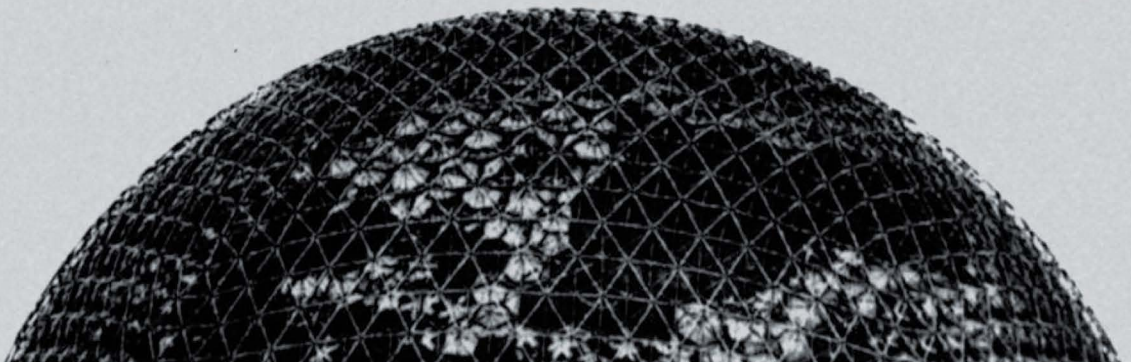




# Expo 67 and Its World

Staging the Nation in the  
Crucible of Globalization

Edited by  
Craig Moyes and Steven Palmer



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## Acknowledgments

“The idea is a *live event*, played out at the point of dialogic meeting between two or more consciousnesses.”<sup>1</sup> Although Mikhail Bakhtin is here speaking of the novel, the same of course holds true for the “live event” of Expo itself, and even more for the rich cinematic, artistic, architectural, literary, and historical legacy that has developed in its aftermath. *Expo 67 and Its World* is conceived in that spirit. If its ideas have life, it is chiefly because they are explored in dialogue with other ideas, articulated by different voices, and considered in the light of new or neglected evidence made available for scholarly engagement thanks both to the professional work of conservation and retrieval by its custodians, and to the many academic and non-academic institutions that continue to support and foster research – and dialogue! – within the humanities.

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at the Youth Pavilion began long and distinguished careers as producers of Quebec culture; Robert Cordier, who produced and directed *Miracles in Modern Medicine* at the Man and His Health Pavilion's Meditheatre; and Jacques Godbout, who was part of the design team of the Man in the Community Pavilion (known in French as *L'Homme et la cité*) and who directed two feature films, *YUL 871* and *Kid Sentiment*, that are meditations on Montreal and being young in the mid-1960s, both of which touch on Expo in different ways. Our thinking about Expo 67 was further aided by a number of experimental restagings and special screenings of films related to the event by contemporary artists, musicians, and filmmakers: Ian Helliwell, Guylaine Maroist, Ron Leary, Jessica Pruneau and Martin Aubin, Gilda Stillbäck and Sandra Abouav, Philip Hoffman and Eva Kolcze. In a similar vein, we would like to thank the Cinémathèque québécoise, the British Film Institute (BFI South Bank), and the Anthology Film Archives in New York City for collaborating with us on the curation and sponsorship of two fiftieth-anniversary Expo 67 film festivals.

We were inspired by the willingness of all the authors in this volume to go above and beyond reasonable expectations during the manuscript's development. They were invariably happy to explore new evidence and themes, and to develop fresh lines of analysis that came to light, often very late in the game. The final work is much more dialogical, lively, and coherent because of their commitment. We are especially grateful to Heesok Chang for providing timely and insightful critical readings of different parts of the manuscript, especially those penned by the editors, and for reframing his own chapter to draw out and build on shared themes and complementary findings across the entire collection.

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Finally, a heartfelt acknowledgment of the contribution made by our excellent friend Johnny Morris (1959–2020), who added to the London conference with stylish artwork that redeployed Expo images and motifs on our posters and notebooks in provocative ways. We are immensely saddened that neither he, nor Yves Laferrière (1943–2020), nor Robert Cordier (1933–2020) is with us to see the final volume. Very much at home with the spirit of the project – and indeed of Expo 67 itself – each was characterized by humane generosity, intellectual curiosity, and general *joie de vivre*. They will be sorely missed by everyone who knew them.

NOTE

- 1 *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 88.



## **Expo 67** and Its World



I.1

Indians of Canada Pavilion behind flags of the participating nations at Expo 67.

# Introduction: Staging the Nation in the Crucible of Globalization

CRAIG MOYES AND STEVEN PALMER

The first “Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations” was held in London in 1851. It gave voice to a particularly Victorian faith in human progress based on the allied forces of national genius, technological advance, and world trade. Universal exhibitions over the following century continued in this vein, with an assumption that their basic task was to offer a forum for representing national cultures and the development of their material achievements. Expo 67 ostensibly fit squarely within this tradition. Celebrating one hundred years of Canada as an independent federal state,<sup>1</sup> its initial designs attempted to mirror the Confederation myth of a new country born from “two founding nations,”<sup>2</sup> eager to parade its natural riches and human potential before the world. As it transpired, a very different kind of event took shape in Montreal over the six middle months of 1967.<sup>3</sup>

Canada had lost its original bid to host a Category 1 world exhibition in Montreal to the Soviet Union, whose 1967 Moscow fair was meant to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution, but the Soviets cancelled in 1962 and the Canadians successfully re-tendered to the Bureau of International Exhibitions (BIE).<sup>4</sup> The task of making the fair despite the late start fell to the Canadian Corporation for the World Exhibition, formally answerable to Ottawa but also bound to respect provincial (Quebec) and municipal (Montreal) standards of legitimacy; the three jurisdictions had a budgetary stake of 50, 37.5, and 12.5 per cent respectively. Although the federal government

agreed to foot half the bill, its political support would be erratic and lukewarm. The real impetus for the project came from francophone, Quebec-based politicians, and especially from the irrepressible mayor of Montreal, Jean Drapeau, whose early political allegiance to the ideological school of Lionel Groulx had evolved into a close involvement with moderate but trenchant Quebec nationalist politics. As cost estimates rose precipitously, the fair's fortunes came to depend largely on Drapeau's political energy and artistry. He overrode naysayers at every level while whipping up an unprecedented enthusiasm for the undertaking in a country – and still more a province – alien to the kind of cosmopolitan self-assuredness and grandstanding that a successful world's fair demanded.<sup>5</sup>

To almost everyone's astonishment Expo's stock soon rose precipitously as well. Under the overarching theme "Man and His World/Terre des hommes," its gates opened in late April 1967 to immediate popular and critical acclaim that had been unimaginable to all but a very few. By the time it closed in late October, Expo 67 was already being hailed as one of the most successful world exhibitions of all time ("that unsurpassed, quintessential, classic World's Fair," in the eyes of a young Umberto Eco).<sup>6</sup> Its 52 million visitors set an attendance record, and its enthusiastic reception by the national and international media, buttressed by the appreciation of leading cultural critics, elevated it high above the earlier 1960s exhibitions in Seattle and New York, which had been excoriated as overly commercial and ultimately parochial. In Montreal, by contrast, a daily parade of monarchs, political leaders, renowned artists, eminent intellectuals, and famous personalities invested the affair with cultural majesty and global reach.<sup>7</sup>

Expo 67 was moreover embraced by critics and scholars of visual media and architecture, then and afterwards, as both excitingly modern and resolutely forward-thinking. Its singular achievement lay in making coherent a late humanist notion of world civilization through diverse experiences of immersive spectatorship in an environment that was both contemporary and futuristic, with film, architecture, electronic media, design, and on-site motility seeming continually to dissolve into one another. As such, it has been described as a "multi-sensory total-environment poem" in which communication was foregrounded to the point where it became the "message" of the entire event, and indeed prophesied our current globally connected world of screens and digital media.<sup>8</sup> It could thus be considered a "transitional" world's fair: as the event that saw out the old regime of nations, nationalisms, and internationalism and ushered in the new regime of offshore capitalism, multimedia networks, and the global commodification of culture.<sup>9</sup> And yet at the same time, it managed to accommodate, negotiate, and even celebrate more classical images of the

nation that might easily have proven explosive in the febrile climate of the 1960s: from the representational jousting of the former colonial Great Powers, France and Great Britain, quietly reiterating their historic claims on North America, to the US and the Soviet Union continuing, on “neutral” ground, their Cold War standoff; from the barely containable tensions in the Middle East (the Six-Day War broke out in June) to the global rise of “Third World” consciousness (the first meeting of the G77 would be held in Algiers in October); and finally, closer to home, from increasingly vocal Québécois nationalism to the burgeoning political activism of Canadian Indigenous peoples.

The media-savvy (and sometimes media-saturated) one-world face of what some critics have dubbed the first “McLuhanesque” world’s fair has so far provided the focus for the majority of scholarship on Expo 67. The principal avenue of approach for the contributors to *Expo 67 and Its World*, however, is the self-conscious (and sometimes unconscious) *staging* of nations and the national within the fair’s explicitly “universal”<sup>10</sup> and incipiently global context. For it is precisely at the intersection of these three vectors – the national, the global, and the spectacular – that the interest lies. By concentrating on the tensions between forms of collective imagining staged at Expo – whether linguistic, racial, civic, provincial, national, international, or *tiersmondiste* – this collection explores the exhibition’s role as the sometimes canny, sometimes unwitting aesthetic mediator between, on the one hand, the overlapping but far from congruent spaces of Montreal, Quebec, and Canada, and on the other, the larger world riven by the Cold War, recast by decolonization, progressively beholden to new forms of late capitalism, and yet nonetheless able to sustain and even promote a humanist ideal of global community: *Terre des hommes*.

Some may be surprised to learn that the term *globalization* is only a few decades old. It acquired something approximating its current sense in rare, scattered articles around the middle of the century (1944, 1951, 1965, 1968), yet remained an unusual and occasional usage until the 1990s, when it suddenly became a central (and seemingly self-evident) concept across a range of disciplines from economics through political science to literary and cultural studies and beyond.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the very wealth and diversity of globalization studies today makes the concept itself a thorny one to define precisely or simply. But if it is true that the diffuse forces of globalization – with its “still ill-defined and ever emerging effects,” as Fredric Jameson put it<sup>12</sup> – are not precisely posited in opposition to the apparent self-sufficiency of the nation-state, at least we can say that the conceptual illumination brought by the national paradigm begins to glow less brightly through the increasing haze of global interdependence. That this uncertain light should be refracted, over six months in 1967, onto a temporary stage erected in the middle of the Saint

Lawrence River – the great channel that first opened the North American continent to global trade over four hundred years earlier<sup>13</sup> – is what makes the shifting tensions between the national(izing) and the global(izing), between the affirmative and the performative, between the world’s fair in general and the 1967 Montreal International and Universal Exhibition in particular, ripe for exploration.

