic contradiction: while being pushed into the campaign by a movement of reform, each was split between reformers and those who upheld the status quo.

The Liberal party decided to contest the election in the face of opposition from many of its Toronto based members, and this internal conflict greatly hindered its campaign.

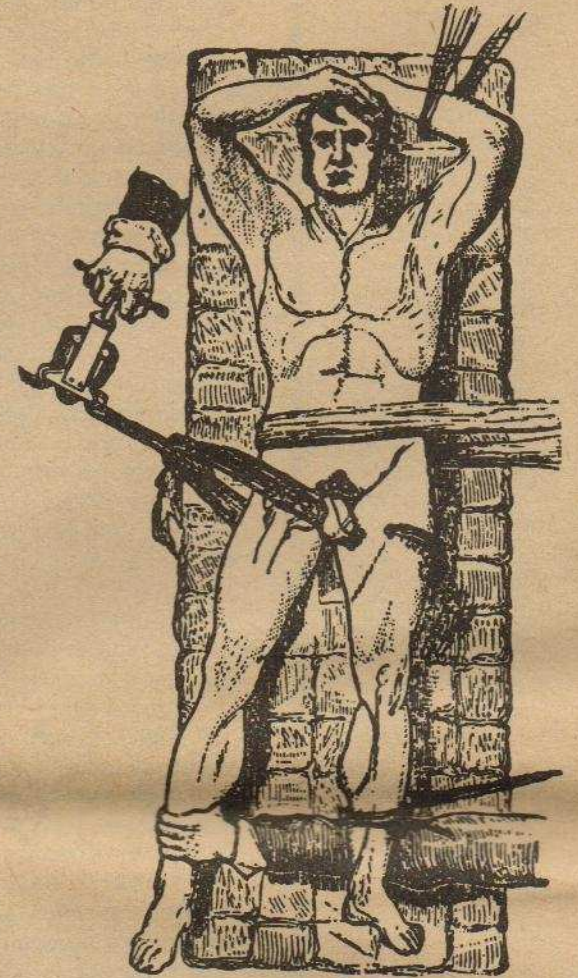
Candidates chosen represented both the reformist and conservative wings. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the stands of the two Liberal aldermen elected in the city, Hugh Bruce and Bill Kilbourn. Rarely do they vote the same way on an issue, Bruce being a member of the "old guard" and Kilbourn being a leader of the movement for change. At times they have refused to speak to each other. Here there is little indication of a party unified behind its policy.

The split was also evident in the events leading to Clarkson becoming Liberal mayoralty candidate. Not even considered for the job by Senator Keith Davey who handled the task of finding a leader, Clarkson decided to run only when no other viable men were left. There was poor communication between Clarkson and

Davey, and the latter made an abortive attempt to replace Clarkson with Leon Weinstein.

Previously, Davey had pressed Sam Kelner — a lawyer linked with developers — to accept the nomination. But the contradiction of a reform party led by a representative of development was too great, and Kelner was forced to step down. Others preferred by Davey had refused, having little faith in the municipal effort and fearing that it could only be detrimental to their political careers.

Clarkson summarizes the events as a clash between a "top-down, elitist" approach to leadership recruiting and a "decentralized, bottom-up" approach to party organization. He admits to being chosen as a reformer and grass roots worker against the wishes of the party machine, whose desires were for election rather than reform.



Similar problems emerged for CIVAC and the NDP, conservative elements weakening the thrust for change. The former, being made up of such differing men as David Crombie and David Rotenberg, was merely a set of loose ties labelled as a party. The NDP chose not to run a mayoralty candidate because the conservative labour councils put their support behind Mayor Bill Dennison. Reformist members of the NDP later supported the candidacy of Margaret Campbell for mayor.

Viewing this year's election, Clarkson states that the reform coalition which has emerged in city council and among community organizations in the past three years forms a more viable unit now than a Liberal municipal party could. Although he states his support for this coalition — made up of such men as Karl Jaffary (NDP), John Sewell (Independent), David Crombie (PC) and Kilbourn — Clarkson maintains that a Liberal party could govern Toronto on a reform platform in the vague future.

But the Liberal party would still contain the conflicting interests. If party government is to come to this city in the form of unified groups representative of the true conflicts in Toronto politics it will most likely emerge from the two opposing factions which have developed within city council.

Despite the fact that Clarkson and his reformist Liberals analyzed the problems of the city, foreseeing and foreshadowing much of the present struggle, they had no chance of gaining a majority on council. Being a weak link of a national party which still appears to have no coherent urban policy and being split, they had little chance for effectiveness. Even if Clarkson had won the mayoralty, he would have been unable to push through his reforms against a predominantly old guard council or by influencing a Conservative provincial government.

Yet a good organization and a comprehensive platform did emerge from the efforts of the reformists who gained dominance of the municipal Liberal party. Their leadership con-

vention was held only 10 weeks prior to the election, after a detailed policy had already been formulated, so that policy rather than personality could dominate their campaign.

Both organization and policy were developed in a decentralized manner. Focus was first put upon building support within wards, meetings and policy discussions being held with citizens' groups. The attempt was made to co-ordinate city and borough organizations, a constitution being drafted for the entire municipal party. The final decisions of policy were made at a policy convention, where consensus was reached on most issues.

The policy centered upon reforming the structures of city government. The electoral system would be changed to one vote per citizen regardless of land holdings, and to one alderman per ward (wards becoming smaller and more numerous). Controls would be put upon the financing of elections to stop candidates becoming obligated to special interests. There would be more unification of the city under Metro council. The departments presently guided by independent boards would come under the executive power of Metro.

There would be the attempt to listen to community delegations on a "regular and meaningful basis", and neighbourhoods would be given more self-control. Direct support would be given to citizens' groups in the form of budgets, staff and experts. Local development corporations would initiate neighbourhood housing and recreation projects. Private developers would be forced to relate more responsibly to communities. Spadina would be stopped.

The city's relationship with the province would be re-defined in a way that gave the city more power and made the policies of the two mutually coherent.

Clarkson asserts that his campaign did centre upon policies. He describes the difficulty in putting these policies across through a media which concerned itself with personalities (picturing him as the swinging young academic) and issues (searching for the splits in the Liberal party) and feared giving any candidate more coverage than the others. Searching for issues, the Liberals developed drug and pollution policies. A press secretary bombarded the media daily with policy statements. Gradually Clarkson came to feel that his intentions were coming across to the public.

The effectiveness of his campaign with the press was confirmed when the *Star* and the *Globe and Mail* carried editorials endorsing his candidacy for mayor.

Clarkson also describes his the alienation he came to feel when constantly campaigning, becoming isolated as leader, worrying about his

financing and attempting to catch one of his opponents long enough to debate an issue with them (Dennison being particularly slick at avoiding debates).

Then although he felt on election day that he had a chance of victory, Clarkson ran third, with only 20 per cent of the vote. He is undecided in his analysis of this. Did he do well, having been an unknown U of T professor three months before? What had caused the upsurge for Campbell? Had the Liberals failed in this election, or had they set off on the first step toward governing the city?

The reader is also left with indecision, at least partly because of Clarkson's failure to fully analyze the personalities, policies and campaigns of Dennison and Campbell. It is suggested that the other mayoralty candidates ran without full policies, but with the appearance of stability to the electorate. There is little explanation why Campbell represented a viable reform alternative to many voters. Perhaps Clarkson felt the scope of his book should only cover the Liberal campaign. But when describing this campaign, Clarkson fails to put it into perspective.

One major theme which receives insufficient attention is that of development versus the community. This issue has created more dissonance than any other in Toronto during the past three years, whether the development is accused of devouring housing or whether the old guard are accused of losing citizens' money by giving developers concessions. The polarization of city council and the efforts of reformers have come to centre upon this issue, with its overtones of class conflict and injustice. Here the decisions about the quality of life which Clarkson describes must be made.

But while the Liberals developed a policy supporting communities and setting controls upon developers, Clarkson makes only a cursory analysis of the implications of development, the factors determining when it is beneficial and when not, the groups who constantly support it and why.

Yet in his criticism and suggestions of change for the city's constitutional structure he analyzes an equally important issue which may be overshadowed by the controversy over development. It is obvious that many of his suggested reforms must be implemented before Toronto can have effective and responsible government.

*City Lib* reads clearly and maintains interest, describing from the inside the development of a convincing policy of change and the dynamics of campaigning in Toronto. It is an honest and straight-forward book which can give many insights for the understanding of our municipal politics.

Stewart Goodyear

## Sewell and developers: Trying to beat City Hall

It is difficult to describe John Sewell without sounding like you're putting him down: honest, committed to his principles, religious — virtue isn't in these days, especially among our politicians.

