

Quest for equality

Canada and coproductions

A retrospective

(1963-1983)

by Michael Dorland

"Les gens forts n'ont pas peur des coproductions. Ceux qui en ont peur, c'est peut-être parce qu'ils n'ont pas d'identité nationale à vendre."

— Nicole Bolsvert,
Canadian film producer

It was almost an anniversary and so the tone was appropriately celebratory as, nearly 20 years after Canada's first coproduction treaty, Canada and France this summer signed three agreements on cinematographic relations to increase public financing for joint film and television productions. "With our huge increase in resources, we have suddenly become more important," said André Lamy, executive director of the Canadian Film Development Corporation (CFDC), who envisions \$1000 million of film and television activity over the next five years. According to Communications minister Francis Fox, the development of film coproduction between Canada and France has been "a tremendous success story."¹

The 20 years since Canada's first coproduction agreement span the history of the development of some 400 Canadian feature films to date, of which just over 10% were official coproductions.² The Canada-France agreement of October 1963 laid the foundation for an approach to a Canadian film industry characterized from the beginning by the search for external recognition. It was felt, says the CFDC in its only study of the Canadian experience with coproductions, "that support from... France would be valuable in promoting our position that we should be considered equals in the feature films as we already were in documentaries."³

The 1963 Canada-France accord eventually paved the way for four additional film coproduction treaties: with Italy in 1970; with the U.K. in 1975; with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1978, and also in that year with Israel (though there had been a Canada-Israel coproduction in 1970 under the umbrella of the Canada-France treaty). The French treaty was renegotiated in 1974 and extended, virtually unchanged in May 1983, until 1986. By the end of '83, Canada

Denis Héroux

La coproduction, c'est moi

When he says that he invented the term coproduction, Denis Héroux is only slightly exaggerating. With 17 out of 54 Canadian coproductions to his credit, Héroux is the dean of Canadian coproducers, and if there is such a thing as a 'system' of Canadian coproduction, Héroux is its principal exponent. Through the production company, International Cinema Corporation, he and fellow coproducer John Kemeny have achieved a virtual monopoly of the Canada-France film coproduction treaty, a supremacy formally consecrated in 1983, the year in which Canadian coproduction and ICC productions became synonymous. If in 1977 Héroux could boast, "Yes, I have helped shape the feature film industry in Quebec," by 1983 there is little doubt that Héroux, more than any other producer with the possible exception of Harold Greenberg, has indelibly shaped the Canadian film industry. The question remains: Into what?

The association between Kemeny, a highly successful ex-National Film Board producer, and Héroux, who as a director gave Quebec its first, indigenous film erotica, goes back a long way. Together they produced Canada's first coproduction with Israel, *Sept fois par jour* (1970), a 70% Canadian participation sex film, the first of the genre to achieve official coproduction status.

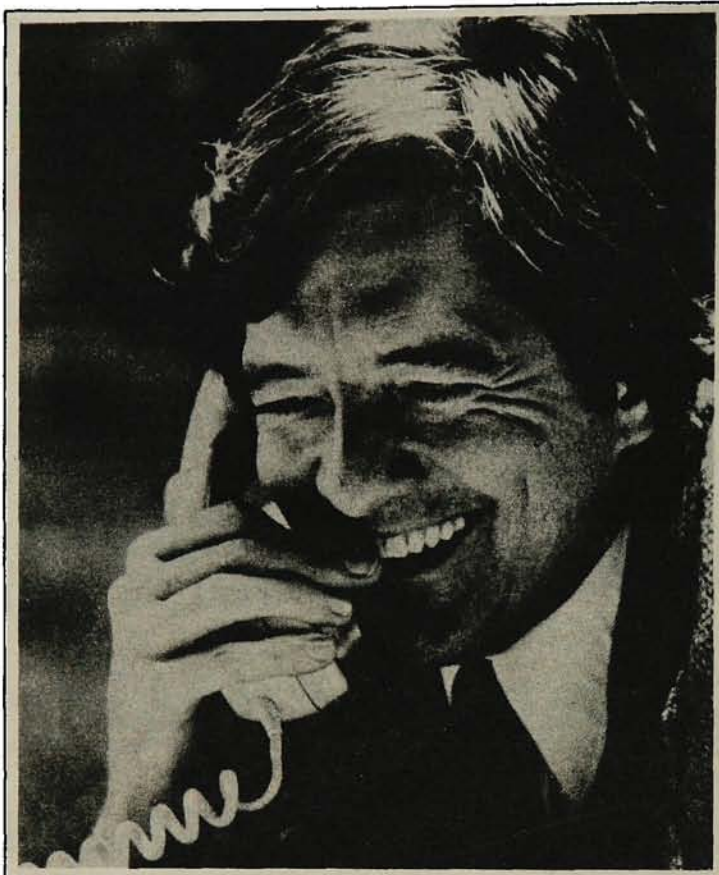
At one time or another, Héroux has worked under all of Canada's coproduction treaties, in every conceivable degree of financial participation, in every conceivable genre (sex, comedy, horror, thrillers), repeatedly mortgaging house, wife and family - as he has put it - in order to do so. Today a millionaire and a genuine Canadian film mogul in the Balzacian tradition of Ernest Shipman and Alexandre de Sève, Héroux has battled long and hard in defence of his view of Canadian filmmaking, a perspective developed at some length in the "Film" chapter of the Applebaum-Hébert report on which committee Héroux was an outstanding representative of Canadian free-enterprise.