Why is it, then, that as the fiftieth anniversary of Expo 67 came and went in 2017, practically the only attempts to explore that legacy came from Quebec? In English Canada, the federal government’s official 2017 Sesquicentennial celebrations of Confederation, “Canada 150,” paid no attention to an event which, after all, had been not only the centrepiece of the celebrations fifty years earlier, but remained by far the most ambitious, expensive, and successful cultural undertaking ever staged in the country. A surprise change of government in the election of late 2015 ended the Stephen Harper Conservative plans for a grim barrage of monuments and ceremonies built around the idea of Canada as a warrior nation, its key reference point not Confederation but the centenary of (a staunchly English) Canada’s mythical moment of national self-actualization at Vimy Ridge in 1917.<sup>14</sup> The composition and agenda of Justin Trudeau’s incoming Liberal government bore more than a passing resemblance to Lester Pearson’s two minority governments (1963–68), where an internationalist suite of patriotic symbols and programmes included fitful support for Expo 67. If, however, there was any inclination to recapture the modern worldly magic of Liberal Canada’s 1960s heyday, the new government had no time to develop such an alternative and the year fizzled out with local patriotic projects that never achieved national coherence. Among English Canada’s “Centennial generation” there was a certain memory of Expo 67 as a lost utopia, a promise of Canadian cultural grandeur subsequently abandoned by the state in the long shadow of the October Crisis, the National Energy Policy, two Quebec referendums on separation, the bruising austerity measures of the neoliberal 1990s, formal acquiescence to US hegemony under NAFTA, and the failed efforts to gain consensus among the provinces (Quebec in particular) on the patriation of Canada’s constitution from Westminster.<sup>15</sup> In 2017, an English-language media and public effectively cowed during Harper’s dour decade tended to remember the world exhibition in miniature (if they recalled it at all): a fun moment replete with twee souvenirs whose maximum expression was Bobby Gimby’s 1967 hit song celebrating a population of twenty million “little Canadians” living in ten “little provinces.”<sup>16</sup>

English Canadian historians, for their part, have largely avoided tackling the cultural mega-project head on.<sup>17</sup> Among the few works to do so is an impressive study of Canada in the 1960s by the country’s doyen of social history,

Bryan Palmer. While acknowledging Expo's uniquely ambitious scale and success with intelligentsia and the public, he deploys classic anglophone Canadian tropes about Quebec in characterizing the fair as a fiscally irresponsible drain on federal coffers driven by Drapeau's "insatiable need" to put Montreal on the global map and make Expo the main event of Canada's Centennial. Palmer ultimately dismisses Expo 67 as a "socially constructed 1960s effort to cultivate Canadian national identity."<sup>18</sup> His reading of the world exhibition dovetails with a growing body of English Canadian scholarship on the Centennial Year that tends to find equally dubious any project involving official Canadian nationalism. For example, Misao Dean's superb analysis of the Centennial Voyageur Canoe Pageant, a highly staged and scripted competition of provincial and territorial teams whose endpoint was Expo 67, reveals the attempt to erase Indigenous agency and even presence from the historical narrative of the Canadian nation encoded in this official Centennial event. The provincial paddling teams of 1967 (albeit with some resistance from the territorial teams, who were Indigenous) were to re-enact the masculine heroism of the early French-Canadian voyageurs who, now anglicized, could appropriate the vigour of the First Nations inhabitants and their command over the land, thus symbolically legitimizing its possession under Canadian state rule.<sup>19</sup>

It is nevertheless remarkable that Dean barely touches on the pageant's place within Expo 67, assuming equivalency of the two events at the level of national representation rather than exploring their articulation. Indeed, English Canadian historical studies have understood Expo rather as English Canadians tended to in 1967: essentially as one more Centennial Year event, if a rather grand one. This was hardly surprising at the time, given that the exorbitant federal government funding was largely justified to English Canada in those terms, and the official Canadian presence at the fair designed with this in mind. That something rather more difficult to pin down was staged on the Expo islands over the summer of 1967 has been patched over in English Canadian historiography with suggestions, from a distance, that it was the ultimate display of Centennial Year Canadian nationalism. This may be related to a certain unfamiliarity and uneasiness with francophone Quebec in much of Canadian Studies, and also perhaps to an awareness that looking too closely at Expo 67 would complicate the emerging consensus that all expressions of postwar Canadian nationalism can be understood as a single discourse whose Rosetta Stone is settler colonialism.<sup>20</sup>

The most recent English-language scholarship focusing directly on Expo 67 has come almost exclusively from architecture, film and art history, and – in marked contrast to the tenor of Canadian Studies assessments of official Centennial Year events – is often couched in a distinctly celebratory tone. This,

in some ways, is as it should be. From Habitat to Labyrinth, there is no denying that these fields produced some of the fair's most dazzling and memorable experiments. Especially catalytic in this regard have been Janine Marchessault's and Monika Kin Gagnon's exquisite reconstructions of the multiscreen film projections of Expo 67 with their corresponding studies of its architectures of spectatorship<sup>21</sup> and, as Marchessault has recently argued, the prescient "ecstatic" experiences of connectedness to self and world that these experiments conjured.<sup>22</sup> Johanne Sloan and Rhona Richman Kenneally's pioneering and wide-ranging collection of critical thinking about the Montreal World Exhibition, *Expo 67: More than Just a Souvenir* adopts an equally enthusiastic take on Expo 67 as "an important conjuncture in the histories of Canada, Quebec and Montreal."<sup>23</sup> Likewise, leading scholars of international exhibitions have underlined the world-historical significance of Expo, identifying Montreal as both a "high-water mark," in the words of John and Margaret Gold, and as the "turning point," according to Robert Rydell, between the modern world's fair devoted to showcasing national industry and technological progress and the postmodern exhibitions characteristic of the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries that have focused on sustainability and the environment.<sup>24</sup>

Perhaps this was why it was only in Quebec – and especially in Montreal, where a particularly strong understanding of the nation has traditionally collided with the modernizing and cosmopolitan demands of the "world" – that the fiftieth anniversary of Expo in 2017 found some public visibility. Headquartered since 1956 in Montreal and a significant contributor to the successful audiovisual innovations of Expo, the National Film Board – or, more precisely, its francophone alter ego, the Office national du film (ONF) – was the only state actor (municipal, provincial, or federal) to stage a major anniversary event. This was *Expo 67 Live*, a monumental video-mapped show which, by projecting a comprehensive ensemble of footage onto multiple surfaces in the Place des Arts complex, attempted to give viewers a sense of what it was like to visit the world exhibition in 1967.<sup>25</sup> Because the provincial government and the city had decided to invest their ceremonial dollar in the rather arbitrarily designated 375th anniversary of the founding of Ville-Marie, only begrudging room was made for a mostly civic memory of the fair. A limited number of books and museum exhibitions commemorated its role in consolidating modern life in the city and province.<sup>26</sup> The most ambitious of these was held over three and half months at the Musée d'art contemporain, where Monica Kin Gagnon and Lesley Johnstone curated a multimedia exhibition by nineteen artists (all too young to have experienced the fair themselves), *In Search of Expo 67*, which earned praise from the *New York Times* as "an incisive, sometimes wistful exploration of the fair and its afterlives."<sup>27</sup>

Most intriguing was the success of the “documentary thriller” *Expo 67: Mission Impossible*. With stunning use of archival footage, the film relives the race to build a Category 1 international exhibition to a deadline that almost everyone thought impossible given the late start and Drapeau’s decision, against most reasonable planning, to situate it in the very middle of the Saint Lawrence River, across from the then still active commercial port and the Old City of Montreal.<sup>28</sup> This required reshaping the local geography and hydrography – partially with earth excavated from the tunnels of the new Montreal metro – in order to make two large islands.<sup>29</sup> Hundreds of architects, engineers, designers, and builders were marshalled to assemble the infrastructure and superstructure of a venue that would have to accommodate millions of people, completing their work just hours before the gates opened on 28 April 1967. The Herculean labour involved in this unlikely feat is recounted through the eyes of the two charismatic Québécois on the executive team, known colloquially at the time as *les durs* (the tough guys): Philippe Gaspé de Beaubien, director of operations, and Yves Jasmin, director of public relations.<sup>30</sup> As the surviving elder statesmen of a project that has been half mythologized and half forgotten, they succeeded in capturing the imagination of the Quebec media, and were the subject of a lively edition of *Tout le monde en parle*, the province’s most important television current affairs program, with Beaubien later receiving the key to the city from Montreal mayor Denis Coderre at the premiere of *Expo 67 Live*.<sup>31</sup>

Notably, however, the film deals only with the achievement of bringing the site and its installations to life, and with Quebecers’ successful marketing of themselves to a North American public that had little previous sense of Quebec or even Canada beyond a few well-worn clichés. That Beaubien himself ends the film by suggesting that Expo was ultimately made possible by a meeting not so much of minds as of national stereotypes – Gallic panache tempered and organized by Anglo-Saxon practicality – is itself telling. The precise contribution of artists, writers, filmmakers, musicians, designers, architects, urban planners, politicians, industrialists, bankers, prelates, physicians, scientists, cultural entrepreneurs, feminist leaders, and Indigenous activists to this extraordinary “national” spectacle is set aside. What exactly was created for Expo, what actually took place during its six-month run, which nation or nations were finally represented, and what it all ended up meaning in the context of Man and His World are issues left for academic study.

And yet, despite a growing consensus within Quebec’s public sphere that the 1967 Montreal World Exhibition marked a celebration of the achievements of the Quiet Revolution, its francophone academy has been extraordinarily reticent about studying the fair itself.<sup>32</sup> Such oversight remains a puzzle, given

how easy it is to make the case that Expo 67 was one of the signal events in the modern history of the province – and indeed, of Quebec as a nation. A remarkable catalogue on the 1960s in Montreal, produced for an exhibition held in 2004 at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, provides both the confirmation and the exception to this rule. A superb essay by the historian and sociologist Marcel Fournier on the Quiet Revolution mentions Expo only twice (and in passing), but is followed by three sections of information panels, architectural drawings, and photographs in which the actors and projects associated with Expo loom large, with the last section given over to Expo 67 entirely.<sup>33</sup> Practically the only scholarly work of significance is Pauline Curien's fine doctoral thesis on the making of the Quebec Pavilion, just a small part of which has ever been published.<sup>34</sup> In common with much of the public discussion of Expo in Quebec, Curien's meticulously researched work also sees the pavilion as a nationalist epiphenomenon, a representation of the Quiet Revolution in which Quebecers could see themselves as modern within a new series of references that would replace the older, backwards-looking categories of faith and rural survival with new images of state action and popular culture.<sup>35</sup>

This is surely true. But it also seems evident that Expo 67, from the five-year period of its planning and construction through its six-month existence, must be considered as much an engine of the Quiet Revolution as one of its cultural products. The political and logistical requirements of building a world exhibition to an extremely tight schedule contributed to the redesign, modernization, and expansion of Montreal's urban infrastructure across the decade, while the exposition itself was a giant pedagogical machine of secular humanism for the majority francophone Quebecers who made up the lion's share of its visitors (see appendix). In addition, its resources gave a generation of Québécois architects, intellectuals, filmmakers, designers, and artists the chance to experiment with new idioms while "internationalizing" their work in ways that otherwise would have been impossible; it provided the ideal platform for Quebec's new, quasi-sovereign "national" foreign affairs policy, fortuitously amplified with considerable media *éclat* by General Charles de Gaulle's famous "Vive le Québec libre!" during his Expo visit; and it showcased to a global audience the *de facto* capital of that new nation-within-a-nation, Montreal, which was being aggressively redesigned for the (post)modern world under the stewardship of Jean Drapeau. For, while Quebec City was positioning itself as the capital of a "sovereign" Quebec within the old order of nations and nationalisms (steered towards long-awaited international recognition by the French president's carefully orchestrated journey along the