In *Up Against City Hall*, Sewell gives us a very revealing look at city politics, some personal history, and the background of his political involvement as a community organizer.

He is in a difficult position. Sewell considers himself accountable to the people — an unpopular view at a City Hall dominated by politicians who are primarily out to defend their personal power, and to promote development, and consequently make important decisions without consulting the people. As an alderman Sewell must also use his political power to defend the rights of his constituents from the plans of developers, and therefore requires support from his fellow politicians.

Historically, the radical politician often compromises his principles, and finally defeats himself by voting with the majority. Sewell describes several: June Marks, originally a committed working class representative, Fred Beavis, Mayor William Dennison, who tends to diminish or deny his former role as a radical on City Council, and Thomas Clifford who told Sewell, "You know, I used to be a radical when I was younger, but found I just didn't get anywhere. I found it much easier just to keep quiet and go along with the crowd."

Sewell has chosen instead to polarize the two groups in City Hall, the development-backed majority and the smaller group of community-supported politicians, and to publicize this division in the media.

Power tends to protect power, for many reasons. Voters re-elect familiar names, without

a clear idea of the political priorities of the candidates. And, powerful politicians are often experienced in the mechanics of legal dishonesty: Alderman Wardle who as Chairman of an Executive Committee, deliberately miscounted votes in favour of a motion he supported, (at which point the losing politicians who had won as a result of Wardle's deception, left so there would be no quorum left to dispute the count).

Alderman Ben Gryns, an equally corrupt politician, used his influence to push through a development which resulted in considerable financial gain to his family because of properties held in his wife's name.

Many politicians, of whom David Rotenberg is a notable example, derive considerable financial support from development corporations, Meridian, Greenwin, Cadillac etc., who are reimbursed for their support in the wide okay given to development plans in the city.

We are in a period of transition as the bases of power shift from this kind of alliance to broad-based community movements supporting committed and accountable politicians, currently represented by Sewell, Jaffary, Kilbourn, Chisolm, Scott, Crombie and Eggleton.

This book is a very important one, and should be read by every citizen voting in the municipal election. It is a well-written book, although it tends to assume a greater familiarity with municipal politics than many citizens will have. That is why it should be read, for it is only greater citizen participation and politicization and the election of accountable politicians that is going to defeat the power of developers at City Hall.

Gretchen Roedde

No more pencils,  
no more books,  
no more teachers,  
no more buildings,  
no more OSAP,  
no more jobs,  
no more students?

# Don't Pay!

The Ontario Government has met with representatives of Ontario students several times since the October fees withholding referendum. The Government simply refuses to tell us anything about their plans for student aid programmes. In particular, Premier Davis refuses to say that OSAP loan ceilings won't go up again.

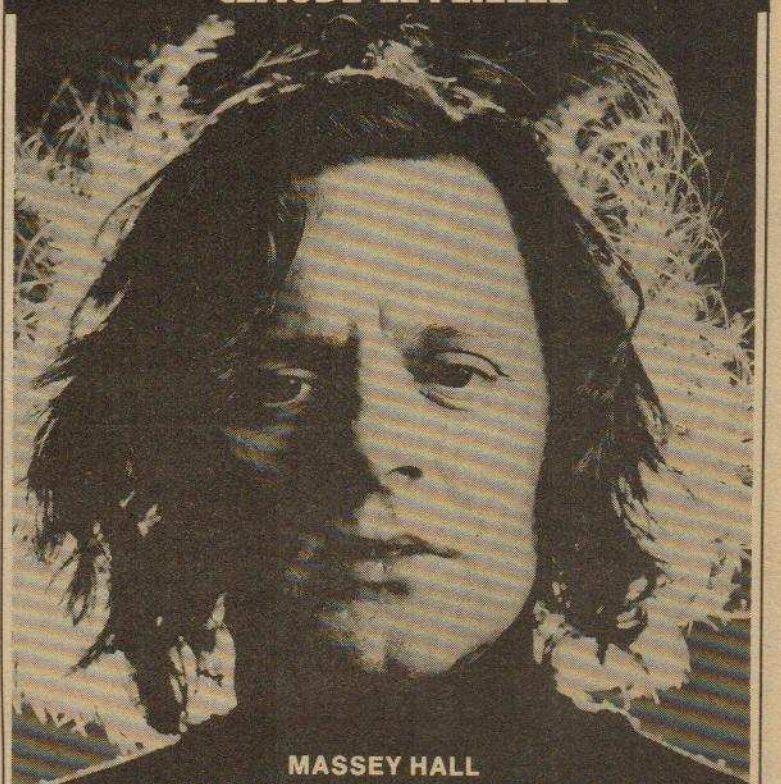
It's your future. If you object to the Government's refusal to talk, if you object to the form of their education cutbacks of the last year then let the Government know.

Your fees are not due until January 15. By that time the situation may have changed.

But at least until you're back in January, DON'T PAY YOUR SECOND INSTALLMENT. The situation may have changed by then, and the January 10th Varsity will contain all the details.

(Students' Administrative Council, University of Toronto)

LA CHASSE-GALERIE  
PRESENTE  
CLAUDE LEVEILLEE



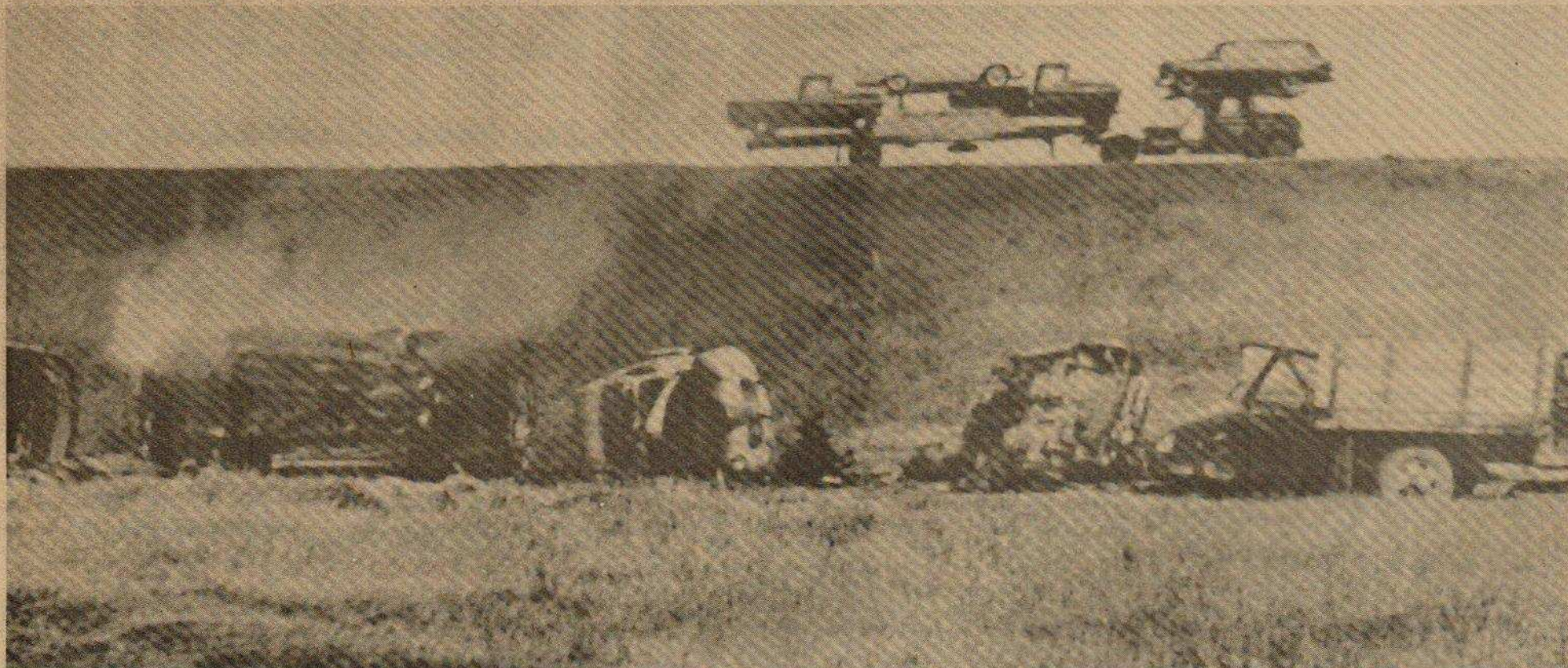
MASSEY HALL  
DIMANCHE, 1 e 3 décembre, à 20h 30  
BILLETTS: \$3 - \$4 - \$5

EN VENTE:  
LA CHASSE-GALERIE  
HACHETTE  
CHAMPLAIN  
MASSEY HALL

486-9985  
923-4678  
364-4345  
363-7301



# The experts look at urbanization



## Jacobs destroys dogma but analysis is uneven

Few things are harder to see than the obvious. Jane Jacobs, simply because she has retained her ability to see at least a fraction of what is obvious, and because she is able to strip away, for her readers, the veils of mystification from many of the economic processes that are often made to appear needlessly mysterious by orthodox treatments, has written a book that is — at least in places — brilliant.

