

# STRIPPING DOWN CADILLAC: P. 10

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# toronto citizen

MIDTOWN'S COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER 25¢



photo: Charlotte Sykes

## It's a brand new ball game!

### Reformers capture five of eight seats in Wards 5, 6, 10, 11

The civic election last week, as everyone knows by now, was a defeat for the kind of City government Toronto has had for many years. A majority of Torontonians voted against the sort of development the City has been experiencing and in favor of candidates who have pledged themselves to support community involvement in City government. The "reformers", community leaders and campaigners who brought about the election upset of the old guard filled City Hall on election night, and they were one of the happiest crowds many of us have seen in some time - not just cheerful, but clearly deeply affected by the turn of events. It's funny to think you're a voice crying in the darkness and discover, when someone turns on a light, that you're just one of a very big throng. Only a few people really expected it might happen, those who have spent the past year visiting small group after small group in every corner of the city testing the waters for "reform".

In the wake of the election we want to begin thinking about what it all means and where we go from here. In this issue of the *Citizen* we offer some first steps in this direction - a letter from Bill Fisher about what "reform" means; a review of some recent books about "reform" and their analysis of what's gone on in the past - the kind of problems we have had and have; a critique of the *Star's* response to the election; and a glance at what the Board of Education election results mean.

Below we offer brief analyses of the results of the aldermanic and trustee races in the *Citizen's* home wards - Five, Six, Ten and Eleven.

#### Ward Five

In Ward Five, all the predictions came true as Ying Hope and Colin Vaughan easily out-distanced the six other aldermanic candidates. Hope retained his position as senior alderman by gaining 12,873 votes to 11,612 for Vaughan. The

third place finisher was Erna Koffman who attracted only 2,084 votes. More than 30,500 votes were cast in the ward, an increase of about 5,500 over the 1969 election.

Hope and Vaughan won all the 140 polls between themselves with Hope taking first place in approximately 100 polls. David Astle, who finished fourth with 1,469 votes, got about one-quarter of the votes in three polls where there is a high concentration of senior citizens. Koffman did better in the extreme western end of the ward, around Christie Street, than in other sections of the ward.

Although the official City breakdown of poll results is not yet in, figures from Hope's campaign committee show him winning the Annex with 4,553 votes to 4,404 for Vaughan. But Vaughan performed better in apartment buildings in the Annex and won a number of polls

on Walmer Road and St. George Street.

In the section west of Bathurst Street, Hope finished about 750 votes better than Vaughan. The veteran alderman took 1,970 votes between Bloor Street and the CPR tracks, and 1,586 between the tracks and St. Clair Avenue. Vaughan's totals for the same two sections west of Bathurst were 1,390 and 1,024.

In the area between Avenue Road and Yonge Street and from Bloor to Marlborough Avenue, Hope had a 110 vote edge over Vaughan and in the remaining northern part of the ward he was about 250 votes ahead.

Both Hope and Vaughan were satisfied with the results. Hope, who spent about \$6,000 on his re-election, said the results showed that people approved of his work during the past three years. Against a much tougher field of candidates in 1969 he received 6,016 votes.

Vaughan said he was delighted with the large number of votes he gained. He believes Hope took first place because, as the incumbent, he is well known throughout the ward. Vaughan estimates his campaign cost between \$8,000-\$9,000.

After a slow beginning, Koffman poured in as much literature, signs and other campaign materials as Hope and Vaughan. She also distributed copies of a book she has written in certain areas of the ward. Koffman insisted early in the campaign that she was spending her own money but reliable reports say that she received money from developers during the latter stages. One report says that Philip Roth, the executive-president of Meridian, solicited funds for Koffman's campaign from within the construction industry.

The four last place finishers, in order of standing, were David Boyd, 933; Manfred Scholzke, 698; Melania Gural, 561; and Wilson Greig, 457.

#### Ward Six

Ward Six residents voted out two old guard incumbents and elected Dan Heap, the ward's only reform candidate, junior alderman. Ward Five incumbent Bill Archer, who describes himself as a moderate, won the top spot in the ward. Incumbent June Marks ran a fairly close third, while incumbent Horace Brown trailed badly in fourth place. Arthur Downes finished fifth.

Heap was strongest in the low density residential neighbourhoods west of Spadina Avenue. He took Alexandra Park, Kensington, Sussex-Ulster, the University of Toronto student residences and some polls west of Bathurst. His support was spotty in North Jarvis, a high rise neighbourhood in the Ward's eastern end. Archer pulled ahead of



photo: Phil Lapides

Dan Heap and supporters get word of election victory at Bathurst United Church election night headquarters.

(continued, page 3)



# To make a hopeful election a citizen victory

Dear Sir:

... If this new City Council is to be more than just a change in faces, it is essential that the support of the candidates which produced the election results be continued and increased. If there is to be a victory, it will be a victory of a new politics, politics which may frequently seem disorganized and frustrating, but politics of greater involvement than previously known in our history. Our new council members will continue to have the reassurance of citizen support and the demand for renewed commitment. It will be a politics far closer to democratic ideals than previously known in our experience, and it will continually challenge our imaginations and patience in making it work.

The sense of victory which pervaded the CORRA public meeting December 7 has yet to be tested in action. An uneasy coalition of political forces now exists and may yet prove incompatible. These forces have been able to combine in an effort to control development and the protection of neighborhoods, but progressive positive policies are yet to be identified and acted upon. The "reform" group is a hybrid of distinct elements still evolving the new politics; while we may hope, there is also anxiety.

If the results of the election are

analyzed to understand what political forces are at work, the fragile nature of the "reform" movement becomes clearer. Two important recent changes in municipal politics have had considerable influence on the election results.

One force at work has been ratepayer groups which, though they have a lengthy history, have only recently been politicized.

Not until this past election have ratepayer groups tried to "deliver" the vote of their membership to particular candidates. There is no doubt that the emergence of CORRA has had considerable influence on this. The people who had central leadership roles in CORRA, and later Citizens' Forum and CO72, have made a significant contribution to the politicizing of ratepayer groups.

A second force, community and resident associations which are not dominated by middle class homeowners, is much newer on the municipal scene and first showed its political potential when John Sewell was elected in 1969. Only very recently have there been organized groups in parts of the city which have traditionally received the poorest service from their elected representatives. These two forces, politicized ratepayer groups and community organizations, have combined with the

traditional NDP door-to-door canvassing to elect those of the new City Council now seen as the "reform" bloc. It remains to be seen if the "Tory Radicals" of the ratepayer groups, the lower-income community groups and the traditional NDPers can go beyond their criticism of development, their preference of people over cars and more parks for everyone.

Three things must occur for a hopeful election to turn into a citizen victory. — The process of citizen organizing and participation must be consolidated and expanded to cover those areas of the city which are still unorganized and those constituencies who are still unrepresented. Some kind of local participation processes beyond ratepayer groups and community associations must be developed along the lines of Ward Councils as a means of Council member support and direction, and also as a forum to resolve conflicting views within wards on ward-wide and city-wide issues. Only in this way will it be possible to give sufficient direction to a council member so that he or she is not forced to choose sides. For city-wide issues it will also be necessary to establish a federation of ward councils. CORRA should be reorganized to meet this need. — Policies need to be defined which come to grips in a positive way with the basic needs and problems of the city. The term "development" is not precise enough

to cover the host of issues including housing, land use and planning. We have learned the effects of big business interests which make profits through housing and commercial complexes that endanger the fundamental nature of this city. The present powers of City Council are not sufficient to deal with the dynamics of the development business. While there is a certain degree of negative control possible, there is virtually nothing City Council can do to compel the implementation of measures to deal with housing and transportation problems.

An aggressive policy must be created to obtain greater economic and political autonomy for the City, and appropriate strategies and tactics formulated. Further, as long as city finances are

dependent upon realty tax and upon largess provided by or through the provincial government, there can be little hope in actually directing the future course or adequately meeting the needs of the city.

— For citizen participation, local accountability and responsibility to become effective, practical means of decentralization must be implemented. Jurisdiction can be given to citizens over roads, parks, recreation and other services designated for local use.

When progressive policies regarding housing transportation and city autonomy emerge, and when there are trusted processes for citizen participation in decision-making, then and only then can we celebrate our victory.

Bill Fisher

## The Social Planning Council takes issue

Dear Sir:

Your early November edition tried to present a balanced view of fact and divergent opinions on "Who Belongs? How agencies join the United Community Fund."

I'd like to take issue with the anonymous member of our Social Planning Council who said that if the Fund makes a request to one of its members, the organization must toe the line. My only reason for answering is that I hate to see an old myth perpetuated.

The Fund has a duty to the contributing public to see that the dollars given are used effectively for the good of the community. At the same time the agencies must have the freedom to develop services to meet changing needs. As you say in your article, the Fund provides money to agencies for new services and also offers help to non-member community groups. What is not known is that when an agency places a worker with a community group or community school and meets a hot blast of well-publicized criticism from a dissenting faction, the United Fund does not interfere with the agency.

In the case of the Social Planning Council, our program committee receives requests from agencies, community groups and governments to undertake certain research or planning projects. Our board makes the final decision on what we do. If we decide to establish a storefront to work with community groups we do it. If we decide to set up a task force on income security we do it. We don't ask the Fund. If the Fund asks us to undertake a study on certain agencies we agree to do so only if we can be sure of the agencies' participation, of the Council's indepen-

dent and objective method, and of the benefit to the community. The Fund appreciates our need to be independent and encourages it.

Yours truly,  
George E. Hart  
Executive Director

*The Citizen's contact on the Social Planning Council replies that the Council study of downtown settlement houses is clearly being done because the "Council doesn't feel that it's in a position to turn down the United Appeal."*

*The settlement house study is unnecessary because a very lengthy report has recently been done for the Metro Social Services Committee on the same subject. "You can't tell me," says our informant, "that the United Appeal and the Metro Social Services Committee don't want the same sort of information — a discussion of why the settlement houses should be funded."*

*The Social Planning Council, in this case, is being asked to do work that's already been done, yet it has little choice but to comply with the wishes of its chief benefactor, the Citizen's contact says.*

## APOLOGIES

Alan Morrison, a candidate for alderman in last week's civic election, was quoted in the *Citizen* November 23 as saying his advertising business wasn't doing so well. Morrison tells us his business is doing fine, and we apologize for any embarrassment caused him.

## Many Thanks

to the people and friends of Ward Six who built a winning campaign. Best wishes for our two new years.

DAN HEAP,  
FAMILY  
AND CAMPAIGN  
COMMITTEE

SEASON'S GREETINGS  
and  
THANKS FOR ALL  
THE SUPPORT  
DURING THE ELECTION  
from Ying Hope  
senior alderman, Ward Five

## JEWISH EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME

If you are interested in enrolling young children in a JEWISH EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME downtown Sunday mornings please call University of Toronto Hillel 923-9861 or come to a meeting at U of T Hillel, 186 St. George St. Sunday 17 December, 11 A.M.

## DAN HEAP ELECTION FUND

### EXPENSES

Office	\$569.02
Signs	782.90
Literature	1,729.67
Organizer's expenses	500.00
Candidate's expenses	500.00
Refreshments	89.75
Misc.	89.74
subtotal:	\$4,261.08
unpaid:	573.28
<b>Total expenses</b>	<b>\$4,834.36</b>

### CONTRIBUTIONS

number in brackets	
\$50-100 (18)	\$1,160.00
25-50 (43)	1,153.00
10-25 (79)	1,084.32
Under \$10 (33)	153.25
Meeting collections	436.88
Refreshment donations	160.67
Loan	1,000.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$5,148.12</b>

Deficit between contributions and expenses — \$686.24

Contributions to help meet deficit should be sent to:  
Dan Heap Election Campaign, c/o John Watson,  
740 Spadina Ave. 3rd Floor, Toronto 179.

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# Heap ousts Marks, Brown; Johnston wins senior seat

(continued from page 1)

Heap in the business district, the ward's central core.

Heap was the only candidate who had a large group of workers canvassing for him, and Heap thinks that door-to-door coverage of the Ward was a factor in his victory. Intensive work on election day was also important; Heap had about 400 scrutineers keeping an eye on the polls.

The general reform movement throughout the city was also a help, says Heap. The new style of citizen militancy, which began with the Stop

Spadina movement, "encouraged a lot of people to vote against incumbents who favor out of date, speculative high rise building."

Heap identifies only secondarily with the other reform candidates. "From the beginning, I've related primarily to people in the Ward, and I will continue to do this." He feels first responsibility to "the people who campaigned and voted for me."

Since the election, there has been a good deal of talk, about two different models of alderman; the alderman as leader and director of his constituents, and the alderman as executor of com-

munity wishes. John Sewell is taken as the chief example of the latter type. Heap says that he expects to be "largely directed by the people of the Ward. On any matter, which is not a question of fundamental principle, I ought to set aside my judgment in favor of theirs." The problem will be to determine when fundamental questions are at stake.

Archer, the new senior alderman, isn't sure where he polled the most votes. "Statistics are for losers." Archer considers the election results in Six a victory for the moderate middle way. He points out that he was attacked by both Heap and Marks during the campaign. Archer adds, "As David Crombie says, not no development, but some development."

## Ward Ten

William Kilbourn's campaign workers like to tell the story of some federal politician who visited their headquarters just after the October national election when Kilbourn's civic marching cranked into high gear. The boys from Ottawa, used to big-time politics, were stunned by the scope and strength of the campaign for a candidate who, after all, was just running for the lowly job of alderman.

The 20,000 votes Kilbourn tallied, 6,000 more than second-place incumbent old-guard alderman Paul Pickett, is a Toronto City record for an aldermanic race. Pickett's vote was roughly the same as his tally in 1969, when he beat Kilbourn by 5,000 and topped the poll. This time Kilbourn went out and gathered himself 12,000 new voters and amassed a total an MP might envy. And Paul Pickett lost everything — his City Executive seat, his Metro Executive seat — but his aldermanic chair.

Besides Kilbourn a second "reformer" ran in Ten, Juane Hemsol, who opposed herself directly to Pickett. Her 9,500 tally didn't threaten Pickett, but it was a 7,000 vote increase from her 1969 tally and indicates that Ward Ten, in spite of Pickett, is solid "reform" ground.

Margaret Bryce, who ran in Ten as a "women's" candidate, the only such campaign in the civic election, polled 2,600. Her total and Hemsol's taken together would not have topped Pickett.

Kilbourn polled strongly across the ward, sweeping high-rise districts in the north and homeowner neighborhoods in the south. Pickett's only stronghold was the South Eglinton area, and here Hemsol had concentrated her campaign.

Underscoring Ward Ten's political orientation was David Crombie's sweep of the ward in the mayoralty race. In poll-by-poll contests, O'Donohue was wiped out, and Rotenberg won one poll.

## Ward Eleven

Four candidates in Ward Eleven's aldermanic field of 12 sorted themselves out from the pack and polled substantial vote tallies. Anne Johnston at 15,000 votes, David Smith at 11,500, Larry Grossman at 9,000 and Jim Mills at 8,000 emerged as the candidates who had contested the ward's two seats. Fifth-place Bill McKay ran more than 6,500 votes behind Mills with a total of about 1,400, clearly out of the running.

And really the contest was for only the junior seat. Johnston's impressive plurality, built up across the ward, most substantially north of Eglinton Avenue where she topped most of the polls, establish her firmly in Eleven's top spot. Johnston, a community worker, a woman, an active resident association organizer and a politician whose views are clearly aligned with the "reform" movement, contrasts radically with the ward's former senior alderman, David Rotenberg, an insurance agent and the king-pin in Council's former old guard majority, whose accomplishments as an alderman constantly angered



photo: Phil Lapidis

## Anne Johnston arrives at City Hall — a senior alderman-elect.

"reformers".

Junior alderman-elect David Smith's margin of more than 2,000 votes over Larry Grossman surprised observers who expected that Grossman's known name — his father is a key member of the Davis provincial government — and clear PC orientation would shove him above the swamp of candidates. But in this mostly middle and upper-middle class, politically aware ward, this association may have hurt Grossman as much as it helped him, and voters clearly were prepared to take more than a superficial glance at the candidates.

Smith, a lawyer and young Liberal Party whiz-kid, returned from a prestigious federal job in Ottawa to manage Ian Wahn's St. Paul's Riding campaign in October's national election. After Wahn was swept out of office by aggressive young PC Ron Atkey, Smith decided to run for office himself in Ward Eleven's aldermanic race. Working with a small, exceptionally hard-working campaign group of 44, Smith got his literature to almost every door in a ward of 70,000 voters and did a whirlwind canvass of the whole district within a month. Like Johnston, he polled well across the ward; his stronghold was his home area in the southeast quadrant. He does not think a Smith/Liberal vs. Grossman/PC factor played much of a role in his victory; he credits his ideas about issues and the energetic people who helped him put these across as the decisive factor. Smith himself, canvassing hours every day, visited almost a third of the homes in the ward.

Johnston's victory, in contrast, was the result of a broad effort of workers, helpers, friends and hangers-on who began putting the campaign together in early fall. Her ties to resident and ratepayer groups based on past work in the area were what enabled her to get her ideas across as widely as she did and top the polls with a 3,500 vote margin.

Curiosity about where Smith will fall in the new Council's range of views and personalities will only be satisfied after some months in office. Among Smith's issues in the campaign were increased liaison between levels of government — something he could discuss credibly as a veteran of Ottawa affairs; a pro-

neighbourhood plank which suggested greater government involvement in housing than Toronto has known under the rein of private developers during the past decade; and re-organization of Toronto politics from the ward to Metro level. Smith says the new Winnipeg civic structure might be a good model for this. Asked if he felt he had much in common with North Toronto's other broad-minded Liberal-affiliated alderman, William Kilbourn, Smith replied, "A great deal."

Smith says he does not regard Council as a stepping-stone to higher office and points out that he has not sought available Liberal candidacies in the recent federal election and in an upcoming provincial by-election.

The mayoralty in Ward Eleven was no contest. O'Donohue lost every poll, and Rotenberg's clutch of poll-by-poll victories was limited almost entirely to the Forest Hill district. Otherwise Crombie swept the ward. This was a particularly interesting result because Eleven is the home ward of Crombie and Rotenberg. In 1969 Rotenberg with 15,500 votes outpolled Crombie for alderman by 1,500.



photo: Phil Lapidis

Colin Vaughan leaves his campaign headquarters election night.

## Board of Education

### Charlton over Major by 7 votes

#### Ward Five

In nearly every election there is one candidate who suffers a heartbreaking, close defeat. In Toronto this year that candidate could be Judith Major, the former president of Brown Home and School Association, who came within seven votes of defeating Bill Charlton for the second trustee position in Ward Five. A judicial recount will be held to confirm the winner.

Major got 5,577 votes and was actually leading Charlton, the outgoing chairman of the Board of Education, by 21 votes with only four polls to be counted. Fiona Nelson, the other incumbent in the race, showed that her hard-thinking reform policies are just what the ward wants as she rolled to a first place finish with 8,263 votes. The fourth candidate in the field, John Maxwell, a teacher at Humber Community College, polled a respectable 3,527 votes.

Under provisions of the election, and by depositing \$100, Major is exercising her right to the judicial recount. It will involve checking the tally sheets and re-examining ballots that were declared spoiled. The recount will be conducted within the next month and Major has lawyer Vince Kelly representing her.

The close election surprised most observers who felt that Charlton would be re-elected without much trouble. Indications are that he polled well in the north-east end of the ward but that this was offset by Major's good showing in the Annex, Casa Loma, Hillcrest, Wychwood and Rathnally areas.

Major says when her votes were taken along with Nelson's as an expression of reform support, they show that the ward rejected Charlton and his technical and legalistic approach to education. Charlton, who won election in 1969 by only 281 votes, refused to comment on this year's results. The only thing he would say was that solicitor friends of his would be handling his interests in the recount.

Major is fearful that the cost of the recount could put her into serious debt. The judge, as yet unnamed, will set costs for the recount after it is completed. Major said her campaign funds are depleted; anyone wishing to help defray the additional recount costs can send donations to "Judith Major-in-Trust" at 56 Rathnally Avenue.

Nelson's election support was widespread across the ward with no area showing any drop in votes. She more than doubled her 1969 total when she received 4,108 votes. She said she was very pleased with the large vote as "it reflects a real expression of opinion for the things I have been trying to accomplish at the Board."

#### Ward Six

In a surprise upset, reformer Dan Leckie topped the polls in Ward Six's Board of Education trustee race. His running mate, Bob Spencer, ran a poor fifth. For second spot, voters chose incumbent K. Dock Yip. Incumbent Ben Rose, Yip's campaign partner, who ran first in 1969, placed fourth this year. Peter Maloney ran third.

Leckie and Spencer consider the election a victory in the fight for community control of schools. They didn't water down their ideas during the campaign. "We took a hard line on community control," says Spencer. "The ideas we were explaining, once explained, were acceptable to people."

Leckie and Spencer canvassed exten-

(continued, page 4)



## SMUGGLER'S DEN

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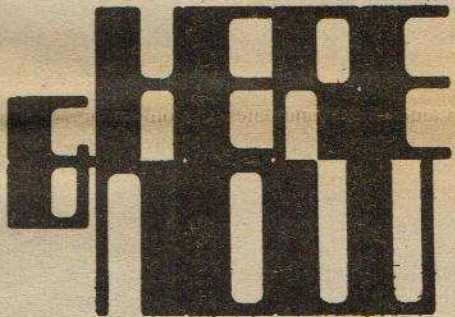
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**The Board of Ed.:  
liberal but not yet reform**

by Ellen Murray

The City elections have once again given Toronto a "reform" Board of Education, or at least that's what the *Star* says. The *Globe* was a bit more cautious, claiming only "a much-needed infusion of young blood" would result in a "slightly more progressive" Board. And what does this mean? According to the *Globe*, the Board should aim towards "quality, new ideas and a more imaginative use of a restricted budget." It doesn't mean much.

The 1969 Board was supposed to be "reform", and it did have what most people considered to be a pretty liberal voting record. Alternate schools and many kinds of community-initiated projects were approved, although motions opposed by the Board's bureaucratic officialdom often had a hard time getting through. Three or four trustees who didn't support this liberal trend are gone, as are three or four trustees who did.

It's difficult to predict what changes the nine newcomers will bring to Board meetings from the fairly general campaign statements which emerged in the past month from most candidates. The sorts of "community involvement" issues that won the full Board's support before will probably get the votes of four or five new trustees. And at least Dan Leckie (Ward

Six) and probably Sheila Meagher (Ward Nine) will support community requests which are contentious because of the opposition of the Board's senior staff.