Chemin du Roy), Montreal was working – in large measure through the massive experiment of Expo itself – to become the capital of a different sort of French Canada within a new globalized order.<sup>36</sup>

According to two leading theorists of that new order, “‘What is there is also here and what is here is also there’ is probably the most succinct and uncontroversial summary of globalization’s central dynamics of interconnectivity, reconfiguration of space and time, and enhanced mobility.”<sup>37</sup> Yet already, fifty years earlier, Marshall McLuhan had proclaimed that “‘What is happening today around the world is what is happening at Expo.”<sup>38</sup> Even though there was as yet no designated term for the process itself, the highly charged political environment of the 1960s made the Montreal World’s Fair a unique conduit for the accelerating epiphenomena of political, economic, and cultural affirmation and cross-fertilization that were remaking the world as a decidedly “smaller” place than it had been even a decade before. A few examples: between the exhibitions of Brussels (1958) and Montreal (1967), the world saw the decolonization of no fewer than thirty-four African countries, from Ghana (1957) to Lesotho (1966). Brussels was the last fair to feature a reconstructed “native” village for the delectation of its implicitly superior European spectators. At Expo 67, Africa Place (incorporating the pavilions of seventeen African nations), the Algerian Pavilion, the Cuban Pavilion, and the Indians of Canada Pavilion – not to mention the Quebec Pavilion itself – notably provided decolonizing narratives, in contrast to the Canadian Pavilion and certain industrial pavilions that bore witness to re-colonizing projects, albeit in more “palatable” economic and developmental terms. One month before the opening of Expo, Pope Paul VI promulgated the encyclical *Populorum Progressio* on the worldwide question of the poverty of peoples and unequal access to the benefits of civilization. In the wake of de Gaulle’s visit, the left-leaning Québécois journal *Parti pris*, which, despite its short lifespan, indelibly marked the intelligentsia of Quebec, proclaimed in its September 1967 issue: “Independence, yes, but independence, socialism and secularism – in a word, decolonization.”<sup>39</sup>

In the preceding special issue on the “Centenary of Alienation and Dispossession,” the same journal pointedly ignored the opening of Expo 67, except to deliver a glancing blow at its theme as nothing but “a vile mystification” (*une immonde mystification*) when compared to the real issues facing Quebec.<sup>40</sup> “Sur la *Terre des hommes*,” writes the editorialist Luc Racine, “we are nothing or almost nothing, an insignificant quantum, sub-humans more or less well provided for at the margins of an empire whose full powers of destruction and massacre have doubtless yet to be revealed.”<sup>41</sup> Compare that with

what Guy Dozois, Expo's theme director, called the fair's "distinctively new" contribution to the relatively recent history of world exhibitions: its "development of a thematic core reflecting the principal scientific and cultural aspects of contemporary life, and serving as inspiration and guide to the seventy participating nations of the world." Neocolonial mystification? Perhaps. But it is worth noting that even here, on the dustjacket of the official volume celebrating *Man and His World*, the French and the English do not coincide. The paternalistic accents suggested by the phrase "inspiration and guide" are absent from the original French, which reverses the agent and object to speak rather of a "gigantic operation supported by the participation of over seventy countries," whose originality lies in the "generous expansion" of its dedicated thematic kernel, *la Terre des hommes*.<sup>42</sup>

Expo 67 had its own semiotic topography, superimposed upon the real geography of the site itself. First, there was the platform, infrastructure, and thematic superstructure, conceived and built by an exceptional ensemble of urban planners, engineers, architects, and exhibition designers under the auspices of the Canadian Corporation for the World Exhibition (CCWE). Their site consisted of two islands in the Saint Lawrence River – one the result of joining two extant pieces of land, the other created almost entirely *ex nihilo* – connected by bridge to a strip that had been leased from the federal port authority and enlarged. Roadways and transit lines were built on, underneath, and above these invented lands; deliberately free-flowing pedestrian routes and gathering places laid out; plots measured off for pavilions and service buildings; electrical, water, and sewer lines laid in; and the whole ornamented with an elegant modern motif of custom-built streetlights, railings, telephone booths, and public furniture.

Then there were the pavilions of the sixty-two participating nation-states (a small number of countries shared pavilions), as well as a sizeable group of intentionally understated corporate and international organization pavilions. While their design and content were entirely in the hands of their sponsors, all were asked by the CCWE to conceive them with the theme of Expo 67 in mind. Within the nation-state class of pavilions, Canada as host demanded special license, and the complex of Canadian pavilions on the Île Notre-Dame was extensive. The Canadian Pavilion itself was an ensemble of monumental structures and exhibition and theatre spaces; adjacent to it were the separate pavilions of Ontario, Quebec, Atlantic Canada, Western Canada, and the Indians of Canada.<sup>43</sup> The results across the site were inevitably and appropriately heterogeneous, some engaging innovatively with the theme,

others kitschy, traditionally ethno-national, or purely functional. Although it is Expo's national pavilions that have largely remained etched in the collective memory, in fact conceptually the main edifices – which, along with the urban design scheme, gave the fair its identifiable, futuristic look – were the seventeen theme pavilions and special areas under the purview of the CCWE, each dedicated to a sub-theme (the city, health, life sciences, housing, food production, fabrication, exploration, creativity, myth, and so on) and intended to communicate its humanist, “one-world” theme.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, this very range helped to generate the endless novelty, variety, and sheer fun that Expo became known for, and which the theme pavilions alone would not have been able to deliver due to the CCWE's stated objective of using them to establish continuity, uniformity, intellectual depth, and comprehensiveness. All this formed a remarkable arena for the exchange of signs, symbols, and (sometimes) dialogue, analogous to what Juri Lotman would call, in a different context, the *semiosphere*: “Imagine a room in a museum,” he writes in a foundational article, “where exhibits from different eras are laid out in different windows, with texts in known and unknown languages, and instructions for deciphering them, together with explanatory texts for the exhibitions created by guides who map the necessary routes and rules of behaviour for visitors. If we place in that room still more visitors, with their own semiotic worlds, then we will begin to obtain something resembling a picture of the semiosphere.”<sup>45</sup>

On 28 April 1967 this artificial archipelago came suddenly to life as a radically new space for meaning generation.<sup>46</sup> It was a utopian classroom, purpose-built to show the world how people live, or might live, today. But it was also an ark for artifacts, artworks, and multimedia presentations of the many contributions to civilization brought by the world's peoples: curated, on the one hand, by the nation-state pavilions proudly displaying the particular achievements of a single country, and on the other, by the theme pavilions suggesting the trans-historical universality of the many varied and diverse works of humanity as a whole. A visitor to Expo 67 was to feel a citizen not simply of a country, but of a planet that could suddenly be explored at will, Expo passport in hand. If there were certain gaps, if the interconnectivity was more factitious than real, it nevertheless suggested a new experience of worldness, one that anticipated the abstraction, modularity, connected simultaneity, rapid transportation, mediated reality, and structured mass anonymity characteristic of contemporary globalization. Yet Expo 67 was also produced in and by Montreal, Quebec, Canada – something the makers of the fair sought to affirm and exploit in different ways even as they promoted the filtering of local cultures and politics through the thematic ideal of *la Terre des hommes*.

The filtering may have been partial,<sup>47</sup> and the thematic resolution often mitigated by confrontation with a less-than-ideal reality, but the islands on the Saint Lawrence nevertheless provided a genuine space for the exploration of tensions arising between local, national, and international “Man” and the (globalizing) “World” of 1967.

These tensions themselves gave rise to some fascinating connections and the spontaneous creation of fortuitous networks. Here is but one example. On the opening night of Expo, François Dallegret, an up-and-coming Moroccan-born French designer of underground clubs who had worked on the fair’s amusement park, La Ronde, organized an unofficial “Expo Super-party” at the Place Bonaventure for the younger creative talent who had worked on the exhibition.<sup>48</sup> Among the performers on the bill was Suzanne Verdal, a charismatic modern dancer from Montreal who had once had a place by the Saint Lawrence River, where she served tea and oranges (that came all the way from China) to a young poet and novelist named Leonard Cohen. Years later, in a BBC Radio 4 interview, Verdal recalled that in the early 1960s she had moved near the old port because “the Saint Lawrence held a particular beauty and poetry to me.”<sup>49</sup> It was a beauty that clearly found expression in Cohen’s first major song, “Suzanne,” which he debuted in Canada over five nights at Expo’s Youth Pavilion from 22 to 27 July (by chance, coinciding with Charles de Gaulle’s visit) before returning to New York only a few weeks later to record it as a single, laying the cornerstone for what would become a long and celebrated (second) career as an internationally recognized singer-songwriter.<sup>50</sup>

If “Suzanne,” unexpectedly, returns us from global culture to the Saint Lawrence, the same could be said for Expo 67 itself. As Craig Moyes argues in the opening chapter of our collection, Mayor Jean Drapeau’s surprising decision to host a “universal” exhibition on newly created islands should not simply be seen as a grandiose political gesture, but as part of a long-standing French-Canadian symbolic investment in the river. Behind the humanist aspirations of “Man and His World” – too often understood as part of a general McLuhanesque focus on the incipient “global village” – lay a profound *national* consciousness, anchored in the Saint Lawrence River Valley, without which access to the *universal* would be compromised or impossible. If that investment, which predates Confederation, is associated with as conservative a figure as Lionel Groulx, it also, surprisingly, coincides with many of the forward-looking aspirations of the Quiet Revolution. Bookending the collection, Bill Marshall also traces the intersection of these two vectors in literary and historical explorations of the Laurentian siting of Expo 67. He considers the “Janus-faced” spectacle of Expo within the context of the Quiet Revolution by likewise focusing on the island setting and some of the literary, televisual,

and cinematic texts that engage with it. Marshall borrows a number of theoretical models (de Certeau, Bakhtin, Deleuze) to explore the symbolic effectiveness of islands within the Expo imaginary, and to elucidate the centrifugal-centripetal, territorializing-deterritorializing tensions that informed this ambiguous national spectacle.

A particularly eloquent example of that ambiguity, and of the “situated” conversation made possible by the topography of Expo, was to be found on Île Notre-Dame, where the original federal government plan for the Canadian Pavilion had included a small sample of traditional “Indian” handicrafts and symbolic artifacts. Pushback from Indigenous leaders led to the creation of a dedicated pavilion under their oversight, and a countrywide consultation with Indigenous communities on its form and content that made it the only democratically conceived pavilion at the fair. In revisiting this process, Linda Grussani and Ruth Phillips focus on the Indians of Canada Pavilion’s curatorial practices in order to pose questions about the way distinct, overlapping notions of Canadian national community were contested. Complementing their analysis, Romney Copeman offers a close reading of the starkly opposing manner in which the two pavilions represented Indigenous Canadians. At the core of the Canadian Pavilion, Copeman discerns a refined settler colonial narrative in guidebooks written by consultants among whom were some of the most distinguished Canadian intellectuals, English and French, of their day. They extolled a modernizing and developmentalist view of the country that relegated Indigenous people to the past, dooming them to assimilation into Canada’s multicultural national mosaic. A stone’s throw away, the Indians of Canada Pavilion responded with a bold narrative highlighting Indigenous resistance to the disastrous history of their colonization by the Canadian state.

