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WOMEN'S CULTURAL BUILDING PRESENTS A FESTIVAL OF WOMEN BUILDING CULTURE

MARCH 8

Five Minute Feminist Cabaret
Stagger Lee's (formerly the Horseshoe)
368 Queen St. W. 8 PM

APRIL 2-15

Women and Architecture
A.R.C. 789 Queen St. W.

MARCH 14

Headquarters Launching 8 PM

APRIL 3

Sunday Women's Brunch and egg rolling
12 PM Headquarters

MARCH 16

Opening — **Pork Roasts** — 250 feminist
cartoons curated by Avis Lang Rosenberg
Headquarters 8 PM

APRIL 8

Opening — **Narratives** — a multi-media
exhibition Headquarters 8 PM

MARCH 20

Slide Show — **Finding Lesbian History**
by Frances Rooney Headquarters 8 PM

APRIL 14-17

Womanfilm co-sponsored by Canadian
Images. Premieres by Nesya Shapiro,
Barbara Hammer, Laura Sky and
Micheline Noel Bloor Cinema.

MARCH 22-25

American Demon by Jan Kudelka
directed by Kate Lushington
Brave New Works Produced by Factory
Theatre Lab at Theatre Passe Muraille

APRIL 21-23

Danceworks — works by Tanya Mars,
Janice Hladki, Miriam Adams, Paula Ravitz
Harbourfront 8 PM

MARCH 25, 26

Performance — on the life of Emily Carr
presented by Pam Patterson
Headquarters 8 PM

APRIL 21-24

Pol Pelletier performing:
Night Cows by Jovette Marchessault and
My Mother's Luck by Helen Weinzweg
Brave New Works Produced by Factory
Theatre Lab at Theatre Passe Muraille

MARCH 27

Slide Show — **From Sex Role Stereotyping**
to **Sado-Masochism** by Judith Posner
Headquarters 8 PM

APRIL 28, 29

Collective Performance from **The Euguelionne**
by Louky Bersianak Headquarters 8 PM

APRIL 30

Edible Art Show
Closing Party
Headquarters 8 PM

CAMERON

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MAY

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MARCH/APRIL 1983.**

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Not an Enemy

Thank you for giving space in FUSE to the tricky issues preoccupying gays and feminists in the political arena [FUSE, Vol. VI number 5, January/February '83]. However, I'm forced to question some of the statements made by Chris Bearchell in the interview by Lisa Steele; in particular the dubious claim that "Broadside has said that we (Lesbians working for gay liberation) are the enemy, we're just a bunch of S/M dykes".

Of course we are aware that the articles printed in a publication are often attributed to the entire publishing group, in spite of our own practice of disclaimers stating that the views printed are those of the author and not of the **Broadside Collective**. Accepting that much, I think the best way to respond to Chris' statements is to encourage FUSE readers to read what *Broadside* has printed on the relevant subjects and to let them know what individual collective members have published as well.

On the S/M issue *Broadside* (Sept. '82) published Marianna Valverde's review of *Coming to Power* (an anthology of S/M writings), in which far from vit-

uperating against the book, Marianna said specifically that she'd found nothing offensive in its contents. While I have written a lengthy piece, which takes a strong stand against pornography (Nov. '81) and some follow up short bits; *Broadside*, ironically enough, has never published an editorial on the subject. Both I and Eve Zaremba (another **Broadside Collective** member) have published articles on Lesbian sexuality — I, in *Fireweed's* **Lesbiantics** issue (Volume 13) and Eve in the **Women's Press** anthology, *Still Ain't Satisfied*. FUSE readers can decide for themselves whether these articles, written by radical feminists, are anti-sex.

As for the **Broadside collective** or *Broadside* — the ill-defined monolith — we were the sponsors of the panel discussion that brought Charlotte Bunch to Toronto, which galvanized Lisa Steele to develop her range of interviews, and which, not incidentally, provided Chris Bearchell with the forum to express her point of view.

This is hardly evidence of a collective that thinks Chris is the enemy. And Lorna Weir's collaboration with Eve Zaremba (Oct. '82) on "Gay Liberation and Feminism", if read with any care, does not dismiss anyone as anything let alone 'S/M dykes'. As far as I can see, neither our publication nor our actions have defined anyone out of feminism. Our interest is in keeping the debate lively.

It may have been that Chris was losing track of what she was saying, as the interview progressed. We hope so, because if Chris really did mean what she says, then likely *Broadside's* next panel will have to be on the subject of ethics in organizing.

Susan G. Cole
for

The Broadside Collective

Editor's Comment

The omission of panelist Mariana Valverde from the series of interviews "Freedom, Sex and Power" (FUSE, Vol. 6 No. 5) should not be interpreted as a deliberate decision on the part of FUSE editors to deny a voice to lesbian socialist feminists. Rather this omission was a result of a selection process that did not allow as comprehensive and extensive a report in opinions expressed as I had aimed for when I began the project.

Lisa Steele

Letters

Aboriginal Errors

While discussion of Aboriginal art such as that from Kenneth Coutts-Smith (FUSE, March 1982 and **Art Network** No. 7) is welcome, the article was based on brief visits to only a portion of art production centres and therefore, inevitable inaccuracies can give a very misleading picture. We share Coutts-Smith's concern for the importance of Aboriginal art in terms of Aboriginal cultural survival and feel that a discussion of the errors and problems in his piece would be valuable.

Firstly, Coutts-Smith falls into the trap of defining only certain items of Aboriginal material cultures as "art": the decorated Pukamani poles and carvings of the Tiwi; the bark and rock paintings of Arnhem Land; and the acrylic paintings of the Centre. In fact this approach represents the "culturally alien ... aesthetic projection(s)" of which he is critical elsewhere: why should "the painting", or certain types of carving, be regarded as art to the neglect of the range of Aboriginal material cultures? The cultural validity/importance of any object should surely not be determined by white critics. It is unfortunate then that Coutts-Smith ignores an examination of, for example, women's weaving and decorative work, the production of tools and weapons, carrying vessels, ritual exchange items and so on, all of which have an importance inside as well as independent of the art market. Given that Aboriginal artists necessarily participate in the white commodity market (e.g. \$0.75 million to Aboriginal artists in the Northern Territory per annum), the "cultural colonialism" demonstrated by white critics selecting and defining what is art is a dangerous tendency.

Secondly, Coutts-Smith's critique (like much writing on Aboriginal art) is limited to those geographic areas the white market has popularized. To those "scattered pockets of residual tribal life" (a culturally loaded and insulting phrase at best) Coutts-Smith might have added the work of Aboriginal artists from the Western Desert, Amata, the Kimberlies, Lajamanu, Roper River, Borrooloola, the Victoria River District, North Queensland and Mornington Island as well as centres of transitional work such as Utopia and Ernabella. The list could go on.

Thirdly, some of the information in the article is inaccurate or misleading even within the limits that Coutts-Smith has imposed. He repeatedly asserts a relationship between Aboriginal art and an alleged cultural "revival". While there are certainly aspects of revivalism in a number of areas (re-introduction of old ceremonies etc.), it is far more useful and accurate to talk about the *continuity* of tradition and change within Aboriginal cultures. Activities such as the production of art and the outstation movement are not mere 'mechanisms' of a cultural "revival", but rather an expression of relationships to this country extending over millennia. The episode he relates, of being shown country and sacred objects near Turkey Creek, is evidence of the contradictions Coutts-Smith creates in this regard. He writes of an area that, according to his definition of where real art comes from, does not belong to one of the "pockets of residual tribal life" and therefore presumably no longer has a functioning artistic tradition. So what of the objects he was shown? Or of the songs that attach to the country he was shown? Or of the contemporary dance he describes? Coutts-Smith appears as keen as others in expecting a "frozen product" that conforms to European notions of what art might be: again he limits his discussion to "a painting" and a sculptural form, and ignores the production of other items (musical instruments, decorative work etc.) that are as culturally important as the painting in telling the story he describes.

His information on the work of Tiwi artists is by and large incorrect. Contrary to his suggestion that the distinctiveness of Tiwi culture is largely related to their "interaction" with the Macassans, there is a strong sense of pride among the Tiwi and a sense of a unique cultural identity. Indeed on Melville Island at least there

was a tradition of repelling Macassans (and anyone else!): it is in Arnhem Land that one sees major evidence of Macassan visits. Coutts-Smith incorrectly suggests that painting on bark was a medium introduced under planned craft programmes. The opposite is true: ceremonial painting of bark — crucial in Pukamani — has been the work of Tiwi women (though men also produce this work). Further, Coutts-Smith claims that Pukamani and by inference other ceremonies have virtually disappeared (or are at best "reviving" on Melville). On the contrary, substantial elements of traditional law, culture and language exist alongside western law and religion. Pukamani and Kalama ceremonies are held when customary law states they should be.

Coutts-Smith's assumption that the exceptional Tiwi carving to be seen in Australian public collections had largely vanished by the time of his visit to Bathurst Island is unfortunate. A recent exhibition of contemporary Aboriginal art in Darwin featured extremely fine Tiwi work.

Coutts-Smith uses the transitional forms and techniques of Tiwi Designs and Tiwi pottery to illustrate the effects of western corruption of Aboriginal culture. However, he fails to assess the importance of this activity in contemporary Tiwi society, and indeed to the younger artists for whom the work has vital economic and social value, and links with a continuing tradition. He seeks to devalue this work as mere handicraft, and then makes the bizarre suggestion that the Tiwis may be able to raise the level of the work to 'art' by producing ceramic sculpture instead of functional pottery! It would seem more valuable to discuss how the Tiwis have in many ways managed to transform western art technology to decidedly Tiwi cultural

ends.

While Coutts-Smith condemns the use of transitional techniques on Bathurst Island, as having "devolved from art to a convinced handicraft level", he applauds the practise of transferring desert sand painting to acrylic on canvas as having "wider artistic ... potential for the transposition of this form into the international art market". Again it would seem that Coutts-Smith imposes European notions of what art is onto groups that have a different regard for the entire range of creative work.

The prime importance of Coutts-Smith's article is in its discussion of the mechanism of cultural colonialism. Notwithstanding our criticisms, his piece is a valuable contribution to central questions regarding the production of art, for the commodity market, by Aborigines. It reveals the need for continuing support for Aboriginal cultural survival, and for education in, and awareness of, the oldest continuous cultures in the world.

Marie McMahon
Chips Mackinolty
Sydney, Australia

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Peace activists face police repression

Arrests, detentions, searches of offices and homes, and individual harassment by police abruptly entered the day-to-day activities of several peace activist groups in Ontario last December. But although their work may have been temporarily disrupted, and some of their members intimidated by the police actions, they appear to be incorporating the harassment into their political strategies, as well as making links with other groups facing the same sort of organized police repression.

The stage had been set when a coal-

ition of peace groups called the Alliance for Non-Violent Action had gone ahead with its plans to picket Litton Industries of Toronto (producers of components for the Cruise Missile) despite the highly publicized bombing of the same factory. Following the October 14th bombing at Litton, in which seven people were injured, the media's eyes had turned to the people who had been protesting there previously, especially the **Cruise Missile Conversion Project** of Toronto. The group had denied any connection with the bombing, pointing out that their

protests had always been public, non-violent, and aimed at securing the support of the workers at Litton for a conversion of the plant to peaceful production. A week later, the Toronto **Clarion**, a small leftist periodical, the police, and various peace groups had received a document claiming responsibility for the bombings on behalf of a group known as **Direct Action**. That name had been connected to the bombing of an electrical substation on Vancouver Island earlier in 1982.

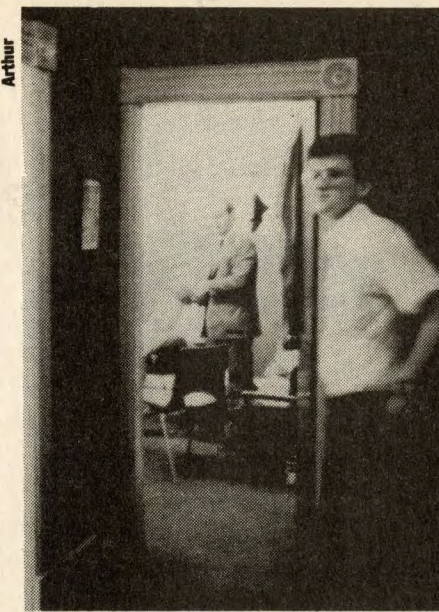
Despite controversy and confusion, the **Alliance for Non-Violent Action** decided to demonstrate at Litton on November 11th, Remembrance Day, including a planned civil disobedience action aimed at closing the plant for the day. The slogans were: "To Remember is to End All War" and "To Remember is to Resist." The Toronto Police made plans, too. Very early on November 11th, they transported over 200 officers to the Litton site, and set up barricades on the service road leading to the plant. Two hundred participants, backed by over a thousand sympathetic demonstrators, attempted to keep Litton vehicles and employees from using the road by blocking it with their bodies. The massive police presence, including numerous mounted officers, succeeded in keeping the road open, and 62 persons were charged with various criminal offences.

Amongst the 62 were sympathetic demonstrators who did not take part in the civil disobedience of the day. One of these, Lecouvie (a veteran of an earlier protest at Litton) had decided not to take part in civil disobedience that day, though he wanted to show support for the cause by his presence. On probation for trespassing on private property at the earlier protest, Lecouvie's history of claustrophobia caused him to act badly to jailing, and so limited his activity on November 11. He was, nevertheless, quickly singled out by police and arrested.

Police had also planned strict bail conditions on the arrestees well in advance. Although the bail hearings took place in two separate courts on two separate days, conditions for judicial interim re-

lease were virtually identical, indicating something more than coincidence. Most arrested protesters, including Lecouvie, agreed to the harsh terms, and were released. Four chose to protest by refusing bail and remaining in custody. Two of these appealed for a review of the onerous terms of bail, which included a requirement "not to attend at, demonstrate, obstruct, or in any way cause a disturbance within a radius of one half mile of the Litton systems." On appeal, Judge Stanton Hogg struck down the objectionable clause, as well as one making it a breach of bail conditions to "incite" anyone to demonstrate at Litton. In his written decision in that case, **Edward David Collins v. The Queen**, Hogg carefully noted the Crown Attorney's admission that the Crown "has not any evidence, nor does it suggest that the accused is linked in any way with the perpetration of the heinous crime of bombing."

That was one of the last occasions on which a Crown Attorney treated the evidence fairly. When Collins came to trial on December 7th, prosecutor Norm Matusiak opened the second wave of repression by producing in court a calendar and date book seized from Lecouvie. The book showed a trip to Czechoslovakia, and attendance there at a peace conference of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. This, coupled with a brief stopover in Moscow, caused Matusiak to claim that the "Soviet connection" had now been brought to light. The fact that a member of **World Emergency** Peterborough had actually visited the forbidden countries of Eastern Europe was of little relevance in the sentencing of a member of the Cruise Missile Conversion Project. (About the only thing "linking" the two men was that both had been arrested at Litton.) Collins responded briefly and with dignity that the charges were "sensationalism" best dispensed with quickly. While Matusiak's charges meant little in court (Judge George Carter said Collins' associates were "his own business") TV and newspaper reporters provided a receptive audience for his ravings. The Soviet "connection" to the peace move-



Toronto police search WE's offices in Peterborough.

ment, long-heralded in the right-wing press, had finally found its embodiment.

That night, as Ivan Lecouvie and two friends were leaving a Peterborough theatre, the group was surrounded by police, Lecouvie was abruptly isolated, and spirited away in handcuffs. His friends had been unable to speak to him, or to discover where he was being taken, or the reasons for his arrest. It was 11:00 p.m. Despite the hour, Ivan's friends managed to gather a handful of supporters together. They inundated the city police with telephone calls, and pestered the front desk cops with questions about where, and why Ivan was being held. A local Roman Catholic priest and supporter of WE-Peterborough arrived at the station and asked to see Lecouvie. He was refused. In the middle of the night Lecouvie was bundled into a car and driven to Toronto, an hour away. Local supporters learned later that he had been charged with attempted murder in connection with the Litton bombings.

Toronto police began their interrogation by telling their captive that they had an ironclad case against him. He would be in jail for years, they said; his bail

would be astronomical. Unless, of course, he talked to them. He was questioned closely about references in his diary to "non-violent direct action." Didn't that mean "Direct Action"? He heard that he was merely a fringe member who could avoid jail by telling about the "core members". For twelve hours, Lecouvie maintained his innocence. Then, abruptly, he was released, 100 miles from home. No charges were ever laid against him in connection with the Litton bombing. In fact, the Crown eventually dropped the original November 11th charges against him, so that the reasons for his arrest could not be challenged in court.

Five hours after Lecouvie's release, WE-Peterborough's offices were raided and searched for three hours. Police left with a couple of files labelled "non-violent direct action", and a xerox copy of the "Direct Action" Communiqué.

A week later the Toronto offices of the **Cruise Missile Project** and the **Alliance for Non-Violent Action** were searched. Material relating to the CMCP's 'direct action collective' (a sub-group which coordinates demonstrations, leafletting and civil disobedience actions for the group) were confiscated, and used to obtain search warrants for individual homes of collective members.

Again, the police used intimidation tactics to try to get people to speak. Ken Hancock of CMCP, whose house was raided, says, "they pulled the whole trick of 'what have you got to hide' when I refused to answer their questions." The police had a typed copy of the message which was telephoned in to Litton shortly before the bombing, and they wanted him to read it into a tape recorder. He refused to co-operate with them. "They try to make people feel guilty just because they're exercising their rights not to speak to the police," he says.

While the peace groups were facing the police's questions, high level talks on a Canada-U.S. weapons testing agreement were being concluded, paving the way for testing of the cruise missile in Alberta next year. An external affairs official said, "Both sides went away very

Women and Words

WOMEN AND WORDS: LES FEMMES ET LES MOTS is a national bilingual conference to be held in Vancouver at the University of B.C. from June 30 to July 3, 1983. It will be a gathering of writers, editors, publishers, critics, printers, typesetters, academics, playwrights, librarians, distributors, booksellers, translators, educational and cultural organizers — any women working with the written word in both traditional and alternative frameworks. The conference has been organized as an opportunity for women to celebrate our strengths, discuss our differences and to exchange our skills and knowledge. **The West Coast Women and Words Society**, the organizers of the conference, are eager to establish a solid network for women across Canada.

Women and Words: Les Femmes et Les Mots is inviting suggestions for papers, panel discussions, workshops and interviews relevant to the following themes: day 1: Women & Words; The Tradition and Context; day 2: Doing It: Power & Alternative Structures; day 3: New Directions. **The West Coast Women & Words Society** is compiling an anthology of previously unpublished prose, poetry, critical work and short one-act plays which will be published in the fall of 1983. (The deadline for submissions is past!)

Membership for the West Coast Women & Words Society have been coming in at a steady rate from all across Canada. Individual memberships are \$5, supporting: \$10, sustaining & institutional membership: \$25.

A detailed registration package, including program, travel and accommodation information will be sent to members in February. Registration fee for the conference is \$40 and covers attendance throughout the three days. Write to Betsy Warland, **Women & Words: Les Femmes et Les Mots**, Box 65563, Stn. F, Vancouver V5N 4B0 (604-684-2454) for membership and further details.

You can get involved in your area by contacting your regional representative to share ideas and information, make travel plans or publicize the conference.

Alberta: Shirley Neuman 403-432-3258 (W); Manitoba: Carol Shields 204-284-9907 (H); Maritimes: Donna Smyth 902-757-3352 (H); Newfoundland: Elizabeth McGrath 709-726-5761 (H); Ontario: Gay Allison 416-921-5556 (H); Libby Schier 416-534-7635 (H); Quebec: Nicole Brossard 514-342-9007 (H); Sharon Nelson 514-843-1422 (H); Gerri Sinclair 514-842-4916 (H); Saskatchewan: Caroline Heath 306-242-4936 (H); Yukon: Alison Reid 403-667-4637 (W); Native Contact, B.C.: Deanna Nyce 604-224-6326 (H).

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happily — we are optimistic.”

As the peace groups have pointed out, the police haven't produced any evidence to show a link between them and the Litton bombing. In order to justify this harassment they've relied solely on a semantic confusion between the historic political term 'direct action' employed frequently by the peace groups in the course of their work, and the name 'Direct Action' printed at the top of a document they received in the mail.

On January 20th, 1983, three men and two women were arrested near Squamish, B.C., and charged with numerous offences. Police officers in Toronto stated unequivocally that these were the Litton bombers, and moreover, that there had been longstanding Toronto liaison with the British Columbia police concerning the suspects. At this writing, no Ontario charges have been laid, and no member of any of the groups involved in the November 11th demonstration have been charged.

This leaves several questions hanging. Police, in order to get the search warrants required to harass the Alliance activists, made statements such as "So and so is a principal member of the group which claimed responsibility for the bombing", or "so-and-so is a member of Direct Action". A justice of the peace takes this false statement as gospel, signs the warrants, and away go the police. In the Ken Hancock and CMCP cases, they first tried to keep those affidavits away from the public, but gave up under heavy legal and media pressure. So far, no one has been called to account for these fabrications.

A second question is, why did the police conduct this witch-hunt, if, as they claim, the real suspects were 4000 miles away in the B.C. interior? There are several possible answers. Ivan Lecouvie's arrest, and the subsequent raids were obviously a propaganda ploy to discredit the left and the anti-nuclear movement. As is usual in such orchestrated campaigns, the police can count on the media to foster their work, without digging too deeply into the facts. It may also be that the violation of the rights of the Ontario activists was a "feint" intended to lull the true bombers, whoever they may be, into complacency.

As Jack Kern of WE-Peterborough says, "the intent of the arrests and searches is to keep asserting publicly that if these people are being investigated, they must be involved in something. The cutting edge is that they are selecting a narrow group to harass."

Ken Hancock adds that, "it's not the 'peace movement' they're coming down on — just the activist groups within the



Police search the office of the Alliance for Non-Violent Action

movement. That's a message to everyone else, both inside and outside the peace movement. It's a very political process, not legal or technical." Individuals who co-operate with the police tend to undermine and threaten those who don't co-operate, thus dividing the groups.

Ultimately, Hancock feels the harassment forces the groups to take their own

political differences more seriously. "This liberal idea of 'let's all just work to stop the cruise and leave our politics aside' gets put to the test. This kind of thing really brings out the differences and makes them count."

Both Kern and Hancock feel the peace groups have to stick to their principles and ignore the police as much as possible. Kern argues, "The whole purpose of civil disobedience is to make a strong moral statement; you can't balk in the middle of it and negotiate with the police. If you spend too much time trying to dissociate yourself then you begin to look guilty. You have to come out and be seen as a militant organization if that's what you are."

Hancock feels much the same. "Once one enters the process and co-operates with the police, one legitimizes it. I think it's like trying to prove you're not a Communist... Let's not get into this elitist 'don't raid us' position. Individuals and groups get harassed all the time, we're not the only ones."

As a result of the harassment the CMCP has been building links with other organizations and groups facing police repression in Toronto — often people they've had little contact with before. In the long run, peace activists may be strengthened by their experiences, even if they are temporarily disoriented and divided. Whether they can manage to bring the rest of the peace movement along with them — the more moderate, reform-oriented organizations which aren't being visited by the police — is another question.

Art Kilgour

Union for Democratic Communications Conference

In mid-November about 150 people gathered in Philadelphia for the first national conference of the **Union for Democratic Communications**, an organization put together a couple of years ago to encourage research and analysis of communications media and to promote alternative communications systems and facilities that would be accessible public resources. There are at present seven working UDC chapters in the US;

about a thousand people are in contact through the organization and its newsletter.

The scope of the conference was awesome: the notion of democratic communications is sufficiently inclusive to have brought together, among others, academics (by far the largest number of people), media producers, researchers, community and neighbourhood activists, and (far too few) journalists.

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Their politics ranged the usual spectrum from liberal to far left. Most participants were American, and international interests tended to lean south, toward Latin America. Workshop topics included: media education, the political economy of telematics, labour and the media, alternative media production and distribution, popular culture and ideology, democratic communications theory, and media use in the Third World. There were periodic screenings of tapes and films throughout the weekend.

Full Baked Ideas

There were lots of people to meet and a lot of information was shared. I can only write about a few of the many discussions, conversations and, as one person said, "full baked ideas" that flourished over the weekend.

A workshop on international issues summarized research and organizing work presently underway. **Howard Frederick** talked about **Radio Martí**, the Reagan government's proposed station



(funded by Scaife and Coors among others) in South Florida that would bring "truth" to Cuba, and **Castro's** retaliatory plans for a 500,000-watt **Radio Lincoln**, which in tests has disrupted over 300 American stations with Cuban baseball games and reports of labour and minority struggles in the US.

Larry Shore presented a sophisticated critique of the international music industry. Beginning with the assertion that 60-70% of recorded music is handled internationally by 5 transnationals (EMI, CBS, RCA, Warner and Polygram), he went on to argue that transnationals are not the single monolithic determinants of cultural transmission they're often understood to be. "Production is still often separate from distribution and promotion; in many regions, such as Latin America, local musics still

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predominate." More emphasis ought to be placed on the ways both traditional and transnational cultures are mediated and appropriated in urban centres.

There were discussions of international TV advertising, cultural hegemonies within regions, community communications policies in Grenada, the repressive use of computers by police in South Africa and Northern Ireland, the lack of information about the rest of the world within the US itself. The UDC was encouraged to continue research and to translate research to and from other languages.

Inchoate ideology

In a workshop on alternative media production and distribution, **DeeDee Halleck**, a video and filmmaker from New York, talked about the need for producers to collaborate with people doing research. Here again, the discussion went off in innumerable directions, with short reports from people involved in some of the following work and organizations: alternative radio, community art projects, the Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers, Media Network, self-serve (pirate) radio and TV, Neighbourhood Arts Programs National Organizing Committee (NAPNOC), Interlink (an organization that distributes wire news from the third world Inter Press Service).

The National Federation of Local Cable Programmers talked about the failure of cable TV to provide a service that works on principles of many-to-many, rather than one-to-many; there is a lot of work — much of it critical of mass media — that is not getting distributed.

A woman talked about organizing around Central America and disarmament; how to distribute films and bring in a public audience. People told of film screenings in welfare offices and in the parks. A woman from New York talked about "Nuclear News", a weekly TV show that discussed such things as government evacuation plans and disarmament work. Local organizers stressed that the most useful video material for wide distribution were segmented clips that were easy to edit and update locally.

Bill Murray of **Cultural Correspondence** stressed that we mustn't ignore the printed word; the print media contribute an "inchoate ideology" that strengthens cultural democracy. **Murray** recalled the NAPNOC conference in Omaha last fall, where people wondered aloud: "Maybe we are the left; maybe we're the ones redefining culture, and that is a project that is central to the transformation of society."

The workshop on alternative computing was among the most informative and genuinely chatty. A lot of information on local/community uses of computers (conventional and innovative) was exchanged, and the criticism of existing software was helpful, even to the uninitiated. **Karen Paulsell** of the Interactive Communications Program at New York University described how microcomputers work and the range of tasks they can do.

Particular stress was laid on their interactive capability with other equipment, in ways that suggest, to me at least, all kinds of applications potentially useful to the left: data base services (such as the Source or Compu-serve) link you to large computers and a range of stored information; the Electronic Information Exchange System (EIES) allows for computer conferencing among subscribers; microcomputers can work as community billboards and resource data bases so that people can barter, sell or exchange information, tools and skills. Automated phone trees allow a micro to go through a phone list and call people, using a voice synthesizer to deliver a message; ham radio-computer-satellite links permit long-distance communications without telephones. The projects currently underway are many and various. The best place to read about them is in **Reset**, **Terminal 19/84** and the **Journal of Community Communications**.

Computer literacy

A lot of communities are not yet ready for this technology; people aren't computer literate enough. Some projects — such as the Neighbourhood Information Sharing Exchange (NISE) have failed because system users tended to take more information out than they put in. Part of the problem is that many communities are resource-poor. And while microcomputers are getting cheaper all the time (a decent package — keyboard, disc drive, monitor, printer, modem — might now cost a little over \$2000), software is expensive and so are interactive services. Connect-time on commercial services (such as Compu-serve, EIES, the Source, Bibliographic Retrieval Service, Lockheed's Dialogue, UPI, etc.) costs \$8. to \$300. per hour.

People at small organizations were uncertain whether computers were suited to their needs, even if money was available. "We have to consider how computers are being used for social organizing," a woman argued. "The New Right has been very successful organizing itself through its direct-mail systems." But in Latin America, she continued, more

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appropriate forms of organizing, such as small neighbourhood social organizations, are used. "I'm not proposing," Tim Haight countered, "that computers replace face-to-face communications or organizing. In fact, for the type of persuasion necessary to bring about social change in this culture, where you have to de-organize before you can organize, personal communication is more effective."

Andrew Clement, a Canadian who has worked on the "Community Memory" project in Berkeley, warns that although computers often enhance communications, "the formalization and standardization needed to exploit them are often inappropriate for community organizations." People have to be trained to use computers efficiently.

The feeling among many participants, however, seemed to be that the technology is already in use, and we shouldn't remain illiterate about it. At the very least, community organizations should begin to look at their budgets and find out how many tasks (many of which, like typesetting and subscription services, are easily computerized) could be simplified, thus allowing organizations to concentrate on the work they set out to do in the first place. If even partial conversion to computers is still years away, computer-compatible archival and data storage systems could be adopted at present. Organizations could share a micro-computer, someone suggested; 13 neighbourhood organizations in Baltimore share a system for mailing lists, retrievable information, etc.

Questions were then raised about using computers democratically: who's going to do the shit work at the terminals? What do we do about the fact that most of the technology is in the hands of corporations? How can expertise about computers be diffused beyond the white middle class? What about the environmental, occupational, and health hazards attendant on the production of computers in California and Southeast Asia?

The UDC was encouraged to continue to discuss the implications of computer technology, as well as to engender



dialogue among researchers, community organizers, and people doing software development.

Economic concentration and the transnationals

A workshop on telematics and corporations quickly took on the tone of a symposium on dystopian futurology. Sol Yurick warned that "the issue is control; frankly I don't see a democratic communications really happening." Michael Goldberger, a physicist from the Institute for Policy Studies, talked about the nature of information, and the immense changes an economy structured around its production will bring to our society. "What will happen to the economy when large numbers of displaced workers can't buy things? A free market will not survive in this country without considerably increased state intervention." Dan Schiller from Temple University had a more

Trilateralist vision. He read from the annual report of Citibank, whose self-image is now that of a "financial intermediary [that's their word for bank] capable of transmitting money and ideas anywhere in the world in a matter of seconds." Telematics, which now account for an average of 44% of the budget of transnational corporations (exclusive of data-processing costs), permit cuts in payroll, centralized control over disparate international operations, and the exploitation of new markets.

A major theme throughout the conference was the implications of economic concentration on an unprecedented scale — a radical altering of the current distinction between the public and private spheres of society. Cultural activities, in this scenario, would be subsumed by competitive supranational corporate entities, while the role of the state would shrink toward regulation and law enforcement (in much the way it already has within the nuclear power industry, for example).

The other concern, of course, was jobs: the rapidly increasing unemployment in the West, and the immensity of the task of retraining entire sectors of society.

IBM, someone remarked, already has an entire department devoted to "re-designing" work. What will these computerized transformations mean for class relations? For notions of democracy? And what will we do with the surplus of an overproductive society?

All of these questions, and many more, were debated, fleshed out and recast throughout a conference that was well run and commendably participatory. I left Philadelphia with a strong sense that there is the possibility of a viable cultural underground. It's already happening.

The Union for Democratic Communications may be contacted c/o Karen Paulsell, NYU/TITP, 725 Broadway, 4th floor, New York City, 10003 USA.

Alexander Wilson

AFRO-BLUE

NORMAN 'OTIS' RICHMOND

POETRY IN MOTION
Director, Ron Mann
Producer, Ron Mann
Sphinx Productions
in Association with
Giorno Poetry Systems.

Ron Mann's Canadian film *Poetry in Motion*, which premiered at Toronto's Festival of Festivals last year, features a wide variety of poets from everywhere on the political spectrum. The film highlights 26 major poets selected from the 65 filmed. Working with a low budget of \$180,000, Mann has managed to capture on celluloid many of the most important North American wordsmiths of the last three decades.

In the film, poetry is treated as an oral art, as one of the main poets in the film Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) points out, "To me, poetry is a word science. It has to do with words, meanings and sounds, the musicality of words, and how you animate them." The film also charts a trend toward the use of performance skills, heavily accentuated rhythms, live music (both "jazz" and rock) and song.

Some of the strongest moments in *Poetry In Motion* come with the readings of Baraka, Jayne Cortez and Ntozake Shange. It is amazing that progressive New African (African-American) artists are still forced outside the place of their birth to get their due recognition. After all, the first novels written by African-Americans were published in England.

While Shange has hit the big time with her controversial Broadway play, *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow Is Enuf*, Baraka and Cortez have had been ignored by the "major" media. Baraka and Cortez have had excellent albums released recently. *New Music*, *New Poetry* by Baraka and *There It Is* (see review below) by Cortez have yet to be reviewed by the mainstream press or played on so-called Black radio stations. The three poets are given an opportunity to shine in *Poetry In Motion*. Their performances in the film have more in common than meets the eye.

Baraka reads a poem "Wailers" which



Jayne Cortez and the Firespitters

he dedicates "to two cultural workers who recently died", reggae master Bob Marley and literary luminary Larry Neal. He is backed by drummer Steve McCall and saxophonist David Murray. Baraka fuses his skills with the new world music of McCall and Murray, two musicians who have been identified with "avant-garde jazz".

Cortez's performance is also enhanced by the presence of musicians. She is supported by her son Denardo Coleman on drums, Bern Nix on guitar and Jamaaladen Tacuma on bass. All of these musicians have played with Ornette Coleman's Prime Time band. Cortez read a poem "I see Chano Pozo". While she doesn't refer to Pozo as a cultural worker — he was. Pozo was an Afro-Cuban percussionist who joined Dizzy Gillespie's group in the late '40s and provided it with a fresh injection of Africanness.

Shange is shown reading about Africa from an unpublished work resplendent in a lavender Prince T-shirt accompanied by two dancers and pianist. The Prince T-shirt is confusing. It seems strange that a woman who has been so fiercely identified with women's issues would be caught dead in a Prince T-shirt. However, that is another issue.

The poetry of Baraka, Cortez and Shange is national in form but interna-

tional in content. They use African-American musical forms and express themselves in the language that is peculiar to Blacks in the United States but their concerns are global.

THERE IT IS
Jayne Cortez
and the Firespitters
Bola Press

Jayne Cortez's third album, *There It Is* is another chapter from the book of Cortez. It is a continuation of where she left off on her second album *Unsubmissive Blues*. *There It Is* features seven new poems from Cortez and one instrumental from the Firespitters, the band that Cortez has assembled for her latest recording date. Cortez's work is about the struggle, the whole struggle and nothing but the struggle.

The opening and title tune on the album jumps at you as Cortez reads, "My friends, they don't care if you're an individualist, a leftist, a rightist, a shthead or saint. They will try to exploit you, absorb you, confine you, disconnect you, isolate you or kill you" over an unsubmissive blues rhythm. *There It Is* along with *U.S./Nigerian Relations* and *Blood Suckers* are poems commenting on big business, international trade and the de-

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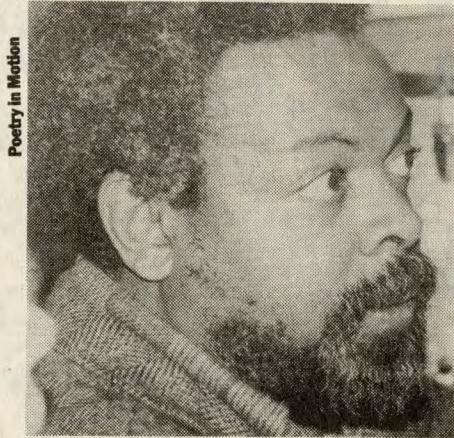
humanization involved in the process. *If The Drum is a Woman* cries out for equality, with Cortez comparing the drum with women. The poem *Chano Pozo* is dedicated to Pozo who was the first conga player with a jazz band. Cortez had the pleasure of seeing Pozo perform as a child. The poem speaks of the importance and significance of drums.

Cortez is joined on the album by Abraham Adzinyah on congas, Bill Cole on Shenai, Flute, Muzette and Korean Sona, Denardo Coleman on Drums, Farel Johnson Jr. on Bongos, Bells and Congas, Charles Moffett Jr. on Tenor Saxophone, Bern Nix on Guitar and Jamaaldeen Tacuma on Electric Bass.

**PAN-AFRICANISM OR
NEO-COLONIALISM**
Elenga M'buyinga
Zed Press. 236 p. \$10.95

Pan-Africanism or Neo-Colonialism by Elenga M'buyinga, Vice-President of the National Revolutionary Council of Manidem — the Manifesto for Democracy in Cameroun, is, without a doubt, a hard line book. Written in French, it was translated by Michael Pallis and is subtitled *The Bankruptcy of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.)*. The book is essentially a book by the Cameroun People's Union (U.P.C.) one of Africa's oldest and most radical nationalist parties.

The history of the U.P.C. is written in struggle and blood. Since its inception in 1948 the party has fought against first French colonialism and then neo-col-



Amiri Baraka

onialism in the form of the Ahmadou Ahidjo regime. Because of its radical leanings, the French turned on the U.P.C. in 1955. The party was banned and a bitter armed struggle ensued which ended in defeat. The original U.P.C. leaders were all assassinated (Um Nyobe in 1958, Felix Moumie in 1960, Ernest Ouandie in 1971) but the party was not destroyed. Since 1971 the U.P.C. and Manidem have again become a significant force in the move to the left which is gathering strength in Africa today.

Pan-Africanism or Neo-Colonialism sets the failure of the original push towards continental African Unity in the context of the dependent economies and neo-colonial regimes so prevalent in Africa today. The book is much more than a history of O.A.U.'s over the past two decades. It is a manifesto suggesting how to achieve real Pan-African Unity — which the author argues can only come about with the

abolition of the petty-bourgeois regimes and the pursuit by Africa's workers and peasants of a socialist economic path.

M'buyinga's explosive argument is developed through analysing the dominant tendencies of Western capitalism since 1960, and the consequences these have had for the evolution of the economies of African countries. M'buyinga also recounts the parallel failures at the political level — what he calls Pan-African Demagogy. He does not spare a soul. Even Guinea's President Ahman Sekou Toure faces the wrath of M'buyinga's powerful pen.

This book takes the whole analysis of Pan-African Unity out of the hands of the rhetoricians and windbags — and embeds it in the essential context of class and anti-imperialist struggle.

The last word belongs to M'buyinga, "Yes, the O.A.U. has collapsed. It is a major historical event for Africa. But the failure and impotence of the O.A.U. cannot be laid at Africa's door. They are the failure and impotence of the neo-colonial bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie of 20 years ago. This is the central reason why the workers, poor peasants, present-day radical petty-bourgeoisie and all true African patriots and revolutionaries should not waste their time "reviving" the O.A.U. On the contrary, it is time to prepare the workers and young people for the struggle to a Revolutionary Pan-African Organization and a Union of African Socialist Republics." **Pan Africanism or Neo Colonialism** is available in Toronto at Third World Books and Crafts, 942 Bathurst St.



NEVILLE GARRICK TALKS



L. to R.: "A nameless Dread, Neville Garrick, Bob Marley, Tony 'Gilly' Gilbert, Trevor Bow and Derek from the Sons of Jah."

NR: Since Bob Marley died, what have you been doing with the Wailers organization?

NG: I'm still the Art Director for Tuff Gong records. I've been doing my visual work, album covers and promotion with-in marketing for sales. The band itself (The Wailers) is just now back in the studio, recording a new album called **Out of Exile**, which will be their own original material. They have performed about four of these songs in the Jamaica World Music Festival, and they were well received by the crowd, so I think this album is going to be a good plus for them.

NR: You came in on the **Natty Dread** album, or were you involved in **The Burning**?

NG: No, in fact I returned to Jamaica when **Catch a Fire** was released. I was in the States going to school, and I didn't team up with Bob Marley and the Wailers until 1974, when **Natty Dread** was being made. I didn't do that album cover

because Island Records said they already had someone to do it. **Rastaman Vibrations** was my first sleeve. Since that time I have done all the albums, I did six, from **Rastaman Vibrations** to **Uprising**.

NR: Have you won any local or international awards for album jackets?

NG: Well, locally there is no such award, in Jamaica, probably there are four or five other people doing sleeve designs. Internationally, there is a magazine called **Art Direction Magazine** in New York, and they rated one of my album covers as one of the top 20 for 1980, which was **Bunny Wailer Sings the Wailers**. It was a surprise for me as I don't think it was one of my best. For me, **Survival** is my most exciting sleeve for Bob. But they recognized it and they liked it, and it was the only album sleeve done by a Black artist that they recognized in their poll.

NR: **The Survival** album cover, how did that come about? You've been a student

of Africa, but how did you put together the maps, etc. How much research went into that?

NG: A lot of research. I went to the OAU headquarters in New York, at that time Zimbabwe wasn't yet liberated so they didn't have a national flag. I went to both the ZANU-PF and ZAPU offices, and got their design for their individual flags, and I put both of them on the album cover to represent Zimbabwe, but it was thoroughly researched by getting it from the OAU.

NR: As far as your artwork goes, have you been getting much international work?

NG: Not really. I've not really gone out after it. Babu, who you mentioned earlier, when I saw him in California a couple of years ago, he told me that Miriam Makeba was coming out with a new album, she had signed a contract and he was going to contact me to do the sleeve, but I didn't hear from him again. But I've been mostly dealing with pro-

LEGEND

Monty Alexander is a Jamaican-born jazz pianist who has emerged as a world-class musician. Alexander now resides in the United States.

El Hajj Omar Bongo is the President of the West African State of Gabon.

Angela Y. Davis is a member of the American Communist Party who gained prominence around the world in the early '70's after she was imprisoned on trumped up political charges. She ran for Vice-President of the U.S. as a member of the American Communist Party.

Maulana Ron Karenga is an Associate Professor of Black Studies at California State University. In the '60's he headed an organization called US which had many political conflicts with the Black Panther Party.

Donald Kinsey is a Gary, Indiana-born guitarist who at one time was Albert King's musician director. He recorded on the Rastaman Vibrations album with Bob Marley, and is currently a member of Peter Tosh's band Word, Sound and Power.

Ernest Ranglin is a Jamaican-born guitarist who at one time was considered to be one of the top jazz guitarists in the world. He also was a pioneer in Jamaican music and has played with Jimmy Cliff's band Oneness.

Dizzy Reece is a Jamaican-born jazz trumpeter who has made a name for himself in Europe where he now resides.

Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) is the party that came to power in Zimbabwe on April 17, 1980, under the leadership of Robert Mugabe.

Valentino is a Trinidadian-based artist who injects social content into his music.

Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) is the opposition party in Zimbabwe which is led by Joshua Nkomo.

moting reggae, from that standpoint. In terms of international work I haven't picked up much but I haven't solicited it. I've been doing reggae album covers.

NR: What is the status of Tuff Gong Records now? I saw the *Melody Maker's* last record, *What a Plot*.

NG: *What a Plot* is getting a good amount of airplay in Jamaica and the sales have done reasonably well. Ziggy, Bob's eldest son, seems like he's eventually going to hold that reign because his voice sounds like Bob's as a youngster, and his performance is quite exciting, he's even doing more physical things than Bob when he's on stage. He loves his father's musical style a lot, so he's emulating him in a lot of ways. The *Melody Makers* have put out about four singles so far, and they're going to be doing an album for early next year.

NR: I've got *Trodding*, *Sugar Pie*, *What a Plot*.

NG: The first one was *Children Playing in the Streets*, that was written by Bob for them. *What a Plot* was written by Ziggy, so he's even becoming a song writer. He plays the drums and guitar, and Steve, the younger boy, he plays the drums too, and the two girls play keyboards, so they are getting themselves together.

NR: So they're going to come out as a self contained band?

NG: Eventually they might need three or four musicians to make a full band, but they're not just going to be singers, but play instruments as well.

NR: You say you were in the States?

NG: I went to UCLA from '69 to '72.

NR: I understand you were involved with Angela Davis and with Maulana Ron Karenga.

NG: Well, really, Angela Davis was my closest affiliation there. To me the most important people I've dealt with in my life have been Angela Davis and Bob Marley. I think I have been very fortunate in knowing those people so closely, and they have helped to direct where my head is now.

NR: Well, I have had some misinformation here, because I thought you were with Karenga and that Angela Davis was really incidental.

NG: Angela and I, we're very close. I loved her as a very powerful Black woman, and I loved her just as a woman. Really we were very tight in school.

Audience composition

NR: Well since you lived outside of Jamaica for a little while, when you went back home and you came outside what was the first thing you noticed? What have you noticed about Reggae. From '75 until '82 what have you noticed in

England and America, between Black and White, in terms of changes in the audience?

NG: The change in audience has been that we've gradually been getting a bigger and bigger Black audience. Perhaps a 70/30 ratio, whereas up until now it has been a 50/50 ratio. Basically, the reason for that was the records were being promoted through the FM format, the album format, whereas Black people are more into a single oriented format, so they didn't really know about reggae so to speak, due to the availability of it on the airwaves. The thing that has really broken the whole thing open is being played on the AM radio worldwide. Black people have more access to it, and also the record companies have been making a special effort to market within the Black community. That's the reason for that increase. Plus, the way I analyze it, since I lived in America for over four years, is that the young White kids in college were really our first audience for reggae, out of Boston, Oakland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York. For me, having been a student, it seems that the White students have more leisure time. They have the time to listen to new things, new developments, whereas the Blacks have always been in a pressure situation of living day to day, and things like this just pass them by, they don't have time to pick up on it. This was another reason for it breaking into the White mainstream market before the black market.

Island Records didn't really know how to sell into the Black community because they didn't have Black people working for the record company. But on the insistence of Bob Marley, things were changed, because although his message was for all people, his message was directly to the Blacks. So it's because of the constant pounding on the doors. I remember in the '79 Survival tour, we had an option to do Madison Square Gardens for one night, or the Apollo for five nights, two shows per night, and the money would be the same. But Bob said I want the Black community so we went to the Apollo in Harlem, and we did one show the first night, and then two each other night, nine shows in a week. The Funkadelics were there before us for a week. It was really exciting, people in Harlem said they had not seen Harlem like that since Marcus Garvey. The line went right round the block of the Apollo and came back again, every night for both shows, and you wouldn't believe it, but 40% of the audience was White, they came up town for the second show that started at 12:00. That was amazing for me.

NR: That was amazing? As a rule, White

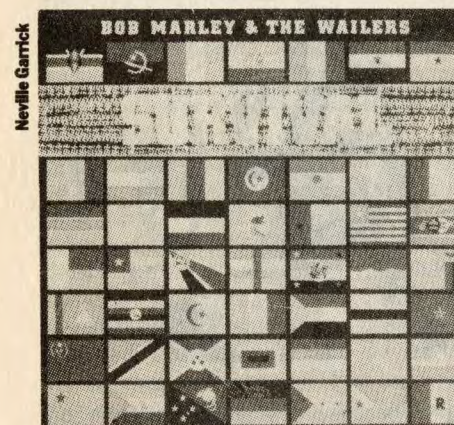
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folks don't come into Harlem anymore?

NG: That's right, but they came to see Bob Marley.

NR: They wouldn't come to see *James Brown*, or the *Funkadelics*.

NG: For me, Bob is another Marcus Garvey, but Bob seems to get his message across without alienating people who are not Black. The way he delivers his message, it's not offensive for someone who is not Black, although it's true, it's hard.



Like for *Survival*, but they can take it in and digest it, they don't run away from it. Which I think is really great. People in Hungary are listening to Bob Marley, and we've never even been to Hungary. People in Russia, are asking "Where is Bob Marley?" They thought he was coming. In Africa, Africans ask if you're from the Bob Marley tribe, it's come to be so big, that people think not just that the Rastas are a tribe in Jamaica, but that there is a Marley tribe.

Cultural impact

NR: What impact have you seen reggae have on the musicians of the world, Black or White in general, and Blacks in America specifically?

NG: Well, it seems like the influence is really getting through now, they're the ones really making the money, like the *Police*, *Blondie*, even *Diana Ross* did a little reggae thing, *Kool and the Gang*, *Marvin Gaye*, *Grover Washington*. For me, Bob did so much when he was here, that when he passed, everything broke wide open, everybody who didn't check for reggae before checked for it afterwards. Because, if you have noticed, there were a couple of things done, *Barbra Streisand* did *Guava Jelly*, and *Eric Clapton* did *I Shot the Sheriff*, but now most major groups will do a reggae number in their albums, so I think it's really moving across that way — and they're doing better sales than the actual Jamaicans. We had a recording seminar in Jamaica about 2 weeks ago, where

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points like that were discussed, we had various people from record companies in America that dealt specifically with Black music, like LeBaron Taylor from CBS, someone from Island, Black publishers, lawyers in the business. So now the Jamaican producers/musicians/artists are better informed. I personally didn't learn that much because I've had international exposure since '74, but it was great for a lot of people there.

NR: Do you think Jamaica should develop some sort of structure for awards, similar to the Grammys, or do you think that's kind of a Hollywood thing that shouldn't be emulated in Jamaica and the Caribbean and so-called Third World countries?

NG: I think awards are more like incentives. We used to have a magazine called *SWING*, and then we had the *Swing* awards, i.e. best artist, male and female, best band etc. But *Swing* was a short lived publication and only lasted about 5 years. The Jamaican Federation of Musicians have some kind of a poll sometimes, but they're not really into it. Also, a prophet is never accepted in his own country — in Jamaica, if you get an award from outside the country it is more important than 10 in Jamaica. Bob and the Wailers were always recognized in Jamaica but not until he broke that international barrier, and all the people got into it. That's funny but it's the way it seems to be.

Copyright changes

NR: How are the copyright laws in Jamaica — are they changing?

NG: Well, the Jamaican Culture Development Commission, they are the wing of the government who are setting up this right now — this is why they had this seminar a few weeks ago. Jamaican copyright laws have been there, but they haven't been really effective, on both sides, with Jamaicans doing American songs, and similarly with a Jamaican who didn't really make a good copyright on their song. For example, the *Tide is High* by *Blondie*, the artist who wrote the song, he claimed and the producer who produced the song both claimed that they had it copyrighted, so nobody gets anything, because people don't deal like that. Copyright has really been a problem here. The government is trying to rectify that now by having these facilities for artists in Jamaica, who want to tour, or to sign a deal with a foreign recording company. The government is now providing lawyers for them, who will advise them what to ask for, i.e. film rights, synchronization rights, and detailed things in contracts. So on the whole, the present administration is trying to raise

the consciousness of the record business. Jamaica has a lot of talented people but we're not very good business men just because of lack of exposure.

NR: I don't like to deal with stereotypes, but one thing I've noticed is that, with a lot of Jamaican reggae musicians, when they came through, they always had books on the business of music, so I guess that the desire to know about the business was as a result of being ripped off.

NG: And as a result of the fact that there are hardly any managers in Jamaica, that's the problem. I might have a manager but it's a question of how much he knows and how much international exposure he's had. If you don't know what to ask for — doing a contract is knowing what you want. If you go to a record company and ask them what they are going to give you, then you're starting with your arms down. So I think that's been part of the problem, the manager has been in a monopoly situation, you had three or four managers and 40 artists.

Tuff Gong

NR: Who is managing the Tuff Gong organization now, the artists?

NG: There is this brother, out of Canada, a Jamaican called Dennis Wright, he did



some management work for Rita (Marley), but he wasn't really a manager, he doesn't have the experience, he's learning on the road.

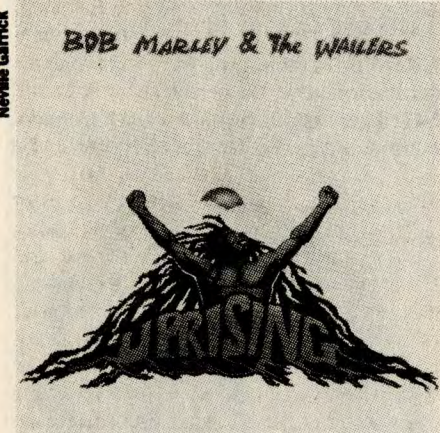
NR: What is the status of recording facilities in Jamaica at the moment compared to the studios in the rest of the world?

NG: I think Tuff Gong could stand up to any international studio. You've just got to listen to *Uprising* and *Survival*. They all came out of that studio, solid, they were mixed, recorded, everything. I mean we have the same sort of facilities, we have a 24-track board at Tuff Gong, Dynamics has a 36-track. The facilities have been improving — people can now get that international sound. One of the

problems we've been having is a lot of people hustled off the music previously. A producer would go into a studio and try to do an album in one day. Now Bob, he never did even a single in one day. If you spend all night mixing, and the next day you don't like it, you go and mix it again, that's why we built a studio. With studio costs and people trying to minimize the production costs it hurts the music. How can you make an album in one day and expect to make the same as a guy who takes three months. It just can't work. People are getting more and more professional everyday because they are getting more and more international exposure.

NR: How do you rate the local radio situation in Jamaica and the local print media? What kind of support do they give the music?

NG: The print media has given a lot more support, the radio station still needs to give more. In fact it's almost 50/50 with American pop music and Jamaican music. The FM format is probably 70% American music. It's one of the points



that came up in the music seminar. People, tourists come to Jamaica looking for the reggae, but where is it? They probably hear it more at home.

NR: The first time I went to Jamaica, the first song I heard on the radio was a country and western tune.

NG: Charlie Pride and those kind of people are very big there.

NR: If Neville Garrick had his own radio station, how would it be programmed?

NG: I would make my format 75/25 or 70/30, definitely, in Jamaica. That's where reggae is coming from, I see it as a kings music, but reggae came out of the ghettos and so the middle class took quite a while to accept it. It was not until an international breakthrough that the middle class started to pick up on it, and the sales started to pick up. But we are still in the cause here of trying to get the people to appreciate their own music.

NR: What do you think about the rise of so called fanzines, some of them from

Jamaica and some from America and Europe, a lot of reggae enthusiasts, Black and White? There seems to be a proliferation of this kind of magazine.

NG: Anything that's informing the people out there about what's happening is alright with me. The more they can do, the better for us. Because what happens with overseas promotions is that reggae has become a seasonal thing, like mangos in Jamaica, where you have two or three peak points in the year when artists are touring, so the print media covers it and it gets some airplay. For me, to really sustain it it's got to be 12 months of the year, so that the print media are getting enough to keep it on the air.

NR: Reggae seems to be in a better position than Calypso or Soca. The artists in Trinidad seem to do only one album a year, and they do that carnival thing, and then back in the closet.

Integration and strategies

NG: This is because, as I said, for Calypso and Mento style and so on it's more personal to the islands. I don't think they've made any great effort to export it, for example there aren't many people in Jamaica who play Calypso, you hear it in some of the hotels, or not really Calypso but Mento, which is one of the backgrounds of reggae. For me, reggae really comes from Mento, mento with ska, with rock-steady which is a metamorphosis, it's not really a new music. Reggae has now grown to the stage where people outside have been plucking either big chunks or little pieces of it and combining it with their own style, and it works for them quite well. So it's moving out in that way. I think the local musician mustn't give up his roots. I remember when Bob made Exodus people said "Bob Marley has sold out with this funky thing" but it wasn't really funky and now they realize it wasn't really a sell out, he was just increasing his audience. In other words you're not going to make something and push it on to the people, you're going to think about what the people need, and give it to them. Bob made "Roots Rock Reggae," because, as he said in the song, "play I on the R&B, I want all my people to see, I'm bubbling on the top one hundred." There was a line in "Roots Rock Reggae," which, because the song was so long, wasn't included on the original recording, which says "I feel like preaching on the streets of Harlem." So not even just in the lyrical content, but things like "Turn Your Lights down Low," it really increased Bob's listening audience. I heard it being played prime time, 4:30 driving along in Philadelphia, on KDAY. Bob's theory was, ok if I go a lit-

tle bit your way to get your ear, once I get your ear I can do anything I want to do. So then he came out with **Exodus**, **Kaya** and **Survival**: you hook your audience and then hit them with the message. I think that approach is the only one, otherwise the *Police* will make all the money, whoever outside can take pieces



of it because it's really catching on.

NR: I was once talking to Donald Kinsey*, he told me that the difference between Bob Marley and Peter Tosh, when he worked with Bob, he was amazed at the amount of information that Bob had on the blues. Like old blues singers that he didn't know about, whereas Peter knows a lot about country and western.

NG: That is true, because Peter was from the country, he had a country and western type style, the difference between Peter's style and Bob's style is that, do you know what *Racha* means, *Racha* means like coarse. Bob would be trying to croon and sooth his audience, whereas Peter is much more militant, raw, gut level, with no prettiness round it at all. He calls a spade a spade, which a lot of people cannot deal with. This is where Bob's success was different, he was able to write in such a way that you could still get the message but it didn't scare you off, it was militant, but cleverly so, perhaps a little tongue in cheek, because some things you just can't come right out and say, they'll just cut your hand off, you've got to sneak it through, and Bob learned that formula.

NR: Well the calypso music can do that, someone like Sparrow can do that, he can curse you out and you think he's being really cute. He's complimenting you but he's really telling you to kiss his ass.

NG: Peter would just say 'kiss my ass'. You've got to put humour in for calypso, and decorate it.

NR: Whereas Peter, Gil Scott Heron and Valentino, they don't put in any decoration.

NG: They are direct street poets, who

make social commentary, with no hold backs.

NR: The first Wailers album I ever got was **Catch a Fire**, and it was given to me by some Black people in Detroit who were not Jamaicans, which I find significant. Some brothers in America said we know you're going to like this, they gave me **Catch a Fire**, **Burnin** and then **Natty Dread**. There was an attempt to reach people in America in his music, on all his albums there seemed to be one song specifically aimed at the R&B audience. When I heard "Lively up Yourself" I said, ok, that's the American thing, and then again when I heard "Rastaman Vibrations".

NG: All Bob really did was increase the tempo, and throw in a little synthesizer stuff, that's where Tyrone and people were valuable. Bob and Bunny and Peter didn't ever listen to the radio, they didn't want any influence, until in '77 I heard him singing a Temptations song "It's Growing". For me, the only way to increase your audience is to find out what they need, and give them a little of that.

NR: Hook, Line and Sinker, what's the thinking behind that?

NG: That's basically the same kind of thing. The problem in increasing Bunny's sales is that if they don't see you, they don't buy you. Unless you have been so established that you don't have to tour any more. Even the big people still tour, whenever they release an album, to promote it. Bunny is quite satisfied with selling a few albums and not touring. I think he would only tour Africa.

NR: He doesn't even have distribution for the **Hook, Line and Sinker** album.

NG: That's right, there isn't an international deal with that album. I think he probably wants a deal, for sure. Probably the deals he's been offered weren't acceptable to him. And again, if you want to make a deal with CBS or Warner Bros, they are going to want you to tour, or they won't take it. They realize that they're going to lose money, unless they start using the medium of television, which hasn't really been used for any reggae artist, not even Bob Marley.

Jazz, Publishing and Film

NR: One thing I've noticed about critics from North America specifically, and to a lesser extent Europe, they think of Jamaican music as reggae, reggae, reggae, and they never talk about people like Monty Alexander, Ernest Ranglin or Dizzy Reece.

NG: It's the critic's own fault, in a way, they would have to research to know, what they have been doing is dealing with the stuff that's been thrown in front

of them. We all know why jazz is a special market, they make their albums to sell, but it seems they don't really care about that, it's like a painter who paints just for the love of it. They just want to get what's in them out.

NR: What is the status of the Jamaican jazz industry? I find that when people outside of Jamaica deal with Jamaican music, they just see it as reggae.

NG: Basically, why that happens is, reggae is the only thing that really has a promotion behind it and other music doesn't, so it's up to the individual person to research it, he's not going to just pick up a paper and find something to write. Ernest Ranglin was at one time one of the best guitarists in the world, but many people in Jamaica didn't even know that.

NR: Is that being corrected by Jamaicans themselves. Is anything being done in Jamaica, in terms of putting any books together?

NG: Kingston Publishers is putting out a book on Bob Marley, which will be the



first one put out by Black and Jamaican people, it should be out early next year. I have done the bookends for that and a few pages inside. There is some effort being made now, somebody maybe had the idea before but they couldn't get the financial backing for it, they couldn't find a local publisher to do it.

NR: What do you think about some of the books that have come out on reggae music. **Jah Music** by Sebastian Clarke, **Reggae Blood Lines** and those kinds of things?

NG: Some of the facts in some of those books have been distorted, either due to lack of knowledge or deliberately by the writers, but overall they have been good for the business, because it gives people a visual insight, (most of them have photographs) not just of the artists, but where the root of it is really coming from. In other words they try and show you not just the reggae artist but where all this reggae feeling comes from, the

roots, in Jamaica. I think most of the books have been fairly well done and have contained information that wasn't necessarily available before, although there is some distortion, like the claim that Rastas wax and plait their hair, which is not strictly true. Island records started that one, and of course everyone believed them, so we had to come out and clarify the thing.

NR: What's the status of the film industry in Jamaica. The last film I saw was **Countryman**.

NG: The film industry there seems to be picking up, they have just broken the ground in Jamaica to build this media centre, which is going to cost \$51,000,000. It will be the only media centre in the Third World. You can actually come to Jamaica, shoot a movie and process it right there without leaving the island. Before, people had to send their film to Miami. Well they are building this complex, a joint venture with the government and some people in America, I don't know who, and they just broke ground about a month ago in Montego Bay. This will be a plus to Jamaica, it will hire Jamaican talent, even the singers, the writers; people I hope will be drawn into this. When the American and European producers come here to make a movie they will hire local people, who will learn technical expertise in post production, which is really the key to most things, editing etc. This guy Lenny Littlewhite, from Media Mix, he did **Children of Babylon**, and I think he's starting to get together another movie. Island Pictures, which is an affiliate of Island Records, they are putting out the Bob Marley movie, hopefully to come out next year, and I think they might do a sequel to **Countryman**. But Island Pictures is not a Jamaican base, it's based in England, but they have offices in Jamaica. So they have been moving, I haven't heard anything from anyone else, the information hasn't reached me of any films being done actually by Jamaicans.

NR: How do you rate the films that have come out thus far?

NG: They have been entertaining, but it's not the question to ask me, because I don't see things as strictly entertainment. I feel you have to be saying something too, so I don't think so far they have said enough, but probably they think that if they got too deep it wouldn't be entertainment anymore. I myself am interested in getting into the film industry, so perhaps I can have an influence on making people show how things really are rather than just making people laugh, or cry; giving them information as well.

Music is the thing that brings everybody together, it breaks all

social barriers, it breaks all colour barriers, music is something which penetrates that, not even the lyrics, because sometimes people don't speak the same language, but the music itself, and if that reaches you, you'll probably check out the lyrics as well, so that is my main concern, as a Rastaman, to get the message of our movement across. Music is the tool, we just put out this new 45 by Bob which is called **Trenchtown**, not the same as **Trenchtown rock**, but a new one which says that we come from Trenchtown and we feed the people with music, like there is a famine on and we feed the people with music. Music is the tool that we feel will bring a 'oneness' within the world. This peace and love and everyone thinking basically the same kind of way, in terms of their goals, aim towards mankind coming together with one understanding.

Profit or consciousness?

NR: What kind of resistance have you had from the music industry; the music industry is built on the principal of profit, and the Rasta movement is built on making people conscious.

NG: Yes, we want to arouse the consciousness of the people, we are not saying that this is the way you must do this, we just want you to check it out, we just want you to stop from the hustle and bustle of everyday life, moving up and down, you get caught in the credit system where you keep on consuming, and you can't fight the government or anybody because you owe them money, but the Rasta movement is trying to establish an independence from all that, like self-support, industriousness, we're not lazy people.

NR: Well what kind of resistance have you got from the industry?

NG: With the record companies I think so far it's been more than just a token gesture on their part, but I don't think they have gone far enough. I think if four record companies were to approach it the way Island records has in terms of money spent, in promoting a product, it would be great. We haven't had enough airplay, because what has happened in the past is that a lot of disc-jockeys have said that the music just doesn't fit their format. Some programme directors would say that it is jungle music, and I would say well what's wrong, we all came from the jungle, but it was a put-down in a way. We haven't got support from people like **Ebony** magazine, which I felt was vital, in fact in '79 we arranged to go to the Johnson and Johnson building in Chicago and a whole group including Bob spent a whole day at **Ebony**, they did interviews there, we

toured the place and met everybody, we did a photographic session, and until this day, **Ebony** has never released anything, even after we made an effort to go to **Ebony** and tour the place, you can't do more than that to beg some promo. They did all these things but nothing ever came out. The only time **Ebony** ever mentioned Bob was when Bob passed, and then they did a little blurb, yet Grace Jones gets a front page and four-page spread. We need more support from **Esence** magazine. They have always done something and they have recently done some good things on Rastas and Jamaica, but we need more support from the Black media in America. The White market, we really already got through to them already, the following will only keep increasing, but where we want the message to go, we still really don't get it yet.

NR: It's strange that you would mention **Ebony** because I just saw an interview with a guy by the name of Wynton Marsalis, a 20 year old jazz trumpeter, and he said that he had been interviewed by **Time** magazine, **Newsweek**, and **Life** was going to do a story on him, but he had not been approached by **Ebony** or **Jet**, the reason is that they are too busy showing you pictures of Peabo Bryson's house, like Teddy Pendergrass, like status symbols, this is what they want the Black kids to look towards.

NG: Yes, owning a house like Teddy Pendergrass, or something like that, but they haven't given us the support that we need, Bob has made the cover of **Harpers** magazine, which is a woman's magazine. Bob has got features in **Time**, **Newsweek**, but where is **Ebony**? Why can't they pick up on us? I wonder if the image of the Rastaman is a threat to their sort of system, probably they want to be assimilated into the American market, so that anything that's too rootsy and radical, they are not going to deal with it. Therefore to me they are representing the minority of the Black people, because for, the social conditions haven't changed from Nixon through Carter through Reagan, although through Carter, people had some illusions, with Andrew Young, but with Reagan the bubble was burst. I dealt with Reagan for four years, his name is on my degree, he was the governor of California while I was at UCLA, and I know Ronald Reagan, as well as Gil Scott-Heron.

NR: So you know about the "B-movie"?

"All-Africa Unite Tour"

NG: I've been listening to Gil from the days of the Last Poets in the Sixties. I have an idea, it's the first time I've said it where it might be published, though

I've talked to a lot of people about it, I have a tour I'd like to put together called the All-Africa Unite Tour, in honour of Bob Marley, our theme song would be Africa Unite, I would try to get together people like Stevie Wonder, Gil Scott-Heron who I think represents the black interest in America, Gilberto Gil and Milton Nascimento from Brazil, Jimmy Cliff, Peter Tosh, Bunny Wailer from Jamaica, Fela Kuti, Sunny Ade and a couple of Africans, and take this package, present it to the Organization of African Unity (OAU), say listen, we want to tour the 52 states of Africa, the same package, right through. Remember I have chosen conscious people, I've not said Rick James, I've chosen people who deal with rights, for Black people, and can arouse everyone's consciousness, and actually go through Africa state by state. I feel if the same message is taken right through Africa it can unite Africa. Now say for example that \$7m, is the net from this. We'll take this money, and say to the OAU, "We want you to control the \$7m, what we want to set up now is what we call physical repatriation, you take some of the money and research the whole continent and find out what is needed where: doctors, lawyers, whoever, then we search America, all the Blacks outside of Africa, who are skilled in these things and want to go." It's not a forced thing, we're just making it feasible, a lot of people have this idea of wanting to go but they have so many deterrents, so much wrong information that they just give up, so I want to make this available to them, so they can go. These are the first people I'd see physically repatriating. In my two trips, I found a lot of work to be done, and Africa everyday is sending out young people to Europe to learn these skills that Black people elsewhere already possess but can't get work. In other words we are second class citizens in America and Canada. Instead, go to Africa. Demand and supply, it's as simple as that, they need you. So, this program I feel, of supply, we've got that, and if the other governments see us start like that, since we drop all \$7m, probably Gabon which has oil, uranium, magnesium, might and say "hey, we like that idea, take 5 from us."

Like a big dream

I, or someone else would have to really go into Africa. The problem in Africa is that sometimes you can't get things you need to do a first class show, so you usually have to take everything with you. I'd want to research every single venue we were going to play at, find out whether we were going to need a generator, or whatever, so that every place we go we

just have to push off. Maybe it would take three days to stage a show like that, you couldn't really have all these people in one night. You would also take the local people in each state you go to, and have them open these shows, so the people would be seeing their local people, plus all these people they've been hearing about for years and have never seen. It sounds like a big dream but I really think it can be a reality. This is one of my main projects that I'd like to see come off.

NR: Do you want that published?

NG: Yes, the way I feel about it, if someone takes the idea and does it I don't care, I just want it to be done. It's not a thing for someone to make money, it's for the Black people to get together.

African politics

NR: You went to two countries in Africa, Zimbabwe and Gabon.

NG: We stopped off in other places like Kenya and Nigeria, but I only spent any time in Zimbabwe and Gabon. We had to hide, we would have been mobbed, we were so well received.

NR: What was your reaction to being in Africa? As a Black man from the West, or as an African from the West?

NG: It would take a whole year to explain that one. It was a very emotional thing for me, I mean when I came off the plane I kissed the ground. There was one time I wanted to go to Festa, but it was right after the shooting of Bob Marley in Jamaica and I was in England, and my opportunity didn't come until 1980, January 1st, and we celebrated Ethiopian Christmas, which is really January 7th in Africa. It was thundering and lightning and rain and it was really exciting, we were really well received by the people. In Zimbabwe, after meeting the people I wished I could find some way to channel all the radicals in Jamaica (who end up shooting each other for the PLP or the JLP) to go down there and fight, because if they really wanted to fight for a cause, that's where it would be. When we reached Zimbabwe, we had some misconceptions, it has been presented in the West, like a communist type of set up, or socialist, and in meeting with the political instructors and the bush guerrillas, we found them to be nationalists, who said "We get arms from East Germany, West Germany and America, Russia, Cuba, everybody, but we haven't given up any part of Zimbabwe for it, if ever they have trouble in the future, we'll try and assist them in the same way, if they want help." But it was dealing with Zimbabwe, not with Russia, or Cuba. I think only we can solve our own problems, I

just have to push off. Maybe it would take three days to stage a show like that, you couldn't really have all these people in one night. You would also take the local people in each state you go to, and have them open these shows, so the people would be seeing their local people, plus all these people they've been hearing about for years and have never seen. It sounds like a big dream but I really think it can be a reality. This is one of my main projects that I'd like to see come off.

NR: Do you want that published?

don't think the Russians can solve it, nor the Americans. I think all they use us for is to test their war machinery, against each other, like the Somalia and Ethiopia war, and if they were to ever put that sort of money into food, in feeding Africa, into agriculture, as much as they put into the machines, they wouldn't be any problems in Africa, there wouldn't be any famine and starvation in Ethiopia. Right away, when Somalia and Ethiopia had a border conflict, Russia put in \$1m budget for arms.

NR: What do you think about the artists that go to perform in South Africa, I understand that Bob was approached but he refused to go to South Africa.

NG: I don't know if he was approached, maybe he was, I know people from SWAPO came up to Zimbabwe and say to him, "hey, you made Zimbabwe and like, a year after they were free, why don't you make the next tune about Namibia. And they came and checked us out and told us about their struggle. But I think it's like the cricketer who went to play in S. Africa. No really serious reggae musician would do it, I think that Jimmy Cliff has been in that area, but he was definitely done it in the Black area. He hasn't played to a mixed audience, they don't really have mixed audiences there. I don't see anything wrong with going down there if you're going to help the struggle, whether it's musical or otherwise, but if you're going in support of the Regime, then I don't agree.

NR: This is a touchy question, but you mentioned Gabon and that OAU type of situation, I was checking some information the other day, people were saying that brother Bongo was a puppet, because he has aligned himself too closely with America and France, and he doesn't really have the interests of Africa at heart.

NG: I've heard that even in Gabon itself and there might be some truth to it, in fact I'm not necessarily saying he was a puppet, but his stand wasn't as strong as say the front lines states, like Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and stuff, for example, no one allowed South African Airways airspace in Africa, in other words they couldn't refuel anywhere, except Gabon used to allow them to refuel, they used to have to go around the cape, in the Canary Islands or is it the Ascension Islands, they would have to go there to refuel to go in to Europe, and him allowing them in, and doing things like that I guess would get a lot of people upset.

I am upset about that, although he doesn't do it any more. They have been so tied into France because it was a French colony, and if you really research Africa you find out that it is a different

administration, where French people colonized they tend to have a stronger hold, financially and culturally, in these African states, even though they have been released and they are independent. For example, when I was in Gabon, I went to buy some oranges, and I looked and I saw that the oranges were imported from Spain, and I said "Why Spain, I'm sure they grow oranges all over Africa?" and they take it from Spain because they are doing some import and export with Spain and it's the balance of trade, they always find a way to rationalize that. But I hope he was not a puppet. I heard that they are no longer granting South Africa airspace.

NR: When you are dealing with, say, Namibia, when you are dealing with the neocolonialism situation in terms of the all African concept, would the puppet regimes allow a conscious set of Black people in from the outside, to come in and do that?

NG: I think in a package like this, if it's really organized the right way. Since the OAU was formed by His Majesty (Haile Selassie) and Kwame Nkrumah for the unity of Africa, and there are a lot of problems for the OAU, that's why I chose them to deal with everything, since they are supposed to be the governing body over Africa. We probably will have some problems, but I feel we will overcome, because if 40 states agree, the ten who don't will look so shitty in the eyes of everybody else that they are going to be forced to deal with it. I see no problem with all those revolutionary states, from Cape to Cairo I see it. I think it is the only way.

NR: How do you deal with that whole idea, you said from Cape to Cairo but a lot of people look at Africa and they stop at Nigeria, they don't think of Libya etc. as part of Africa.

NG: I see it as a total concept. For me to see Africa split up into little states, I wouldn't have a dream anymore. I have the conviction that it's only the Black man outside of Africa who can cement that thing together, and I have a little theory. You know the first cell we learn in Biology is called an Amoeba, a single cell. If you take out the nucleus, it can't move. I feel that the Blacks who came out of Africa through slavery, were the nucleus. The African, since colonialism, tends to see Nigeria first, Kenya first, whereas the Blacks outside of Africa can't hold on to a little piece. They have to see the total continent. That's why it was a man like Marcus Garvey who had the cement, the paste, to piece everybody together. And people try to discourage me, saying that there are so many different languages, and tribes, but I don't want to hear that shit, if they don't

want to support it then at least don't try to discourage me.

NR: I'm reading a book now about the OAU and PanAfricanism, written by some guys from the Camerouns, and they say that the first theoreticians for PanAfricanism came out of North America, which is not totally true, they came out of the west, but the people who saw Africa-as-one were Blacks that were taken out. The ones that pushed PanAfricanism, a lot like Kwame Nkrumah came from the outside, and faced the racial discrimination.

NG: That's right, because he came and he was educated in America, knocking heads with all the Black Americans and West Indians, and it must have given him a better overview, because when you're on the outside looking in, it's a different picture than you're on the inside looking in. I think it would be hard to survive as Black people outside of Africa if all we saw was individual states. We have to

see it as the biggest land mass in the world, with the highest mountains, the biggest valley, the longest river, we have to hold on to these things, I mean the Nile runs through about 8 different countries, we can't hold on to a piece of the Nile, we have to think of the whole Nile. When I went to Zimbabwe, everybody said please send us books on Marcus Garvey, Philosophy and Opinion. We have to make that effort.

NR: I was checking Marcus Garvey once, a guy from Swaziland said that he only knew of two Blacks in the West; Jack Johnson and Marcus Garvey. But then I also heard stories that the *Negro World*, which was Garvey's paper, would go to Kenya, and a brother from a port city would read it, memorize it and then he would run back into the bush and tell the people.

NG: We're dealing with the oral tradition from a long while back, so print isn't necessarily our avenue of communicat-

ing. Guerillas in Zimbabwe tell me that they listen to Bob Marley tapes before they go out to fight, the cassette player has broken it wide open, it's easier to afford a cassette than it is to buy a turntable and speakers, so it was accessible to them, they knew all the tunes. They said they even got high, smoking and listening to the music, dealing with the struggle. It's played a very important part, getting the feedback from those people. And again it serves to illustrate the point that it is the Black people outside Africa who are going to have to really put it together. Not by themselves, but the Africans need that support. There's a song a reggae singer made that says Africa awaits it's creators. With the brilliant Africans they have outside Africa, in the West here, there must have been some really heavy people that they took out, our forefathers. Lots were princes and kings and chiefs, genetically, that carries on through generations.

BRUCE FERGUSON

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS

Part Two

In the previous issue of FUSE, Ferguson focused on the **XL International Biennale Exhibition in Venice** (June 6 - December 9, 1982).

"Modern art is too old to be banished into an abandoned warehouse"

"To us it seemed important to disentangle art from the diverse pressures and social perversions it has to bear."

Rudi Fuchs

documenta was established as the brainchild of Arnold Bode in 1955. Like the Biennale of Sydney, its purpose was to mediate a 'national' predicament. The official censure of 'modern' art from 1933 - 1945 in Germany resulted in an enormous information gap and ignorance of contemporary developments elsewhere. (The book burnings were held in May, 1933 and by 1936 Goebbels had officially forbidden any art criticism). Thus, the reconstruction period brought with it the need and desire to present the intellectual occurrences which had been so efficiently suppressed. Kassel, a city being reconstructed with a cultural emphasis, was chosen as the site of the exhibition. The Neue Galerie, with a collection of works from 1750 to the present, the Fridericianum, the oldest museum on the European continent, and the Orangerie, the 18th century home of

Landgrave Frederick II in its formal garden, became the temporary homes of the exhibition which has occurred on a regular basis every four or five years since 1955.

documenta established itself as a prototype for a serious and critical approach to contemporary positions in the visual arts throughout the western world. With enormous grants from the Federal Ministry of the Interior, the Federal State of Hessen, the *documenta* Foundation and a host of corporate sponsors, *documentas* 1 through 6 were exciting and provocative investigations of contemporary art reflecting the cultural research of artists and cultural workers in a thoughtful, thorough and responsible manner. Thus, histories of modern work were considered, contemporary debates widely represented, and emerging concerns proffered for consideration. The vital relationship of visual culture to its larger cultural context — what we might call parallel processes — was increasingly a concern. For example, in *documenta* 5, in 1972, the nature of Art Brut was investigated alongside the commercial photography making its short-lived appearance in the aesthetics and commerce of

the time, as well as the important notion of 'when attitude becomes form', the theme of the now-famous *Live in Your Head* exhibition organized by Harold Szeemans in 1969 at the Kunsthalle, Bern.

documenta 6, in 1977, was equally ambitious in its questioning of the culture and the artists' and cultural workers' concerns and proposals. A drawing exhibition of gigantic size was organized, a photographic exhibition tracing historic tendencies and complemented by contemporary uses, a very extensive artists' books exhibition, again historical and contemporary, a film programme looking at auteur films from the industries of Hollywood and Japan to Soho loft films were all given thorough exploration. Performance was well represented by many serious practitioners as well as video installations, a virtual video anthology of independently produced tapes, and works constructed to site commissioned for the event, i.e. Walter de Maria's drilled kilometre. As well as this, recent and past tendencies in painting and sculpture were given full view and museum-oriented installations accommodated special projects by other

If Venice is many voices speaking in cacophony, documenta 7 is one voice ... (that of) its director, Rudi Fuchs.

artists. Documentation was extensive and included many critical texts by varied curators and critics as introductions to each section.

If this sounds ideal, it was not. There were the usual signs of pressures exerted by commercial interests, i.e. high representation from two German galleries and one American one, as well as complaints by individual artists of differential treatments in funds, allocation of space, installation procedures and so on. There were exclusions, always debatable, and inclusions, always debatable. There was, not by chance, a larger representation by German artists, mostly painters, which was taken by some as a sign indicating a growing nationalism, and by extension, because it was German, an emerging fascism. While the most paranoid critics identified this as a movement backwards, pointing out its similarities with the figurative expressionist movement of an earlier Germany or taking the opportunity to announce painting dead for the eighty-seventh consecutive year, the more favorable critics welcomed painting's return and with it, its nationalistic overtones.

Their enthusiastic behaviour was partly a response to the place that American art had claimed in post-war Europe. European museums and galleries had shown and collected contemporary American art with responsible diligence, i.e. the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam. Many American artists were, and continue to be, first recognized and taken seriously within the European museum community in advance of their home publics. This process was, and is, of course, one-sided in the extreme. With few European artists having either commercial or public exposure in North America by this time, a justifiable sense of inequality had emerged and began to be reflected by the increasing number of Europeans in international exhibitions initiated in Europe. The North American neglect of Manzoni, Broun, Polke, Broodthaers, Kouenellis, to name only a few, meant that the legacy of minimalism and conceptualism was becoming an 'international' style, which is to say the style of American cultural imperialism. The de-politicized constructivism of a LeWitt, for example, was being exported back to Europe, a

sanitized American version of what was a vital continental movement. This is in opposition to a multi-national dialogue whose participants would include those mentioned as well as many others outside the American centre. Plurality is only a dirty word if you are protecting a vested interest, whether theoretical or practical — the writings of Rosalind Krauss or Donald Judd would serve as precise occasions of such Americentric interests which exclude European art, for example. *documenta* 6 was vital; its contradictions the contradictions of a real culture (ours) with many aesthetics and politics. Its sources were real, protean, and capable of generating more proposals to an even healthier and richer culture. There was nothing in the six *documenta* exhibitions to forecast or prepare one for the reactionary and fully regressive *documenta* 7.

DOCUMENTA 7

"A broad experimental area was to be set up, with workshops and laboratories, teaching areas, viewing rooms, and perception zones. But this concept would inevitably have led to the abolition of the exhibition in its 'official form'. And who wants to saw the branch he is sitting on?"

Gerhard Storck

If Venice is many voices speaking in cacophony, *documenta* 7 is one voice, in fact, the voice of one person, its director, Rudi Fuchs. Although Fuchs is careful to invoke the "we" when speaking of decisions, it becomes obvious from reading and analyzing the *documenta* 7 catalogues that Fuchs means the royal "we"; in a group of equals, he was more equal than the others. The choice of Fuchs as director of this formerly prestigious international event seems obvious in many ways. He was a hard-working and intelligent curator who has been the head of the exhibitions programme at the van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven, Holland, for well over a decade and had made that provincial centre into one of the most publicized contemporary art galleries in the world. Fuch's astuteness in paying serious attention to younger artists in Europe and in collaborating

with them on one-person shows was qualified by his interest in American artists of a new generation. An avowed Eurocentric¹, Fuch's programmes differ from other Dutch museums. This can be seen by looking at this summer's exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum titled, **'60/'80/attitudes/concepts/images**, whose catalogue lists the exhibitions there of the past two decades. There are few overlaps with individuals shown at Eindhoven and it becomes apparent that the Amsterdam museum's concentration was on another generation of artists, the likes of Rauschenberg, Cage, Dekkers or Newman. Thus Eindhoven's exhibitions (and Fuchs) can be seen as representing a younger generation. Fuch's exhibitions were consistently one-man (with a rare female exception). They were installations which were representative without being retrospective, and which collectively worked to try to rectify the domination of Europe by American art (although occasional exhibitions such as that of John Baldessari's work seemed to try to rectify America's own museum neglect of seminal figures). Other curators and directors of similar institutions in Switzerland and Germany have followed similar policies with an ever-increasing emphasis on European artists, but none are as internationally visible as Eindhoven. This is partly due to Fuch's championing of artists who are receiving the new commercial attention in Europe via powerful commercial galleries, i.e. Kiefer, Baselitz, Gilbert and George etc., artists who represent the zeitgeist tendencies of a new spirit of nationalism. It is also due to Fuch's championing of artists who are "critically" important i.e. Buren, Asher, Graham etc.².

1. At a seminar during the *Biennale of Sydney* entitled "Regionalism and Cultural Dependency", Fuchs spoke to an audience which was primarily Australian claiming that Europe was the centre of the world (whatever that could mean literally or metaphorically, especially spoken in a country with the oldest known and continuing existent culture) because Europeans had invented *perspective* and thus ushered in the age of the 'self'-centered universe (together with the philosophical justification for nationalist expansionist programmes and mass genocides of native peoples in "colonial" cultures). Fuchs said that he had been called a fascist for stating this opinion before, and I take this opportunity to apply it to him again here, with his permission.

2. This idea of "critical" is used only to refer to the flip-side modernists, like Graham, Asher, Knight, and Buren, artists who like Kosuth earlier couch their so-called critical activity within the tradition of art for art's sake and museum authorization. "Critical" then means "theoretical". See Karl Beveridge's "Reinforced De-humaniza-

But, in having the opportunity, space and the financial resources at his disposal in *documenta 7*, he opted for deliberate romantic mystification and obfuscation. The "diverse pressures and social perversions"³ borne by poor ART which Fuchs sought to "disengage" (read "eliminate") were of course feminism (only 25 women in a field of 180 artists), politics (Haacke, Holtzer, Kruger & Art and Language could be argued exceptions), non-object art (Video, film and performance were virtually invisible), and installation or site-specific work. (Only Beuys, Oldenburg, Mertz, Horn, Ruchheim and a very few others chose to do work outside in the park, thus determining their own context. They sensed, perhaps, Fuchs' designs in the poetic invitation to participate from the *documenta* director.) Beuys' 14 tons of rock, each to be purchased with a tree and placed with the subsequent tree-planting, acted as a metaphorical and almost literal dam in front of the main door to the Freidericianum. The rest of the work in the exhibition was submitted to a tête à tête arrangement or jumbled group juxtaposition in installations which paid more attention to pedestrian circulation flow than to possible experience of the works.