"In our economic system," Héroux once said, "if you are not an *auteur*, the film is shaped by the producer. The director enters into an already developed idea with a system of production already in place."

As a producer, Héroux, astute student of the "system of production already in place," has travelled the well-trod road from what he admits was a series of coproduction compromises to the 80% level of majority Canadian participation at which he coproduced *Atlantic City* (1979). Though that majority control would dip slightly on *Quest For Fire* (1980, with 59% Canadian majority participation), 80% was the magic number, the point at which Canadian coproduction could become at last "a bridge between Europe and America," as exemplified by Héroux's most recent coproductions (*Louisiana, Le crime d'Ovide Plouffe, The Blood of Others*).

Denis Héroux, this Franco-American phenomenon of a Canadian film producer, recently gave his views on coproduction to Cinema Canada in a wide-ranging interview excerpted below:

"I coined the word coproduction;



I'm the one who popularized it in Quebec, and explained what it was. There was so much opposition in those days, it makes me laugh. Today the word is totally accepted, the word, the reality. It's all in place...

"... Coproduction is an access to financial sources, to a pool of talent. When we looked at our department heads 15 years ago, we weren't too sure. When I did my first features, I had to take guys off documentaries to bring them to fiction... The change came very rapidly, at the beginning of the '70s. At one point when I was directing, we didn't have any technicians. When John Kemeny shot *Duddy Kravitz* in Montreal, he had a hell of a time finding technicians. But now our DOPs have an international reputation, our set designers too, our editors, our soundmen; those are categories; our make-up people, we've come quite a way. Not that we should pat ourselves on the back; it took 15 years. But on the level of infrastructure we're in very good shape. "(Canada) is not in a position of equality if we look at the Francophone population. It is true that Canada with 4.5 million Francophones is unequal to France's 55 million, but generally we counterbalance that by recuperating territories: we keep the U.S., we keep England... But you're never completely equal..."

"... In the beginning coproduction

always works in such a manner that the old metropolis is going to try and gobble everything up. With the French, when I did my first coproductions, it was normal, I was a minority coproducer. There were so many things I couldn't do.

"But the mechanism helped: you could put in what you could put in. We were at 20-30%; as we didn't put much money in, we put in technicians. Then when I saw how the system worked, when I really understood, it became completely the opposite.

"What I understood was that those people, whether they were French or British, were going to use that coproduction mechanism just for themselves. Ideally, the French told themselves, they were going to take the money, they would arrive with a French script, a French director, French stars and French technicians, and we'll send all that to a lab in France. You had to fight, you had to change everything, but nicely, at 20% worth, even with the stars. I said no, the sound editor will be Canadian, the electrician will be Canadian, the film editor will be Canadian, the lab will be Canadian. Whoa there, they said, aren't you asking a bit much? So I said, yes, but you've still got the director. So I let them nibble away and I tried at the same time to grab more, but in such a way that they

wouldn't notice...

"... It was just a question of control. At 20%, you could put in some technicians, invest some money, intervene in the script, take a share of the profits proportional to our investment. But now that we're at 80%...

"... At one point, I really felt I wasn't getting there, and I said to myself, I just want to accumulate enough money and authority and get well-known enough and then I can do it, and that's what happened: I've arrived. I can choose to do the book I want, I can get the script-writer I want, start the film when it's ready. Before I had to do everything myself. I was too much a victim of compromises. You always make compromises, but you make do. You say well, I'm proud of that (film), and I'm not so proud of that one..."

"... It got to 80% because we fought. From the moment, however, where you say you've putting in the money, people are going to believe you. Now, in general, it's us who pick the subjects, who develop them, who buy the rights. For *The Blood of Others* we bought the rights, for *Louisiana* we bought the rights, we bought up Gaumont's development, we bought them up and we placed them..."

"... We're totally free vis-à-vis the Americans in the subjects we choose, totally free with the technicians, the actors. Twentieth-Century Fox, who distribute my films, never approve the crew, the technicians; they don't care. They're not interested, just like they weren't interested in *Quest for Fire*, just like *Atlantic City* didn't interest Paramount. Once it was finished we showed it to them, they didn't want it, so we had to fight, we had to impose ourselves and get them to change their minds. *Quest for Fire* was the same thing; for *Louisiana*, we'll have to fight but that's the challenge.

"... For example, for my last three films I spent between \$27 and \$30 million. That money, 80%, of it came from elsewhere. I brought it back to Canada and spent 60% on Canadians. The money comes here, it is spent on people here, I could always go shoot somewhere else. I've got no reason to make *Louisiana* an absolutely Canadian film. What would be the difference if I were American? It's crazy but I bring my Canadians with me. If I were American I never would have taken Margot Kidder and Len Cariou; I never would have taken 25 actors from Toronto. I brought along Michel Brault; if I were American, I wouldn't bring those people. But I work with Québécois, with Québécois first, the technicians are Québécois, then for the actors I take English-Canadians..."

