
Grounding the New Perspectives of Modernism: Canadian Airports and the Reconfiguration of the Cultural and Political Territory

Aeronautical technology supplied conceptual and operational models as well as novel typologies for Modern Movement design. Its interconnections with commercial and state policy disclose the complicated structuration and displacement of Modernism within the modern project. Each shared a preoccupation with mobility and universality nonetheless grounded spatially.

The airport building, initially denominated aerodrome, became a figure for the late phase of modernity and the instrumental use of science as well as an icon of the Modern Movement endeavour to redirect that generally hierarchical and colonial practice to more equitable and humane social ends. The convergence of such diametrically opposed agendas in aeronautical technology and architecture is exemplified in a 1947 proposal for a land and seaplane airport on a reclaimed section of English Bay, close to downtown Vancouver (fig. 1). That was included in the revised version of the City Beautiful plan drawn up by the United States firm of Harland and Bartholomew and published in the July 1940 edition of the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada. Their theory of design and technology diverged from the radical functionalism espoused by the majority of designers involved in the construction of Vancouver's first airport building, including the structurally innovative reinforced concrete aircraft hangar conceived by the architect-engineer Otto Safir in 1955 (fig. 2). The spatial grounding of cultural change is especially evident in later 20th century Canada as it moved from imperial confederation to cosmopolitan constitutional independence. Moreover, during that period, Canadian scholars made significant contributions to the theorization of the spatial and socio-cultural impact of new communication systems and technologies.

In those processes, Modernist design, typified in the federal airport building program of the mid-1950s, acted as iconic and functional agent of supposedly unifying but ultimately contested collective identity. Yet the often mundane rather than elegant abstract functional articulation of the Canadian federal airports, generally bereft of the “whammo” stylistic formalism of some
United States (and most recent airports), both simulate and challenge the stereotypical binaries within the Modernist-Postmodernist debate. They display a bland transparency and efficiency that, on the one hand, seems to illustrate Martin Heidegger's definition of the modern condition: "Everything gets lumped together into uniform distanceless" and "despite all conquest of distances the nearness of things remains absent." On the other hand, they act as containers of heightened societal and individual instability consequent upon air travel, which yet concretise a liminal arena somewhat equivalent to Homi Bhabha's third space. Indeed, from the late 1950s and the successful introduction of jet passenger aircraft, airports have become places of ritualistic transposition across geophysical no less than ethno-cultural boundaries, despite the capitalist-consumerist trappings of mass tourism and economic migration. Their Modernist fabrics demonstrate the heterogeneous ideology of the Movement, intermixing locality with intercontinentalism, high with popular culture and technology with aesthetic. That last intermixture is exemplified in the Canadian context by the artwork commissioned for the new federal airports and, most notably, B.C. Binning's mural for the Edmonton Airport (1958-1961). In addition, the Modernist airport enforced the confusion, even contamination of social classes at all the significant regulatory spaces of air travel and most especially pre-boarding, customs, and luggage areas. Besides thus anticipating attributes of the postmodern condition, the spatial anonymity of the first series of postwar Canadian (and international) airports embodied Modernism's original intent to disrupt the hierarchical controlling systems of modernity. They made conspicuously efficient rather than impressive places that corresponded with Marshall McLuhan's optimistically technocratic Global Village. In turn, those symbolically neutral spaces would accommodate the emergent late modern intersubjectivity regarded as potentially benign by Pico Iyer in the Global Soul.

The radically altered comprehension of space, and thereby place and form in the architectural sense, instilled by air travel is manifest in the total re-mapping of Canada to define the "Geographic Scope of Liberalization" formulated by the 1984 federal Air Policy (fig. 3). Geography, society, commerce, technique and aesthetic were similarly redefined by the advent of aerial infrastructure. In the establishment of those generally invisible yet materially tangible lines of air transportation, and in the related development of air power, Canada assumed considerable prominence. The first transatlantic flight by Alcock and Brown in 1919 began from Newfoundland (within forty years fully integrated into Confederation) using an adapted Vickers heavy bomber named in celebration of the famed Canadian capture in 1917 of Vimy [Ridge]. A few months earlier the Dominion Government had signed both the Versailles Treaty and the 1919 International Convention for Air Navigation, itself preceding the first trans-Canada flight, 7th to 17th October 1920. The federal financing of policy for the new technology thus anticipated the formalization of Canada’s diplomatic autonomy at the 1926 Imperial Conference. While aerial transport was then regarded by British and Canadian imperialists as promising a revitalized imperium surpassing its maritime-commercial origins—witness the rhetoric surrounding the reception at Montreal of the inaugural transatlantic flight by the R100 airship in 1930 or the 1935 transatlantic flying boat service agreement signed in Ottawa between the United Kingdom (Imperial Airways), the United States (Pan American Airways), and Canada—indepence in air policy was guarded by the Federal Government.