But it has been suggested that there's a lot more to being a good trustee than a "progressive" voting record. Some trustees who vote pretty consistently on the "progressive" side have had very little involvement with the schools in their area. Others, for example, Gordon Cressy (Ward Seven), try to talk with parents, students and staff in their local schools to find out what they want in their schools and help them to organize to get it. This concept of the trustees' role puts much of his work outside of Board meetings, in the community.

It's not clear what role most of the new trustees see for themselves. Only Leckie has definitely committed himself to being the sort of trustee Cressy is, an educational organizer in his ward.

A couple of indicators show at least some of the newcomers have an interest and commitment to education which is still rare on the Board. Four new trustees have committed themselves to full-time work, and at least five have shown a serious interest in education prior to their election by involvement in parent groups or community educational projects.

**Trustees**

(continued from page 3)

sively during the campaign, virtually everywhere in the Ward except the North Jarvis area, where they expected to meet resistance from high rise dwellers. Leckie did a lot of the personal campaigning, while Spencer worked in their office. Spencer thinks this may be one reason why Leckie won while he was "creamed".

Yip thinks he ran second to Leckie because "Leckie canvassed and I didn't. I had to go to Board meetings and office meetings. I had no time to canvass. Or maybe Leckie is a better man." Yip adds. He explains the defeat of his ally, Ben Rose, by observing that "voters elect the person. They didn't accept the idea of a team."

Yip anticipates no difficulty working with the young reformer. "I think we do share ideas. I'm for inner city children; so is Leckie. I'm for community involvement; so is Leckie. He's a gentleman, this Leckie; so am I." But in the past Yip has said that community control of schools is not an important issue, since he thinks that most people in the Ward don't favor it.

**North Toronto**

The defeat of incumbent Herbert Barnes for Board of Education trustee in Ward Ten surprised most observers there. Teacher and community worker Charlotte Maher's upset over Barnes is regarded by Board "reformers" as a mixed result because Maher beat the wrong incumbent. Barnes brought a kind of business acumen and frankness to the Board that is sadly lacking there. On the other hand, Maher has grass-roots connections in various neighbourhoods across the ward and some respect for community involvement. What "reformers" really would have preferred was the defeat of old guard trustee Maurice Lister, but once again Lister topped the polls with a 500 vote edge

over Maher. Barnes, with a tally of 11,800, placed 500 behind Maher. The familiarity of Lister's name and the quality of Maher's campaign were the decisive factors.

The trustee race in Ward Eleven, like the aldermanic contest, was a confusing affair. Incumbent trustee Judy Jordan romped into top spot with almost 15,000 votes. The pack clustered some 10,000 votes behind her, with three serious candidates in the running for the open seat

vacated by incumbent Barry Lowes. Psychologist Vernon Copeland, with about 5,900 votes, beat out parents' association veteran Bill Saunders by a margin of 100 and educational "reformer" Ralph Cook by fewer than 300. Copeland isn't a known factor, and Board followers are curious to see where he will fit into the spectrum of trustees. One element in Copeland's victory appears to have been his constant, vocal support of Jordan.

**Group organizes to oppose  
Toronto's new tallest building**

A citizens' group is being organized to fight construction of the 80-storey Bank of Montreal office tower planned for the old *Star* building site on King Street West. The organizers hope the group will attempt to contact the Bank and its officers and will be able to re-open discussion of the project at City Hall.

According to Ward Eight resident Jim Eckert, spokesman for the opposition to the proposed building, the project is a "flagrant example of planning nonsense". Eckert, who works in a downtown ad agency, is concerned about the transit and traffic congestion which will be caused by the new tallest-building to be located across the street from the Toronto-Dominion Centre and diagonally opposite Commerce Court.

According to Eckert, the new Toronto downtown is quickly becoming an "inhuman" place, a hostile environment for people who work there.

"Everyday there are new boards going up, more old buildings coming down. I stood and watched them knocking down the old *Star* building for half an hour one day. It's not like it was a creepy old building. They really had to work to get it down." The new projects, with their "barren" expanses of concrete plaza are unpleasant places summer and winter, Eckert says.

People interested in helping raise the question of whether the Bank tower should be built can contact Eckert at 466-2946 or Pollution Probe at 928-7017.

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# Province unveils Hydro Block plan with self-congratulations

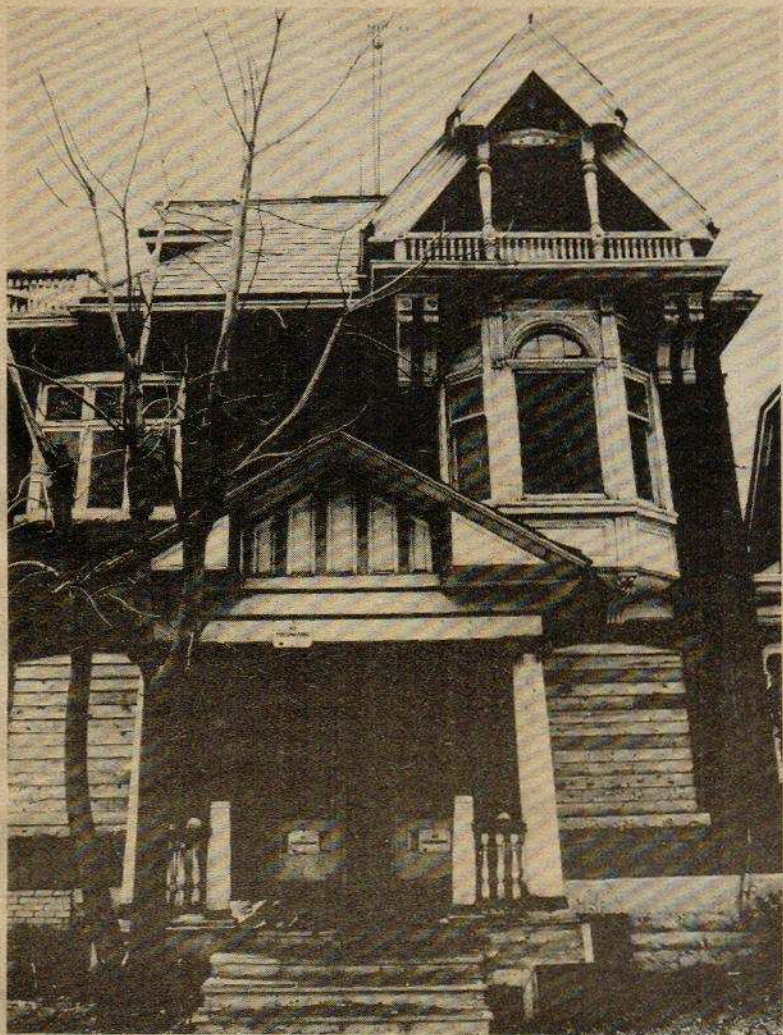


photo: Phil Lapides

Some Hydro Block houses have been boarded up for almost two years.

## TWO HOUSES ADDED TO POLICE LAND ASSEMBLY

The Metro Police Department is secretly expanding the site for its controversial new Beverley Street headquarters in Southeast Spadina. The proposed new Division 52 station-house, which will be relocated from old quarters on College Street west of University Avenue, is opposed by the local neighborhood and the City planning staff. The residents and the planners, who are currently working on a detailed area plan for Southeast Spadina, see no reason why the Police should demolish several old houses in a low density residential district when there are several equally available vacant non-residential sites nearby.

The Police have, to date, consistently refused to discuss the issue with the neighborhood, planners or local politicians in spite of repeated requests. And now, with the ball in their court, the Department's latest move has been to acquire two more houses on the south side of Darcy Street — numbers 37 and 39 — through the offices of the Metro Property Department without consulting either the City or local residents' association.

The Police attempted to conceal their identity. The seller's law firm in the purchase, Walsh and Walsh, at first refused to tell the tenants of the houses who the new owner would be. A firm spokesman told the *Citizen* the buyer wished to remain anonymous. The identity of the purchasers only came to light after the tenants tenaciously pursued the question, angered by an eviction notice for New Year's Eve.

### Amateurish gall

While the tenants and *Citizen* reporter involved were aware of the planned neighboring Police station, at first they did not expect the Department was buying the houses because they felt only an amateurish private land assembler would have the gall to order vacancy on one month's notice for December 31. Because of the holidays, tenancy turn-overs at the New Year are very low, and it's very difficult to find suitable rental housing for January 1 on such short notice.

Although learning the identity of the buyer in this way was surprising, it did answer another question for the tenants of the houses. The former owner told them that the offer to purchase arrived on the same day as a very expensive work order from the City Housing Inspection Department. The fact that another City Hall department, Metro Property, is buying the houses resolves this coincidence in the eyes of the tenants.

The tenants have won their fight with Metro to remain in the houses beyond

January 1. Metro Property has agreed they can stay on until March 1, and the tenants are hoping to remain later into the spring. The Police have no firm plans for the new headquarters yet — they haven't retained an architect to date — and the only reason Metro Property gives for evicting the tenants March 1 is the outstanding work orders from City Inspection. Metro plans to board up or demolish the houses once the tenants leave, and then the site will simply await start of construction of the station house — in late summer, according to a Metro spokesman. In speaking with the tenants and the *Citizen*, Metro Property has not mentioned the vigorous neighborhood opposition to the proposed location or the possibility that the City may tell the Department to build elsewhere.

### Avoiding a fight

While the houses are not in top condition — each of them does need some work — they are fairly sound, safe buildings. They have been in substantially the same condition now as they have been for some time, and it is not clear why the City's work orders, which were not enforced against the old owner, suddenly necessitate vacating the houses. One tenant, however, suggested another explanation: Tenants fighting to save their homes in other parts of the City have generated quite a lot of trouble and bad publicity for land assemblers, and the Police want the tenants out quickly — and in fact sought to anonymously secure the houses with the tenants gone — to avoid any fuss. The Department already has enough of a fight on its hands with the local residents' group and planners who want the station-house built elsewhere.

The tenants of the houses, who have invested in various home-improvements during the time they have lived there, continue to want to remain and hope to negotiate a later date than March 1 with Metro Property for vacancy if, in fact, the Police construction plans are not derailed. City planning staff representatives are meeting with Police staff to open the question of public discussions of the Department's plans.

Now that the elections are over, Southeast Spadina and the Division 52 area has aldermen again. William Archer, who has been very involved in the fight to bring the Police plans into the open, and Dan Heap represent Southeast Spadina's Ward Six. Ying Hope and Colin Vaughan represent Ward Five, also partly within the Division 52 district. Area residents plan to bring the issue of the Police proposal to the City's new Council through the aldermen.

Revenue Minister Allan Grossman announced November 28 that the Ontario Housing Corporation plans to preserve about half the houses on Southeast Spadina's "Hydro Block" and replace the others with medium rise housing. The block is within PC Grossman's St. Andrew-St. Patrick provincial riding.

Members of the Hydro Block Working Committee, who have been working since April on a plan for the site, bounded by Beverley, Cecil, Henry and Baldwin Streets, had to read about OHC's plans in the papers. They were neither informed nor consulted about the announcement.

Many houses on the block have been vacant and boarded up since Grossman announced during the 1971 provincial election campaign that Ontario Hydro would not be permitted to build its planned transformer station on the site. The Hydro construction was stopped mainly because of strong community opposition to a 12 storey concrete box in the low-rise residential neighborhood. Ever since, OHC, Hydro and the Working Committee — composed of delegates from interested community groups — have been trying to work out a satisfactory plan for the future of the block. OHC's purchase of the site from Hydro will be completed early in 1973.

OHC has hired the firm of Diamond and Myers, which recently designed a model for high density, low rise housing for another street in Southeast Spadina, as architectural consultants for the Hydro Block redevelopment. At its December 7 meeting, OHC representative Frank French told the Hydro

Block Committee that Jack Diamond would be ready to present his scheme to Grossman sometime in January. The Committee would probably see the plan only after its presentation to Grossman.

The broad outlines for development endorsed by Grossman conform to Working Committee policy, which was hammered out at the December 7 meeting. The Committee's primary goal, from the start, according to the policy statement, has been "the maintenance on this block of a residential environment and community similar to that which exists in the surrounding neighbourhood." The Committee recommended that the block be used primarily for housing, in combination with some commercial and communal facilities related to the needs of local residents. The housing should be available both to families and single individuals, to owner-occupiers and tenants. It should be available, first, to present Hydro Block tenants, and second, to other Southeast Spadina residents. The Committee calls for the preservation of the block's present houses wherever possible.

The Committee also recommended that the housing be "available at rents and prices within reach of people now living in the surrounding community, that is people of low and moderate income." This is perhaps the most difficult problem in Hydro Block redevelopment. Hydro paid \$2-million for the block, which interested residents calculate was above the going market price

for land in the area at the time, and is not willing to sell at a loss. The Committee acknowledged that "a substantial subsidy will be required in order to satisfy this objective." The Committee plans to forward its policy statement to both Diamond and Grossman.

The Committee discussed the possibility of obtaining funds through the federal government's recently proposed Neighbourhood Improvement Program. The involvement of the federal government might cause some jurisdictional confusion with OHC.

Grossman is proud of the plan for the Hydro Block. He claims that "it could become a prototype for development not only in Ontario, but on the rest of the continent as well." At the same time he warns that he isn't "suggesting that OHC is ready to adopt this principle — preservation of old houses and medium rise construction — as a general policy. Indeed this idea would not work in many areas." Grossman is now touting OHC as a bold innovator, but the Hydro Block would have been destroyed months ago were it not for the protests of angry citizens.

## WARD 6 MEETS

Ward Six Aldermen-elect Dan Heap and William Archer are co-sponsoring a Ward meeting at Holy Trinity Church on Sunday, December 17 at 8:00 p.m. The subject for discussion will be the new City Executive and the new Council.

## SUSSEX-ULSTER BLOCKBUSTING WORRY

Close to 200 Sussex-Ulster and Kensington area residents crowded into the Lord Lansdowne School cafeteria four nights before the municipal elections to hear the Ward Six aldermanic candidates speak on the future of their neighbourhood.

The meeting, sponsored by the Sussex-Ulster Residents Association, was called to allow public discussion on what the association says is a situation of incipient blockbusting and possible land assembly for future redevelopment. There are indications that more and more speculative buying is going on in the neighbourhood. Some residents have charged that City housing inspectors are helping to force out the stable homeowners by demanding that they do extensive repairs on their properties, while ignoring infractions of the housing standards by-law by some absentee landlords who also appear to be speculators.

Two specific situations brought out at the meeting were the involvement of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Cadillac Development Corporation, Martin Seaton, in several holdings near Harbord Streets, and rumours of long-term expansion plans by The Doctors Hospital near Brunswick Avenue and College Street.

### Downzoning rejected

A suggestion of downzoning the area by now Mayor-elect David Crombie was countered by a resident who pointed out that a blanket downzoning would wipe

out the multiple-family dwellings and force out the lower-income working people who now make up the majority of the neighbourhood's population. Crombie agreed and said that in the future neighbourhood plans would have to be tailored to fit the needs of specific neighbourhoods rather than general zoning bylaws.

Candidate Arthur Downes was soundly criticized by members of the audience for refusing to answer a question about The Doctors Hospital possible expansion plans. Downes is a member of the Board of Governors of the hospital and said that anything he knew as a member of the board was "confidential," even though the hospital is now a public institution, financed largely by the province.

Neighbourhood organization and a possible Part II planning study were advocated as the best safeguards against developments pressures in Sussex-Ulster by most of the other candidates, including the new Ward Six aldermen Dan Heap and William Archer.

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## SE Spadina seeks old RCMP site

Residents of Southeast Spadina are hoping that the recently abandoned headquarters of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police on Sullivan Street will become available for community use. The building has been empty since the RCMP re-located on Jarvis Street about three weeks ago.

Ward Six Alderman-elect William Archer has written to the Federal Department of Public Works, inquiring if the building is now surplus and requesting that the City of Toronto have the first opportunity to acquire the property. Copies of the letter were sent to RCMP Commissioner W. L. Higgitt, and to MPs Peter Stollery and Donald Macdonald. Archer has so far received an acknowledgement only from Stollery.

Archer is not certain of the most appropriate future use for the site. It might be suitable for a park or for housing, Archer says, but he hasn't yet heard enough community reaction to name a definite project.



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# BROWN SCHOOL

## Community Centre conference scheduled for January 12, 13

by Peter Morris

The Brown Home and School Association will hold a conference Friday and Saturday, January 12 and 13, to deal with the questions of what programs will be offered in the planned Brown School Community Centre and how they will be administered. The conference will be at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education on Bloor Street West and is being held in cooperation with the City and the Toronto Board of Education who are co-sponsors of the

centre planned for the new Brown School.

Old Brown Public School, one of Toronto's oldest public schools, is slated for demolition within the next year. The new school is expected to cost approximately \$1.4 million and will include a double gym, a swimming pool, various shared-use facilities and a large community centre. The City has already promised to contribute \$500,000 for the community-use facilities. This marked a breakthrough in cooperation between

City Council and the City Board of Education, who, until now, have been unable to cooperate on capital building projects due to shortcomings in provincial legislation.

Pressure to include these community facilities in the plans for the new school arose from the Brown Home and School Association headed, at that time, by Judith Major who recently lost in her bid to become a school trustee for Ward Five by seven votes. She and the Association felt there was a need for indoor recreational facilities and a community centre in the area around Brown Public School and sought assistance.

The Brown Home and School Association is one of the most active of its kind in Toronto. It presently runs an ambitious after-school program which includes a swimming class, a junior

sports program in tumbling and judo, a club for girls in grades five and six, a cooking class for neighbourhood bachelors, a magic class and a class in knitting and sewing.

### Limited facilities

Because of the limited facilities in the existing building, many of these classes are held outside of the school in neighbouring homes. The parents expect that, when the new building is completed, the after-school program will be carried on in the proposed shared-use facilities.

Although the plans for the community centre have already been drawn up, no serious thought has been given to the questions of what programs will be offered and who will be responsible for their operation, and so the conference has been planned.

Present will be various people who have had practical experience with community schools and who will be able to discuss basic concepts of a community school with the parents. They will speak on Friday and will spend Saturday working with small groups of parents in an attempt to answer questions which may arise and to aid in working out a comprehensive program of activities.

Representatives of both the Board of Education and the City will be in attendance. No final decisions will be made. The parents will incorporate their proposals in a report which they will submit to City Council at a later date.

One proposal that seems likely is a Parks Department evening program similar to those presently offered at various civic recreation centres throughout the City.

### More community involvement

Another aim of the conference is to generate more community involvement than has been evident to date. The parents who are organizing the conference are hoping that members of the community who, until now, have been apathetic towards a community school will become interested after learning about the possibilities of a centre.

Not everyone in the community favours the community centre. There are a number of parents who are totally opposed to its construction, who charge that the project was railroaded through by a small, vocal minority who assumed control of the Home and School Association.

Those who were involved with the decision to build the centre, feel these allegations are unfair. According to Robin Fraser and Judith Major, both past presidents of the Home and School Association, discussions concerning the community centre were held for months before the Association took any definite action. They argue that the meetings were well-publicized and that at no time prior to the decision to build the centre was there any solid opposition to the project from the community.

Because of the split between the parents in the area, the Home and School Association is hoping for a heavy turnout at the conference in January. They are inviting all the members of the community, especially those who do not favour the centre, to come. They hope decisions can be reached which reflect the wishes of the whole community.



**INGRID BAUER**

The parents of Ingrid Bauer, a Kleinburg girl who disappeared last August 16, have asked the *Citizen* to publish her photograph and a request that anyone with information about Ingrid contact them. The Bauers are offering a \$3,000 reward for information which leads to solving her disappearance. While the Bauer's plea has been made already through the *CBC*, *Star* and other major media, they felt that a request through the *Citizen*, Toronto's downtown community paper, might be especially important for them. The Bauer's can be reached at 416-895-1221.

### Huron-Madison

The committee which was formed in November by City Council in response to the threat of demolitions and higher density development on Huron and Madison Streets in the Annex has been meeting and trying to find a process for dealing with it and similar situations. The nine threatened houses and their 90 tenants, who won a stay of eviction till January 30, are owned by a developer whose rough initial plans were strongly opposed by a number of local residents. The situation raises the question of how a community can protect itself, of what means can be found to maintain the existing environment while recognizing the "legitimate" rights of the investor. Because the developer in this case, Amex, was amenable to other alternatives besides pushing single-mindedly ahead, it was possible to form the committee.

While the eviction notices for the end of January and demolition permits for early February are still in force, the committee may be making progress toward a solution. Area MP Ron Atkey has reported a positive response at the CMHC for helping find alternatives besides redevelopment. The developer remains interested in selling out if the price is right. The City Housing Inspection Department has reported the houses are in good condition.

The most likely outcome at the moment is interim ownership by the City. A removal of the developer from the situation underwritten by City funds would relieve the pressure and allow careful, open-ended thought about the future of the houses. Annex citizen groups are hoping to bring the Huron-Madison situation within the context of their current detailed area plan and down-zoning studies.

### Ward Five ward council

A group of Ward Five citizen group leaders has appointed a committee to begin the process of establishing a ward council. A meeting December 10, of two dozen representatives of neighborhoods primarily from the part of the ward east of Bathurst Street, directed the committee to contact groups and individuals in the western half of the ward and to take the initiative is setting an agenda for a forum early in the new year at which representatives from across the ward will begin considering how to set up and structure a ward council.

### Atkey opens riding office

Ron Atkey, the newly elected Progressive Conservative MP from St. Paul's, has opened a riding office at the St. Clair Avenue First Unitarian Church. Atkey will be at the office on Saturdays from 11:00 till 2:00, and an assistant will have open office hours on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons. Constituents are invited to phone the office with a message or inquiry at any time during normal business hours at 961-5200.

### Wahn retires

Ian Wahn, former Liberal MP from St. Paul's Riding, who was defeated in the October 30 election by PC Ron Atkey, has announced he will not seek the riding Liberal nomination in the next federal campaign. Wahn, who has been St. Paul's MP since 1962, believes the Liberals could win back the riding with a proper campaign in the next election. His own campaign was lacklustre, and Atkey defeated him by only 932 votes. Wahn has urged the riding Liberals to choose a nominee for the next election very soon in order to begin preparing for the campaign which he thinks is likely to be within the year.