"... But I am an American, no, I'm somebody who can build a bridge between Europe and America. What I do, what's marvelous about being Québécois, is that we're American but we so completely understand Europe. When I meet 20-year-old students and they listen to me speak they find me French, though I don't have a particularly sharp accent. The students say, ah, you've sold out to the French; for others I've sold out to the Americans.

"But it's not that, it's that the phenomenon of culture is much larger, much much larger. It's a kind of artistic sensibility..."

is likely to have a new coproduction treaty for film with Spain (to be followed by a separate TV treaty) and to have either amended the extant treaty with Italy to include television or signed a new treaty with the Italians. At the same time Canada is pursuing on-going discussions towards a coproduction treaty with Australia, as well as having the British and German treaties amended to include television coproduction. But in each case there are obstacles; respectively lack of interest, union hostility and jurisdictional problems. Nevertheless, in the light of Canada's cultural expansion, the coproduction treaty is a mechanism whose time has come. "The more treaties we have, the more openings we have, and the more tools we get to work with," says Montreal producer Nicole Boisvert, who is just getting her sixth coproduced film underway.

Coproduction, then, has become one of the buzz words of the new age of international program production. Hailed by the optimistic as the onward march of progress, by the nationalistic as the last defence against outright American control (though denounced by the pessimistic nationalists as yet another sell-out), by the realistic as the only way to raise the sums required, coproduction has come to mean all things to all people. "For productions over \$200,000," says ex-National Film Board (NFB) director Doug Jackson (*Empire Inc.*), "coproductions is the way of the future."

At its simplest, a coproduction involves any film (or television, program) produced by two or more production houses; but there are coproductions between the public- and private-sector filmmakers of a given country (*The Wars* or *The Tin Flute* in Canada); between private- and public-sector filmmakers of different countries (*Gandhi*); between private and private in different countries (the *Star Wars* cycle, the James Bond films); and then there are treaty coproductions.

In the exponential universe of cultural production, the treaty coproduction holds a unique place. In part by its construction as a bilateral agreement between governments, in part by its use

of public funds, the official coproduction treaty offers a window of accountability that does not exist for any other type of cultural product. In the industrialization of national cinemas, accountability is left either to the market or the labor relations that prevail within the industry. The official coproduction, however, offers a perspective upon national cinematographic objectives that is still open to some public scrutiny and possible discussion. And in Canada it was perhaps that very openness that made film coproduction such a topic of passionate debate, possibly far beyond the importance of the coproduced films themselves.

In Canada it was the close identification of the means of the coproduction mechanism with the end of the national objective of building a film industry and the supposition of the harmony between that end and means that characterized the Canadian approach to coproduction. The belief that coproduction conferred equality led to a preoccupation with balance that the CFDC defined as follows: "For a treaty to work successfully... there must be 'an overall balance'... in terms of investment, creative and technical personnel between the coproducing parties. As International Cinema Corporation (ICC) president Denis Héroux, who would become Canada's leading coproducer, put it in 1977: "We are... missing people who have original solutions to our difficult problems." In Canada, coproduction was - and still is - perceived as one of the solutions to the difficult problem of creating a feature film industry.

Origin of coproductions

In the post-Second World War struggle of the European national cinemas against the American competitor whose armies had just made the world safe for Hollywood films, the French and Italians, adding to the coproduction treaty first signed in the '30s, created a coproduction system that between 1949-1976 churned out 1839 films (310 involving three or four partners). "Despite the system's undeniable success, however, coproduction seems now to have almost exhausted its potential," wrote French

government consultant Claude Degand in mid-1978.⁷ In its European version, coproduction in films not only involved two roughly equal national industries but was also a conscious attempt to compete against a third, namely American, film production.

In Canada, the objectives of coproduction were vastly different: to gain the support of a much stronger, foreign industry, that of France, and with that support, attempt to reach audiences in France, Britain and the U.S. This was the approach taken in the late '40s by two Quebec companies, Renaissance Films and Québec Productions, which coproduced two films with France, *Docteur Louise* and *Son Copain*. *Docteur Louise* was shot entirely in France with French technicians, starring Canadian actors Suzanne Avon, Jean-Louis Roux and Henri Poitras. Renaissance Films went bankrupt in 1950.

Son Copain, released in 1951, tells the story of the friendship between a Canadian and a Frenchman during the war. With exteriors shot in Quebec, some studio shots done in St-Hyacinthe, *Son Copain* carried about as many scenes filmed in Canada as in France. The crew was partly made up of Canadians, with Canadian actors Paul Dupuis, Guy Mauffette, Armand Leguet, Allan Mills and Jacques Langevin. Both *Son Copain* and *Docteur Louise* were done in French and English in the hope of reaching British and U.S. audiences.⁸ They were the first - and last - coproductions between Canada and France until the early '60s, yet they displayed a historic pattern that would remain relatively invariant.