The most incongruent and coy example of the 'dialogue' between two artists was in the juxtaposition of Kiefer and Long, where the contexts and practices of production were reduced to formal 'landscape' denominators. And yet Fuchs claims that "after all the artist is one of the last practitioners of distinct individuality". Presumably *documenta 7* is not trying to undermine the autonomy of the art object, or so we are told. Artists are "just a series of ships with different sails on a slow regatta", and although the exhibition is too diverse to support a theme, Fuchs can confidently give it a subtitle, "In which our heroes after a long and strenuous voyage through sinister valleys and dark forests finally arrive in the English Garden, and at the gate of a splendid palace." Casper David Friedrich re-emerges and 18th century Romanticism's 'storm-tossed boat' iconography is conjured up in a forced fusion with the late twentieth century.⁴ Star Trek meets Siegfried (whose mythical battles did lead to "Neibelung hysteria", the kind of artistic mist which Wagner idealized). And what is this

tion" in FUSE, May, 1980, p. 226 for an analysis of this on Graham. At a time when there are concerned artists who approach an overdetermined cultural field by developing cross-over activities, the flip-sides and their overly published champions seem pathetic. Buren's case is particularly sad, as his earlier texts on cultural limits and context are important. But by *documenta 7*, he had his young son choose some of the music for his installation. What, one must ask, are the cultural limits of nepotism?

3. Fuchs' quotes are all from the catalogue.

palace? It is, not surprisingly, the museum. The museum is the ideal place for the imagination to roam. Objects are dusted off, the filth and grime of their culture and contextual functions carefully removed, and displayed as exotic, esoteric examples of 'other'. The museum is also a warehouse, the warehouse of so-called civilization. The artist/explorer has returned proof of his journey to the curator/king. (I didn't invent this metaphor, but am merely extending it). And any fantasy is available to the viewer freed from the object's real associations. Despite work which is potentially serious and investigative, notably the works outside the buildings' confines, *documenta 7* is a tribute to the museum, the museum as a language of 'civilized' authority, its grammar of objects manipulated to persuade the viewer of the dignity of ART, the museum as secular church. Such a reactionary approach may mirror power politics as an idealistic language, but it makes for an extremely disappointing contemporary exhibition where the statements of artists are repressed to the litany of a high priest of museums, transformed to an inventory of pro-Right sentiments. The ego of the director replaces the social responsibility we expect and demand of such a position and the museum is admired for its ahistorical mythological properties.⁵

SYDNEY

"There is, at present, much talk, especially in Europe, of modern art being at the end of its development as a worldwide language. The prevailing opinion is that it is beginning to disintegrate into a series of dialects again."

Gerhard Storck

The 1st Biennale of Sydney was held in 1973. By virtue of Australia's extreme geographical isolation from its 'mother country', white Australians have traditionally had a complex and problematic relationship to their heritage, and thus their culture. There is a post World War

4. In the catalogue, Fuchs' only reference to America is to an 18th century European's visit to Niagara Falls, the icon of romanticism on this continent to this very day. Fuchs illustrates his text with a Friedrich image, the 1824 painting of "The Polar Sea", (formerly called "Wreck of Hope"). Robert Rosenblum's description of the work is apt in this context, "Here, in a frozen world that has turned into a cemetery, we discern slowly the splintered remains of a wrecked ship, whose skeletal traces are almost wholly absorbed and concealed by the jagged pyramid of a shattered iceberg. In its spiky, attenuated patterns, this chilling phenomenon of nature becomes a kind of Gothic mausoleum, whose original monumentality, before man's intervention disturbed it, is suggested by the mirror-like vision of yet another iceberg at the far left, located like some unattainable goal at an incalculable distance from the shapely delineated foreground." (Rosenblum, Robert, *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition*, Freidrich to Rothko, Harper & Row Pub., New York, 240 pp., p. 34)

II Australia, reluctant keeper of its colonial legacy, but also a social democratic country linked to the political and economic superstructure of the Western World and Asia. It is a fully industrialized country which reproduces the values and commodities of modern capital demands, and in its wake, the orthodoxy of Culture associated with older white European societies. That is, there has been a pressure to develop the private enterprise of literature and art, for example, which it can call its own and place within the tradition of nationalistic cultures. There is also the land Australia which had already fostered a notion of a 'national' identity based in characteristics associated with the continent itself; an untamed nature as a unifying force of collective existence with its attendant metaphors and representation for literary and visual production. The latter sensibility is also the axis on which there is believed to be a point of conjunction, a meeting-ground with the axis of the almost-extinguished, pre-historical culture of the Aborigines, a persistent belief that the dominating natural conditions act as a common surrogate psyche or spiritual index for the two races.⁶

The potential for a parallel 'indigenous' white art with its inevitable romantic tendency towards the mystical was dismissed as early as 1964 by Australia's unfavorite native son, Robert Hughes, as a parochial alternative. He, like most art critics even today, was partial to an imported 'universal' art, although he seemed unaware or uninterested in modernism's (for that is the name of the 'universal' beast) inherent colonizing features which result in facile provincialism, even at its presumed centres. Hughes thought that such provincialism was somehow the local artist's fault. His assessment was ... "As soon as a work of art is produced, it is effortlessly dissemi-

5. I keep ascribing fundamental responsibility to Fuchs because the catalogue essays by Celant, Van Bruggen and Storck obviously object in varying degrees to the intent and physical installation of *documenta 7*. The breakdown of the countries which the artists "represent", 52 Americans, 41 Germans, 26 Italians, 13 Dutch, and 10 English with a few each from many other countries such as Austria, Switzerland, France, Canada and Australia or single tokens each from Portugal, Turkey, Denmark, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Belgium (and he is dead) is indicative of a group whose responsibilities were fragmented, prioritized and whose travel outside Europe was limited. But, of course, these statistics are misleading. It may be incorrect to consider any artists' participation in national terms here as most have commercial dealers outside their own countries and those associations seem more fundamental to many of the choices, which accounts for the seemingly high number of Americans i.e. they have a European dealer. An even more revealing statistic may be the high number of artists born before 1947 (of any nationality) who had shown before at Eindhoven. Thus, Fuchs' choices not only affirm a generation, but one of artists whom he, personally, had championed, consolidating their reputations and futures to his own museum career. It is to Celant and Van Bruggen that credit must go for even younger artists' inclusion, and to them and others like them that we must look if European isolationism isn't just going to replace the American kind.

nationalist dilemma —

... between the devil and the land across the deep blue sea.

nated all over the world, through reproductions, films, television, newspapers and studio gossip. Within the context of modern Western art, it is pointless to speak of isolated cultural pockets where regional styles may develop in a nostalgically admired purity. Australian painters are no more immune to this instant exposure than anyone else. That can be readily seen in the unstable eclecticism and nervily inefficient digestive system from which most painting in Australia suffers. But, at the same time, very few foreign exhibitions reach the country. This in turn means that the guesses local artists may make about the shifts in style and fresh ideas cannot be verified from looking at the works themselves. Painters therefore live on a diet of paper. They are afflicted with a sense of inferiority — of being constantly left behind: and their occasional truculence about decadent Europe is their obvious mask.⁷ The answer proposed was expatriotism, a solution he availed himself of soon afterwards. The only goal for the Australian artist who remained home was to "close the gap" on modernism and become as up-to-date as possible. The vitality of such a notion is still widely prevalent, not just in Australia — the number of non-American artists living in New York is one example of the ex-patriate solution and of the idea of a centre where, somehow, the work is going at a faster rate towards a knowable goal.

Hughes' early attempt at a critical analysis of contemporary Australian work now seems dated and naive, the errors of an ethnocentric zeal by a colonial for the heroic homeland, the obsessive

6. This could serve as a description of the Canadian dilemma as well, in terms of "national identity". In Canada, as Margaret Atwood has pointed out, the identification is with the animal, as victim. In Australia, the urban myth of nature focuses on places, places like Ayer's Rock, for example, which is a perfect meeting-ground as it also represents a myth within the Aborigine culture. The combined notions of natural beauty and an original culture at home or one with nature are common to both these countries, as inherited romanticisms of their conquerors. Its appearance in Australian literature or films is frequent i.e. ... "Some of you will express what we others have experienced by living. Some will learn to interpret the ideas embodied in the less communicative forms of matter, such as rock, wood, metal and water." (White, Patrick, Voss, Penguin Books, Auckland, New Zealand, 1980, p. 446)

7. Hughes, Robert, *The Art of Australia*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1970, p. 313. It is a process, interestingly, blessed earlier by Clement Greenberg himself who felt that black and white reproductions of Parisian paintings offered Americans the opportunity to develop a "more independent sense of color" (Greenberg, Clement, "The Late Thirties in New York", 1957, in *Art and Culture*, Boston, 1961, p. 231)

consumer for his one brand of goods. It assumed an authority of progress, and implied an avant-garde as its medium of forward thrust, two concepts which do not share such tacit acceptance or respectability today. Further, it incorrectly posited that authority in Europe at a time when the nexus of power had obviously shifted to America. The analysis, of course, is from within a purely modernist structure, a position which he continually argued in his book that art begets art and returns like the prodigal son always to art, the usual tautology which insists on the autonomy of the object to be "verified". And "fresh ideas" only come from outside. (What could that say about his writing?) His completely casual belief that art or artists have free or equal access to the distribution systems of the 'global village' ignores any questions of power or politics in access and appears as innocently idealistic as the McLuhanesque ideology it echoes. Importantly, however, it was to this nationalist dilemma — the crisis of the artistic choice between the devil and the land across the deep blue sea, so to speak — that the **Sydney Biennale** was initiated to address and between such polarities that it still mediates.

What Hughes had lamented about the conditions of viewing works of art, the lack of the 'real' thing is now understood by many to be a primary condition of production. As Paul Taylor recently outlined in one Australian journal, "If one takes the media to include art galleries as much as television, or art magazines as much as comic-books, much recent art can be seen to engage in a deconstructive procedure which represents an isolable motive of contemporary 'advanced' art and subcultural style alike. The recent art, among whose primary source-material exists much already *formed* information, and which could be said to be preoccupied with media (as opposed to 'form'), seems to interpret culture as a set of 'givens' and creatively intervene by means of *bricolage*: the strategies of juxtaposition, framing, fragmentation, recontextualization, collage, staging, and quotations."⁸ In other words, what was once seen as a disadvantage for cultural production in Australia can now be proclaimed as an advantage, one which equalizes Australian production to the rest of the world's by virtue of a shared

information base in popular culture. The dislocating methods he lists for effective communication require an initial positive acceptance of the role that media plays together with an understanding of their various structural devices. Although, it still has to be pointed out that such production in Australia, for example, is still not "effortlessly disseminated" and as a corollary that work done in presumed centres and based on the same or similar critical discourse is more widely known. This simply means that questions of access and the directions of information flow are still relevant, being as politically stratified now as they ever were. Information-as-commodity is subject to the same ideological controls as a function of power as any other commodity.

A lingering doubt as to Australia's self-determined cultural production can yet be evidenced, as in this statement in the Preface to the Biennale's catalogue: "The **Biennale of Sydney** is in the spirit of this cross-fertilization and, perhaps, the works from abroad should not be regarded as missionaries, prophets or gods, but as evidence of individual variations on modernism."⁹ A key word is "perhaps", a remaining repetition of the very insecurity that Hughes had identified almost twenty years earlier. The other key word is "individual", the continuing vestige of the tenacious hold on the concept of the work of art as a value container of an autonomous nature, an exclusive activity detached from the artists' cultural bases. But it can be said that 'individual' more than 'international' does allow for the possibility of an Australian artist's "variations on modernism" as well. The 'individualized' work, more than the 'internationalized' work, carries the connotations of equality, at least in theory. If works are seen to be 'individual', "perhaps" they can be as important as those overseas productions. It is within this ongoing national debate, a debate which has grown more subtle and which is increasingly infused with more confidence, that the 1982 **Biennale of Sydney** should be seen.

A third position can also be seen to

8. Taylor, Paul, "Introduction: Special Section", *Art and Text*, 3, Prahan College of Advanced Education, Prahan, Australia, p. 51

9. Lynn, Elwyn, "Preface", *The 4th Biennale of Sydney*, "Vision in Disbelief", Biennale Committee, 224 pp., Sydney, Australia, 1982, p. 11

a rational and urgent context ...

have arisen strongly and visibly within the last decade. The direction of the culture has also been given an impetus by the academic research of leftist cultural workers into class history and its representations. It would seem that these artists have seen that both the idea of 'parochial' or 'provincial' as descriptive terms are determinations of a dominant ideology to maintain hierarchical distinctions for control and influence. By circumscribing these categories, assigning them to irrelevancy or illusion, some Australian artists have proceeded to concentrate on social interaction through responsible and radical aesthetic inquiry.¹⁰

Added to that, the **1982 Biennale's** director, Bill Wright, speaks of the "partial and discontinuous experience of international developments of the arts" by Australians as an advantage in cultural self-determinancy, a point in which the liberal society seems to be in agreement with the leftist's artists' emphasis on local and de-centralized activity. The degree to which the **Biennale** affects cultural production is not precisely clear. However, it is definite that the **Biennale's** presence as a focus for emerging issues of both theory and practice has made a contribution to these two fields within the past nine years in Australia.

The **Biennale of Sydney** seemingly is the voice of one person also, its director, Bill Wright, an Australian painter who has just returned to the country after some years abroad, most recently as a teacher in the New York area. But it is not. His own committee, unlike Fuchs', was influential in that there were certain artists they wanted represented. Also, the stringent economic factors which determine the Australian show necessitated that Wright have various national cooperation. In some cases, a curator was appointed after discussions with Wright, to choose the artists and their work — it was Jean-Hubert Martin in France. This means that the exhibition represents many points of view to begin with. Further, the limited space in the Art Gallery of New South Wales determined that parts of the exhibition were delegated to other centres in the city, decentralizing the exhibition and working against hierarchical structures in the final installations. For instance, the truly exceptional works of Mary Kelly were at the gallery of the City Art Institute and the

extensive film and video programme was seen at the New South Wales Institute of Technology. The decentralized nature of the exhibition put a certain demand on the viewer, but also allowed for sympathetic and professional installations in differing contexts.

Moreover, the catalogue and theme of the show ("Vision in Disbelief") divided works only loosely by the terms Static Works and Temporal Works, the latter including performance, video, film and sound, categories which much more than others seen recently equalize and reflect the major tenets of contemporary art. The 219 artists represented were contemporary and allowed to be such. Many did installations; the performances were live; and Salomé even painted his picture in situ. But more to the point than any debate as to who was in and who was out (and the choices weren't "fashionable"), is that the **Biennale** serves its artists and public by inviting scores of visiting artists, curators and critics from many of the countries represented.

The result is a true dialogue. Artists who live in Australia, and who were, in fact, reasonably represented in the exhibition itself, are given the opportunity to meet with and hear the opinions firsthand of their peers in other countries. This takes place in formal seminars in which Australian views are represented on the panels and in the audience, in visits to art schools in Sydney and throughout Australia by visiting artists and through informal social activity, the kind of which is cloistered and socially classified in Venice and Kassel. The value of this is immeasurable but obviously effective. Australians who are engaged in visual art are not only exposed but can measure their ideas and production within a healthy atmosphere of communication. The kind of reactionary tendencies of a Fuchs or a Peter Fuller (who gave the Power Lecture) could be measured directly and distinctly, unmediated by media and mythology. Terry Allen's southern American country and western sensibility could be experienced in concert and in his installation. In other words, the purpose of the exhibition is fulfilled. Rather than being a provincial situation looking to the world for tips, the exhibition is an expression of a serious interest in contemporary problems by a well-informed audience, among whom are artists as serious and important as any in the world.

It has its problems, of course. Money

is one of them. Shipping charges to Australia from many parts of the world are exorbitant, as are air fares for visitors. The facilities for the many installations, performances, video and film are minimal and not up to the requirements demanded by such an ambitious programme, resulting in delays and some incompletions. The Artworkers Union in Sydney are justifiably upset by the fact that the participating artists do not have contracts with the administration of the **Biennale**.¹¹ Local concerns with regard to the treatment of Aboriginal art within such an exhibition context are real and complex, although the opportunity to see the performances united all the visitors, regardless of aesthetic bias, in a way that only discussions of jet lag usually do. By its very nature, however, the exhibition worked in relation to artists' concerns. Installations were handled sympathetically, if not always competently, and the temporal works, which made up the largest component of the show, were among the most interesting art seen in a long time and not imposed to a museum or commercial thesis. Krzysztof Wodiczko's slide projections on the facade of the Art Gallery of New South Wales highlighted the opening and artists like Bill Woodrow, Tony Cragg, Ken Unsworth, Bruce McLean, Liz Magor, or John Van 't Slot, to name a few, were shown well rather than being ignored or shown badly as in Venice and documenta.

This exhibition is hopeful then. It gives rise to the foolish impression that trans-national exhibitions can occur without domination from national, commercial, critical or theoretical forces, but rather expose those forces within a rational and urgent context for consideration by all concerned. As a metalanguage, it represents real information and the complex relationships of those who speak the languages of art. Its very lack of pretension aligns it more closely to predominant contemporary artistic concerns which have modest, but effectual goals. Rather than being a model, the **Biennale of Sydney** is a working example of the exhibition's language speaking to an audience which can understand and is given the right to reply. □

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11. For information on the model contract proposed, write to the Artworkers Union, New South Wales, P.O. Box A509, Sydney South 2000, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia

FUSE MARCH/APRIL 1983

THE APPLEBERT COLLAPSE



"It was as if, from the time the Interim Report was written to the time of the Final Report, the Committee was taken hostage and assaulted. Whatever the threat, the few members of the Committee who knew better caved in to the political interests of the Government and the economic interests of the private sector. The Report itself makes a mockery of the input and advice from thousands of producers who act as representatives of the 'hidden culture'. The quicker we stop weeping about the existence of the 'Applebert Avoidance', and get back to forcing the Government to address the backlog of data compiled by StatsCan and others, the better.

"I'm scraping forty and I'm damned if our collective contribution as domestic producers will be forever shut-out from Canadians by foreign-ownership, made-to-fail 'protective legislation', starvation subsidies, and the treasonous self-serving boys who own the print, radio and TV monopolies.

"If these government wets and their academic-tenured consulting cronies don't want to face the facts of our cultural subordination, if the Left and Labour in this country is not willing to acknowledge our presence and support domestic production across the board — then we will coalesce with all the unrepresented and spend the rest of our lives blowing the whistle. You want art to 'reflect' society? You want art with content? You want art with a message? The history of cultural politics in this country and its effects is both an endless and painful inspirational resource. We'll plaster it from coast-to-coast until those in power will either have to expel us or suffer in shame. Sure, Canada's a world leader — in hypocrisy. Just listen to us support the struggles of the Third World and fake contributions to the 'North-South dialogue'. What do you think those people would think of us if they knew us as we are — as a dominated people still encouraging more foreign ownership, as a people who still repress and marginalize our own definitions and articulations of who we are? And you know why? You know what this whole manmade mess boils down to? The reason that we don't have protective tariffs or enforced domestic content regulation is not because telecommunication has made such options redundant — the underpinning of this whole political laissez-faire is to save diplomatic face. The political body badly needs their equivalent of primal scream therapy. They have to tell one and all, "Yes, our country was pawned by colonial menservants, and now we want some of it back." The reason that American mass culture works is that it portrays a people who dominate. Canadians, who have been convinced that their identity is a non-essential, will do anything to get that fix. We, as artists acting on behalf of the starving psyche of our people, don't want the excesses of that brand of American imperial power. We'll just settle for self-determination. Let's face it — we've got what it takes and that no longer means that we deserve to be taken".

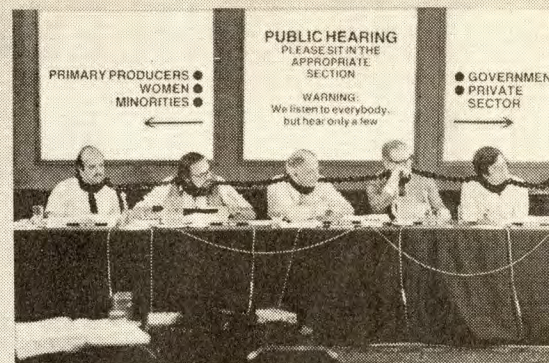
— 'Memorial to the Unknown Artists', from the anthology, "Return of the Rabbid Dogs", 1983

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10. For example, see "Australian Report Part Two", FUSE magazine, May/June, 1982, Volume Six, Nos. 1 & 2, Toronto, Ontario, pp. 49-62

INTRODUCTION

Jody Berland and Rosemary Donnegan



The Applebaum-Hebert Report on Federal Cultural Policy was dispensed to the Canadian public on November 16, 1983, with attendant press releases, specials on the CBC's "Journal" and in *Maclean's* magazine and the usual "Whither goest Canada?" anxiety spouting forth in massive doses of vague perplexity. At first glance it's hard to get a clear idea of what the Report is about — what it means and who should care.

In the Report, the collective Applebert persona comes across as a genial, concerned, liberally minded, (almost) social-democrat — with warm intentions and a fuzzy brain. The report is both soothing and irritating, making it difficult to locate the actual source of the pain that it seems to cause.

Subsequent volumes of kvetching aside, the Commission's Report is itself quite simple. It is a lengthy restatement of the proposition that Canadian culture requires public support to survive (at the least), or to develop (in whatever direction it is supposed to take). The Report proceeds to detail a variety of methods and structures for providing that support, outlining the rules of the game and how they are to be played by those nominated as eligible to participate. Within the methods and structures of cultural subsidization recommended, the interests, politics and values of the Commission are revealed.

The responses presented in this section explore and analyze these issues. Though they do not always share a common mode of analysis, they do illustrate the fact that many themes recur consistently throughout the Report, and that its apparently contradictory ideals, proposals and omissions, when taken as a whole, can be seen to encourage a specific conception and ideology of culture.

The espoused concern for the needs of individual artists — which is foregrounded throughout — fulfills an important function within the larger mandate of the Report. That mandate being, as George Smith points out, to outline an organizational map of cultural administration and to place that map in a clear position of accountability to the changing structure of state/capital relations. Smith's analysis provides a crucial understanding of the methods and implications of this orientation.

There are a number of omissions in the Applebert Report which, taken together, reveal a significant flow.

Supportive intentions

The only stated bias of the Report is towards the artistic producer — depicted as the creative individual, attempting to create art 'free from social, economic and political constraints'. The current under-compensation of artists is given

a strong case. The Report is full of nice phrases about the need to improve the lot of individual artists, though — best intentions aside — it achieves little in the way of concrete solutions. As D'Arcy Martin points out, any trade union organization would promptly vote down the Report's proposals as inadequate.

The Commission's stated premises, its more implicit interests and its concrete politics seem initially to contradict each other. As Smith explains, what is provided is a detailed program, intended to facilitate and rationalize support for the arts. At the heart of this program stands a conspicuous series of refined procedures for keeping party politics at 'arm's length' from funding decisions. On the other hand, the Report very clearly, and with a long axe, defines and expands the territory of the private sector — limiting the extent of bureaucratic involvements in its activities and giving the 'market' a greater cut of the cultural pie. And so, the 'Fine (visual and performing) Arts' get the long warm hand of the bureaucracy to nurture and subsidize them, while the 'Cultural (broadcasting, publishing, film and recording) Industries' get the open slippery palm of free enterprise — receiving subsidies in the form of various tax loopholes.

In the end, however, the various omissions represent an extended division of the administrative responsibilities, reflecting and reinforcing cultural divisions which currently exist. The apparent contradictions are furthermore an indication of the distinctly operating interests within government. On the one hand, there is 'industrious enterprise' — represented by the Department of Communications and its emerging cultural empire; on the other, there is 'individual creativity' — represented by the Canada Council, heroically defending its own status-quo position and past record (a rather ironic stance for the gatekeeper of the avant-garde!).

For those of us operating outside of the Ottawa labyrinth, what becomes clear is that the proposed government administrative and organizational apparatus (public art institutions, agencies and funding systems) are intended primarily to provide a state subsidized infrastructure for the envisioned private Canadian cultural industries. What is not clear is how this model will or could deal with the transnational corporations which presently dominate these cultural industries. As both Joan Davies and Sue Ditta point out, the Report's almost complete disregard of the role and influence of cultural corporations indicates that they will continue as usual, without direct challenge from Canadian regulations.

The Report offers little evidence of awareness of its own context. Whether talking about regional or community culture, the so-called avant-garde of the fine arts, or the globally disseminated products of the 'cultural industries'; the Report

On the one hand, there is 'industrious enterprise' — represented by the Department of Communications and its emerging cultural empire; on the other, there is 'individual creativity' — represented by the Canada Council, heroically defending its own status-quo position and past record...

displays a ridiculously inadequate grasp of how culture really operates and how power (especially economic) figures in its production and delivery.

Public and Private Interests

In the public sector CBC's in-house production is effectively blamed for all the failures of the CanCult dream including the failure of the private Canadian cultural and media industries to compete effectively for the artistic and financial resources. The recommendations, which would hand all this over to the private sector, leave the public media unions as the primary victims. There is in this whole area a fair degree of naivete (let's be kind for a moment) about how the Real World of Capitalism operates — outside of the terrain of the good intentions of government Commissions. But there are many holes in the discussion of culture which are being slipped through here ... Given that the major concern of the Report is to define the territory and obligations of government cultural policy, it becomes possible to sidestep the need to set concrete 'priorities'. Instead there is a list of 101 recommendations, which are neatly pigeonholed by department — none of which directly address the problems of cultural needs of social groups who are not artistically defined.

Conspicuous absences

The paragraphs 'dealing with' women, native peoples, regional and ethnic cultures (found in three pages near the beginning of the book) serve more as disclaimers than solutions. While discrediting the Liberal party's much maligned multiculturalism policy, it offers little assistance to the significant problems of native, ethnic or regional cultural production, leaving us with the same old catch-all for community culture.

In a similar vein — the complete omission of Quebec, as a cultural entity, seems not so much an inadequate response to the boycott of Commission hearings by many Quebec artists and producers, as a confirmation of their worst fears.

While it is acknowledged — again in these opening paragraphs — that women need greater representation in culture, the body of the report fails to mention them.

Also excluded from its mandate, was the entire arena of higher education, despite its conspicuous role in the organization or sponsorship of cultural resources in many communities.

Other areas apparently too hot to touch without sparks were those areas of tension between government and the private sector — including Pay TV and the range of technologi-

cal changes affecting culture. This last omission is particularly noticeable since it was presented in numerous briefs as a major concern and was seen as one of the commission's primary responsibilities.

It is in fact instructive to read the Commission's Summary of submitted briefs, released earlier last year. The issues raised here were discussed and elaborated in many briefs. The question remains of what happened to those submissions in the preparation of the final Report.

The Commission's positive and generous approach to private production establishes the competitive machinations of the marketplace as the judgement and validation of cultural significance within the "cultural industries"*. On the other side there is "art", here — both party politics and the marketplace are held at arm's length by the peer jury system, which is praised and encouraged (in the guise of the Canada Council) for its dealings with independent creative artists.

And then we have FUSE, a cultural newsmagazine produced within, and concerned with the issues facing, the independent cultural production community. The 'unnatural' division between 'art' and 'cultural industries' is an unworkable one for publications which are constantly trying to gain access to the newsstands of the nation, to develop new audiences and an awareness of the cultural context in which art is produced, while being dependent on subsidies for survival. The Report fails to deal adequately with the problems of access to markets, which could make cultural production less dependent on funding sources.

Solutions to problems with the Report will require some work from all of us: a re-examination of our strategies and policies currently in place, and in some cases the formation of new organizations strong enough to develop the issues further. The basic problems with which we are left are: how to deal with the economic plight of artists and cultural producers; the inability of Canadian 'cultural industries' to develop their own materials and access to markets in competition with U.S. multinationals; the continuing undernourishment of talents, skills and resources in the many communities marginalized by the Report; and the cultural experiences available to Canadian audiences.

If the Report has not offered solutions to our problems, this finally means that we will need to continue to develop stronger critiques, clearer strategies and sharper eyes.

Rosemary Donnegan is an art historian and a member of the Women's Cultural Building Collective.

CULTURE ACCOUNTING PRACTICES

George Smith

1

The *Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee* is a government document that outlines a series of administrative and accounting procedures which operate more-or-less as an appendix to the federal budget. The purpose of the *Report* is to suggest a plan for reorganizing, at the federal level, the administration of the government's cultural policy. Because the *Report* attends to the work of government — to the work of bureaucracy and administration, especially the problem of accountability — it does not start from the standpoint of artists and cultural workers, to say nothing of audiences. It starts from the standpoint of government.

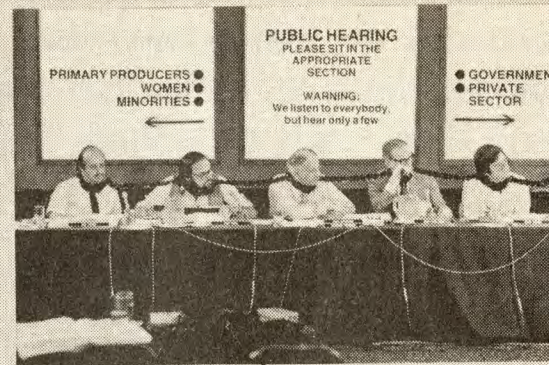
The federal government has been heavily involved in this country's economic development. The myth of a one-time laissez-faire economy is just that — a myth! Over the years the government has been an integral, organizational feature of the profits to which mercantile, industrial, and financial capital have laid claim. Moreover, during the past 100 years or so — but especially since the Great Depression — the organization of capital has involved not just the creation of government as a fundamental feature of economic enterprise as such, but as well, its use as a means of organizing and administering the social and cultural lives of Canadians.

Government activities in the economic, social, and cultural realms have led to a proliferation of agencies and crown corporations over and above a greatly expanded government bureaucracy at both the federal and provincial level. It is one thing for government to create new ministries, new agencies, and new Crown corporations. It is yet another for it to develop an adequate method for administering them — not only from a political standpoint; but also from the standpoint of fiscal responsibility.

Fiscal/policy management has been a serious problem for the federal government since the 1950s. This is not because the government has been particularly inept, but in part at least, because it has expanded very rapidly, and expanded into new areas of administration. During the 70s this problem became especially acute, particularly around attempts to manage Crown corporations and cultural agencies that receive little or no attention from the major mechanisms of government administration such as the Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission.

Measuring the "Arm's-length"

Since 1960 there have been two important royal commissions on government administration: the *Glassco Commission* (1963) on government organization, and the *Lambert Commission* (1979) on financial management and accountability. In Canada these two commissions have set the



framework for thinking about government administration. Both deal with government agencies and corporations operating independently of the usual ministerial/departamental forms of organization. The reports of these two commissions and of the *Massey-Levesque Commission* (1951), along with the federal government's multiculturalism and official languages policy, and a number of ancillary Acts dealing with government administration, provide the framework for the *Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee*.

The recession-plagued 70s together with the current economic depression, have set in motion the most elaborate and far-reaching reorganization of capital since the turn of the century. An important part of this reorganization has been the extension and tightening of the government's management of society — not just in terms of the economy, but in terms of almost every facet of social and cultural life. The form this has taken in government has been a vigorous emphasis on elaborating new procedures for financial management and accountability.

Given this context, the administrative problem faced by the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee was one of determining how in the midst of this reorganization of capital the work of federal cultural agencies is to be held accountable in terms of the federal budget. At the same time, it had to bear in mind the government's traditional "arm's-length" cultural policy and a number of related policies such as its multiculturalism and official languages policy.

The major issue, as the Committee saw it, was maintaining the government's traditional "arm's-length" policy. The question then was, given the new forms of government accountability which greatly increase the cabinet's control over Canadian society, how is it possible for cultural agencies to be independent of party politics? This again was an administrative problem; a matter of government re-organization. An important point to remember is that the government's traditional "arm's-length" policy in relation to cultural agencies was never intended to guarantee intellectual or artistic freedom. The mandates of these agencies have never been so generous. The policy is intended merely to prevent the party in power from using cultural policy as a mechanism for its own propaganda.

Redefining Culture

The way the *Report* goes about solving these problems is to develop a new definition of the status of federal cultural agencies. The first step in this process is to redefine the notion of culture. A fundamental feature of the *Report*, con-

sequently, is its description of culture as essentially the achievement of the creative individual. Having in this way implicitly denied the social character of cultural production, the *Report* then appears ironically to turn a full 180 degrees to define culture as a man-made heritage and as an industry. For the reader to take these definitions of culture at face value, however, is to misunderstand what is going on. What is important to see, rather, is that these definitions embody particular forms of government organization.

The creative genius notion of culture is produced as the rationale behind the government's "arm's-length" policy. It helps legitimate and provide the organization for the depoliticization of art. The greatest debasement of culture, according to this theory, comes from government inhibiting or directing the "natural" flow of genius. In our society, this notion of culture finds its ground in a particular organizational form, namely one that requires a separation between the federal government, as the funding source, and its cultural agencies. It thus provides for and is located in a system of management and accountability that appears as an "autonomous" form of government bureaucracy, divorced from politics, especially designed to administer cultural life. This cultural bureaucracy is set in place by the *Report*.

What is important, however, is that this form of bureaucratic organization with its autonomy, its boards of directors, its promotional, accounting, and office procedures IS the organization of culture as the achievement of the creative individual. This is no more clearly seen than in the way in which the work of the Canada Council is organized to dispense grants to artists. The creative genius notion of culture, of course, is not entirely new. Its bureaucratic use is merely adapted from an earlier form of organization that arose with the advent of patronage as a basic social relation of cultural production.

Social Forms of Culture

In much the same way that the definition of culture as creative individualism is the crystallization of a particular bureaucratic form, the social form of culture as heritage is that aspect of government bureaucracy designed to administer museums, archives, and particular features of the government's multicultural policy. Likewise, the definition of culture as industry finds its ground in the work of administering cultural agencies such as the CBC and the NFB.

What is to be seen is that these definitions of culture are not *ad hoc*. They attend, rather, to the administrative work of government and are constructed by the Committee as part of its policy review work. The procedures involved require abstracting cultural production out of the actual social organization of intellectual and artistic life and relocating it in the social organization of a government bureaucracy. This is an ideological process which draws an administrative boundary around the notion of cultural production. The result is that it is then possible to take up this notion and think about it quite narrowly in terms of the administration of government policies and programs.

The effect is to organize only certain features of cultural production in relation to the federal budget and to exclude others. The contribution, for example, of the spouses of artists — feeding, health care, and sex, et cetera — to cultural life vanishes, as does the work of parents in discovering and nurturing child prodigies for the system. The political content of culture is likewise excluded, as something that stands outside the "objective", administrative framework of agency evaluation procedures. Similarly, the briefs and recommendations of women's groups or of local community arts or-

ganizations — with the exception of "ethnic" organizations — are ignored in the body of the *Report*. The federal government does not have a policy on women or on local communities. Consequently, what these groups do is not culture — by definition!

"Accountability Regimes"

The creative individualism form of bureaucracy, however, creates a very difficult administrative problem — a problem of accountability. Given the government's "arm's-length" policy, how can it be assured that public moneys are being wisely and properly spent in relation to the mandate of a cultural agency? The solution to this problem constitutes the second step in developing a re-definition of the status of federal cultural agencies. It also results in a further elaboration of the proposed administrative apparatus and a reformulation of the mandate of cultural agencies like the CBC and the NFB.

In its report, the Lambert Commission spelled out the four elements of an accountability framework: mandate, direction, control, evaluation and reporting. (p. 274) The mandate of an agency "includes [1] a vigorous definition of tasks, purposes and objectives assigned to an agency and [2] a clear delegation of the powers and managerial authority necessary to accomplish them." Direction is "primarily concerned with the first part of the mandate, the tasks, purposes and the objectives of a Crown agency, control relates to the second, the delegation of powers and managerial authority." (*ibid.*) The notion of evaluation and reporting is fairly straightforward.

What is important is that the concept of accountability is able to grasp the overall organization of an agency and to examine it in relation to government policy and financial expenditures. On this basis it is possible to create an accountability classification of Crown agencies, which is what the Lambert Commission did. The purpose was to establish appropriate "accountability regimes" for each category. The effect would be to tighten up government organization by bringing Crown agencies under greater control.

The Lambert Commission created two important categories of Crown agencies: independent deciding and advisory bodies, and Crown corporations. An important distinction between these two categories was whether the tasks the agency carried out were akin to private sector entrepreneurial undertakings or not. The accountability regimes for these two agency categories also differed. In the first, the adjudicative, regulatory, granting, research and advisory functions were assigned to a board which was to reach its decisions in a collegial manner. The autonomy of the board was to be guaranteed by the method of appointment. However, under special circumstances policy directives could be issued to the boards of such agencies by the government. So much for the direction of these agencies. Their control was placed in the care of a chairman with the management of the agency subject to the Financial Administration Act and the Public Service Employment Act. In other words, apart from the work of the board, the accountability regimes of these agencies would be the same as a government department.

In the second category, Crown corporations, the board was made responsible for both the direction and control of the agency. In the case, however, where there was a conflict between the financial interests of the corporation and the national interest, the government could issue a policy directive that would excuse the directors of the corporation from the legal requirement under the Canada Business Corporation Act to act in the best financial interests of the corporation.

Cultural Agency status

From the standpoint of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee neither of these regimes was acceptable. In either case there was the possibility of simply too much government interference. To avoid the classification system of the Lambert Commission and its accountability regimes, the Committee undertook to redefine the status of cultural agencies thereby creating a new form of accountability more in keeping with its definition of culture. It described this as achieving an "acceptable accommodation of government imperatives and cultural values."

Its redefinition of cultural agency status was based on two approaches: (1) an examination of the operational character of agencies; and (2) an examination of the cultural impact of agency activities. In both cases cultural agencies were looked at first and foremost in terms of the "arm's-length" policy; in terms of the degree of autonomy required to protect "cultural values". The operational character of these agencies was considered under four headings: Jurisdictional, resource allocation, standards and criteria, and adjudication of claims or performance. On the other hand, the cultural impact of agencies was evaluated in terms of sector, focus and clientele. Most of the remainder of the *Report* flows from this analysis. Indeed, the categories of agency "focus" provide the chapter headings for the rest of the book.

	Direction A/N-A*	Control A/N-A*
Can. Coun.	x	x
SSHRC	x	x
CBC	x	x
NAC	x	x
CFDC	x	x
NFB	x	x
CHC	x	x
NMC	x	x
Nat. Lib.	x	x
CRTC	x	x
Pub. Arch.	x	x

*Autonomous/Non-Autonomous. The latter with some variations.

In effect, what the *Report* proposed was that Canada's major cultural agencies be insulated from all government policy and administrative control, specifically the Financial Administration Act, the proposed Government Organization Act, and by implication the Public Services Employment Act. Their accountability to the federal budget and to the Canadian public was to be reduced to an exercise in public relations. Cultural agencies ought to be exposed, according to the Committee, to a process of "scrutiny, surveillance, public exposure, and debate to legitimize [their] actions ... to the public." To this end, it would be "the responsibility of these agencies to prepare and to make public corporate plans and annual reports" so as to permit "informed judgment" on the part of the public.

In terms of the current transformation of the social organization of capital, including the tightening up of accountability practices within government, it is unclear whether the *Report's* proposed accountability regime will pass muster. It is true that some powers are reserved to the government with regards to the direction and control of the National Museums of Canada, the Public Archives, the National Library, and the CRTC. Overall, however, especially in terms of those cultural agencies with the largest budgets and the greatest im-

act on national life, it is difficult to see these arrangements as an "acceptable accommodation of government imperatives". Apart from the reports of the Auditor General, the Canadian public would know only as much or as little as the boards of cultural agencies determined. There would be nothing preventing annual reports, as far as policy direction is concerned, from taking the form of the shady mining stock prospectus. Aside from sheer neglect of duty where the members of boards can be dismissed for "cause", parliament would be powerless to act in possibly untoward circumstances, and the public would be reduced merely to writing letters to the editors of newspapers.

A second problem of accountability in the *Report* is the question of the technical competence of boards of cultural agencies to develop acceptable administrative controls given the new, emerging forms of capitalist management. The Lambert Commission, in assigning the control of Crown corporations to their boards, understood (1) that this work would be undertaken by business leaders and high-level government bureaucrats with considerable expertise in this area, and (2) that the running of corporations is also governed by a legal framework, including the Canada Business Corporation Act, that gives their accountability regime more than merely a public relations form.

Cultural agencies as creative individualism

In its *Report* the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee makes no requirement that the members of boards of cultural agencies have high-level administrative experience that would qualify them to take the place of the bureaucracy attached to the Financial Administration Act or the proposed Government Organization Act. Indeed, the requirements for board memberships as they are sketched out in the *Report* is adamant in insisting that the boards and staffs of cultural agencies be recruited and hired from within the Canadian cultural community where there is little experience with the new forms of accountability. In this respect, it will be interesting to see to what extent the government will implement the Committee's recommendations.

As was pointed out earlier, the examination of an agency's accountability regime is fundamental to understanding its bureaucratic organization. Given the Committee's definition of culture as creative individualism, and thus its overwhelming desire to maintain in absolute purity the government's "arm's-length" policy, the accountability regime set forth in the *Report* organizes the country's cultural agencies in a number of important and significant ways.

The Lambert Commission pointed out that the first feature of an accountability framework is the agency's mandate. It then went on to distinguish between Canadian cultural agencies in terms of their mandates, specifically whether or not they performed tasks akin to private sector entrepreneurial undertakings. Those that did were classified as Crown corporations. There were four of these: the CBC, the NAC, the NFB, and the National Museums of Canada (NMC). The *Report* of the Committee discounted this criterion as unimportant in determining a cultural agency's accountability regime. It was not compatible with either the notion or the bureaucratic organization of culture as creative individualism. The result was that the Committee recommended that the mandates of three of these agencies — the CBC, NFB, and NAC — be changed to exclude entrepreneurial undertakings, and that the fourth, the NMC be organized merely as a service organization. The effect, in terms of the Lambert

Report was to transform all cultural agencies classified as Crown corporations into more-or-less independent deciding and advising bodies. This is paradigmatically the organization of cultural agencies as creative individualism.

A second feature of the *Reports'* accountability regime was its articulation to the social organization of class in Canada. The practices and procedures of the bureaucracy of culture as creative individualism are very conservative. Cultural agencies are to be constructed and organized as elite institutions. Apart from the flim-flam of an annual public relations exercise, they are to operate beyond the democratic process. In the view of the Committee, their operations ought even to be immune from the privacy provisions of the Human Rights Act. This would insure that evaluations of artistic work would remain confidential — the hallmark of the organization of artistic and intellectual life as a social clique.