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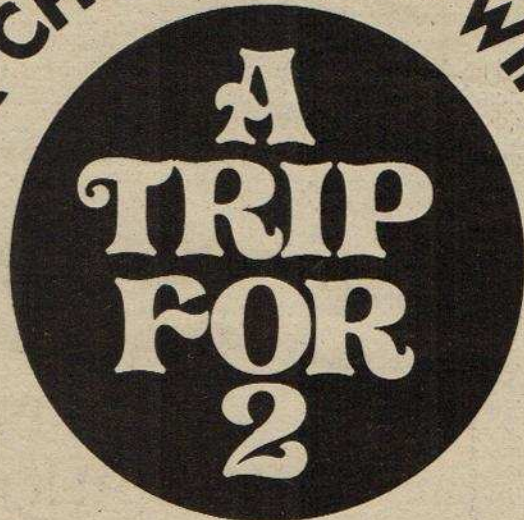
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# The Star's new game

The Toronto *Star*, either deliberately or through gross ineptitude, seriously distorted its coverage of the political situation in Toronto in the wake of last week's civic election.

I am not talking about *Star* reporters' inability to get their facts straight, a flair which they exhibited in their coverage of last week's CORRA-Citizens' Forum meeting at City Hall. An article on Wednesday, the day prior to the meeting, for example, said it would be "next Thursday". And in an account of the meeting on Friday the *Star* reported that CORRA "had called the meeting ... to let voters name their choices for the (City Council) Executive Committee"; the meeting was held, in fact, to discuss how and when the Executive would be chosen, a very different thing.

What I am talking about is the *Star's* handling of stories like these and the paper's editorial posture toward City Council's new majority.

The Wednesday story, for example, referred in its headline to the planned gathering as a "rally" although it was clearly not a "rally" but a meeting to talk about political nuts and bolts.

The Friday story about the meeting carried a headline reading *Crombie, citizens argue over executive*. Crombie did not argue with citizens at the meeting. Early in the evening the people present agreed overwhelmingly they did not want an early caucus of the new Council to pick an Executive. Later Crombie arrived and said he hoped for an early caucus. Clearly there was a conflict, a serious disagreement; but there was no argument, no verbal exchange. The *Star* headline misrepresented what happened.

Crombie did argue, if you want, with Alderman William Kilbourn. The *Star* reported that prior to the meeting Kilbourn had supported Crombie's call for a quick caucus to pick an Executive. At the meeting, according to the *Star*, Kilbourn changed his mind, and he explained this to Crombie in a private conversation they had off to one side of the Council chamber. Neither appeared to be angry, but "argue" might be a reasonable description. Later, the *Star* reported, Kilbourn "conferred with 13 other members of the new Council and told them, 'I've done a stupid thing. I will apologize to David Crombie, and I apologize to everyone here.'" Kilbourn, in other words, wanted to apologize for making a wrong move, for not taking the position right from the start that there shouldn't be an early caucus about the Executive.

The *Star* accompanied Friday's story with a photo of Crombie and Kilbourn talking together, and a caption beneath the picture said that Kilbourn was "disagree(ing)" with Crombie and "said later, 'I will apologize to David Crombie.'" In other words, Kilbourn will apologize to Crombie for his behavior in disagreeing with him. The caption misrepresented what Kilbourn actually said.

The net effect of these two distortions — in the headline and photo caption with the story — is a misrepresentation for the worse of relations among the citizens and politicians of the "reform" movement. The story itself was a mediocre, inaccurate article which highlighted unimportant moments and ignored some critical facts. But these editorial decisions — heads and captions are not the business of reporters but of higher-ups — are the really interesting thing.

### Jabberwocky

I'd like to believe they were inadvertent, or the work of just one bad editor, but a reading of last Wednesday's lead editorial diminishes this hope. The editorial suggested that last week's election might be "a victory of 'haves' over 'have-nots', the established homeowner over the apartment dweller, old Toronto over the newcomers."

The *Star's* discovery of class conflict in City politics might be welcome in a context which isn't such jabberwocky. The editorial identifies "have-nots" — a polite term, I suppose, for lower and working class people — with apartment dwellers and newcomers. Yet farther on the editorial reports that two-bedroom apartments in Toronto cost \$180-\$250 monthly, beyond the reach of "have-nots". The editorial ignores the facts

that many newcomers to Toronto are middle class people and that there are several old Toronto working and lower class communities — for example, Trefann and Riverdale. There appears to be little reckoning of these complexities in the *Star's* cosmology.

The *Star* did not study poll-by-poll results of the election or search for any basis in fact for its little theory. The *Citizen's* initial glance at the results indicates that Council's new majority drew considerable support from "have-nots", apartment dwellers and newcomers. The kinds of support that Eayrs, Chisholm, Goldrick, Vaughan, Heap, Sewell and the others have differ widely. The *Star* didn't think it was important to find this out.

The editorial goes on to imply that Council's new majority is solidly against residential development and says that we need housing for the 30,000 newcomers in Metro annually.

The "reformers", however, are clearly *not* anti-development. They're opposed to housing without policy, housing without regard to family and lower income needs. John Sewell has helped organize the development planned for Trefann Court in his ward. Elizabeth Eayrs has helped work out a Swansea area plan for development on that district of her ward. Colin Vaughan believes infill might be a good way to add housing in some areas. Dan Heap has been working for some time on appropriate development for the Southeast Spadina hydro block in his ward. Dorothy Thomas likes the co-op housing project underway in her ward. The *Star's* notion of housing development appears much like that of Council's former majority — oriented toward property industry interests and about as imaginative as last week's oatmeal.

Metro's 30,000 yearly newcomers is a clumsy red herring. This growth has been almost entirely in the boroughs; the City's population has hardly budged in a decade. In a recent *Citizen* interview Vaughan commented, "Over the past ten years half a billion dollars has been spent on housing in this City, and all that has done is build 36,000 apartment units in about 70 buildings. The population of the City hasn't changed. All we've been doing is knocking down neighborhoods, building apartment buildings, but in the long run nothing happens." We've done nothing to accommodate newcomers in Toronto. All that has happened is that the ownership and profits of housing have gravitated toward a handful of developers.

### A red-banner headline

On the same day as this editorial appeared in the *Star*, two days after the election, there was a front-page red banner headline, *Developers say election could put freeze on new high rises*. In the article several "leading" property

industry spokesmen — in fact, primarily the ones who have been building the buildings Vaughan mentions — said that sharp increases in housing costs could be expected in Toronto if, as a result of the election, their entrepreneurial efforts are squelched. It's interesting that during the last decade, while these developers have been wending their way, housing prices in Toronto have skyrocketed — 70% from 1963 to 1968, 10% in 1969, and still rising. Nothing's new, but the spectre of rising rents is news to the *Star*. No reporter bothered to interview tenant groups or "reform" leaders about the feasibility of rent controls in Toronto. Again, we seem to have gone beyond the *Star's* scheme of things.

(Saturday's *Star* reported, interestingly, that rising land values and inflationary pressures are major factors in construction slowdowns and rising rents. Only passing reference was made to "reform" opposition. The paper can't get its line straight from day to day.)

The *Star's* lead editorial last Friday repeated the unsubstantiated assertion that the new majority is a "haves", homeowners' Council. This seems to have become, without proof, part of the paper's accepted wisdom. Then, in reference to North Toronto, the editorial observes that the principle of community power might "give a wonderful opportunity for an adroit politician to take up the cudgels for the clique he favors and proclaim its views are the voice of the people."

The only clearly "reform" aldermen from North Toronto are William Kilbourn and Anne Johnston. Both are senior aldermen with ward-wide support. Both are committed to working with groups from neighbourhoods throughout their districts. I don't know which of the two the *Star* is warning us about; I suspect the editorial is a courageous attack on a straw man.

The *Star* also editorially warned us last week that a sharp decline in high density development might mean rising property taxes for residents of the City. The editorial did not explore the cost to the taxpayer of servicing high density downtown development, which studies in American cities have suggested is considerable. It did not mention the York Borough study which suggested high density residential development costs taxpayers as much as it brings in new assessment. It did not mention a question raised at last month's tri-level conference on cities — that municipal income might be taken off a strict property tax base.

I don't know what the *Star* is up to. I do know that it is in the interests of the property industry to create troubles among "reformers" and to perpetuate certain myths about development. The *Star* seems to be doing just this.



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## TRI-LEVEL CONFERENCE:

# Everybody wants to control the dollars

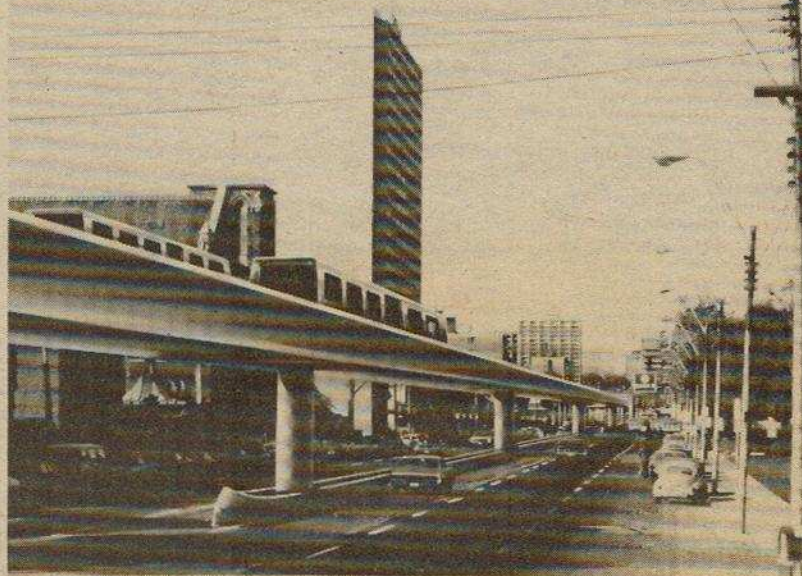
by Virginia Smith

Canada's first federal, provincial, municipal conference on urban affairs produced only an agreement to meet again next year. But the historic meeting, held in Toronto three weeks ago, initiated a process which may, in time, shift the balance of power in government in Canada. The conference did not convene at a good moment for cool discussion of governmental powers and priorities. The federal government, chastened by its near defeat at the polls, was not in a position to exert strong leadership. Ontario municipal governments were at the time embroiled in their own elections. Despite its long-term significance, the meeting received little attention from the media.

At the conference, the federal government called for periodic tri-level consultation, and, more important, the creation of a permanent mechanism to sustain inter-governmental communication. The permanent secretariat, which would gather information and make recommendations, "should be evidence of a real commitment to continuing consultation," the federal position paper stressed.

The municipal delegates to the conference strongly supported the federal position. The provinces, jealous of their jurisdiction over municipalities, issued a paper that called for a softening of the federal government's already modest proposals. The provinces, however, did not succeed in maintaining a common front. Manitoba and the Maritimes put out separate papers advocating more extensive federal involvement in urban affairs. Ontario and Alberta took a hard anti-federal line, insisting that the provinces must maintain their exclusive powers over municipal governments. The conference finally decided to meet next year for discussion of some unspecified urban problems. No machinery for continuing research and consultation was created.

Each level of government, of course,



This artist's conception of a modern transit system on Spadina Avenue is part of the Ontario Government's transportation plan for Metro. It was formulated without consultation with Metro and highlights the problem of which level of government — federal, provincial or municipal — is going to control and pay for needed changes in our cities.

supported the position that most enhanced its own authority over urban development. The Federal Ministry of Urban Affairs, now about two years old, is a bureau in search of a real function and purpose; tri-level consultation might be the start of a more important role in municipal affairs. Municipalities stressed that they need a good deal more money and power than they now have to deal effectively with local problems. They complained that they have become no more than "service stations" for dispensing federal and provincial revenues. The provinces defended their pre-eminent authority over cities.

#### Provincial control

The British North America Act assigns to the provinces complete power over their municipalities. The responsibilities and revenue sources of local government are determined by pro-

vincial legislation. The municipalities have no channel for direct communication with the federal government.

Nor have they much control over their own affairs. "Home rule" for cities wasn't much of a burning issue in Canada until Premier William Davis' Spadina Expressway decision. A few large urban centres in the United States in contrast demanded and secured autonomy during the middle of the Nineteenth Century, when they began to think that state legislatures were unable or unwilling to grapple with their problems.

It is unlikely that Canadian municipalities will try to shift the governmental balance of powers by pushing for an amendment to the Constitution. "We're not going to fight the battle of the Constitution," says John Kruger, Metro Chairman Ab Campbell's aide. "We don't

have time. We must find a way to get around it." The opening of a direct line to Ottawa could be at least the first step in the development of more powerful local government.

In their presentations to the conference, the municipalities continually emphasized their sorry condition: although only municipal governments can deal sensitively with local issues, they have been deprived of the money and, consequently, of the power to deal effectively with their own problems. The money lament was a refrain in all their conference submissions.

Urban problems and opportunities have expanded enormously since World War II, but these changes "have not been reflected in the modifications of municipal systems," pointed out the municipalities in one of their position papers. The provinces instead have created special purpose bodies such as conservation authorities and park authorities "which have constrained the expansion of municipal government and its evolution into new forms."

Municipal systems will grow more and more unwieldy during the last third of the Twentieth Century. In 1871, when the basic provincial-municipal structure was designed, less than 20% of all Canadians lived in urban areas. By 1961, 70% of the population were urban citizens. By 2001, 94% will live in cities, 73% in 12 major centres. By then the population of Toronto alone will probably be around 6.5 million.

#### Dog-catchers and road-menders

At the tri-level conference, municipalities demanded the political clout to cope adequately with the needs of their vast constituencies. They resent being treated as dog catchers and road menders in an era when they must deal with massive development, welfare programs and public housing policies. Thomas J. Plunkett pinpointed the problem in his study of *The Financial Structure and the Decision-Making Process of Canadian Municipal Government*. As city-dwellers look increasingly to city hall for leadership, the decision-making role of municipal government has shifted "from one that previously emphasized administrative decision to one that now requires the reconciliation of community conflict and controversy. But the existing structure is still geared to the former role and is not readily adaptable to the genuinely political nature of the latter."

The municipal submissions to the conference focused on urban tax gathering powers as the key to their present political inadequacies. Canadian municipalities depend almost exclusively on property tax to cover their expenses, which have soared in the last 25 years. The property tax, in comparison, tends to remain static.

Property tax, unlike the income tax, is not based on the individual's ability to pay. Property tax is regressive — there is an inverse relationship between the citizen's income and the amount of his property tax, because the poor generally spend a higher fraction of their incomes on shelter than the rich.

Again unlike income tax, property tax is not a painless weekly deduction; it is paid out in one big chunk. "The property tax is the most direct, the most potentially confiscatory, the most visible, the most resisted, and the most resented of all taxes," according to the municipal position paper.

The municipalities also complain because the tax on real property is used to fund many projects which have nothing to do with property, like welfare and education. Their resentment is not soothed by the fact that these programs are largely controlled by the provincial and federal governments, although they are partially financed at the local level.

The municipalities admit that they sometimes appear mercenary about local property development, because they are driven to make the best out of their single revenue source. Municipalities are often led to adopt development policies simply because they might improve the property tax base, notes Plunkett in his study of municipal finance. The most recent studies show that huge developments generate larger servicing costs than they do revenues, but this research so far has not dispelled the old myths.

#### Stretch and strain

No matter how they stretch and strain the property tax, cities cannot come anywhere near meeting their total expenses. Net municipal indebtedness has reached an all time high in Canada, notes the

municipal conference submission. In 1961, local expenditures exceeded revenues by 48%; in 1971, local expenditures exceeded revenues by 112%. Cities are therefore forced to depend "more and more on transfers from the provincial and federal governments." Financial incapacity has naturally led to a loss of autonomy. "The failure by the provinces to expand the tax base of local government has forced many provinces to assume functions traditionally performed by local government."

Cities are not often consulted about federal and provincial beneficence; the grand gesture is simply thrust upon them from above. "All too frequently, municipalities first learn of Federal program initiatives that have an impact upon local decision-making at the time of the Ministerial press statement."

These programs designed by the senior levels of government usually require financial contributions by local government. The city therefore ends up depleting its own revenues to fund a project it didn't ask for and may, in the process, be diverted from higher priority local programs.

One conference paper describes in detail the liabilities of a client relationship to the provincial and federal governments in the fields of transportation, housing and public assistance — huge problems that the cities must cope with on a day-to-day basis.

Most of the responsibility for planning and financing transportation is assumed by the province. Ontario, for instance, has recently shifted its transportation planning away from a dominant concern with highway building, and many residents of Metro Toronto are still smarting from the shift. Because the province pays 50% of all road costs in Metro, the city lacks the financial capacity, even if it had the will, to ignore Davis' veto of the Spadina Expressway. Many anti-Spadina residents of Toronto have come to regard the province as their champion, but today's helpful big brother could easily become tomorrow's dictator.

In the field of housing, cities must rely on subsidies from the federal government's Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, or, in Ontario, on the Ontario Housing Corporation. CMHC's estimates of housing needs are based on aggregate national data, the municipalities complained at the conference. CMHC makes no attempt to assess the need by region, province or municipality. Some provinces, Ontario among them, have attempted to assess the provincial need for housing, but few have applied any systematic method. Local governments argue that only they can accurately gauge housing needs in Canadian cities, yet "they have been excluded from participating in the development of housing policy and programs."

#### A confused hodge-podge

Municipalities consider the present public assistance structure a confused hodge-podge of conflicting jurisdictions and programs. "The financial ability is located federally and legislative competence is located provincially." The municipalities are left to administer aid to unemployed employables, those who are expected to require welfare for only a short period. At the conference, the municipalities did not demand greater responsibilities for welfare. They instead recommended that the federal government assume the total financial burden for income support programs, allowing the cities to search for new roles in the field of public assistance — experimentation with preventive programs, for instance.

In general, the municipal submission to the conference was an extended plea for greater power and closer contact with both senior levels of government. The municipal papers made it clear that an expanded revenue base is the only possible source of real power. "The lower the proportion of own tax revenues to total expenditures, the less accountable and responsible is the government." It was predicted that "the problem of developing an adequate system of local government with an appropriate array of responsibilities and revenue sources will be a major political problem in the next decade."

Kruger, who attended the conference, agrees "absolutely" with this assessment of the municipal financial plight. The property tax was "appropriate in

(continued, page 9)

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# Tri-level conference

(continued from page 8)

the Seventeenth Century", when it was assigned to local governments, but cities now have to do a lot more than provide a water supply, sewers and a few small roads. Toronto needs an expanded revenue base "to do the things it ought to be doing. It's the only way we can keep from going bankrupt."

The provincial delegates to the conference were not eager either to increase municipal autonomy or to permit direct communication between the federal and local governments. The common provincial position paper rejected federal intervention in urban affairs with an argument used by the municipalities in their submissions. Responsibility for cities "must be undertaken by the levels of government which are closest to these communities and to the specific problems themselves."

### Provincial logic

But this argument was not pushed to its logical conclusion — the advocacy of local control. The provinces held on tightly to their powers and prerogatives. "The provincial role is primary, both constitutionally and in practice, and must remain so, in this field."

Ontario, like the cities, insisted that it could meet its responsibilities only if it secured a larger portion of the total tax resources. The province would then transfer this greater slice of federal revenues to its municipalities. The submission did not mention the possibility of expanding the municipal revenue base.

The common provincial paper maintained that "the Conference of Ministers and Deputy Ministers of Municipal Affairs should continue to be the central focus of intergovernmental policy discussion on urban affairs" and grudgingly added that its work might be "augmented by the assistance of a small permanent support group".

The provinces did not manage to maintain a common position. Ontario and Alberta scuttled the federal proposal for periodic conferences and a permanent secretariat. Manitoba and the Maritimes, on the other hand, presented papers stressing federal responsibility for urban development.

Ontario insisted that its urban problems are well in hand, thank you, and all the province needs is more tax money from the federal government. As Charles McNaughton, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, said when he tabled the provincial paper in the Ontario legislature, "We are fortunate to have a mature strategy to deal with our concerns."

At the conference, Ontario outlined its comprehensive *Design for Development*, which has been provincial policy since 1966. The *Design* is an integrated program of regional development, local government reform and provincial-municipal fiscal reform. The province has set up a Provincial-Municipal Liaison Committee to encourage joint discussion of the plan's implementation. Kruger complains that Toronto is not adequately represented at the Liaison Committee. "We have just one vote there, and we have very special needs."

### Provincial differences

An Ontario official who attended the conference says that the province simply wanted to make sure that any federal government activities meshed with the existing mechanism. "The situation is very different from province to province, and some other provinces don't have as developed a plan." Ontario's presentation reminded the federal government "to take into account what Ontario has."

But in his statement to the legislature, McNaughton made it clear that the province opposes any national urban programs. The process of urbanization manifests itself quite differently in each of the provinces, said McNaughton, and each province must develop a distinctive method of dealing with its cities. McNaughton considers any national meetings on urban development no more than "forums for general discussion."

Alberta's position at the conference was similar to Ontario's. Like Ontario, Alberta called for a reallocation of federal-provincial fiscal capacities. David Russell, the Minister of Municipal Affairs, warned that Alberta would not agree to another conference until the federal government "clearly defined its role as supportive of provincial-municipal initiatives."

The positions of Ontario and Alberta, two of the country's richest provinces, contrasted sharply with the Maritimes' perspective on urban development. The Maritimes expressed great interest in a national urban policy "which would retain the viability and vitality of smaller towns and cities." Their submission emphasized the need for federal programs to reduce regional disparities.

The Maritimes feel that so far they have been short changed by federal programs. Although they include 6.5% of Canada's population, they received only 2.4% of CMHC's total loan capacity from 1961 to 1970. Cost sharing programs have had special dangers in the Maritimes, where the provinces may not be able to match federal grants.

### Manitoba dissents

Manitoba, which did not subscribe to the provincial common position paper, also called for federal initiatives. "This

conference should not become a means whereby the federal government can abdicate its responsibility in urban matters because of lack of consensus on the part of the provinces."

The federal government emerged from the conference with only a vague agreement to meet next year. The Metro Toronto delegation to the conference was not surprised or especially disappointed at the results. "We had hoped for a permanent secretariat," says Kruger, "but, realistically, this is what we expected to achieve. This was the first

time, and we couldn't expect too much from it."

Kruger points out that Toronto is already engaged in or planning tri-level participation in a few city projects. The three levels of government are financing a research study for computerized traffic lights, and a study of the railroad rights of way within the city. All three will be involved in the selection of an architect for Toronto's Convention Centre. "Each thing is minute", says Kruger, "but take them together and you've got an attitude."