In 1937, just before the attempted inauguration of Imperial Airways transatlantic service, C.D. Howe, the Minister of Transport, won parliamentary approval for the Trans-Canada Airlines Bill “of immense value for national purposes” (figs. 4 and 5). The eventual commencement of service in 1939 was inscribed into Canadian progressive no less than popular culture through advertising. One example is the advertisement placed in the June 1939 issue of the JRAIC in which text and image played upon both imperialist and universalist narrative (fig. 6). From 1939 Canada supplied, as before and during the First World War, disproportionate numbers of airforce personnel, airfields for the Commonwealth Air Training Programme (CATC) and safe haven for substantial aircraft manufacture. That included the De
the late modern globalized “network of places” constructed by those multifarious dynamics Heidegger justifiably attributed to “the logic of capitalist development.”

There is another dimension to those restructurations, a dimension closer to the processes of internationalisation and of architectural design. The paradigmatic images of Modern Movement reformed urbanism are almost always represented as if from an aerial perspective, one more technically authentic than the traditional “bird’s-eye view.” Moreover, these either include provision for air transport or allude to its civil or military agency. Tony Garnier’s *cité industrielle* was drawn concurrently with the Wright Brother’s pioneering flights at Kitty Hawk (1903-1905). Clearly, the aerial perspective was not his invention, but it is employed to support a more insistent concept of physical and communal relationship that became normalized with the advent of regular flight. In that respect, the air trope operates akin to the idealized utopian project of comprehensive town planning. Each simultaneously confronted real deficiencies while delineating solutions increasingly capable of implementation through the technologies glamourized in aircraft. Hence the compounding contradiction between the imaginary and attainable in Sant Elia’s confluence of aerial and ground transportation system in the Città Nuova (c. 1912-1914), or Le Corbusier’s Contemporary City plan for Paris (1920-1922), which was subsequently named for the French aircraft manufacturer Voisin. In the same way, the technophilia cherished by most proponents of the Modern Movement design led Richard Neutra in his Rush City scheme (1925-1926) to de-problematize the impact of the automobile on urban community, partly by situating the visual focus on the primary concern of comprehensive urban design.

The link between what the MacKenzie King Liberal Government called “Canadianism” and the emergent aerial world order had been manifested in the grounding of the bureaucratic machinery for the 1944 International Air Services Transit Agreement in Montreal; appropriately the International Civil Aviation Organization and International Air Transport Association remain headquartered in a Modernist skyscraping tower block on Sherbrooke Street. Despite, or due to, recent collaboration through the 1939-1945 conflict, Canada in 1944 spurned British attempts to forge a Commonwealth Air Policy constructed around British controlled aircraft manufacture and economic interests. Nonetheless, Trans Canada Airlines and Canadian Pacific Airlines (actually formed earlier than T.C.A. in 1930) bought British aircraft, notably the Vickers Viscount and Bristol Britannia. The Viscount and Britannia respectively enabled daily cross-continental transit and the first transpolar flights out of Vancouver from 1955; C.P.A. and T.C.A. also planned on flying the pure jet De Haviland Comet that opened rapid transcontinental travel in 1952. The jet era would, moreover, reposition Canada centrally in

Haviland Mosquito fighter-bomber, and the A.V. Roe (AVRO) Lancaster heavy bomber, which became mainstays of the later stages of the European air war; in addition, a modified version of the Lancaster initiated Trans-Canada Airways transatlantic service in 1943. Each company subsequently contributed to independent nationalist policy. De Haviland manufactured the Beaver bush plane, which assisted the resource development generated by postwar Reconstruction, and AVRO, the now mythic Arrow supersonic fighter-bomber, which initially placed Canadian aeronautical technology at the forefront of international development.