"The first coproduction treaty with France was (...) justified (...) as a means of generating foreign support for a Canadian feature film industry," states a 1980 report written for the department of the Secretary of State (which after that year became the department of Communications).⁹

"From the beginning," says Michael Spencer, the first executive director of the CFDC from 1968-1978, "the idea was to build bridges to other industries to help us get off the ground. We felt there was a good reason to get involved with

France, the U.K. and Italy because of the market potential; and we could learn from their experience. There was a feeling that we should have coproduction treaties to help us develop our industry."

Under the 1963 Canada-France accord, *Le Coup de grâce* was produced in 1964. "The Canadian producer was involved in the production in a very limited way since the film was shot in France and directed and written by Frenchmen."¹⁰

"We didn't have any film schools, nothing like France's IDHEC; we learned everything hands-on," says Nicole Boisvert, "and if today we're strong, it's because we watched others work and learned from them."

A coproduction treaty qualifies films coproduced under the agreement to be considered national films by each signatory country. This makes the film available for all benefits pertaining to government support for national cinema (aid to producers, box-office subsidies, definitions of national content [e.g., Canadian content] leading to market advantages). But until the creation of the CFDC, Canada, like the U.S. or Japan, had no such mechanisms to offer. Nevertheless, according to Michael Spencer, four assumptions constituted the attractiveness of coproducing with Canada: proximity to the U.S.; a shared language (in the case of France-Quebec); locations ("The Western was more important in those days"); and money ("The French thought there would be money here; we thought there'd be money there...").

With the creation of the CFDC in 1968, there would at last be money.

The early years:

1963-1975

Empowered to invest in films produced under the coproduction treaties (an investment policy that in 1979-80 would be revised to participation only in coproductions where Canada held the majority position),¹¹ the CFDC invested in 10 of the 12 films produced under the umbrella of the Canada-France treaty until 1974 (one of the films *Sept Fois par jour* [1970] was a Canada-Israel coproduction with 70% Canadian

Balance at a glance

Canada and coproductions: Overall creative balance to 1981

	Directors	Screenwriters	D.O.P.	Art directors	Editors	Mus. comp.	Cast.
Treaty (23 films since 1976)	Europe & Israel	Europe & Israel	Europe & Israel	Europe & Israel	Europe & Israel	Europe & Israel	Europe & Israel
No. of positions	(23)	(42)	(24)	(23)	(23)	(25)	(212)
Canadians	3	14	11	15	11	6	62 •
Treaty (13 films since 1976)	UK	UK	UK	UK	UK	UK	UK
No. of positions	(13)	(19)	(13)	(16)	(14)	(13)	(118)
Canadians	6	4	4	9	7	—	37
total	(36)	(61)	(37)	(39)	(37)	(38)	(330)
Canadians	9	18	15	24	18	11	99
Canadian average	25%	29.51%	40.54%	61.54%	48.65%	28.95%	30%

Average totals: 772 positions
194 Canadians
25.13%

• (includes expatriates and landed immigrants)

Source: CFDC Coproduction study, revised June 30, 1982, to include five official coproductions for 1980-81. "There has been no significant change to any of the ratios or balances... as a result of the inclusion of these five films," the report noted.

We have been trying since to modify this project by project." But Legault admits "it's an uphill struggle" which will require a period of time to redress "just as it took a period of time to get where it's got."

The CFDC's official response to the Spencer report came two years after the original study in the form of the April 1982 "Guidelines for Official Coproductions" which detailed a treaty-by-treaty set of priorities (see box) to redress "the creative imbalance experienced by Canada to-date" and "to take the corrective measures... to restore a balance."³⁹ These priorities, according to Legault, remain as firm intentions.

Ironically, when the Spencer report was revised in June, 1982, it found that "Since these guidelines were adopted... the worsening state of film financing in Canada and the serious reduction in production starts... caused the CFDC to reconsider the strict application of the Policy Guidelines... The Corporation... obtained the Minister's agreement to consider, for a 12-month period commencing April 1, 1982, coproductions which do not meet the new criteria, on the condition that they do not use either direct or indirect government financing."⁴⁰

A further irony is that no official coproductions resulted from the moratorium period which ended last April, a situation that was, however, more accidental than deliberate. The I.C.C. joint venture *Little Gloria: Happy At Last* had been granted provisional coproduction status, but when the producers eventually announced there would be no feature film forthcoming from the television mini-series that was produced, provisional status was withdrawn.

Yet, assessing the impact of the report he wrote, Michael Spencer considers that as a result "the CFDC cooled a lot of coproductions."

"If we look at the past," says Ronald Legault, "they (the French) have had the advantage. It's not a question so much of intention as it is of the nature of the projects themselves. When a producer comes to us with a project, it's difficult to start making demands. There's always the risk of penalizing a Canadian producer who possibly has had nothing to do with the situation as it is. This can only change over a period of time."