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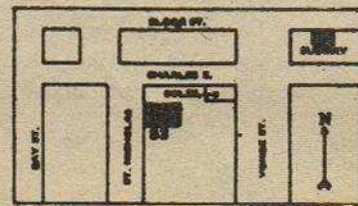


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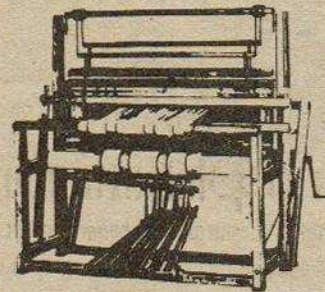
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James Lorimer's *A Citizen's Guide To City Politics* is probably the most important book that has emerged from the modern "reform" movement in Canadian cities. The book begins with the idea that the main business of Canadian municipal governments, as they fit into our tri-level civic-provincial-federal system of government, is regulating and servicing property. The validity of this observation is borne out by any analysis of the kinds of decisions which Canadian local gov-

ernments are empowered to and do make. Given this, Lorimer analyzes the property industry — the interests of the private businesses who make money owning, financing and servicing urban property. He then examines the links between the property industry and the public institutions associated with city government — the politicians themselves, other levels of government, independent civic agencies, civic bureaucracy and the media. The gist of his analysis is that the property industry has immense

power in city government. It has seen to it that it has this power because it has much to gain by controlling cities as much as possible.

It's appropriate that this key book should be written by Lorimer. A few years ago he pioneered the kind of journalism in Toronto which has since been taken up by publications like the Citizen, City Hall and other "reform"-oriented periodicals. His *Real World of City Politics* introduced many people for the first time to the real world of city politics

— as opposed to the glossy, self-congratulatory versions of many social scientists and the Canadian mass media.

But the book did not analyse how city governments came to behave the way they did, and readers awaited Lorimer's next book. It was *Working People*, an interesting account of lower income city people, and was generally regarded as flawed by theoretical over-ambition and imprecision.

*A Citizen's Guide*, however, is a large step ahead for "reform" journal-

ism and places Lorimer back in the forefront of the profession. It does carry ahead the work begun with *The Real World* by taking one of the most critical propositions about our city politics and establishing it beyond question.

The excerpt which follows isn't pithy or easy to read and digest the way much "reform" writing, basically polemic, has been. It is a portrait of one developer, Cadillac, which describes the company's finances and corporate links. The essential points are the ways in which Cadillac earns a great deal of money without any regard for the "common good" and the fact that Cadillac is not an isolated phenomenon but is linked to the core of Canadian capitalism. The "reform" struggle is not, the excerpt implies, with one or two particular companies, but is with a whole economic system.

Cadillac Development Corp. is one of the half-dozen largest developers in the Metro Toronto area. Its high-rise apartments, town houses, office buildings and shopping centres are scattered through Toronto, not to mention a few in Hamilton, Ottawa and Thunder Bay. As well as building on vacant land in residential subdivisions, Cadillac is active in redevelopment projects, where it assembles existing neighbourhoods, demolishes the houses, and puts up high-rise buildings in their place . . . .

#### Cadillac's properties

All together Cadillac owns exclusively or jointly 37 apartment buildings in Toronto, one in Hamilton and one in Ottawa. Most are owned outright. Cadillac calculates that it owns 11,746 individual apartment suites. Another 1,822 were under construction at the end of 1971.

Most of these properties are standard high-rise apartment buildings. They vary in their exterior finish, in the way the entrance lobby is decorated and in the landscaping of the grounds, but beyond that each building is much like the others, and very like the buildings put up by other developers.

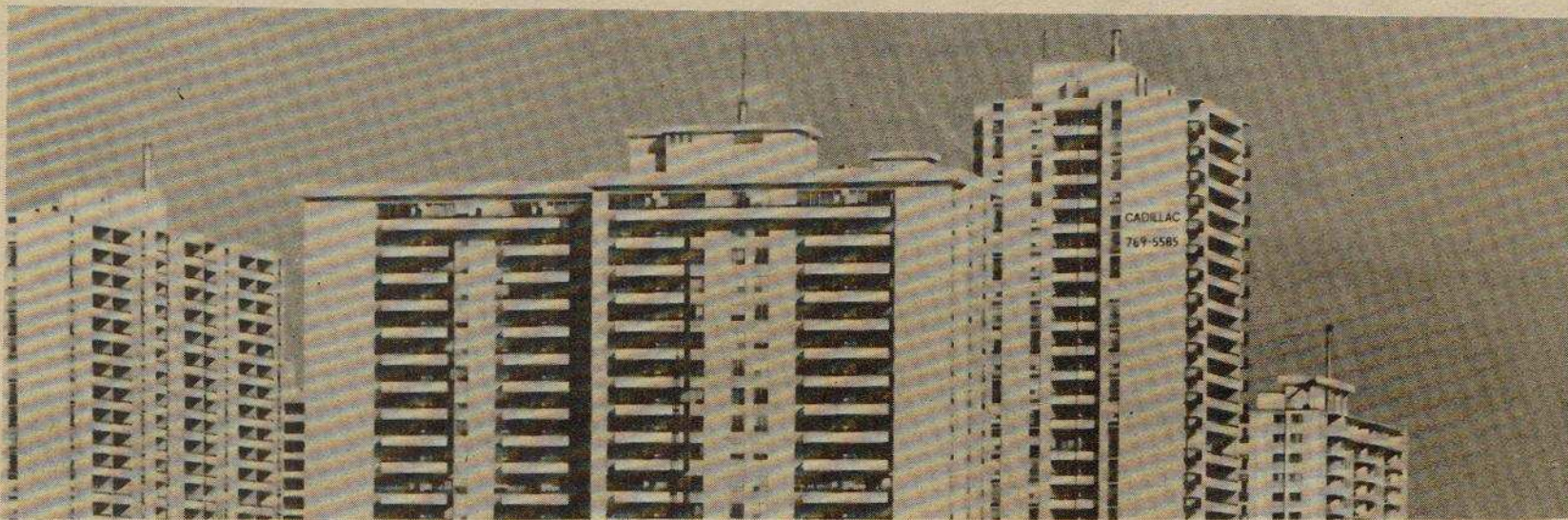
Along with its residential properties, Cadillac has moved into the office building field and completed its first office building in 1970. Interestingly enough, the prime tenant for this first building was the Ontario Housing Corporation, which uses the building (at 101 Bloor Street West, Toronto) as its head office. OHC is a customer of Cadillac's because the company has built a number of apartment buildings that it has sold to OHC for use as public housing. No doubt OHC's willingness to follow the common (but peculiar) practice of Ontario government agencies in leasing its office space rather than occupying a government-owned building — and in this case to become a prime tenant for an inexperienced office developer — was very helpful in allowing Cadillac to get into this new area of the development business.

#### Development and construction activities

The main thrust of Cadillac's activities is not that of owning and managing real estate. It got into the ownership and management business when it discovered that it was far more lucrative to retain the buildings it put up than to sell them to some other investor who could then make substantial profits out of them. Over time, Cadillac has been accumulating a larger and larger portfolio of real estate. But it is still very much a development company.

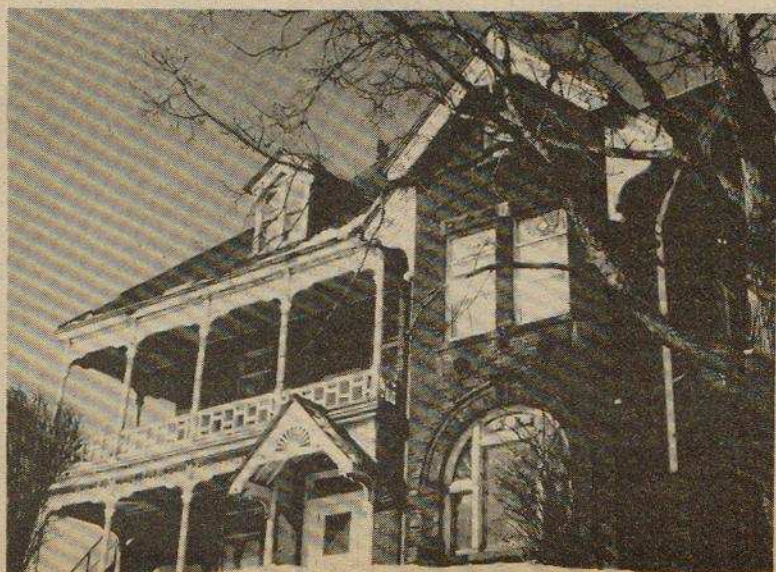
Cadillac's best-known development operations are land assemblies in Toronto neighbourhoods. Cadillac puts together a land assembly, gets an architect's plans for a highrise project on the site, and goes to city hall to get rezoning and necessary permissions. It lines up financing, carries out the construction itself through its contracting division, and then rents out the apartments.

In mid-1972, Cadillac's officials claimed that they were moving away from the high-rise apartment business in Toronto. The explanation given for this by Cadillac president A. E. Diamond at the May 1972 annual shareholders' meeting was the opposition to residential redevelopment projects from citizen groups. Another explanation, however, was suggested in the 1971 annual report, where it was noted that prevailing rent levels in Toronto were not earning the company their accustomed rate of profit. "Rental rates in newer residential properties," said the report, "have not caught up



photos courtesy of Walter Weary

Cadillac replaces "slums" with handsome, modern high rise apartment homes. The out-of-date old houses in the centre and lower photos are on Cadillac's current demolition schedule.



# A citizen's guide to the Cadillac Development Corporation

The dollars and cents,  
directors and corporate ties  
of a giant of the property  
industry

courtesy of James, Lewis and Samuel

by James Lorimer



with increasing costs." But as developers slow up the pace of new construction, rent increases can be expected, which would improve the company's profit position. "We expect," said the report in its rather careful language, "that there will be a decreased rate of starts of rental apartments in the Toronto area and this will bolster the rental market." Cadillac expected to have its cake and eat it: not only was it anticipating higher rents and higher profits, but it was also expecting to be able to shift the anger of its tenants for these increases away from itself and on to citizen groups.

In spite of its claim that it is getting out of the apartment business, Cadillac had at least two projects in the works in Toronto in mid-1972 — Pacific-Glenlake and Quebec-Gothic.

Quebec-Gothic created much unfavourable publicity for Cadillac in 1971-72. A good deal of the trouble resulted from the fact that the project was located in the High Park area of Toronto, where a large number of high-rise apartments have already been built. Objections to the new project came from tenants in the existing apartments, home owners in nearby houses, and people living in the houses on Quebec and Gothic scheduled for demolition. The houses themselves were obviously large, roomy and in very good condition. The developers could not argue that they were slums about to fall down.

A more serious source of problems for Cadillac came from dealings with one of the Quebec-Gothic property owners. Cadillac had joined with another major Toronto high-rise developer, Greenwin, for the Quebec-Gothic project. The Cadillac-Greenwin consortium indirectly arranged to purchase two houses in the redevelopment area which just happened to be owned by the family of the local ward alderman, Ben Grys. Mr. Grys, a former baker, later a partner in a bakery, and more recently an insurance agent, used to live in the area. He and his wife bought one house there in the 1950s, and added a second house to their holdings in the early 1960s. The two properties cost them \$31,150. In early 1971, they sold the houses to companies representing the Cadillac-Greenwin group for a total price of \$195,000, of which \$60,000 was in cash. The Grys family held a mortgage for \$135,000.

A few months later, the project was at city hall for approval by the politicians. Moving approval for the development — and moving that the developer be given more than the city's planning board had recommended — was Alderman Ben Grys, who happened at the time to be chairman of the city's building and development committee.

A few weeks later, Toronto alderman John Sewell revealed that Grys had taken this action on the Cadillac-Greenwin project while his family still held the \$135,000 mortgage on their properties. Clearly the land would not be worth anything close to that if high-rise rezoning were not allowed by city hall. At first Grys ferociously denied any conflict of interest in his actions, but eventually did admit the conflict — apparently in a vain attempt to avoid having the courts rule, as they eventually did, that he did indeed have an illegal conflict of interest.

As well as building high-rise apartments and office buildings, Cadillac, through a division of the company, is involved in building houses in residential subdivisions. Also, Cadillac and Cemp Investments Ltd. (a Bronfman family trust) together own Canadian Equity and Development Co. Ltd. This company is developing Erin Mills, a "new town" style residential development northwest of Toronto.

#### Financial logic of the company

Each of Cadillac's activities interlocks with the others either by providing cash or by using it up.

Cadillac's tenants paid it rent totalling \$26,494,929 in 1971, an average of \$2,200 each. Slightly less than half of this amount went to pay property managers, municipal taxes, repair costs, water bills and so on. Cadillac was left with \$14,500,000. Of this sum, a further \$8,903,088 was paid in interest on the mortgages on these buildings. As well as payments on interest, Cadillac repaid \$1,577,941 in principal on these buildings and invested a total of \$166,514 in capital expenditures on equipment and building improvements. That left it

with a cash surplus of \$3,927,267 from its rental operations to use in financing its other activities or to pay out to its shareholders.

The home-building division of the company also contributed cash to its operations in 1971. Cadillac sold houses and land for \$7,312,639. The cost to Cadillac of these sales, which includes both the cost of constructing the houses and the cost of the land they were built on, was \$6,104,674. So home-building produced a total cash inflow of \$7 million, and a surplus of cash over costs of \$1.2 million.

Cadillac's construction business, which does general contracting for customers, also generates profits and cash for the company. In 1971 it completed a 220-suite apartment building contracted by an insurance company in Ottawa, and a 235-unit residence for a Toronto hospital. This work plus some other small items produced a profit for the year of \$933,008.

Cadillac uses the cash its activities generate in various ways. First, it has general administrative expenses, which amounted to \$658,629 in 1971. Presumably this includes the \$452,296 the company paid its directors in salaries in 1971, an average of \$34,792 each. Then it has other expenses for interest on money it borrowed that it does not charge against specific buildings, amounting to \$462,752 in 1971. During that year Cadillac's profits made it liable in theory for income tax of \$2,731,506. But only \$20,000 of this was actually paid, and the rest was "deferred" — perhaps indefinitely. So, unlike many other corporations — and most people — Cadillac did not have income tax as a real expense during 1971. Together all the real expenses cost Cadillac \$1,143,891. It was left with about \$5.5 million to play around with.

But Cadillac has other ways of getting hold of cash besides the money its own business activities generate. In 1971 it floated a debenture on the capital market, selling company securities to investors which provided it with \$1 million in cash. Also it sold a bit of its holdings in other companies, which yielded \$335,283 in cash. It persuaded its customers to pay their bills a bit more quickly, yielding a net inflow of funds during the year of \$1.2 million, because at the end of the year its customers owed Cadillac \$1.2 million less than they did at the beginning of the year. On the other hand, Cadillac managed to persuade its creditors to allow it to pay its own bills more slowly, and at the end of the year Cadillac had in effect borrowed an extra \$3.7 million from its creditors. Cadillac also borrowed an additional \$2.8 million from the bank during 1971, which left it owing a total of \$13.4 million to the bank at the end of the year. Cadillac also raised a tiny bit of money — \$113,400 — during 1971 by selling some more shares in the company.

One other major source of cash for the company during the year was money it obtained from mortgage lenders for mortgages on new buildings it was putting up. Cadillac received a total of \$25,966,973 from mortgage lenders during 1971. This was, of course, possible only because it was continuing to put its money into new land and buildings.

All together these borrowings yielded Cadillac approximately \$35.6 million in 1971. This sum adds to the \$5.5 million in cash Cadillac's own activities generated.

How did it use all this money? Most of it, of course, went towards constructing new buildings and buying land.

A total of \$34,783,054 went for land and construction costs for new income-producing properties, most of which were high-rise apartments, which Cadillac was building not to sell but to rent.

A much smaller amount, \$3,346,433, was used to increase Cadillac's total investment in housing and condominium projects where it was building to sell. Obviously in this part of its business there is a continual turnover of cash, with customers paying cash to buy new houses at one end and Cadillac putting cash into building more at the other. During the construction period, Cadillac is able to borrow some money on its land and partly finished houses, but in 1971 it put in \$3.3 million of its own cash as well, in addition to what it had invested in this business in previous years. At the end of the year, Cadillac had a total of \$22 million invested in houses and condominiums it was plan-

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### Cadillac

Cadillac Development Corporation Limited, 2171 Avenue Road, Toronto, Canada.  
Apartments, townhouses, homes, shopping centres, office buildings, general contracting.

courtesy of James, Lewis and Samuel

ning to sell.

Cadillac used a bit of its money, \$469,421, to invest in 1971 in the company it owns in partnership with Cemp Investments, Canadian Equity and Development Co. Ltd., which is building the Erin Mills new town project.

Cadillac also used \$1.5 million to pay off some of the loans it had received in previous years from other lenders. It paid off \$350,000 worth of debentures. And it redeemed \$57,625 in preference shares held by shareholders.

And, to cap it all off and to reward them for all their time, trouble, and investment, Cadillac paid its shareholders a total of \$640,042 in dividends in 1971. That was about 7 cents for each of the 9,111,962 shares outstanding.

#### Profits

The question of how much profit Cadillac made in 1971 is not answered by simply adding up all the money it took in, or the surplus of money it took in over money paid out, or even by looking in the annual report to see what the company itself claims its profits to have been.

There is virtually no reliable publicly-available information on the profits that property investors make on their money. The usual figures quoted tend to sound substantial but nevertheless reasonable — like 10 or 15 per cent a year, a hefty return on investment but still not all that much more than you make if you put your money into government bonds. Public real estate companies with a substantial portfolio of buildings show reasonable rates of profit on their capital invested. Rarely is the word "profit" used by these companies, you understand; they prefer the more "human" term, "income." Profits as published by these companies for 1970 ranged — after taxes — from \$3,039,000 for Campeau Corporation and \$2,684,000 for Cadillac Development Corporation on down. For Cadillac this is a return of about 10 per cent on the capital put up

by shareholders in the company plus retained earnings.

An interesting insight into how these published figures understate the real situation is given by the fact that Cadillac in 1970 charged itself an expense of \$1,292,607 for "depreciation" of its buildings. Yet there is very little reason to think that the buildings were in any sense "wearing out;" and indeed, quite separate from the value of the land they stood on, Cadillac's buildings probably rose in value rather than declining during the year. Eliminating the fictitious "expense" for depreciation adds \$1.3 million to the admitted \$2.7 million profit, raising the total for 1970 to \$4.0 million.

Another important consideration is that, while the value of Cadillac's buildings is probably going up, the value of the land on which they stand certainly is increasing as land prices generally increase. Cadillac's land is however, valued at the price the company paid for it, and nowhere in the balance sheets does the company count as real or potential profit the increases that have occurred that year in the value of the land it owns. Estimating the value of land owned by Cadillac in 1970 at \$35 million (one fourth of the total value of land plus buildings owned by the company) and assuming that its value increased by 10 per cent during the year (a modest assumption, given the rate of increase of land values in Toronto, where most of Cadillac's holdings are located), we should add another \$3.5 million to profits. We are now up to \$7.5 million.

Yet another factor to be taken into account is that Cadillac and other companies in the same business count income tax as an expense, yet in fact they pay virtually no income tax because their tax payments are "deferred" courtesy of the federal government and a tax dodge. The tax dodge is, basically, that the government allows Cadillac to count depreciation as a business expense

and to depreciate its buildings at an even faster rate for tax purposes than the company does on its own balance sheets. Eventually, though, you might think, that deferred tax will have to be paid. But it will not have to be paid while Cadillac continues to expand. It is expands fast enough, it can defer paying any income tax almost indefinitely. Income taxes counted as an expense by Cadillac but not paid by the company in 1970 were \$2,342,000. Assuming that the company's directors will be clever enough to postpone paying these taxes indefinitely, we can add the amount deducted by Cadillac for income tax — \$2,342,000 — to its profits. We are now at \$9.8 million.

Actual cash investment by shareholders in the company in 1970 was \$15,000,000. Retained earnings (profits left in the company rather than being paid out as dividends to shareholders) amounted to another \$10 million. Our figures of real profits of \$9.8 million suggest that the real profit being earned by Cadillac on the combined total of shareholders' capital and retained earnings was closer to 35 per cent than to the admitted figure of about 10 per cent. On shareholders' investment alone, it was exactly 65 per cent . . . .

For ordinary investors looking at the company, profits of \$9.8 million a year in 1971 and the prospect of much higher profits in future years make the company worth quite a lot. At the end of May 1972, shares were selling for about \$10 each. With 9,111,962 shares outstanding, this puts a value on the whole company of \$91 million. For a \$91 million company, of course, profits of \$9.8 million would be quite usual.

But the point is that Cadillac itself has received just \$15 million in funds from shareholders who purchased those stocks originally from the company. That is all the money it has had to work with from its shareholders. To make its shares worth \$10 each, it has to have been making profits in the order of from 35 to 65 per cent a year. When someone bought a share in May 1972 for \$10, the \$10 was not going to Cadillac. It was going to an investor, who was getting a price reflecting the fact that he had been smart enough to invest in a company that was able to make profits like 65 per cent a year on the money invested in it. So when Cadillac's directors protest — as they are bound to — that Cadillac is really not making 65 per cent a year in profits, the simplest response is that it must be, because otherwise no one would be foolish enough to pay \$10 for a single share in the company.

#### Who is Cadillac?

Who are these people who own Cadillac by owning its 9 million shares? That information isn't given in the company's annual report, but it isn't difficult to get some facts.

The most useful source of information about shareholdings is company prospectuses. Cadillac's most recent, issued 19 January, 1971, contains a lot of information on who owns Cadillac's shares.

Executive vice-president and director Joseph Berman and his wife together own 1,823,927 shares.

Jack Daniels, another vice-president and director of the company and his wife and children also own 1,823,927 shares.

So do A.E. Diamond and his wife and children.

Gordon Shear, the third vice-president and director of the company, and his wife own 552,983 shares.

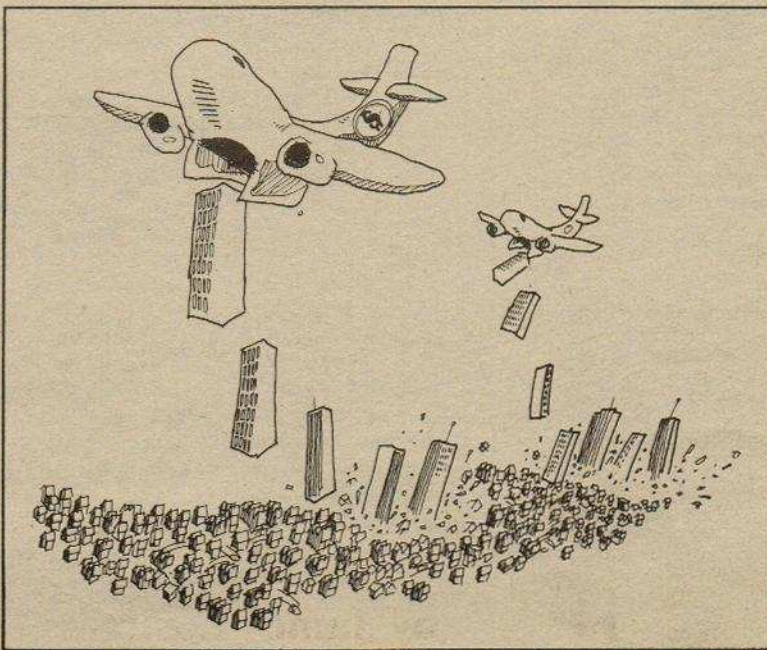
Acres and Canadian General Securities, two related companies, owned 1,519,933 shares at the time the prospectus was issued, but they were about to sell them.