The everyday experience of flying supported such removal of the complex material contingency of city living to an abstract and aesthetically appealing mechanistic imagery. The paradigmatic images of Modern Movement reformed urbanism are almost always represented as if from an aerial perspective, one more technically authentic than the traditional “bird’s-eye view.” Moreover, these either include provision for air transport or allude to its civil or military agency. Tony Garnier’s *cité industrielle* was drawn concurrently with the Wright Brother’s pioneering flights at Kitty Hawk (1903-1905). Clearly, the aerial perspective was not his invention, but it is employed to support a more insistent concept of physical and communal relationship that became normalized with the advent of regular flight. In that respect, the air trope operates akin to the idealized utopian project of comprehensive town planning. Each simultaneously confronted real deficiencies while delineating solutions increasingly capable of implementation through the technologies glamourized in aircraft. Hence the compounding contradiction between the imaginary and attainable in Sant Elia’s confluence of aerial and ground transportation system in the Città Nuova (c. 1912-1914), or Le Corbusier’s Contemporary City plan for Paris (1920-1922), which was subsequently named for the French aircraft manufacturer Voisin. In the same way, the technophilia cherished by most proponents of the Modern Movement design led Richard Neutra in his Rush City scheme (1924-1926) to de-problematize the impact of the automobile on urban community, partly by situating the visual focus on the primary concern of comprehensive urban design.

The link between what the MacKenzie King Liberal Government called “Canadianism” and the emergent aerial world order had been manifested in the grounding of the bureaucratic machinery for the 1944 International Air Services Transit Agreement in Montreal; appropriately the International Civil Aviation Organization and International Air Transport Association remain headquartered in a Modernist skyscraping tower block on Sherbrooke Street. Despite, or due to, recent collaboration through the 1939-1945 conflict, Canada in 1944 spurned British attempts to forge a Commonwealth Air Policy constructed around British controlled aircraft manufacture and economic interests. Nonetheless, Trans Canada Airlines and Canadian Pacific Airlines (actually formed earlier than T.C.A. in 1930) bought British aircraft, notably the Vickers Viscount and Bristol Britannia. The Viscount and Britannia respectively enabled daily cross-continental transit and the first transpolar flights out of Vancouver from 1955; C.P.A. and T.C.A. also planned on flying the pure jet De Haviland Comet that opened rapid transcontinental travel in 1952. The jet era would, moreover, reposition Canada centrally in

Haviland Mosquito fighter-bomber, and the A.V. Roe (AVRO) Lancaster heavy bomber, which became mainstays of the later stages of the European air war; in addition, a modified version of the Lancaster initiated Trans-Canada Airways transatlantic service in 1943. Each company subsequently contributed to independent nationalist policy. De Haviland manufactured the Beaver bush plane, which assisted the resource development generated by postwar Reconstruction, and AVRO, the now mythic Arrow supersonic fighter-bomber, which initially placed Canadian aeronautical technology at the forefront of international development.
America. He experienced the visual integration of large-scale geography with human settlement, and simultaneous visibility of site and situation, more than likely prompted the integration of topography and even the Picturesque into his subsequent town planning schemes especially for Algiers. In company with Frank Lloyd Wright, whose 1930 perspective rendering for the Grouped Towers project in Chicago includes a Zeppelin-like dirigible, Le Corbusier regarded advanced aircraft as visual symbols and actual models of the social potential of technical system notably in its 1935 book Aircraft. That justifying and expository role is evident in the autogyro transport ("Aerators") Wright conceived for Broadacre City (1934-1935), or within a divergent political context, the airview rendering, including the latest Fiat bombers, of a scheme for the Palazzo Littorio, entered in the 1934 competition for a new Fascist headquarters in Rome by a group including Luigi Figini and Ernesto Rogers. It also underlines the polemic intent of the illustration of a Short Kent Flying Boat operated by Imperial Airways in F.R.S. Yorke’s important Modernist tract, The Modern House (1936); or of Le Corbusier’s decision to suspend a full-size model monoplane in the Bata Pavilion at the 1937 Paris World’s Exposition as an allegory for global commerce.