Canada and coproductions: looking back

"It is no longer necessary to accept the argument that Canada should make concessions now to benefit later," the Spencer report concluded, adding "there is no doubt that the Canadian film industry has benefitted from the coproduction treaties with France and the U.K. The coproductions produced under these treaties have had total budgets of \$100 million and almost half this amount has been spent on Canadians and the Canadian film industry. Canadian technicians, actors and actresses, studios and laboratories have been gainfully employed. Given... that... we actually created our industry from nothing (or almost) in 1968, we could hardly hope for better."⁴¹

"The trouble with the treaties," says Michael Bergman, national legal counsel for the Director's Guild of Canada, "is that they were put together when the only objective was to get an industry going. Today we have an industry that is not ephemeral, and the treaties must be redesigned to reflect those present needs. We have the cloth: now we have to tailor it into a suit. We have crews, reputable directors; now we need to

make sure there is a viable Canadian product that reflects our country."

"It's beginning," says the CFDC's Ronald Legault who points to I.C.C.'s *Louisiana* as an example of the new direction: "if you consider it from the French point of view (it) is very unfavorable to them as a whole." Yet *Louisiana's* coproduction status is being contested by film technicians' unions both in Canada and in France (see box) as "a flagrant mockery" of the Canada-France treaty with echoes of the *Little Gloria* case, the one instance of coproduction abuse that the CFDC acknowledges ("*Gloria* is the only one," says Legault. "We got taken").

These are skirmishes that reflect a weakness of the Canadian film industry in general and the Canadian administration of the coproduction treaties in particular, namely the long-standing complaint of the Canadian craft unions that, unlike their French or British counterparts, they are excluded from the treaties' consultative process.

During the early 'national' approach to coproductions - that is, before the mid-'70s - it had been customary to have an Advisory Council on Coproductions made up of industry representatives. In the jurisdictional split between the SOS and the CFDC in 1976, the council was abandoned. The resulting 'international' approach to coproductions only further intensified the sense of national expropriation and often outright hostility with which the unions regard coproductions in general. "Coproductions are nothing but shit," says Maurice Leblanc, president of Quebec's Syndicat National du Cinéma. "All the energy we've wasted, all the money we've spent, it's always been on coproductions. It's always there that we've had problems: lower salaries for instance. It's like Mexico or Spain used to be: they come over here to film the natives." In more attenuated form, a similar sense of exclusion causes the DGC's Lew Lehman to say "We represent 20,000 people in the industry. Who the hell is the CFDC? On a bad day I'd say it is a handful of producers." Such feelings are not limited to the unions. "The technicians have nothing to complain about with coproductions," says producer Nicole Boisvert. "They should kiss our feet for giving them work."

So when Michael Spencer questions the very idea of a Canadian film industry, he is making a point that is not without bluntness. "Canada is a small country; it will never achieve a major role in motion-picture production. Some of these movies may result from coproductions; in order for things to happen, we have to risk being minor creators. But I wouldn't argue that Canada should denounce the treaties."

"This business - if it is a business at all - is a cottage industry in which every product has to be created from the beginning. It's still obviously very difficult for Canada. Given the size of its industry, a real balance is not possible at all. But the treaties still mean work. Maybe in the end - and I won't say when that is - when all our people will have work, the treaties will have helped provide that."

Looking back, Spencer views the Canadian approach to coproductions as a combination of international long-sightedness and national short-sightedness. "I'm absolutely convinced that Canada's film industry should have directed itself towards television long ago. Making features always was and will continue to be extremely difficult. For a feature to make money it has to take in \$25-50 million at the box office. If

there are producers who can do that, more power to them. Look at Harold Greenberg who eventually came up with *Porky's*. But by then there was an infrastructure in terms of finances and American contacts.

"If we'd thought small and if we'd thought television from 1975 on, we'd have a very different industry today. In '72-'73 I tried to get the CFDC Act modified by removing the word 'feature' wherever it appeared," but the national objective of creating a Canadian film industry by international means created a confusion that is perhaps only now beginning to sort itself out.

"Maybe", Spencer suggests, "the short-sightedness was that we were too optimistic. We outsold ourselves. In many cases they came over and said, 'Well, you haven't got it.' We did believe that if we could sign with France, we thought the industry would be taken more seriously."

Conclusion: Culture as industry

"The materialist transparency of culture has not made it more honest, only more vulgar" - T.W. Adorno

It is one of the vicissitudes of history that the development of the Canadian film industry coincided with a decade (1970-1980) of worldwide economic crisis, matched by a crisis in film attendance as the industrialization of leisure and its resulting subjection to a market economy increasingly made cinema into just another consumer product.⁴² But vicissitudes, if they last long enough, themselves become the norm - and coproduction has today become the norm.

"Coproduction," says Canadian film director Jean-Pierre Lefebvre, "is part of the commercialization and standardization of a universal culture. I don't think it's brought anything culturally to Canada or Quebec. It's cinema as business."

Indeed, the current popularity of coproduction attests to the extent of the crisis in contemporary cultural production, so much so that coproduction is ultimately meaningful only as part of the business of cinema.