In mid-1972 the shares owned by Berman, Daniels and Diamond were worth about \$18 million each.

Together the four officers of the company who have large shareholdings in Cadillac own 57 per cent of the outstanding shares, and so they would appear to control the company outright. But the issue of ownership and control does not end there.

Two major outside corporations have a certain amount of control over Cadillac and interest in its operations. The first of these is North American Life (Nalaco). From the January 1971 prospectus it appears that Cadillac has borrowed about \$6.6 million from Nalaco in the form of debentures, at an interest rate of 8.5 per cent. Nalaco in return

(continued, page 12)



courtesy James Lewis and Samuel and San Francisco Bay Guardian Books



## Community Affairs

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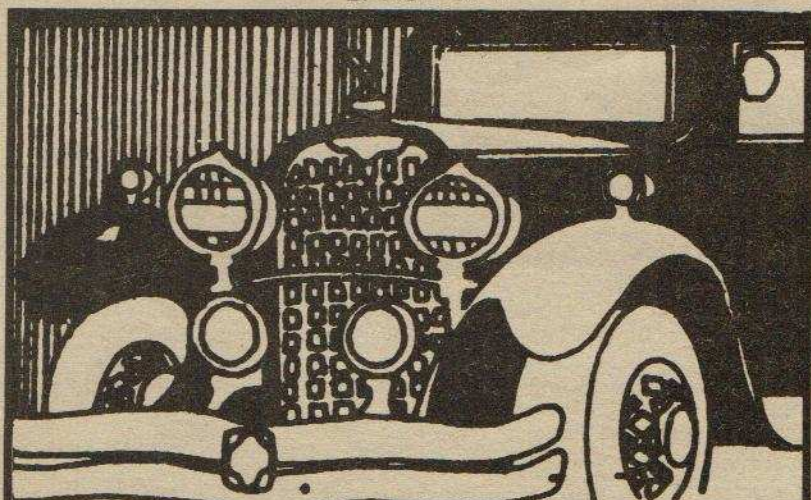
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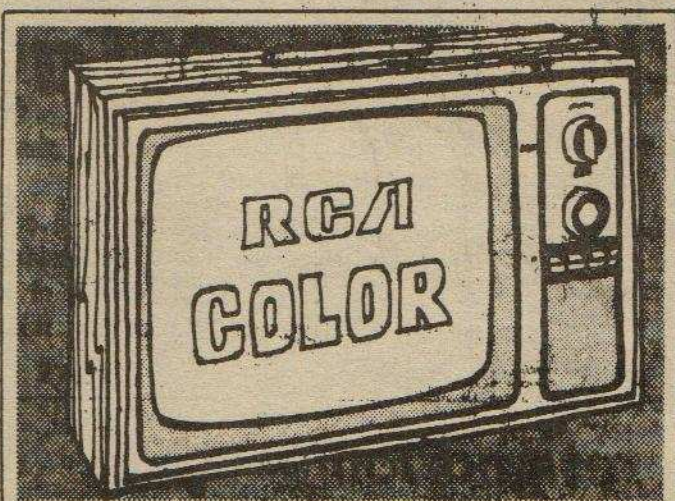


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# Cadillac Development

## Would you let your daughter marry a developer?

(continued from page 11)

gets two seats on Cadillac's board of directors, and has the right at any time up to 1987 to buy shares representing 15 per cent interest in the company for \$4.20 a share. If Nalaco had exercised its option in 1972, it would have been paying only 40 per cent of the market price for shares it bought, a nice extra profit to add to the 8.5 per cent interest it is collecting on its loan.

Cadillac also has links to the conglomerate of companies controlled by Acres. The Acres group includes Canadian General Securities, Traders Group, Guaranty Trust, Frankel Steel, Aetna Factors and a large number of other insurance companies. As of 1972 Acres no longer held a large block of Cadillac shares (as it before January 1972) but Traders still held a \$1.6 million Cadillac debenture renewable in 1974 at 1 per cent above the current bank prime interest rate. The debenture comes due in 1979. Cadillac is repaying it at the rate of \$17,172 per month.

Senior management of Cadillac with their majority of outstanding shares have agreed to vote their shares so that seven of the 13-man board will consist of them and their nominees, two will represent North American Life, one the underwriters of the company (McLeod, Young, Weir), and one Traders Finance.

### Power in Cadillac

In the make-up of the board of directors, Cadillac formalizes its links to other corporations and its major shareholders gather to decide how the company will operate. Cadillac's board indicates the alliances and relationships Cadillac has with Nalaco, Acres, and the other businesses which supply it with necessary loans and funds, mortgages, and so on.

First, there are the Acres directors. One of these is Gordon Sharwood, president of Acres Ltd. Sharwood has a large number of directorships in other companies where Acres has an interest, many of which are in one area or another of the property industry. Sharwood's directorships include: Guaranty Trust, Traders Group, Canadian General Securities, Canadian Insurance Shares, Aetna Factors Corp. (property insurance), Traders Homeplan Ltd. (loans for home improvements, etc.), Traders Mortgage Co., Traders Properties (Church St.) Ltd., Toronto General Insurance Co. (property insurance), and Frankel Structural Steel.

The second Acres director is D. W. Naylor, president of Canadian General Securities Ltd. Naylor's directorships include Traders Development, Traders Group, Toronto General Insurance Co., Canadian Equity and Development, Guaranty Trust, and Canadian General Insurance.

The second group of Cadillac directors are the two North American Life representatives. One is T. H. Inglis, vice-president and treasurer of North American Life. Inglis's other directorships include Algonquin Building Credits.

The other North American Life director is D. W. Pretty, executive vice-president of Nalaco. Pretty is also a director of General Accident Assurance (property insurance), Scottish Canadian Assurance (also property), Canadian Pioneer Insurance, and Markborough Properties (a large Toronto-based development company).

The third group of Cadillac directors are those representing the executives of the company. The executives themselves are directors, and so is their lawyer Eddie Goodman.

The executives who are directors are Joseph Berman, J. H. Daniels, A. E. Diamond, and G. J. Shear. Berman, Daniels and Shear have no other important directorships; Diamond is a director of Eagle Star (an important property investing insurance company).

Eddie Goodman is an interesting figure on the board. As Cadillac's chief lawyer, he represents the firm in many of its dealings with city councils, the Ontario Municipal Board, and the Ontario government.

Goodman is extremely well suited for his role in Cadillac's operations. He is part of the powerful group of Ontario Conservatives who run the provincial government, and he has strong links to

the federal Tories as well. He is a former chairman of the national Progressive Conservative party, and is often described as a senior party bagman, fixer, and campaign fund-raiser. He has long been closely associated with Toronto city politics, and was for instance one of the chief fund-raisers for Mayor Philip Givens, a Liberal, when Givens was running for re-election in Toronto in 1966.

Goodman's other directorships include Baton Broadcasting (the Bassett-Eaton family broadcasting company that owns Toronto's CTV television station, CFTO), United Trust (a firm of real estate agents and a trust company operation), Sussman Properties Ltd. (now Corporate Properties Ltd., a Toronto-based developer), and John Labatt (the brewery company, controlled by the small-time Canadian multinational corporation Brascan).

Cadillac also has on its board of directors C. P. Keeley as the representative of McLeod, Young, Weir, Cadillac's underwriters and hence the source of much of its financing arrangements.

In addition to these directors, Cadillac has two directors who appear to be outsiders. One is G. R. Heffernan, chairman of Lake Ontario Steel. Heffernan does not have any other important directorships. Lake Ontario Steel is in the building materials business.

The second outside director, J. H. Moore, is another matter entirely. Moore is president of Brascan, on whose board Eddie Goodman also sits. Brascan, with assets in 1970 of a little more than \$1 billion (expressed in U.S. dollars, an interesting indication of where it aims its financial reports), has very large holdings of public utility companies in Brazil. The company used to be called Brazilian Light and Power Company. Ownership of the largest block of shares in Brascan is in the hands of a company called Jonlab Investments, which owns 11 per cent of the outstanding shares.

Brascan's Canadian interests include 34 per cent of the shares of John Labatt and a 6 per cent block of Hudson's Bay Company. Brascan appears to control Labatt.

Mr. Moore's directorships include the Bank of Commerce, Bell Canada, BP Canada, and Hudson's Bay.

Taken together, then, Cadillac's board of directors represents control of the company by a coalition of business interests that include the executives who now run the company, the Acres group, and North American Life. Through its board, Cadillac has links to many firms in other sectors of the property industry, which presumably are the basis for alliances and business relationships. These links provide Cadillac with the access to capital which, as we have seen in our analysis of the finances of the business, are essential for its land development activities.

### Cadillac and the competition

The conventional theory about how business works is that companies in the same kind of business compete vigorously with each other, regard each other as rivals and adversaries, fight for customers, and in the process keep prices low. In land development, one implication of this view would be that developers would be competing with each other in many ways, including keeping rent levels as low as possible.

The situation is in fact quite different. Cadillac has a number of long-term alliances and associations with its "competitors" in the land development business, and we might surmise that the big developers in Cadillac's market have learned how to live with each other, cooperate with each other at least to a limited extent, and to prosper without doing so at each other's expense.

The widest set of links between Cadillac and other big development companies is through Modular Pre-Cast Concrete Structures Ltd. This company is a joint venture of five of the big Toronto high-rise developers. They have got together in this company with Wates Ltd., a big British development and construction firm, to fabricate systems-building style concrete units that can be assembled to make apartment buildings. Modular Pre-Cast is using a system developed by Wates and used

by that company in Britain.

The five Canadian developers owning Modular Pre-Cast are Belmont, Cadillac, Greenwin, Heathcliffe, and Meridian. All but Cadillac are privately-owned companies. The sixth owner of the company is Wates.

A second source of links between Cadillac and its competitors comes about through joint ventures on specific development projects. The controversial Quebec-Gothic development, being built by a partnership between Cadillac and Greenwin (another big Toronto-based private development company, also involved in Modular Pre-Cast), is one example of this pattern. Of the 39 apartment buildings that Cadillac owned in 1971, 10 were joint ventures of this type with a number of different partners.

A third link between Cadillac and other land development companies exists through Canadian Equity and Development. Cadillac has joined with Camp Investments, a Bronfman family firm, in Canadian Equity. (Camp controls the Fairview Corporation, partners in Eaton Centre, and developers of the Toronto-Dominion Centre.) Cadillac owns about 40 per cent of this company, and Camp about 30 per cent. Cadillac has an agreement with Camp not to sell the bulk of its shares in Canadian Equity without Camp's approval, so the two are bound up together in the firm. Camp's real estate investments across Canada are enormous, but details are difficult to discover because the company is a private company, a trust for Samuel Bronfman's family. Canadian Equity has a number of projects going, the most important of which is Erin Mills new town being built northwest of Toronto.

These are the publicly-known direct links between Cadillac and its competitors. There are other indirect links, for example, the director (D. W. Pretty) Cadillac shares with Markborough Properties and the other director (Eddie Goodman) Cadillac shares with Sussman Properties. And there may be other direct links which are not public. Gossip in Toronto, for example, has suggested that representatives of all the large Toronto high-rise developers meet together regularly.

In addition to business relationships, there are other connections between Cadillac and other developers. Most important of these is their political lobby, the Urban Development Institute, to which most Canadian land developers belong. UDI regularly makes public statements on political matters affecting development companies, and lobbies politicians at all governmental levels.

### Cadillac and the property industry

Cadillac's business operations, the apartments it builds, the way it finances them, and the sources of its capital, are typical of the land development industry. No doubt all land developers manage, like Cadillac, to avoid paying much income tax. All of them are building apartment buildings that are being bought for them by their tenants, at no cost to the company. Cadillac is able to do this not because it is smarter than other companies. It has managed it because the property industry has set itself up so that things operate this way.

Looking at these operations from another angle, we should expect that all reasonably competent developers can make real profits of from 35 to 65 per cent a year on the money they actually put into their development operations.

Also typical are the formal business links with both competitors in the same business and companies in other parts of the property industry whose services are necessary to a land development company. Key to the land development business is having reliable links with sources of funds who will lend either directly to the company or with the security of the properties it owns.

Seen this way, it is clear that land development companies are really servicing operations for property owners and property investors, finding ways of making land yield higher profits to its owners, and finding ways for mortgage lenders to lend their funds on secure investments at high interest rates in large chunks so that the whole operation produces nice profits and no trouble.



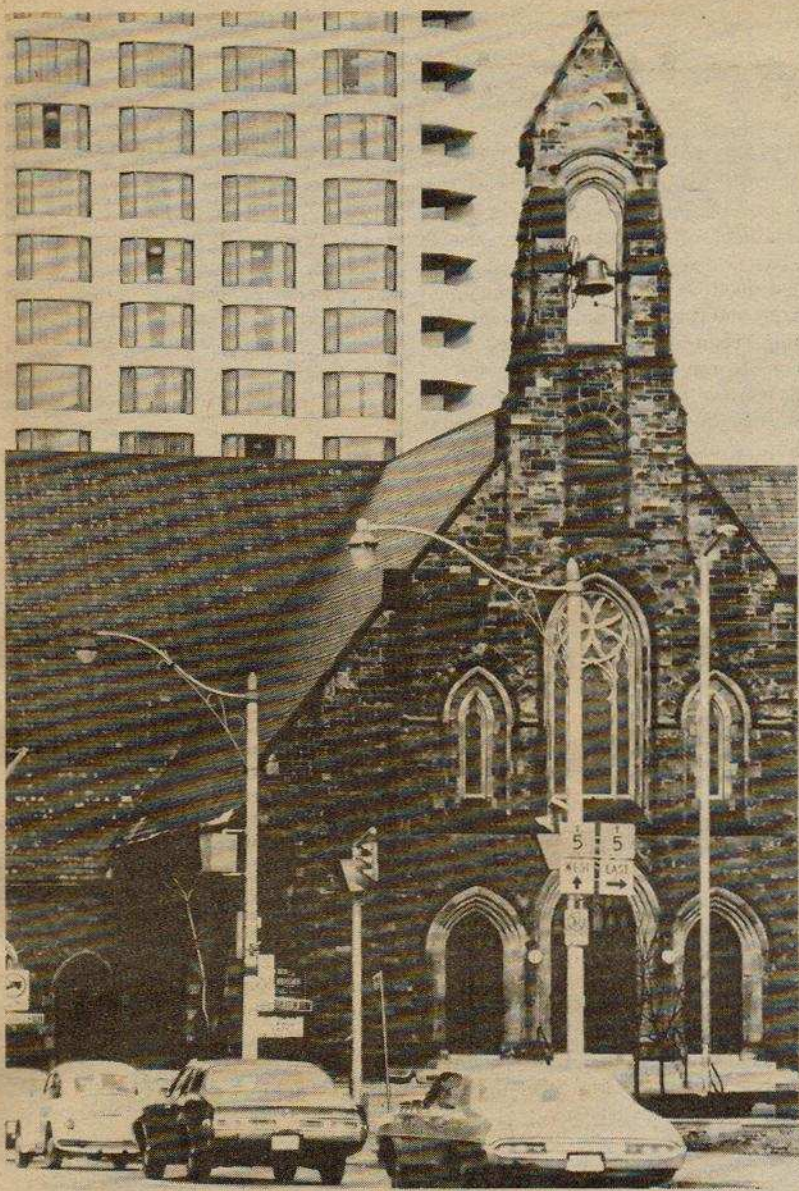


photo: Phil Lapidis

Although the Second Church of the Redeemer is dwarfed by the new nearby Regency Hyatt Hotel, it is likely that the church will be standing long after the flashy Hyatt, with its projected 50 year lifespan, has been demolished for land fill.

## PLACES

# Survivors of destruction

by Gary Weiss

Change is nothing new for Toronto. Neither is destruction. Politicians, businessmen and self-styled progressives have regularly equated demolition of "old" buildings with progress. And, until recently, few people objected. The architectural decline from the orderly Georgian town of the 1870's to today's modern mish-mash — from St. Lawrence Hall to the Robarts Library, from the early tree-shaded University Avenue to the sterile expressway of today — is just being realized. Much of old Toronto has been irretrievably lost and with it some of the vitality of a living city.

The most prominent survivors of modern destruction are the churches of Toronto. What do the churches themselves think of this preservation and their role in the new Toronto?

### Little Trinity

The little church that wouldn't die. That description well fits Toronto's oldest church — "Little" Trinity, built in 1843 on King Street, east of Parliament. Little Trinity, which prides itself on being the only Anglican Church in Toronto that is still Protestant, has always been defiant of the established powers, resistant to undesirable change, insistent on its continuity. In a word: stubborn.

These attitudes stem in great part from its origins. Toronto's east end, the Cabbagetown of literary renown, started out poor and has remained that way ever since. The area around the church was known at the beginning of the 19th Century as the Park — actually a Crown Reserve used for grazing oxen and cattle — and used a half century later for burying victims of Toronto's 1849 Cholera Epidemic.

Inhabited mainly by poorer Irish, the district had no church of its own; residents had to trek to old St. James Church where pew rents were demanded. And even though that early St. James was

a simple affair in comparison with the Cathedral now there, it was the church of the gentry where plain folk felt uncomfortable and not altogether welcome. The attitude of the upper crust, coupled with the charges for religious worship and education, were constant provocations for poor east enders.

In 1842, resentment reached a head when residents converged on the future site of Little Trinity and demanded free pews and free school tuition. Thanks mainly to the benevolence of the wealthy distillers Gooderham and Worts, and to the exertions of Alderman Alexander Dixon, east enders got their church a year later. At the same time, another philanthropic brewer, Enoch Turner, financed the construction of the first free school in Toronto, which stands today behind the Church and bears his name.

As Toronto's other Anglican churches came more and more to resemble the Catholic Church, Little Trinity, by its adherence to the original creed, became increasingly isolated. Citing decreased attendance, the Toronto Synod in 1950 sought to put Little Trinity out of business entirely, by selling the church. However the congregation protested and the "For Sale" signs came down. In 1960, a fire threatened to effect the same end. But a public subscription which raised \$230,000 saved the church once again, and the restored building was opened in 1961.

Although it is the oldest church in the City, Little Trinity has perhaps the youngest congregation, including many students and young people attracted from across Metro, many of whom are not Anglican.

"We're so old, we're in," quips the church's historian, John Pope.

But Little Trinity never set out to attract anyone through gimmicky new rituals or trendy "social action." Indeed, worship follows the Anglican prayerbook in stark simplicity and practices strictly adhere to the 39 Articles of the Church of England. The interior

of the building is virtually bare; there is no choir or organ, nor does the congregation sing. Emphasis remains on scripture and on the proclamation of the Gospel — hence the designation Anglican Evangelical or Low Anglican.

Yet this traditionalism, Pope observes, has never hindered the church from innovating. Women in the pulpit, free pews, free education, evening communion, movable furnishings and recognition of the Church Army (a group involved in social and evangelical work) were all Little Trinity "firsts" in Toronto.

If attendance is any measure of relevance, Little Trinity must be doing something right. With its 900 member congregation, it is the only Anglican church in Toronto whose membership has steadily risen in face of the general decline in churchgoing.

### Metropolitan United

Dr. Clifford Elliot, the spare, articulate minister of Metropolitan United Church at Queen and Church Streets, is more concerned with the character and function of Christianity in the world than with the preservation of its places of worship. The substance of the Church, says Elliot, lies in its mission in the world, not in the mortar and stone of its temporal residence.

"The first question for a downtown church is whether you should stay there at all." The proper use of downtown land, Elliot points out, is important in the life of the city. Buildings can be put to work all week, rather than standing empty every day but one. Metropolitan considered moving at one time, selling the land to St. Michael's Hospital or using it for some income-producing property. A feasibility study was done, but in the end the decision was made to remain, relieving an anxious congregation.

While an emotional attachment, says Elliot, is understandable, by remaining, the church has assumed an obligation of service to the community.

Accordingly, the parterre in front of the church was leased to the City for park use; and the church has involved itself in humanitarian work, making its facilities freely available to a number of groups. There is a day nursery every morning, and space is provided for outpatient therapy groups from St. Michael's, Alcoholics Anonymous, Pensioners Concerned and the Institute of Human Relations.

Elliot repeatedly refers to the special responsibilities that attach to Metropolitan's location.

"We think that a downtown church has a chance to make a contribution that is more specifically Christian than can be made by a neighborhood church. We serve people of all ages and of all social and income groups and of varying educational levels, cutting across all of them in the way no neighborhood church can. The unity here is not of class or locality, but of faith." As a large downtown church "we can offer a place where worshippers can be both lost and found."

Because of Metropolitan's cathedral architecture, music has always played an important role in church activities.

Benjamin Britten's *Misericordia* had its Canadian debut there. And last May an entire weekend was devoted to a Festival of Creation to which many artists contributed and over 4,000 people attended. And while Elliot admits that the performances — especially the interpretive dance — "created a fair amount of bewilderment," he feels that "we broaden our concept of spirituality with this kind of worship, a worship that draws upon the total metropolitan community," including those to whom other more traditional approaches would be fruitless.

Religion, says Elliot, cannot be a withdrawal from the world. The Church has a responsibility to the surrounding community; and to fulfill that responsibility it must be free of charges of institutional selfishness.