The insularity of cultural agencies is justified in the *Report* in terms of minimizing political interference in intellectual and artistic life. But, it is clear from the Committee's account of the proposed composition of agency boards that they are concerned only with the influence of political parties, not political freedom as such:

What is required is that, for these agencies, the boards must bear most of the responsibility for defining the public interest which, in a department setting, would be borne by ministers. The board must therefore consist of persons who will be regarded, by ministers and members of Parliament and by the public at large, as qualified to act in lieu of political authority in prescribing policies and priorities and directing operations — especially when those operations venture into controversial realms of opinion or taste. As public trustees they must be alive to the forces to which political leaders are subject, but their overriding purposes must be cultural. (p. 42)

The operative terms here are "public interest", "in lieu of political authority", and "controversial realms of opinion and taste". In holding agency boards accountable for policy direction, the Committee would undoubtedly see nothing wrong with the CBC cancellation of *This Hour has Seven Days*, the NFB suppression of *On est au Coton*, or the Vancouver Playhouse's cancellation in the early seventies of Ryga's play, *Captives of a Faceless Drummer*. The policy review work of the Committee, as might be expected, did nothing to relieve the censorship and suppression of political culture in Canada.

Cultural agencies as the social organization of "creative genius" do not and cannot guarantee political freedom. Given their mandate and policy directions, federal cultural agencies are integral to the country's ruling apparatus. What the actual operations of this form of bureaucracy does, in fact, is to depoliticize culture; to make it, like its administrative procedures, objective and rational. It treats the culture of working people, of women, of Quebecois, of native peoples, and sexual minorities, among others, as completely bereft of politics — certainly of politics that stand outside the "public interest".

In the end, the *Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee* is merely an accounting exercise, built on a conservative definition of culture, that attempts to shield the empires of Canada's cultural mandarins from the new organizational forms of capitalist accountability. It does this on the pretext of defending artistic and intellectual freedom.

George Smith is the past chairman of The Right to Privacy Committee. He works as a consultant and university teacher. He has taught at the Marxist Institute in Toronto and at a number of Canadian universities, including McGill, Simon Fraser, UBC, York, Dalhousie and the University of Toronto.

Black Rose Press



THE APPLEBERT GAME
Nanci Rossov and the Feminist
Research Editorial Group

2

1: Accepting that the Chair must reflect the duality of Canada, why were neither of the co-chair positions filled by women?
a) There are no women in English Canada.
b) There are no women in French Canada.
c) A woman, not being equal to a man, would have made the French-English balance impossible, thus insulting one of our founding nations.
d) Other (Please fill in)

2: The decision to appoint only 4 women to a committee of 18 was reached because:
a) It never occurred to anyone that a male-female balance would be beneficial.
b) A balanced committee might have reached conclusions that would have adversely affected the present male dominated status quo.
c) Gender was not an issue. Only 'standards of excellence' were considered. (See question 3, below.)
d) Other (Please fill in)

3: In 25 words or less, explain the superior 'standards of excellence' which distinguish the overwhelming majority of male committee members from those listed below:
Margaret Atwood, June Callwood, Micheline Lanctot, Pauline McGibbon, Yvette Brindamour, Alice Courtney, Dodi Robb, Marion Kanteroff, Hélène Bergeron, Maureen Forrester, Esther Greeglass, Pamela Hawthorne, Jean Roberts, Kathleen Shannon, Martha Henry, Dr. Shake Toukmanian, Beryl Fox, Vera Frenkel, Celia Franca, Marigold Charlesworth, Lisa Steele, Lise Payette, Evelyn Roth, Dorothy Smith, Jan Tennant, Nicole Brassard, Anna Porter, Joyce Wieland.
10 BONUS POINTS will be awarded to the person who can add the names of 10 additional women, lacking the required superior 'standards of excellence'.

4: What happened to the public hearings and all those "boring" submissions? Connect the recommendations in COLUMN B with the biographical notes in COLUMN A. Just circle the appropriate letter.

COLUMN A

1. 14 of 18 Committee members are male.

A B C D E F G

2. 4 Committee members are, or have been on the staff or Board of the National Theatre School.

A B C D E F G

3. The only broadcaster on the Committee is president of a private radio and television station. Not one member boasts affiliation with the CBC.

A B C D E F G

4. A co-chairman of the Committee wrote reports which led to the foundation of the National Arts Centre Orchestra.

A B C D E F G

COLUMN B

A. Rec 43: (The National Arts Centre) "It should forego in-house production of theatrical and operatic works ... The NAC Orchestra, however, should remain as a resident and touring organization".

B. Rec 67: "With the exception of its news operations, the CBC should relinquish all television production activities and facilities in favour of acquiring its television program materials from independent producers. (10 BONUS POINTS IF YOU FIND 2 CORRESPONDING NOTES IN COLUMN A!)

C. Not one of the 101 Recommendations reflect the needs of nor the numerous problems facing Canadian women, both as artists and consumers of art/culture.

D. Rec 40: In one of only five recommendations dealing with the performing arts, The National Theatre School would continue to receive federal funding.

5. 3 members are directly involved with publishing.

A B C D E F G

6. 2 members are independent film producers; a co-chairman is an executive of a pay-TV channel.

A B C D E F G

7. 9 members are, or have been arts managers/administrators/(bureaucrats?)

A B C D E F G

Historical Note: Pierre Juneau, then deputy minister of Communications, now CBC president, withdrew from the Committee, following the publication of the Summary of Briefs and Hearings, to avoid any "conflict of interest" concerning recommendations.

5: Page 9 contains one of the strongest statements in the entire report:

"Women are often prevented from making a greater contribution to arts and culture because they are inadequately represented at all levels of the cultural agencies, including juries and other selection committees ... governments must pursue a vigorous social policy aimed at eradicating discriminatory barriers to the full participation of all Canadians in cultural life.

The elimination of discriminatory barriers is an imperative of social policy. Our committee believes it is also an imperative of cultural policy. We should like to draw special attention to the fact that the present inequitable access of women to all levels of responsibility and activity in the cultural sector deprives Canadian society as a whole of a vital dimension of human and artistic experience."

The reason this "imperative of cultural policy" did not result in a single recommendation is:

- a) The Committee didn't believe it, but were pressured into including some appeasing rhetoric.
b) They did believe it, but didn't want to lose the opportunity to sit on a Royal Commission on Women in Culture.
c) The girls were busy getting coffee when a recommendation was being considered.
d) Other (Please fill in)

E. 52 of 101 recommendations would develop, expand, strengthen or consolidate administrative structures and power.

F. Rec 47, 49, 50, 51: all propose direct subsidy programs for book publishing.

G. 3 of 4 recommendations concerning film suggest increased funds for private film/video production. The 4th, Rec 64: "The National Film Board should be transformed into a centre for advanced research and training in the art and science of film and video production."

6: What are the following?

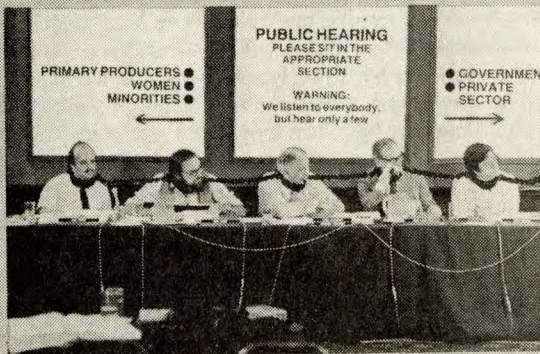
102 - All levels of existing cultural agencies and offices must be restructured to ensure equal representation of women and equal access for women. These include: The Canada Council, The Canadian Film Development Corporation, Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), National Film Board, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, National Museums of Canada, Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board, Canadian Conservation Institute, Heritage Canada Foundation, National Theatre School, National Ballet School and the Canadian Music Centre.

103 - All levels of proposed cultural agencies and offices must be structured to ensure equal representation of women and equal access for women. These include: The Canadian Heritage Council, National Archival Records Commission, Contemporary Arts Centre, Canada Council of Design and Applied Arts, The Canadian Cultural Products Marketing Organization, and the Canadian International Relations Agency.

7: Or, in consideration of the above recommendations, find 91 places within the 101 Applebert recommendations to insert the following sentence?

"Once this/these body(ies) has/have been (re)structured to ensure adequate representation of women."

An extra large quiche goes to those who realize that this can be done without altering the intent of any recommendation, infringing on any private company, or requiring the restructuring of an entire government ministry!



BROADCASTING

Sandra Gathercole

3

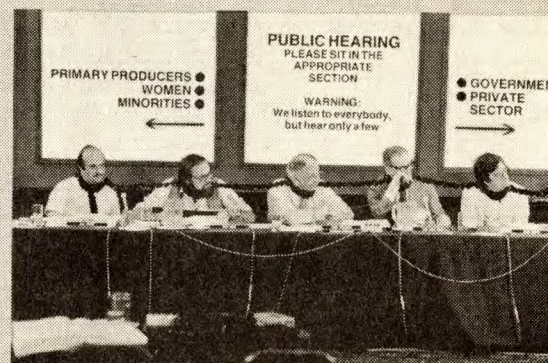
I once watched the CRTC's red carpet roll up abruptly from under the feet of a visitor from the BBC when the man asked, for openers, what the Commission intended to do about the fact that Canadian television was basically American. The CRTC officials feigned incomprehension and changed the subject.

But head in the sand invites boot in the rear and the question was far from impertinent. The Canadian "content and character" of our television screens has become little more than a figment of the Broadcasting Act's imagination.

- Drama — the largest, costliest, and most powerful of all program categories (the Coca-Cola culture has not colonized the world with public affairs programming) — fills 36.4% of total broadcast time on English Canadian television stations. Of that total, domestic drama accounts for a mere 1.4%.
- The country's largest private network, CTV, has just fought and lost a two year court battle in an effort to overturn a CRTC directive that it begin to produce a modest half hour per week of Canadian drama programming.
- The CBC, which supplies 90% of the limited Canadian drama that is available, is hamstrung by lack of adequate air time (it's hard to serve as the bulwark of Canadian content with only one channel in a thirty channel environment), and declining public and commercial revenues.
- Canadian cable operators are seeking authorization to provide (for a price) five additional American satellite services to their subscribers who now receive up to 80% American-originated programming.
- Pay-TV, the last great white hope of Canadian television, is being publicly reproached before it goes on air by the Minister of Communications for the absence of Canadian programming in advertised schedules, and for what the Minister has termed the "branch pants" nature of the deal which one of these Canadian-operated services has struck with the American Playboy channel to produce the latter's "adult entertainment" on this side of the border as a contribution to Canadian content.

This American product dependence has, in part, to do with our proximity to the United States; our relatively small market; and the relatively higher costs of distribution and dual language production which must be supported in Canada.

However, a larger part of the problem stems from rejection of the essential organizing principles for a small market economy inundated by American exports; a strong public sector



presence; concentration of resources through complementary rather than competitive services; and cross-subsidization of domestic production by the distribution revenues of imported materials.

These principles are almost universally employed in European broadcasting. In this country they were recognized over fifty years ago when Graham Spry rallied public support for the establishment of the CBC with the slogan "the state or the United States". However, Canadian broadcasting policy has frequently attempted to ignore the inherent incompatibility between private enterprise and public purpose. Over the last decade the CRTC has over-licensed private television stations thus increasing competition for American programs and fragmenting the revenue base available for Canadian production; it has permitted dominance within the system to shift dramatically from the CBC to the private sector; and it has failed to implement its own policy requiring cable operators to pay for Canadian programming they carry.

As a result, Canadian television now has neither the dollars nor the will to produce competitive programming and is wholly vulnerable to the homogenizing, and Americanizing, impact of the "open skies" which are descending upon it. At the same time, no defence is available through the traditional means of content regulation since restrictive measures face technological override on every front in the satellite era.

The Applebaum-Hebert Committee — whose mandate did not originally include broadcasting — has nevertheless taken a swipe at the problem and missed by a wide margin.

In the opening chapters of its Report, the Committee cites television as "the most striking illustration" of American occupation of Canada's cultural markets. Instead of analysing the systemic reasons for this occupation, the Report proceeds to advocate extension of the very stratagems which are at the root of the problem. Specifically, it recommends:

- further neutralization of the public sector presence by turning all CBC production (except news), and all of the Corporation's local programming, over to private producers;
- further audience/revenue fragmentation by licensing more private television stations in major markets;
- continued exemption from the system's funding framework for cable subscription revenues beyond the existing largely symbolic community channel programming. These revenues (\$464 million per annum) are now roughly equivalent to Canadian television's revenues from advertising and public subsidy and represent the largest untapped source of production funding.

The Appelbaum-Hebert Committee — whose mandate did not originally include broadcasting — has nevertheless taken a swipe at the problem and missed by a wide margin.

To be fair to the Report, it also contains some excellent, if obvious, recommendations:

- CBC drop commercial advertising, affiliated stations, and most American programming;
- private broadcasters increase their expenditures on Canadian content.

The flaw in these recommendations is that Applebaum-Hébert has neglected to prescribe the means for their achievement. CBC has long agreed that it should drop its advertising and affiliates which would permit it to Canadianize its schedules. To date no one, including Applebaum-Hebert, has been able to come up with a realistic source for the hundreds of millions of dollars which these moves would cost the Corporation.

The Report offers little in the way of reasons for the redirection of public production dollars from the publicly-mandated CBC, which has been the only consistent source of the high calibre Canadian content that the Committee establishes as its primary objective, to the private sector with its comparatively dismal record beyond news and public affairs programming. To the limited extent that the Report does offer a rationale, it appears to be based on the traditional American suspicion of government's role in culture, and a corresponding faith in the ability of the competitive, commercial marketplace to operate in the national interest.

A *Toronto Star* report clearly revealed the Committee's assumption that the large market model of the U.S. networks is a practicable means of achieving Canadian cultural objectives in the small, linguistically-fragmented Canadian market:

"Applebaum said the Committee's vision of a new CBC was no different than the way NBC operates in the U.S. 'How does NBC provide programs? By buying from the private producers? Right. That's what we want to see for CBC.'"

This, of course, fails to draw the lines between the dots. It ignores the demonstrable equation between privatization and Americanization of Canadian television. It also appears to assume an imaginary private sector, composed of sensitive artists rather than grasping middlemen, who are dedicated more to Canadian culture than to profit and/or operate outside the constraints of North American market forces. The CRTC may have held a similar delusion in mind as it painted itself into the corner on Pay-TV.

What both have failed to come to grips with is the fact that in the real world beyond Hollywood there is no such thing as "free enterprise" in film and television production since such production would not exist if left to its own devices in the marketplace.

The United States is the only country which can afford to treat its media on a strictly commercial basis because, in addition to its own large domestic market, it enjoys the benefits of being the most prolific and profitable cultural exporter of the 20th century. What works for it works nowhere else. Its

profitability is based on a domination of world media markets which has been achieved at the expense of the economic viability of all other national producers, whether in their own or export markets. The fact that national production nevertheless exists in all developed nations is a function of government intervention, subsidy, and public sector production as means of compensating for the inequities between the American and all other markets.

Because of this economic distortion, private Canadian television broadcasters have an innate hostility to Canadian programming: its production is economically irrational when high cost American alternatives can be imported for a fraction of the cost. Similarly, private Canadian producers cannot rationalize producing primarily for the domestic audience when they are dependent on foreign sales for 70-80% of cost recovery; a factor which tends to denationalize their work. Even if the CBC were, in Applebaum-Hebert's brave new world, to provide full cost recovery for private producers, it could not alter the ever-present incentive to maximize profits by aiming production at the U.S. market.

This equation between increased reliance on the private sector and increased Americanization of Canadian television is not, as it is commonly regarded, a matter of ideological debate but rather one of empirical evidence. Has Global Television contributed to the programming objectives of the Broadcasting Act? Did the Capital Cost Allowance contribute? Will Pay-TV contribute?

However contrary its intention, the effect of Applebaum-Hebert's broadcasting recommendations, were they ever to be implemented, would be to complete the Americanization of Canadian television. That the Committee seems unaware of these implications demonstrates that our policymakers have become as unconsciously and indelibly imprinted on imported American *modus operandi* as our audiences have become on imported American programming.

In 1970 John Grierson, the wise and wily Scot who founded our National Film Board, warned the CRTC that it was time to bring television "back to its duty" in this country. A decade later, technology has brought us to the point of no return where we must accept the real cost — political and economic — of bringing Canadian television back to its duty and its identity, or we must make a conscious decision to accept submersion in the North American monolith. The latter course would at least have the advantage of saving the hundreds of millions of dollars we are now spending on maintaining the illusion of an independent system.

But to continue the inept thinking with our television typified by Applebaum-Hebert is masochism, costly masochism. Sisyphus' task was not more futile.

Sandra Gathercole is a communications consultant, writer and a member of the editorial board of *The Canadian Forum*.

CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

Ioan Davies

4

The **Applebert Committee's Report on Cultural Policy** is not so much a Report on culture per se, as one on aspects of what have been termed the 'cultural industries'. It is not surprising, given the auspices of *the Report*, that the political economy of those industries is not directly addressed even though there is a chapter called "Marshalling Resources: The Political Economy of Culture." What the Committee takes political economy to mean is government housekeeping — or what framework government should employ to subsidize and stimulate certain arts and the processes of storing and transmitting the products of their labour.

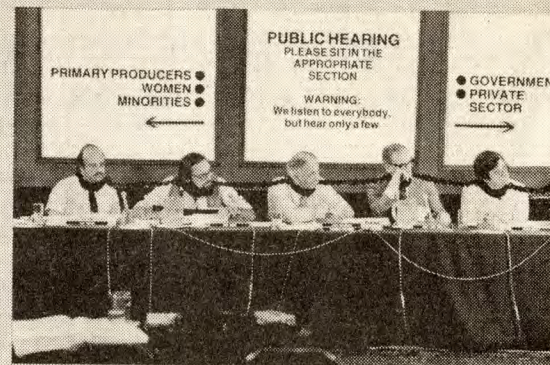
There are a few nice things about sponsoring more of us than have been sponsored heretofore (non-fiction writers and journalists in particular). But on the whole it is a self-serving document by a minority group of cultural entrepreneurs who have their own axes to grind with the existing bureaucracy (Jacques Hebert's vendetta against **Radio Canada** for its apparent separatist stance, as much as Lou Applebaum's free market economic approach to the arts, both account for the report's attitude to CBC).

What is totally lacking as a background to *the Report* is an investigation of the structure of ownership, control, investment and content of the mass media and the extent to which new technologies might be used to provide alternative priorities. For example, if we begin with publishing (chapter 7) as a case-study and see it against Paul Audley's new book **Canada's Cultural Industries** (James Lorimer, 1983) which includes, in part, a long analysis of the economic and political aspects of Print (newspapers, periodicals, books) we can begin to focus on the problem.

In Applebert (chapter 7, on publishing) the focus is on what the government is currently doing and the ways that such a contribution might be improved. *The Report* explicitly excludes newspapers, educational and business publishing and any discussion of multi-national publishing, confining itself to book and periodical publishing "especially those elements within them of a creative or intellectual nature". What *the Report* does (here and everywhere else) is to isolate a small segment which it calls "culture" and keep it separate from virtually everything else of which it might be seen to be a part. "Culture" is therefore not political, not ideological, not really even commercial (partly because the committee members reserve commerce for themselves) — witness the absence of discussion regarding Pay T.V. or newspapers.

Priming the pump

The role of government is to keep the infrastructure of 'culture' intact for those areas which are seen to be non-profit, while vis à vis culture in a commercial sense, government



is to act as a pump-priming operation — creating acting jobs, sponsoring magazines and publishing houses, etc. This is intended to provide the talent which can maintain the commercial operations that exist in the market-place. What actually happens in that market-place is barely discussed, but institutions which might have been encouraged to use public funds to create a lively political presence (the CBC, the NFB) are effectively emasculated and turned into agencies for producing talent for the market-place.

Publishing does not consist solely of a few publishing houses and journals who rely on public funding to stay alive (though these certainly do exist). It includes some mammoth Canadian corporations, with interlocking control across newspapers, periodicals, educational publishing, radio stations, football and hockey teams, breweries, record companies and T.V. stations. It is unrealistic to ignore this fact in order to concentrate on a few arts magazines, cast as the amateurs of our culture. **Torstar, Southams, Thomson, MacLean-Hunter, Irvine** and **CHUM** are central definers of our culture — even if we take print alone.

By ignoring the *Kent Commission* or even the *CRTC* hearings, the *Applebert Committee* does not take even its own narrow mandate seriously. The main problem in publishing in Canada is not merely whether subsidies should go to authors or publishers, but that the major Canadian publishers (let alone US or British ones) operate with a sense of cultural policy which has very little to do with any of the issues raised by Applebert.

The **Toronto Star**, for example, not only operates with a virtual monopoly of community news in the greater Toronto area, but also controls *Harlequin Romances*, accounting for 90% of Canada's "export" of books (even though the books are printed in the USA and written in Britain). Audley's study shows that the major Canadian publishers are connected with major internal newspaper chains and that their policies do not seriously allow for the sponsorship of literature or radical critical journalism. By not confronting these facts Applebert ignores the second single most important source of information control (after the US media) in Canada. Audley shows that these are also among the most profitable corporations in Canada, and that between them, they have significant control over the distribution of books and journals. (Southam for example, owns Coles bookstore).

Ignoring Context and Particulars

The issue, then, is the total structural basis of the communications industry in Canada, and the extent to which public policy (federal or provincial) is used to develop effective and viable alternatives to those operating in the so-called market-place. *The Applebert Report's* refusal to see that any policy

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for the arts and communications is inherently ideological, is its failing. Feminist publishing, for example, is not addressed at all in *the Report* (the issue of women having been neatly pigeonholed as early as Page 9). How can the specific problems of feminist writing be addressed if the control, management, financing, distribution, and creation of women's work is simply put into an all-purpose "Canadian" category. The exclusion of educational publishing (much of which is controlled by the Thomson chain), further exacerbates the problem, as this is arguably one of the most important areas of concern to feminists?

Applebert refuses anywhere to consider content, except in the sense of "Canadian" content. Thus, once again, the artistic bourgeoisie camouflages its true interests, by using nationalism as a smokescreen for robbing cultural analysis of any discussion of hegemony or ideology. (The *Massey-Levesque Commission* was quite explicit about its ideology which was publicly and self-consciously elitist; in many respects *Applebert* is involved in a running and confused battle against that ideology, without declaring its own bias).

But what would a public policy for art and communications look like if any government committee might be expected to put it into place? Applebert's failure to engage in

ON LABOUR

D'Arcy Martin

5

It is a particularly Canadian ritual; this expression of disappointment in Federal government inquiries. We want, it seems, to have our authority structures love us, but don't want to cause a real fuss when we're jilted.

The Applebaum-Hébert Report reflects, rather than illuminates, the practical politics of culture. With the stated premise that their task was, "to investigate, not culture itself but rather federal cultural policy", one knows that many of the interesting questions are going to slip through the net.

Occasionally, there are echoes of traditional labour themes — as in the admission that the biggest subsidy to the Canadian arts comes from the underpaid artists themselves. From a study done in 1978 it is cited that most full-time visual artists earned under \$10,000 — that's a lousy income by most standards. Yet the proposals on copyright, taxation, and so on fall hopelessly short of the solid offer that a group of unionized workers would expect. Vague targets for higher government subsidy do little to allay the suspicion that the vast majority of our country's arts community will continue to live in material poverty, while the spiritual and intellectual surplus they generate is skimmed off by the officials in Applebert's new arts bureaucracies.

The income issue is particularly potent when combined with job insecurity. Yet Applebert picks the one field where workers have gained some rights — broadcasting — and proposes contracting CBC production out to the private sector.

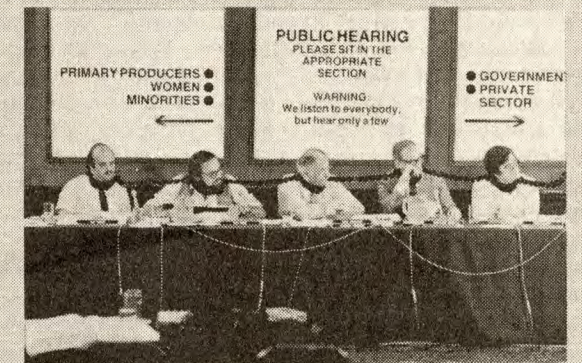
But, what about the "non-monetary items" in the Applebert package? The most interesting, in my view, was the Heritage section. There is reference to the policy of

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a comprehensive discussion of the problems facing the popular groups which comprise Canadian society indicates where the discussion might seriously begin. *The Report* in no place specifically discusses issues raised by women, organized labour, radical separatism or counter-culture as a focus for a cultural policy. One reason that it is unable to do this is because it does not confront the communications industry with the same honesty as that employed by the **Kent Commission** on Newspaper Ownership.

A public policy, in any real sense, for the arts and communications would entail a major swing away from private corporate interests towards publicly-owned services. In publishing, broadcasting, record and video the logic of Applebert moves exactly in the other direction. Even such public services as we currently have, are emasculated in favour of private ownership. Audley's study of the Cultural Industries, on the other hand, suggests the route that we must take if the control of Canadian culture is not to be lost forever to the large conglomerates.

Ioan Davies writes for *The Canadian Forum* and is organizing a Conference on the Alternative Press in Canada.



democratizing and decentralizing, which has in recent years increased both the relevance of collections and their physical accessibility to the majority of working people. Elsewhere, there is concern expressed about toxic substances used by visual artists, and a call for clearer labelling to minimize risks. There are solemn lectures to the school system, urging that every Canadian child become literate in all the arts, and that arts careers be treated more sympathetically by the education system.

Perhaps that is the root of my disappointment in the Report as a whole. There is no analysis of power relations within which culture is produced and consumed. Although there are many references to the audience, the artist's public is seen simply and statically — as consumers of cultural products. There is no indication or recognition of people, their lives and their emotions, as content and as participants within culture. Hence, there are no proposals which might develop this interaction/relationship either in conflict or dialogue. Rather, the Committee offers a series of institutional expansions and administrative shuffles as the basis for nourishing the creative impulse, wherever it may be found.

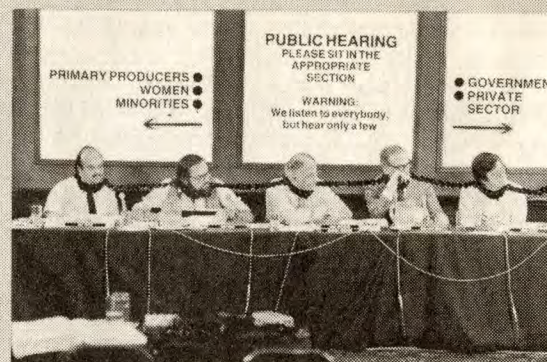
As a whole, Applebert doesn't explore much of the potential shared ground between the arts community and the labour movement. My sense is that the membership would vote this package down if they got a ratification meeting on it.

D'Arcy Martin currently works as the Education Director (Canada) of the United Steelworkers of America.

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VISUAL ART Rosemary Donnegan

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An overall systematic analysis of the Applebert Report very quickly indicates that, within the area of the visual arts, it supports the structures that are in place, making five rather weak and ill-defined recommendations, none of which speak directly to practising artists. In this response/assessment, I have used as a base a series of conversations with individual artist/producers: **Karl Beveridge, Robin Collyer, Nancy Johnson, Lisa Steele, and Krzysztof Wodiczko.**

Their remarks reflect both the questions and the assumptions which they bring to the Report, while applying (in a larger sense) to the issues which affect working artists' lives.

Under the heading of "Visual and Applied Arts", the Committee covers a multiplicity of forms, from the traditional fine arts through the newer developments of video and performance art, as well as, the decorative arts, crafts, graphic arts, industrial design and the area of environmental design-architecture, landscape and urban design. However, the inter-relationship of these areas is neither developed nor analyzed. This is not a proposal for an integration of the arts and the mass media (such as video artists working in the television industry). The idea that crafts, architects' drawings and performance art should all take place in the same art gallery, would seem only to simplify the administrative task at hand for the government.

The tacit assumption within the chapter is that the role of the state is to subsidize the individual artist and to exhibit and distribute the products of these art activities. The **Canada Council**, as the major structure for subsidization, is the focus of most of the section. Its "arms-length" distance from the day to day practices of government is strongly endorsed.

Peer Jury System

In the discussions which I had with visual artists it was the 'peer' jury system for awarding individual grants to artists which seemed the most problematic.

Robin Collyer has a pragmatic and basically positive attitude towards this system of subsidization. He attributes this to his respect for the integrity of his peers, as well as his view that funding priorities are best directed to individual (living) artists.

"There is always going to be controversy, but it is still money well spent on individuals; if there is damage, it is much smaller than that from mega-projects like O Kanada."

Collyer acknowledges that, "Representation is a very big issue that has to be addressed, since the perception of Council is that of a centralized, elite or specific group. A more broadly varied representation would include not only regional representation, but also women's representation and other

types of cultural groups.

"I trust individuals. No matter what the jury is, it has to confront a tremendous amount and type of information and make decisions; and these decisions should be made by a group of peers.

"The question of 'What is art?' has to be shaken, otherwise the avant-garde, content-related matters — all these kinds of things will not be supported."

It was **Lisa Steele's** view that the problems are inherent within the peer jury structure and that the Report's suggestions complicate the problem further without offering any real solutions. "Juries do make decisions that go beyond judgements of 'artistic excellence'. They inevitably make decisions about budgets — analysing costs, cutting them, etc. If we are to maintain and strengthen the jury system, it is essential that it really be a jury of peers — meaning those working directly in the field. To open juries up to critics, academics and other art professionals and collectors, as the Report recommends indicates a cynical attitude towards the entire concept of a jury by peers — plus it would appear to be a direct conflict of interest for critics and collectors [to be involved in this].

"The policy of arm's length funding is vexed. To claim any form of validity, it needs to be broadened to include regional representation, a more equitable number of women, native people, etc. The Report only gives lip service to broader representation and as there is no mechanism of implementation, it is a sham. Arm's length funding is obviously appealing — artists don't want their work to be judged in a partisan situation; unfortunately the jury system does not deliver on its promise!"

Whose Arm, What Length?

Karl Beveridge also has grave reservations about the present arm's length system which, he says, operates on a basis of good-will and liberal Humanism, but has inherent and long term problems for the arts community:

"Artists are fooling themselves if they think that arm's length is really possible ... it only works within the correct climate and only when the economy is relatively profitable, but given any period of economic crisis or a real shift politically, then it is game over!"

"The point is that there is a contradiction between the notion of the small producer and a more collective notion of our production; what the arm's length does is, support and maintain the status quo. It stops artists from taking any kind of self-organizing interest; it lulls the artist community.

"Why is it that there is no real visual arts organization in

Canada and the U.S.? Every other country has organizations. (i.e. artist's unions) The **Canada Council**, by cleverly supporting and funding **CAR** and the parallel galleries, has effectively stopped (the political potential of) those organizations. It maintains the myth that artists don't need to organize.

"Rather than an arm's length system, you could have direct political representation. In other words, abolish arm's length funding. The whole granting thing should exist solely for material production costs and be done by a system of dual representation from the producers and the general public (represented by elected politicians). The living subsidy grants would be totally done away with and a minimum wage would be distributed, by membership in an organization of producers."

A Living Wage

Nancy Johnson likewise expressed support for the concept of a minimum wage. She sees the need for the minimum wage because of the weakness of the jury system — not only because of the limitations of its method of aesthetic selection but also because of its inherent paternalistic attitude toward artists and their significance within the larger social framework:

"The Report doesn't really ask itself *how* it will support culture, other than through granting structures or setting up institutions ... there are a myriad of other ways by which you can support culture. Grants are a very paternalistic approach. They emphasize in people's minds the 'luxurious' aspect of it. I think one of the disastrous aspects of the grant system is how the public perceives it. You are always being 'given' something, a gift is the implication. They are setting up our whole support for the arts in terms of a gift support structure."

Johnson's problems with the jury system are based on her sense of its lack of a strong philosophical structure:

"Making decisions about what's good and what's not, what should be supported and what should not be supported doesn't necessarily lead to a system that is going to support people over a long period of time. It doesn't support the concept of a sustained career or support a working life. There's all kind of possibilities that need to be worked out, e.g. fellowship structures, etc. They aren't really acknowledging the fact that the nature of the activity is *not* going to lend itself to being self-supporting. You might develop an entirely different structure for dealing with artists — like the minimum wage, as in Sweden and Holland ... Just for people to have to accept that would fundamentally change the way that they looked at culture ... Both for artists and people outside that community, it would really locate it as primary activity, in a way that granting doesn't ..."

These artists are raising serious issues for producers in the visual arts community regarding the peer system, grants to individual artists, arm's length funding policy and artists' economic survival. The Report deals with these issues with a swift and simplistic dismissal, as for example in the following: "Government cannot simply provide each recognized artist with a salary or an enormous tax deduction. Such steps would be inequitable unless they were extended to all other disadvantaged (sic) groups in society." This perception of the artist as "disadvantaged" undermines and contradicts the notion (vaunted elsewhere in the Report) of artists' value to society. It may explain why these central issues were not addressed in terms of a solution (or even a short-term compromise) to the real economic problems of visual artists trying to work in Canada.

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Creating Institutions

The other major operating notion about this "disadvantaged group" is that they produce a series of products/objects. This is most clearly visible in the major recommendation in the chapter, for the establishment of "a Contemporary Arts Centre, with the same status as its four national museums, dedicated exclusively to the collection, exhibition, touring, promotion and development of contemporary visual art in Canada."

The meaning and significance of creating such a new institution is inevitably tied to the larger consideration of finding the most effective model for both the artistic producer and the audience.

Nancy Johnson has a number of objections to the recommendation as presently structured:

"I can't *not* support the **Contemporary Arts Centre** in a sense — except that the institutions that are already in place aren't working well and so what's to think that a new institution isn't just going to entail a lot of spending on a massive building that won't necessarily be flexible. I think it probably makes a lot more sense to channel that money out, horizontally across the country, in various ways through existing organizations."

The Centre would inherit an entire series of collections before it started, such as the **NFB's** still photography, the **NCC's** sculpture collection, the **Museum of Man's** native art collection and some works from the **Art Bank**, as well as offer a full range of research facilities and and touring programs.

The inescapable problem of overhead costs makes **Robin Collyer** very wary of the proposed **Contemporary Arts Centre** and its ramifications for the national arts community:

"A **Contemporary Arts Centre** should have *no* collection and shouldn't have to worry about maintaining a collection. I think the model of a European "kunsthalle" has a much better chance of being an ongoing, changing institution that is always reflecting/responding to something that is contemporary. As soon as such an institution starts to have a collection, have a history, it defeats what it is trying to be. The Report criticizes the **National Gallery** for a wide variety of problems and inabilities, but then it turns around and recreates the same basic structure.

"The creation of another institution which might buy another one of my works, is of no real interest to me. It doesn't raise the respect for me or other fellow visual artists about where our work should be and how it should integrate within society. This whole notion of 'I'm an artist and there is this group of institutions that should purchase my work', is kind of limiting, it only supports a certain kind of work that is exhibitable."

Steele also takes issue with the tacit assumptions about the role of the artist:

"The recommendation that government buildings make extensive use of contemporary Canadian art and design looks like a positive idea. However, the federal building program includes not only, 'post offices, airports, historic sites, embassies and offices, but also defense installations, prisons and utility [nuclear] plants.'

"The Report then goes on to credit 'art in architecture' projects as having the capability of 'lowering barriers between artists and the public, and also for lowering barriers between government and the public it serves.' I would rather believe that artists would have more to say about prisons and defense installations than the role of apolitical decorators for the gov-

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ernment would allow."

The Report navigates a narrow channel, bordered on one side by the industrial model and on the other by the romantic individual. But as **Krzysztof Wodiczko** remarks, we will never really integrate art and design until we have a broader understanding of the role of artists within society and the legitimate demands of society on the artist.

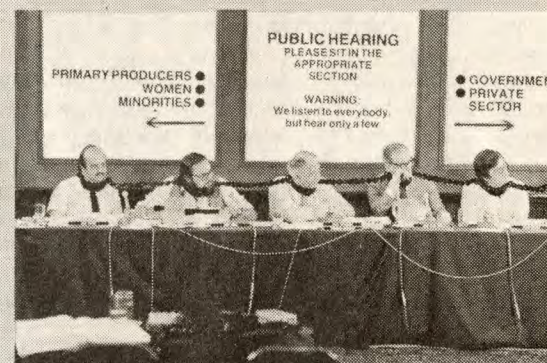
"The need to have links between work and design, between art and work, is similar to the need for links between community and art; that is, if we demand a social dimension (subsidization) for the development of art, we need to develop an understanding of the public, as not just an audience for art, but as producers within their own work. And they, as our public, have contributions to make to the development of the arts."

The final paragraph of the visual arts chapter is an indication of the naïveté (some might call it cynicism) of the Report. They state "if our recommendations are put into practice ... we should see important improvements obtained for the lot of artists, their public and the intermediaries who pre-

sent their work to us." The good intentions and amends of the Report are these:

- labelling toxic art materials
- the development of craft co-operatives
- reductions on custom duties for the importation of materials and equipment, not available in Canada
- the enlargement of the concept of copyright to include moral rights
- the development of craft apprenticeship programs
- improvements in coverage of visual arts activity in the daily press
- the introduction of school children to visual arts careers within schools (with a positive tone)

Unfortunately they just aren't enough, they don't grapple with the real economic and distribution problems of visual artists and are *not* going to lead to any significant improvements. There is no vision here. The visual arts are left in a haze of good intentions, while the Committee staggers around in the dark.



It is not that most of these groups didn't scream and shout and jump up and down in front of the Committee in the attempt to make their voices heard. Perhaps the committee members, at least the ones who wrote the film section, have a hearing disability. But it was not a committee member who wrote the film section. The main hand was that of Michael Spencer, ex-executive of the CFDC and NFB.

We may have been naive in expecting the Committee to pay much attention to "our" needs — that is, the needs of those who work in non-profit, cultural production, distribution and exhibition organizations. After all, the Committee's composition did not even reflect mainstream liberal notions regarding representation. I mean, even a liberal will admit that such a Commission should do better than token female representation, no visible minorities and only 4 real live artists. Given that the committee was largely comprised of cultural managers, bureaucrats and businessmen, it should come as no surprise that the concerns of business and management in general, and not those of cultural labour (e.g. filmmakers) were reflected in the Report. Still, the degree to which the film section of the Report has sold out to the private sector takes one's breath away because (naivety aside) so many people all across the country *tried* to make their voices heard, and no matter how hard you shake that red book you just can't hear 'em.

What did we get in return for all the time, energy and dollars we put into preparing submissions, in the hope that if we pushed ourselves this one last time, our desperate situation might be rescued? Not much, as far as I can see. Well, maybe

the degree to which the film section of the Report has sold out to the private sector takes one's breath away because (naivety aside) so many people all across the country tried to make their voices heard, and no matter how hard you shake that red book you just can't hear 'em.

a chance to apprentice at the new NFB centre for advanced research and training. Hot stuff, eh? Spend a couple of weeks in Montreal and become a famous filmmaker!

The Chic and Select Sector

The "private sector" — those who fancy themselves representatives of everybody who doesn't work for the NFB or the CBC, and reflect the interests of the business community — also worked hard on the Committee, (they could afford to) and they got almost everything there was to get.

But unless you are one of these chic and select few noshing away at the Courtyard Cafe at this moment, the Report doesn't have a whole lot in it for you. If you thought the Report was going to address your lack of job opportunities, low wages, lack of access to grants, production facilities or distribution networks — guess again. If you are a woman, and thought Applebert would deal with the well-documented problems you have, particularly in the cinematic arts — forget it. The little guy in Ottawa who usually reminds report writers to put in token comments about women must have been away on holiday — because they aren't mentioned in the film section at all. Neither are visible minority groups or native people. While all of these groups find themselves on the fringe of cultural production in general, the high cost, high tech nature of filmmaking has made their struggle even more difficult in this medium. If you, the group you work with or an organization you belong to, presented a brief that talked about the problems of censorship, the restraints imposed by profit oriented investors, short-sighted TV programmers or regional inequities, and you thought the Report might address some of those things — wrong again!

One of the problems which has always plagued public discussion of filmmaking in Canada — the cultural industries mentality — is magnified to grotesque proportions in the Applebert Report. Virtually everything that is not Toronto-based commercial feature film production is side stepped in its recommendations. We may have expected the Report to ignore the fact that the co-operatively based, cultural film producers in Quebec largely refused to participate in the hearings at all but even the problems of the 'sanctioned' minority interests — Francophone and Western commercial production — are left out.

Applebert offers us lots of pretty words elsewhere that purport to foreground the role of the creative artists. However, the Film Section of the Report pays little attention to the notion of film as art. From beginning to end, the discussion, analysis and recommendations regarding film endorse the cultural industry approach to film production. The possible exception to this is a nod to the Canada Council and the so-called "personal" style of filmmaking it supports, "made by artists seeking to use and develop the film/video medium as a means for personal, individualized expression." — rein-

forcing the administratively convenient split of art (i.e. elite, non-commercial, individual expression)/cultural production (i.e. mass market industrial, commercial).

The report has a great deal of difficulty isolating the specific problems of working filmmakers. It tosses and turns constantly trying to reconcile "cultural values" and "commercial success" within the cultural industries framework. It has even more difficulty demonstrating *how* its recommendations will solve those problems. It does little more than change the hats worn by the various institutions and offers nothing to those who have no hat to wear in the official scheme of things. It seeks to industrialize public sector production and fails to prescribe any mechanisms that would provide support and encouragement to community-based filmmaking. It has failed to come to grips with the reality of filmmaking in this country in any way, shape or form and it presents a distorted and dangerous view of the private sector.

Access to Audience

What does the Film Section of the Report actually say? The Report's introduction isolates some of the real problems faced by Canadian filmmakers, e.g. "the government's unwillingness to control access of foreign producers, distributors and exhibitors to the Canadian market". It points out that the production, exhibition and distribution sectors are inter-related and the success of one is dependent on the strength of the others, but having made those observations, it falters. It frets about the size of the domestic market and the need for 'quality' products, and having said that the critical problem for the industry is breaking into its own market, abandons the possibility of doing that. It makes just silly statements about the NFB and CBC not attempting to "challenge the domination of our television and movie screens by U.S. feature films". How, pray tell, were they supposed to do that? The implication is of course that these productions weren't "good" enough to "make it". And if the market won't support them — why should the government/public?