"To be sure, industrial or banking operations realized abroad mean productions that the host country would not otherwise be capable of. In many cases these compete against and even eliminate national productions. They bring in capital and know-how, they create jobs."⁴³ That those words, written about U.S. banks, apply equally well to Canadian coproductions is a measure of the degree to which Canadian program production has industrialized.

"Coproductions," the CFDC stated in a moment of lucidity, "are not intended as substitutes for national productions. Rather, coproductions are a supplement to indigenous film production."⁴⁴ But in the situation of permanent crisis that is that of national cinematographic production, of which Canada's is just another example, intention is irrelevant. Inexorably, coproduction has substituted itself for national production, and become the very heart of strategies of cultural export such as the National Broadcast Strategy.

Notes

1. *Variety*, July 20, 1983, "France targets coproduction burst," p. 7; Fox quote from Canadian Press, "Canada, France sign film agreement," *Peterborough Examiner*, July 12, 1983.
2. The Department of Communications' Canadian Film and Videotape Certification Office as of June 1983 reported 415 certified feature productions. To

1981, the CFDC accounts for 49 official coproductions; after '81, approvals are provisional only, with two for '82, and a tentative three for '83, for a provisional total of 54, or 13% of national production.

3. Canadian Film Development Corporation, "Coproduction Study (1963-1981)", completed Montreal, Dec. 31, 1980; revised June 30, 1982, p. 5. Hereafter referred to as Spencer.
4. Spencer, p. 2.
5. "Interview with Denis Héroux," *New Canadian Film*, December, 1977, special issue on Canada and coproductions, p. 37.
6. Claude Degand, "The Economic Situation of the Cinema in Europe," Council of Europe, Committee on Culture and Education, Symposium on "Cinema and the State", Strasbourg, April 1978, pp. 9-10.
7. Degand, op. cit., p. 10.
8. See "A preliminary history of co-production in Quebec," *New Canadian Film*, op. cit. p. 32.
9. Kirwan Cox, "Preliminary Co-production Study," Jan. 24, 1980, p. 1. Hereafter cited as Cox.
10. Spencer, p. 6.
11. CFDC, *Annual Report 1979-80*, p. 5.
12. Spencer, p. 6.
13. CFDC, *Annual Report 1974-75*, p. 4.
14. Canada Treaty Series 1974, No. 20, p. 8.
15. Spencer, p. 6.
16. The Council of Canadian Filmmakers, "Canada and Co-productions: A Report on Canada's Participation in International Feature Film Co-productions and Their Impact on the Canadian Film Industry," March 3, 1980, pp. 13-14. Hereafter cited as CCFM.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 14, emphasis added.
18. Spencer, p. 13.
19. CFDC, *Annual Report 1975-76*, p. 4.
20. CCFM, p. 15.
21. Cox, p. 2.
22. CCFM, p. 15.
23. Spencer, p. 10.
24. Press Release, March 15, 1983.
25. Luc Perreault, *La Presse*, Jan. 6, 1979.
26. CCFM, p. 15.
27. "During 1978-79, the CFDC participated in five co-productions with an investment of \$12 million. They were: *Murder By Decree*, *A Man Called Intrepid*, *A nous deux*, *Bear Island*, and *Caro Papa*. While one of these had a successful Canadian theatrical release, they have a significantly smaller Canadian creative participation than the CFDC's coproduction investments under Spencer. In fact, the last three do not have a Canadian director or writer and would not have been eligible for CFDC participation under the guidelines established in the 1976-77 Report.
28. "Specifically, the CFDC invested \$425,000 in *A nous deux* which is a 75% majority French film that appears to have only a Canadian art director and a feature actor among the key creative talent. McCabe invested \$110,000 in *Caro Papa*, a 20% Canadian film which had no key creative Canadian personnel and only one leading Canadian performer. While minority Canadian participation presumes minority creative participation, these projects overturned the *Philly* precedent of a relatively exact balance between investment and employment," Cox, p. 7.
29. See note 25.
30. CFDC, *Annual Report 1979-80*, p. 5, emphasis added.
31. Cox, p. 10.
32. Spencer, p. 12.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
36. Cox, p. 9.
37. Spencer, p. 24.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
39. Government of Canada, "Policy Guidelines for Official Co-productions," April 1, 1982, p. 6.
40. Spencer, p. 23.
41. Spencer, pp. 23, 22.
42. René Bonnell, *Le cinéma exploité*, Paris, 1978, pp. 260 ff.
43. Claude Julien, "Les bénéfices de la crise," *Le Monde diplomatique*, July, 1983, pp. 1, 4.
44. "Preface," Policy Guidelines, op. cit.

The accompanying chart covers Canadian coproductions from 1964 - 1981, based on available CFDC data. Coproductions under the French, Italian, German and Israeli treaties are listed first, followed by coproductions under the U.K. treaty. Key creative positions are listed as follows: script-writer (Sc.), director of photography (d.o.p.), art director (art d.), editor (Ed.), music composition (M.). Nationality is indicated as C for Canadian, F for French, I for Italy, Is for Israel, G for Germany, and U.K. for Britain.