The Modernist argument from the air almost attained durable form in Raymond McGrath’s design for Rudderbar (1934) (fig. 7). An aviatrix commissioned him to design a combined house and transport hub. An aircraft hangar and a garage were to be built alongside domestic quarters surmounted by an observation/control tower. Building was to have commenced with the patron dropping a foundation block after takeoff at the onset of an attempt on the flight endurance record to be terminated coincident with the completed structure. A less arcane alliance of Modernist practice and theory with aeronautics occurred in 1947. That formed part of the endeavours to revive the Congrès internationaux de l’architecture moderne (CIAM) and its centrality to Modernist design and urbanism. The delegates to the 6th CIAM at Bridgewater in the West of England, including the young Canadian architect-planner H. Peter Oberlander representing Central (Canada) Mortgage and Housing Corporation, visited the Bristol Aeroplane Company (fig. 8). At the company’s factory in Filton, they observed the mass-production of prefabricated housing units using surplus
military material, especially aluminium and steel: a functioning metaphor for Modernism's ideal of reconstructing society by redirecting industrialist and technology to universal human need (fig. 9). Yet—and symptomatic of the limited analytic and of the conservative collusions of Modernism—the chief concurrent productions of the Bristol Aeroplane Company were high-performance sports cars, gas turbine engines, and freight and passenger aircrafts. Of these latter, the Brabazon airliner was aimed at the elite transatlantic traveler (fig. 10). A later project would be the engines for the Concorde, which originated at the Royal Aircraft Establishment as a vehicle for rapid travel to the distant Commonwealth, with the objective of maintaining British transoceanic economic influence.

That imbrication of the radical with the traditional in Modernism applies to the establishment of the Canadian air transport system and airline industry. The bureaucratic model and commercial impetus derived from Canadian railway policy and companies with their heritage of imperial, neo-colonial and expansionist praxis. As indicated, the national legislation, beginning with the 1919 Air Board Act, emerged out of the agreement signed by the British Empire with its allies as part of the Versailles Treaty. The Act, again paralleling Modernist attempts to exploit the latest technology in the enactment of ethos, was "for the regulation of a service essentially important in itself as touching closely the national life and interests but also of the necessity of making provision for performing the obligations of Canada, in part of the British Empire and the Convention relating to the regulation of Aerial Navigation [...] signed by the representatives of 21 of the Allied and Associated Powers including Canada." Reading such contemporary policy documents back into Modernism underscores the formative dynamic of the First World War in collectivizing disparate groups and ideology around more universalizing projects. The assumptions underlying the 1919 Act also resonate with those material processes charted by one Canadian theorist of social-cultural development, Harold Innis. Those assumptions also engage with the technophilia celebrated by McLuhan, who comprehended the profound realignments of physical and psychological space wrought by the technologies of the Jet Age. Just as McLuhan's
celebrated phrase, the Global Village problematizes almost as much as it defines, so also the 1919 Act aroused tensions within the Canadian fabric. These took flight in 1927, the year Le Corbusier’s *Vers une architecture* (1923) gained international authority in the English translation by Frederic Etchells (*Towards a New Architecture*). At the November Premier’s conference “the representatives of Quebec raised a question as to the legislative authority of the Parliament of Canada to sanction regulations for the control of aerial navigation generally within Canada.” The quote comes from the pamphlet prepared by the solicitor for the Attorney-General of Canada in the case brought before the Supreme Court of Canada, “As to the Respective Legislative Powers under the British North America Act, 1867, of the Parliament of Canada and the Legislatures of the Provinces in Relation to the Regulation and control of Aeronautics in Canada.” The pamphlet was printed in 1929, the year not only of the stock market crash, but also of Charles Lindbergh’s solo transatlantic flight.