Guided by the recollections of Andrew Tanahokate Deslisle – a leader of the Mohawk Council of Kahnawake who served as commissioner general of the Indians of Canada Pavilion – Copeman explores the symbolic and real encounters that ensued between what he calls “Canadian colonial humanism” and the reassertion of Indigenous autonomy and control over their own representation. Grussani and Phillips, in cataloguing the pavilion’s artworks and mapping their placement, see the beginning of a long process of thinking about Indigenous-led curatorial projects that has had a strong influence on “the stories that the nation-state tells about itself.” They also take on a little-studied film from the Expo cinematic canon, *Indian Memento/Mémoire indienne* by the young NFB filmmaker Michel Régnier, finding in it both an invaluable resource for reconstructing the pavilion’s organization, exhibits, and unique colour scheme, as well as a record of how those who controlled

the official Canadian documentary record hoped to re-contain the pavilion's radicalism by showing an "ideal" experience of it. This was achieved through the film's generic "biographical" study of one of the hostesses (who remains nameless), emphasizing her transition from an already acculturated life on the reserve to the (silent) mouthpiece of the pavilion's message to non-Indigenous fairgoers.

*Indian Memento* also shows the remarkable layering of interpretative "screens" that Expo gave rise to, as the hostess moves from one site to another, from her rural community in Western Canada to the urban East, from "nature" to the semiotically loaded environment of Expo, from the "real" environment of family to the "museological" frame of the Indians of Canada Pavilion, from the gaiety of the Expo crowds to the uncertainty of city life, as she gazes through shop windows at contemporary signs of commodification.<sup>51</sup> Screens perform an analogous function of obscuring and revealing in Marcelle Ferron's massive series of stained-glass windows for modernist architect Roger d'Assout's International Trade Centre. In a piece of scholarly detective work, Bruno Victor Andrus and Craig Moyes recover this "lost" pavilion to show how the repurposing of a traditional religious iconographical practice on (and around) the Expo site functioned as a stepping-stone for a broader reinvestment in public art during the Quiet Revolution. Installed in the only "private" pavilion at Expo, one restricted to local and duly invited international businessmen who were given a dedicated space for what would come to be called *networking* that directly faced the old networks of global trade on the Saint Lawrence, Ferron's work is another example of fortuitous interactions made possible by the topography of the semiosphere. Taking Walter Benjamin as a theoretical guide, the authors read her enormous array of windows along the corridor leading to the businessmen's "Expo-Club," between a suite of offices representing all the chartered banks of Canada on one side and the view over the river on the other, as a temporary (all-too-temporary) mediation between forms of national representation on the cusp of globalization.

Ferron is just one of many prominent Quebec artists who used Expo commissions to further their creative agendas. Caroline Martel takes a localized and "materialized" road into the cinematic equivalent of this process, starting from the reality that most films at the fair (as indeed at twentieth-century world exhibitions in general) were commissioned or "useful" works. This sets up her exploration of two production stories of Quebec government film commissions associated with the fair, Gilles Groulx's *...québec?* and Gilles Carle's *Québec à l'heure de l'Expo*. Martel finds an overlooked chapter in the history of Quebec film production at the intersection of the *auteur*-driven and the governmental film, blending the old and new traditions and trends of the doc-

umentary and the advertising industry. Her exploration of the conditions of production, and of the different styles and voices in films commissioned by the Office du film du Québec both before and after Expo 67, reveals new approaches to staging the nation during this period of significant change. While it is the event's extended media innovations that are usually admired by commentators, this pivotal transformation in approach to film commissions may be, in fact, one of the Montreal exhibition's most significant legacies.

The English title of Carle's film, *Expo 67: Made in Quebec*, captures one of the main thrusts of our volume: an interest in the *terroir* of this "universal" exhibition, the way its character was grounded in Montreal and in a Quebec society expressing itself nationally and globally in terms both old and new. Jean-Philippe Warren allows us to situate Expo 67 at the heart of a transformative francophone Quebec youth culture that was distinct in many ways from the student-driven radicalism that exploded around the world in the late 1960s. On the one hand, Quebec's Boomers were privileged and enthusiastic participants in a radically new British-American fashion and music consumer culture, readily adopting an alternative, world-oriented humanism that frowned upon the proxy conflicts promoted by the Cold War (most notably, in Vietnam). On the other hand, they saw themselves as part of a burgeoning post-colonial nationalism that aligned Quebeckers with the victims of First World oppression elsewhere, with Pierre Vallière's *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* (written in 1966 while the author was in prison in New York awaiting extradition to Canada) providing perhaps the most striking formulation of that notional alliance.<sup>52</sup> The contradictions were hashed out over the Expo summer at the Youth Pavilion, a concession made by the CCWE in the face of pressure from Quebec youth groups that ended up being one of the most visited and lively places at the fair, site of talks by local and international intellectuals of every stripe (from conservative to separatist to anarchist), concerts by a litany of the era's top performers, nightly dancing, and midnight screenings of new cinema from around the world.

As it did for Ferron, Groulx, and Carle, an Expo commission offered architect Luc Durand an opportunity to make a creative statement about the new Quebec. His was undoubtedly the most symbolically central and high-profile of them all, and also one that explored post-colonial parallels. Peter Scriver's chapter on Durand's hand in the design of the Quebec Pavilion argues that what is often taken as the epitome of Quiet Revolution architecture was among a number of "ostensibly 'national' installations" that engaged "simultaneously with the more worldly theme and aspirations of the fair."<sup>53</sup> Scriver shows that celebrated aspects of the pavilion – its sobriety and elegant economy of form, its transparency suggestive of openness to communication with the visiting

world, its delicate and reverent dialogue with the surrounding water – are better understood in the light of Durand’s formative prior experience as a young architect working in post-colonial New Delhi. In a striking cultural anticipation of the late-capitalist age of globalized commodity chains, what was most forthrightly “Made in Quebec” at Expo 67 may have essentially been “Made in India” as well. Using the same lens, Scriver expands the frame to situate Durand’s approach within a family of architectural innovation in the Australia Pavilion and Africa Place.

Steven Palmer tests the degree to which Expo 67 was the first postcolonial world exhibition, surveying the participation of “Third World” and new nation-states. Everywhere he looks, from the elaborate pavilions of republican India and revolutionary Cuba to the more focused and modest stagings of the new African and Caribbean states, Palmer finds influential postcolonial artists, selected by their respective governments to stage complex representations of newly “national” cultures. He reveals Expo to have been not only an important site for a sustained exploration of postcolonial modernities, but one where radical and revolutionary iterations of political emancipation and Black Atlantic art and identity occupy multiple stages. “Third World” countries used the Montreal and Canadian siting to their political and diplomatic advantage in a number of ways. Their presence, meanwhile, left a lasting impression on the people of Montreal, especially a growing anglophone Black community of mostly West Indian descent that was emerging as a centre of Black Power thinking and activism.

Opening just eighteen months after the end of the 1964–65 New York World’s Fair, Montreal 1967 had from the beginning defined itself in opposition to its predecessor. Robert Moses’s extravaganza, which did not have BIE sanction, was seen as destined to fail in paroxysms of hyper-commercialism and a lack of international buy-in well before it opened its gates, and most critics felt it more than lived down to the advance billing. Heesok Chang reconsiders Expo 67 in relation to this “outlaw” predecessor, and in contrast to the commonplace that Montreal triumphed where New York failed, finds “a shared modernist trajectory” and, in both, a “foiled utopian ambition.” Each was the creation of “an obdurate and powerful boss driven by an ulterior civic agenda” (Drapeau acting as Montreal’s Moses). Chang unpicks their “entangled techno-humanist legacies” in urban planning, architecture, and audiovisual environments. Expo 67’s Labyrinth and other immersive screen experiences were anticipated by two of the most popular attractions at the New York Fair, *Think* and *To Be Alive*. Chang views them as attempts to create the media *Gesamtkunstwerk* – or total experience – that, while ultimately unsuccessful, nevertheless signalled “the

quandary of humanism in the coming era of ubiquitous computing”: an era in which sensorial space is conjured through invisible software networks rather than via the elaborate architectures (and collective spectatorship) of multi-screen projections, such as *Labyrinth*, which have remained a defining feature of Expo 67.

Joy Knoblauch paints a dystopian portrait of the signature Brutalist architecture of Expo. She reads the fair as a platform for architectural experimentation based on the idea, promoted particularly by critic-theorist-practitioner Reyner Banham from the mid-1950s and through the 1960s, that architecture had to incorporate the lessons emerging from biology, medicine, and psychology, enabling it to “pass beneath the skin.”<sup>54</sup> In a sense, Expo architects were answering a call that originated with military and state planners and was then echoed by US designers during the Cold War, one that sought to turn the public’s existential fear of nuclear annihilation into something controllable and productive. Knoblauch’s reading casts new light on the sensuous shock and disorientation that were so much part of the fun and excitement of Expo 67, particularly in the film-based show, *Miracles in Modern Medicine*, that caused thousands to faint at Expo’s wildly popular Meditheatre.

The Man and His Health Pavilion and its Meditheatre show are at the heart of Steven Palmer’s second contribution to the collection, an anatomy of the pavilion as polysemic assemblage. While the intention was to represent “world medicine” – and a glittering international cast headquartered in Barcelona and New York City was responsible for the pavilion’s design and multimedia performance piece – Palmer finds the pavilion was rather an artfully disguised representation of Montreal medicine. This included anglophone and franco-phone physicians and surgeons playing important roles in international medical research, but who were also leaders in hospitals, medical schools, and associations whose growing secularization was at the core of Quebec’s Quiet Revolution. The interaction of avant-garde Montreal medical professionals, health institutions, and even theatre companies with high-flying international creative talent forged the powerful and original staging that turned the pavilion into one of the surprise hits of the fair. Inverting the title of this collection, Palmer argues that the Man and His Health Pavilion was a striking example of the way that Expo 67 staged globalization in the crucible of the nation.

Will Straw completes this tour of the artifacts of proto-globalization at Expo with a close second look at *Kill, Panther, Kill*: a low-budget, even “abject” film that shows itself to be a harbinger of much of today’s media production which casually (and interchangeably) exploits “the nation” as a disposable backdrop. A feature film in the “Eurospy” genre that was partially

filmed on-site while the fair was in progress, the movie is an example of what he calls “media extension”: texts outside those sanctioned for the Montreal World’s Fair that might take the form of comics or commercial TV series as well as films. These texts generated “unofficial” images of the fair that took on strange, ultimately uncontrollable connotations as they circulated through the national backwaters of entertainment commerce in a way that anticipated the trade in half-stolen kitsch, experiential trash, and pornography that propels today’s global media capitalism. The distance between the nation and the crucible of globalization was not so great as we might think: notably, both *Kill, Panther, Kill* and Gilles Carle’s insouciant celebration of national modernity, *Québec à l’heure de l’Expo*, “used” Expo 67 as a backdrop to narratives inflected with sex, adventure, and postmodern irony, intended in each case for international showings and ultimately commercial ends.