What makes the book seem so new and daring is merely that, unlike the vast majority of the practitioners of the "dismal science" of economics, the author is still aware of the real world, bases her theories on what she observes in that real world, and consequently, need not be relegated to that twilight zone of irrelevance that most of her academic brothers occupy. In addition, she stands out because she deals with her subject matter on a large scale, so that fundamental processes and dynamics become visible, while the commonly accepted practice — among the macro people as much as anywhere — is to work only on the level of technique and

quantitative analysis, taking the larger range as given: a practice not even defensible in theory, since economic processes are intimately linked to social and political processes, and likely to be disastrous in practice when, as Jacobs suggests, the foundations are incorrectly understood or even in danger of actual collapse.

But unfortunately, closely related to her ability to point out that which is invisible to most people because it is too obvious, or because it has been made invisible by the myths of our culture, is a tendency to sometimes take that which is obvious, and present it as an astounding new revelation. It is this facet of her talent that the reader encounters first, in the form of a rather large red herring labelled "cities first". Her thesis, briefly, is that it is cities that are "basic", that are the origins of all economic growth and change, that are the dynamic element of any economy; and specifically, she makes the claim that cities existed before agriculture. To prove her case, she constructs an interesting historical hypothesis

involving a city which she calls New Obsidian, supposedly having existed on the site of the ancient city Catal Huyuk, in which she sketches how agriculture might have developed, through trade, from a city originating in a hunting-and-gathering economy.

What she does not seem to realize is that she does not need to prove her case with elaborate and rather dubious hypotheses based on scanty anthropological evidence, for the case she really wants to prove, (ie, that cities are the source of all economic growth), not only does not depend on the correctness of her historical hypothesis, but is actually a tautology.

For Jacobs, cities are not defined by their size, but by their ability to generate economic growth. Now, it is accepted by all except a minute handful of diehard Lockean evangelists that men have always existed in groups; that the notion of society as consisting of individuals who have come together is incorrect. From this, it follows by definition that all economic growth has originated from groups of people living together. And since any group of people, any settlement, no matter how small, qualifies as a city by her definition if it is originating economic growth, then, if one accepts her definition of cities, and it seems to be a good one, then one must concede that her case is automatical-

ly true. Since there were settlements before agriculture, then it is a tautology that cities existed before agriculture, and that cities are the origins of economic growth.

However, it does not follow, as she seems to think, that rural work, agriculture, cannot result in the development of cities. Merely because one has proved that there were cities before agriculture, one cannot therefore assume that other cities were not produced by agriculture. One need cite as counter-examples only two of the cities she discusses at great length, Manchester and Birmingham. Both of these cities have their origins in rural villages that continued to grow (see M. Bateson, *Medieval England*) and eventually diversified to become industrial.

This red herring aside, however, Jacobs gets down to her admirable work of dispelling many of the myths surrounding city economies, and makes a number of very valuable points. She exposes, for example, the sort of nonsense that people like Walt Rostow and John Kenneth Galbraith have turned into orthodoxies in the area of economic development of underdeveloped regions. She points out that further expansion of agricultural staples will not lead to development for these countries, that it is the develop-

ment of city industries that is needed, and that until this takes place, it is unlikely that agricultural productivity and efficiency can be raised by any appreciable amount.

She makes it clear that economic development must not depend on outside capital, for this can only result in colonial dependencies, not dynamic economies, that concentration on a few large industries serves only to produce company-town economies that inevitably stagnate and fail to generate growth, and that it is a serious mistake to believe that large enterprises are efficient producers of growth, pointing out that many underdeveloped countries do have a number of very large, rich enterprises which, however, fail to create growth.

She goes on to demolish the fairy tales that apologists like Galbraith have woven around the large corporation, pointing out that large corporations are notoriously incapable of doing creative work, ie, development work. She makes it clear that division of labour is not a sign of efficiency, that many backward economies have minute divisions of labour, and showing by analysis of the relevant processes how divisions of labour can serve to prevent economic growth.

She makes a number of very telling points in discussing what future trends further develop-

### "THE FASHION FACTORY"

730 YONGE ST. - IN THE CHARLES PROMENADE  
TOP FASHION LINES - AT FACTORY PRICES!

\$\$\$ FANTASTIC OPENING SPECIALS \$\$\$

Sweaters Reg. to \$14.00 **\$5<sup>99</sup>**  
Turtle Necks, dolmans, SHRINKS

Flip Skirts Reg. \$14.00 **\$8<sup>88</sup>**  
Plains - Tweeds

Body Shirts Reg. \$12.00 **\$6<sup>99</sup>**  
Stretch Antrons - Knits - Cottons

BLACK Crepe BAG PANTS Reg. \$20.00 **14<sup>88</sup>**

Blazer Suits Reg. \$45.00 **\$25<sup>88</sup>**  
Solids - Checks - Stripes

WINTER PLAID PANT COATS Reg. \$45.00 **\$19<sup>88</sup>**

BAG PANTS **\$9<sup>88</sup>**  
Plaids - Tweeds - Plains

FREE PAIR OF PANTY HOSE  
"PRETTY POLLY"  
WITH EACH INITIAL PURCHASE OVER \$5<sup>00</sup>  
ONE WEEK ONLY

OPEN DAILY 9:30 - 6 - THUR. - FRIDAY NITE 9:30 - 9 p.m.

## U.C. FILM FESTIVAL

(DEC. 4-9)

FELLINI'S  
GODARD'S  
COCTEAU'S  
DALI AND BUNUEL  
plus  
MARX BROS  
KUROSAWA'S  
ICHIKAWA'S  
WAJDA'S

VARIETY LIGHTS  
WIND FROM THE EAST  
BLOOD OF A POET  
UN CHIEN ANDALOU  
HOUSE OF USHER  
GO WEST, AT THE CIRCUS  
THE SEVEN SAMURAI  
FIRES ON THE PLAIN  
KANAL, ASHES AND DIAMONDS

8:00 P.M., STUDENTS 50¢, OTHERS \$1.00

U.C. PLAYHOUSE, 79a ST. GEORGE

ment might bring; especially intriguing are her discussions of pollution control (she points out that what is needed is not less production, but rather more development that will improve or make obsolete present harmful processes) and of the trend to differentiated production, which will supersede many of the present mass-production techniques. In sum, she makes a strong case against the orthodox views on the dynamics of economic development.

But while her analysis of the economy of cities carries with it implicit, (and sometimes explicit) criticism of the economic processes of the present, Jacobs nevertheless tends to overlook some of the central implications of what she is saying. Like muckraking journalists of the Vance Packard sort, she tends sometimes to write in a political and historical vacuum. (Historical vacuum in the sense that she does not develop the implications of the history she is writing.)

Central here is that she fails to differentiate between those aspects of growth which are un-

iversal, and those which are peculiar only to certain historical epochs. This is of great importance because the particular aspects of production of each period do change the fundamental nature of production and growth, thus helping to determine the nature of the economy of the next period. In other words, economic history is a progression which is irreversible, and the nature of which changes from one stage to another. Specifically, what this may mean is that if x centuries of economic development have brought us to the stage of monopoly capitalism, and if, as Jacobs says, this form of economy, with its overspecialization, overly large enterprises, etc., tends to produce stagnation then it may be meaningless to say how further economic growth could, or ought to, take place. It may be the case, (and I would suggest that the implication can be derived from Jacobs' arguments) that we have, so to speak, reached the end of economic history, because the growth processes which Jacobs con-

siders central *no longer can occur under present conditions*, and because the inertia of the present structure makes it impossible for it to evolve into patterns that could be productive.

It may be useful here to briefly examine her analysis of the transformation from feudalism to capitalism. Her analysis, which takes a good deal from Henri Pirenne, is incorrect in the fundamental respect that it is not true that the development of cities, growing outside the feudal economy, and bringing with them the enlargement of trade, was the central factor in the collapse of feudalism. In many instances, for example in eastern Europe, the growth of cities and trade actually strengthened the feudal system. It is true that the growth of cities was a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for the development of capitalism. But the central cause is to be found in the development, or ripening, of contradictory tendencies within the feudal economy itself.