COPRODUCTION

	Year of prod.	Canada	France	Italy W. Germany Israel	Canadian producer	Director	Sc.	d.o.p.	Art d.	Ed.	M.	Cast Cdn/Other	Budget	
Le Coup de grâce	1964				Roger Blais Montréal	Jean Cayrol	F	F	—	F	F	F	3/2	\$125,000 Cdn
La Maison des amants (CFDC)	1970	70%	30%		Jean Duval Trans Cinéma, Montréal	Jean-Paul Sassy	F	C	C	F	F?	C	2/1	\$224,000
Sept fois par jour (CFDC)	1970	70%		30% (Israël)	Denis Héroux/John Kemeny Montréal	Denis Héroux	C	C	C	I	C	C	1/2	\$355,000
Le Grand Sabordage (CFDC)	1970	33 1/3%	66 2/3%		Richard Moranville Montréal	Alain Périssou	F	F	F	F	F	C	1/2	\$300,000
Kamouraska (CFDC)	1971	80%	20%		Pierre Lamy Prod. Carle/Lamy Montreal	Claude Jutra	C	2/C	C	C	F	F	2/3	\$850,000
J'ai mon voyage (CFDC)	1972	80%	20%		Claude Héroux Cinévidéo, Montréal	Denis Héroux	C	C	C	C	C	F	6/3	\$403,000
Ah, si mon moine voulait	1973	50%	50%		Nicole M. Boisvert Citel, Montréal	Claude Pierson	F	C	F	C	F	F/C	1/1	
Les Corps célestes (CFDC)	1973	79%	21%		Pierre Lamy Prod. Carle/Lamy, Montréal	Gilles Carle	C	C	C	C	C	F	8/2	\$483,000
Jacques Brel is Alive and Well and Lives in Paris	1974	80%	20%		Claude Héroux Cinévidéo, Montréal	Denis Héroux	C	F	C	F	C	F	0/3	\$809,000
Born for Hell (CFDC)	1974	20%	20%	20% (Italy) 40% (Germ.)	Claude Héroux Cinévidéo, Montréal	Denis Héroux	C	G/C	G	G	C	G	2 Cdn, 3 Ital., 1 German, 1 Fr.	\$900,000
Sweet Movie (CFDC)	1973	30%	70%		Richard Hellman Kojack Films, Montreal	Dusan Makavejev	F	F	F	C	F	F	5/7	\$730,000
Par le sang des autres (CFDC)	1973	20%	80%		Claude Héroux Cinévidéo, Montreal	Marc Simonon	F	F	C	F	F	F	3/5	\$750,000
Y a pas de mal à se faire du bien (CFDC)	1974	40%	60%		Denis Héroux Cinévidéo, Montreal	Claude Mulot	F	1 C 1 F	F	C	C	F	5/5	\$430,000
Little Girl Who Lived Down the Lane	1976	60%	40%		H. Greenberg/D. Héroux Intercontinental Leisure Industries	Nicholas Gessner	F	F	C	C	C	F	1 Cdn, 1 Fr., 1 U.S.	\$1,150,000
Night of the High Tide	1976	30%		70% (Italy)	Jean-Pierre Martel Canafox, Montreal	Luigi Scattini	I/C	I	I	I	I	C	2/4	\$1,350,000
Cathy's Curse	1976	30%	60%		Nicole M. Boisvert Prod. Agora, Montreal	Eddy Matalon	F	F	F	F	F	F	4/4	\$600,000
A Special Day	1977	30%		70% (Italy)	Richard Hellman Canafox, Montreal	Ettore Scola	I	1 C 1 I	I	I	I	I	2/2	\$1,250,000
La Menace	1977	20%	70%		Richard Hellman Canafox, Montreal	Alain Corneau	F	1 C 1 F	F	C	F	U.S./ F	2/4	\$2,600,000
Blackout	1977	50%	50%		Boisvert/Vidette, Dunning Prod. Agora/Dal Prod., Mtl.	Eddie Matalon	F	C	F	C	C	F/C	1/4	\$1,000,000
Blood Relatives	1977	50%	50%		D. Héroux/J. Melzack Cinévidéo/Classic Films Montreal	Claude Chabrol	F	1 F 1 U.S.	F	C	C	F	5/4	\$1,354,000
Violette Nozière	1977	20%	80%		Denis Héroux Cinévidéo, Montreal	Claude Chabrol	F	F	F/C	F	C	F	2/5	\$1,300,000
Le Vieux Pays où Rimbaud est mort (CFDC)	1977	50%	40%		Jean-Pierre Lefebvre Cinac, Montreal	Jean-Pierre Lefebvre	C	1 C 1 F	C	F	C	F	1/3	\$360,000
Jigsaw	1978	33%	67%		Denis Héroux Cinévidéo, Montreal	Claude Pinoteau	F	2 F/C	F	C	F	F	3/5	\$3,100,000
It Rained All Night the Day I Left	1978	60%	20%	20% (Israel)	Claude Léger	Nicolas Gessner	F	F/C	C	C	C	C	2/5	\$3,030,000