The volume closes with a retrospective epilogue, penned in the first person by a Quebec historian who grew up in the aura of Expo 67 and who supplements his recollections with empirical analysis of several generations of Quebecers’ memories of the fair. Jocelyn Létourneau uses a series of studies designed to examine how non-specialists construct a narrative of Quebec’s history derived from lived experience, as well as various specialist, media, and official histories to establish, against expectations, that Expo 67 remains a strong and positive marker for many Quebecers with regard to their understanding of the story of their own lives, as well as that of their national community. In the end, however, he suggests that this may not be the case for future generations unless a way is found to imprint Expo 67 more indelibly on Quebec’s collective historical imagination.

In two sections at the end of her long 1967 essay “unfolding” the theme of Expo – both partially redacted, to her chagrin, from the final published version<sup>55</sup> – Gabrielle Roy moves from personal observations and reflections in the first person to a rhetorical address in the second person in which she asks the reader to think about the meaning of *Terre des hommes* itself, as she and fourteen other eminent Canadian thinkers had done four years earlier at the Montebello Conference.<sup>56</sup> After enumerating many of the exciting and disturbing phenomena of the modern world – from the “mass of information” to “excessive specialization”; from the myriad examples of technological advance to the increase in selfishness and the “constant return to racial preference, so contrary to our (collective) progress”<sup>57</sup> – she finds hope in the exhibition itself, comparing it to an immense classroom “where Man is taught to Man.”<sup>58</sup> One at-

tendee who clearly understood the lesson was the philosopher, semiotician, and budding literary and cultural theorist Umberto Eco, who noted that despite some obvious problems and failures, Expo was “an enormous experimental laboratory” and (at least potentially) “a perfect teaching device.”<sup>59</sup>

Our ambition in this volume is neither so optimistic nor so grand, and is borne along in any event by critical post-“Man” perspectives deployed in different ways by our contributors. But in the spirit of Roy and Eco, our aim is to do justice to the remarkable interconnectivity of that event by bringing together, over fifty years later, English-Canadian, Québécois, First Nations, and international scholars in an interdisciplinary conversation. History, sociology, cinema studies, literary and cultural studies, art history and architecture: these are all, as we know, discrete practices and disciplines, with their own standards, working concepts, and vocabularies. But as intellectuals writing on these cultural phenomena, we also participate in a situated encounter of ideas, where the writer’s greatest asset is not the elevated point of view offered by the disciplinary panopticon, but the possibility of dialogical engagement on the ground, as it were, using signs that have already been in some way mobilized for similar (although not necessarily identical) ends. The writers of *Expo 67 and Its World*, despite speaking in distinct voices and treating subjects proper to their diverse fields of expertise, are likewise engaged in a dynamic conversation with the event, with the existing scholarship, and with each other. And insofar as the chapters of this collection meet across a common (if roughly mapped) intellectual topography, our authors share, as the great Québécois critic André Belleau put it, “the good fortune of inhabiting the semiosphere.”<sup>60</sup>

#### NOTES

- 1 Created as a “Dominion” of four provinces by the British North America Act of 1867, Canada was only semi-independent from Britain until the Second World War, and arguably until the Constitution Act of 1982. Over the course of the 1950s and ’60s, spearheaded by Prime Minister Louis Saint-Laurent, the official term “Dominion” began to be quietly elided from official documents in favour simply of “Canada” (or replaced by “federal” when an adjective was necessary), culminating in Dominion Day being rebaptized Canada Day the same year that the BNA Act was famously patriated by the Trudeau government without the agreement of Quebec. See *Hansard*, 8 November 1951 (21st Parliament, 5th Session, “Canada Lands Surveys Act”), <https://www.lipad.ca/full/1951/11/08/14/>.
- 2 It was the newly appointed commissioner of Expo, Pierre Dupuy, fresh from his ambassadorship in Paris (1958–63), who initially suggested that the Canadian

- Pavilion should be situated at the end of a broad avenue (“genre Champs-Élysées”), flanked by the pavilions of Great Britain and France. Yves Jasmin, *La Petite Histoire d'Expo 67* (Montreal: Éditions Québec-Amérique, 1997), 34.
- 3 A lively, if necessarily selective, daily chronicle of the 1967 Montreal International and Universal Exhibition, closely based on the daily bulletin distributed by the Public Relations department and nicely supplemented with photographs, is Yves Jasmin’s “Expo 67 au jour le jour,” Archives Montréal; seven posts corresponding to the months of Expo, April–October 1967; beginning with <http://archivesdemontreal.com/2017/04/27/expo-67-au-jour-le-jour-avril/>. An English version of the original is: “The Expo 67 Story,” vols. 1 and 2, mimeograph, Canadian Corporation for the World Exhibition, Record Group 71, vol. 11, Library and Archives Canada.
  - 4 A Universal and International Exhibition requires official sanction from the Paris-based Bureau of International Exhibitions (BIE). According to a treaty which sets out classifications and rules, Category 1 is the highest form of world exhibition, having a “universal” theme, extending for up to six months, and with participant states building their own pavilions (Montreal 1967 is in the order of Paris 1937, Brussels 1958, Osaka 1970, Seville 1992, and Dubai 2020). BIE-sanctioned world exhibitions in other categories focus on particular themes (for example, Vancouver’s 1986 Expo was devoted to Transport and Communication), and tend to have smaller budgets, less grandeur, and limited official participation by other nation-states. During the era under consideration, when Category 1 exhibitions had the public resources, diplomatic importance, commercial clout, and glamour now associated with the Olympic Games and the World Cup, the BIE tightly restricted their number, and spread them around continents. The heft and unilateralism of the United States meant that they often held “world’s fairs” that did not conform to the BIE rules and so enjoyed neither official sanction nor participation by other leading nation-states, with New York 1964–65 being the best-known example (see Heesok Chang’s chapter in this volume). Partly in order to avoid associations with the more commercial enterprise taking place south of the border, Jean Drapeau suggested the “Parisian” contraction *Expo* (from *exposition universelle*) for Montreal. The term initially met stiff resistance from English-Canadian politicians and pundits, who thought it absurd to give the event a name Americans would not understand (Jasmin, *La Petite Histoire d'Expo 67*, 23–4). Category 1 exhibitions have been known as “World Expos” ever since.
  - 5 Though, as Ron Rudin has shown, in an earlier period Quebec political and religious leaders had been favourably disposed to a “commemorative mega-event ... staged on the set of Quebec City.” *Founding Fathers: The Celebration of Cham-*

- plain and Laval in the Streets of Quebec, 1878–1908* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 8.
- 6 Umberto Eco, “A Theory of Expositions” (1967), *Travels in Hyperreality*, trans. William Weaver (London: Picador, 1987), 291.
  - 7 A comprehensive list would be long indeed. Those who created the most media impact at the time were, among royalty, Emperor Haile Selassie, Queen Elizabeth II, and Princess Grace of Monaco; among larger-than-life political leaders, Charles de Gaulle, Lyndon Johnson, and Bobby Kennedy; among transformative intellectuals, the Australian medical scientist and Nobel laureate Frank Macfarlane Burnet, the pioneering feminist economist Barbara Ward, and of course Marshall McLuhan; among artists with considerable aura, Marlene Dietrich (a cinema screen-sized blow-up of whose face, signifying “the movies,” also hung in the US Pavilion), Miriam Makeba, Harry Belafonte, Duke Ellington, Jean-Louis Barrault, and Laurence Olivier; and as for emblematic 1960s glamour, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis and Twiggy will suffice. The list of influential art and design talent would run to many pages, ranging from experimental jazz pianist Thelonious Monk to Andy Warhol and Niki de Saint Phalle, whose silkscreens and controversial Nanas sculptures graced the US and French pavilions respectively. There was also participation from a plethora of creative people from Quebec, Canada, and elsewhere who were not household names but made a significant impact on their fields (the contributions of many of them appear in this book).
  - 8 The phrase was from one of the first literary theorists to take Expo as a serious object of study: Donald Theall, “Expo 67 as Total Environment” (1976), reprinted in *Reimagining Cinema: Film at Expo 67*, eds. Monika Kin Gagnon and Janine Marchessault (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014), 19. See also Jean Larose, “cadavre.exquis.com” (1999), *Essais de littérature appliquée* (Montreal: Boréal, 2015), 57: “C’est à Montréal que le multimédia serait né, pendant l’Expo 67” (multimedia was born in Montreal, during Expo 67).
  - 9 Appearing as it does on the margins and at the end of the “American century” (1945–73), what Fredric Jameson has called the “forcing ground . . . of the new system.” *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1991), xx.
  - 10 Where English tends to favour the shorthand expression “world’s fair,” it is still called *exposition universelle* in French.
  - 11 For an overview, see Paul James and Manfred B. Steger, “A Genealogy of Globalization: The Career of a Concept,” *Globalizations* 11, no. 4 (2014): 417–34. A fuller investigation of the term’s prehistory and crystallization within academic study is furnished in chapter 1 of Manfred B. Steger and Amentahru Wahlrab, *What Is Global Studies? Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 25–51.

- 12 Fredric Jameson, “Notes on Globalization as a Philosophical Issue,” in *The Cultures of Globalization*, eds. Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 55. It is noteworthy that in his seminal 1991 work on the cultural and theoretical ramifications of late capitalism, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Jameson still has no index entry for the term “globalization.”
- 13 As one of the first modern works on the urban geography of Montreal suggests, the city owes its very foundation to the precise topography of that liquid highway, which, in the hopes of finding a trade route to China, first opened up the Atlantic to the North American continent, and the continent to the Atlantic. “L’île de Montréal, située au confluent de l’Ottawa et du Saint-Laurent, se trouve donc en liaison avec un immense hinterland, tout en ayant accès direct à l’océan Atlantique. La valeur stratégique de cette situation s’accroît parce que des obstacles obstruent ces routes naturelles et rendent l’escale obligatoire.” (The island of Montreal, situated at the confluence of the Ottawa and Saint Lawrence Rivers, opens onto an immense hinterland whilst at the same time allowing direct access to the Atlantic. Its strategic value is that much greater because of the natural obstacles to navigation at that point in the river which force travelers to stop.) Raymond Tanghe, *Montréal* (Montreal: Éditions Albert Lévesque, 1936), 46.
- 14 On the rise of “Vimyism” as core symbol of a new English-Canadian nationalism, see Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation: Re-branding Canada in an Age of Anxiety* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012); and Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *The Vimy Trap: or How We Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Great War* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2016). Ironically, the idea that Canada came of age through independent participation in World War I points to the precise constitutional sense in which Canada was *not* an independent nation, automatically declaring war at the same time as Britain (Article 15 of the British North America Act states: “The Command-in-Chief of the Land and Naval Militia, and of all Naval and Military forces, of and in Canada, is hereby declared to continue and be vested in the Queen.”). Doubly blind to the ironies of history, Harper’s emphasis on 1917 also evoked the conscription crisis of that year, which precipitated the first major post-Confederation crystallization of French-Canadian nationalism, as well as a number of critical reflections on the confederative pact of fifty years earlier. The other event given great bicentenary weight by the Conservative government in 2012 was the War of 1812, a surrogate “war of independence” narrative as British as it was martial, and one entirely dismissive of the relevance to the polity’s existence of the prior 200 years of colonial French Canada.
- 15 The watershed moment is explicitly evoked in Pierre Berton’s elegiac popular history published for the thirtieth anniversary of the Centennial, 1967: *The Last*