In analysing the structure of the film industry, the Report devotes only two sentences to the problems of individual, independent filmmakers. "Like other artists, they may lack regular work and income, critical understanding and audience acceptance. They also have particular problems of their own. The tools and services of the filmmaker's trade engender very high costs ..." The Report explains that public funds are channelled through the production budgets of the CBC, NFB and Canada Council, but provides no analysis of how these organizations relate to each other. Public assistance is also channelled, we learn, through the Canadian Film Development Corporation (CFDC) and Capital Cost Allowance regulations, and "most independent producers and their backers seek and receive" support from the CFDC, while

ON FILM Susan Ditta

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Unionized labour pushing your production budget sky high? Hire independent filmmakers and technicians — they work cheap. No longer will publicly owned production facilities create unrealistic wage demands for the private sector.

Are your emotions running high? Feeling anxious, nervous — need an outlet? Applebert says, try making a documentary — they're "an important outlet for filmmakers".

Producers of independent, indigenous, community-based film and video can stop holding their breaths. Applebert has ignored their experience and complaints. If the recommendations of the Committee are taken seriously by government, we can all wave goodbye to that which is vital (if struggling) in independent Canadian production. It will be pushed further and further underground and the producers, distributors and exhibitors of that material will be forced into an even more marginal position in the marketplace. If you thought the report might shake up the NFB and the CBC so that you would have a chance to work in a publicly owned production facility, free from the restraints of profit making and mass market appeal — guess again — no more public sector production will exist at all.

The Report has failed to provide any recommendation that might secure the survival of cultural producers (let alone anything that would help them flourish). Its tone suggests that it didn't even hear from any of the cultural producers that I work with every day (a cross-section of producers including experimental filmmakers, women's collectives, Quebecois co-operatives, amongst many others).

others "choose to go it alone". How can we even begin to deal with comments like that. Most filmmakers do not get CFDC support and nobody *chooses* to go it alone!

The Report contains some brilliant insights like the fact that it is advantageous if producers can control their own distribution and notes that distributors tend to look for films which can achieve the highest net revenues. It points out that films of limited (i.e. Canadian) marketability are simply not considered. The fundamental problem with the structure of the industry then, the Reports seems to say, is a lack of access to domestic markets and the pressure to produce films that have mass appeal. It talks about the failure of the voluntary quota system and the new problems raised by the changing nature of exhibition (eg. Pay TV, videodiscs and cassettes), but basically throws up its arms in despair and proposes virtually *nothing* to deal with these problems. It acknowledges that other countries have supported indigenous film production by direct intervention in the area of quotas and levies, but seems to think this is simply impossible in the Canadian situation because these things are under provincial jurisdiction. No recommendations are even made about the need for a federal-provincial conference on the matter.

What it does propose is to give loans and subsidies to Canadian distributors (i.e. Cineplex) so they can "ensure Canadian films have access to Canadian screens"; to create a giant cultural bureaucracy called Film Canada to market films abroad; and turn current NFB distribution systems over to the CBC. How any of these things will provide us with access to our own markets is never made clear.

Production Values?

When it comes to revitalizing film production in Canada, the Committee turns to the CFDC. While the Report confesses that the CFDC has made many mistakes, it offers no understanding of the interests which those 'mistakes' have served. They are accepted and psychologised as the traumas of an organization in its infancy. Supposedly the solution is to turn over more money and more power to these same people with blind faith that they have seen the error of their ways and are now ready to take on support of films of 'cultural value' (whose culture and whose values? one might ask.)

It suggests that the film co-ops should be turned over to the CFDC, because it seems "reasonable" and they would benefit from contact with other sectors of the industry. Given enough exposure they might even stop making those unprofitable, regional identity-type films! It suggests too that the Film Festivals Bureau be made part of Film Canada to provide more co-ordinated support for domestic festivals, failing to mention that the Bureau has recently threatened to cut off all funding to Canadian cultural festivals and that the CFDC refuses to fund such festivals — because they don't contribute to "the industry"! The possibility of alternative forms of production or distribution remains completely beyond the Committee's grasp. Its response to every problem is to centralize, bureaucratize or privatize.

The second set of recommendations in the report deal with "a new role for the NFB" which is a nice way of saying that the Board's \$28 million production budget should be turned over to the private sector. The attacks made on the NFB are full of misinformation and suffer from a lack of information at the best of times. They seem particularly unfair when the failures of the CFDC have been so easily forgiven and no critique is presented of Canada Council policies at all. The Film Board is used as a scapegoat. It is suggested that its demise will bring success to filmmakers in the "private sector" and, one is left to assume, a rash of great films. Come to

think of it though, it was a very clever trick to play. The Report suggests that the Film Board does not now enjoy the level of public support it once did, and attacks on the Board were certainly in evidence at Committee hearings. The so-called private sector that attacked the NFB has at least two components though — one essentially entrepreneurial and profit oriented, the other, interested in non-profit filmmaking. The different camps have very different demands. While the first wants public funds turned over to the private sector, the second largely supports the ideals of publicly owned and controlled production facilities — they would like to see them 'radicalized' or even rationalized. However, the privatization approach alone emerged from the Applebert recommendations; and with it, the end of public sector filmmaking free from the normal restrictions of the market place.

Many of us have serious criticisms of the NFB — it certainly suffers from all the illnesses we associate with large institutions. But these problems are primarily administrative and political. So, while we all carped away at the Film Board, the CFDC sat back and raked in the dough.

Lesser Recommendations

Many of the "lesser" recommendations which the Report makes are simply nonsensical. They seem to be dominated by the notion that Supplies and Services Canada could more effectively make Canadian cinema visible.

In its conclusion, the Report is confident that its suggestions will create a fertile environment for the production, exhibition and distribution of films that reflect Canadian sensibilities, are innovative, creative and of distinct cultural value. The key to this success is to privatize. Bring an end to publicly owned and controlled production and distribution and everything will be fine. Don't worry about quotas and levies and complicated things like that. And as far as art goes — well if they want to continue making those personal films, that's fine — but, by and large, the production of non-theatrical shorts and documentaries should be approached like any other business — from the private sector.

The tragedy of the Report is not simply that it puts virtually all public support for film production in the hands of people and institutions who have a very dismal track record, but in the underlying assumptions that creative risks can *best* be taken in the private sector. For all its talk of "institutional inertia", the Report ignores the fact that the private sector is dominated by the restraints and ideology of profit, the search for financial stability and the need for efficiency. Hardly the ideal environment for creative, innovative ideas or for cultural production that deals with struggle or conflict. Without the presence of public sector production the possibility of a dialectic between established (business sector) culture and counter culture will fade away.

The proposed expansion of the CFDC and Film Canada will put more power in the hands of bureaucrats and more dollars will flow towards profit oriented producers. The making of indigenous, community oriented film and video will continue to be a sideline.

Read it and weep

Applebert seems to view Canadian culture as a homogenous blob, not a set of distinctive Canadian cultures. By industrializing, letting the business sector gain almost complete control of the production industry, that homogenization will certainly take place. And no matter what goals the Committee might set for itself in terms of supporting work of distinct

Canadian cultural value, experience has taught us that privatization is profit oriented, and that means cultural products become ever more commercial. Ironically, it doesn't even matter much if production companies are owned and controlled by Canadian or American interests. Private means profit, profit means mass market appeal, and that means the kind of American product we are all too used to seeing on our TV screens and in our cinemas.

The primary market of any indigenous cultural production is its domestic market. And although that market is a small one in Canada, the first step must be to gain access to it. As long as the chief objective of our film policy is to reach an ever broader global market place (as it is bound to be within the private sector), cultural production will suffer. The other

cinemas of the world have found a measure of success by guaranteeing access to domestic markets and by providing heavy state subsidies to filmmakers. Many of them have also recognized the absolutely central role to be played by public sector production in fostering the development of a quality national cinema.

The Committee has learned nothing from our historical experience with private sector production, from the experience of other national cinemas, or from the dozens of independent filmmakers who spoke to it.

Applebert on film — read it and weep.

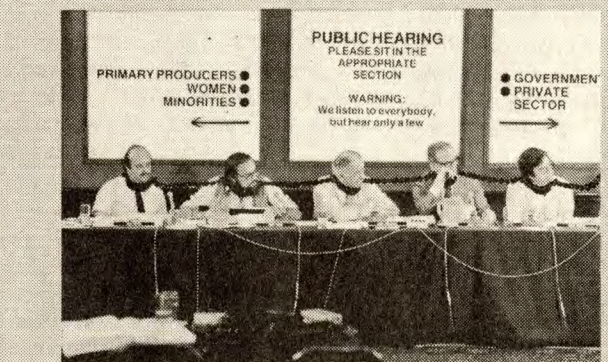
Susan Ditta is an arts administrator living and working in Peterborough.

LESS THAN HALFBACK Ian McLachlan

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Underlying all of the weaknesses and inconsistencies of the **Applebaum-Hébert Report** is the fundamental inadequacy of the Committee's definition of culture. Culture is seen not as a complex, ongoing social process but as the delicate expression of the individual imagination. The **Report** expresses an apparently praise-worthy commitment to the role of the struggling artist, talking on the one hand of "fragile and unpredictable creative process" and, on the other, of "the agonies and ecstasies of the [writer's] craft." But the social function and meaning of art are left vague and confused. Art is viewed through romantic lenses and if there is to be a cure for the artist's discontent it will, in the last resort, be random and philanthropic rather than genuinely corrective. Whereas the *Massey-Lévesque Commission* in 1951 set out to establish a cultural infrastructure reinforced in a typically Canadian way by government bureaucracies, the state is now viewed as a threat, even a potential enemy, to "the frequently anarchic character of cultural activity." Though pleas are still made for greater government generosity, at the really crucial points of pressure the **Report's** recommendations turn towards the privatization of the culture industry. Somehow or other, the artist as individual and the businessman as individual will end up doing the same things in the same bed; anarchy and capitalism will flourish together.

It is hardly surprising, then, that the **Report's** remedies are at best mildly palliative and at worst downright dangerous. Perhaps one ought to be grateful that, in the area of writing and publishing, they are of the first kind rather than the second. Gratitude, however, escapes me. It's high time that something were done about the plight of the writer in particular and of the publishing industry in general in this country, and this Report doesn't even come close to analysing, let alone dealing with, the problems.



Indecent wages

According to Statistics Canada, the median income of full-time writers in 1978 was \$7,000. The *League of Canadian Poets* put its members' average total income from writing in 1979 at just below \$2,400. A Canadian bestseller (five or six publications a year qualify) makes only about \$6,000 to \$8,000 from hardcover sales. And as the *Guild of Canadian Playwrights* said in its brief to the Committee: "the playwright is the only theatre worker whose income totally depends on the box office success or failure of the play (whereas all others involved in a theatre production are paid on a salaried basis)."

Similarly, the writer is the only person in the book industry who does not get paid a decent or indecent wage. The publishers, the editors, the sales people get a salary. So, too, do the bureaucrats who administer the so-called support systems, the printers and the booksellers and the teachers who eventually put the books on their courses. But writing, like 'women's work' (and the majority of writers in Canada are women), is supposed to be its own reward. The writer is left to pray for propitious reviews, compete for readings, grovel for grants.

Clearly, what is needed, is a programme of state intervention which will provide a basic, reliable and ongoing income for the person whose *work* is writing. The Report, however, fails to face up to this necessity, presumably because to do so might tend to demystify the romantic image of the lonely artist which is so central to its aesthetic illusions. The corollary of idealization proves to be marginalization. All the Committee has to offer in the end is a recommendation that

Canada Council grants be extended to non-fiction writers (which is tidy and timely) and a scheme to compensate authors for library use of their books that has disappointed just about everyone but Farley Mowat.

This second issue is one that gives us a particularly clear sense of where, when the realities of economic life in the '80s press in, the Committee's priorities actually lie. In 1981 the Canada Council had already submitted a scheme to the government proposing a mechanism that would link benefits to public lending rights. Based on library holdings, it was cautious to the point of tokenism, allowing for a maximum return of \$300 per title per year. But it was a shuffle in the right direction, and if the process it suggested had been tied, for instance, to the kind of plan that is operated in Denmark, where the government funds the purchase of every new book for each library and bookstore in the country, it might have provided the beginnings of a system of guaranteed income for writers. In its place, the **Applebaum-Hébert Commission** has come up with a proposal that keys compensation payments to authors' royalty statements from their publishers. The rich will get richer, the starving artist will starve just as quickly, and the occasional peaks and broad valleys in a writer's career, instead of being smoothed out, will be exacerbated.

Business as Usual

In the area of publishing and book distribution, too, the Committee's recommendations are likely to change very little. Business will go on as usual; as usual, it will be bad; and as the increasing absorption of publishing into the mass enter-

tainment industry in the United States has an impact in Canada, it will surely get worse.

Thus far, Canadian publishers have struggled for survival on the periphery of the American market. Canadian-owned publishers produce 87 per cent of Canadian books in the areas of literature and the social sciences, but they only account for 30 per cent of total English-language sales. That situation is likely to deteriorate still further in the near future, unless radical solutions are found. A large number were suggested in briefs to the Committee; buy-back provisions for staff employed in foreign-owned companies; legislation to prevent the kind of concentration of ownership in the book industry that has already decimated the newspaper industry; quotas similar to those for radio programming; the inclusion of Canadian book properties in the Capital Cost Allowance point scheme for investment in film and video productions; and some wonderfully stimulating ideas for simultaneous computerized book production and distribution that Coach House Press proposed. All of these suggestions are rejected, skirted or given a passing pat on the head. The Committee does make some cautious recommendations for ongoing, and perhaps more rational, government support for the publishing industry, but as far as new ideas are concerned, the best they can come up with is some federal imitation of the Ontario Halfback programme for Wintario lottery tickets.

It's not going to be enough.

Ian McLachlan is a novelist who teaches at Trent University. He is currently working on a book on the Arts Against repression exhibit, and a novel.



SOCIAL PRIORITIES?

Andrew Wernick

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One is tempted to say of Applebert that not much more could have been expected anyway. After all, the Feds appointed the commission primarily to figure out a plan for administratively and financially rationalizing the post Massey plethora of cultural agencies and programmes during a period of recession-related spending cuts. And if the Report has duly responded with an organizational scheme for simplifying the jurisdictional tangle and a policy proposal that would effectively redirect resources away from high spenders like the CBC and NFB towards/inexpensive across-the-board infrastructural supports designed to make the whole cultural sector more economically competitive, it has at least done so in relatively enlightened tones.

The CBC and NFB recommendations, however wrong-headed, address real problems and the Heritage Council idea is long overdue. The Report's pluralist insistence on a hands-off attitude by Government to the cultural expression it supports is also welcome at a time of global statist trends. And,

most importantly, Applebert has been sensitive enough to the needs of the cultural community to argue, albeit in very polite terms, that spending cuts have gone too far and that the policy of declining supports for the arts has got to be reversed.

The case for increased state expenditure is strongly argued both in terms of intrinsic social value (culture as 'merit goods' systematically underpriced by the market) and in terms of those special problems of 'market failure' experienced in the Canadian context: i.e. the difficulty of maintaining even a modicum of cultural autonomy and expressive opportunities in the face of American media penetration and attendant pressures towards continentalist integration.

Yet the economic way in which these arguments are couched also indicates the Report's clear limitations, (even as a reformist document). The cultural policy Applebert proposes can be described as 'market supplementation'. The stress falls on the first term: rather than build up a public sec-

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tor, relatively insulated from market dynamics (the traditional state patronage/public service model adopted by Massey) Applebert proposes to make the Canadian cultural market 'work' more successfully by various measures of direct and indirect support. Thus, the CBC is to be farmed out to independents, the state-run NFB is to be turned into a school, the NAC is to become a 'show case', writers are to get re-programmatic compensation on the basis of royalties, and state-run promo agencies are to be set up, nationally and intentionally, to boost and market Canadian talent and cultural product. All in all, a thoroughly 'private sector' approach that — like much of Canadian bourgeois politics since 1807 — is focussed obsessively around the issue of how best to protect privately owned 'national' industries and thereby enhance their competitiveness in the international marketplace.

The problem is not just the bias but the mystification that results. Within the terminological parameters of the Report it is simply impossible to address the issues created precisely by the ongoing commodification and industrialization of culture and communications which the report — wondering how best to "marshall the resources" of "the culture industries" — takes for granted. Cultural life is dealt with entirely as the production/consumption of objects. And cultural objectifications outside the money-economy are ignored.

In addition to this ideological enclosure within the categories of production and commodity, Applebert represents a retreat from the Massey Report in another dimension as well. Despite internal dissension, the Commission accepted the exclusion of higher education from their terms of reference, and thus virtually avoided any comment on one of the most central and dominant contemporary cultural institutions: universities.

Federal policy (cuts plus a vocationalist re-orientation) threatens to pulverize higher education as a general cultural resource. Inattention to 'long-range cultural use values' (to use Samir Amin's phrase) is characteristic in capitalist economies, as the Report acknowledges, and so the Commission's silence on this question can be taken as symptomatic.

However, perhaps the most disappointing aspect of the

PERFORMING ARTS/ THEATRE

Eleanor Barrington

Steven Bush

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The **Applebert Committee Report** recognizes many of the problems plaguing the Canadian theatre today. Too often that's where it stops. Not enough analysis of causes. No directions for radical solutions. The Performing Arts chapter is a parade of good intentions and pulled punches. Although many of its observations and recommendations are truly laudable, the study is flawed by serious blind spots and biases.

The Applebert reader should be wary of words. The gold

FUSE MARCH/APRIL 1983

Report is its reluctance to analyze, speculate about, or even take note of the larger historical situation in which its review of cultural policy is set. A wonderful opportunity was missed, in particular, to place on the public agenda the cultural implications of the current transition to an automated economy. Despite all the dazzling potential for redirecting human energy towards non-alienated, i.e. creative, playful, intelligent — in short cultural activities, all that capitalism seems to offer in the age of cybernation is multi-media massage and mass unemployment. The 'merit goods' of education, play and art are labour-intensive. They require, indeed absorb, leisure. There is evidently a systemic economic rationale, for a vastly expanded popular involvement with cultural and educational activities. Why, we may ask, if not just by failure of imagination, is such a realignment of social priorities currently blocked? Is it nevertheless possible? If so, how?

In context, Applebert's guarded plea for sustaining the 'real as opposed to nominal' value of cultural funding is timid indeed. But the greatest pity is that down to the technical details the Applebert publication ultimately proved reluctant to engage in a broad public debate at all. The Report, as presented, consists of 350 densely-written pages of bland, detailed, bureaucratese for which (if that isn't disincentive enough) nearly ten bucks is charged. Commissioner Guy Robert, in a dissenting note, argues that it would have been better to present the Report as a film for mass distribution on TV. However, bureaucratic logic prevailed, and the larger public, (beyond the lobbyists and administrators most immediately spoken to in the Report) have instead been virtually excluded from what has so far been a disappointingly narrow follow-up discussion.

Whether, despite the Report's own circumscriptions and exclusions, the response among artists, critics, communicators, etc. can nevertheless raise larger and more radical issues remains to be seen. In the current mean times, even that much would be progress.

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"star" of "excellence" and the loaded designation "prestigious" are oft-invoked, but never defined. These are value judgments, subject to manipulation in favour of the status quo, used by people who have achieved recognition within the status quo.

The study proceeds from an unspoken assumption that there exists a politically value-free culture which can only be evaluated on the basis of its "excellence". However, what is "excellent" to Tim Porteous might not be "excellent" to you

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or to me. Canadian playwrights, women artists and community-oriented theatres, beware!

This critique concentrates on the shortfalls of the chapter on "The Performing Arts" as it relates to the Theatre. Since most theatre artists never see the upper side of the poverty-line, we'll start with economic issues. As the Canada Council correctly observed in its brief to the Committee (p. 56): "Survival, rather than achievement, is becoming the order of the day." The study warmly recommends (p. 182) resettling performing artists forced into early retirement. That's fine. But what about the majority of working artists just trying to make a living? Canadian Actors' Equity Association statistics show only 856 out of approximately 2750 members working in the highest-employment week of October 1982. This represents a rate of 65% unemployment, during the peak employment period.

By quoting, as an example, the sad annual income of the modern dancer, (\$6,000 in 1980-81), the Report sidesteps the gritty reality. To 70% of Canadian playwrights, that regularly employed dancer earns a bundle. Although the Report makes a concerted attempt to understand this desperate situation, it takes an enormous leap of empathy for persons with financial security — i.e., most members of the Committee — to actually comprehend the working reality of people without regular income. Perhaps as a result, the Report ignores the problems of the vast majority of theatre artists as freelancers, forced to hustle — rather than sing — for their supper. Creativity and business savvy are often mutually exclusive capacities, the art requiring sensitivity and the marketplace a thick skin. How many good actors, playwrights and directors do we have wasting time and energy being bad agents, promoters and administrators.

It is clear to us that the largest subsidy to the cultural life of Canada comes not from governments, corporations or other patrons, but from the artists themselves, through their unpaid or underpaid labour. (Report, p. 4)

Some formula of guaranteed annual income — at least for artists who have reached a certain level of maturity — would alleviate this waste. Even with a monitoring scheme built-in, such a formula would probably be simpler and cheaper to administer than the present complex of grant applications and assessments.

The Report (p. 9) devotes five sentences to deploring "the inequitable access of women to all levels of responsibility and activity in the cultural sector". In spite of ample evidence provided by Rina Fraticelli's study on the Status of Women in Canadian Theatre ("The Invisibility Factor", FUSE, September 1982) — and her specific recommendations — the Report fails to call for affirmative action. Too bad, ladies!

Now to the question of Canadian plays. Applebert does not bless the public and the playwrights with any Canadian content rulings. Quotas are dismissed, without explanation. The study lauds the increasing number of Canadian plays produced in the early 70s, ignoring more recent evidence from the Guild of Canadian Playwrights that the growth trend levelled off at the end of the decade and may indeed be reversing itself. The Guild's "matching royalties" proposal — which would require producers of foreign and "public domain" plays to contribute to a "New Works" fund administered by Canada Council — is not even mentioned. As long as economic advantage favours non-Canadian plays we cannot expect to drag Artistic Directors out of the cave and into the light on the subject of Canadian content.


The Report sidesteps the uncomfortable fact that the eighteen largest theatre companies (which eat up almost 57% of

Canada Council's total theatre budget) produce only 26% Canadian plays — barely half the national average for theatre surveyed in Rina Fraticelli's study, noted above. The creation of a Canadian International Cultural Relations Agency (Chapter 11) is largely laudable. Recommendation 39 (p. 172) — initiative grants for presenting and marketing new Canadian works — is equally valuable. But our theatre needs a policy that is broader and more thorough. We are suffering an "audience crisis" of enormous proportion. Theatre is an increasingly elite entertainment. Soaring ticket-prices and intimidating venues partly account for this, but isn't it also because so much of what we produce doesn't reflect Canadian reality enough to truly involve Canadians? When the common models of success are foreign, then it's no surprise we're seeing more clones of London's West End hits, a kind of "Broadway North" developing here.

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FUSE MARCH/APRIL 1983

COMMUNICATIONS SUPPLEMENT



ALEXANDER WILSON

In the inordinate amount of publicity that has attended the introduction of new micro-technologies, the word you most often come across is liberation. Futurologists talk about liberation from drudgery (and even from work itself); the unleashing of creative drives; about time saved and horizons expanded. We hear of electronic cottages and computerized farms. Of "psychoactive technology," a direct link from human to computer.

Amid all this noise, there is distressingly little attention paid to what promise to be immense social changes (not all of them detrimental by any means). For all the hype surrounding a "Second Industrial Revolution," there is little social

research being done on its implications — by labour, capital or government. The most serious threat at present is the loss of jobs, as Michael Banger observes in his article on artificial intelligence in this section. While the emerging information industries will employ many new workers, the labour-intensive service industries (e.g. clerical work, banking, newspapers, post office, education, etc.) will certainly permanently lay off many more. British studies predict as many as 20-50% of these jobs will be lost. How feasible — and how likely — are the promised retraining programmes? How many times will 'de-skilled' workers have to be retrained to keep up with tech-

nological improvements?

It is in informatics — the collection, classification, storage and dissemination of data — that the truly revolutionary changes are taking place. We live in a world inundated with data. Consider that in the scientific-technological sphere alone, 6000-7000 documents are produced daily. If data are to be anything more than a pollutant, they must be transformed into something socially useful; they must facilitate decision-making and participation on the part of the citizenry. In a democratic society, properly managed information and documentation services are an essential resource.

In a capitalist society, however, infor-

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or to me. Canadian playwrights, women artists and community-oriented theatres, beware!

This critique concentrates on the shortfalls of the chapter on "The Performing Arts" as it relates to the Theatre. Since most theatre artists never see the upper side of the poverty-line, we'll start with economic issues. As the Canada Council correctly observed in its brief to the Committee (p. 56): "Survival, rather than achievement, is becoming the order of the day." The study warmly recommends (p. 182) resettling performing artists forced into early retirement. That's fine. But what about the majority of working artists just trying to make a living? Canadian Actors' Equity Association statistics show only 856 out of approximately 2750 members working in the highest-employment week of October 1982. This represents a rate of 65% unemployment, during the peak employment period.

By quoting, as an example, the sad annual income of the modern dancer, (\$6,000 in 1980-81), the Report sidesteps the gritty reality. To 70% of Canadian playwrights, that regularly employed dancer earns a bundle. Although the Report makes a concerted attempt to understand this desperate situation, it takes an enormous leap of empathy for persons with financial security — i.e., most members of the Committee — to actually comprehend the working reality of people without regular income. Perhaps as a result, the Report ignores the problems of the vast majority of theatre artists as freelancers, forced to hustle — rather than sing — for their supper. Creativity and business savvy are often mutually exclusive capacities, the art requiring sensitivity and the marketplace a thick skin. How many good actors, playwrights and directors do we have wasting time and energy being bad agents, promoters and administrators.

It is clear to us that the largest subsidy to the cultural life of Canada comes not from governments, corporations or other patrons, but from the artists themselves, through their unpaid or underpaid labour. (Report, p. 4)

Some formula of guaranteed annual income — at least for artists who have reached a certain level of maturity — would alleviate this waste. Even with a monitoring scheme built-in, such a formula would probably be simpler and cheaper to administer than the present complex of grant applications and assessments.

The Report (p. 9) devotes five sentences to deploring "the inequitable access of women to all levels of responsibility and activity in the cultural sector". In spite of ample evidence provided by Rina Fraticelli's study on the Status of Women in Canadian Theatre ("The Invisibility Factor", FUSE, September 1982) — and her specific recommendations — the Report fails to call for affirmative action. Too bad, ladies!

Now to the question of Canadian plays. Applebert does not bless the public and the playwrights with any Canadian content rulings. Quotas are dismissed, without explanation. The study lauds the increasing number of Canadian plays produced in the early 70s, ignoring more recent evidence from the Guild of Canadian Playwrights that the growth trend levelled off at the end of the decade and may indeed be reversing itself. The Guild's "matching royalties" proposal — which would require producers of foreign and "public domain" plays to contribute to a "New Works" fund administered by Canada Council — is not even mentioned. As long as economic advantage favours non-Canadian plays we cannot expect to drag Artistic Directors out of the cave and into the light on the subject of Canadian content.


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mation is almost invariably treated as a privately-owned commodity bought and sold in the marketplace. When it comes to the public, the predominant pattern — from radio and television to newspapers and videotext — is one of broadcasting: the transmission of information from a single central source to a large number of receivers. The potential for many-to-many, rather than one-to-many communications is inherent in the technologies, yet the trend continues in the opposite direction: vertically-integrated monopolies which manage data banks, design machines and programmes, and control information distribution systems. AT&T remains the exemplar of a centralized information operation, even after a judicially-imposed break up. The Gannett newspaper chain in the United States now publishes **USA Today** — a newspaper simultaneously and identically printed, via satellite, in over 200 American cities. As new telematics systems are introduced to such an economy, the question seldom considered is: what socially useful tasks could they perform if they were part of a free and accessible communications media? In this section, **Timothy Owen** expands on many of these issues in his article on videotext.

The implications of an economically concentrated and geographically centralized information industry are of course enormous and global. The economic, political and cultural value of information is of paramount importance. How are peripheral societies to develop themselves autonomously and defend their cultural identities? In Canada, for example, 90% of our data processing is done outside of the country. A 1979 report by the **Consultative Committee on the Implications of Tele-communication for Canadian Sovereignty** stated that "in order to maintain our Canadian identity and our independence, we must ensure adequate control over data banks, trans-border data flow, and the content of information services within Canada."

Documentation and Development

Elsewhere, the situation is far more critical. Consider, for example, that most documentation on food and rural development is scholarly research done in the United States and is more related to First World food aid programmes than to local grassroots development of agricultural economies. Because communications systems among peripheral societies are rudimentary or non-existent, people have come to rely on information provided by the transnationals. Consider

that resource information gathered from satellite surveillance is seldom available — even at a price — to the nation in question. Consider that computer languages are based on English, and are fundamentally incompatible with, for example, Arabic or Chinese.

It is not only elsewhere that the transmission of information is coming under increasing control. In the United States, scientists and researchers have been under increasing pressure in the past few years — from the Department of Defence, the FBI and the CIA — not to publish their work or speak at international conferences. The fear is that foreign applications of research would "compete" with US business interests.

There are few, if any, mechanisms now in place to mitigate the impact of telematics (a French neologism that combines informatics with telecommunications) on our societies. Seldom is it acknowledged that we have the right to question the introduction of these technologies into our homes and workplaces, to determine *how* they will be introduced, at what pace, and with what effects. Will women be more affected than men? Will new technologies be used as surveillance tools by management and law enforcement agencies? What precautions are being taken to protect the health of people manufacturing or operating them?

Consent and access are the two key issues of the emergent critique of communications technologies. On the international level, the initiative has been taken by UNESCO, the movement of non-aligned nations and development education organizations such as the **International Documentation and Communication Centre (IDOC)** in Rome.

Alternative uses

An argument being made by other participants in the critique is that individual users and specific communities must retain as much control as possible over telecommunications processes. This requires available and easily accessed media that encourage an active, rather than passive user. The advent of the personal computer might well encourage a democratizing trend. By the end of 1982, over 5 million of them had been sold in the United States; everyone expects sales to increase many-fold. Software plays a critical role in this process, as even the Applebert Commission has recognized. Fully interactive technologies combined with innovative software would give users control over both the equipment and the evolution of its use; they would also make possible a genuine integration

of users into a horizontal communications network.

Many projects have been undertaken to democratize informatics in recent years. Community Memory operated for three years in Berkeley as a kind of combination bulletin board, graffiti wall and soap box. It was well-indexed, easy to use, conveniently located, and free. Communitrees and other participatory networks in the States are working on developing a public-access data base of public domain software useful to activists. Interlink provides satellite dissemination of Third World wire news. Pirate radio stations flourish in many countries, particularly France and Italy. Several French organizations, among them **Informatique pour les Tiers Mondes**, **Centre d'Information et d'Initiative sur l'Informatisation (CIII)** and **Centre Mondial Informatique**, are developing alternative applications of telematics.

It is patently dishonest to talk of the liberating potential of these new technologies without considering the shortcomings of the society that has invented them. There is every indication at present that telematics will only consolidate the inequities of capitalist society.

Yet this need not be the case. As we become more familiar with the instrumentation, many ways of challenging today's economic empires suggest themselves. First, there's always sabotage. But looking toward tomorrow (as indeed we're encouraged to do), it's easy to imagine the limitless uses of appropriate technologies in a truly democratic society. The task at present is to join the telematics 'revolution' with that vision firmly in mind.

Introductory readings in the growing corpus of a radical critique of the "information society" ought to include **Processed World** (55 Sutter St., No.829, San Francisco, CA 94104), a funny and truly subversive magazine that comes out of the temporary office worker community in San Francisco; **Terminal 19/84** (CIII, 1 rue Keller, 75011 Paris), an outstanding bimonthly; **Reset**, (90 East St., New York City, 10009 USA), a fanzine for people doing alternative informatics; the **Journal of Community Communications** (Village Design, 2608 8th St., Berkeley, California 94710, USA); and the splendid annotated bibliography "On Micro-technology and its Impact," available for \$5. from the **Computer Project** at the Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice, 947 Queen St. East, Toronto, Ontario M4M 1J9.

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE OR REAL STUPIDITY

A strange but not unprecedented phenomenon is taking place as an integral part of the 'microchip revolution'. It is the attempt to commodify and monopolize 'intelligence'. This process, which is in the interest of no one but the owners of factories and other means of production, can be seen as an effort to further demoralize working people by 'scientifically' discrediting their humanity. We can see a parallel situation in the world of 'high culture' where there has been extensive commodification and monopolization of 'creativity'. The danger exists that intelligence will come to be regarded as the proprietorship of machines just as creativity is now regarded as the domain of artists.

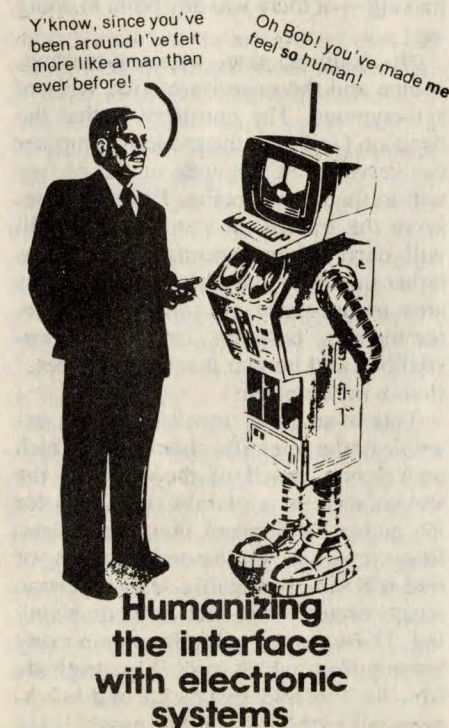
It is in the interest of those who have a certain dependence upon 'art', yet only a partial understanding of it, to define it simply as something which 'artists' produce and that ordinary people admire. The support system of galleries, academics, and dealers has developed a great deal of control over the production of art by making it its job to declare who is and who is not an 'artist'. Furthermore, by emphasizing the objective, rather than the functional, value of creative communication, 'art' can be defined as a commodity. In this way artworks do not communicate as much as they fuel the support system through which they must pass to reach their destination — namely the market.

This system does not of course purport that everything a recognized artist produces is profound, but it does tend to monopolize the notion of 'creativity'. Hence it induces a certain lack of self confidence among 'lay people' who function as consumers.

Artists who have bought the idea that they are unique in the world contribute to the persistence of this myth. If artists allow a barrier of academics and dealers to be set up between them and their audience then they deny themselves the opportunity to see the effectiveness of their work. Their relative isolation can lead to

a separation of their own values from those of the society and hence their work becomes increasingly irrelevant. Artists who are connected with their audience realize that the communication process is a cooperative affair. In order for art to function as creative communication, the audience must 're-create' what the artist has expressed. Creativity by this definition is not exclusive to the artist.

In the world of computers the situation is similar. The producers of computing machinery are telling us in subtle and not so subtle ways that their mechanical minds are so smart that it won't be long until they can do everything we can do — only better. We are told that even today, at the beginning of the 'microchip revolution', computers are capable of astounding feats of intelligence and, more importantly, they are inexpensive and can thus cut production costs significantly.



Both artworks and computers utilize methods of representation. When looking at or experiencing an artwork we are usually aware of representation although we may not be aware of *what* it is that is being represented. The question "And what is that supposed to represent?" has dogged artists ever since they began to emphasize the formal aspects of their work at the 'expense' of the content. Artworks are objectifications of subjective analyses. They present the producer's ideas and insights about his or her environment. Depending on the values of the producer the content may be highly subjective or more generally accessible.

However, with computers, we are generally not as aware of the *fact* of representation even though we are usually able to recognize what is being represented. Computer representations are reflective of value systems, as well — those of the programmer. However, because the means of representation are not as apparent, the machine itself appears to hold those values rather than be a mere representation of them. Hence popular perceptions of art and computers are crossed. The artwork, as a clear representation of something unclear, is regarded as an expensive joke. The computer, as the appearance of something readily valued (i.e. a superior mind) is regarded with awe and antagonism.

Technology as form may be neutral in terms of meaning, however when looked at as expressions of value, technology is loaded with implications. It offers the promise of improved working and living conditions for everyone, yet it doesn't always work out that way. At this point in time, technology (in particular so-called new technology) represents the values of capitalism — the system which of course currently defines and controls it. Consequently it all too often can mean trouble for working people.

Heather Menzies' books "Women and The Chip" and "Computers on The Job" are excellent accounts of the ways in

which current applications of computer science are devastating the lives of an increasing number of people — especially women. She describes how workplaces have, over the years, been systematically fragmented by management into meaningless, tedious jobs for the sake of higher productivity. The fragmented production process is ripe for eventual replacement of workers by 'intelligent' machines which can be 'taught' to weld cars, sort mail and so on.

Machines which are designed by management will implicitly and explicitly express the values of the capitalist system. These values are solely directed towards increasing profits by seizing further control of production. If working people are not laid off in the process, they are frequently deskilled and paid less money. In the automated factory, people are often made to work with 'robots' on either side of them setting a relentless pace of production. Telephone operators on new super switches are similarly fed a continual stream of incoming calls with no opportunities for natural breaks or self pacing. Cashiers in glitzy supermarkets (where more than the price is wrong) are regularly monitored for their rate of productivity, as are typists working on word processors. The potentially interesting jobs of civilized society are being systematically converted to the work of galley slaves.

At the cutting edge of the 'new technology' are the pioneers and creators of the notion of 'artificial intelligence'. Artificial intelligence is the label given to a branch of computer science which endeavors to turn base metals and plastics into creative, 'human-like' minds. Sometimes products of this area seem to be merely science fiction fetishes. I remember hearing, on a radio news programme, a S-18 pilot giggling about his plane gas tank which would mutter in a synthetic female voice, "Fuel low, fuel low". "It's just like Star Wars", he said.

The expectations of many 'futurists' are frankly bizarre. Many paint scenarios of total human redundancy after machines have evolved to a higher level of consciousness than mere humans (when incidentally, we would presumably no longer have control of the power switch). They seem to accept this fatalistically, as our destiny and pay little attention to human options.

We will continue to be coerced into this nightmarish vision unless we fight collectively for control over the direction of technological development. We must understand the potentials and the limitations of machines so that we can put them in their proper place. There is almost a war of propaganda brewing between the

proponents of 'artificial intelligence' and the people they call 'humanists'. As I have indicated the war is taking place on many fronts — the work place; schools; media; etc. In all these areas attempts are being made directly and indirectly to convince us of the myth of 'artificial intelligence'. Those who are unprepared to defend themselves are stepped on by the system which is trying to reach into our minds and rationalize us on its own terms. Just as the workplace has been dissected to death so our very thought processes are being fragmented into machine replaceable routines. The February 1981 issue of 'Creative Computing' featured a number of typical articles on 'artificial intelligence'. One of them, entitled "Are Computers Alive?," contains this passage:

"Another question is that of free will, a supposed characteristic of human beings which distinguishes them from computers. The distinction is illusory. Computers have a choice mechanism by virtue of conditional jump instructions provided in the program. The computer decides what to do according to the prevailing conditions, and very often the decision is unpredictable to the human programmer. If it is argued that this is a tightly deterministic system, uncharacteristic of human beings, then two points should be made — 1) there is a clear sense in which the prevailing conditions that affect computer choice can be unpredictable (i.e. non-deterministic in the practical sense) and 2) it would be simple to produce a random (i.e. non-deterministic) element in computer decision-making — if there was any point in doing so.

"It follows that decision-making, choice and the exercise of free will are synonymous. The corollary is that the decision facility in the modern computer can serve as an adequate model of free will in the human being. Efforts to preserve the traditional status of free will will derive from *prescientific notions* rather than from careful analysis. In this area, as elsewhere, we can see a close resemblance between machine possibilities and human mental processes." (italics my emphasis)

This is an exceptionally succinct example of the scientific chauvinism which underscores much of the work of the technocrats. It is plainly ridiculous for the author to demand that 'humanists' forget their unscientific understanding of free will simply because science has no means of achieving such an understanding. These two paragraphs contain many assumptions which probably originate from the anal retentive nature of the technocrats' purely academic world. My

reason for including this quotation is to point out how the technocratic weapons of 'logic' and 'reason' are used to erode our sense of power and our freedom to take action. Anyone who buys the argument that free will is just illusory is of course that much more likely to become passive enough to accept the rest of the technocrats' scheme.

What is Intelligence?

Technocrats attempt to dismiss the arguments made against them by claiming that pro-human statements are vague and defined in unclear terms. This is ironic in light of the fact that they cannot consistently define their own terms. The word 'intelligence' itself, poses endless problems and its definition is the subject of many debates. They play around with definitions such as "the ability to think" or "the ability to produce original ideas" and so on. Their explanations of human behaviour tend to be long winded, lifeless processes of dissection. Intuitive understandings of human nature tend to be much more dynamic and simple. In the interest of disarming the technocratic weapons I think redefinition of 'intelligence' would be useful.

First, we have to throw away the common usage of the term 'intelligence' because it has been totally absorbed into the technocratic arguments. 'Intelligence' is commonly thought of as being a desirable attribute. Typically, one who is considered to be 'intelligent' is rewarded with respect, higher salaries, and better lifestyles. And if you're considered 'unintelligent' then you're out of luck — you get dirty looks, less pay, and sometimes you're forced to live in institutions.

Because intelligence can always be associated with information people often equate it with values. It would appear that researchers of 'artificial intelligence' make that same assumption. Moreover, I suspect that these people look at the psychological entities which we use to express our values, and confuse the workings of such systems with the fact of consciousness. For example, an early researcher wrote a programme which generated right wing political views à la senator Barry Goldwater. This was done by creating a 'value structure' of a similar design to that which the senator appeared to use. Similarly, another researcher designed a programme to generate the statements of a paranoid. Again the same basic technique was used — objectifying value structures which a real mental patient might appear to have had. To believe that the 'ideology machine' is Barry Goldwater or the 'Parry' prog-

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ramme is a real mental patient is to confuse the means of representation with the subject of representation.

Technocrats would probably say, 'these machines are different — they can or will produce original ideas'. And I wouldn't be surprised if they did. But I doubt if they will ever produce original values. Because ideas are just formal, structured expressions of information they're a dime a dozen. A meteorite hitting the moon smashes into a million original ideas. The capitalist system itself can be seen as a 'machine' which produces original ideas. It has produced a variety of concepts and mechanisms which help the ruling class to make profits — police states, the protestant work ethic, mass media, high rise apartments, penitentiaries and 'over-production'.

We use intelligent (structured) systems of values to make sense out of the world and to give ourselves a place within it. We throw them away when they cease to be useful. We may identify strongly with particular systems at par-

ticular times but we are always capable of going beyond them. Machines are not. In order to imitate human behaviour, a programme must work solely with a fixed system of values that it has inherited from the programmer. From then on, it can only function as a model within this fixed system of values. When it does manage to seize its own values it ceases to represent anything but its material self. This produces meaningless information for its programmer who labels such undesirable events 'system crash' or 'power failure'.