Caro Papa	1978	20%	30%	50% (Italy)	Richard Hellman Films Prospec, Montreal	Dino Risi	I	I	I	I	I	I	1/5	\$1,680,000
L'ange gardien	1978	30%	70%		Richard Hellman Films Prospec, Montreal	Jacques Fournier	F	F	F	F	F	C/F	2/7	\$990,000
À nous deux (CFDC)	1979	29%	79%		D. Héroux/J. Beaubien Cinévidéo, Montreal	Claude Lelouch	F	F	C	F	F	F	1/5	\$4,300,000
Bye, See You Monday	1979	50%	50%		N. Boisvert/J. Vidette	Maurice Dugowson	F	2 F/C	C	C	F	C/2 F	2/3	\$1,700,000
Atlantic City, U.S.A. (CFDC)	1979	80%	20%		Denis Héroux Ciné Neighbor, Montreal	Louis Malle	F	F/ U.S.	C	C	F		3/3	\$7,100,000
Fantastica (CFDC)	1979	50%	50%		Guy Fournier Prod. du Verseau, Montrea	Gilles Carle U.S.	C	C/ U.S.	C	C	F	C	5/2	\$2,000,000
Girls	1979	29%	50%	29% (Germ.)	Claude Léger	Just Jaeckin	F	F	F	F	C	U.K.	2/6	\$2,000,000
Quest for Fire	1980	55%	49%		Denis Héroux/J. Kemeny Ciné-Trail inc.	Jean-Jacques Annaud	F	F/C	F	C	C	C	4 Cdn/ 2 Fr/3 U.S.	\$12,500,000
La Traversée du Pacifique	1980	50%	50%		Claude Léger Ciné-Pacifique	Fernando Arrabal	F	F/C	C	C	C	C	5/1	\$1,898,923
Une Journée en taxi	1980	80%	20%		Robert Ménard Prod. Vidéofilms Itée	Robert Ménard	C	F/C	C	C	C	C	4/3	\$1,562,500
Black Mirror (Haute surveillance)	1980	80%	20%		Nardo Castillo Productions Mirada Itée	Pierre-Alain Jolivet	F	C/3 F	C	C	C	—	3/1	\$2,235,000
Julie Darling	1981	39%		69% (Germ.)	Maurice Smith Maurice Smith Prod. (Tor.)	Lutz Schaarwaechter	G	G/C	C	C	G	G	5/5	\$770,000
Welcome to Blood City	1976	70%	30%		Len Herberman	Peter Sasdy	U.K.	2 U.K.	C	C	U.K.	U.K.	2/6	\$1,200,000
Ragtime Summer (CFDC)	1976	70%	30%		Deanne Judson Judson Pictures, Toronto	Alan Bridges	U.K.	C/ U.K.	U.K.	C/ U.K.	C	C	4/6	\$900,000
Full Circle (CFDC)	1976	40%	60%		Julian Melzack Classic Films, Montreal	Richard Loncraine	U.K.	U.K.	U.K.	U.K.	C	U.K.	2/5	\$1,120,000
Tomorrow Never Comes	1977	50%	50%		Julian Melzack Classic Films, Montreal	Peter Collinson	U.K.	2 UK/ C	C	C	U.K.	U.K.	3/6	\$2,000,000
Coup d'État (CFDC)	1977	70%	30%		C. Dalton/R. Cooper Magnum Int., Toronto	Martyn Burke	C	C	U.K.	C	U.K.	U.K.	2/5	\$2,000,000
Leopard in the Snow	1977	40%	60%		Christopher Harrap Harlequin Films, Toronto	Gerry O'Hara	U.K.	U.K.	U.K.	U.K.	U.K.	U.K.	2/4	\$960,000
The Uncanny (CFDC)	1977	70%	30%		Claude Héroux Cinévidéo, Montreal	Denis Héroux	C	U.K.	U.K.	C	C	U.K.	3/8	\$700,000
Find the Lady (CFDC)	1977	70%	30%		David Perlmutter Gaunt Films, Toronto	John Trent	C	2 C	U.K.	C	U.K.	U.K.	3/7	\$820,000
The Disappearance (CFDC)	1977	39%	69%		G. Drabinsky/G. Arbeid Tiberius Films, Toronto	Stuart Cooper	U.K.	U.K.	U.K.	C	U.K.	C	3/6	\$1,400,000
A Man Called Intrepid (CFDC)	1978	33%	67%		Harold Greenberg AMCI, Montreal	Peter Carter	C	U.K.	U.K.	C/ U.K.	C	C	3/8	\$3,400,000
Murder by Decree (CFDC)	1978	39%	69%		B. Clark/L. Herberman Saucy Jack Inc., Toronto	Bob Clark	C	U.K.	C	U.K.	C	C	4/6	\$4,300,000
Bear Island (CFDC)	1979	60%	40%		Peter Snell Selkirk Films	Don Sharp	U.K.	U.K.	U.K.	U.K.	U.K./ C	C	2/6	\$13,000,000
Deathship	1979	68%	32%		Harold Greenberg Bloodstar Prod.	Alvin Rakoff	C	U.K.	C	U.K./ C	U.K.	U.K.	4/8	\$4,500,000