What this implies is the crucial point that cities, while they are the

locale in which growth always takes place, are not able always to produce this growth independently, (regardless of what is happening elsewhere). In other words, the processes of development which she isolates work, but they do not always work on their own, they sometimes need external stimuli, and pre-conditions or they will not function in certain historical situations. It may therefore be a reasonable extrapolation of her analysis to suggest that we have reached the point where city economies are no longer able to generate growth because the favourable conditions for the operation of the growth processes do not exist. The meaning of this is that the dynamic which she correctly identifies is not a self-perpetuating dynamic, but one that tends to run down, and that in fact has run down.

Connected to this is the fact that Jacobs, because she is so concerned with assigning the central role to cities, fails to consider the complementary but more passive role played by rural and third-world areas in

economic development. What she overlooks is that while cities in the advanced countries of western Europe and the U.S. certainly were the initiators of development, they nevertheless depended absolutely on rural and third-world areas. Without the immense exploitation of these regions, the growth in the cities could never have happened. This may mean that in the present, her analysis, while correct, is irrelevant in many ways because the preconditions needed before the city dynamic can operate no longer exist.

What all this implies is that an informed reading of *The Economy of Cities* can lead one to conclude that the dynamic which she analyses so brilliantly and thoroughly, and which was historically valid, is no longer valid because it has an innate tendency to run down and collapse, has in fact run down, cannot be revived, and makes it necessary to seek a new dynamic.

Jane Jacobs *The Economy of Cities Vintage, 1970*

Sarah Rothschild

## Who runs our cities?

### Two books, many replies

"We shall start with a hypothesis: the total urbanization of society, a hypothesis which has to be supported by arguments, reinforced by facts. This hypothesis implies a definition. We shall call an "urban society" that society which results from total urbanization, virtual today, real tomorrow," argues Henri Lefebvre in his *La revolution urbaine*.

Alan Powell also argues that the contributors to his collection, *The City*, believe there is an urban revolution occurring. To Powell, *The City* is an attack upon objective consciousness as it camouflages the reality of urban life. Instead of an emphasis upon objectivity, efficiency, and value-neutrality, Powell argues for an approach to the city which is more effective and morally committed. The attack of the citizens' groups, reflected upon by many of the authors, is creating counter-myths to 'the myth' of the three 'druids': the developers, the technocrats, and the politicians.

Richard Lay's paper, "The Zoning Law as Icon" carefully explodes the claim of objectivity of the zoning methods used by Toronto's planners. (The various areas of Toronto are designated for various uses and various den-

sities. Density refers to the gross floor area over lot area. An area that is designated '3' can have a building 3 times the lot area. If the owner wishes, he may only build on half the lot, but at double the height. Zoning feeds right in to high-rise.) Lay examined different reports on the zoning scheme, but nowhere did he find a better explanation for how the numbers were arrived at than from a planner: "They're completely arbitrary."

Two papers by U of T sociologists, Jack Wayne and Barry Wellman, argue against the picture of the city as cold and harsh. In "The Case of the Friendless Urbanite", Jack Wayne argues that "participation patterns found in the neighbourhoods are more than the sum of the individual tendencies". The only exception is the family-less apartment building where neighbourhood contact is low. From his view in "Who needs neighbourhoods?", Barry Wellman would argue that with communication and technology these friendless apartment dwellers may still have personal ties but scattered around the city.

While most of the authors praise personal and community ties, a critical reading of Anasta-

sia Shkilnyk's, "Challenging an Urban Myth: Chile's Unique Strategy for low-income Housing", reminds one of the limits of community. Community can be used by the powers that be as well as by the powers that hope to be. Poor people's participation in Chile's housing strategy was a good thing, she argues. It generated new community leaders who when the time came would help in the management. After accepting this responsibility, the community leaders would not opt for political radicalism but for legitimate reformism.

This criticism of Shkilnyk's article reveals the limits of *The City* in general. The papers do not consider the roots of their bete noir, objective consciousness. Lefebvre argues that the urban technocratic myths are a direct outcome of the dominance of industrialization over the City. The City does not serve the needs of the majority of the people, but the needs of the industrial process underneath it.

Apologetically, Professor Powell alludes to this limitation in the introduction: "Modern capitalism is only obliquely referred to by most of the authors as the primary source of urban problems." Notable exceptions to this generalization are Susan Fish's article upon the market bias of low-income housing in Ontario and Graham Fraser's discussion of how the developers' conceptions are favoured by the

very administrative structure of City Hall.

In *The Future of Canadian Cities*, Boyce Richardson documents how private interests dominate over public interests in urban affairs. His chapter, "Who is Downtown for?", examines how the development process across Canada is forcing working class people out of the central City. The South of St. James Town struggle to preserve cheap housing in Montreal re-appears as the fight to preserve low-income housing from Concordia Investments.

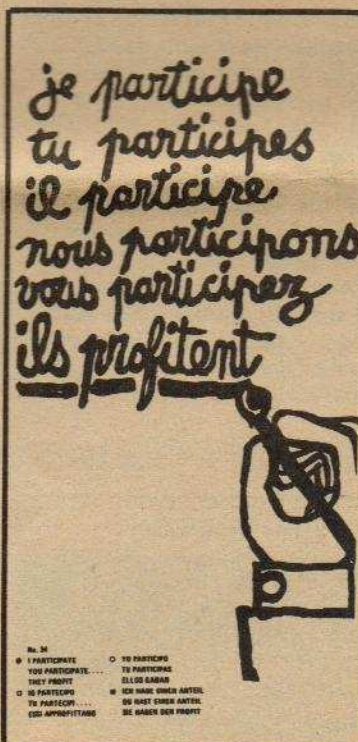
And so on.

Since Richardson goes to the root of the urban crisis, his proposal to insert a public interest dimension into urban planning offers solutions: Municipal landbanking and lease-holding are counterposed to land speculation and inflation. Guaranteed housing subsidies are proposed for people, not builders. Free public transit is urged to replace the dominance of the car over the urban landscape. If you think these solutions are utopian, read Richardson's description of how they are applied in Sweden.

These highly complimentary comments about *The Future of Canadian Cities* must be qualified. Richardson does the qualifying for us by wondering about the bureaucratic inertia of the Swedish approach. However, Richardson does not integrate a critique of bureaucracy and its rationality with his radical social analysis. On the other hand, Powell's *The City*, does not integrate a radical social critique with his proposals for community participation. The practical and theoretical problem is how to inter-relate the liberating potential of citizen participation with an awareness of the power of industrialization.

Alan Powell, ed., *The City: Attacking Modern Myths*, McClelland & Stewart  
Boyce Richardson, *The Future of Canadian Cities*, New Press

David Kennedy



## YOU'VE GOT IT COMING TO YOU!

LOWEST DISCOUNT PRICES ON

- HI-FI STEREO EQUIPMENT  
SANS JI, PIONEER, KENWOOD,  
SONY, DUAL, TELEFUNKEN ETC.
- COLOUR TV  
ZENITH, RCA, ADMIRAL ETC.
- CAR-RADIOS AND TAPE PLAYER  
ALL MAKES, INCLUDING BLAUPUNKT  
AM-FM AND STEREO MODELS.

GIVE US  
MAKE  
AND MODEL...  
WE DO SELL  
FOR LESS!

LOOK AROUND FOR YOUR BEST DEAL...  
THEN ASK FOR OUR STILL LOWER PRICE

**KROMER RADIO Ltd. 920-6700**

112 HARBORD ST. (1 BLOCK WEST OF SPADINA)

CLOSE TO U OF T

## THE GOVERNING COUNCIL

### NOTICE REGARDING ELECTIONS

The University of Toronto Act, 1971, stipulates that no person shall serve as a member of the Governing Council unless he is a Canadian citizen. The Governing Council at its regular meeting held on November 16th, 1972, resolved THAT POSSESSION OF CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP BE A REQUIREMENT FOR A CANDIDATE TO BE NOMINATED (FOR ELECTION TO THE GOVERNING COUNCIL.) This requirement applies to the election of staff and student members of the Governing Council.

Prospective candidates are advised that nominations for election to the Governing Council closed on February 7th, 1972, during last year's elections; and that a varying length of time is required for application for Canadian citizenship to be processed.