"Unfortunately, over the years we unwittingly took over the world's standard of judgement — measuring ourselves by large memberships, large budgets, large buildings." This trend has been reversed, and in the future, predicts Elliot, we may see a further decline in church attendance, the taxation of church property and the reduction of its possessions. "But all these things may be a blessing in disguise, forcing a return to our original function as representa-

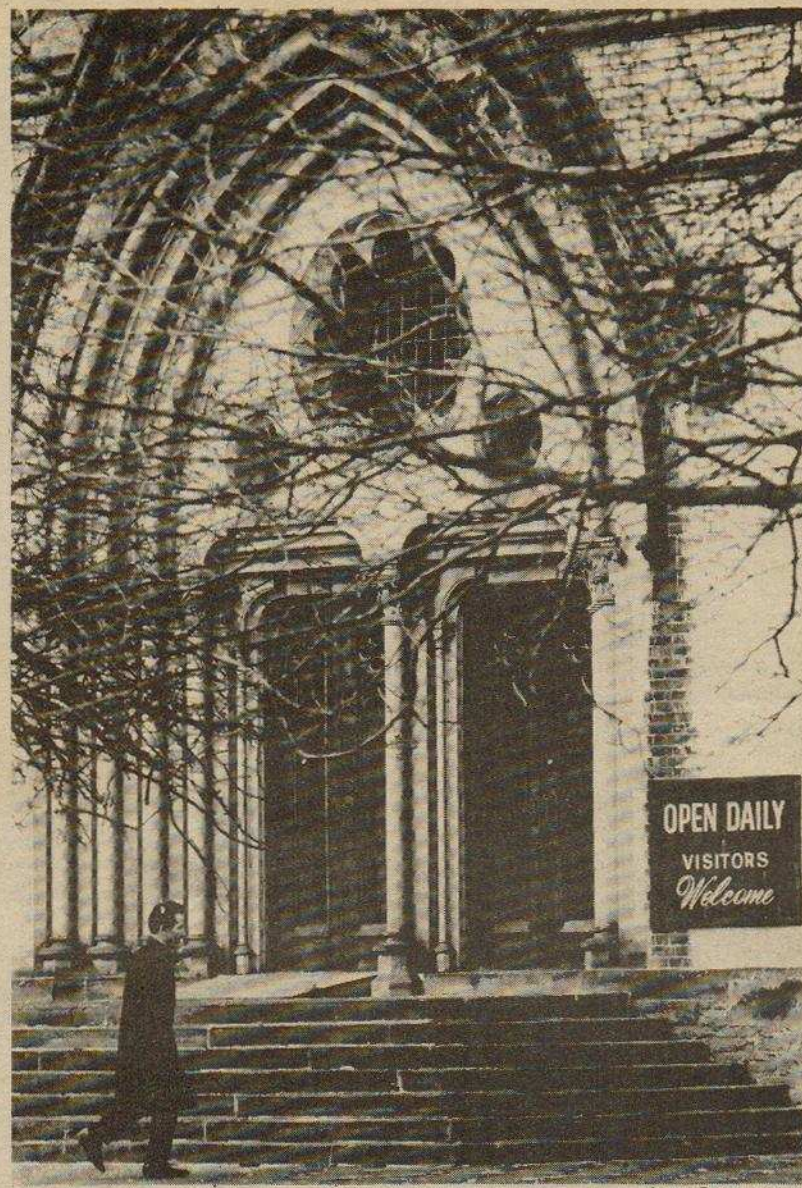


photo: Phil Lapidis

Metropolitan Church, built in 1872, is one of three fine Gothic-style churches in the southeast downtown. The others are the cathedrals of St. James and St. Michael. Hopefully, the city's redevelopment plans for the area will enhance their surroundings.

tives of Christ in the world."

For that role, buildings — including the majestic Metropolitan Church — are only secondary, Elliot believes — useful only insofar as they are of assistance to the men, women and children of the community.

### The Church of the Redeemer

One hotshot developer thinks the Church of the Redeemer, at Avenue Road and Bloor Street, is worth a million dollars. That at least is the sum he reportedly offered for its purchase some years ago.

The church canon, Owen Prichard, a quiet man, bristles at the memory of such proposals and at the very word

"developer."

"We are totally uninterested in any offer they would make. If we were to sell, it would be robbing our fellow citizens of something that is valuable. Neither would it be fair to the future citizens of Toronto. To dispose of such a treasure is unthinkable."

"When developers tell me they've got another site just as good for the church, I tell them if it's so good they can build their development there."

"What are we still doing here?" muses the Canon. "We're the only place on the block where you can always feel welcome. You're never asked who you are or who you know or what your credit rating is. All you have to be is a human being. This is the only place on the block where you're going to be steadily hear-

(continued, page 14)

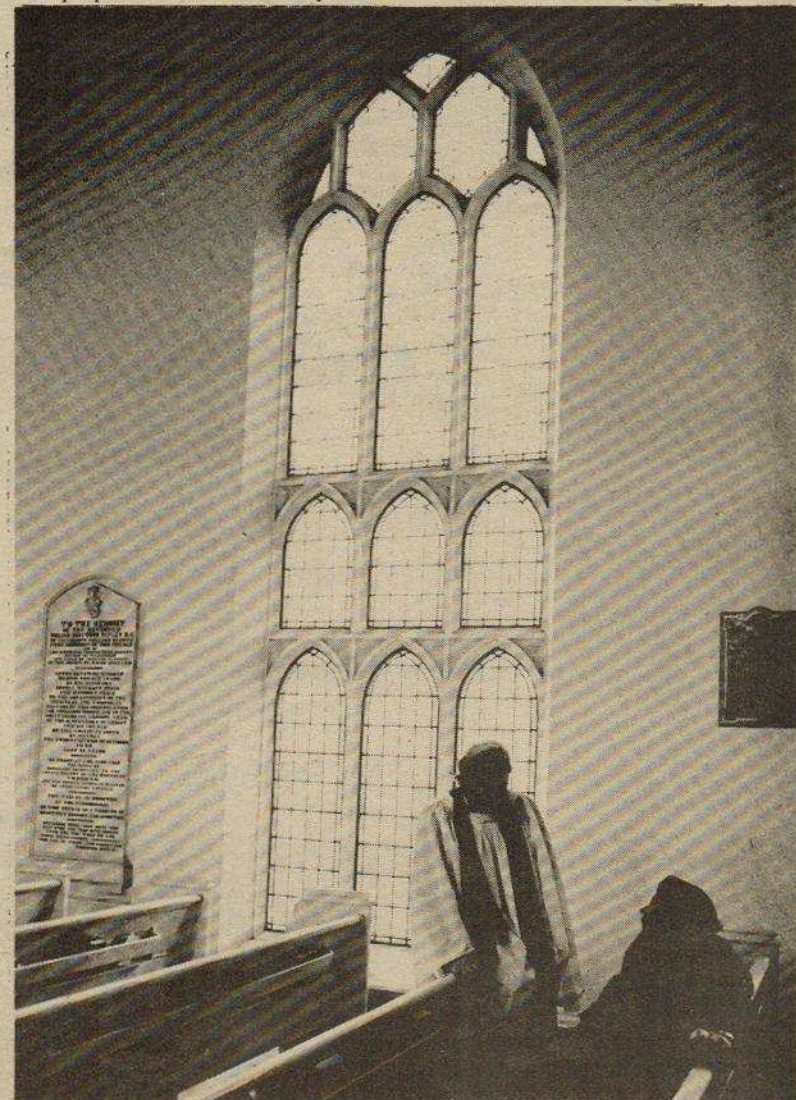


photo: Phil Lapidis

The plain interior of Little Trinity, downtown's oldest church, reflects its Puritan heritage.



# An ethnomusical weekend

by Michael Schulman

The anthropologists and musicologists had agreed to disagree, but agreeably; otherwise, the 17th annual convention of the Society for Ethnomusicology could not have taken place at the University of Toronto as it did, November 30 to December 3. A good thing, too, because the nearly 200 delegates from all over the world had a fine time, meeting old friends and making new ones, dining and wining, presenting and hearing scholarly papers and, best of all, listening to two concerts of "living" ethnomusicology.

The Society's own definition of ethnomusicology suggests the basic division of interests among its members — "The study of world music in terms of all styles and their functions in given cultures" (italics added).

The "functionalists", whether anthropologists, historians or sociologists, are concerned with the "ethno" part of the discipline — the role played by indigenous music in the particular culture, either sacred or secular, ritual or recreational, work or play, and so

forth — and how music, lyrics and dance shed light on a culture's values and traditions.

On the "other side" of the Society are the musicologists, composers and performing musicians, who tend to focus on the "structure" of the music itself, the scales and intervals, rhythmic patterns, melodic and harmonic forms, instrumental techniques and notational systems that characterize the different kinds of music outside "classical" Western traditions.

"One doesn't speak any more of 'primitive' music, because it is in fact not primitive", says Dr. Mieczyslaw Kolinski, co-founder and past president of the Society. Kolinski is a gentle, charming Old-World scholar who is now a Special Lecturer at the U. of T. He has composed and arranged much unusual "ethnic" music for performance by Western musicians, including the delightful *Dahomey Suite* for oboe and piano, based on seven African songs, which is available on a Folkways LP recording. Kolinski's view of ethnomusicology is simply the "study of the

music of the world's peoples, emphasizing music of non-Western cultures, the Oriental high cultures and so-called tribal societies."

## Wandered world-wide

The papers presented at the symposia wandered all over the world and included, among many others, these on The Sung Poetry of North Vietnam, Southern American Folk Fiddle Style, Traditional Corsican Music, North Indian Classical Music, Women's Songs of the Sudan Republic, The Korean Pip'a and its Notation, Gambling Music of the Coast Salish Indians, The Frame Drum Among the Eskimo and a detailed study of the transmigrations of an American folk-blues song of the 1930s, "I Walk the Road Again".

What happens at the place where the "functionalists" and the "structuralists" meet is varied and fascinating. Both groups share an involvement with unusual music, with fresh, unfamiliar sounds and exotic instruments from all parts of the world. There were many instruments on display in the Society's exhibit room, along with records and

books. But it was the two live musical presentations that more than justified the Society's choice of Toronto for its latest get-together.

## Macedonian Folklore Group

Toronto boasts a vivid patchwork of ethnic groups, and one of these, preserving its Balkan traditions, presented a most enjoyable concert for the assembled delegates on November 30. Selyani, Toronto's Macedonian Folklore Group, arrayed in red, white and black Macedonian folk costumes, gave visually and musically exciting performances of songs and dances from Macedonia, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, Albania and Romania. The ensemble of nearly 20 was upstaged, however, by a group of about ten older Macedonian women who, though in "Civilian" dress, performed two songs and dances with a mood that suggested melancholy reminiscence of what had once been, for them, the "real thing".

The second concert, held December 2, and subtitled "Contemporary Music Based On Non-Western Idioms", was open to the public, and offered a stimulating, varied program. The U. of T. Symphony under Victor Feldbrill performed Liang Ming-Yueh's *Floating Cloud*, the composer's effective attempt at "a bi-cultural synthesis of the world of atonalism and that of Chinese music", and Carlos Chavez' *Sinfonia*

*India*, based on Mexican Indian songs.

Then there were three chamber works, including Kolinski's *Dahomey Suite*; Bartok's *First Violin Rhapsody*, which utilizes Romanian and Hungarian dance tunes; and avant-gardiste Chou Wen-Chung's *Yun* for winds and percussion.

## Three Canadian composers

Finally, the Toronto Concert Choir under Lloyd Bradshaw performed compositions by three of Canada's leading composers. John Weinzweig's *To The Lands Over Yonder* is a free adaptation of an Eskimo hunting song, most compelling in the parts which seem least "adapted". Harry Somers' *Si j'avais le bateau* is a very exuberant setting from his popular *Five Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*. Murray Schafer's *Maniwanka - Moments of Water*, which had its world premiere last May at the Metropolitan United Church Dayspring Festival, remains an arresting choral study of hissing, bubbling and surging water. Its claim to "ethnicity" lies in its use of North American Indian words for "raindrops", "rivers" and "oceans" for the text of the piece, and in its evocation of the Indians' mystical awe of and identification with the forces of nature.

Readers interested in learning more about the Society for Ethnomusicology should write the Society at 201 South Main Street, Room 513, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48108 U.S.A.

# Downtown's old churches

(continued from page 13)

ing reverence for God and consideration for the other person."

Perhaps more than any other church in the city, the Redeemer highlights the radical changes of the 20th Century which have wracked and wrecked old Toronto — and rarely for the better. It is the last building of human scale on the blocks between Yonge Street and Avenue Road — an area which is fast-becoming, as one writer noted, the Fifth Avenue of Canada. The Bloor Street retailer's paradise of over-priced boutiques for a society of gadget-bound gluttons sharply contrasts with the tranquility of the church. Visit it sometime and see. It's bigger than it looks and stretches back in time nearly a hundred years.

Built in 1879, the little stone church in the shadow of the Regency Hyatt Hotel is the district's oldest inhabitant. A yellowing photograph in one of Canon Prichard's memory-filled cigar boxes shows the church sometime in the 1880's, set behind a neat picket fence, while buggies roll leisurely past on University and Bloor and Avenue roads, all narrow pleasant mud-rutted country lanes in the quiet village of Yorkville. The land the church rests on was purchased in the 1870's for \$10,000. At first the parish used the original wooden church of St. Paul — which had been moved from the present location of Maurice Cody Hall, the original stone St. Paul's on Bloor Street East, to west of Yonge Street; and finally was moved to the location of what is now actually the second Church of the Redeemer.

Originally a local church created to handle the overflow from fast-growing St. Paul's, the Redeemer now hosts visitors from around the world each Sunday and through the week. Entries in the guest register range from Sioux Falls, Iowa, to Vienna. Services are traditional so that Anglicans, wherever they hail from, will feel at home.

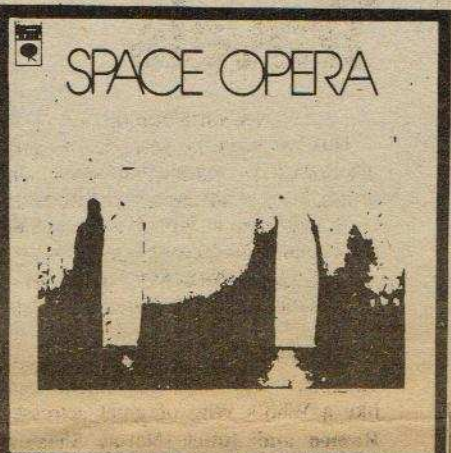
Over the years, as the surrounding neighborhood changed from private homes to high-rises, the Redeemer's congregation has become a mobile one, with most members now cliff-dwellers, many flitting from city to city as they ascend the corporate ladder. Gone are the days when the local minister would walk down, say St. George Street, greeting his parishioners as he went, while they busied themselves in their gardens or rested on cool front porches.

"Church membership is a way in which people can move but still keep their roots," observes Prichard.

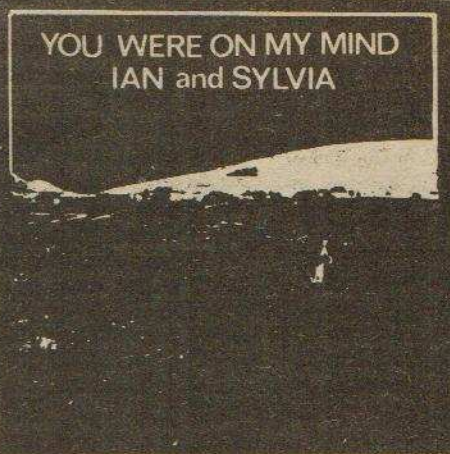
But the Church is more than an idea. Simultaneously, the physical church is an important element in the civic nexus — reminding the generations of Toronto inhabitants of their part in the great social compact between the dead, the living and the yet unborn.



**Murray McLauchlan**

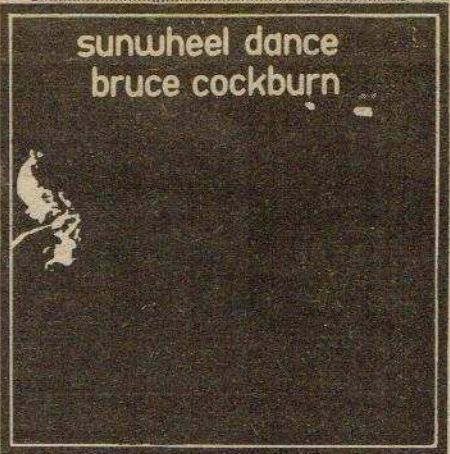


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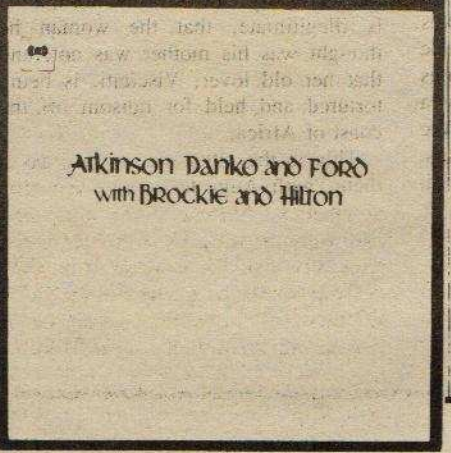
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**THEATRE NOTES:**

# Quebec Imports

by David McCaughna

Two plays from Quebec, both in translation, opened in Toronto during the past month, but *Citizen's* civic election schedule did not allow us to cover them at the time. Both warrant at least passing mention.

At the Tarragon was Michel Tremblay's stunning *Forever Yours, Marie-Lou*, the portrait of a poor Montreal family covering a ten-year span. Two sisters meet and talk about a very traumatic event that occurred in their past and shaped their lives, while the parents live through the event, ten years before the daughters reunion. Bill Glassco's production is hard-edged and beautifully balanced. Although the play has lost a great deal of its humour in translation, it is certainly one of the most powerfully theatrical experiences on our local stages for some time. Patricia Hamilton as the long-suffering mother was notably good.

A rural Quebec family is the subject of *Le Temps Sauvage*, Anne Hebert's play at the Firehall Theatre, directed by John Van Burek. It is a rambling and uninteresting production about a family locked into the woods and under the harsh rule of a miserable mother. The play floundered as the focus never really became clear. Anna Ferguson as the mother was one-dimensional and awkward, while Susan Morgan, as one of her daughters, brought a gust of fresh air to the languid evening.

**Sir Toad**

For the children, over the holidays, and into January, is *The Adventures of Sir Toad*, a black-light puppet show playing at the Actor's Theatre on Dupont Street. It is based on the classic *Wind in the Willows*, and kids in the three to six age group seem to enjoy the hour-long show most. It's on every Saturday and Sunday afternoon.

**Irish Arts Theatre**

One of the most promising theatrical activities in the new year is the Irish Arts Theatre season of five plays. The great Irish actress Siobhan McKenna will be here to present her one woman show, *Here Are Ladies*, which was presented last winter at the University of Toronto. She will also star in O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock* under Sean Kenny's direction, and will display her directing talents on three of Synge's one act plays. Fine local acting talent has already been signed for the season, which will be held at West Park School on Bloor Street West. Information about the ambitious five-play season can be obtained by calling 361-1732.

**THEATRE:**

# Revenge on New York

by Wolfgang Dios

The musical original *Rats* by Robert Swerdlow opens the Global Village's promisingly inventive season of musical comedy. It deals with a particularly human type of rat — the parochially New York theatre rats, those producers, directors, critics and naive playwrights whose bywords are power and exploitation.

This somewhat decadent show is a tangle of visual impressions, rather like the riches held in your grandmother's attic, had she ventured a taste for the surrealistic. The stage juts out into the audience darkness like a ship on a sea of rootbeer cans. It's figurehead is a deathly pale mannequin. A second mannequin hangs by its neck from a white post, a slum mermaid whose lower half is that of a rat. The entire stage is decked out in white cloth, and the lighting bursts

in and out like a series of firecrackers.

*Rats* touches on the multifarious problems of a talented young playwright. He has what we may assume to be a good play. Two melodramatically evil New York producers promptly snatch it to New York and proceed to mutilate it. Naturally, the critics hate it, and since Broadway is dependent on its critics, the show fails. Purportedly it's a true story insofar as it happened to Swerdlow himself. As the liner notes suggest, *Rats* is the playwright's revenge.

Unfortunately *Rats* expires slowly in Swerdlow's anger against the critic. Once the playwright on stage begins to vituperate against the critic, the conflict becomes verbal rather than intuitive and subtle. The physical essence of the play, so well embodied in its often lovely music and in the sensuality of an excellent and dynamic cast, goes by the wayside.

But this doesn't occur until about half an hour before the show's conclusion. What must be considered is that, at its best, *Rats* approaches a pure power of delayed movement and carefully crafted, almost subliminal sounds that are highly erotic and aesthetically very pleasing. The credit for inventive and disciplined staging must go to Elizabeth Swerdlow, wife of the playwright, and to her assistant Patsy Rahn. The direction is tight and complements the intricate choreography with finesse.

Among the cast are some of the most accomplished actors and actresses in Toronto. Even the weakest role in the play, that of playwright, is salvaged by Robert Galbraith. Bob Aaron, Craig Jerris, Elizabeth Swerdlow and almost everyone else deserve praise, especially Pam McDonald who is hypnotic with her quick-silver voice and alluring physical presence.

At two hours the play is a bit long for its substance. Some trimming in the proper places would improve it immensely. Yet despite its frayed edges, *Rats* is an impressive work.

# Irish Absurdity

by David McCaughna

"Who is real in this hall of mirrors?" Henry Pilk asks, and the phrase is a keystone in *Pilk's Madhouse*, a production of his collected works now playing at Theatre Passe Muraille. Toronto-born and Dublin bred, Pilk apparently has the habit of scratching his little pieces down on any available surface. He was discovered by Ken Campbell, a director well known on the British underground circuit, who has been imported to do the happy production at Passe Muraille. The playwright, we are informed, did not attend this premiere of his work; he is currently travelling across Europe with a freak show.

Pilk has a cheeky, basically absurdist vision, which zeros in on conventional situations, bits of ordinary life, and takes them to extreme degrees. It's an esoteric approach, as decorum is dropped, rules are forgotten and all permeated by a general sense of mad abandon. We needn't look too deeply into Pilk's skits, but simply enjoy his sense of the ridiculous which in the best numbers is quite funny. Pilk takes on a variety of experiences — a man about to commit suicide, man who experiences great difficulty telling the difference, a fellow who suddenly becomes aware of his quasi-English

accent, a boy who cleverly gets rid of his mother by becoming a chicken. The majority of the pieces work well when the sense of the ridiculous between the characters and their situation is the most pronounced. A couple do fall flat when ideas are squeezed beyond their potential. A tongue-in-cheek air of pretentiousness is given the production by the constant comments and explanations rendered by the cast who tell us of Pilk's power and awesome talents, and Pilk is given an academic analysis by an American professor who is planted in the audience and footnotes the productions with his unnecessary comments.

*Pilk's Madhouse* could easily lose its sense of fun if it were carried on too long; this type of entertainment is best dished out in small quantities. The show is fortunately short and moves without stop on Paul Williams' attractive music-hall set. Bob Dermer is the star; he adds his own sense of charming madness to the proceedings. Andy Jones does some very fine comic twists — he makes a fine mother, and as an employee who finally lets go at a staff dinner, he has the evening's last and biggest laugh. Philip Schreiber and Jennifer Watts adequately complete the foursome who keep *Pilk's Madhouse* light-hearted and bouncy.