The Federal Government won that case. And the relatively modest developments in air transportation and consequently airport construction up to the early 1950s contained that aspect of regional and ethno-cultural resistance to federalism. Airport buildings were modest and generally removed from major centres, causing a contributor to *Saturday Night* as late as 1958 to describe Canadian aerodromes as “undoubtedly among the world’s worst.” Consequently, they were not an irritant presence of distant disciplining authority in the Foucauldian sense. Not at least until civic, provincial, and federal pride seemed threatened as when, in a 1954 issue, the *Montreal Gazette* denounced Dorval as “cheap, cramped and makeshift.” The collectivist and socialist modification of Canadian liberalism affected by the Depression and World War II privileged a populist notion of progress that embraced an amalgam of post-imperialist, nationalist, continentalist, and internationalist thoughts. The alliance of Government with corporate capital in pursuit of a financially if also socially profitable reconstruction during the two postwar decades enabled the implementation of the 1937 *Trans-Canada Airlines Act*. Air transportation, C.D. Howe had then declared, could be of “immense value for national purposes […] the people living at the extremes of the country would be able to travel more frequently to the centres of government, business and industry, and the interrelations of the country would thereby be facilitated.” The rhetoric was reinforced in the 1944 *Air Transport Act* and in subsequent legislation clarifying the responsibilities of the Air Transport Board. The phraseology of both Bills reveals the increasing folding of radical and comprehensive societal aims into conservative and pragmatic operative means comparable to the corporatization and pedagogical conventionalisation of Modernism during the 1950s. Prime Minister St. Laurent voiced the commercialistic reconstitution of democratic socialist reform when announcing the beginnings of privatization in 1952: “airlines like other transport facilities are the arteries through which the economic life blood of the country flow.” The body politic was regarded as a financial rather than cultural construct, in the manner summarized by William Hughes in the opening paragraph of his doctoral thesis, *Public Policy and Airline competition in Canada: the “prime objective of public policy has been, and still is, the tying together of the extremities with economic and cultural bonds. A nation must have, if it is to be so called, a transportation system connecting communities the central government authority.”*

Similar constructs underpin the architectural articulation of the airports built under the auspices of the Department of Trade (DOT) from 1954-1955 and through the Liberal and Conservative administrations of Lester Pearson and John Diefenbaker. Indicative of the collusion between technology and status quo, the airport building programme perpetuated established political hierarchy. Topping the list were the *International* terminals at Halifax, Montreal, Winnipeg, and Ottawa (fig. 11). The
rebuilding of Toronto’s facility at Malton followed at the end of the decade in grudging recognition of the transfer of financial paramountcy from Montreal. The two other cities at the centre of new regional economies then altering the Canadian political fabric, Vancouver and Calgary, enlarged their airports predominantly under civic plebiscite. The DOT, however, had exclusive authority for the remainder that fulfilled older Canadian political agendas of the distribution of subsidiary economic power: Comox, Edmonton, Kenora, North Bay, Prince Rupert, Port Hardy, Regina, Saskatoon, St. John’s, Sept-Îles, Sault-Sainte-Marie, Stephenville, Quebec City, Victoria, and Windsor. Their construction should also be linked to a substantial military programme motivated by the Cold War together with the strategic and neo-colonialist appropriation of the North. Another factor was realignment away from Britain, after the 1956 Suez Crisis, toward closer but problematic alliance with the United States as enacted by NORAD (North American Aerospace Defence Command), and cancellation of the AVRO Arrow in favour of the Bomarc missile.41

The defining architectural characteristic of Canadian airport building from that era is a cautious internationalism, vectored toward the United States consumerist and mechanistic
re-appropriation of the Modern Movement. The design idiom at the different international and regional or local airports is remarkably similar. That similarity derives to some extent from the functional specification but is here argued to represent a political inscription of the Modernist preoccupation with essentialized aesthetic as well as formal statement. The simplified trabeated-concrete, metal or wood-structure, standardized and modular in-fill/paneling or glass curtain walls, clear volumetric differentiation of functional operations, rigorous avoidance of ornamentation counteracted by contemporary artworks and furnishing reflect both a policy of, and popular cultural preference for interconnectedness. The severe geometry could be monotonous and diffused in Gilleland and Strutt's schemes for Halifax (1957-1960) (fig. 12) or for Ottawa (1955-1960, ironically delayed by the destruction of much of the glazing by the sonic boom from a low flying RCAF jet). Conversely, it could be surreptitiously monumental as in the large, triple component facility designed for the Montreal International Airport at Dorval by Illsley, Templeton and Archibald working with Larose and Larose (1954-1959) (fig. 13). When less directly policed by W.A. Ramsay, Chief Architect at DOT, the typical Modernist formula was adapted with greater architectural distinction. It attained elegance of proportion and of articulation in Green Blankstein Russell and Associates Winnipeg International Airport (1959-1961) (fig. 14). There is even a hint of critical regionalism in the deployment of glulam post-and-beam construction by McCarter Nairne and Partners for the temporary Air Terminal at Vancouver (1957-1958) (fig. 15). Another factor was relative scale. The smaller traffic alike pertaining to Calgary allowed its architects, J.C. Clayton and Allan Mogridge, to introduce more domestic spaces and effects (fig. 16). Those were reinforced by the commissioning of furnishings from Robin Bush who espoused the late Romantic humanist and craft veins also harboured within Modernist lore (fig. 17).