Discover  
the  
freedom of  
**CONTACT  
LENSES**



## BRADDOCK OPTICAL

170 St. George St. 925-8720  
2917 Bloor St. W. 233-2611  
Centenary Plaza 282-2030  
Bayview Village Centre 222-5791

12 OPTICAL STORES  
THROUGHOUT METRO  
CONSULT THE YELLOW PAGES

We're Not Living In The Past

## QUARTET

Starts Sunday 7 January 1973

# Annual oratorios garnish Christmas season

The Mendelssohn Choir may actually be considered one of the last bastions of choral baroque and Handelian pomp. In a matter of weeks the singing "Halleluia Chorus" will burst from the choir's collective vocal cord in their annual presentation of *The Messiah*. Last Sunday Elmer Isler conducted his group — 172 strong — plus the National Arts Centre Orchestra through a performance of *Messiah's* grandest rival, *Solomon*. In each work there are big, sprawling choruses and an ample number of consistently fine arias with miraculous, Bach-inspired orchestral accompaniments.

The highlight of this performance (which, unlike Sir Thomas Beecham's version, contained Act II), was Lois Marshall's contribution as the Queen of Sheeba. I thought she gave a flawless performance, her voice perfectly effortless, and gracefully nuanced from the beginning of one phrase to the end of another, both connected by superb legato. The first aria, at the beginning of Act Three, asks for string and flute accompaniment, and the three parts blended beautifully in this subtly balanced counterpoint. It is too bad there were not more arias for Miss Marshall to sing, although perhaps a valuable aspect of the baroque oratorio is that it does not always cater to the virtuosity of the resident divas for the sake of that virtuosity.

Stephanie Bogle as the first woman begging Solomon to return her baby, and Roxolana Roslak, as the second, sung very effectively, and the amount of emotion they produced squared well with the modest capabilities of their soprano voices. Ricki Turofsky as the Pharaoh's daughter and Solomon's wife (one of them, anyways) initially tried to be very expressive and lyrical, especially in the ornamentation of Handel's simple line of melody. The result was tremolo instead of vibrato, and the low notes stiffened into inaudibility. And yet the one duet

between the queen and Solomon was sung forcefully, and with full tone. Perhaps the competition with Don Gerrard as Solomon and with the flurries from the strings prompted her to make herself heard and heard well in this duet. She was still the disappointment of the performance, though.

Don Gerrard has a warm, broad bass voice and although there was not much for him to do with it in the way of theatrical arias, he sang confidently and clearly. Charles Bressler was heard intermittently as Zadok, the High Priest. I was reminded by a Bressler fan his voice is closer to that of a countertenor than of a tenor, so I want to withhold any criticism of the power of his voice itself. In fact, he sang very elegantly, with a sensitive awareness of just what shade of emotion and emphasis fits what note.

The orchestra played energetically and with an ample tone, although on some slippery quick-paced allegros, where notes jump up and down the

scale in legato leaps, I thought the strings lost their balance at times, falling behind the snappy and regular pace of their tempo. Isler had excellent control over dynamics, as he did over his chorus, so the orchestra did very well in this difficult department.

The chorus was trim and vigorous. Double choruses seemed to be tossed off effortlessly, as if each part were recorded separately and played on top of each other. The effect was not mechanical — just supremely professional and competent. The weight of their bulk sound was carefully used by Isler in the huge, boisterous choruses — in other words he did not pointlessly throw the weight of his choir around, which is an easy temptation with so much of it at his disposal.

Here, in short, was a well-polished performance, and with such uncomplicated sylvan music, I am not ashamed to say it was a fun concert.

Ian Scott



## Unobtrusive horror flick (minor) classic

*Night of the Living Dead* will have closed by the time you read this, but it rolls around now and then, to the revival houses, and you might want to keep an eye out for it next time it comes.

It's an odd case. Released in 1968, it made the rounds of those dubious little cinemas which traffic in sex-and-sadism shockers. You can find it in the handbooks of movies for TV, stigmatized by a single star.

Something happened, though, and the movie developed a cult following, which phenomenon prompted *Time* magazine to review it three years later. It's easy to see why people dismissed it, so to speak, unseen. *Night of the Living Dead* is nothing if not an amateur movie (made, of all

places, on the outskirts of Pittsburgh) and it lacks the professional gloss even those stinkers starring Vincent Price and Patrick Magee manage to attain.

What is unusual in *Night of the Living Dead* is that something clicks in an astounding way. Everything seems to work together: the not-bad but not-good performances, the jerky camera work and uncertain lighting, the too-flat script. It's a gaudy word, and too often used to explain away imagination-starved trash, but "verisimilitude" seems to be the result of all that amateurishness. There are, to be sure, some blatantly misaccented moments, and the ending is a cruel, calculated zinger, totally

gratuitous, quite indefensible.

But this dumb, dilettantish movie survives faults that would have ruined a bigger, glossier production. One salvation is an artist's sense of pacing, making the film fluid and unpredictable, disconcertingly unlike the studio-thriller with its engineered crescendos and evenly distributed jolts.

The horror in this movie is not the splashy terror of the special-effects department. There is a grainy, utterly banal, somnambulist quality to the film, the prosaic but terrifying look of nightmares. Don't get me wrong, there is also a grimness of detail which is quite appalling — but somehow it's not that excruciating infliction of pain that

panders to the sado-masochists in the audience. It's a pretty ripe picture, all right, but we don't leave it with the gritty, furtive feeling that recent pictures in this black-sheep genre rub off on its viewers.

A few last words: *Night of the Living Dead* is about some people who take refuge in a deserted farmhouse on a night when corpses rise to devour the living. All right? So don't make the movie into something more than it tries to be. It's a shocker, with no moral, no stunning performances. Nonetheless, despite everything, it happens to be one of the best horror movies ever made. Don't go if you don't like that sort of thing. It's as simple as that.

Bill MacVicar

ALWAYS A GIGANTIC CLEARANCE OF

### WINTER FOOTWEAR

FOR THE ENTIRE FAMILY  
AT EVERYDAY LOW PRICES

#### MEN'S 10" ZIPPER RUBBER OVERSHOES

UNLINED	\$4.00
LINED	\$5.00

REG. UP TO \$9.98

#### SALE CONTINUES ON WOMEN'S SHOES

10% to 50% off  
OUR EVERYDAY LOW PRICES

#### GOLD OR SILVER PLATFORM SANDALS

Reg. \$19.95

NOW  
**\$7**

#### CLOSED-TOE PLATFORM SANDALS

BLACK, BROWN OR NAVY

Reg. \$19.95

NOW  
**\$7**

CHOOSE FROM A WIDE VARIETY  
OF SHOES-BOOTS-PLATFORMS-SANDALS  
OVER 15,000 ON DISPLAY  
IMPORTS-FASHION-QUALITY

ALWAYS NEW & DIFFERENT STYLES

SELF SERVICE

## Warehouse Shoe Mart

260 SPADINA AVE. — 1 BLOCK S. OF DUNDAS  
MON.-WED. 9-7; THURS.FRI. 9-9; SAT. 9-6

## Hillel Film Series

PRESENTS

### "Three Stooges Night"

Sunday, December 3

8:00 p.m.

HILLEL HOUSE

50¢ NON-CARD CARRIERS

25¢ CARD CARRIERS

### INSTITUTE FOR THE HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

"Achievements of Natural History in Chinese Culture" by Dr. Joseph Needham, Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, President, International Union for the History and Philosophy of Science. 2:10 p.m., Room 2158, Medical Sciences Auditorium, Monday 4 December. Sponsored by the Varsity Fund.

## TRINITY

### UNITED CHURCH

427 BLOOR W. AT WALMER RD.

Minister:

REV. J. ROBERT WATT, B.A., B.D.  
11 a.m.

The Rt. Rev. M. PUTNAM, B.A., D.D.

Moderator, The Presbyterian Church in Canada

"THE CHURCH OF  
THE LIVING GOD"

R TYPEWRITERS

ADDING  
MACHINES

TV'S

STEREO  
TAPE  
RECORDERS

STEREO  
RECORD  
PLAYERS

S 698-2589

DANFORTH  
TYPEWRITER

2940 DANFORTH AVE.

FREE DELIVERY

Theses & Essays  
Typed

CALL 698-2589

or 261-9218

# Revisionist movie bio of great blues singer

There was a mid-fifties bang-and-zap version of H.G. Wells' *War of the Worlds*. I saw it the other night. Near the beginning, the American army had a saucer landing-site surrounded. "They'll probably attack at dawn", an officer warned. It was true. At dawn the Martian ships' periscope-tenacles began to move. "Hit 'em with all ya got" ordered the officer. Nothing. Bounced right off. Then, slowly, a periscope turned until it spotted an American tank. Zap. Gone. No tank. In the audience, a few people clapped. The periscope turned on a machine-gun nest. Zap. No machine-gun nest. Now we all cheered, the whole audience rooting for the Martians.