**MOVIES:**

# Cukor's Travels

by Cliff Spires

This has been the year that the great directors have returned to show what filmmaking is all about: Alfred Hitchcock and *Frenzy*, John Huston and *Fat City*, and now George Cukor is back with *Travels With My Aunt*, which is slated to open in Toronto at Christmas time.

Renowned as cinema's "woman's director," his film achievements read like a Who's Who of great actresses: *Romeo and Juliet* (Norma Shearer); *The Philadelphia Story* (Katharine Hepburn); *Born Yesterday* (Judy Holliday); *A Star Is Born* (Judy Garland); *My Fair Lady* (Audrey Hepburn), to name some. His career has been a long one, dating from *Tarnished Lady* in 1930, to his most recent achievements, 1964's *My Fair Lady*, for which he won an Oscar, and the dreary *Justine* of 1969. Now with *Travels With My Aunt*, he returns to the high comedy of the thirties and forties, for which he is known best.

The story, based on Graham Green's novel, is about a middle-aged bank clerk (Alec McCowan), who encounters his flaming-haired, heavily made-up Aunt Augusta (Maggie Smith) at his mother's funeral. As they await her ashes from the crematory, she informs him that he is illegitimate, that the woman he thought was his mother was not, and that her old lover, Visconti, is being tortured and held for ransom off the coast of Africa.

This is the situation as the two of them, with Augusta's giant travelling companion, fortune teller, and stud, Wordsworth (Lou Gossett), set out to free Visconti. They travel from Paris to Istanbul and back again on the Orient Express, all the while drinking champagne and debating the movie's thesis:

Is it better to receive what you put into life, or better to take what others put into it?

The balance weighs heavily in Aunt Augusta's favor, who strengthens her case by nostalgic reminiscences of her past life, spent with Visconti (Robert Stephens) at times, and as a mistress and resident of a brothel at other times.

The conclusion of the film is Lady-and-the-Tigerish, forcing the viewer to decide the results for himself. It's perhaps just as well, for the ending of Greene's novel was unsatisfactory.

Apparently the part of the aunt was originally slated for Katharine Hepburn. Whatever the reasons for these plans being changed, it is a blessing, for her limited range could never have matched the portrait achieved by Maggie Smith, who plays Aunt Augusta somewhere between Miss Marple and Coco Chanel. Indeed, she deserves a second chance at the Oscar, for this performance could very well show what happened to Miss Jean Brodie after she passed her prime.

From the first scene, one is aware that this is an actress of the highest level of professionalism, in a study that is fascinating from beginning to end. Whether as a young schoolgirl, a jaded whore, or the elderly rogue on her way to save Visconti, Smith is magnificent, undergoing delicate and subtle personality and make-up changes as she ages. The only flaw is that the soundtrack is somewhat muffled, which makes her rapid-fire dialogue and accent difficult to understand.

Alec McCowan, who has made a career this year of being put-upon by women (in *Frenzy*, he was lovingly persecuted by Vivien Merchant and her culinary surprises), is delightful as Smith's middle-aged Horatio Alger of a nephew. He slowly begins to learn the advantage of being jaded, and remains pleasantly priggish throughout. He is especially good in two scenes: when he discovers Wordsworth has put marijuana in his mother's funeral urn, and later, when he accepts a joint unknowingly from a young drifter (played with no flair by Cindy Williams), and replies, "I've never tried an American cigarette."

As Wordsworth, Lou Gossett is happily loyal and carefree, although at times, his accent becomes rather thick. Of the principals, the worst performance comes from Robert Stephens, who is slowly turning into Mr. Maggie Smith. He is ill-cast as Visconti, and makes one wonder what the flamboyant and lovable Aunt Augusta could ever have seen in a drip like him. Stephens is a good actor, as he proved in *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, but the time has come for him to remove himself from his wife's shadow.

George Cukor was a perfect choice to direct this nostalgic piece, and he has done so with the care of an artist painting a miniature. It is slickly done at times, but this is overlooked because the glossy beauty of the film only accents the theme of love of beauty and life. Jay Presson Allen's and Hugh Wheeler's screenplay closely follows Graham Green's novel, at least in the retelling of the incidents, and perhaps simplifies them into greater clarity. *Travels With My Aunt* is a fine film, a credit to its makers, and a treasure box of pleasure to its viewers.

**GALLERIES:**

# Tiger hues of orange

by Sandra Wolfe

Jack Bush is a major Canadian painter. He has an international reputation, and he lives and works in Toronto. The paintings in his current one-man show at the David Mirvish Gallery reveal Bush's remarkable sensitivity to color; he is a magnificent colorist. This exhibit is extremely interesting because of the diversity in the format of the paintings; often, modern color-field painters limit themselves by working in series.

Generally the pictures can be divided into several discrete elements. The dominant field or ground is blotched and scrambled as a result of rolling on a color which contains unmixed additives of related hue. These fields are either quite neutral — muted greys, browns or greens — or very dynamic — wild wine tones, tiger hues of orange and ochre or sparkling greens. Calligraphic strokes and shapes are placed within the fields; some are a type of personal iconography, such as the teardrop-like forms described by Bush as "heart flutters", while others appear more spontaneous — dots, lines and dashes. The field is pulled in from the sides, leaving a surrounding margin of bare or toned canvas, and these edges are an important element of the pictures.

Not all of the show is equally successful. The paintings with the more neutral fields seem less controlled. The dullness of the field color causes the shapes and markings in the field to float away from the surface of the painting, and the edges fail to perform their function of adding another level of density which would flatten the field to the surface and keep it from falling away behind the figures. In some of these same paintings, such as "May Burst" and "May Day", the calligraphy strikes me as being ponderous and awkward.

In the more successful works — "Mid-May" is an outstanding example — the huge mottled field of hot orange, with red and yellow inflections, interacts with the four impertinent dashes down the left hand side. This relationship occurs partly because at least one of the markings, a vibrant yellow, relates to the yellow stainings within the field. The movement of the hues in the main field is echoed by the vertical placement of the markings. One is amazed that these four playful dashes can balance the ten-foot horizontal extension of the field. The whole piece has a spontaneous exuberance that is reminiscent of Miro.

Quite a different sensibility, vaguely Oriental, is revealed in a smaller picture, "June Bud". Here, the background, an opaque kharkhy, relates to the long green column planted within it. The strong green is harmonized by an olive accent beside it; this orchestration in green tones is balanced by four soft dots at the right. Three of these are a tender lilac; one, a startling pink, enlivens the whole composition. It is subtle picture, and a striking contrast with some of the other works in the show.

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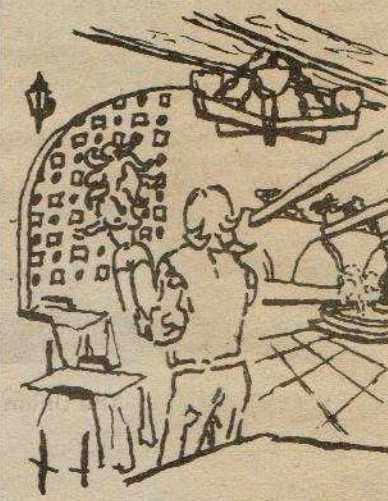
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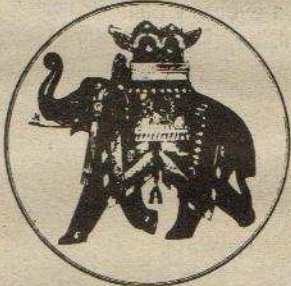
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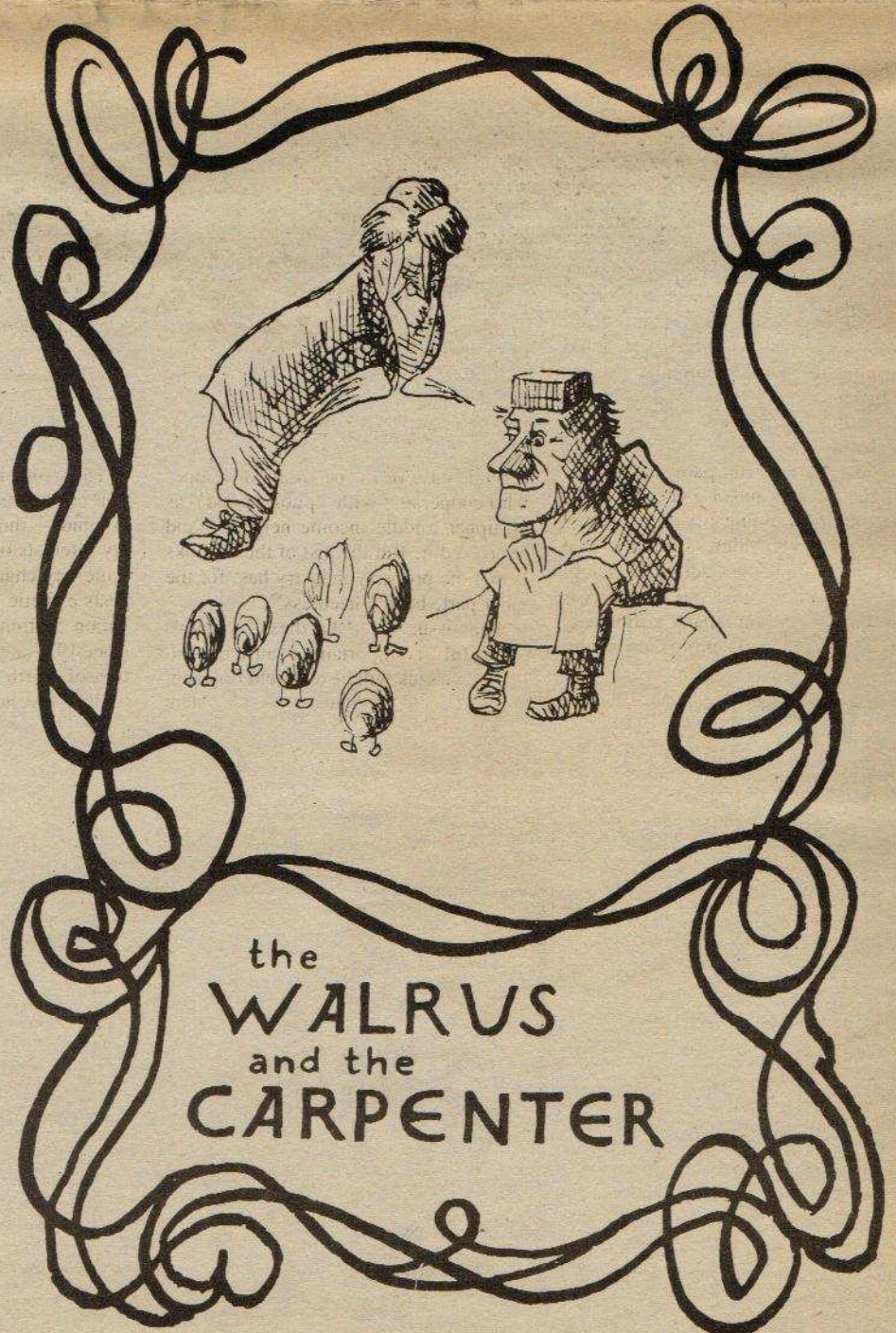
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*The Open Gate: Toronto Union Station* edited by Richard Bebout. Peter Martin Associates.

*City Lib: Parties and Reform* By Stephen Clarkson. Hakkert.

*Fighting Back: Urban Renewal in Trefann Court* by Graham Fraser. Hakkert.

*A Citizen's Guide to City Politics* by James Lorimer. James Lewis and Samuel.

*The City: Attacking Modern Myths* edited by Alan Powell. McClelland and Stewart.

*Up Against City Hall* by John Sewell. James Lewis and Samuel.

*Toronto For Sale: The Destruction Of A City* by David Lewis Stein. New Press.

by Jon Caulfield

i  
It is not clear where the new politics in Canadian cities will lead us. As loose coalitions of ginger groups and community organizations take control of our city governments, as they did in Toronto last week, there will be a search for practical directions. Seven recent books, all from people who have been associated with the Toronto "reform" movement, offer a chance to digest the new thinking at this stage of growth.

ii  
A sentence from one of the books articulates the core of the problem "reformers" want to solve. "Under heedless forms of capitalism," writes Anthony Adamson in *The Open Gate*, "the factors determining (city) growth are almost entirely monetary."

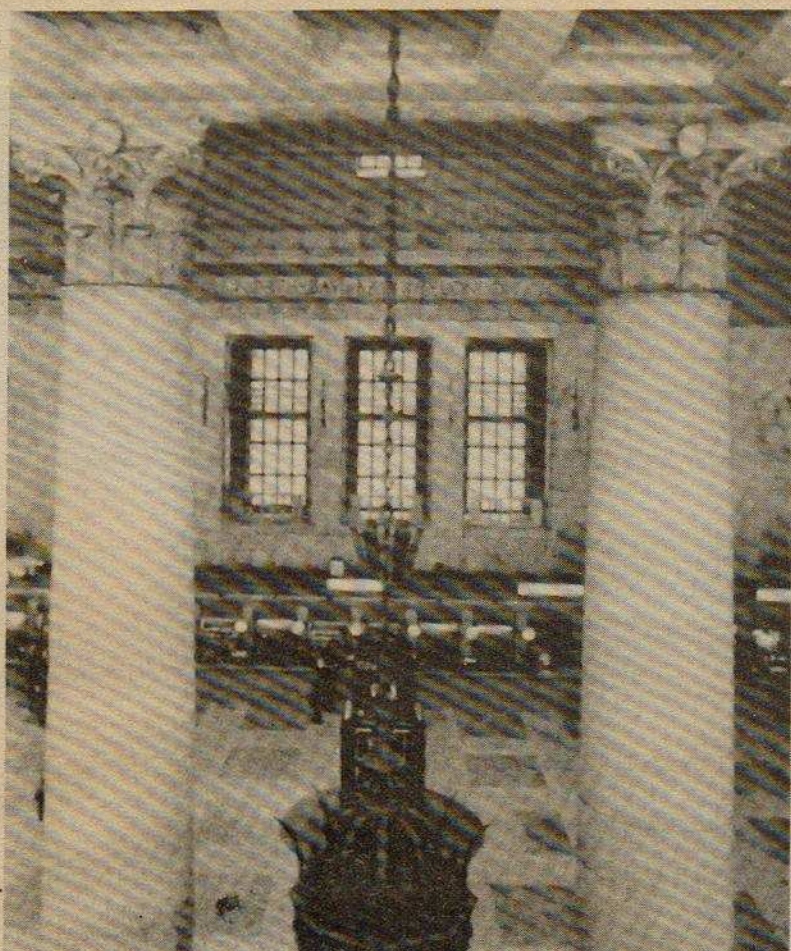
When the authors in these books turn to the question of power in Toronto politics, they agree capitalists have had the clout. "By far the most powerful influence at City Hall is that of the land development industry" (Sewell). "The municipal system is really a smoothly operating network ... working in support of the real estate developers and construction industry" (Clarkson). "Our elected leaders are selling out the future for a mass of new developments" (Stein). "The clash between private interests and public good is nowhere seen more clearly than in a scrutiny of Canada's urban housing problem" (Powell). Lorimer's book is simply an analysis of the property industry and its relationship with city politics in English-speaking Canada.

The monetary rationale of the capitalists who control our cities is documented by Stein and Sewell, whose books are accounts of the past three years at Toronto City Council. When asked to explain their projects, property industry capitalists repeatedly cite "economic feasibility", a term which is misleading because it does not refer to the feasibility of actually doing a project but rather the feasibility of an "acceptable" profit margin and return on investment. Land industry capitalists consistently refuse to tell the public what sort of profit they earn, telling city halls it is none of their business to know what the criteria for "feasibility" are. But published material in these books and elsewhere indicate profits in the booming city development business are very high. Lorimer, who owns one share in the Cadillac Development Corporation and has had access to some of the company's financial reports, says that its profits on shareholder's investment run from 35 to 65% annually.

The phrase "economic feasibility" has been used with reference to the plans for Eaton Centre, Metro Centre and various residential developments. Metro Centre's views about preserving an architectural *tour de force* — the Great Hall of Union Station — are set out in a letter from the developer reprinted in *The Open Gate*. The company's concerns are strictly with costs and property rights.

A redevelopment pattern which underscores the capitalist and monetary orientation of our current city growth is pointed out by Sewell and Fraser. Communities most likely to be destroyed by property industry investments are those of lower income people, communities most socially distant from capitalist power.

iii  
While these books tend to agree that the monetary interests of the property industry dominate our city development, the thrust of all the books isn't consistent with Adamson's use of the word "heedless". Lorimer's analysis indicates that the entrepreneurs who control our city halls are not just a capitalist "faction"



from the Open Gate (Peter Martin)  
The Union Station Great Hall

## BOOKS

# Seven books about cities and politics

but are the same capitalists who dominate Canada — the major railroads, banks, retailers, family trusts, insurance companies. One gets the idea from some of these books — Lorimer's, for example — that "the conflict between private interests and public good" may be inevitable, a necessary outcome of capitalism.

The "heedful" capitalists Adamson implies have not been very active in city property industries. Some developers do provide more amenities for higher-income tenants or buyers than mid-income high rise builders provide in places like St. Jamestown. Stein cites a single case of a "heedful" developer who cooperated with "public good" as an upper middle income neighborhood expressed it. But the gist of these books is that the property industry has, for the most part, been "heedless".

The issue of "heedless" against "heedful" is important because the solutions we seek will be different for each. If we decide capitalism — a system which places far more raw power in some hands than in others — can be

controlled and made "heedful" by a conscientious application of our political ideals — which say that everyone has equal power — we will not suggest the same solutions as if we decide capitalism and "public good" are irreconcilable. Powell makes it clear we have to confront and answer this question of economic systems. And while, as Stein writes, there is little likelihood of massive reorganization of our society in the near future, there are ways to push what we've got into new shapes using the political institutions at our disposal, as the Trefann people did.

iv  
The issue of solutions raises the question of what other factors Adamson has in mind — those which, besides monetary interests of capitalists, might determine city change. *The Open Gate* suggests esthetic and historical sensitivity. Union Station, Toronto's rail terminal since 1927, a grand building in the tradition of North American train terminals built in the heyday of trains, has been a part of the lifeblood of the city. It is not a relic. It is quite usable as a

## THE OPEN GATE TORONTO UNION STATION A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

• Pierre Berton • John Robert Colombo • Mike Filey •  
• Ron Haggart • William Kilbourn • Robert McMann •  
• Douglas Richardson •



Edited by Richard Bebout  
Original Photographs by John Taylor  
Introduction by Anthony Adamson



from Peter Martin Associates Limited December 2 \$12.95

train station for years to come. But plans now are for it to be largely demolished — all but the Great Hall which will be "preserved" on a trial basis as part of a boutique and office lobby mall. The sole explanation offered for tearing down perfectly good train stations — or handsome, perfectly sound 20-odd storey buildings like the old Star King Street headquarters — is "economic feasibility" — making money. The book wants us to answer the question of why a city constantly rips out its past and destroys its architectural heritage.

A second, clearly more important factor that might determine city change is distributive justice. The monetary interests of the property industry have led to a redevelopment pattern which ignores people with smaller incomes, less profitable family housing, commercial

space for lower rent businesses. People with less capitalist power — people who find our political system doesn't do much for them, like those in Trefann Court about whom Fraser writes — have had to fight for every inch of ground they gain in an effort to get redevelopment that they feel is good.

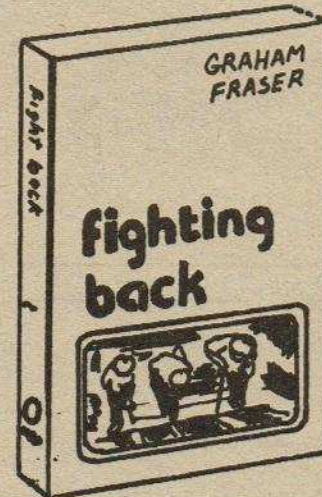
A third factor is good planning. Toronto has a general zoning plan which says where development can occur, but the City has no housing policy. Metro hasn't got a transportation plan — or any official plan, for that matter. The line our city governments have pursued is coherent in a gross sense, though unarticulated — the line of least resistance for property industry profits. It's the same way cities developed during the industrial revolution, just glossed

(continued, page 18)

## fighting back

A book on Trefann Court where David Crombie learned first-hand about the politics of preserving neighbourhoods and involving citizens in planning.

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by John Sewell

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— James MacKenzie, *Globe and Mail*  
"Well written." — Eddie Goodman, developers' lawyer in the *Toronto Star*

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# The new politics

(continued from page 17)

over with empty talk of environment and planning. We have not asked how we control city growth to make it economical, ecologically sensible and functionally workable. The "plans" we end up with, like the now-defunct Metro expressway system, make sense only in the context of the monetary interests of the property industry.

The solutions proposed or implied by these books — ways to get something besides capitalists' monetary interests into play at city halls — all centre on securing more political power for city residents.

Clarkson writes about a solution he feels won't work, the sudden entry into city politics of the major Canadian parties. The arrival of the parties seemed like a way at least to get something systematic going on. But the Liberals' effort to parachute into Toronto City Hall in 1969, the story Clarkson tells, was unsuccessful and suggested, it would be a waste of time and money to try again. The overriding interest of the parties in federal and provincial business; the lack of any municipally-conscious party apparatus; the refried thinking the parties seem prone to; the parties' refusal, with the occasional exception of the NDP, to talk about issues like property industry capitalism — all these suggest why parties do and should fail to make much civic headway. Clarkson



from Fighting Back (Hakkert)

Edna Dixon, a key member of the Trefann Court Working Committee.

very uncertainly and briefly alludes in his conclusion to the kind of solutions the other writers propose.

The thrust of the other books is community organization as a base for "reform" politics. William Kilbourn, in a short article in *The Open Gate*, compares the way Union Station might be saved with the way the Spadina Expressway was stopped — resident group pressure. Stein focuses on community control of politicians and citizen input into the political structure as it is.

Lorimer, Fraser and Sewell propose more potent sorts of community organizations — ones in which substantive decision-making goes on, not simply a process of controlling politicians and channeling ideas into the system. The Stop Spadina movement, writes Fraser, was not an example of citizen participation but of citizen pressure. The outcome was just another occasion of the same old kind of political decision-

making — from the Davis government on high. Trefann, in contrast, is a situation in which a community largely developed its own future.