Creativity is the ability to change values. Fixed, local values do not allow the adaptability which is required for problem solving in an open system such as the real world. Computers are able to solve problems within a closed system but they cannot cope with too much variety of information. Because artificial intelligence researchers equate intelligence with values they deduce that functioning intelligence (which they can produce or control) will automatically lead to

creativity and hence consciousness. Intelligence as an expression of values is not actually the values themselves — they run parallel to each other like railway tracks. If technocrats knew anything about art they would have spotted the illusion of perspective right away.

The tendency for our current social structure to automatically centralize control of the means of production is now endangering our ability to be human. It is, to me, inconceivable that capitalism, as a system of fixed values oriented solely towards making profit, can ever restructure itself to become more humane. The solution, to my mind, is to not allow machines to do our thinking — be they electronic or bureaucratic. If we are to achieve this we have a lot of collective work ahead of us.

Michael Banger, past director of SAW gallery, is a video artist, currently developing a computer based electronic music studio and living in Ottawa.

TIMOTHY OWEN

VIDEOTEXT IN CANADA Promises and Problems

No one will deny that the world is in the midst of a revolution in the electronics and communications industry. What is being argued, however, is whether the changes in our society which this revolution makes possible hold out the promise of a society in which our every need and want is met quickly and cheaply, or the threats so eloquently and ominously expressed in George Orwell's *1984* and Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451*. Will we as citizens control the changes that the electronic revolution make possible, or will the excitement of the new technologies blind us to very real threats to personal liberty and political freedom?

The term "data pollution" has been coined to point to the bombardment by information to which the ordinary individual, in today's world, is subject. As alternatives, the terms "democratization of communication" and "socialization of information" are used to indicate that there is a way in which sense can be made from this massive information flow, and that new technologies can be used to decentralize rather than centralize the flow. The variety of technologies which comprise videotext are examples.

Videotext is a new communications technology which combines many currently separate communication functions: information retrieval, mail, banking, accounting, education, entertainment and shopping to name a few. The extent to which videotext can change the way in which people live and interact may not yet be realized by the public; it is the purpose of this paper to outline some of the developments of this technology in Canada, and to raise some of the major questions that should be asked of those who will be regulating and operating the videotext industry.

"Although technology may be a tool for solving communication problems, it can provide only a pathway for the transmission of information: how, by whom, and to what end these pathways are used is determined by those who control them ... [They provide] amply opportunity for

the manipulation, unintentional or purposeful, of the general public."¹

Videotext is the most common generic term given to the technology which allows the home or office user access to a wide variety of printed or graphic information stored in computer data banks, through the use of a television set adapted with or augmented by a simple convertor.

John Madden, past-president of Microtel Pacific Research, gives the following as characteristics of a videotext system in a text prepared in 1979 for the Department of Communications;

- i) a source of information remote from the user,
- ii) a connection to the source via a telecommunications link, such as a radio wave, a coaxial cable, a copper wire, or an optical fibre,
- iii) an information display which will usually be a television set,
- iv) specific information usually appears at the command of the user as part of a larger selection,
- v) a service designed for the mass market, not specialized users.

Videotext services can be offered in two modes: one way (teletext), or two way, interactive (videotext to viewdata). This distinction is sometimes considered deceptive, as each mode allows a limited, but different, degree of interaction. In each mode, the viewer can select from a menu, or table of contents, displayed on the television screen, the particular information desired. This is done with the use of a keypad which looks much like a common calculator. With videotext or viewdata, the user can feed information back to the data base, to an extent determined by the nature of the keypad. If the keypad is alpha numeric, including both letters and numbers, the user can write letters or computer programmes (and send them through the terminal to another user), or play sophisticated com-

puter games. If the keypad is simpler, and contains only numbers and a few letters or commands, the user can only select programmes, and answer simple yes-no or multiple choice questions.

Teletext information is broadcast, transmitting data from computer bases through the airwaves, which are received through a decoder in the television set. It can be broadcast either in the vertical blanking interval between channels (which appears as a black line on most television sets) or over a full channel. In the former case, data is limited to about 100 pages of information; the latter permits up to 50,000 pages (although usually less) per channel. These pages are continuously rolling, and when the user selects a page, the decoder "catches" the page as it rolls by. The time taken to receive the data varies according to the method of transmission, the number of pages stored, and the memory capacity of the user's terminal. It is usually about ten seconds. Cable companies could offer this service by converting over vacant cable channels. A limited degree of interaction would be possible through the cable system.

The telecast message can replace or overlay a regular television programme, allowing the possibility for newsflashes or subtitling. Subtitling has great advantages for the deaf or for multilingual communities.

Commercial teletext has been offered in Britain (CEEFAX and Oracle), and in France (Antiope) for several years, using both the full channel and vertical blanking interval methods. News and other information services have made up the content.

Videotext or viewdata can offer everything that teletext does, but adds the capacity for full two way communication with direct access to the computer data banks. It can also be used for interaction among different users. Automatic polling or voting (with both consumer and political potential), alarm systems, utility reading and billing, computer games,

electronic transfer of funds, mail and shopping, as well as the variety of information services that teletext offers are possible. It is possible for videotext to be broadcast by microwave, and for the user to interact with a small receiver transmitter, but it is much more common for the service to be delivered via the existing telephone and/or cable wired systems. A virtually unlimited number of pages can be offered to the user, and access time is almost instantaneous. The term "incasting", referring to *interactive broadcasting* is being used to describe this technology.

In most cases, teletext and videotext are compatible, so that one home terminal can be used to convert either signal to a television screen.

Videotext is a much costlier system than teletext, for the user must not only pay for the television decoder, but also for each page that is requested, and, if telephone lines are used, for long distance toll charges and computer time. If the user makes extensive use of the service, he/she may find it necessary to

called Telidon has been a late but prominent entry into the market. As far back as 1973, the Communications Research Centre of the Department of Communications established a research unit to devise a method of transmitting graphic images over telephone lines (Videotext technologies in Europe were basically text, not graphic; the British and French technologies added graphic capability almost as an afterthought). In 1976, a company called Norpak of Pakenham, Ontario was licenced by the government to use the results of this research to develop and sell terminals and other hardware.

It was not until 1978 that the Department of Communications publicly unveiled Telidon, and only then in order to pre-empt the use of the Prestel and Antiope systems by Canadian companies. Bell Canada and TVOntario had been planning field trials using these systems, and the government believed that their own system was superior to those of the Europeans. The technology which had been developed was basically a computer programme which could create,

can expect a better image; the user can have access to a wider variety of differently programmed data bases, and those who provide information to the data bases (IP's) can have access to a wider variety of users. If videotext information was wholly written material, this quality would not be so important, but if one believes (as many do) that the commercial viability of videotext depends on its ability to entertain as well as inform, then the superior graphics possible with Telidon (and the increased quality of image as terminal quality increases) is its most significant feature.

Canadian field trials of Telidon have been and are being performed by Bell Canada (under the name Vista), TV Ontario, Manitoba Telephone System, Winnipeg Commodities Exchange, Alberta Telephone, New Brunswick Telephone, and C.B.C. Transmission methods have included telephone lines, broadcast, cable and optical fibres, using Telidon in both the interactive videotext and one way teletext modes. The trials using the videotext mode have been far



have a second telephone line installed in the home or office.

Britain and France have also offered this service commercially for the last few years. In Britain, the 300 most popular pages of videotext have been offered over teletext in order to avoid overloading the telephone lines, which are not equipped to handle the increased use that videotext makes of the system. This might also be a problem in the U.S. and Canada.

In Canada, a unique videotext system

code and decode graphics and text.

With the British and French systems, once the data has been created and stored, it can only be displayed in the manner it has been created, no matter how sophisticated the user's terminal. With Telidon, as the sophistication of the user's terminal increases, so does the quality of the image displayed. This independence of the terminal and the data bases means two things: as one is able to spend more money on a terminal, one

more numerous than those using the teletext mode, with only TV Ontario experimenting with broadcast. This makes the Canadian implementation much different from those of France and Britain, which have given priority to teletext.

Because of the different style of field trials, the markets chosen, and the fact that no charges are being levied during the trials, it will be very difficult to project the possible market penetration on the basis of the European experience and

1. Gordon Robertson in the introduction to *The Automated Citizen*, Pergler, p. vii.

the Canadian trials. At most, they can test the technology and consumer preferences.

The most interesting aspect of the field trials both overseas and in Canada has been the speed with which information providers have entered the market. In Britain, IP's were much faster to jump on the bandwagon than consumers. In Canada, there is already a Videotext Information Service Providers Association (VIS-PAC). Torstar and Southam (two newspaper publishers) have created Infomart, a corporation which is an umbrella IP, providing a complete service for other IP's who do not have the expertise or equipment to create their own information pages. Among their numerous clients is the federal Department of Communications — the originator of Telidon.

Mr. Gerry Halsam, president of VIS-PAC, says that IP's are motivated by fear and opportunity; fear that their present information services (newspapers, wire services, catalogues, etc.) may be superseded by videotext in the home and office, and realization of the immense business opportunities open to them. It is noteworthy that in the Bell Vista field trials, the content provided by companies is mostly advertisement. About 50% of the content is information relating to shopping and entertainment, with about 60% of that directly relating to business transactions.

The emergence of the various telephone companies across Canada as directors of the field trials is evidence of the potential opportunities for profit, if they become the principle carriers of Telidon. Only one organization in Canada at this time — TV Ontario — seems to be filling the need to experiment with the non profit use of Telidon, and they too may be motivated by the fear of losing their market, rather than by the opportunity for designing innovative education packages.

Before predicting the possible market penetration of Telidon into Canada, it is important to understand the ways in which this technology may change our lives. As communication becomes faster, and as information becomes more easily accessible, the ways in which people interact necessarily change. When more communication and information can be realized within a single medium, namely the television set, knowledge (and possibly power), can be concentrated as never before. At the present time, there are no regulations with which to control this concentration, and its possible misuse. As Madden notes, regulations will be needed to meet at least the following concerns:

- i) that Canadian sovereignty of culture, politics, and economics is preserved by ensuring that there is sufficient Canadian content on videotext data bases,
- ii) that the public will have access to as many IP's as possible through low cost, easy to use terminals,
- iii) that IP's can gain access to as wide a public as possible, and
- iv) that the rights of the individual will not be transgressed.

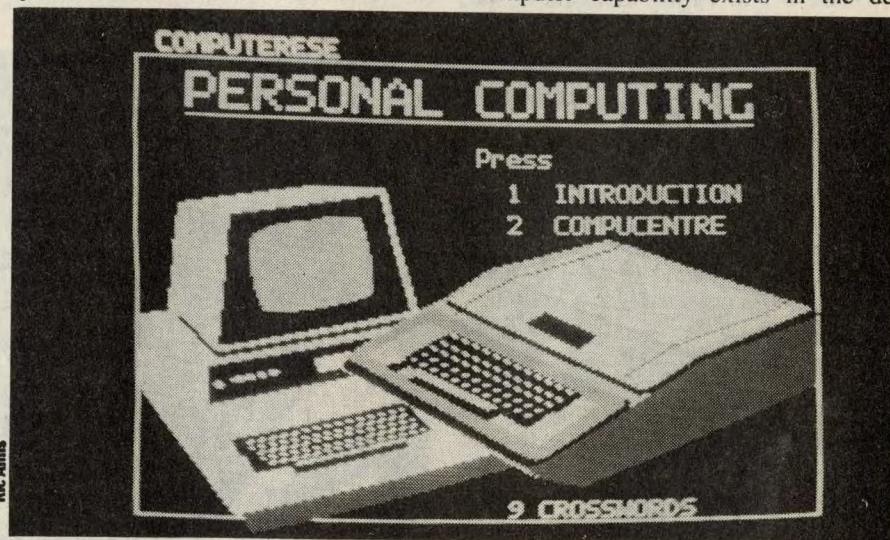
Other questions should be raised concerning the effect of videotext on the manipulation of users for political or commercial ends, on personal privacy, on education and employment, and on the possibility of social alienation. Finally, is there a real, expressed need among Canadians for the services that videotext systems can provide?

The Department of Communications has created a Canadian Videotext Consultative committee, a subcommittee of which, called 'the social impacts committee', is probably looking at these questions. Whether this committee will

growing dominance of Transnational Corporations in international trade has in turn reduced the ability of individual nations to influence corporate behavior inside their boundaries through taxes and other regulations.

As computers are used more, countries like Canada have become dependent on data banks based outside their boundaries, vulnerable to their breakdowns, and even to the extraterritorial application of laws regulating the use of the information they contain. The foreign processing of domestic data, and the central storage of data have profound implications for national security, particularly in times of conflict, either domestic or international.

Lockheed corporation and systems development corporation of the USA, for instance, control 75% of the European and 60% of the North American data banks — determining what is collected, how it is stored, and who has access to what information. 95% of the world's computer capability exists in the de-



have any power to effect policy change remains to be seen. The more important task is the regulation and/or encouragement of participation in the market place in order to meet the very real concerns expressed in this and other papers.

National Sovereignty

Since World War II, most industrialized societies have become increasingly interdependent. This interdependence has resulted in a partial erosion of national sovereignty, which has been largely voluntary. Nations have perceived a need for international standards in transportation and communications, and for regulations controlling trade and commerce.

Another factor has been the dependence of industry on resources and energy sources in foreign countries. The

veloped countries with less than 20% of the population.

Access to and by Information Providers

As I have stated earlier, it is important for users to have access to as wide a variety of IP's as possible, and for IP's to have access to as wide a public as possible. Videotext is an industry which benefits from economies of scale; as more users access information, the lower the cost per page, both to produce, and to purchase. There are several factors that could affect access to and by IP's.

These factors relate to the possibility of monopolies developing around the creation, processing, storage and transmission of data, as well as procedures for billing for the use of the data, and the de-

velopment of standards in hardware and software.

There are government regulations in the telecommunications industry which demand the separation of content and carriage. This separation is particularly evident in the telephone systems, where those responsible for carrying messages cannot interfere with the messages which are sent. In the case of television and cable broadcasting companies, however, regulations are weaker, and companies can both create and broadcast programmes. The fact that there are many competing broadcasters, and that one does not need a cable in order to receive a television signal, has meant that there have not been serious monopoly problems. If, in the case of videotext, a company such as Bell Canada were to become a sole carrier of data, very serious problems could develop if it were allowed to select or interfere with the content. The same would be true if the cable companies had the rights to transmit videotext.

There is already concern about the growing concentration in the control of ownership of information related industries (specifically newspapers). The report of the Kent Commission warns about monopolies developing in the videotext industry, and recommends that the government take steps to prevent them.

There will be a limited amount of space available in a videotext system for information pages, the actual amount being dependent on which method of transmission is selected — broadcast through the vertical blanking interval or over full channel(s), or transmission via telephone or cable lines. Who will allocate the space, and how will this be done? Will the government licence space and IP's, or will the carrier select IP's on the basis of which information can generate the most profit? Will the users have a say in these decisions? Serafini and Andrieu, writing in *The Information Revolution and its Implications for Canada* (p. 41) are correct in saying that "equitable access to electronic highways is fundamental to maintaining the free flow of information so basic to a democratic society."

Capital Flow

It is possible to distinguish between a one-way vertical information flow in which a few at the top control the flow of information to the majority of the population, and a two-way horizontal flow in which a purposeful effort is made to create equitable communication between groups and individuals. Free and open access is essential to this type of flow.

Providing information for videotext is a costly process, both in its creation and storage, and in its dissemination. The IP has three options: i) it can acquire its own computer and billing system, rent or obtain a transmission vehicle, and then advertise its service to potential users; ii) it can store its information on its own computer, but route the data through another carrier; or iii) it can store its information on someone else's computer. Once the information is received by the user, the IP must develop means to bill and collect money from the user. In most cases, billing would be on a per page basis rather than a flat rate. Because per page costs are about five cents or less, it would be very costly for the IP to administer. It would be cheaper for the IP to allow the carrier (such as telephone or cable company) to integrate the IP's charges into the carrier's own billing system, charging the user and passing on the fee to the IP.

The handling charge levied would provide immense profits for the carrier, and raises the concern that the carrier could develop a monopoly in the billing business, and have the opportunity to set rates for handling charges, or in some cases even deny such a service to some IP's, thus shutting such IP's out of the videotext marketplace. Telephone companies in the U.S. have denied similar right of access to cable companies for use of the utility poles (Grundfest and Baer).

In Britain, the Post Office has maintained a complete monopoly over videotext services. It operates the computer centres, rents computer storage to IP's, provides the communication links by the telephone lines it operates, and bills the customers. As in many European countries, the Postal and Telecommunications services are government controlled, providing for at least government accountability to the public over the administration of such monopolies. If telephone companies in the U.S. and Canada had a similar monopoly, there would be much less accountability.

Government control in Europe has also hastened the process of standardization of the technology. Because of the private control of carrier systems in the U.S. and Canada, the development of standards for most aspects of the videotext systems will likely be much slower.

If incompatible systems are developed commercially, the user and the IP's will both suffer. The user will not have access to as wide a variety of IP's if his/her terminal will only receive some data; larger, more vertically integrated IP's with access to computer hardware and carriage systems could dominate the

market, threatening the commercial viability of smaller IP's. Companies such as Bell Vista and Infomart would be in an ideal position to determine the direction of videotext in Canada if they can obtain significant market penetration before any standards are agreed upon.

It is essential that the governments of Canada and the U.S. move quickly to develop a common North American standard for videotext technology, as well as regulations for the separation of content and carriage. Only then can there be assurances that social rather than commercial forces direct the development of videotext.

Political and Commercial Manipulation

Videotext users will begin to see their terminals as the primary communications medium as more information and commercial transactions are available through videotext services. Videotext could become the major source of news, the easiest channel for identifying and purchasing goods and services, and a means for voting and otherwise communicating with government. Such a concentration of data from one source might have the effect of saturating the capacity of users to digest information. Other sources of information could become less important, less entertaining, and more difficult to obtain for the user. If users become comfortable with and trusting of the videotext service, the possibility for the manipulation of user's political and commercial preferences is very real. Such manipulation is, of course, the essence of good advertising, and is something to which North American consumers have already been exposed.

Videotext is different in that it provides the opportunity for an immediate response by the viewer, either through voting or buying. There need be no period in which the viewer can reflect before making a decision. The amusement of pushing buttons may even come to outweigh the importance of the decision. As Pergler points out,

"We cannot conceive of any push buttons or communication patterns that would involve the public in the control of the general direction or ideology of the channel. On the contrary ... the public may be so busy pushing buttons on questions of low relevance that they will forget to ask what they think about the channel's orientation as a whole. In turn, the general orientation will influence the public's perception and taste." (p. 27)

Canada is a country of immense size with a widely dispersed population. It

has a large and powerful civil service which is often out of touch with the public. Some people have recently expressed the desire for a more direct form of democracy through referenda, perhaps an indication of distrust of the present political process. M.P.'s have found that the distance between Ottawa and their constituencies has made contact with their constituents difficult. Mail and telephone polls have not been entirely effective or accurate in identifying public attitudes and perceptions.

It is possible that the use of videotext technology, with its capacity for two-way communication, could go a long way toward overcoming some of these problems. Pressure groups could become more active; "Governments may be confronted by popular pressure to improve communication with the public" (Pergler, p. 31). Governments may see videotext as an opportunity to explain policy decisions to the public, and obtain reactions from it. The existence of the technology may itself force the government to introduce such communications links.

If citizens are being informed and asked for opinions, this may in turn decrease their frustration with big government, and motivate more participation in politics. However, if they feel that their opinions are being ignored, frustration will likely be even higher.

"Viewers will likely become more interested in social issues, being amused at least in the beginning by the possibility of feedback. Later, they will react to the way the feedback is used: by an effort to participate more, by frustration, or by a turning away altogether." (Pergler, p. 32)

A danger with such polling is that if people think that their opinions are being heard by means of interactive broadcasting, they will not bother to use other avenues of communication, thereby reducing their participation.

If voters are polled through videotext systems, what information will they be using with which to make their choices? Will all relevant information be provided in advance, or only selected information which could influence the decision in a predetermined manner?

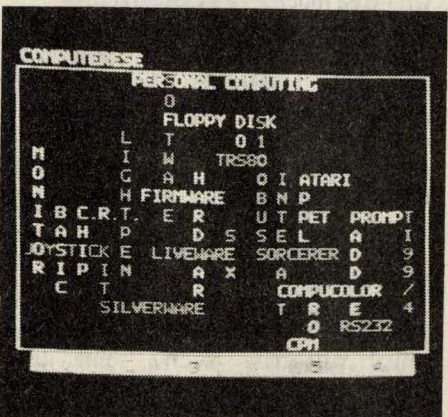
"Electronic image building can help distort political reality. Instant electronic referenda over interactive home terminals could result in demagoguery and crowd pleasing." (Serafini and Andrieu, p. 42)

Will increased opportunity to have one's views heard increase or decrease thoughtful decision-making? Will the use of videotext in the interactive mode threaten the anonymity of voters?

Personal Privacy

The issue of personal privacy is central to the question of home/office use of videotext, and directly relates to the way in which users receive and are billed for information. In order for a customer to be billed according to the specific pages of information he/she has used, or to perform banking/shopping functions, the individual user must be identified. A complete record of transactions would be stored in the billing agency's own data banks. Users will not likely want a very explicit record made of their transactions, whether they relate to political, social or financial matters. Consumers are currently very attuned to matters of confidentiality, so this "invasion" of privacy could be a serious impediment to the introduction of interactive videotext. This concern could be lessened if videotext were offered on a flat rate rather than a per page basis, but such pricing would be less attractive to IP's and carriers. If videotext were transmitted by broadcast rather than by cable or telephone lines, the right to privacy could be protected, because users would be receiving the videotext data in the same way that they now receive television programmes: through rental or purchase of T.V. converters, and by cable companies. This method may, however, reduce the quantity of services that could be provided.

Some people will say that the privacy issue is a red herring, that the R.C.M.P., magazine subscription service, department stores, and others already know or have access to information about individual consumption, social and political preferences. The issue vis à vis videotext may be one of perception. Having an electronic machine in one's home which keeps track of one's entertainment and consumer choices seems to be a much more direct intrusion into one's private life than anything presently in place. And if user billing is centralized, there



will be a much simpler means for others to collect information on user tastes. Even if such information is primarily used for commercial market research, there is nonetheless potential for its misuse.

Education and Employment

Introduction of videotext services will likely alter education and employment patterns significantly. Computer assisted learning can easily be accompanied in the home using the videotext terminal. Users would be able to opt in and out of education at various periods of their lives, rather than depending on one intensive period as is the case now. This change would have implications on the number of teachers and school buildings needed, which in turn would have implications for employment in education and related fields. Future educators may be script writers, producers, directors and computer programmers. Questions need to be asked about the type of training such "new educators" would have, about the content of the materials they produce, and about the type of learning experience they would provide. It is likely that home education would augment rather than replace current primary and secondary schooling, but it could have a much greater impact on post-secondary and continuing education. Adult educators and other newly styled "communicators" will have greater responsibilities in the wake of the information revolution, particularly in assisting people in coping with and making sense of the data pollution to which I have referred.

Employment patterns will be altered, not only in education but in fields such as publishing, and in the postal services. The Post Office could be eliminated by the increased use of electronic mail unless such 'mail' is legally considered the sole responsibility of the Post Office (Recent definitions of what constitutes mail would seem to protest the Post Office). Many jobs would be changed but not eliminated in publishing, as shifts occur from hard-copy to soft-copy journalism and writing. Such shifts could be devastating to Canadian publishing companies, if steps are not taken by the government to protect them from American domination.

While it will probably be easier and cheaper for a writer to "publish" material as an IP, it will be no easier, and perhaps more difficult, for authors to be read and be recognized. Adult educators might benefit from the need to educate videotext users, and retain workers and

others in the inevitable shifts in social and employment patterns. Employment directly related to the videotext industry will, of course, escalate dramatically should the industry succeed in penetrating the market place.

Social Alienation

Videotext in Canada would add to the increasingly large social system on which individuals depend. As services such as banking, shopping and information gathering are computer controlled, the individual will become more dependent on machines which are outside of his/her direct control. This dependence could increase the frustration that people already feel towards an automated world. "Videotext systems ... may well strain the limits of human adaptability in a world where the pace of change is generally believed to be too fast for comfort." (Madden, 1979, p. 15) In addition, reliance on machines for activities which have previously been arenas of social contact could lead to increased feelings of alienation. "The human need for live, physical contact with other human beings could be frustrated." (Serafini and Andrieu, p. 41)

Ironically, the use of videotext and other computer technologies is usually pointed to as an example of a time saving technology which can free people for more human interaction outside the workplace. There may well be a need for educators to develop leisure time education for people without full employment, or for those who depend on work and business contacts for much of their social activity.

There is certainly a possibility that technologies such as videotext can actually increase information flows in a positive and progressive fashion. The telephone and television have increased communication and the flow of data dramatically, although not without some undesirable consequences. The technology provides opportunity for effective use and abuse, and the more efficient and high powered the technology, the greater the possibility for both good use and abuse.

Alternative uses of new technologies must be proposed which emphasize the role of the individual or locality in taking control of the available information, and making it digestible and usable for others as a tool for understanding and participating in the world. Such uses must recognise information as a commodity as valuable as oil or water, and one to which access must be made freer and more open.

The question which lies behind the development of videotext in Canada is that of the need and desire for such technology, and its commercial viability.

Dianne Cohen, author of "The Information Revolution: A Call to Arms", is not alone in claiming that the videotext industry is not driven by needs, but rather by the technology itself; that the obsession with technology has driven its proponents to create or promote the needs that it will meet, rather than to recognize an existing need in society, and develop the technology to meet it. Many of the functions that videotext performs, such as electronic mail, funds transfer and alarm systems are already possible with existing word processors and cable systems. The business market, which is essential for the viability of videotext, already uses large computers which can do more to meet their overall needs than can videotext.

The home market, according to Gerry Halsam of VISAPAC, is equally essential if the videotext industry is to succeed, but it has been suggested that videotext in Canada would be too expensive for the home user. "By 1985, if Telidon were to cost \$25 a month, only 26,000 households could afford it. Mr Hough estimated that only half, or 13,000, would actually subscribe. ... Acceptable market penetration of 150,000 would be achieved only if the monthly cost were \$6." (Chevreau). The growth rate forecasts that Madden refers to in **Videotext in Canada**, use the figure of \$30 a month, while others estimate it will cost \$40 to \$60.

These figures are based on the more expensive two-way version of Telidon, rather than the broadcast teletext version. Mr. Hough, again quoted by Chevreau, predicts that the market may well favour this latter version, which also has the benefits of reducing problems relating to personal privacy and the development of monopolies by telephone and cable companies. One way teletext could also assist the development of low-power community run broadcasting systems, which could in turn reinforce the sense of community where such systems might exist.

It is quite possible that the decisions that will be made regarding the introduction of videotext will be out of the hands of any individual or organization. Because of this, it is possible and perhaps necessary that the government will have to increase its role in protecting national sovereignty and personal privacy, and in fostering competition. This increased role must be balanced by an increased accountability on the part of government, so that the public can play a role in shaping

the development and the application of the technology to meet its needs.

Timothy Owen (president of the Toronto Branch of the United Nations Association in Canada and a member of the Executive Committee of the International Development Education Committee of Ontario) is working with the Canadian Council for International Co-operation — assisting non-governmental organizations to identify and select computers for their use.

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JOHN SCOTT THE 25¢ APOCALYPSE

Unless you've been spending a great deal of time off-planet, you are doubtless aware of the prodigious growth in popularity of video games. If you are lucky enough in this economic depression to have some quarters in your pocket, they have at this point been through a game several times.

Superficially resembling pinball and seemingly both as harmless and terminal in appeal as Moon Rocks bubble gum, video games have become a mainstay of the electronics industry. They are the generators of billions of dollars of revenue and have become a cornerstone of the international economic system. Put simply, their success is a result of reinforcing our worst fears and capitalizing on our feelings of powerlessness and adolescent glee in destruction. They are the perfect vehicle for shifting people's consciousness from a pre-war to a war psychology. They accommodate holocaust by making it painless and replayable. Video games are the 25 cent apocalypse.

Although the electronically generated graphics are compelling and varied the underlying structure of the games is remarkably similar. Each game presents a microcosm of hostility, a situation of failed negotiations. Despite the fact that they are devoid of history and stand outside of time and space, the games embody a number of negative assumptions and a philosophy straight out of **Soldier of Fortune**. You and the machine are usually equipped with similar arms-smart bombs, lasers, etc. The games rest on the notion that mutual assured destruction (MAD) does not work.

The object of the game is to rack up points. You must rack up points in order to survive. In order to survive you must

enter a mechanized hyperactive state of defensive aggression, blasting any object that appears on the event horizon. (The only defense is a good offense: get him/her/it/them, before the enemy gets you.) The ability to maintain this posture allows you to continue, possibly to enter your three letter identity code into the machine's collective memory.

Video games first appeared in a primitive form in 1972 with **Pong**. It wasn't until 1977 and **Space War** was modelled after games invented, in the early 70's, by computer wizards who were given prime access user time on sophisticated computers. In a twist of fate, the means became a highly lucrative end. Initially an entrepreneurial capitalist dream-come-true, the individual inventor has since been buried under mountains of cross-patenting and corporate planning. And so **Space War** — with its dull black and white graphic, its two player system and its requirement of Olympic class reflexes and Mega IQ — was replaced by **Space Invader**, the first phenomenally successful video game.

Blasting the Invaders

Invader is in many ways the quintessential game: simple, straight-forward with a terrifying sub-text. The player, who is equipped with a laser beam, limited movement and a rapidly-degenerating energy barrier, is confronted by rows of incoming aliens, inexorably advancing. Success is blasting an entire wave of invaders, which only results in nervous exhaustion and another wave of hostile invaders. Eventually you are vaporized — just like real life. **Boskonians, Asteroids, Galazians, Phoenix, Space**

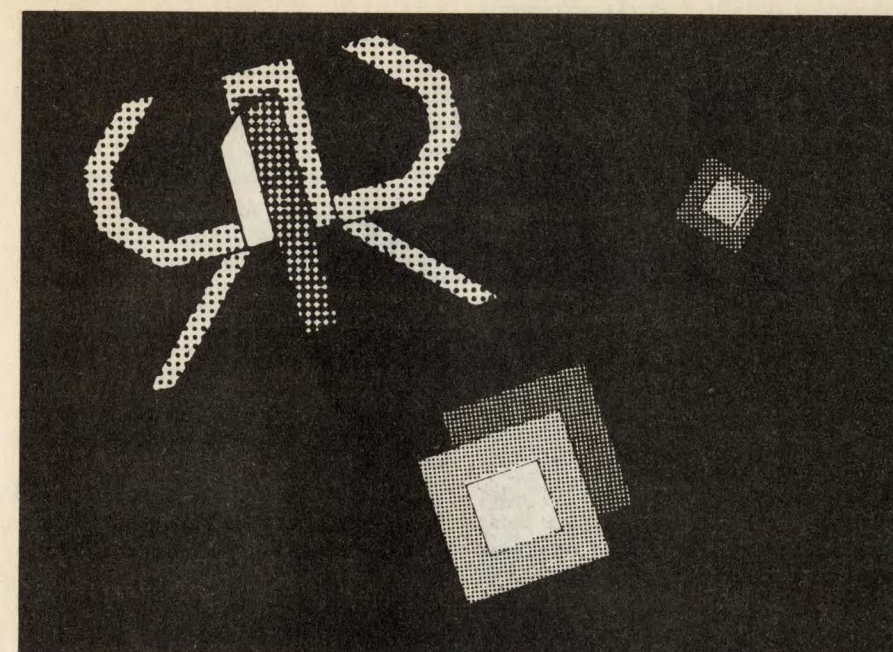
Duel ... Their success is rooted in our collective awareness, and simultaneous need to deny, that we can really be vaporized by a blip of light in a nuclear attack just about as easily. The final arrival last year of **Missile Command** and **Red Alert**, games where one tries to hold off incoming Soviet missile planes and satellites, makes obvious the context which is being exploited.

Try to remember this is exactly how WWII will look to those participating in it. Try to remember that every quarter pumped in acclimatizes us to oblivion — to believe we can survive the end of the world simply because we have done it hundreds of times before. The games distance us from — by engaging us in a simulation of — the most dangerous situation human beings have ever faced.

There is something disheartening about the popularity of the games with the most oppressed: poor whites, unemployed youths, blacks, gays, immigrants. The games seem to have their greatest appeal to those denied any real or meaningful control of their own lives. Denied power, the real badge of adulthood, we revert to rather adolescent fantasies of superpower. Presumably those who have their fingers on the real buttons have no need for substitution. Maybe they just have a home Atari unit.

Besides the intoxication of destruction, the games work on a whole other level. As someone raised not with, but rather by television, I have a rather symbiotic relationship with video games. I give it my focused attention and it narcotizes my feeling, soothes my anxieties and stifles my anger. By providing complex visual stimuli and a simple set of solvable problems, the machine becomes the perfect escape for the 80%

FUSE MARCH/APRIL 1983



alienated (what a perfect description) male-user audience. To play a good game, all dialogue, all feeling, all judgement must go. Everything goes except reflex action, the killer instinct and its by-product, hysteria. Short of massive doses of valium, nothing keeps problems at bay as well as video games. Personally, I've blasted my way out of two collapsed relationships.

There are some games designed specifically for women. **Ms Pac** is a slight modification of **Pac Man**, the most popular of all video games. Carnivore games, like **Pac Man**, momentarily reverse roles. The pursuer becomes the pursued, briefly in a hostile labyrinth of smiling, double-faced interactions and pattern takeovers. **Pac Man** becomes a mythic compression of both sexual relations and consumer society.

Mythic Patterns

Robotatron is probably the most intensely mythic of the games. Several pages of texts appear prior to quarter activation. They describe a post-holocaust world in which evil, mutated robots have taken over. You (the user) have genetically created a super power and are responsible for saving the last nuclear family on earth. (This is verbatim, I swear) Mom and Dad and siblings. If you miss the robots and laser blast one of the folks, they emit tiny individualized shrieks of pain. You can blast all the robots except one and spend the rest of the game listening to your video parents scream under simulated torture. This sets up a horrible series of possibilities for future games, in which pain and destruction are symbolized in more and more graphic detail and any repercussions can be ignored with increasing ease.

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Among popular video games, there are a few notable exceptions that generate images of startling beauty and have a potential as educational tools. **Tempest** is the most visually beautiful. The user finds him or herself trying to avoid multi-colour, animated geometric shapes with the actual possibility of winning a round before blasting across interstellar space. Personally I find **Tempest** too stunning to actually concentrate on the game. Another looker, **Qix** is a sort of exercise in flatland structural mechanics. This is one of the most satisfying games in that a player can entrap the game opponent, a sort of linear, tri-coloured hornet, in a shrinking geometric prison and leave it stewing in its electronic juices, while you construct ziggaraunts and rack up points. Both games require intelligence as well as reflexes and both are comparatively unpopular.

Illusions of participation

I believe that video games represent a unique human development. People have been winning and losing chess, baseball, and mumbly peg or its Stone Age equivalent for thousands of years, but never before has the individual been capable of the illusion of actively participating in the most potent mythic patterns of his or her time. The fact that these patterns overlay a life and death struggle that inevitably ends in simulated death, and that the player's movements are prescribed and limited seems to deter no one. Video games will undoubtedly remain in their present form until we decide to radically alter the culture that created them or unleash the destructive forces they symbolize.

John Scott is a Toronto artist.

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THE NEW WORLD INFORMATION ORDER

*In pre-industrial societies — still the condition of most of the world today — the labor force is engaged overwhelmingly in the extractive industries: mining, fishing, forestry, agriculture. Life is primarily a game against nature . . . Industrial societies are goods-producing societies. Life is a game against prefabricated nature. The world has become technical and rationalized. A post-industrial society is based on services. Hence, it is a game between persons. What counts is not raw muscle, or energy but information.*¹

While it may not be news to many, First World societies — particularly the United States — have been developing into information-based economies since the end of World War II. But it may be news that 25 percent of the American work force is classified as holding jobs in which the main activity is the production, processing or distribution of information.

What is information? Perhaps the simplest way to define an increasingly complex term is to list some of the various services and goods that are directly dependent on information. Information is the electronic and print media, advertising, education, the burgeoning telecommunications industry, the financial industry, libraries and consulting and research and development companies. Information is disseminated, processed and stored by computers and other communications and electronic business and office equipment. Information is measuring and control instruments and printing and printing presses. In short, information is power. And as the old adage says, "The power to define is the power to control."

Brad A. Paulsen of the University of Colorado has said:

Information is a form of power. Its proper use is essential for the development of any movement, social or physical . . . Information is necessary for any power base, regardless of whether it is used by the "workers

*of the oppressed" or to exploit a continent.*²

Putting it another way, Wilbur Schramm, another authority on communication, states that the "development of power can not be separated from the development of communication." The implication is that "the development of communication can determine the development of power and can be both a creator and an index of international status."³

Whatever definition one chooses, the acquisition and control of information can create wealth. If likened to a natural resource, information could be called the perfect resource, for it is renewable. Yet the ability of a society to absorb it and its workers is finite. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the information sector between 1970 and 1980 has grown only at a rate of 0.04 percent. Therefore, overseas markets were created and have become increasingly important to the U.S. information industry.

In an article commissioned by the former United States Information Agency (now the International Communications Agency), Marc Uri Porat, a fellow at the Aspen Institute's Program on Communication and Society states, "The foreign appetite for U.S. information machines is exceeded only by demand for U.S. guns and butter."⁴ This appetite — whetted, no doubt, by U.S. international advertising — has evidently led to the debate and consequent demand by that same overseas market for a new world information order. A definition of this perspective is provided by Cees J. Hamelink: "The new international information order can be defined as [an] international exchange of information in which nations, which develop their cultural system in an autonomous way and with complete sovereign control of resources, fully and effectively, participate as independent members of the international community."⁵

Since no one denies that information can be used politically as well as for the economic and social good, charges of "cultural imperialism" and "technologi-

cal colonialism" have emanated from developing countries, principally of the Third World.

The adjournment of the 21st General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in October 1980 raised more questions and issues for debate regarding the new world information order than most Western news sources have allowed. The industrial West, led by the United States, Great Britain and West Germany, labeled the efforts of the 154-member UNESCO conference an attack by "authoritarian" and "Communist" regimes to subvert freedom of the press and to regulate (censor) the free flow of information between and within nations. The Western nations charged further that certain resolutions and the remedies they proposed would lend credence and financial aid to the "propaganda" of national liberation movements like the Palestine Liberation Organization. Also, they expressed fear that the series of decisions, unanimously adopted by all member nations including the protesting West, would restrict the movement of journalists through possible licensing and safe-conduct events. This last point has to do with one of the resolutions of the new world information order that calls for the "protection of journalists."

While the United States and its allies have said that they are prepared to help developing countries train their own journalists and provide technical assistance through a new International Program for the Development of Communications, they are wary that the program may fall under the control of what they perceive as a Third World-dominated UNESCO. UNESCO is headed by Director General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal, the first African to hold such a position in a specialized U.N. agency. Therefore, they are insisting that the new program be funded by private industry and charitable organizations. (Obviously, under such an arrangement the wealthier West would control the program.)

The hostility toward M'Bow is a result

of the assumption by the West that he is actually one of the chief architects of the new world information order along with Mustapha Masmoudi, the Tunisian delegate to UNESCO. An article with the ludicrous title, "Third World vs. The Media" published in *The New York Times Magazine* prior to the Belgrade meeting claimed that "although the paper presented . . . bore Masmoudi's signature, there is evidence that it was in fact written by a committee of media experts from several countries, including East Germany and Vietnam, who worked on the project with funds authorized by M'Bow."⁶ This, of course, promotes the now familiar accusation that the Third World is but a puppet manipulated by Communist governments.

In yet another article intended to be the last word, *The Times* predicted ominously that despite the Belgrade resolutions:

*In practical terms the third world can not hope to get its way. UNESCO can not impose its standards on Western news organizations and countries that have satellite are unlikely to take orders from countries that do not have any . . . What the third world can do and may do, however, is weaken public support in the West for a world that at least is striving to organize itself along international lines through the United Nations system. This could happen as the third world constantly injects irritating political quarrels into essentially technical bodies, perhaps forcing industrial countries to ignore their decisions or even to withdraw from the organizations.*⁷ (Italics mine.)

Others, such as Porat, seem to disagree with this let's-take-our-marbles-and-go-home attitude. The U.S., he says, has too much at stake because it

*has established a foreign aid policy program specifically in the area of scientific and technical information. Much of the relevant information can be acquired for very little cost; organizations, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, proffer a dose of information along with a low interest loan. Many U.S. firms are in the business of "selling" information as a consulting or management contract. And lastly, when a multinational sets up a manufacturing subsidiary as a joint venture with another country, patent royalties and management fees for the use of U.S. technology and U.S. management know-how are often part of the deal.*⁸

TOP 50

How does your daily reading rate in global terms? Here, in order of circulation, are 50 of the world's biggest publications. M = Monthly, F = Fortnightly, W = Weekly, D = Daily.

	Publication	Base	Frequency	Circulation (millions)
1	Readers Digest	USA	M	29.0
2	Pravda	USSR	D	9.0
3	Isvestia	USSR	D	8.4
4	Komsomolskaya Pravda	USSR	D	7.7
5	National Geographic	USA	M	7.6
6	Penthouse	UK	M	6.7
7	Asahi Shimbun	Japan	D	6.5
8	Playboy	USA	M	5.8
9	Good Housekeeping	USA	M	5.7
10	Time	USA	W	5.3
11	News of the World	UK	W	5.2
12	Sunday People	UK	W	4.1
13	Sunday Mirror	UK	W	4.1
14	Hore Zu	W. Germ.	W	4.0
15	Daily Mirror	UK	D	3.9
16	Bild Zeitung	W. Germ.	D	3.6
17	Sunday Express	UK	W	3.5
18	The Sun	UK	D	3.5
19	Peoples Daily	China	D	3.4
20	Radio Times	UK	W	3.4
21	Newsweek	USA	W	3.3
22	TV Times	UK	W	3.2
23	NY Sunday News	USA	W	3.0
24	Mainichi Shimbun	Japan	D	3.0
25	Daily Express	UK	D	2.7
26	Fernsehe woche	W. Germ.	W	2.4
27	Bild am Sonntag	W. Germ.	W	2.3
28	Burda Moden	W. Germ.	M	2.2
29	NY Daily News	USA	D	2.1
30	Modes et Travaux	France	M	1.8
31	Bonne Soiree	France	M	1.7
32	Daily Mail	UK	D	1.7
33	Funk Uhr	W. Germ.	W	1.7
34	Womans Weekly	UK	W	1.7
35	Glamour	USA	M	1.6
36	Nihon Kaizai Shimbun	Japan	D	1.5
37	Sunday NY Times	USA	W	1.5
38	Stern	W. Germ.	M	1.5
39	Brigitte	W. Germ.	F	1.4
40	Bunte	W. Germ.	W	1.4
41	Europa	Belgium	M	1.4
42	Sunday Times	UK	W	1.4
43	Wall Street Journal	USA	D	1.4
44	Daily Telegraph	UK	D	1.3
45	Al Ahran	Egypt	D	1.2
46	Chicago Tribune	USA	D	1.2
47	Los Angeles Times	USA	D	1.2
48	Selecciones de Readers Digest	USA	M	1.2
49	Bild und Funk	W. Germ.	W	1.0
50	Quick	W. Germ.	M	1.0

Note For comparison, the biggest publications in Canada, Australia and New Zealand are: Toronto Star (0.8m), Sun News Pictorial (0.6m) and N.Z. Herald (0.2m) respectively. (New Internationalist 0.017m).