Seeing old movies really hips you to what a separate reality movies are. When, as a kid, you noticed that the actors never went to the toilet, you had the key to the industry: we imitate them more than they imitate us.

Conventions are the gravity of the movies. Since *The War of the Worlds*, the pull has changed, leaving those people from those days walking on air. We cheer for the Indians (and the Martians) now, and the only good marine is one filled with remorse. I don't know how those sentiments will read in twenty years. In real life I am sure they will command respect, if not attention. In the movies, who knows?

*Lady Sings the Blues*, at the Uptown is a show-biz biography, and it stands on that old convention four-square, with its arms folded, like the last heir to an old line, which it probably is. In its heart it was made in 1955. But it has an errant eye that keeps winking at you and an undisciplined hand that periodically gooses you just to remind that time is a two-way street.

The title "Lady Sings the Blues" comes from Billie Holiday's autobiography. Little

else does. I only heard Holiday sing peripherally, and knew nothing about her, but you don't have to know anything about her to know that she was not like *that*. The movie *Billie Holiday* is a wide-eyed pickaninny in a cat-house who lands a singing job on the basis of innocence, chutzpah and the singing style of a mature artist. (Such is life in the movies.) On the basis of the singing job she lands a man, a very white black sweetie played by Billy Dee Williams. When he is away she turns to drugs. Presumably, if she could have only recorded right in her kitchen, she would have been alright, but it wasn't to be. Never is. When he is away again, she turns to drugs again. She is one of those tragically monogamous stars who, like spawning salmon, die if separated from their mates.

The real Billie's lovers, other husbands and one-night stands have been jettisoned. This is the revisionist Billie Holiday: more sinned against than sinning.

All this would be nothing to remark on if the movies hadn't changed but they have, and even this movie has, in all its non-essentials. Characters talk about sex like they enjoy it. Whores abound. People, including Billie, swear like Panthers. Racism is acknowledged and railed at. There is a lynching and Ku Klux Klan violence. Some of the dialogue is quite sharp: "Shh", says Richard Prior when a band-leader is proposing a toast to Billie, "Whiteman talking". And there is an absolutely euphoric shot of Billie, sitting on the can in a bra and a tourniquet at total ease on a heroin rush.

*Lady Sings the Blues* touches home, but that is only one of the bases. For the most part it reeks of Broadway semitism, even to the casting of Sid Melton, the mensch club-owner from the Danny Thomas Show, as the mensch club-owner who discovers Billie Holiday. Was this an in-joke? a reference to film history? Billie is given a bop-

talking Jiminey Cricket side-kick, which is like perching a parrot on a pirate's shoulder. Richard Prior has a great time in the part and I felt like clapping whenever he came back on screen, but the laughter Prior evoked could never completely drown out the creaking and clanking of that old vehicle.

Where did they find the writers for this period piece? Were they retired studio hacks brought back in from the cold as a favour? Were they young Peter Bogdanovitches, revering the great days of Hollywood and determined to keep them alive? And what of those real (or at least current) touches? Was this a bad script spruced up, or a good one watered down?

Of course, no matter when this movie is spiritually dared, it is

great fun, fun when it's good and fun when it's bad. Credit for the good goes in large part to Diana Ross, the one-time Supreme who makes her acting debut as Billie. Ross does not sing the blues, but she does sing with more versatility than I ever imagined. She is also a fetching actress and a joy to watch, a nubile, gawky, wiggly, teasing green stick of a woman. Her scenes with Prior shine with far more light than the picture deserves. Mind you, one doesn't want to be too hard on the makers of a film one enjoyed. The director, Sydney Furie has calmed himself substantially since *The Ipcress File*, and shoots the cliches from their best angles. What has been accomplished has been accomplished with verve.

Bob Bossin



Diana Ross as Billie Holiday.



Billie Holiday as Billie Holiday.

## Haleyon™ WATERBEDS

7 STYLES ON DISPLAY TO SUIT ANY DECOR OR BUDGET

Freeform Interiors  
2110 YONGE 489-7600

**WANTED WOMEN AND MEN** WHO WISH FREE HAIR CUTS-TRIMS and BLOW DRYING

Tuesday through Thursday Dec. 5 through Dec. 7

All styling by qualified Hairdressers who are attending exclusive classes at THE HOLIDAY INN, 89 CHESTNUT ST. (behind City Hall) JUST COME ALONG TO THE TERRACE ROOM, 3rd FLOOR ALL DAY



WRITE ON 7 Charles St. W. 967-1110 Open 9 to 9, M-F 11-5 Sat.

### TERMPAPERS

Canada's largest library of prof-tested papers from \$1.75 per page. Also expert, custom research papers from \$3.95 PER page. Plus TRANSLATIONS, TUTORING, COMPUTERIZED BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND PROGRAMS, EDITING AND RESEARCH. 4c. XEROX FOR STUDENTS.

THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES SPEAK!

**JACQUIE HENDERSON**

MAYOR

**ELLIE KIRZNER**

ALDERWOMAN WARD 8

**CLIFF MACK**

BOARD OF EDUCATION WARD 6  
A STRATEGY FOR REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

IN

TORONTO CITY HALL AND CANADA

FRIDAY, DEC. 1 - 12 noon

HART HOUSE BICKERSKETH ROOM  
U. of T. YOUNG SOCIALISTS 363-9618

**Hillel Graduate Student Club**

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3

8:00 P.M.

**OPEN CHANUKAH EXECUTIVE MEETING**

Plan new programs for Winter Break & January Semester (Social & Cultural)

Informal Reception (after meeting)

The Original

**New York Pizza House**

925-1736

620 YONGE NORTH OF WELLESLEY

WINNER: 1970 1ST ANNUAL TORONTO PIZZA AWARD MORNING AFTER SHOW CBC STAR WEEK'S JUNE 71 PIZZA CONTEST

Dining Room OPEN 11 AM-1 AM MON-SAT SUN 3 PM-1 AM TAKE-OUT AND DELIVERY DELIVERY FROM 5 PM-1 AM



A SPACE for girls interested in living in Campus Co-op Residence. There are doubles available at inexpensive rates. For information call KEVIN MORIARTY 961-0688

# Firehall's performance doesn't live up to Hébert's poetry



Anna Ferguson as Agnes and John Turnbull as Sebastien in *Le Temps Sauvage* at Firehall Theatre.

Anne Hébert is one of French Canada's most renowned poets and novelists and the chance to experience her work in translation is a rare treat. Under the direction of John Van Burek, the Firehall Theatre is presenting her play, "*Le Temps Sauvage*", until December 9th. It is an especially interesting production when seen in conjunction with Michel Tremblay's play, *Forever Yours, Marie-Lou*, at the Tarragon Theatre. Both plays deal with the ravages of time upon family life and a particular kind of love/hate bitterness centralized in the mother figure. *Forever Yours* isolates its family in the home territory of an urban milieu for the confrontation with past and present, but the family of *Le Temps Sauvage* has the even more explicit isolation of a mountain somewhere in northern Quebec.

Here in the wilderness, Agnes, the embattled matriarch, has attempted to keep out the rest of the world so that her children may grow up innocent and free. Her decision, though, is really an escape from truth and a strange kind of justice for an offense committed long ago by her sister, whose funeral she must now attend. She brings back Isabelle, the daughter of her dead sister, and once again the past manifests itself upon the present. Isabelle brings sensuality and passion back into a house where there has been "no fruit and no flowers for a long time". The ingrown tightness, the consuming protectiveness of house and mother, are exposed and challenged. Avenues of escape present themselves to the two oldest children, Sebastien and Lucie, who respond to the pull of the outside world.

The play is a poetic drama, an embellishment which sometimes works against the realistic backwoods depiction of a family unexposed to books or even the high language of religion. Anna Ferguson plays Agnes as a strange one-dimensional character, so steeped in histrionic bitterness and martyrdom that it is hard to understand how she came to create a home and five children. The cutting edge of this character is dissatisfying and unresolved. The rest of the family are more credible and humanly felt. Ian Orr is effective as the drone-like, emasculated husband Francois, who responds only to Isabelle's lighter touch, and Susan Morgan builds Lucie into a character of fascination and charm, interacting uniquely with each of the other characters in the play. Judy Darraugh, as Isabelle, cannot really be faulted for her acting but seems miscast as the young and mysterious interloper. Since she commandeers the second part of the play, this presents a serious problem to its overall integrity.

Technically it deserves high praise. Doru Ilieiu's lighting created several remarkable freeze tableaux and the abstract canvas mural surrounding the set gave a simple illusion of wilderness and enclosure. The physical isolation of the family became very real and at times so did the emotional isolation of Agnes, Francois, Sebastien and Lucie. Unfortunately the play in performance could not sustain the build-up of conflicts necessary to give a dramatic intensity to the resolution. Perhaps Anne Hébert should be read and not seen.