That series of Canadian airports thus represents the broad preference for greater cultural homogeneity and part of the search for a new political and economic synthesis. The Modernist design codes, while becoming increasingly conventionalized during that decade, still seemed capable of resolving different iterations of the transformation of the customary into an efficient and desirable future environment. The alliance of Modernist iconography and practice with the Quiet Revolution, as well as with growing regionalist and even ethnic consciousness, marked the extent of incommensurability coincidently tolerated by Modernism's egalitarian redirection of the modern project. The attainment of chiefly materialist objectives, embracing in Modernism both low cost public and private suburban housing, corresponded with the functionalist specification of aeronautical architecture typified by John R. Baldwin's "Airports and Terminals in Canada" published in the October 1956 issue of The Canadian Architect (TCA). Illustrated by aerial view renderings that exaggerated aesthetic comparability, Baldwin read airports as attributes, operations, and problems: speed, access, noise, circulation, and safety. In the review of Canadian airports TCA printed
almost three years later (in January 1959), statistics predominated. The relapse into conformity was manifest in the cryptic allusion to growing Quebecois Separation in the caption on Dorval: "For a city of part French and part English, a collaborative of English and French architects brings the dichotomy right into the building."

Modernism was still presumed capable of successfully reconfiguring traditional values or expectations through its concentration on analysis of need, efficiency of form, and embrace of technology. The idea that aesthetic derived from satisfaction of function, baldly stated by Bruno Taut in Modern Architecture (1924), clearly influenced the architectural critic James H. Acland as concerns the Toronto International Airport. He opined that the two innovative "aeroquays" and new facilities for the jet age built at Malton to the designs of John B. Parkin Associates (1960-1964) surpassed all Canadian, and most American or European, air terminals in architectural quality, technological relevance, and critical reception. The Parkin design team had invented a unique structuration of Modernist mobility (fig. 18). The aeroquays comprised independent units that combined purist geometrical composition with a purposeful formal organization: the outer circular aircraft access and service building surrounding a central rectangular parkade linked by tunnels beneath the flight apron to ground transportation communicating with Toronto and its economic region. Acland foresaw the inadequacy of Toronto's road and rail transit, but not the exponential growth in passenger traffic that would render the Malton solution obsolete. Thus he commended the complex as an "effective and prestigious monument" and a "stunning and admirable spatial and visual image [achieved] by concentration upon tightly knit circulation and care of passenger access." No other airport had "more effective interlock visually between the mechanism of flight and the public passenger areas." And "the puritanical and restrained detail of arrival and departure concourse" instilled an appropriate psychological ambience and context for artwork.

That habit of mind where Modernism could negotiate social and aesthetic consensus proved as transient as the arresting fixity of imagery in two illustrations to Acland's article. Both are night photographs of the Toronto aeroquay: one shows a Viscount airliner being prepared for a transcanadian flight, and the other the facility unencumbered by either aircraft or passengers (fig. 19). The technologies reified in the image would soon become obsolescent and contribute to the ruptures in universalist ethos that would outdate both the fabric and federalist message of the late 1950s Canadian airports. By 1968, the positivist rhetoric of many speeches delivered at the Symposium on the Future of World Air Transport organized by the Montreal-based International Air Transport Association carried less conviction, especially in light of the deployment of United States air power in the Vietnam conflict. "The airplane," Alan Boyd of the U.S. Department of Transportation ironically declared, quoting President Lyndon B. Johnson, "has done most to bring individual peoples of the world together in friendship... [and] widespread understanding among people that banishes ignorance." The functions of architectural form include the successive redefinition of those values and factors it is supposed to constitute through construction.
Notes

1. This paper extends research on the intersection between later British imperialism and Modern Movement architecture and town planning supported by grants from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada and a John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship.