At stake also are the multi-billion dollar investments of the transnational corporations. In 1978 IBM alone was responsible for over 70 percent of all computer installations worldwide, earning \$10 billion dollars in the process. More important, IBM's gross revenue from its overseas operations alone is over \$1 billion dollars annually and growing rapidly. And if one considers the telecommunications satellites, even the sky is not the limit for future transnational profits.

Clearly evident is the fact that the issues being debated go far beyond news, the rights of the press and journalists. Hamelink argues that "international news is only a small, albeit important, aspect of the international information flow."⁹ News, he says, is estimated as being only about ten percent of the total flow of information. The balance of the information flow consists of what he calls "informatics" — such as word processing terminals and, of course, the myriad computer-based information services from the telephone and telegraph to satellite-transmitted radio and television. The informatics industry, writes Hamelink, is

the world's third largest industry, which is almost totally controlled by a few Western corporations and puts dependent developing nations at a considerable economic and informational disadvantage . . . [However] third world countries, apart from being important informatics markets in the next decade, can seriously affect the economy of the industrialized if they would restrict trans-border data flows, would impose taxes on those flows, or would indigenize informatics facilities.¹⁰

These last factors are also part of the new information order as called for by the majority of UNESCO member nations.

What are some of the other resolutions passed at the UNESCO conference whose implementation the West fears so strongly? Few Western news sources have published the major points of the document which sets forth the concept of the new world information order. Following are some excerpts from that document:

Information in the modern world is characterized by basic imbalances, reflecting the general imbalance that affects the international community. In the political sphere . . . these imbalances take many forms: 1. A flagrant quantitative imbalance between North and South . . . Almost 80 percent of

the world news flow emanates from the major transnational agencies; however, these devote only 20 to 30 percent of news coverage to the developing countries, despite the fact that the latter account for almost three-quarters of mankind. 2. An inequity in information resources. The five major transnationals monopolize . . . the essential share of material and human potential, while almost a third of the developing countries do not yet possess a single national agency . . . 3. A defacto hegemony and a will to dominate . . . founded on financial, industrial, cultural and technological power and result[ing] in most of the developing countries being relegated to the status of mere consumers of information . . . 4. A lack of information on developing countries . . . By transmitting to the developing countries only news processed by them, that is, news which

they have filtered, cut, and distorted, the transnational media impose their own way of seeing the world upon developing countries . . . 5. Survival of the colonial era. The present-day information system enshrines a form of political, economic and cultural colonialism which is reflected in the often tendentious interpretation of news concerning the developing countries . . . 6. An alienating influence in the economic, social and cultural spheres . . . First of all, they have possession of the media through direct investment. Then, there is another form of control . . . namely, the near monopoly on advertising



Black Rose Press

throughout the world . . . 7. Messages ill-suited to the areas in which they are disseminated. Even important news may deliberately be neglected by the major media in favor of other information of interest only to public opinion in the country to which the media in question belong . . . They even ignore the important minorities and foreign communities living on their national territory, whose needs in matters of information are different from their own . . .

All such political and conceptual shortcomings are worsened . . . by inadequate international legal structures . . . Questions need to be raised on many issues: 1. Individual rights and community rights. 2. Freedom of information or freedom to inform. 3. Right to access to information sources. 4. The ineffectiveness of the right of correction. 5. The absence of an international code of ethics governing the profession. 6. Imbalance in the distribution of the source of the spectrum [radio frequencies]. 7. Disorder and lack of coordination of telecommunications and in the use of satellites . . .

Information is not the prerogative of a few individuals or entities that command the technical and financial means enabling them to control communication; rather it must be conceived as a social function intrinsic to the various communities, cultures, and different conceptions of civilization . . .¹¹ (Italics mine.)

It would seem then that the objections of the U.S. and its allies are nothing but the resurrection of a cold war notion of "freedom" that has been used to mask the operations of transnational capital. In the current debate, the West has considerably shifted and collapsed the issues to one: the "free flow of information." That doctrine was conceived by the U.S. at the end of the Second World War concomitant with its ascendancy as an imperial power. "If I were to be granted one point of foreign policy and no other," U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles asserted, "I would make it the free flow of information." This government doctrine has received vigorous promotion. Herbert I. Schiller writes:

a remarkable political campaign was organized by the big press associations and publishers with the support of industry in general, to elevate the issue of free flow of information to the highest level of national and international principle. This served a handsome pair of objectives. It rallied public opinion to the support of a

commercial goal expressed as an ethical imperative [i.e., American style journalism is the only true defender of human and democratic rights]. Simultaneously, it provided a highly effective ideological club against the Soviet Union and its newly created neighboring zone of anti-capitalist influence . . . Therefore, the issue provided American policy managers with a powerful cultural argument for creating suspicion about an alternative form of social organization . . .¹²

The notion of a "free flow of information" has been most soundly criticized by the Third World. F. Lwanyantika Masha, a Tanzanian Senior Information Officer at the United Nations, argues that the formulation

"free flow of information" suggests a chaotic, confused, overloaded system of message transmission. Furthermore, it implies equal power, resources, access, and expertise for all those transmitting information. This, of course, is grossly simplistic and unrealistic. Unless all information, regardless of its origin, has equal opportunity to reach intended audiences, the idea of a "free flow of information" is a fallacy. The idea of a "free flow of information" across or even within cultures is thus neither possible nor desirable. The third world views with suspicion those who advocate a "free flow of information" from the vantage point of monopoly in global communications systems. Freedom of the press is not the issue in the call for a new world information and communication order. The issue is whether each country will be free to determine its future, based on its history, culture and values, without manipulation or imposition of others.¹³

In conclusion, the battle over who will control information will continue to rage through this decade and beyond. The communications revolution, referred to as the most important event of the century, will continue to restructure the world politically, socially and economically. The results of its impact will strongly affect the destiny of all humanity — the powerful, powerless, rich and poor, in the centuries to come. The developing countries' call for a new world information order is actually a call to all peoples to prepare for a future that will be so full of change that only those who are capable of meeting and of enduring the challenge will survive. Alvin Tof-

ler's "third wave" could be a tidal wave of apocalyptic finality or it could be a wave that will sweep the majority of the earth full grown into the 21st century.

Notes

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This article first appeared in a slightly different form in *Freedomways*.

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ALEXANDER WILSON

SELF-SERVE RADIO

a conversation with a pirate

In a city like Toronto, it's easy to reminisce about the palmy days, usually elsewhere, when there was good radio. By now, most of what I remember as the venturesome radio of the early seventies is long since gone, withered and fallen into the hands of the hip capitalists who emerged from the very bells-and-beads boutiques of the counterculture itself. That trajectory is due in large part to a confusion about the relations between an "alternative" medium and the culture it comes out of. In an article in the anthology **Co-ops, Communes and Collectives: Experiments in Social Change in the 1960s and 1970s**, Andrew Kopkind suggests that in the end, the future of alternative media depends "on the ability of a viable political culture to sustain it. The media reflect the social context as well as transmit it. A real radical culture will not be televised, taped and rerun. It will be live, and the media it spawns will organize and inform the culture, not supplant it."

The task of organizing and informing an oppositional culture has seldom seemed so crucial as in the present decade. Yet at the moment there are few urban radio outlets (and the situation is at least as bad in TV) for alternative programming. In rural areas there are simply none. What used to be called "progressive rock" music programming no longer bothers to mask its homogenous product; and the "new journalism" of radio news and public affairs runs from meagre to irresponsible. As we all know, people are producing good material all over North America; rather than continue to court intransigent programme directors, why not put the work of your community on the air yourselves? In the U.S. State regulation keeps the airwaves tidy, but it also jacks the price up to \$50-100,000. to set up a legit broadcasting operation.

Pirate radio is easy and cheap. That means no pressure from advertisers; it also means you can be flexible and easily responsive to the cultural needs of your community. Historically, clandestine

broadcasting has served an important political function too. In the early seventies, urban guerillas in Berlin did radio from mobile transmitters in cars. In Northern Ireland and Central America, it's a mainstay of resistance.

If there are local stations that will accept innovative and oppositional programming, they are good community resources that should be used. But it seems to me that we should also nurture pirate radio (and pirate TV) and keep in contact with the people doing it.

The following is the text of a recent conversation with someone we'll call Chris Stone, who has for a number of years been doing his own distribution — operating a pirate radio station in New York. I'd like to thank John Greyson and DeeDee Halleck for helping with this interview.

So what is pirate radio?

Basically, all pirate radio is in taking a transmitter, hooking it up to an antenna in a studio, turning it on and saying, "Here we are."

Where do you get the equipment?

There's a little publication called **Radio World**. Their address is Box 1214, Falls Church, Virginia, 22041. They have this supplement they put every month called **Broadcast Equipment Exchange**. It has ads for everything you need: amplifiers, antennas and towers, audio production, automation equipment (though I don't think anyone doing pirate radio is going to be using that), video cameras, limiters, microphones, modulation monitors, stereo generators, everything. If you want to know where to get used stuff cheap, that's a good source.

Aren't there government limitations on that?

That's the nice thing about it. It is not illegal to possess broadcast equipment, as it is in Canada from what I hear. It's just illegal to use it if you don't have a licence.

What's the difference between radio broadcasting and C.B.'s?

A C.B. is limited — made for a specific purpose — that I don't think very much of. Pirate broadcasting is about getting to people at home, on the radios that sit up on top of their fridge in the kitchen. You get your programming to them directly without having to go to a radio or cable programming director. I used to have a lot of arguments with people about cable operations in the early 70s. Everybody thought public-access cable was going to be seventh heaven, an avenue for everyone's production. I kept saying, "No, it's not going to be that way. Cable operators have their own biases; and as the business becomes big, they're not going to want to hear you. And that's just what's happened. Cable is big business now, and you have to go down and get on your knees, and they say, "Well, I don't know."

How different are the requirements for video and radio?

Well, radio broadcasting can be done pretty cheaply. With video you're getting up there in price. You can put a fairly decent pirate radio station together for under \$2000. That's without studio equipment, but most people have that already.

For that kind of money, you could put a station on the air that would have a ten to fifteen mile radius, with a very good quality signal. In fact there's no reason why it would sound any different from the licenced stations; and maybe even better, because you'd probably be a lot more conscientious about what you do to the signal, like you wouldn't compress it to get more distance.

You do want distance, but what you're trying to do is offer something that's a little different from what people are getting on the dial. I don't know if you're familiar with what compression is, but what it does is take the dynamic range out of the programme material, so instead of hav-

ing very soft and very loud, it's all at one level. It's very irritating. It sounds off and kind of weird.

Don't almost all stations do that?

Almost all stations do, except for classical music stations. That's why they sound so much better in comparison.

Are you talking about AM or FM?

Either. Getting back to the basics, it's easier to do FM in a way. FM requires a smaller antenna, and you don't have to worry about grounding and all that, like you do if you want to get a good AM signal out.

take it out of the box, put it together, put it on a mast — one of the little things you buy in Radio Shack — hook up your lead-in wire and you're done. Constructing your own antenna is a real pain. Unless you have a machine shop at your disposal. It's very difficult to make a good antenna that will actually hang in there when the wind and ice come on.

If you buy straightforward equipment, you'll spend less time dealing with it and more time on programming. What you want to do is broadcast, not fiddle around with equipment.



When you say antenna, I start thinking of those big transmission towers. What does your antenna look like? Can you tell that you're broadcasting?

Not necessarily. Basically it looks like a TV antenna, only a little heavier and stronger. No one can tell what it is unless they really know their antennas. There are companies that make antennas now. There's one called Scala; I think they're in San Francisco. They will make any antenna you want. You can get a nice five element directional FM antenna tuned to the frequency you want for about \$250. A directional antenna allows you to aim at a general area and concentrate your signal so that you get a signal gain. You can also get an omni-directional antenna, like a turnstile. They make those too.

That's the easiest thing to do, because you don't have to fiddle with tuning it or getting more equipment than you need in order to do that. All you have to do is

Blanketing?
Blanketing is what happens when your

radio — especially if it's a cheap radio — is so close to a signal that it won't be able to handle it and you'll get that one station all the way across the dial. If you do that, you might get someone calling up the FCC and saying, "Hey, well I get this station all over the dial..."

Talk about mobilizing people, you could do just that, blanket everything. You know, — like, "Everybody be in the park tonight at six..."

The biggest problem with pirate is getting people to listen, and the more pirate stations there are on, the more people get the idea. In each town there are channels that are good to operate on, depending on the local allocations. Usually the upper end of the AM band is good, above 1600, which is technically off the band. The lower end can be used too. 87.9 FM is good in an area that doesn't have channel six on TV. Do not ever operate above 108. on the FM band. That's an aircraft beacon band, and it could cause trouble. It can't start the war, but it can cause interference to aircraft navigation, and it will get the FCC down on you very much faster than they would be otherwise. Just don't do it, don't even think about it until they get rid of that band.

Can we go back to the differences between FM and video broadcasting? With video you do broadcast on the FM band, don't you?

Well, no. TV uses an FM signal for the sound. A TV station is nothing more than two broadcast stations, one transmitting an amplitude-modulated picture carrier, and the other a frequency-modulated sound carrier like the one you have on your FM radio. You see, on the spectrum, you have channels two to six right next to each other except for a little gap between four and five which is used for beepers and stuff. That's from 54 megacycles up to 88. Right there is where FM fits in, and it goes up to 108. There's a bunch of other two-way radio stuff in there before 88 and 174, where channel 7 comes in, all the way up to 216, which is the end of channel 13. Then there's a big gap until you get up to I think 470 which is where UHF channel 14 comes in, up to 890, where channel 83 ends. The AM band is .55 megacycles to 1.6.

So you need less wattage to broadcast VHF than UHF?

UHF is very difficult because you're dealing with higher frequencies that tend to be more line-of-sight. If you look at the allocation charts, you'll see that UHF stations are authorized up into the millions of watts, where VHF stations run at about a couple of hundred thousand I guess. As the frequency goes up, the radio waves start to become more like light waves, they'll start to go around

corners and obstructions less. FM will only do that up to a point. AM will just follow the curvature of the earth until the power isn't there any more.

If the TV signal is broken into two components, audio and video, would it be possible to replace the audio on people's TVs? Say you were going to purposely blanket an area with a strong VHF signal during the TV news.

You could, yeah. You'd need one hell of a powerful transmitter, because those guys have got the watts. Personally, I'm not sure there's a purpose to cutting in on existing signals. I think the best way to go about it is find an empty space and use it. There are empty spaces around, even though the FCC doesn't say there are.

But if you wanted to put your own commentary on the news, you could easily do an area of five or six blocks. Beyond that, you're going to need some power. You'd make the lights dim in your neighbourhood to do that. Don't forget, you'd be fighting with a signal that's already there. The strongest one is the one that will win.

Now with TV broadcasting you have to watch out for your sidebands, and that get's expensive. One way you could do it is to get an old Gerrold modulator which has good filtering in it, and then amplify that. There are companies that make little in linear amplifiers; you can get them for a couple hundred dollars. KLN makes them. They're another California company.

It's not hard to get on cable TV though. If you live near a Cable head-end, you can put a low power transmitter on to the frequency of that channel and their transmitter will pick it up and broadcast your signal once the station has gone off the air. All you have to have is a fairly decent antenna aimed in that direction and a few watts, because once the station they're picking up from somewhere else goes off the air, the antenna waits for a few seconds before it goes off into the alpha-numerics, and that's when it will pick up anything coming in on that frequency.

Why did you get into pirate broadcasting?

The idea was to get some communications on the air that weren't corporate or government controlled. They always tell you the air waves belong to the people, so I figured, let's do it.

Have you had legal hassles?

Yeah, we have. We got busted once. The FCC agent came by a couple of times before they decided to pull the plug.

Did they warn you?

Yeah they did. The first time they came in, we were on the air and they

said, "No, no, no. This is only for big people with a lot of money. You shouldn't be doing these things. Now turn it off right now and grow up." Then they send you a form letter that sounds very official and everything.

Somebody told me that the FCC only have nineteen field agents for the whole United States.

Well, six of them are in New York. But they've suffered a lot of budget cut-backs under Reagan. In fact the first time the guy came by he left his radio direction finding set at the house. I figured I'd give him ten minutes; but he came back.

What does it look like?

It's just a little box. It's basically a receiver. Obviously I didn't get to explore it too much before he came back. What a jerk he would have been if the head office had asked him, "By the way, what happened to that direction finding kit we gave you ...". This guy incidentally is now head of the FCC in New York City.

Anyway, the last time they came by they had federal marshalls, took the equipment and handcuffed us and that. It's hard to know when they'll decide to go after you. Years ago the philosophy was that if you were on FM and not causing interference they didn't give a damn. That's one of the main things. If there's interference, they'll get complaints and if they get complaints they'll probably come down on you.

The maximum penalty is 1 year in prison or \$1000 or both for the first offence, and a year or \$10,000 or both for the 2nd offence. With us they confiscated the equipment and gave us a year's probation, and then later some lawyer friends of mine thought they'd be able to get the equipment back. They filled out some forms and went down to get it, and the guy in the warehouse said, "What the hell's the matter with you leaving this stuff here? It's cost the government \$1500 a month for the past two years!" I couldn't give a goddamn how much it cost them. They couldn't build so many bombs that way.

Don't you have any defence in terms of the airwaves belonging to the people?

Forget it. I told the prosecuting attorney that the airwaves belonged to the people and he said, "Well, they don't." So that was that. The airwaves belong to whoever the government wants to delegate them to.

Even if you adhere to all the codes and so forth?

If you go on the air and do all the things the regular broadcasters do, why are you on? They don't care how good your operation is; you're not supposed to be there. Period. Even if there's no radio anywhere around except for you.

What would you say is better for stay-

ing on the air for a while? A low-power transmitter or a high-power one?

A transmitter that's consistent with what you want to do, how much money you have, etc. If you're in a high area, which you pretty well have to be with FM, you can take care of an entire city with very little power. It also depends on when you broadcast. I mean, the first time they got us, we were on seven days a week, twelve hours a day. They couldn't miss us. People knew they could turn to us every night AM or FM and we'd be there. We had a staff, regular programmes and everything. You can play with the law enforcement agencies, by moving around on the dial and broadcasting at odd hours, or shutting down when you see them walking down the street — they're doing their job, you're doing yours. But on the other hand, you want to stay at the same spot, you want people to know where you are.

What's your audience like?

Well, we're both AM and FM, so we have a pretty large audience, broadcasting at 300 watts AM and 250 watts FM. We generally go on about seven o'clock at night and stay on anywhere from three to five in the morning.

What kind of programming do you offer?

Basically what I call alternative radio programming. Lots of music, interviews (we had the Berrigans on once), and talk shows. And we have people reading poetry and stuff, and lots of phone-ins. There's also a lot of stuff you can do outside of the studio, like coverage of marches and events around the city.

Has anyone approached you to do ads?

No. The only thing we ever considered was doing a trade with a record store so we could get some extra records, but we never bothered.

You don't really have any expenses then.

That's the nice thing about pirate. Once you get the equipment you're there. The only thing you'll have to buy after that is tapes, so you can go out and do whatever programming you want. It's not like spending billions to get on the established media: you don't have to deal with prejudices, you don't have to put up with getting shoved on the air with your programme at four o'clock Sunday morning. You can go on when you want to and do what you feel you have to do.

Does how long you stay on depend on what kind of content you have on the air? If you give people some really good information about what's going on, and talk, way, about unemployment and the games the military and the police are playing, would you be more likely to get busted than people

talking about love and peace and that?

There's about six or seven pirate stations in New York right now, and most of us do a combination of both. We try to keep people aware and also try to let them know that the most important thing they can get is peace. Whether or not they will get it is a different story, but it depends largely on them. That's something the established media, if you want to use that phrase, don't do. They don't care. They want to make money, and that's their thing. I'm not saying people shouldn't be allowed on the air to make money, but other people should be left alone to go on and do other things too.

But if you had hard information about draft resistance or other "unlawful" activities, you're probably more likely to get caught.

Well, that depends. You see, the FCC is only concerned with their own laws, namely that you can't broadcast without a licence.

Really, unless you tell people to go out and shoot Reagan they'll probably never come after you. And even if they do, the courts don't want to deal with that shit. They've got international racketeers waiting in line to be prosecuted; what do they want to bother with somebody fooling around with a transmitter for?

Is this really a viable form of communication, or should we deal with more established radio, like college stations, and get our programmes on the air with them?

I find college radio stations to be a lot more conservative than regular commercial stations, in a lot of places. A lot of times administrations will shut them down if they're any good, or their funds get cut.

There was a good station at Georgetown in DC, but they got closed down when they started talking about abortion, since it's a Catholic university.


That'll do it.

What about monitoring the police and the military? Say something really heavy was happening in the community and the cops were coming down. If you knew where they were, you could warn people away.

Sure, you can monitor them. You have to have a scanning radio that covers the police bands. I think it might be illegal to have one in your car, but you can get them anywhere, as well as a book with all the police frequencies city by city. But I'll say one thing for what it's worth. It's all right for you to listen to the police bands, but it's illegal for you to use the information you hear. That's what the rules are, just in case you wanted to know.

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SEXUAL STEREOTYPING IN THE MEDIA

Throughout the last decade and well into the 80's, the predilection among journalists, academics and government agencies to identify and analyse problems surrounding the stereotypical treatment of women in the mass media has steadily intensified. **Images of Women**, the latest government report on sex-role stereotyping of women in the broadcasting and advertising industries, represents the most recent Canadian contribution to what has by now become a burgeoning, if somewhat redundant, body of literature.



Marion Hayden Pirie

Despite the claim that "for those unfamiliar with the issues surrounding the problem of sex role stereotyping, the . . . report may contain a number of relatively new ideas . . ." I found most of the issues addressed in this report sponsored by the C.R.T.C. tiresomely repetitive, and, with one or two exceptions, bereft of any sensitivity to the implications of newly emerging stereotypes and themes.

Nevertheless, **Images of Women** is certainly no less worthy than many other publications on the subject, and at \$3.95 it does provide a concise and fairly comprehensive introduction to what are considered the traditional problems surrounding the issue of sex-role stereotyping.

ing of women in the mass media. Furthermore, certain sections of the report do provide serviceable information, such as the very useful Appendix 7 which sets out for the general public complaint procedures and redress mechanisms. Finally, it is to the credit of the task force members, many of whom represent distinctly opposed self-interest groups from industry and government, that any consensus as to what constitutes deleterious stereotyping was reached at all.

Sex role stereotyping, according to the task force, is not simply a matter of bad taste. Rather they contend (as do most of us) that the continued portrayal of sexist imagery seriously constrains women's attitudes and activities in this society. The purpose of the task force, then, was to set out an organizing framework for self regulation by the broadcasting and advertising industries in their portrayal of imagery which might be considered harmful to the functioning of women in society. Accordingly, the report deals firstly with the identification of such imagery and secondly with industry concerns and possible recommendations for the implementation of a self regulatory code. The various addenda and appendices which comprise the latter portion of the report reflect the necessary window dressing typical of many such government publications. Certainly, for the general reading public, the earlier sections which discuss the actual imagery would hold the greatest interest.

However, many of the same issues which formed part of earlier studies on sexist imagery and sex role stereotyping in the media were faithfully reiterated in **Images of Women**. If nothing else, the consistency with which the same concerns were identified in this report confirms that we certainly know by now what we don't want to see in media representations of women. Namely, the continued portrayal of women as sex objects; the persistent use of male voiceovers; the use of sexist language; or the depiction of women in behavioural styles typically characterized as subservient, passive, overly dependent, or intellectually inferior to men. Most of all, we are tired of seeing women continually portrayed in 'traditional' roles, particularly that of the simpering little housewife

whose major concern of the day is the yellow wax buildup on her kitchen floor.

There were, however, two observations which did seem to me to depart significantly from the usual concerns. In the summary chapter, mention was made of pornography as a particularly insidious source of sex role stereotyping. To be sure there is an unfortunate trend among certain genres (most notably fashion advertisements) towards adopting a new motif I would characterize as "brutality chic". While this motif is not so prominent in broadcasting and television com-



Marion Hayden Pirie

mercials as yet, it is an emergent theme in popular culture and one well worth monitoring by groups concerned with sex role stereotyping. Secondly, a public submission from a group calling themselves the "Political Lesbians United about the Media, Toronto" makes the point that most media coverage contains a distinct heterosexist bias wherein the gay community is depicted as either "sick" or "non-existent". Few, if any, of the major studies on sex role stereotyping address this particular bias. Since "heterosexism" is becoming a major area of debate in other cultural spheres, it is a worthwhile topic to pursue in any study on media stereotyping.

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I wonder, though, if the images of the simpering little housewives, the "weepy, dizzy, blondes", or the overly endowed Nonnie Griffiths are not, in fact, descending cultural stereotypes — holdovers from a qualitatively different era of sexism. Certainly, a trend analysis would give us some indication of new directions in sex role stereotyping, and such an analysis seems to me to be a worthwhile adjunct to a study of this nature.

However, in the search for more appropriate role models in the media, particularly fictionalized ones, I think we have to be wary of what sociologist Barbara Cagan calls "the co-optation of the women's movement" by the commercial culture. Among some of the emergent stereotypes in the media is what is known as the 'post-lib woman' and there are a number of caveats attached to this new image.

The current television series **Cagney and Lacey**, for example, represents the television industry's perfunctory nod to feminism in depicting women in 'non-traditional' jobs. While acknowledging that hyperbole may be a useful creative device, most of us would agree that there

is something both demeaning, and faintly ludicrous about the overtly macho posturing of these two women as they compete with their male colleagues on the force for equal treatment by boss Al Waxman (the prototype of male chauvinists). A far more flattering but equally exaggerated (and I would add, insidious) stereotype resides in the persona of Joyce Davidson of **Hill Street Blues**. She is the idealized post-liberation woman; assertive, intelligent (not to mention beautiful), sexually liberated, emotionally independent, professionally successful and more highly educated (and one presumes salaried) than any of her male colleagues at the Hill Street Precinct.

If we accept the Joyce Davidson persona as the new ideal in media stereotypes we run a serious risk of de-radicalizing many of the revolutionary aims of feminism. A truly realistic portrayal of women in the media, fictionalized or otherwise, would in fact reflect women's very real ghettoization in typically servile, low paying occupations in the clerical and service sectors. The newer portrayals of dynamic women in dynamic careers will do little, in fact,

to change the occupational segregation of women, but those images may go far in providing a cathartic outlet for stirrings of discontent, or worse, perpetuating false beliefs about the accessibility of such exciting careers. If we think we have come such a long way (and we will, if we are bombarded with this new cultural stereotype) then we might remind ourselves that it is not, in fact, much of a qualitative leap from the kitchen sink to the video display terminal. And that is where the majority of women will end up.

The challenge facing those of us concerned with media stereotypes is one of constructing a well thought-out and clearly articulated feminist stereotype; one which neither demeans women, nor, under the guise of flattery, dupes women into embracing a false myth of mobility. But if **Images of Women** represents the most forward-looking research on sex role stereotyping, then indeed, we still have a long way to go.

Marion Hayden Pirie is studying 'women in the media' at York University. She is currently researching S/M imagery in advertising, record covers, etc.

HANK HADEED

WILL GUTENBERG DO?

Gutenberg Two: The New Electronics and Social Change.

Edited by David Godfrey and Douglas Parkhill.

(Toronto: Press Porcépic, 1979, 1980.)

The Telidon Book.

Edited by David Godfrey and Ernest Chang.

(Toronto: Press Porcépic, 1981.)

In the epilogue to **Gutenberg Two: The New Electronics and Social Change**, David Godfrey mentions that "one unexpected aspect to which we have been able to devote almost no time whatsoever so far, will be the growth of game playing on the media." He goes on to predict that "up to 30% of the users of the Electronic Highway may be involved with games." Unexpected indeed! When the book was published in 1979, his prediction seemed fanciful and the single paragraph he devoted to computerized

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game playing was, in the opinion of this reader, more than adequate. Today, in the glare of Pac-Man fever, we might be persuaded to give closer attention to his prediction.

30% is a modest estimate. Video games have already generated enough income, built enough fortunes and devoured enough quarters to deserve more than passing mention in a text which attempts to "make some predictions about the social rearrangements the new communications maze will force, look at many aspects of the current maze from the vantage point of the new technology, observe some of the ways in which the current maze will be tipped over and ploughed under, and present a firm set of regulatory principles for ensuring that Canadians receive the maximum benefits from the new structures and powers that are suddenly going to appear all around us."

On the other hand, Godfrey and his

co-authors have larger fish to fry than the game-playing entrepreneurs and connoisseurs. They're out to tackle all of "Gutenberg Two", which they define as the social revolution about to emerge through the "marriage of computers with existing communications-links." Some of the cue words of the revolution are "chips, Telidon, silicon, fibre optics, databankers, content/carrier separation, random access memory."

Adjusting to new technologies

The editors' concern is three-fold: 1) to describe and understand a "complex set of technologies and their interaction", 2) to outline the "structures produced by society's use of these technologies", and 3) to examine the psychological factors at play in the confrontation between the individual and the new technologies. God-

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frey claims that the first two "complexities" are more readily grasped than the third, which is "far harder to define or quantify." However, the condition of the individual's adjustment to Gutenberg Two may well be the product of the first two factors, rather than simply another factor to consider. This could be the real reason for the difficulty in dealing with it. In any case, it is the technology and the supporting social structures which the editors choose to emphasize.

In addition to exiting the text and providing the introduction and epilogue, David Godfrey, from the University of Victoria, is the most amply represented contributor to the book. His three essays are similar in style, but focus on divergent aspects of the revolution.

"No More Teacher's Dirty Looks" examines the potential impact of computerized information provision on the current educational establishment. Godfrey heralds the coming of much needed competition from the private sector for the traditional system of socialized classroom learning. As "place-bound, time-bound" schools collapse, creative teachers will make use of "tasks and opportunities that they had previously never even considered possible." The new role for teachers in Gutenberg Two will entail the preparation of educational material to be processed by the student at home, on his or her own video terminal, unencumbered by the too "formal structures" of institutional learning.

Godfrey's final contribution, "Ap-

Regulation and individual rights

Douglas Parkhill details the 'necessary structure' upon which the information revolution should be built. The structure is to be maintained by adequately flexible regulatory guidelines implemented by the Federal and Provincial Governments, which would contribute to "fostering and protecting those fundamental rights of free expression and privacy" which he assumes are the possessions of all Canadians. Unfortunately, Parkhill is too quick in taking his premise at face value. A truly beneficial regulatory structure would not only maintain the individual rights currently immune to vio-

the light of the forecasts made throughout the rest of the book. It is likely that as communication channels widen, the current boundaries, real or imagined, which separate and determine national interests will shrink, if not disappear altogether.

Global standardization

John Madden in his two contributions, "Julia's Dilemma" and "Simple Notes on a Complex Future", provides further evidence that the contemporary concerns with the role of Canada as independent sovereign nation will become progressively more confused, and displaced, by the gradual onset of a globally standardized communication network. The problem confronting Julia, a 21st century woman, is one of "information overload", and does not revolve around the question of Canadian vs. American TV programming.

Appended to the entire collection is a glossary of terms for readers who are unfamiliar with the jargon of computerized technologies. The real purpose of the glossary, however, is to bring home the point that Gutenberg Two is rapidly becoming a reality. This is especially apparent to the reader in 1983, since many of the terms which in 1979 were still restricted to the language of computer technicians have now a relatively common usage.

Since the publication of **Gutenberg Two**, we have witnessed further developments in the ongoing 'revolution' described by its authors. Pay TV has arrived in Canada, Telidon videotex systems are currently being marketed and have become the North American standard, retail outlets and public libraries are equipped with computer terminals... The list goes on. However, there are as yet no indications that the existing economic and social establishment is about to experience any significant changes in substance or structure.

Of course, **Gutenberg Two** speaks of long range effects, in addition to listing the current technological realities. These two emphases constitute both the strength and weakness of the book. Although the authors take pains to detail the contemporary scene vis-à-vis computers and communication media and paint a vivid picture of a future society transformed by this technology, it is often left to the reader to draw the connections between the two. The means by which technological innovation will bring about social revolution is left unclear.

Godfrey states that the text is intended to be a "forum for debate" and that it consequently raises more questions than it answers. This may justify a certain lack

of causal clarity when combining reportage with prognostication. Yet, who will be the real participants in the debate? To what audience is **Gutenberg Two** addressed? In its attempt to be accessible, the book is somewhat weakened. Corporate media strategists, who desire specific information about the new technologies, will likely approach private firms and specialists for financial forecasts. The Federal government will probably follow suit as soon as it determines the direction of corporate interests. Computer technicians and design engineers, while appreciating the elegance of the material presented, will also go to specialist publications and documents for specific information.

The scholastic community has embraced the book as a general survey for undergraduate communications courses, yet David Godfrey concludes that the classroom is the least likely place for meaningful debate and information gathering. Finally, the interested "general reader" will not benefit much from **Gutenberg Two**, for without any direct "hands on" experience with the technological hardware under discussion, it is not an easy task to assess its larger social significance.

What has been said about the audience for **Gutenberg Two** can be reiterated with respect to Godfrey's more recent publication, **The Telidon Book**. This second book is structured in much the same manner as **Gutenberg Two**. A series of eleven essays (written in collaboration with Ernest Chang), it begins with two pieces on market factors and strategies and moves on to detail the specific hardware components of Telidon videotext and graphics systems. It presents a chapter each on making, sending and storing pages, and concludes with information on the potential use of Telidon by the consumer. However, even though the authors would like to envision Telidon as a creative technology, with emphasis placed on its graphic rather than videotext capabilities, the reality — judging from current marketing strategies — is likely to prohibit the consumer from filling the role of information provider. Generally, it is, and will be, far too expensive for the owners of terminals to create and design their own graphics. The two way or interactive component of Telidon merely denotes the ability of the reader to access selected information and to respond to that information. Users are not in a position to determine the kinds of information that can be sent, only that which can be received.

If a large audience does not yet exist for either **Gutenberg Two** or **The Telidon Book** it is not because the authors haven't tried. The material presented in

these volumes is both readable and informative. Perhaps both books will better serve the future inhabitants of Gutenberg Two, when home computers are as prevalent as telephones, when video shopping is the norm, and when video arcades have been superseded by individuals creating their own texts and games at home. But when that occurs, much of what Godfrey et al. have to say will already be known or will no longer matter.

Hank Hadeed is a musician and writer, living in Toronto.



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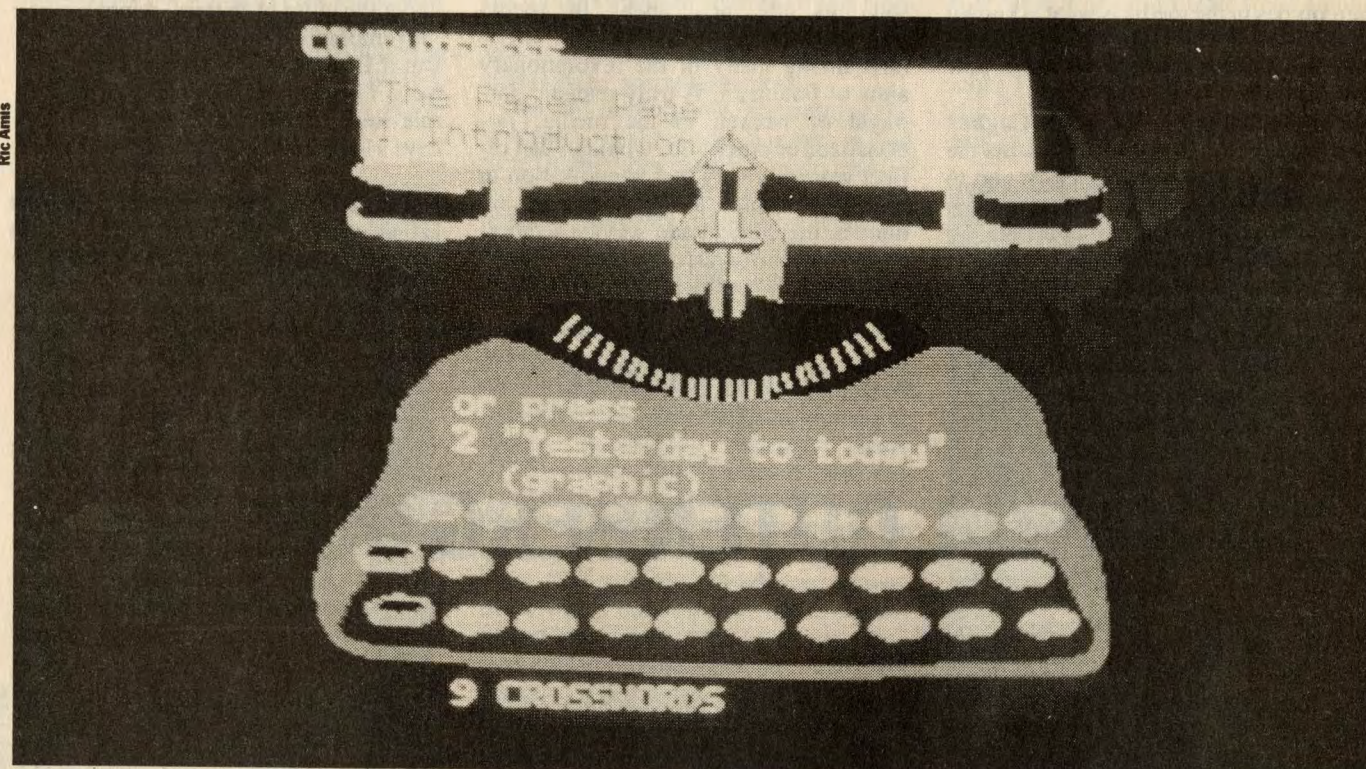
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"Survival of the Fastest" surveys the impact of the new technologies on existing media. The author outlines the comparative vulnerability of each medium through an analysis of market factors, potential growth and decline rates and expenditures, in order to arrive at a summary forecast for each medium. For instance, his prognosis for magazines is; continued growth (although at a slower rate than the past decade would indicate), further specialization and a lot of hand-holding with advertisers, specialized role as Information Providers and a new awareness of clubs and associations. One need not enumerate the many special interest publications which have emerged in the past few years, in Canada alone, to confirm the validity of his forecast.

ples, Sorcerers, and Other Monsters," suggests that the use of small home computers can acquaint the reader with at least the basic principles behind the use of larger corporate and government owned technologies. As is the case with much of the data provided in the collection, the appended list of addresses of computer dealers in Canada has become obsolete.

Although the other contributors do not express themselves in Godfrey's sometimes glib and often entertaining style (he has a particular penchant for coining words, such as his personal terms for the problems encountered within the educational system: Lockstep, Mr. Grundy, Student X, Transcraps, Bull Curves, Pre-Solutions), they nonetheless each provide valuable, informative pieces.

lation, but would also seek to reintroduce "rights" which are not now available. For example, prohibitive costs do not allow the individual to fill the role of "broadcaster" or "producer" in the existing communication media superstructure. The individual or small interest group is locked into the role of consumer and carrier. The guidelines proposed by Parkhill do not imply that the question "Who owns the media?" is about to undergo any major revisions in the foreseeable future.

Alphonse Ouimet confines his essay to a discussion of television's function as information provider, and details the effects that cable TV, pay TV, and satellites will have on the Canadian market. It is difficult to see why he views Canadian sovereignty to be a priority value in

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REJECTING PESSIMISM

Communication and Class Struggle. Vol.1. Capitalism, Imperialism, edited by Armand Mattelart and Seth Siegelaub, New York, International General, (Box 350, NYC 10013) 1979, 445p. U.S. \$16.95

Armand Mattelart is perhaps best known as the co-author (with Ariel Dorfman) of *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic*

Volume I of the anthology provides "the basic Marxist theory essential to an analysis of the communication process and studies the formation of the capitalist communication apparatuses." It begins with a preface by Siegelaub and an important theoretical introduction by Mattelart and, in addition to sixty-four articles on various aspects of "how bourgeois communication practice and theory have developed as part of the cap-

apparatuses (police, the judicial and prison system, the army etc.); as well as what Althusser calls, "the ideological state apparatuses" ("schools, the family, law, the political system of parties, trade-unions, cultural institutions and ... the means of mass communications) which condition and shape the individual's understanding of reality and of his or her place in that reality. Ideology is,

International General, New York



From How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic

(1971, English edition 1975). His written work (which also includes *The Multinational Corporations and the Control of Culture* 1979: Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J.) is but one part of more than twenty years of a committed study of communications, information and culture from a Marxist perspective. The first decade of this struggle was as a professor of mass communications at the University of Chile where Mattelart was involved in "various initiatives aimed at creating new forms of popular communication" — a career which ended abruptly with the CIA engineered coup in 1973. For the last decade he has been based in Paris where he has continued his work on cultural imperialism and the role of the mass media in developing countries and where he has joined forces with Seth Siegelaub and the International Mass Media Research Center which (as International General) published both the anthology under review and the English edition of the Disney book (as well as Siegelaub's bibliography, *Marxism and the Mass Media*.)

italist mode of production," it includes a selected bibliography and "Notes on Contributors." (While the absence of articles written from or dealing with the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc countries is not explicitly mentioned, it is implicit in the book's focus on the world capitalist system.)

Mattelart's introductory essay is more than just a presentation of the texts to follow. It is a lucid outline of a theory and history of the communication apparatus under capitalism and a program for a Marxist critique of that apparatus. In opposition to the (U.S.) empirical sociology of communications, Mattelart argues for a redefinition of communications which recognizes the relationship between communication practices and the social, political and economic context in which they develop and function. A Marxist study of communications, then, must begin with the **state** and with **ideology**. The state exists in order to insure the reproduction of the existing relations of production; and the modern capitalist state machinery includes repressive

A system of representations ... inseparable from the lived experience of individuals [and which] pervades their habits, tastes and reflexes. This means that the great majority of people live without the foundations of these representations ever appearing in their consciousness. It is a question of a state which is lived as social nature, but which is **imposed** by a mode of production which permeates the whole of life ...