- Good Year* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1997); a 2017 look from the perspective of the Centennial generation is Tom Hawthorn, *The Year Canadians Lost Their Minds and Found Their Country: The Centennial of 1967* (Vancouver: Douglas and MacIntyre, 2017).
- 16 The subtitle of Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan's edited collection, *Expo 67: Not Just a Souvenir* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), attests to this cultural memory and pushes its limits.
  - 17 The only comprehensive account of Expo 67 is the highly readable and well-researched popular history by writer and journalist John Lownsbrough, *The Best Place to Be: Expo 67 and Its Time* (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2012).
  - 18 Bryan D. Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 425. There is a cluster of studies on the historic role of the Indians of Canada Pavilion in the politics of Indigenous self-representation: Ruth B. Phillips with Sherry Brydon, "'Arrow of Truth': The Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo 67," in Ruth B. Phillips, *Museum Pieces: Toward the Indigenization of Canadian Museums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 27–46; Jane Griffith, "One Little, Two Little, Three Canadians: The Indians of Canada Pavilion and Public Pedagogy, Expo 1967," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49, no. 2 (2015): 171–204; Myra Rutherford and Jim Miller, "'It's Our Country': First Nations' Participation in the Indian Pavilion at Expo 67," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 17, no. 2 (2006): 148–73. On religion and Expo, see Gary Miedema, *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Remaking of Canada in the 1960s* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005). The conference "Faces of Israel at Expo 67," Concordia University, 23–24 May 2017, explored representations of Judaism at the fair; the conference presentations – all nine of which were in English – were the basis for a special issue of *Canadian Jewish Studies/Études juives canadiennes* 26 (2018).
  - 19 Misao Dean, *Inheriting a Canoe Paddle: The Canoe in Discourses of English Canadian Nationalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 82–101.
  - 20 Meagan Elizabeth Beaton, *The Centennial Cure: Commemoration, Identity, and Cultural Capital in Nova Scotia during Canada's 1967 Centennial Celebrations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017) implicitly departs from this consensus, in showing the degree to which the federal government used the 1967 Centennial to justify and focus an enormous investment in infrastructural renewal that would also stimulate local and regional rethinking of citizen engagement with federalism and modernity, in a way that recalls the use of Expo 67 by political leaders in Montreal, Quebec, and Canada.
  - 21 Gagnon and Marchessault, *Reimagining Cinema*; see also their website, *Cinema expo67*, <http://cinemaexpo67.ca>.

- 22 Janine Marchessault, *Ecstatic Worlds: Media, Utopias, Ecologies* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2017), 127–57.
- 23 Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan, “Introduction: Dusting Off the Souvenir,” in Richman Kenneally and Sloan, *Expo 67*, 4.
- 24 John Gold and Margaret Gold, *Cities of Culture: Staging International Festivals and the Urban Agenda, 1851–2000* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 106; Robert Rydell, “Preface,” *Meet Me at the Fair: A World’s Fair Reader*, eds. Laura Hollengreen, Celia Pearce, Rebecca Rouse, and Bobby Schweizer (Pittsburgh: ETC Press, 2014), xxi.
- 25 Immersive projection, Karine Lanoie-Brien, *Expo 67 Live*, Office national du film, esplanade Place des Arts, 18–30 September 2017, <https://www.nfb.ca/expo67live/>. The show has been reformulated as *33 Short Stories about Montreal and Us* by Karine Lanoie-Brien and Roger Laroche, a permanent “art-hotel” multimedia exhibition exploring the urban transformation of Montreal from the 1950s to the 1970s in Old Montreal’s Uville Hotel. Though it passed unnoticed at the time, *Expo 67 Live* marked an epochal transition: the ONF – hitherto the NFB’s awkwardly Quebec-nationalist younger step-sibling – assumed loving stewardship over the legacy of its anglophone Canadian branch of the family, whose important role in the history of world cinema reached its zenith with the Labyrinth Pavilion and much of the Board-produced Expo cinematic corpus.
- 26 Of note were the exhibitions *Expo 67 – A World of Dreams*, Musée Stewart, Parc Jean Drapeau; *Fashioning Expo 67*, McCord Museum; *Habitat 67: The Shape of Things to Come*, Centre de Design de l’Université du Québec à Montréal; *Expo 67: Place aux Arts!*, l’Espace culturel Georges-Émile-Lapalme; *Expo Extra!* and *Exploration 67: Terre des jeunes/Youth and Their World*, both at the Centre d’histoire de Montréal. In the realm of print, notable were Luc Desilet’s beautifully illustrated *Les 50 ans d’Expo 67* (Montreal: Guy Saint-Jean Éditeur, 2017), Tristan Demers’s *Emmène-nous à La Ronde: 50 ans de plaisirs forains* (Montreal: Éditions de l’Homme, 2017), and, surprisingly, a small spate of children’s books, including Johanne Mercier’s *Raconte-moi l’Expo 67* (Montreal: Petit Homme, 2017), Maryse Rouy’s *Sur une île inventée* (Montreal: Hurtubise, 2018), and Michel Viau and Ghislain Dugay’s *Mission Expo 67* (Montreal: Perro, 2018).
- 27 Jason Farago, “Expo 2017: Utopia, Rebooted,” *New York Times*, 22 June 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/22/arts/design/expo-2017-utopia-rebooted.html>. The show is the reference point for Monika Kin Gagnon and Lesley Johnstone, eds., *In Search of Expo 67* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press and Musée d’art contemporain de Montréal, 2020).
- 28 Guylaine Maroist, Eric Ruelle, and Michel Barbeau, *Expo 67: Mission Impossible* (Productions de la ruelle, 2017). “Pearson admitted in his memoirs that Drapeau’s

- plan to hold the exhibition in the middle of the river was, at first, ‘one of the silliest things I had ever heard.’ He assumed that ‘with four million square miles of land in Canada, we would be able to find a plot some place.’” Berton, 1967: *The Last Good Year*, 260. In 1976, Montreal’s commercial port was moved downstream to its present location on the riverfront below Hochelaga-Maisonneuve.
- 29 The idea that the Expo islands were made with earth excavated from tunneling for the new metro system is a widely repeated Expo 67 legend (it is featured in the “Heritage Minute” devoted to the fair, analyzed in Bill Marshall’s chapter in this collection), and captures the symbiosis between the infrastructural transformation of Montreal in the 1960s and the building of the fair. In fact, the excavations accounted for only a small portion of the materials required to make the islands, most of which came from dredging the riverbed and other quarried materials. Realizing it would be impossible to create solid land masses of the size required in time, the Expo planning team designed a large lagoon for Île Notre-Dame and incorporated canals elsewhere, an expedient decision that ended up enhancing Expo’s charm and recalling historic cities like Venice and Tenochtitlán.
- 30 The other members of this high-powered Canadian management group were Deputy Commissioner General Robert Shaw and Director of Installations Colonel Edward Churchill (both accomplished megaproject engineers who had built such things as the DEW Line and the Saint Lawrence Seaway), Dale Rediker (finance), Andrew Kniewasser (general manager), Jean-Claude Delorme (legal), Pierre de Bellefeuille (director of exhibitors), and Édouard Fiset (chief architect).
- 31 *Tout le monde en parle* (Radio Canada), 23 April 2017, <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/tele/tout-le-monde-en-parle/2016-2017/segments/entrevue/21372/philippe-de-gaspe-beaubien-yves-jasmin>.
- 32 Standing out from the general amnesia is the important dossier of twelve articles – *Expo 67: 40 ans plus tard* – in the *Bulletin d’histoire politique* 17, no. 1 (2008), produced ten years earlier in the wake of the fortieth anniversary of the event.
- 33 Marcel Fournier, “Une société en mouvement: La Révolution tranquille ou la montée des classes moyennes,” in *Les Années 60: Montréal voit grand*, ed. André Lortie (Montreal: Centre Canadien d’Architecture, 2004), 31–51.
- 34 Pauline Curien, “L’Identité nationale exposée. Représentations du Québec à l’Exposition universelle de Montréal 1967 (Expo 67)” (PhD diss., Université Laval, 2003).
- 35 Pauline Curien, “Une catharsis identitaire: l’avènement d’une nouvelle vision du Québec à Expo 67,” *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 30, no. 2 (2006): 129–51; “Matérialisation et incarnation du grand récit du Québec moderne à Expo 67,” *Bulletin*

- d'histoire politique* 17, no. 1 (2008): 93–100; and “Une œuvre pour une vision du Québec: Le pavillon du Québec à l’Expo 67,” *Luc Durand: Itinéraires d’un architecte*, ed. Étienne Desrosiers (Montreal: Productions 7e vague, 2009), 33–9.
- 36 The September issue of Jean Drapeau’s bilingual promotional magazine, *Montréal ’67*, gives pride of place to both the creation of Quebec’s international delegations and the general’s visit to Expo. Neither the French nor the English text mentions de Gaulle’s “Vive le Québec libre” or the diplomatic incident that followed, but the French account – roughly twice the length of the English – adds: “du balcon de l’Hôtel de Ville, il avait rendu à Montréal et au Québec un émouvant témoignage d’admiration” (from the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville, he gave a moving expression of his admiration for Montreal and Quebec). *Montréal ’67* 4, no. 9 (September 1967): 4. For the extraordinary symbolic investment of de Gaulle’s trip to Quebec, see Michel Hébert and Lyse Roy, “Amour scénarisé, amour vécu: l’entrée solennelle de Charles de Gaulle au Québec en juillet 1967,” *Bulletin d’histoire politique* 14, no. 1 (2005): 147–59. See Craig Moyes’s chapter in this volume for a reading of Drapeau’s response.
- 37 Steger and Wahrab, *What Is Global Studies*, 25–51.
- 38 Quoted in Marchessault, *Ecstatic Worlds*, 156.
- 39 Ph. B. (Philippe Bernard), editorial, “Vive le Québec libre!,” *Parti pris* 5, no. 1 (September 1967): 5. Over the course of the 1960s, as the Quiet Revolution became increasingly noisy, the radicalization of Québécois nationalism was most clearly and vociferously expressed in the pages of *Parti pris*, whose fifty-three issues coincided almost exactly with the years during which Expo was programmed, built, staged and (partially) dismantled, from 1963 to 1968.
- 40 L. R. (Luc Racine), *Parti pris* 4, nos. 9–12 (May–August 1967): 7.
- 41 Ibid. “Sur la *Terre des hommes* nous ne sommes rien ou presque, quantité négligeable, sous-hommes plus ou moins bien nantis à la marge d’un empire dont tous les pouvoirs de destruction et de massacre ne se sont sans doute pas encore pleinement manifestés.”
- 42 “Dans l’histoire encore jeune des grandes expositions internationales, l’Expo 67 de Montréal apporte, en plus d’un gigantesque déploiement appuyé par la participation de plus de soixante-dix pays, le développement généreux d’un noyau thématique illustrant les principaux aspects de la vie contemporaine, aussi bien scientifique que culturelle.” (To the history of great international exhibitions – still in its infancy – Montreal’s Expo 67, in addition to a gigantic operation supported by the participation of over seventy countries, brings the generous development of a thematic kernel illustrating the principal aspects of [man’s] contemporary scientific and cultural life.) Dozois, *Terre des hommes/Man and his World* (note on dust-jacket flap; emphasis added). The divergences between