Sandra Souchotte

**Toronto Chinese Christian Fellowship**  
 Special Meeting — Dec. 10, 10:30 a.m.  
**"CAN THESE WORDS LIVE AGAIN"**  
 Speaker — **MR. RAY HO**  
 from THE NAVIGATOR  
**SPECIAL X'MAS PROGRAM**  
**DEC. 24**

MEETING EVERY SAT. AT 10:30 a.m.  
 Place: **Newman Centre**  
 (St. George — Hoskin)

Info: **PATRIC LIU 922-7538**

**ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN**  
 JUST SOUTH OF CAMPUS  
 KING ST. W. AT SIMCOE ST.  
 11. A.M.

**DR. H. DOUGLAS STEWART**  
 'A CHURCH HOME  
 FOR STUDENTS  
 AWAY FROM HOME'

**POCCO'S**

Superb Italian food at ridiculously low prices.

Bring your date enjoy an evening in Italy then... Surprise!!

**25% OFF** your bill when you show your student card.

**POCCO'S**  
 77 AVENUE ROAD  
 TORONTO  
 FREE PARKING

**FOR THE FIRST TIME EVER,**

**THE**

**HART HOUSE CHORUS**

**PERFORMS**

**8:30 P.M.**

**DECEMBER 3RD**

**GREAT HALL, HART HOUSE**

# Canadian culture seen through eyes of natives

## Who is the Chairman of this Meeting?

Neewin Publishing Co., \$2.50

Is this a country or an island, and to whom does it belong? According to Indian belief, "God made this whole island called North America and in the middle

of it, he put the Indian. This was supposed to be the Indians' country and he was supposed to live off the deer and live on this land. The land wasn't really his to own; God just kind of loaned it to him. He was supposed to cherish this land like you would cherish

your mother. That was the way you were supposed to treat her."

*Who is the Chairman of this Meeting?*, is a collection of essays written by three Canadian Indians and one white man. Through the essays, the Indians express what it is like to be Indian in a white man's country, a country where once they were sovereign, independent peoples. Sometimes funny, sometimes very sad, the book touches upon various aspects of North American culture and reflects these aspects back to us through the eyes of Indians. Ideas most basic to our civilization become entirely different concepts when considered from the Indian's point of view.

Think of how many times

during a day someone asks what time it is, and then imagine a society without clocks. To the Indians, there were good times and bad times. They had "appointments with the earth, with the sun, and with each other, but they kept them as a river flows rather than as a clock ticks." In his essay 'Time', Mr. Pelletier describes the difference between Indian and non-Indian time. "Non-Indians relate to appointments — which, of course, are always in the future. And this creates anxiety. Indians relate to reality — which is only in the present. And this creates conviviality and contentment. I have observed that most non-Indians feel subject to time. Indians tend to feel quite the opposite. Time is

at their disposal. Time is subject to them.

This book is an appeal to speak to the white man, not as white man to Indian, but as one person to another. Here the Indian states that only by retaining his very different heritage is he of value to the white culture. They are a separate, a distinct race of people, a race that wants to keep its separateness and individuality. The Indians want to be themselves — a desire which is a basic right of all human beings. White men have taken this right away from the Indian, out have taken it away from themselves as well, and it is upon this issue that the Indian has something to say to the white man.

Lynda Hiebert



## The Lessons

A tree enters and says with a bow:  
I am a tree.

A black tear falls from the sky and says:  
I am a bird.

Down a spider's web  
something like love  
comes near  
and says:  
I am silence.

But by the blackboard sprawls  
a national democratic  
horse in his waistcoat  
and repeats,  
pricking his ears on every side.  
repeats and repeats  
I am the engine of history

and  
we all  
love  
progress  
and  
courage  
and  
the fighter's wrath.

Under the classroom door  
trickles  
a thin stream of blood.

For here begins  
the massacre  
of the innocents.

by Miroslav Holub

## CHECK IT OUT FOR YOURSELF Experience • Leadership • Record IT ALL ADDS UP TO DAVID CROMBIE FOR MAYOR

### CORRA - Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations

The three year voting record shows that Rotenberg voted in support of citizens on 3 of 21 selected issues. Against, 18 times. O'Donohue voted with citizen groups on 5 issues, against on 11, took an intermediate stand twice, was absent 3 times. Crombie supported citizen groups on 18 of the 21 issues, was absent three times.

### Toronto Star, Editorial, November 23, 1972

"Certainly, no Torontonians could help be pleased at the image of the Toronto Crombie would create for distinguished visitors and for ordinary people concerned about housing for the poor and environmental protection."

### Globe & Mail, Editorial November 18, 1972

"The man who could best serve the needs and desires of Toronto as mayor is David Crombie."

### Toronto Life, Ron Haggart

Voting on 26 selected issues of social and political concern, David Crombie's record was 90%, Tony O'Donohue's was 46% (noting "his abysmal attendance record") and David Rotenberg's record was 21%. "Significantly, the three candidates for mayor show up in three categories: David Crombie at the top, Tony O'Donohue in the middle ground, and David Rotenberg among the Old Guard."

## THIS IS YOUR CITY-VOTE FOR IT!

**NOTE:** if you are not on voter's list - you CAN vote simply by attending polling station to vote and affirm that you should be on voter's list.

### SPONSORED BY:

Gord Barnes,  
Doug Carter,  
Owen Carter,  
Murray Davidson,  
Barb Deach,  
John DeMarco,  
Margaret Eaton,  
Doug Hawkins,

John Helliwell,  
Rick Krever,  
Debra Lewis,  
Sandy MacIntyre,  
Neil Mens,  
Duncan McEwan,  
Kathy McGibbon,  
Joan McIntosh,

Brian Nasimok,  
Geoff Parker,  
Jim Paulin,  
Stewart Sklar,  
Wayne Stauble,  
Cally Thompson,  
Gary Watson,  
Ed Wagner,  
Richard Wright,  
Allan Zweig



# Watsup

## theatre

So much is being said about the need to "get students involved" in the entertainment media that we might be ignoring some intriguing developments that concern Canada's retired population. This important group is undergoing a radical change in image. Fewer active and fulfilled people are allowing the fact of being over sixty-five to dictate a depressing change in life-style, and giving in to the stereotype created by children and grandchildren.

One indication of the growing interest in their particular needs and tastes: CBC is planning to produce a television series for pensioners. In a detailed questionnaire presently being distributed, CBC ask which personalities they would like to see interviewed, whether they themselves would enjoy participating in such a show, and the like.

You've heard of **Opportunities for Youth**. Perhaps, though, you haven't heard of **New Horizons**, the Canadian government's opportunity program for senior citizens. It is run along the same lines as the youth program. Accordingly, applications for funds are piling up as groups are formulating their projects.

One ambitious project calls itself the Jubilee Theatre. Here is a description of its aim as presented in its application to the government:

**JTA is to be a professional repertory group providing opportunities for retired actors, writers and production staff to utilize their knowledge and experience for the benefit of both others and themselves... It will develop and produce a series of plays which will be available to groups and organizations without charge. At a later date some public performances may be available to the general public at a nominal charge.**

This group is looking for original scripts. The project's co-ordinator, Ann Pollock, says that already Mavor Moore's playwriting class at York University is planning to submit work. Both radio and television networks have expressed interest in the Jubilee Theatre project. (Parties interested in submitting work should call Ann Pollock at 221-5262.)

So, if your parents or grandparents have been asking you where the action is, you might mention that things are looking up.

Eleanor Coleman

The East Side Players open their new season with Brendan Behan's bawdy three-act play, **The Hostage**. It will be presented the weekends of December 1, 2, and 8, 9, at the East York Library Theatre, 170 Memorial Park Ave. Admission is \$2.50, \$1.50 for students.

Factory Theatre Lab presents a gala festival of short Canadian plays — thirteen plays, thirteen directors, thirteen casts. They will be presented in two different programs opening December 5 and 6. Program one will play Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and program two will play Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays. On December 1, 2, 3, 4 there will be "pay-what-you-can previews" in addition to the regular pay-what-you-can performances every Tuesday and Wednesday. Otherwise, tickets are \$3.00. Reservations necessary.

If you're a Hedda Gabbler fan, or if David Gardiner's production of **Rosmersholm** has turned you on to Ibsen (**Rosmersholm** plays until December 2, by the way), not only has the Colonnade held over the Classical stage production of **Hedda**, but Toronto Free Theatre opens its production of **Hedda Gabbler** on Tuesday December 5. Performances are Tuesday through Saturday. (Sunday 2:30.