The more we believe that the property industry cannot be controlled, and that capitalist interests are intrinsically "heedless", the more we will tend toward solutions like the kind Fraser describes — new systems for doing city business and handling the capital that's required to develop cities.

A question which will arise — it has been played down while the "reformers" struggled for power, and it is largely ignored by these writers — is whether the diverse assortment of people and groups now labelled in bulk "reform" will be able to hammer out agreeable solutions when power is won. One view is that higher and lower income communities will be unable to mesh as "community" politics develops beyond pressure group opposition.

Already a number of stereotypes are popular currency among "reformers" — stereotypes which suggest that lower income people can no more make peace with middle income people than they can with property industry capitalists. This may be true. If so, the solutions required are more complex than any suggested in these books — the ways to accomplish the most important of the three suggested goals, distributive justice.

These books do not deal with this and other questions of what happens when the "reformers" do take power, as they have in Toronto. It was probably best not to project these problems without reference points. As issues arise in Toronto, analysis will become possible.

the housing section, for example, is quite sound; the concluding papers are not. And the book largely ignores political tactics; the "participation" described in the section on "Neighborhoods and Participation" refers to the sociologist's concept of social participation, not to political participation. In various chapters, however, it does quite effectively destroy some myths about cities, as the book's subtitle promises it will.

There is a good reason for reading a bad book, like Clarkson's, or the weak material in *The City* — one becomes familiar with less useful ideas in currency and learns something about the dimensions of the current political problem.

*Up Against City Hall* is the most readable book here because it tells a good personal story about an interesting individual — how John Sewell got involved in city politics and what he found there. The book is entertaining, and Sewell gets at a very critical issue in talking about his first term on Council — the fact that his well-researched ideas about "improving" developments, sprucing them up a little here and there, were just ignored. Why? he asked — why did it seem when he arrived at Council that reasonable arguments weren't even listened to by the other side of Council? His answer is that the other side is working for developers.

Sewell isn't always as clear as he might be about what "working for developers" means. The problem isn't simply "corruption" — Grys-like involvements. What Sewell usually implies — and what Lorimer spells out — is that the people in our city halls too often have the same sense of values, the same way of looking at things, as the property industry does. This is often because many of them have come to City Hall from property industry-related occupations — real estate sales, development law, building insurance, construction professions. The property industry has helped fund their campaigns and remains in regular, intimate touch with them at city hall. David Rotenberg was not a crook. He was a tool. And he didn't really know it. Sewell's role as City Hall's *enfant terrible* began when he realized that dull-headed property industry tentacles were sitting across the Council chambers from him. Occasionally his book, like his speeches at Council, is a little ambiguous about whether the issue is corruption or literal, and more subtle and serious, property industry dominance from within City Hall.

*Toronto For Sale* is a fine introduction for, say, someone who's just moved to Toronto and doesn't know what all the fuss is about. Stein goes through several of the big development decisions during the 1969-72 term of Council and explains how in each case the City was, in one way or another, screwing its citizens and helping the property industry. Stein's choppy prose is a little too stylized. And his little polemic oversimplifies the matters he deals with occasionally. But this small book, written in the pamphleteering tradition, is quite a tidy smash at our former civic fathers.

In one way or another these books are interesting. The authors and publishers deserve readers' support at the book-seller's and library request desk.

## The books

Peter Martin does nice work, and *The Open Gate* is a good-looking book, handsomely printed and full of excellent illustrations. The articles — by Pierre Berton, Ron Haggart, John Robert Columbo, Douglas Richardson, Adamson, Kilbourn and Bebout — each explore a different aspect of Union Station, its history, architecture, the kind of place it is. The illustrations are photographs by John Taylor and material from Mike Filey's archives of Toronto lore. At \$12.95, it's an excellent Christmas gift for Torontophiles who like fine books.

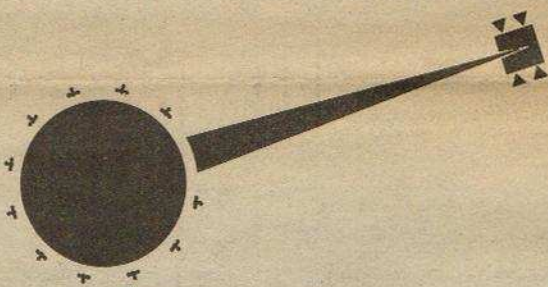
*City Lib* is a difficult book to assess. An explanation of why traditional party entry into Toronto politics proved inappropriate is worthwhile. But the book's analysis is weak. Clarkson drags the unfortunate red herring of the condition in American cities — radically different from the Canadian situation — through his opening paragraphs, and his handling of the question of development and tax assessments suggests he doesn't understand their relationship. He does not really come to grips with the struggle in Canadian cities beyond pointing out how confusing overlapping Metro governments can be.

*Fighting Back* is an essential book which has the sort of historical depth and attention to detail that will make it useful for urban studies programs. While Fraser does not develop the theoretical dimension of Trefann, he does provide the material for framing and testing ideas about how communities and city governments work. The book is an example of how informative journalism unfettered by the shackles of a newspaper can be.

Lorimer's *Citizen's Guide*, his best book to date, is the most important book in this group of seven. Someone had to write it. It spells out clearly what the property industry is and why controlling city governments is an essential part of the property industry program. With *A Citizen's Guide* we understand who these people are and how they work — and, hence, how to fight for what we might want in cities. It is an imaginatively conceived book, full of press clippings, photos, brief supplementary articles, and is graphically interesting in a way most books aren't.

*The City* is a useful book with quite a lot of information about and insight into some major issues — development and tax assessments, low income housing, technocracy. Its articles are uneven, as most anthologies of this sort are —

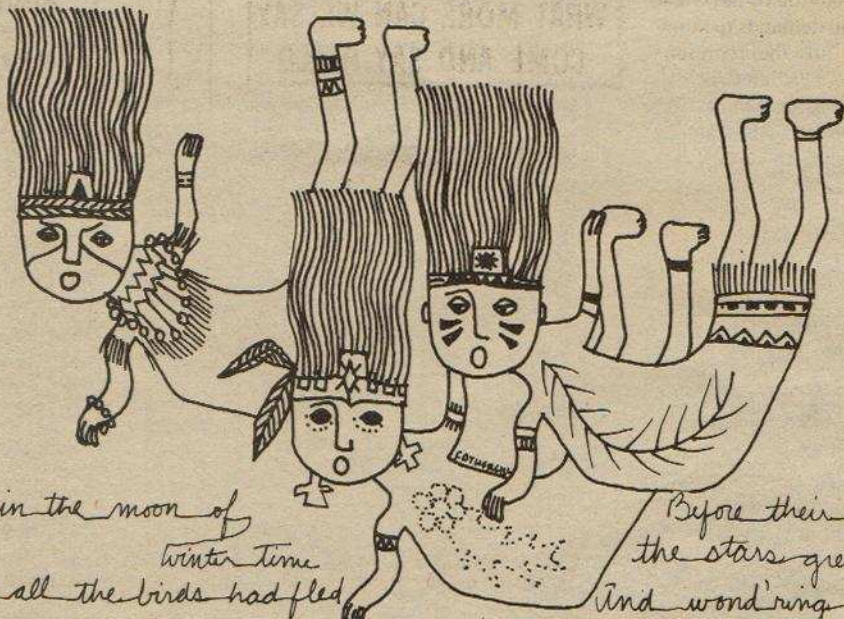
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## SEASON'S GREETINGS



'Twas in the moon of winter time  
When all the birds had fled  
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Before their light the stars grew dim  
And wood-ring hunters  
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# The great Canadian debate

by Brian Cranley

Everybody loves to join a parade when they see it going by. Not many see it start, or watch it come down the street, but when it passes by, everybody wants to jump in and be a star. The recent surge of post-Confederation nationalism has many stars, even the beer companies — "Throw back a big for the Big Land". The beaver is on parade and no one, least of all the film industry, wants to miss the Big Cash-In.

The Town Hall played host to an evening of Canadian Film, Fade In or Fade Out, not long ago, headlined by a host of Names in Canadian Film, from the makers to the sellers. On the surface

it sounded innocent enough, but you never can tell who is going to say what at a gathering like this. Maybe . . .

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No, such a confrontation could never happen, never in Hogtown anyway, and certainly never at an institution known as the Great Canadian Debate. This was to be a panel discussion, where Questions Of Our Time would be raised.

**Can The Canadian Film Industry Survive The Onslaught Of Foreign Control?**

But what if that question were put just a little differently.

**Does Anybody Want To See Canadian Films?**

A no-no to be sure. But questions would be raised, and this collection of Names would have to answer.

**The Grand Denunciation Of Canada's Hapless Role In The Market Place — Nobody Will Love Us If Those Nasty Americans Movie Chains Don't Play Our Films.**

The scene was the Town Hall and the Names were printed exceptionally large on the audience side of the

podiums, lest someone confuse a cameraman with those familiar faces of the Biggies. When everyone had settled in for the night the screen suddenly and unexplicably filled with one of those Film Board almost-but-not-quite specials we have all seen so many times. But no Biggies were in sight. Must be someone is late. Maybe it's supposed to put everyone in the mood. MMMMMnnnnn. The Mood.

**Groans, daggers and egg**

When the great matinee curtain lowered for the last time, out came our panel led by none other than Gerald Pratley, the Dean of Canadian Film, looking and acting like a stand in for Durward Kirby, standing in for Gary Moore, with a secret to tell. If he had one we never found out. He got the evening off to a roaring start by introducing Sandra Gathercole of the Filmmakers Cooperative as a representative of an underground organization. Groans from the audience. Daggers from Sandra. Egg on Gerald.

Somewhere in the course of introductions came the name of John Hofsess who quickly rose to the occasion by pronouncing that if the two shorts were any indication of Canadian film, we are in trouble. MMMMMNNNN. As the evening progressed, John became the star of the show, acting out his Rex Reed ad libs. Here he was representing the film critics, glowing in triumph between snide, almost witty remarks. Imagine representing the Canadian Film Critics. But someone had to be the star. The Heavies just weren't playing their parts.

Here was George Destounis from Famous Players Theatres, an American representing the American stranglehold of Canadian distribution in our theatres, telling the audience what it wanted to hear. "There's no gettin' around it. We shoulda bookedda *My Uncle Ant-twon* in Winsler." Who could argue with a teddy bear like that? Michael Spenser, director of the Canadian Film Development Corporation, neatly rescued himself from the mob by cloaking his role in splendid officialese. Even William (*Wedding in White*) Fruet and Alan (*A Married Couple*) King could not break the malaise and fake a strut with ivory cigarette holder and temper tantrums like all those movie directors do. Well, in Hollywood they do. But this is Canada, and these are Canadian film industry people. These are people that make *Face Offs* and *Frankensteins on Campus*, the industry that for all its failures can mark some of its films with the Canadian experience, can produce the bombs of Larry Kent or the grace of Claude Jutra. This is Canadian cinema. MMMMMNNNN. "... the grace of Claude Jutra—" Hey! Where are those guys. You know the ones. The French Names. Jutra, Gilles Carles, Paul Almond, Pierre Perrault. What is this Spenser, King, Pratley.

Up jumps a concerned audience-participant, in the tradition of the Great Canadian Debate, and demands to know the score. "Where are the representatives of the French Canadian Cinema? Can anyone here speak for them? Can Mr. Pratley speak for them?" Gerald Pratley speak for them — for Claude Jutra, Gilles Carle, Pierre Perrault? Gerald Pratley? Can Bill Dennison speak for Rene Levesque? What is this anyway, this Great Canadian Debate?


Sometimes the subtle cues of life, those moments of extreme embarrassment and discomfort, make exits all the easier to endure. As one lonely soul winds his way down the aisle and through the exit, leaving behind the Great Canadian Debate for some other consolation, the vision of all those endless university debates flash before me like a deathbed review of my life. That evening proved there still remains one irrevocable characteristic of Canada that the money - grabbing - power - hungry - imperialist - moguls will never render from the Canadian psyche. Canadians sure like to talk about their problems being Canadians. No one will ever take that away. Whoever heard of the Americans talk about Canadian problems — or the British, or the Ugandans? It takes just one Canadian sitting somewhere in the audience of a Great Canadian Debate wondering if Gerald Pratley can speak for him.

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 14

8:00 p.m. — **The Annex Ratepayers' Association Board of Directors** meets at Huron Public School to discuss issues pertaining to the Annex. Meeting is open to members and interested public.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 15

**ALL DAY** — one-man showing of paintings and ceramics by **Lester Bertsch** continues at the Toronto Centre for the Arts, 390 Dupont Street. Runs until January 2. 923-1515.

**ALL DAY** — **The McLaughlin Planetarium** continues its special Christmas presentation of **The Christmas Star** until Dec. 31. It's a good look at the skies with an in-season point of view. Public showings at various times.

10 a.m. - 6 p.m. — **Marie LaBerge**, the French Canadian painter and poet, has an exhibition at the **Chasse-Galerie** at 15 Glebe Road West. 486-9985. Until Dec. 20.

8:30 p.m. — **J. S. Bach's Christmas Oratorio** with The Simcoe Street United Choir of Oshawa and The Beaverton Strings, trumpet, tympani and organ. Tickets — \$3.00. At St. Paul's Church, 121 Avenue Road, call 922-4954 or 863-0234.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16

1:30 p.m. — **Global Village Theatre** presents its traditional Christmas musical, **COPPER MOUNTAIN**, on various days through to January 13. It's only a dollar admission but call ahead to book seats. 964-0035.

1:30 p.m. and 3:00 p.m. — **Classical Stage Productions** presents a new children's fantasy, **Winter Night's Dream**, every Saturday and Sunday for an indefinite run. Children \$1.00, adults \$1.50. Reservations 925-4573. At the Colonnade Theatre.

1:30 p.m. and 3 p.m. — **The Ontario Science Centre** features **WHALES** in its weekend series by its education staff. The presentations are repeated at the same times Sunday.

2 p.m. — **The Actors' Theatre** continues its fine production of **The Adventures of Sir Toad**, an ultramodern puppet play performed under black light. Its runs to January 28 at 390 Dupont Street. Reservations at 923-1515. Children 75 cents; adults \$1.50.

8:30 p.m. — **Concertante Canada** for the performing arts presents **Beaverton Strings**. Nixon Macmillan, organ. Arensky, Dvorak, Foote, and Poulenc. Trinity Square. Admission: \$2.50.

# the citizen calendar

## culture/politics/community events

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 17

**ALL DAY** — **The Royal Ontario Museum** continues its showing of **Images of Canada**. A special display of visuals that document all aspects of Canadian life over the decades. Until Jan. 14 at the Museum, Avenue Road and Bloor Street.

3 p.m. — **The Art Gallery of Ontario** presents the **Canadian Children's Opera Chorus** conducted by Lloyd Bradshaw in this week's Sunday concert series. It's free in the **Sculpture Court**.

8:00 p.m. — **Ward Six Aldermen Dan Heap** and **Bill Archer** are co-sponsoring a **Ward Six meeting** at Holy Trinity Church. The subject for discussion will be the **City Executive and the City Council**.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 18

8:00 p.m. — **International Festival of Carols** featuring choirs from countries around the world in a night of good music, song and spirit. At the St. Lawrence Centre, Free admission.

**ALL DAY** — **Pennel Gallery** has **MAGIC THINGS**, a Christmas show. Until December 23 at 13 Hazelton Avenue.

12:10 a.m. — Tonight and every Monday night just past midnight the **CBC** presents a good program for those interested in **Civic affairs**. CBL, 740 on the dial, has a discussion-call in show featuring **James MacKenzie** and **Janet Dewan**. It's called the **Skinny City** and you can call in at 870-9171.

**ALL DAY** — an exhibition of etchings, lithographs, and wood engravings by **Georges Rouault**. Until December 30. Theatre in Camera, Second Floor Gallery, 736 Bathurst St., one block south of Bloor.

8:30 p.m. — **Hedda Gabler** is offered by the **Toronto Free Theatre**. Matinees on Sundays at 2:30 p.m. No admission charge but **reservations needed**. Call 368-2856. Run ends January 11.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20

1:30 p.m. — **The Ontario Science Centre's movies for senior citizens** features today **Scrooge** with **Alec Guinness**, **Kenneth Moore** and **Edith Evans**. Senior Citizens get into the

Centre for 50 cents.

7 p.m. — **The Royal Ontario Museum** presents the **best of the National Film Board**. Films by Canadian Directors of the NFB. The program tonight includes **Christmas Cracker** and **The Merry World of Leopold Z. Fre** in the ROM Theatre, Avenue Road and Bloor.

8:30 p.m. — **Tarragon Theatre** presents **The Stag King, A festival collaboration**. Scripted by **Sheldon Rosen**, directed by **Stephen Katz**. Magical animals, scheming courtiers and thwarted lovers wander through the enchanted forest of **Serendip**. Until January 21, Tuesday to Sunday with a mixture of matinees and evening performances. Previews Dec. 17, 18, 19. Pay what you can at previews. For details and reservations call **Tarragon Theatre, 531-1827**. 30 Bridge-man Avenue.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21

Noon — Noon on the Square presents **Archbishop Scott, Primate-Anglican Church**, is the guest at this week's session At 10 Trinity Square, near Dundas and Yonge. Refreshments available. Public welcome.

8:30 p.m. — **The series on Chaplin**: the early years ends tonight with his best from 1917: **Easy Street, The Cure, The Immigrant and The Adventurer**. Its free at Toronto Public Libraries Learning Resources Centre, 666 Eglinton Avenue West.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23

1:30 and 3 p.m. — **The Jolly Jesters** present **Old Man and the Robot** by **Francis Freechman** at the Central Library, St. George and College. It runs every day (except the 25th) until January 2. Prices: \$1.50 which includes free balloons and candy. For reservations call 924-8950.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 27

1:30 p.m. — **The Ontario Science Centre's movies for senior citizens** features today **Singin' in the Rain** with **Gene Kelly**, **Debbie Reynolds** and **Donald O'Connor**. Senior Citizens get into the Centre for 50 cents.

7:00 p.m. — **The Royal Ontario Museum** presents the **best of the National Film Board**. Films by Canadian directors of the NFB. The program tonight includes: **The Red Kite**,

compositions or Canadian musicians. Further information from Roy Fleming at 964-0035.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 10

7:00 p.m. — **The Royal Ontario Museum** presents the best films by Canadian directors from the National Film Board collection. Tonight it's: **Beluga Days**, **VTR St.-Jacques**, and **Cycle**. It's free in the Royal Ontario Museum Theatre, Avenue Road and Bloor.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 11

8:30 p.m. — **Films of the Twenties**, a series devoted to that great era of the cinema, begins tonight at the **Learning Resources Centre of the Toronto Public Libraries**, 666 Eglinton Avenue West. Each film will be presented with commentary by **Charles Hoffman**. Its free and open to the public. **Tonight's film will feature Douglas Fairbanks in The Thief of Bagdad**.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 12

evening — The start of the conference on what to make of the **Brown Community School**. Meeting of citizens and educators to discuss plans for community involvement in planning the new school. **Residents of area especially welcome**. Conference also runs all-day Saturday. It's at O.I.S.E., 252 Bloor Street West. Call 923-6641, local 721 for information.

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#### SERVICES AVAILABLE

Parent control co-operative Day Care Centre has openings for people sincerely interested in the growth of their children and themselves. (infants under two) 925-7495.

Yoga course for teachers, the art and techniques for emptying and recharging the physical and mental body vehicles. Kundalini Yoga — phone Janusz evenings and weekends. 924-0612.

How About a Co-op School? Meeting Tuesday Dec. 19, 7:00 p.m. at 54 Farnham Ave. to discuss setting up co-op high school. Need teachers, nurses, carpenters, bookkeepers, anyone who wants to help. Everything from top-notch academics to farm living intended. For further info call **Inglenook School, Richard, Janet or Lesley**, at 925-9982.

Moving and light hauling — CHEAP Call Tom The Trucker at 465-4572.

#### HELP WANTED

Browndale Community Centre requires volunteers to drive children from their home to the Centre and for their weekly visit and return them 1 hour later. Call 653-3513.

Interested, interesting teachers for private elementary school, full or part-time. Write fully to **Hawthorn Bi-Lingual School, 14 Vaughan Rd., Toronto**.

Reliable, careful driver for small school bus service. Own car helpful, 7:30-9 a.m., 3-4 p.m. Call 653-6544. **Hawthorn Bi-Lingual School**.

WANTED!! Babysitter - mornings - Monday to Friday. Call 961-4922.

#### FOR SALE

Private - 9 Spadina Road at Bloor next to subway, contents: antique time hatch, oak chest, old mirrors, lamps, glass, beds, chests, etc. 923-4004.

#### HOUSING

Person or couple 20-29, needed for high-rise co-op family living near kooky old Rochdale. Must be into evolution. 14th Floor Commune, 341 Bloor St. W., 923-4514.

Rooms to rent as office space in former private residence. Central. Psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers in private practice. Great facilities for groups. Reply Box 39, Toronto Citizen.

Apartment to rent - 3rd. floor - completely redone - no separate entrance - quiet house call 533-5417.

Couple wanted to live in co-op with 5 other people, 20 Claxton Blvd. (area of Bathurst and St. Clair) Expenses 65.00 a month each. 783-3528.

Townhouse in Downtown area for rent - weekdays only. In use on weekends. Call 922-1628.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

Why is Canada in Vietnam? The Truth About Our Foreign Aid by **Claire Culhane** at \$1.50. Available from NC Press Ltd., P.O. Box 6106, Terminal 'A', Toronto, Ont.

We are looking for gift donations for the forgotten patients on the back-wards of the **Queen St Mental Health Centre, 999 Queen St. E** and the **Lakeshore Psychiatric Hospital**. Many of these people are completely out of touch with the community and have no friends or family in Toronto. We would appreciate it if the gifts received were new and unwrapped. Suggestions: Men - clothing, cigarettes, books, magazines. Women - cosmetics, nightgowns, costume jewelry, hosiery, gloves. General - puzzles, candy, and tobacco. Send to 76 Milverton Blvd., Toronto 6. (any donations tax deductible.)

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Reform candidates won five of the eight aldermanic seats in the Citizen's immediate circulation area in last week's election. We must be doing something right! What we do is bring you the news and views from and about your community, from City Hall and the Board of Education. The Citizen has become "must" reading for residents of Wards 5, 6, 10 and 11. If you need more to tempt you — the Citizen also carries a lively Arts Section. Can you afford not to subscribe? Fill in the coupon today.

A subscription for 26 issues costs \$5.00. If you subscribe now, you will also receive a subscription to Community Schools, the magazine that tells what's going on in Toronto schools and in the City's educational bureaucracy.

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