- the French and English texts of Expo are explored in more detail below in the chapters by Craig Moyes and Bill Marshall.
- 43 The most comprehensive catalogue of pavilions remains the lavish *Expo 67: The Memorial Album of the First Category Universal and International Exhibition Held in Montreal from the Twenty-Seventh of April to the Twenty-Ninth of October Nineteen Hundred and Sixty-Seven* (Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1968).
- 44 Compare the proprietary exhibit on a similar theme created for the Pepsi-Cola/UNICEF pavilion at the New York World's Fair. Conceived by Disney, sponsored by Pepsico, and billed as the "happiest cruise that ever sailed round the world," it was intended to promote "peace and unity" by showing "audio-anima-tronic" children from around the globe singing the national anthems of each country as fair-goers passed in flat-bottomed boats that were propelled through the building on a purpose-built water-filled channel. Walt Disney finally decided on a single song ("It's a Small World"), written by Disney staff songwriters, which could then be translated into many languages – and of course copyrighted and resold. In 1966 the ride was moved to Disneyland where it has remained one of the most popular attractions. As Disney expanded to become a global corporation, It's a Small World was recreated as a standard element at parks in Florida, Tokyo, Paris, and Hong Kong as part of its current mission to "execute the global strategy of Creativity, Innovation & International growth and seek to deliver the best entertainment to our fans and consumers where, when and how they want it with local relevance." See "Our Mission," The Walt Disney Company Europe, Middle East, and Africa (EMEA), accessed 6 May 2021, <https://thewaltdisneycompany.eu/about/>, and Heesok Chang's chapter in this volume.
- 45 Juri Lotman, "On the Semiosphere" (1984), trans. Wilma Clark, *Sign Systems Studies* 33, no. 1 (2005): 213–14.
- 46 "Meaning generation" is another concept borrowed from semiotics: "[The semiosphere] was also the synthesis of the core principles of Lotman's semiotics that can be formulated as the principle of *cultural isomorphism* – which postulates that all semiotic entities from individual consciousness to the totality of human culture are based on similar heterogeneous mechanisms of meaning-generation – and the principle of *textuality of culture*, the assumption that culture is an exceptionally complex text that in turn consists of texts within texts." Aleksei Semenenko, "*Homo polyglottus*: Semiosphere as a Model of Human Cognition," *Sign Systems Studies* 44, no. 4 (2016): 494.
- 47 For pointed examples of partial erasure and the corollary "return of the (locally) repressed," one need look no further than the Indians of Canada Pavilion or Charles de Gaulle's visit.
- 48 "François Dallegret on Expo 67, Le Drug, and the New Penelope Café," *Montreal*

*Underground Origins Blog*, 29 April 2017, [www.montrealundergroundorigins.ca/francois-dallegret-expo-67-le-drug-new-penelope-café](http://www.montrealundergroundorigins.ca/francois-dallegret-expo-67-le-drug-new-penelope-café).

- 49 Suzanne Verdall McAllister interviewed by Kate Saunders, *You Probably Think This Song Is about You*, BBC Radio 4, June 1998; transcript by Marie Mazur, [www.leonardcohenfiles.com/verdall.html](http://www.leonardcohenfiles.com/verdall.html) (accessed 20 December, 2020). Verdall's unidiomatic "to me" is in the transcribed text.
- 50 Judy Collins was the first to record the song in 1966; Cohen first performed it himself on 22 February 1967 – his first time on stage performing his own songs – at a benefit concert with Collins at the Village Theatre in New York. Sylvie Simmons, *I'm Your Man: The Life of Leonard Cohen* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 2012), 165.
- 51 It is perhaps not by chance that one of the producers of *Mémoire indienne* was André Belleau, who, as co-founder of the Québécois literary review *Liberté* in 1958, was already thinking deeply about questions of representation, and especially national representation, in the quite specific polyvocal and heteroglossic context of Montreal. For some reflections on writing for a review that, since 1958, has attempted to steer a course between poetics and ideology, see Belleau, "Mon cœur est une ville" (1959) and "Liberté: la porte est ouverte" (1983), in *Surprendre les voix* (Montreal: Boréal, 1986), 11–20, 21–5.
- 52 Pierre Vallières, *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* (Montreal: Éditions Parti pris, 1968). Although the FLQ and *Parti pris* were openly hostile to Expo, there is an unexplored link between the anti-colonial, militant nationalism of the former and the bourgeois, "universal" humanism of the latter. Michèle Lalonde, who in 1968 wrote what would become one of the famous literary statements of Québécois cultural resistance for the benefit of the still incarcerated Pierre Vallières, was commissioned in 1967 to write a poem "for two voices" and a symphony orchestra for the gala opening of Expo. Lalonde recently revealed that the central themes of "Speak White" ("the forces of destruction and the fate of minorities") were first developed in "Terre des hommes" and recast the following year in the stark polemical terms of *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*. Mario Girard, "Petite histoire d'un grand poème," *La Presse*, section Arts, 7 March 2016, <https://www.lapresse.ca/debats/chroniques/mario-girard/201605/09/01-4979586-petite-histoire-dun-grand-poeme.php>.
- 53 Except among the design cognoscenti, its architectural pride of place in the Quiet Revolution pantheon lasted only until the 1990s when, to Durand's horror and against his vain plea with a Quebec society in the throes of neoliberal re-education, this nationalist temple was turned into the theatre of the Montreal Casino. Its once lake-blue windows – mirroring river and sky by day, translucent by night – were painted a flat ochre yellow that was explicitly designed to make it resemble a giant gold ingot. See Beth Kapusta, "Interior Architecture," *The Canadian Archi-*

- tect* 39, no. 4 (August 1994): 30–3. Even so, neoliberal profanity has not yet quite freed the building of its sacred origins: in the summer of 2017, the casino theatre presented a fiftieth anniversary cabaret of songs associated with Expo 67, named for Stéphane Venn’s official Expo song, “Un Jour, Un Jour: Expo 67 – 50 ans.” One of the city’s “what’s on” website descriptions was telling: “The show will be presented at the Casino’s Cabaret, which is in Expo 67’s Quebec pavilion next to the Pavillon de la France (Casino de Montréal).” *The Montrealer*, 10 July 2017 <https://themontrealeronline.com/2017/07/un-jour-un-jour-until-august-24-2017-cabaret-du-casino/>.
- 54 Banham’s 1965 article, “A Home Is Not a House,” *Art in America* 53, no. 2 (April 1965): 70–9, was illustrated by François Dallegret.
- 55 And which Roy fought to keep: “En bref, longtemps après la signature du contrat, après même la traduction faite, après une dernière mise au point minutieuse, ils m’ont demandé d’accepter un condensé réduit à la moitié. J’ai finalement accepté – puisqu’ils ne voulaient pas rendre mon texte – à condition qu’ils le publient avec la mention *abrégé*. L’album vient de paraître. Extérieurement, il est assez beau, je pense. Mais comble de l’injustice, le nom de mes traducteurs n’est pas mentionné et, pis que tout, ils se sont permis de chipoter le texte anglais – ayant en main une belle traduction approuvée par moi – à leur façon, en style d’agence publicitaire.” (In short, long after I had signed the contract, and even after a final meticulous proofreading of the completed translation, they asked me to accept a version cut by half. I finally accepted – since they didn’t want to give me back my text – on the condition that they publish it with the note *abridged*. The album has just come out. It looks quite nice, I think. But, the height of injustice, the names of my translators are not mentioned and, worst of all, the English text has been rewritten in the style of an advertising agency when they had a lovely translation that I had already approved.) Roy to Cécile Chabot, 25 August 1967, in *Femmes de lettres: Lettres de Gabrielle Roy à ses amies, 1945–1978* (Montreal: Boréal, 2005), 125.
- 56 The famous Montebello Conference on Expo’s theme was held from 21 to 23 May at the Seignior Club (now the Château Montebello Hotel), a private resort built in the 1930s on the former lands of the *patriote* Louis-Joseph Papineau, situated on the Ottawa river about 100 kilometres upstream from its confluence with the Saint Lawrence at Montreal. The list of fifteen members of the Advisory Committee on Theme is given in the *First Annual Report of the Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition* (1963), 278. Yves Jasmin gives a slightly shorter list (but with no reference to any primary source) in *La Petite Histoire d’Expo 67*, 453. Missing from the latter are John Deutsch, F.R. Scott, and André Laurendeau.
- 57 “À côté de grandes espérances que font lever en nous tant de réalisations d’entraide à l’échelle planétaire, il faut mettre dans la balance le danger de l’égoïsme sans cesse renaissant, notre cruelle indifférence encore à tant de malheurs, et la

reprise constante de l'orgueil racial si contraire à notre avancement." (Against the high hopes that such global achievements give rise to, we must weigh the ever-present danger of self-interest, our continuing cruel indifference to so much suffering, and the constant return to racial preference, so contrary to our [collective] progress.) Gabrielle Roy, "Terre des hommes," in *Fragiles lumières de la terre: Écrits divers, 1942–1970* (Montreal: Les Éditions Quinze, 1978), 227.

- 58 "Ce qui t'a été présenté ici pourrait se comparer à une immense classe où l'homme est enseigné à l'homme." *Ibid.*, 231.
- 59 But he questions whether the pedagogic payoff justifies the enormous outlay of resources for what remains a geographically and economically restricted clientele. "Even if an exposition could be a perfect teaching device, as we have suggested, is it worth the expense and effort?" Eco, "A Theory of Expositions," 305–6.
- 60 "L'essayiste travaille dans le champ culturel avec les signes de la culture. Il a le bonheur d'habiter la sémiosphère." (The essay writer works in the field of culture with the signs of that culture. He has the good fortune of inhabiting the semiosphere.) André Belleau, "Petite essayistique" (1983), *Surprendre les voix*, 88. Lotman first published "On the semiosphere" in Russian in 1984 (appearing in English for the first time in 2005), and the concept has gained currency over the last twenty years or so, especially in the contexts of multimedia, translation, and cultural studies. It is unclear how Belleau was able to pick it up in 1983. For an excellent overview of the concept and its current relevance, see Winfried Nöth, "The topography of Yuri Lotman's semiosphere," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 18, no. 1 (2015): 11–26.

# 1

## Expo 67 and Its (Laurentian) World

CRAIG MOYES

Un hymne à la grandeur de l'homme.