10. The vocabulary of contamination borrows from an analysis of more contemporary socio-cultural interchange both incommensurable and inevitable, resulting from late modern conditions presented by Fernando de Toro in the paper entitled « The Culture of Displacement and the Question of Identity » delivered at Green College, University of British Columbia, 26 March 2002.


12. « New Canadian Air Policy », 10 May 1984, pamphlet published by the then Minister of Transport, Lloyd Axworthy, continuing the “liberalization of airline regulation...” so as to] promote a healthy, innovative and competitive airline industry... [leading to] increase in domestic air travel and industry’s new competitive advantage in the international forum” (p. 1), and to “promote national integration through increased domestic air travel” (p. 5). See also Sealy, K.R., 1957, Geography of Air Transport, London, Hutchinson; and for the socially ordering power of such infrastructure, Starr, Susan L., 1999, Sorting Things Out. Classification and Its Consequences, Cambridge, Mass., M.I.T. Press.


14. The early legislature history is reviewed in the pamphlet published by the federal Attorney General as In the Supreme court of Canada. In the matter of a Reference As to the Respective Legislative Powers... of the Parliament of Canada and the Legislatures of the Provinces in Relation to their Regulation and Control of Aeronautics, Ottawa, Government Printer, 1929.

15. The luncheon organized by the Montreal Royal Empire Society to celebrate the arrival of the R100, and presided over by Lord Shaughnessy, was reported in 1930 in the United Empire (vol. 21, no. 1, p. 105-125. The abortive cooperative policy was proposed by Lord Halifax at the inaugural meeting of the CATC prior to the United Nations sponsored International Civil Aviation Conference in September at Chicago.


25. Wright’s scheme is illustrated in Riley, Terence (ed.) 1994, Frank Lloyd Architect, New York, Museum of Modern Art, p. 215. Corbusier’s book Aircraft was published by the London journal The Studio, reprinted 1988, New York, Universe Books; the argument is summarized in the following sentences from the introduction (p. 13). “The airplane, in the sky, carries our hearts above mediocrities. The airplane has given us the birds-eye view. When the eye sees clearly, the mind makes a clear decision.”


32. In the Supreme Court... (op. cit.).
33. Innis’s major work is: 1951, The Bias of Communication, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
35. In the Supreme Court... (op. cit.); interestingly with regard to the universalizing role within the Modern Movement project, and international transportation, Section III (p. 85) sets out a “Universal system of Ground Marks.”
38. Grose : 45.
41. See note 3, and Haydon, Peter, 1993, The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis: Canadian Involvement Reconsidered, Toronto, Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies.
43. The JRAIC (December 1960) article noted the “monumental staircase” in the main building which had “the great dining room and bar,” providing a grand space to observe the spectacle of air transportation and “a luxury suite with bar and dining room,” which once again sounded the underlying symbolic political purpose: “Where hospitality can be extended to important visitors entering or leaving Canada” (p. 518). That theme also recurred with regard to the innovative luggage conveyor belt and carousel system, which had “attracted the attention of our American friends who are considering using it for their Washington [D.C.] air terminal” [Eero Saarinen, 1958-61].” See also 1968, Into the Jet Age, Ottawa, Department of Air Transport, on the Vancouver airport as extended and rebuilt by Thompson Berwick Pratt and Associates commending its superb topographical setting: “And in the midst, is the functional beautiful Vancouver International Airport.”
44. 1960, TCA, June, vol. 5, no. 6, p. 69-71, comparing its design with the work of Mies van der Rohe, Skidmore Owings, and Merrill and J.B. Parkin and Associates, and commending the fact that, “The main floor level is uninterrupted throughout” (p. 70).
49. 1959, TCA, January, vol. 4, no. 1, p. 32-40; the Department of Transport then estimated an expenditure of approximately $600 million in airport facilities by 1968.