But Mattelart rejects the pessimism which sometimes afflicts progressive cultural analysts working within the institutions and universities of the capitalist state who see the dominant ideology as omnipotent and omnipresent: "if a dominant ideology exists, there also exists a dominated ideology, or rather, **an ideology that is struggling against domination**." (my emphasis). This is one of the crucial premises of the anthology and provides the material of the second volume, **Liberation, Socialism** (which I have not yet seen, but hope to

be able to review in the near future); an anthology which will present texts which show, "how in the struggle against exploitation and oppression, the popular and working classes have developed their own communication practice and theory, and a new, liberated mode of communication, culture and daily life."

To understand the manner in which the communications apparatuses function within capitalism, the anthology begins with a short set of "Basic Analytical Concepts" (40pp) taken from Marx, Lenin, Gramsci and others on the capitalist **mode of production**, the Marxist theory of the **state, imperialism, ideology** etc.

The next section, "The Bourgeois Ideology of Communication" begins the critique of communication as an integral part of the capitalist system by putting into question some of our "accepted ideas" about communications. As Mattelart points out, an important part of the dominant class' continued control of the

vision of labor, and forms of organization and association).

In addition to studies of the emergence and penetration of the media, the study of communications will include such apparently disparate topics as: the tourist industry and the colonization of leisure; military assistance programs as well as counter-insurgency training; business and management culture; advertising and advertising agencies; scientific publishing and inter-university co-operation; international news agencies; and telecommunications and computer technology. But before turning to the analysis of communications apparatuses and practices, this section presents several articles which deconstruct some of the central ideological tenets of bourgeois communications; it includes analyses of freedom of the press, the concept of "public opinion," the supposed objectivity of the press, the concept of "mass" culture, and the so-called "communications revolu-

tion." Having questioned the established methods and principles of the bourgeoisie's ideology of communications, the editors turn to their major task: a critique of communications practices under capitalism and imperialism. As Mattelart explains in his introduction, their purpose is "to explain how different structural systems of TV, radio, cinema and the press have been set up, and how through these systems certain models for social relations have been successfully implanted." The third section of the anthology provides the tools for an historical critique of "The Formation of the Capitalist Mode of Communication," under four headings: "The Rise of Bourgeois Hegemony" (the emergence of communications systems in Europe, with articles on the development of printing, the book, the press etc.); "Colonialism" (articles on education, culture, and the press in different Third World countries); "The Industrialization of Communications" (historical articles on the telegraph, the telephone, film, radio,



apparatuses of communication lies in the control of the definition of communications itself. In opposition to the bourgeois science of communication which limits the field to the "means of transmission and diffusion of information" (but also in opposition to those progressive researchers whose analysis focuses on "content" or simply on questions of ownership), Mattelart defines communications in a much more comprehensive way:

... all of the production instruments (all machines used to transmit information, including not only radio and television, but also paper, typewriters, film and musical instruments), working methods (fragmentation in different genres, the codification of information used in the transmission of messages, gathering of information etc.), and all of the relations of production established between individuals in the process of communication (relations of property, relations between the transmitter and the receiver, the technical di-

war, neocolonialist culture and social science warfare).

In this review I can only begin to suggest the richness and diversity of the sixty-four articles in the anthology (including four by Mattelart himself). While all Marxists would agree that "the manner in which the communication apparatus functions ... corresponds to the general mechanisms of production and exchange conditioning all activity in capitalist society," (p.36) the value of this anthology is that it goes beyond that fundamental linkage. The crucial focus here lies in reminding us, whatever our specific terrain of struggle, that the cultural and communications practices in Canada are part of a larger system; as the combination of articles from and dealing with communications practices in developed capitalist countries alongside similar articles from the Third World suggests, our own struggles are reproduced in different forms around the globe. Moreover, the combination of essays written in the heat of specific struggles as well as more theoretical and

academic articles suggests an alternative social order in which the existing manual/mental division of labour will have ceased to exist.

This anthology is an arsenal of information (and note that there are more than 1400 words per page). Although it is aimed primarily at a U.S. audience, it is certainly not without relevance to cultural workers in Canada, particularly in its dual focus on the ideological functioning of communications within capitalist countries as well as the penetration and implantation of the apparatuses of cultural domination around the world — both of which apply to our situation. Indeed, Mattelart and Siegelau's reiterated thesis that there are active strategies and practices of resistance to the dominant ideology within dominated cultures and countries is pertinent both for those for whom Canada is itself an imperialist power and those for whom the greatest threat lies in the ever-increasing cultural and economic hegemony of our imperialist neighbour to the south.

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GEOFF MILES

THE VRAISEMBLABLE OF TELEVISION

The Age of Television
Martin Esslin
(San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1982)
\$11.25

Television is the most important cultural medium today. What other force has the privilege to enter our homes and schools, banks and commercial institutions, police headquarters, prisons, hospitals and insane asylums? What other schizophrenic can speak to us with unquestioning authority about international affairs and personal hygiene? Who else can take on the discourse of both the patriarch and the repentant at confessions? Television is our interior decorator and our Minister for Culture and Recreation. It affects our living in both space and time; we place our furniture around it, relax or exercise in front of it; we arrange our meals and other activities to come before, follow after, or coincide with, its presentations. In Canada, few of us have never seen TV. Television is unavoidable, its ubiquity has become part of its very nature — perhaps even its *raison d'être*.

Many of these truisms can be found in Martin Esslin's *The Age of Television*. Yet the result is not the laying bare of their contradictory and problematic elements; instead they are made to appear natural — the *vraisemblable* of television. In the opening pages we find Esslin challenging Marshall McLuhan's dictum, 'the medium is the message'. Esslin points out, correctly in my view, that although the message of historical change produced by the development of TV is extremely important, this should not be thought of as the only message, nor should it override the general importance of messages produced by TV programs and programming. What is of great significance to Esslin is not just the relationship between these two forms of message production but the intermediate level between them: for Esslin, the language of TV.

To explain the language of TV, Esslin cites the term 'langue', acknowledging its origins in modern linguistics. Langue, the formal side of language (the conventional rules shared by all of us but not including individual usage) is unfortunately used misleadingly by Esslin. Although he makes reference to the formal characteristics of langue, Esslin mistakenly identifies the langue of TV as being 'drama', in the traditional sense of "fictional material mimetically represented by actors and employing plot, dialogue, character, gesture, costume — the whole panoply of dramatic means of expression". However, if we are to employ the rigor of semiological analysis from which the term langue has come, TV as a meaning-making system is constituted by what Roland Barthes calls a 'mixed corpus': a number of language systems brought together to form a larger system of meaning. In the case of TV we have video, music, language proper (spoken and/or written) not to mention the use of another mixed corpus, film. All of these systems are analysable as individual means of communication or within the specific context of television.

Drama too, rather than being classified as langue, is in fact a system of meaning which may or may not be part of the mixed corpus of television. As with all these systems of meaning, drama has its own langue. To constitute drama as the basis for the production of rules in TV is to place all the other systems into secondary roles; by so doing Esslin virtually negates the most fundamental structures of television; the TV camera and TV set (the encoder and transmitter respectively). Yet Esslin's use of langue is not merely simplistic. More importantly it leaves the way open for TV to be seen as easily interpretable and immediately transparent. TV, we are told, is based on the principles of drama, "a tradition as old as civilization itself", yet such a conservative understanding of TV tells us little of the role played by television in advanced capitalism.

The Age of Television continually fluctuates between the discourses of the liberal humanist (in this case seen as radical) and the ultra-conservative Reaganite. It reads consistently as orthodox journalism and as such it is accessible to a general audience for ready-made consumption much in the same way as television. It is however, not Esslin's popular approach which is at fault. Esslin sees the age of television simply as the age of TV drama; he barely deals with television's other functions, both within and outside of mainstream corporate programming.

Sweetness and light for the masses

TV, according to Esslin, is simply based on drama — 'a tradition as old as civilization itself'. Thus drama, realist or otherwise, has become a trans-historical immutable force. Indeed Esslin tends to use drama almost as a substitute for realism. "Drama mirrors the situation in our real lives". In fact, Esslin sees drama (realism) as part of the very structure of TV and thus the best material for TV's use. However, his view of drama is extremely conservative. His examples consist mainly of 'great works' that have come to be the standard bourgeois favourites — the Greek Tragedy, Shakespeare and a few token 19th and 20th century playwrights. Popular and folk culture tend to be degraded. In one particularly reactionary section of the book, "A Dictatorship of the Majority", Esslin calls for the need for minority input into television. Yet just as his sense of drama is conservative, so is his use of the term minority. The minority of which Esslin speaks is that of 'high art and culture'. Matthew Arnold could not have put it better:

"The danger of targeting the intellectual and artistic level of television at the mentality of a twelve-year old adolescent is that it is likely to impede the full intellectual and artistic development of individuals of promise. It is also likely to retard the reasoning power and tastes of the masses. The common argument that commercial TV gives people what they want is based on a fallacy. How can they desire material they have neither been shown nor offered? Experience has shown that the minority tastes of today often become the majority tastes of tomorrow."

What TV should be doing, according to Esslin, is educating the 'masses' into the sweetness and light of culture. But Esslin's minority interest is, after all, part of dominant culture. Its very fabric consists of what Marx would call the

'ruling ideas of the ruling class'. In every corner of society the ruling group maintains places for its dominant culture — those same places to which Esslin refers when trying to justify his demand for high culture in TV: art galleries, museums, libraries. Other minority groups, however, might be those looking for community access; minority ethnic groups, special interest groups, feminist and gay rights groups. The question is not one of people not knowing about what they have not seen; but rather of people being able to make real decisions about their lives and their culture through collective action. A real democratization of television is unlike Esslin's elitist notion of all that is good and proper for the 'uneducated masses'. Such paternalism is a call for less democracy, not more.



Unfortunately, Esslin judges all TV against these high-art, high-culture standards and misses both the importance of the structural elements of realism on our understanding of TV, and TV's position and potential within society.

An Arnoldian sense of culture infuses Esslin's book, in his examination of news, commercials and children's programmes. Esslin singles out the cartoon in particular as "the segment of American television that seems to me to be the most obviously harmful, both socially and culturally". Here, although social problems are admitted, it is the "minds of children which are debased". The reason for such debasement is clear to Esslin. Contemporary cartoons lack the "fine language, poetic imagery and tenderness" of earlier fairy tales. Yet such fine language and poetic imagery is used in tales like *Cinderella* and *Snow White* only to produce a tenderness associated

with a submissive female role. The debasing imagery of fairy tales themselves is thus missed by Esslin. And he completely avoids the element of propaganda in so many cartoons — Goldie Gold, Richie Rich and Rocky and Bullwinkle's Natasha and Boris for instance.

Free publicity to terrorists

If Esslin sees the lack of drama, language and tradition as so apparent in contemporary cartoons, he thinks TV news suffers from an excess. Yet he sees such overemphasis on drama, not as a product of news editors and crew or even ratings; rather it is the joint responsibility of the essence of TV, its supposed inherent tendency for drama, and terrorists. What



irks Esslin most about the over-dramatization of violence in news reveals the hidden undertones of *The Age of Television*. The term terrorist constantly suffers the dangers of misuse, precisely because of its political and propagandistic potential. In the recent anti-nuclear weapons demonstration at the Washington monument, television crews were quick to brand the protestor as terrorist, although in the end, his death and the subsequent discovery that he had no explosives made the label sound absurd. Yet even if he had loaded his van full of explosives and taped dynamite all over the roof, the explosion would still have had less than ten percent of the impact of the average nuclear warhead. One begs to ask, who is terrorizing whom?

In general, Esslin tends to excuse the producers of television news. After all, they are only doing their job and of

course most are 'honorable' men and women, good 'citizens' and 'compassionate' human beings. Our anti-nuclear protestor is after all only an effect of television's potential for drama and not that of U.S./Soviet military struggle. In his discussion of the media coverage of Iran, it seems Esslin is irked not so much by the violence, death and bloodshed as by the fact that free air time was given.

"The taking of the American hostages in Tehran gave the Iranian terrorists ... literally tens of millions of dollars of free publicity. It is no wonder that the incidence of such terrorism has multiplied throughout the world."

This is precisely the kind of analysis to which (according to Esslin), TV news succumbs: short, poorly-conceived and extremely dramatic. However, his discussion of Iran is not an isolated case. In fact, he submits that the media had a large role to play in the ending of the Vietnam war. On the face of it we might agree. Esslin however, sees this not as a positive use of media. He asks, "Was the image of that war as conveyed to the American public, a true one ... did not the protestors make ... full and highly intelligent use of the medium's predilection for violent dramatic images, in creating, quite deliberately, what they called *street theatre*?" Perhaps in reply we can say, "Were there not four students killed at Kent State, was the National Guard real or just a part of the street theatre, was My Lai just a bad press story?"

It appears that under the cover of defining the television age, what is really in question is the political place of TV in America. Public Broadcasting, which Esslin sees favourably, predictably needs a shot in the arm with funding. The shot, however, would be loaded with dominant culture, high art and most of all 'taste and talent'. Esslin's book, with its insistence on the conservative, the individual and the simplistic, ends with a call for "freedom to choose ... to select from a wide range of alternatives". However, such freedoms are gained not by greater access for the self-defined talented few but by equal access to all in the production, distribution and exchange of TV programming and broadcasting. Esslin, I am sure, would insist that this kind of access would cause an even more mediocre TV service. However, like everyone else, Esslin has one recourse — he can turn his TV off. This may indeed be the Age of TV but this does not mean that TV has come of age.

Geoff Miles is a photographer, critic and teacher, living in Toronto.

ALEXANDER WILSON

PAPER TIGER TELEVISION

There's something attractive about the very idea of a magazine, something that makes you pick up even the ones you hate at the newsstand, just to remind yourself of how bad they are, and of how good they are at what they do. The attractive and persuasive qualities of the print medium are the subject of a series of videotapes produced by a group called Paper Tiger in New York City. They're a running critique of the American magazine, and they're on television. Here, finally, is some TV that's welcome both for its modesty and its smarts.

The thirty-minute programmes, most of them produced live, have been aired twice weekly since late 1981 on public-access Channel D in New York. Typically, someone leafs through an issue or two of a magazine, commenting on it; there are interludes with music, graphics, cartoons and jokes, which together tell of circulation figures, profits, ownership patterns and so forth. Sets are minimal but clever. Some of the programmes — like Stuart Ewen reading the *New York Post*, appropriately enough — are shot on the street.

The tapes are didactic and funny. Their cogent and at times offhand analyses of American magazines reveal both the concentrated power and wealth of the print media industry and the impoverished character of the information it disseminates. Most importantly, watching these tapes duplicates the contradictory experience of reading the magazines themselves.

In one endearing show, for example, ex-Fug Tuli Kupferberg takes on *Rolling Stone*, a magazine I've always loved to hate. His critique is characteristically truculent and vernacular, and comes out of the past to meet the magazine on its own turf: the sixties. "We hated hippies," Kupferberg quotes editor Jan Wenner as saying. "We didn't want any psychedelic graphics, nothing from the Underground Press Service. It had to be legit from the start. We were in business and not ashamed of it."

That business now has an immense staff and peddles itself in full-page ads in

the *New York Times*, presumably to pad its claimed circulation of 600,000, mostly among young males. Like *Rolling Stone* itself, they are survivors, in one way or another, of the Sixties. "The magazine sold out right at the beginning," Kupferberg says, "and it still embodies all of our failures. All of the failures of our generation, the counter-culture, are there, rendered in a neat, pseudo-hip format."

Kupferberg pages through a couple of issues. Past interminable ads for liquor, stereos, and diamonds that cost "two months' salary," there's a mid-70's Wenner interview with a cynical John Lennon: "Nothing's changed. Everything's the same now as it was back then, only I'm 30." An anxious Wenner interrupts to ask something like "Don't you think you've changed the course of British history?" but Lennon continues: "We were Ceasars. Everybody wanted in, and we kept thinking, don't take it away from us, this is a portable Rome."

Holding up an issue with Richard Gere lolling on the cover, Kupferberg remarks that *Rolling Stone* has become "the trade journal of the star-fucking industry." He pages through a sensational article on the Weather Underground that uses a *National Enquirer*-type come-on about sex and drugs. The piece trashes the sixties. "There's no serious discussion here of what the sixties were about. There's no mention of Vietnam, 'imperialism, minority communities, etc. Other than that, the article is fine.'"

Herb Schiller is an American communications theorist whose work focuses on media imperialism and domination. It takes him six programmes to wade through the *New York Times*. In the one I've seen, he sits in a mock-up of a New York subway car (everything's there: garbage, graffiti, Keith Haring dogs) and ponders a four pound, 712-page edition of the *Sunday Times*. Other programmes have titles like "The NYT and the New World Information Order," "Hanging Out in Consumer Capitols: Foreign correspondents," "the steering mechanism of the Ruling

Class." Most of Schiller's witty invective is here directed toward the *New York Times Magazine*, a weekly publication that "sets the general agenda for our culture and behaviour." Schiller adroitly reads what might be called — to borrow from Raymond Williams' analysis of TV — the "flow" of the magazine, the way each article flows seamlessly out of the series of ads for liquor, crystal, clothing and jewelry and into the next feature: A piece entitled "How Stable are the Saudis?" is equanimously "balanced" with one called "How to Measure Your Tennis Stroke." Then there's an article on architecture. "But where is any notion of the political economy of real estate in NYC?" Next comes a piece making a case for nuclear power. Schiller reads us the stupefying germ of the argument: "Are Americans using too much energy (5% of the world's population uses 30% of the energy) or, as it seems to me, is the rest of the world using too little?"

One of the main functions of the *Times*, Schiller reminds us, is to "Legitimize the American political process, which is every day losing legitimacy amongst the public." Then an article on victims of the current depression: doctors who are piling up debts of \$60-80,000. This is followed by a piece on

ruby mining in Thailand ("Mere exotica in this context, and of course there is no mention of the US' role in the government and economy of that country.") And lastly a piece Schiller is hard put to distinguish from an ad: "The Big Spill of Fall Furs."

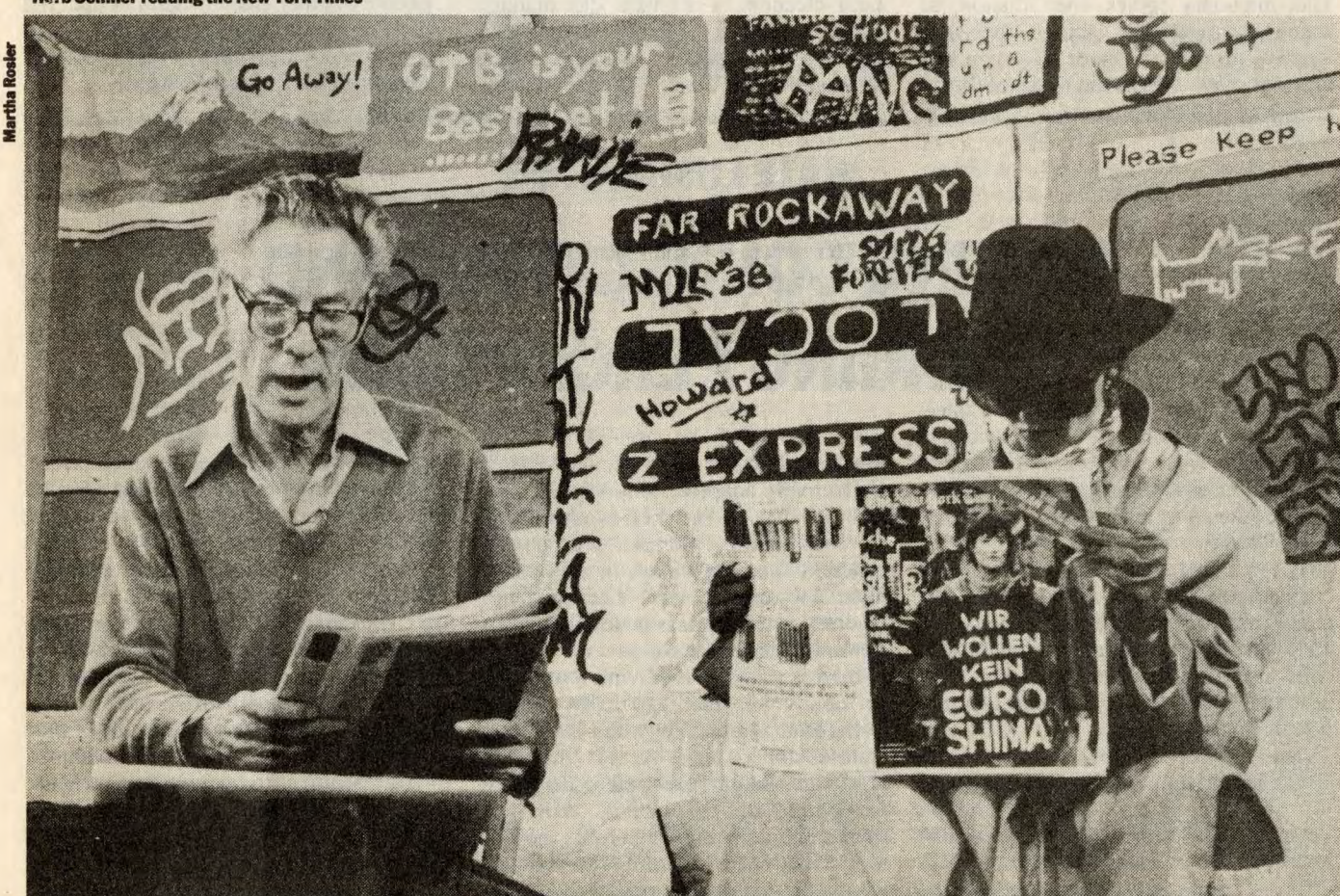
Next Schiller picks up the *NYT Book Review*, a weekly sent all over the world as a standard guide for acquisitions by libraries and the public. About 1000 titles are reviewed per annum, out of 80,000 books published in the US. Virtually none of them are from small presses. The ads in the 56 pages are predominantly from the major American publishers who are in turn part of larger conglomerates. "The *Book Review* is a commercial profit-making enterprise. Therefore it's just good business to review the books of your advertisers." And from its self-designated place at the cultural metropole, the *Book Review* is able to convey to its readers the satisfaction of a selection based on "quality" and "excellence," currently faddish criteria that mask the centralized and transnational character of the publishing industry.

Schiller hurries through the Travel section: "Here we see consumerist fantasies run wild. We learn how to shop, eat well, and escape the problems that

only sometimes are mentioned in the rest of the paper. The want ads provide a useful service," Schiller concedes, "yet look what they reveal," pointing an aging accusatory finger to the page: "The enormous role of the war economy. There are pages of ads for electronics firms with defence contracts."

Not all of the commentators are as witty — or as successful — as Schiller. Brian Winston's cranky reading of *TV Guide* does little more than point out the obvious without the benefit of an analysis of TV much more sophisticated than that of the magazine itself. But Diana Agosta has done some good research on *TV Guide*, and we get an instructive account of its ownership by one of the scions of the American media establishment. *TV Guide* at 13 million the best-selling magazine in the US, is owned by the Annenberg family, who founded and continue to fund the Annenberg Schools of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Southern California. Moe Annenberg made his fortune earlier in the century by controlling race horse information; he bought up and forced his competitors out of business, and built many of his own communications lines. By 1935, Moe was ATT's largest customer, and had a monopoly on racing information in 233

Herb Schiller reading the New York Times



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cities in the United States, Canada, Mexico and Cuba. Shortly after, he was indicted for non payment of 8 million in taxes.

Moe's son Walter, a close friend of Richard Nixon and his ambassador to England, seems to have taken a page out of the old man's book in moving from one leisure activity to another. **TV Guide** has successfully bullied its local competitors right off the market. Triangle Communications, as the Main Line family business is now called, publishes **Radio Guide**, **Screen Guide** and **The Morning Telegraph** among others, owns five CBS and ABC television stations, and is the largest shareholder in Campbell's Soup and Penn Central railway.

Triangle Communications also publishes **Seventeen** magazine. Founded in 1944, **Seventeen** sold 400,000 copies its first issue, and now sells 1 1/2 million. Until 1975, it was edited by Enid Annenberg, Walter's sister.

Ynestra King's reading of **Seventeen** is prefaced by a couple of salsa tunes. She comments on the magazine while two teenage girls, one of them kind of a punk in a bike cap, chew gum and play in front of the mirrors offscreen. "**Seventeen** was my favourite magazine as a teenager," King says, "when there were a lot of questions I wanted answered. The magazine gives the illusion of answering questions, since it does take up some important issues. But you end up unsatisfied with its treatment of things

and remain uneasy about your social and sexual life." (**Seventeen** recommends that you don't move out, don't resist your parents' authority, and don't "go all the way.") In the end, you're left paging through the ads (there are more of them than in any other women's magazine in the world) which in turn ask their own kinds of questions: "What kind of mood is your hair in today?", "Why do models wear panty liners?", "Which of the seven new shades of lilac toenail polish do you like best?"

Seventeen successfully displaces questions about young women, their sexuality and their health onto questions about what to wear and where to buy it. "The lily-white magazine doesn't talk about any of the things that bother a lot of teenagers," King says, "like whether to have a baby at 13, whether your kids will be deformed if you grew up on a chemical waste dump, how to come out in high school, safe birth control methods, how to hock your mother's food stamps and get out of the neighbourhood, and so forth." Articles like "The New Evolution: Survival of the Prettiest," "How to be a Model," "Throwing that Special Party," and "How to wear your Graduation Cap with Your Hairstyle," suggest that for young women, **Seventeen** hasn't got far beyond the age of Busy Betty toy vacuum cleaners. Feminism did manage, however, to make a debut in a recent **Seventeen** "debate" called "What Women Really Want." In the first part,

a writer defends a self-determined life for women. She is then rebutted by Phyllis Schlaffley, who cautions that "feminism is an attitude that breeds bitterness, antagonism and loneliness." You might say that **Seventeen** has taken Schlaffley's advice to heart: one of the reasons the magazine is so successful is that it does unequivocally (if inadequately) address things like loneliness.

It's encouraging to see what Halleck and her associates have managed to do with an obviously frugal budget. Typical cost of these shows is \$100-200, most of that going for studio time (and none for the labour of the 10 or 15 people who put them out). For the sake of comparison with Paper Tiger's subjects, a black-and-white full-page ad in **TV Guide** costs \$58,000; each issue of the **New York Times** costs \$1,200,000. to produce.

Other Paper Tiger programmes completed or planned include Sol Yurick reading the **New Criterion**, Martha Rosler reading **Vogue**, Ariel Dorfman reading **Marvel Comics**, Joel Kovel reading **Covert Action** and **Psychology Today**, Murray Bookchin reading **Time**, Teresa Costa reading **Biker Life Style**, Harry Magdoff reading **Business Week** and Sheila Smith-Hobson reading **Esence**. Halleck has been encouraging people in other cities to send in material they've produced. She's already been promised a tape of Studs Terkel doing a reading of the Chicago **Tribune**.

KATE LUSHINGTON

MAKING CONNECTIONS AND CHANGING PERCEPTIONS

The Silver Veil was presented by the 1982 Theatre Company at the Theatre Centre (Toronto) in November and January, 1982/83.

"Once upon a time and far away ..." so begins **The Silver Veil** by Aspazija, the 1905 work of a little known Latvian woman poet presented by the 1982 Theatre Company at The Theatre Centre last November.

The company is based in London, England, and the story concerns a time of war in an imaginary kingdom, where a woman in the forest has strange powers invested in a magical, Silver Veil. Through it she can see the past and the

future ... but this is no ethnic folk tale. Collectively adapted, produced and performed, **The Silver Veil** is an inspired piece of political theatre, presenting a coherent feminist vision in a powerful historical context, with a sense of immediacy and freshness unequalled in the Toronto theatre at present.

How is this achieved with a text written nearly 80 years ago in an obscure Baltic state that has only had its own literature since 1860? A text moreover written in heightened poetic language, passionate and excessive, lush with romantic imagery and a heroine inclined to spiritual martyrdom? Why would a young international company choose this

particular play as a vehicle for their political commitment to theatre, and what is the significance of their remarkable result?

The play certainly had an unusual political impact in its original production. Banned for two years as potentially dangerous, it was eventually staged in 1905, the year of revolution throughout the Russian Empire. The story is simple. Oppressed and hungry as a result of the kingdom's long and senseless war with the Iron Maiden, the people turn for guidance to Guna, the woman with a silver veil which enables her to see more clearly. Guna is summoned to the palace to raise morale by prophesying victory



for the King, but instead she accuses him as the source of the country's ruin. At this point, in 1905, the audience apparently went wild, incited by the obvious parallels between Guna's King, the Russian Czar and Latvia's ruling class of German Barons. A masked agitator jumped on stage calling for the "black veil" of revolution, and the playwright herself gave impassioned speeches at intermission. The Socialist party and the revolutionary press urged everyone to see it, and for a year, until the Czar crushed the rebellion, the play served as a focus for action. How different from today! As one review of that time put it:

"A tight connection is made between the honoured poetess and the audience based on their mutually passionate attitude towards the hottest questions of life."

Forging Connections

The 1982 Theatre company believe that "tight connection" can and must be forged anew for theatre to have any importance or justification, in the 1980's, when an audience brings with them such a variety of experience and belief, if indeed they come to the theatre at all. And **The Silver Veil** succeeds best when the company manages to touch the pulse of

a shared passion, such as happens in an astonishing sequence that occurs in their adaptation after Guna denounces the King. Up to this moment the story has been told, the atmosphere evoked, through several distinctive theatrical styles: mystery and reverence, candlelight, a glistening veil and eight actors in varying degrees of white face; followed by irreverent satire as the King (played as an aggrieved paternalistic businessman with impeccable observation by Annie Griffin) rehearses his next bloodthirsty warmongering speech, wearily berates his aesthetic nephew, and, surrounded by neon light and sycophants, bones up on his enemy the Iron Maiden. Suddenly, when Guna points the finger at him, the actors stop the play. They fill in the historical background and then ask the question, "How far away is 1905?" tossing out brightly coloured ribbons. They wind them up slowly, as one counts backwards from the present — 1983, 1982 — to 1905, another sings an Irish Republican song and others remember aloud events both personal and political as the year in which they happened is reached: 1968; The Polish student uprising was sparked off by the banning of a play. 1958; I was born. They talk of a grandfather in Siberia carving chessmen, a mother

marching with Martin Luther King. The young woman from the Lebanon finds the remembering too painful some days. She strikes matches and blows them out. Other voices continue: My grandfather walked across Canada. My grandmother shook hands with the last Czar. The time and space start to fill out, enmeshing both actors and audience, strangers to one another, in a continuous web of connection, stretching across continents and through generations. It becomes viscerally, as well as theatrically, clear and palpable that now — as then — we are engaged in one and the same struggle. It is no longer, "Once upon a time and far away ..."

It is an emotional moment. There is anger there as well as a renewed sense of vigour. It is interesting that the company added this section after the show had played for a while last May. At this point in the play they used to do a series of skits on Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, stressing, in a humorous way, parallels to our contemporary political situation. They discovered that the response was lukewarm: the connections were indicated but not experienced. The new section came as a discovery one rehearsal when they decided to talk of what 1905 meant to them. "We sat at dusk under blankets because it was so cold,

and we began to talk of our grandparents and then our parents, sharing stories. It made history real." The power of the moment onstage arises directly from the company's ability to translate this personal experience into theatrical language, to share it with an audience. And this ability is profoundly rooted in their commitment to feminist theatre.

Completely opposed to the hierarchical nature of traditional theatre, and dedicated to a collective style of working at a time when the Toronto theatre community is enthusiastically enshrining competitive values and the star system in the glossy annual Dora Mavor Moore Awards, the 1982 Theatre Company have caused quite a stir during their three month visit. As the provincial cutbacks pinch on down the line of needy arts organizations and artists, and costs make Canadian touring prohibitive, this collective of four women and four men have organized an international tour of their work with no experience, no money and no track record. Their working process is highly unconventional even in the alternate theatre: there is no director, no stage manager; all decisions artistic and administrative are taken collectively, and all work is shared equally, with no distinction between acting and technical or

design areas. It is cheap theatre, with no emphasis on technical support systems, but it is rich in visual imagery and effects.

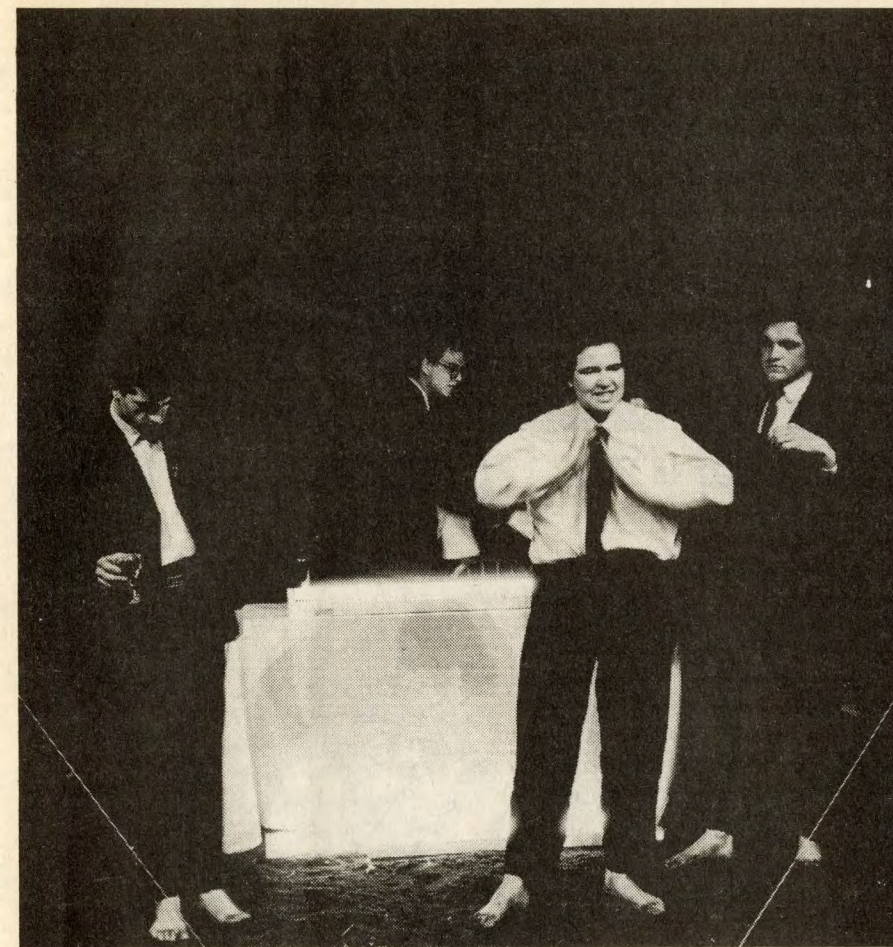
Sexual Politics on stage

The company was initiated in February 1981 by Banuta Rubess, a Latvian Canadian from Toronto completing her doctorate at Oxford University, and Neil Bartlett whom she had met and worked with there. The aim was to found a company that would work together for one year only, exploring their mutual interests in sexual politics onstage through the medium of two texts, one by a woman, *The Silver Veil*, and the other by a man: *In The Jungle of Cities* by Bertolt Brecht which played at Harbourfront in January of this year. Collaborators for the project were found through a common connection with Oxford and Cambridge, but otherwise they come from widely different backgrounds: Vancouver, Lebanon, the U.S.; Irish Catholic and Polish-Jewish. The experience of individual members in both theatre and collectives is also varied, but as Banuta remarked "If anything is developing as a feminist principle this is one: share your recipes — it is very im-

portant politically to learn to work without leaders."

Working without a director has created a special function for the audience. After each show people are invited to talk informally with the cast and comments are welcomed. It is a measure of the impact of the piece that so many do stay, talking with animation to each other as well. In Toronto the houses have been fairly full, with the Latvian community naturally turning out in force to check out their prodigal daughter, whose irreverence for national heroes is apparently notorious. But although the classic work was performed in barefeet on piles of earth in front of splattered sheets with revolutionary slogans on the walls, they were apparently deeply moved that non-Latvians would take the trouble to translate and perform such a work at all. "We are less than 2 million," explains Banuta Rubess, "There is a Last Mohican sense that we will die out, and a great inferiority complex about our culture." While some Latvians find the international context of the piece unacceptable, most embrace a chance to share their cultural heritage with other Canadians, even in so unexpected a form.

In Britain, where Latvians are thinner on the ground, it has often been the gay



Abandoned by the people, bereft of her silver veil, Guna's power is diverted into a misplaced erotic passion for the prince. Rejected by him in favour of a political marriage to the Iron Maiden, Guna seems ready to sink into romantic despair. But Aspazija's heroines are never victims of circumstance. Realizing "I hold myself in my own hands", her veil returns to her. It is no longer silver and full of light, but blood red and shooting flames. Transforming the personal into the political, she appears at the wedding feast and sets the palace on fire. Everyone burns to death including herself. The 1982 Theatre Company stage this with relish, but choose not to end with the holocaust. They add a coda, an earlier scene in which Guna hands on her legacy. She has saved a tiny fragment of the lost silver veil, and bequeaths it to a younger woman friend:

Guna:

Yes, it's yours. Go, and redeem me,
And finish what I could not complete.
... And no matter how deeply everything
sleeps

No matter how deep the winter covers
the earth,

Go from door to door — go and knock!
Your fingers may get numb and cold, but
keep on knocking.

And if they shut the doors on you, do not
despair!

Believe, oh do believe in them!
Each one hides a thread from the silver
veil somewhere!

And one day, when these threads will be
gathered,

Woven into a large veil,
It will cover everyone like a new heaven!

Rubess:

In this world of waking up to nuclear threat every morning, I feel we are being prepared psychologically for apathy and defeatism. In *The Silver Veil* we are shown the holocaust — but it need not be. Our sole most important aim is to arouse optimism for political struggle."

The 1982 Theatre Company certainly challenges our assumptions about theatre, about sexual politics and about "Once upon a time and far away ...". They have also handed us a legacy of inspiration. It is up to both theatre workers and audience now to engage a mutual passion for a more active political theatre.

Kate Lushington is a freelance director and writer and member of the Toronto Women's Cultural Building Collective.

and feminist communities who have shown strong support for the work of *The 1982 Theatre Company*. Both shows toured as part of *Women Live*, a nationwide event coordinated by *Women in Entertainment* last May. At a time when in Canada entertainment has come to mean that Playboy is programming pay T.V., it is worth reproducing the *Women Live* policy statement:

The portrayal of women by the media as peripheral or highly marketable sex objects, or, as is so often the case, not at all, ignores and denigrates women's experience. Women's lives and aspirations are important and should be reflected in the media.

The company endorsed these aims, and as well as following them through in the shows and in their own collective process, they are committed to sharing and exchanging views in this area by holding workshops with both community groups and other theatre workers. In Toronto these were sponsored by Pelican Players Neighbourhood Theatre, and focussed on counteracting sexist imagery and assumptions.

Legacy of political passion

The collective's approach to political
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theatre is refreshing. "We want to broaden the term," states Rubess. "Assuming that changing perception is a political act, then through very good entertainment you can change somebody's perception of the world." Their sense of political theatre is not the exploitation of hot issues to sell seats, nor, as they discovered in *The Silver Veil*, can it be purely agit-prop skits to make a point. "There is a kind of feminist theatre in England which means doing shows on abortions, in Hyde Park ... but we are not so much stating a message in our work, as embodying an overriding principle." The choice of *The Silver Veil* offered resonant symbols to work with. The author, Aspazija, was not only a revolutionary but a committed feminist. In her play, women hold all the power — both good and bad. The men can't even wage war successfully. (The presence of the Iron Maiden was of particular relevance to a British audience last May in the midst of the Falklands War, during an almost complete press blackout on news inconsistent with Mrs. Thatcher's exhortations to victory and freedom.) But if the first act deals with war and oppression, the second act is an investigation of a woman's sensual desires, and how the idealist can become an iconoclast.

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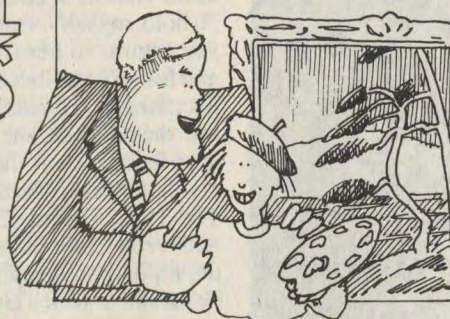
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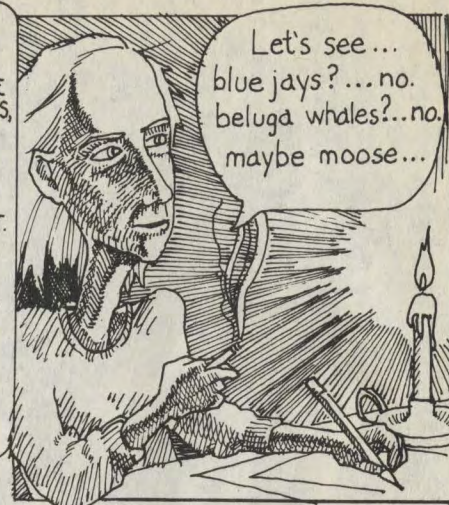
CANADIAN CULTURAL HEROES

HISTORIC MYTH NO. 1

A LONG TIME AGO, CANADIAN BUSINESSMEN EXISTED IN A STATE OF INNOCENCE... THERE WAS NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE PRIVATE AND THE PUBLIC SECTORS, AND EXPENSE ACCOUNTS WERE WITHOUT LIMIT...



ONE DAY SOME YOUNG CANADIAN BUSINESSMEN, THE EATON'S BROTHERS, PERSUADED A GREAT CANADIAN ARTIST TO GIVE THEM POPULAR ART. IN RETURN THEY PROMISED HIM THEY WOULD KEEP IT IN TRUST, NEVER USING IT FOR THEIR OWN ENDS.



Let's see... blue jays?... no. beluga whales?... no. maybe moose...

THE ARTIST WORKED LONG AND HARD TO MAKE AN IMAGE THAT WOULD REPRESENT THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE, SHOW THEIR RESTLESS ENERGY, THEIR NOBILITY, THEIR SENSE OF THEMSELVES.



HE CREATED... CANADIAN GEESE!



BUT LATER, THE EATONS BROTHERS... FACED WITH FALLING PROFITS AND MILLIONS OF DEPRESSED CONSUMERS, CONCOCT AN INVIDIOUS PLOT....

Ya know those geese could really help sell EATONS!

Right! The popular image should serve Canadian Business



HIS CAMPAIGN TO RIGHT THIS WRONG CONVINCED EATONS THEY HAD GONE TOO FAR.



AND SO...

That looks so much better... And it will cheer up the consumers.



BUT OUR HERO WOULD NOT LET THE POPULAR IMAGE BE SO DEFILED. HE WOULD ACT TO PREVENT THEIR SCHEMES



AND THUS THE POPULAR IMAGE WAS RETURNED TO ITS PROPER OWNERS AND THE CONNIVING EATONS RETURNED TO THEIR PERVERTED PLANS.

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