No admission charge.

**Godspell** still has The Playhouse under its powers. There are student rush seats just before curtain time. 1605 Bayview Avenue, south of Eglinton.

Theatre Passe Muraille has just started its run of **Pilk's Madhouse**, featuring an eloquent lunatic named Henry Pilk: "Who is real in this hall of mirrors?"

Toronto's most prosperous theatres are presently housing past triumphs. O'Keefe Centre offers us **The Sound of Music** in "a glittering new production". Half prices for students, children and senior citizens on Wednesday and Saturday matinees. The Royal Alexandra presents Debbie Reynolds in a musical comedy, **Irene**.

Let's we forget — the UC Playhouse is featuring some off-off Broadway fare. The theatre of Tom O'Horgan and Cafe la Mama, New York, introduced a period of experimental theatre which has upset, violated, and sometimes desecrated theatrical traditions with such productions as **Tom Paine, Futz, and Hair**.

At the UC Playhouse, audiences have suffered much abuse in the name of experimental theatre but **America Hurrah** is one of the more refreshing pieces we are likely to see this year. If one may term this series of often exciting theatrical constructions a play, **America Hurrah** is a director's play, and strong directing is what it needs. Director David Dowling uses the eight actors to explore the internal and external realities of human experience. He reminds us how the theatrical medium can effectively portray the many dimensions of life. **Dan Lyus**. Through Saturday evening. Free admission as usual.

Two French Canadian plays continue their successful runs, **Le Temps Sauvage**, at the Firehall Theatre and **Forever Yours, Marie-Lou** at the Tarragon Theatre.

## books

Only God and the Committee for an Independent Canada will understand why this hand-me-down (1949) collection of magazine "think-pieces" deserved republication. Every second essay consists of a string of familiar nationalist homilies — "small thinking" is our national curse; we wear the "stiff white collar" too well, etc. ad nauseam — the kind of well worn platitudes most politicians can dress up and deliver at the drop of an honorary degree or banquet. MacLennan's pieces can only help build a self-righteous dogooder's nationalism that is in the end politically innocuous.

The rest of the essays in this volume are the kinds of things that a successful novelist writes in his spare time and sends off to magazines so they won't clutter up his novels. There are a few perceptive warnings here about the dehumanizing menace of mass consumerism and some nostalgic notes are struck in two pieces about the author's hometown, Halifax, but on the whole the essays are appallingly disinteresting. For instance, in what might have been a sensitive study of Yousuf Karsh' portrait work, MacLennan can summon up only a frighteningly banal gaze of admiration for the "tense, lonely men" who controlled the destiny of his post-war world. Does he admire Stalin too in the same way? Mussolini? Trudeau?

MacLennan has a properly earned reputation as one of our leading novelists, but this book — well-designed, handsomely bound and reasonably priced as it is — will only diminish his reputation. His respectably jaded introduction to the volume is no adequate excuse for the naivete and mediocrity of what, one

assumes, is supposed to pass for a useful contribution to Canadian intellectual life.

**Hugh MacLennan**  
Cross-Country  
Hurtig, \$5.95

David Frank

## pop

When you've listened to any album five times and still can't remember what songs are on it, you know that something's amiss. Carole King's **Rhymes & Reasons (A&M)**, is just that kind of an entirely forgettable record.

Choosing to avoid the instrumental cliches consolidated in her last album, **Music**, Carole has wisely made sparing use of her much over-rated guitarist Danny (Kootch) Kortchmar and strived for subtlety with the addition of strings and brass. But the soft touch, simple melodic structure of the songs and their sameness reduces the mixture to muzak. The songs are once again centered on the sadness theme, that was so successfully and completely explored in **Tapestry**. But the feeling and sensitivity of that album is missing.

**Rhymes & Reasons** will sell well because it's soft (parents like that), none of the songs are "bad" (just "easy listening"), Ms King is a "star" and mainly because it's the Christmas season. **Tapestry** is still popular today almost two years after its release but **Rhymes & Reasons** like the last LP, will probably never be heard a year from now.

**Claude Leveillee**, French-Canadian author, composer and singer will be in concert at Massey Hall on Sunday, December 3 at 8:30 pm. Leveillee gained world recognition through his associations with the famed French singer Edith Piaf for whom he also wrote songs. His credits also include film scores, stage and screen roles and even a complete ballet. Tickets are \$3 to \$5 and are available at La Chasse-Galerie.



John Hartford

A 19 program series on women begins Monday at 10 pm on CBC-FM. The daily series will deal with women's roles in society, historical perspectives as well as the treatment of women by men.

Also beginning on Tuesday is a 5 part series of appearances by singer-songwriter-guitar picker, **John Hartford** at the Riverboat (922-6216).

## music

The Society for Ethnomusicology is hosting a concert by the University of Toronto Symphony Orchestra conducted by Victor Fiedbrill in connection with their annual meeting and relevant papers to be read this week. Some of the works are

Lian Ming-yueh's **Floating Cloud**, Carlos Chaves **Sinfonia India**, John Weinzweig's **To the Lands Over Yonder** (an Eskimo hunting song for mixed chorus) and pieces by Murray Schafer and Harry Somers. The concert is subtitled, **Contemporary Music Based on Non-Western Idioms**. It is on December 2 at 8 pm and it is free, no tickets required. A discussion on the theme **Contemporary Music and Ethnomusicology** is to follow. Several of the composers represented on the program will participate. Fredric Lieberman, Department of Music, University of Maryland, will chair the discussion.

Toronto-born soprano, **Joanna Lindstrom** will make her professional debut at the St. Lawrence Centre for the Performing Arts December 1, 8:30 pm. The 24-year-old singer will perform works by Haydn, Purcell, Brahms, Wolf and Obradors. Flutist Robert Aitken will accompany her.

The second concert in the Faculty of Music's Sunday Afternoon Series takes place on December 3 at 3 pm. Featured soloists are **Lorand Fenyes**, violin, and **John Hawkins**, piano as well as **Vladimir Orloff**, cello, and **Robert Aitken**, flute. The Faculty of Music Student String Orchestra will also participate. The program is: George Crumb's "Vox Balaenae for Three Masked Players", Prokofiev's sonata for violin and piano, op. 80, and Mozart's fourth violin concerto, K. 218. Student tickets are \$2.

On December 3, the Scarborough Sunday Concerts Series hosts the **Telemann Quartet** in works from the baroque and modern eras. Sandra Watts plays oboe, Emily Rizner, flute, Nancy Antonacci, piano and Margaret Weait, cello. Concert is at 3:30 pm and admission is free.

On December 3 at 2:03 pm on CBC-FM Radio Symphony Hall, **Lukas Foss** will conduct the Montreal Symphony in Mozart's piano concert no. 27, with Nicolai Petrov (who was at the St. Lawrence Centre last night); Wagner's "Prelude to Tristan und Isolde", Ives "Unanswered Question", and Foss' own composition, "Baroque Variations on Themes by Handel, Scarlatti, and Bach".

In December, the Deer Park Church on St. Clair will present **Bach's Christmas Oratorio**. The chorus will be provided by the church choir; the orchestra is Victor Martin's chamber players, and soloists are Linda Culham, Shirley Dillon, Wolfgang Oeste, John Dogington. Student price for Saturday evening at 8:30 is \$2.

## soup

**Garlic soup:** yes, garlic soup. Very simple, inordinately cheap, and people will never know. Take two heads of garlic (yes, heads of garlic, not cloves of garlic). Separate into cloves, and whack them with a mallet or the side of a cleaver to break skin. Drop all those cloves into about four cups of boiling water. You could use chicken stock, but thrifty Provencal housewives would make rude comments about you if they saw. Drop into the pot as well as a bay leaf, some parseley sprigs, some thyme, a strip of orange peel and maybe even a clove (a real clove).

Simmer that away for half an hour to forty-five minutes. Meantime, put some egg yolks in a bowl (three egg yolks are a good number), beat them vigorously with a whisk, then, still whisking like hell, dribble in a quarter cup of olive oil.

Strain all the solid bits out of the soup, taste it, and perk it up with salt, pepper, and maybe a dash of cayenne or tabasco, if you like truly Mediterranean verve in your suppers. Whisking again, dribble about a cup of soup into the mayonnaise mixture (that's the egg yolks and oil) then reverse the process and whisk all that back into the soup. Pour over slices of toasted french bread in bowls and sprinkle everything with parseley. Good stuff.

Editor	Ulli Diemer
Assoc. Editor	Bill Macvicar
theatre	eleanor coleman
movies	bob bossin
pop	allan mandell
art	ian scott
music	ian scott
books	bill macvicar