– Pierre Dupuy, “Preface,” *Terre des hommes/Man and His World*  
(final sentence)<sup>1</sup>

Et je situerai l'homme où naît mon harmonie

– Gatien Lapointe, “Ode au Saint-Laurent” (first line)<sup>2</sup>

“At the centre of it all,” wrote Pierre Dupuy, “was the Saint Lawrence.” After finishing his term as commissioner general of the 1967 Montreal International and Universal Exhibition, held over six frenetic months on two man-made islands off the shore of the city proper, an exhausted Dupuy took a long holiday on another exotic island, Tahiti. It was supposed to be a well-earned rest ordered by his doctors, but his sleep was broken by nightmares of the organizational and political debacles that had swirled around what would nevertheless turn out to be the most successful world’s fair of the twentieth century. He tried to quell his anxious dreams by writing a memoir, published posthumously as *Expo 67, ou la découverte de la fierté* (*Expo 67, or the Discovery of Pride*). Unlike his envoi to the official exhibition album written the year previously, in which the pan-humanist ambitions of the Expo theme *Terre des hommes/Man and His World* are foregrounded, Dupuy locates the “grandeur” of the enterprise within neither the universalizing notion of “Man” nor the internationalist vectors implied by “World.” Instead, its source is to be found closer to home: “the River, as my French-speaking compatriots say, without mentioning its name, since in their eyes it is unique in majesty and liquid mass, and is the very flux of their history.”<sup>3</sup>

It is significant that Dupuy, a career federal diplomat before becoming de facto “ambassador” and “head of state” for an international exhibition that was meant to celebrate one hundred years of Canadian confederation, should invoke the symbolic matrix of an older, parallel nation. That nation, founded

in the seventeenth century through the alienation of Indigenous sovereignty over the shores of the Saint Lawrence and only ratified into legal existence *a mari usque ad mare*<sup>4</sup> by the British North America Act in the nineteenth, was not the yet-to-be minted bilingual “Canada” (the Official Languages Act, mooted by the Laurendeau-Dunton commission from 1963, would not come into force until 1969). Rather, it was the longer-standing “imagined political community,” to borrow Benedict Anderson’s term,<sup>5</sup> of what were once known as *Canadiens*, later as *Canadiens français*, and finally as *Québécois*. Despite the commemorative freight brought by the centennial year, this is not the place to rehearse the bicultural struggle for Canada or the rise of nationalism in Quebec.<sup>6</sup> But the overlaying of contiguous yet nevertheless quite separate national moments leading up to 1967 – the maple leaf “rebranding” of Canada and active governmental intervention in the formation of Canadian identity under Lester Pearson;<sup>7</sup> the de-provincialization and re-nationalization of francophone Quebecers under Jean Lesage and Daniel Johnson;<sup>8</sup> the sudden urgency of Indigenous representation borne on a global wave of 1960s radicalism<sup>9</sup> – set the stage for that year’s world’s fair to become a national(ist) experiment like no other. Much has been made of the contemporary media zeitgeist that Expo seemed to embrace and shape, its “spectacular showcasing of audiovisual technologies distinguish[ing] it from all previous expositions.”<sup>10</sup> Much too, at least in the popular imagination, of its (partially) federally funded place as the main event within the centenary celebrations of the young country of Canada.<sup>11</sup> Very few scholars have, however, perceived that Expo was also a specifically Québécois attempt to participate in a Canadian and indeed global conversation about evolving national representation, a conversation made possible in the first instance by Expo’s symbolically and historically overdetermined setting on the Saint Lawrence in Montreal.

On the face of it, Expo seemed no different from other world exhibitions in that the “nation” remained the ostensible backbone of the whole enterprise, an enterprise that Dupuy – “a man of international vision” – was recruited to lead precisely because of his long experience as ambassador to a number of European countries.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the concept of the nation seemed in many ways even more central to Expo 67, as Johanne Sloan and Rhona Richman Keneally observe, “precisely because the array of self-promoting national pavilions, exhibitions, and displays was situated against the backdrop of Canadian and Québécois nationalisms.”<sup>13</sup> But if Expo was concerned with national representation, which “host” nation was meant to be showcased, and to what end? These were not just questions relating to jurisdiction or to financial stakes, but properly existential disputes which were becoming increasingly acute across the political and cultural spectrum in Quebec in the lead-up to the fair. The

*Official Guide*, prefaced by the commissioner general, strikes a line that is either very coy, or very clear: it is neither Canada, nor Quebec; it is the *Montreal International and Universal Exhibition*. Six pages of the city's history and current achievements precede the practical information, maps, and summaries of the pavilions that make up the bulk of the guidebook. Canada is mentioned just once ("Montreal is the banking and the financial centre of Canada"), as is Quebec ("Montreal represents 60% of the total economy of Quebec"). This is despite Quebec's ongoing Quiet Revolution bringing active provincial intervention to areas that had formerly been the preserve of the Church, interventions that were moreover visibly reflected in the self-consciously "modern" urban fabric of Montreal touted by the guide. We should remember, too, that the city's vaunted financial and commercial dominance within Canada – largely anglophone, and born of two centuries of Atlantic shipping trade on the river – was already losing ground to Toronto; and the joint Canadian-American Saint Lawrence Seaway (opened in 1959 by Queen Elizabeth II and Dwight Eisenhower) would ultimately deal a major blow to Montreal's primacy by allowing much maritime traffic to bypass the port altogether.<sup>14</sup> But in 1967, with a population of 2,600,000, Montreal was still Canada's largest city.<sup>15</sup> It was also Canada's only truly bilingual city – in the sense that French and English could be heard in pretty much every walk of life, even if only a minority of citizens actually spoke both languages fluently – as well as being Quebec's only real space of immigrant-led cosmopolitanism.<sup>16</sup> The stated aim of Expo 67, however, was to provide more than a window on the material achievements or cultural sophistication of Montreal (or Quebec, or Canada), as the final sentence in this section of the guide underscores: "Montreal is not merely a cosmopolitan metropolis: It is a city with a particularly universal concept – heightened by the advent of *Expo 67*."<sup>17</sup>

This chapter will argue that Montreal's embrace of "the universal" should not be understood as mystifying or meaningless, or merely as a vestigial lexeme brought by the French translation of "World's Fair" (*Exposition universelle*), but as a serious attempt to do justice to an older and specifically French-Canadian ideal within the partially urban and partially utopian space opened up by Expo's felicitous river setting. It is certainly true, as the guide tells us, that "Montreal can ascribe its prodigious expansion to its geographical location. In the navigation sense it is a turntable, the farthest bound of ocean navigation which gives way to lake navigation, and terminus of the seaway to the great lakes. The second most important port of North America, it is 1,000 miles from the Atlantic Ocean, and one of the greatest of all the world's inland ports."<sup>18</sup> But beyond the national and international connectivity that the river makes possible, beyond the obvious economic benefits for the port and for

the city, Montreal's *universality* was to be found, as Dupuy suggests, above all in the "flux of history" that the Saint Lawrence represents.

That history is the *national* history of French Canada. To see how deeply it is embedded within the project of Expo, one need only start with the political alliance between the mayor of Montreal and the exhibition's commissioner general. Each was a disciple of one of the luminaries of modern Québécois nationalism: in the case of Drapeau, Canon Lionel Groulx (1877–1967), the great historian and intellectual organizer of a public discourse aimed at reaffirming the national identity and spiritual mission of French Canada within North America;<sup>19</sup> in the case of Dupuy, Édouard Montpetit (1881–1954), founder at the Université de Montréal of the first Quebec school of thought on political science, economics, and international relations.<sup>20</sup> A third figure from the same generation of modern nationalist thinkers must be mentioned as well: Brother Marie-Victorin (1885–1944).<sup>21</sup> A botanist who began his career in literature, Marie-Victorin's literary and scientific attentiveness to the eco-social cradle of the French-Canadian nation found traction in the 1930s with a number of political writers who were arguing for an understanding of national identity based on the historical and geographical specificity of the Saint Lawrence River Valley. By 1957, Raymond Barbeau and the "Laurentian Alliance" were brandishing Groulx's reading of history as the principal argument for an independent republic under the aegis of Marie-Victorin's neologism *Laurentie*.<sup>22</sup> The introduction to their first pamphlet is (almost) prophetic: "The creation of the *Republic of Lawrencia* is not only desirable but necessary, possible and relatively easy to achieve in the near future. Nothing can stop it coming into existence when the time is right, perhaps in 1967."<sup>23</sup> Neither Drapeau nor Dupuy was associated with Barbeau's right-wing separatist movement; Dupuy was a staunch federalist and, as we shall see, Drapeau and Barbeau espoused positions on the national question that were in many ways antithetical. But the overlap between the historical nationalism of Lionel Groulx, the economic nationalism of Édouard Montpetit, and the physio-technocratic nationalism of Marie-Victorin was a key factor in Drapeau's unlikely decision to situate the event in the middle of the river. With views onto the city's active port and bustling urban centre beneath Mount Royal's giant illuminated cross on one side, onto the new international seaway hugging the south shore on the other, onto the broad expanses of the Saint Lawrence pointing downstream to the Old World and upstream to the New, the island siting of Expo would be able to convoke the three national pillars of history, commerce, and geography as no other site could.

It is striking how little commentary there has been on the fact that "Canada's Fair" was built in the centre of that symbolically freighted channel, with its in-

direct appeal to the history of *French* Canada moreover heightened by new or revised nationalist toponymy brought by Expo's construction. Consider the three principal loci of the site: the massive expansion of the Île Sainte-Hélène, named for the saintly wife of Samuel de Champlain, first permanent settler of New France; the creation of an entirely new island, the Île Notre-Dame, a variant of the original name of the first French settlement on this spot in the upper Saint Lawrence in 1642, Fort Ville-Marie;<sup>24</sup> and the extension of the nineteenth-century dyke that protected the Old Port, Mackay Pier (known initially as Guard Pier),<sup>25</sup> and renamed Cité du Havre in 1967 in a clear echo of the French harbour city that saw Champlain off on his first major voyage of colonization in 1604 and from which so many settlers would subsequently depart. These became spectacular new additions to a fluvial environment already thickly layered with historical reference. Expo was situated above the Jacques Cartier Bridge (renamed in 1934 from the original "Harbour Bridge") and below the Victoria Jubilee Bridge (so between the "discoverer" of New France and the monarch who oversaw its entry into Confederation), with the newly built Concordia Bridge/Pont de la Concorde (after the motto of the city, *concordia salus*) joining the islands to the port. A little further downstream, another crossing (opened just a month before Expo) was named for Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine, member of the nationalist Parti canadien (later the Parti patriote) who, in 1842, was the first politician in the newly united Province of Canada to address Parliament in the banned language of French. And on the south shore in Longueuil, erected to power Expo itself with electricity harnessed 500 miles away in the heartland of the province, was the new Marie-Victorin Hydro-Québec substation.

Municipal documents prepared for the choice of site argue that because a universal exhibition should reflect "the vitality of human civilization in a grandiose setting," the island siting speaks for itself: "the choice of the islands in the Saint Lawrence facing Montreal for the site of the Canadian International and Universal Exhibition represents the living symbol of a nation in full growth."<sup>26</sup> But again, which nation? Nominally, Canada: the federal government was, after all, paying half the bill for this jewel in the crown of the country's Centennial celebrations, and reports such as this one were written to persuade both anglophone and francophone decision-makers. Nevertheless, it is no surprise that the "living symbolism" of the site would resonate above all with the francophone public (who would go on to make up the majority of Expo's visitors; see appendix) while remaining more or less invisible to anglophones. This was effectively spelled out in *La Presse* the day after the mayor's announcement.<sup>27</sup> After enumerating the various practical and financial reasons for choosing the island location over other possible sites within greater