

content

Canada's National News Media Magazine

February 1977

Number 71

Sixty Cents

The Spectator
Home Edition 15 Cents
Shock spreads
Business leaders cautious
of Quebec

The Toronto Star
Today in The Star
Cahill to replace Russ Jackson as Argo coach?
LEVESQUE:
Now we hope to build this country of Quebec
PQ's best hour but humiliation for Bourassa
Levesque seen 'h' president

The Moncton Times
Irving ruling to come today
"Canada calling?"
LEVESQUE WINS
QUEBEC ONTARIO BUSINESS
Levesque elected to govern - Trudeau
Mackasey tells Canadians not to panic

Le Matin
LE POU AU POUVOIR
LES LIBERAUX BALAYES
L'UN RENAIT AVEC BIRON

Cartoon: A caricature of Jean Lesage and Jacques Parizeau, with Lesage appearing to be shouting or shouting at Parizeau.

SPECIAL ISSUE

71 QUEBEC

CERTAINLY November 15, 1976 now ranks in significance with any milestone in Canadian history. A process of consciousness-raising seems to have been triggered by the Parti Quebecois electoral victory, a process that didn't "take" at the time of the "FLQ crisis" in 1970.

The "FLQ crisis" could always be attributed to a tiny handful of violent malcontents; nascent thoughts of what or who they might represent were drowned in the psychic noise of the War Measures Act. The consciousness-raising then turned out to be — as the vast majority of Canadians including the majority of journalists, shamefully backed or at least acquiesced in the instant suspension of civil rights — a renewed appreciation of how veneer-thin is true liberty in this country.

November 15, 1976 is not attributable to a handful; it must be faced.

"If we look at the three eighteenth-century events that defined the future of Canada . . .," writes Northrop Frye in a new conclusion for the second edition of his *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English*, "the Quebec Act, the American Revolution, and the French Revolution, we see the whole range of a political spectrum that still confronts us.

"The Quebec Act came close to an Edmund Burke model: it was an inductive, pragmatic recognition of a *de facto* situation, and the situation was one of those profoundly illogical ones that Burke considered typical of human life generally.

"The two factors to be taken into account were: (a) the British have conquered the French (b) the British have done nothing of the kind. The only way out of this was a settlement that guaranteed some rights to both parties."

The intellectual and political bankruptcy of endless invocations about the "winner" of the battle of the Plains of Abraham is here bared by Frye. The way out of the intellectual dead-end represented by the concept of "victors" and "vanquished" is to see the situation as a paradox.

But Western thought, unlike Oriental, has not yet been able to grasp paradox (Burke, significantly, would say "illogicality"). In Western thought one must be either an "individualist" or a "collectivist;" the two must be in conflict. The notion that one is an individual while equally being part of a collective has yet to permeate the bone marrow of a Western world fed for decades on anti-collectivism, among other ideas. Pearson's "unity in diversity" theme therefore was seen more or less as a superficial and temporary political slogan.

The rise of modern Quebec nationalism, Frank Howard writes in this issue, "was the most important domestic political story of our times." It should, he writes, "have received the continuous attention of our best journalistic resources, intelligent analysis, critical questioning . . . Sometimes that's the way it was, but too often it was not."

November 15, 1976 should provide the impetus for the Canadian news media community to prepare itself intellectually, emotionally and logistically to cover the story better from now on. It would be a pity if Canadian journalism, collectively, were to stand condemned in the manner voiced by Ben Hecht in 1923 when he wrote, "Trying to learn what's going on in the world by reading the newspapers is like trying to tell time by looking at the second hand of a watch." —B.Z.

content

Established 1970

Editor and Publisher
Barrie Zwicker

Co-editor/Layout
Ray Bendall

Contributing Editors
Prairies — Dennis Gruending
Ottawa — Lin Moody

Correspondent, Montreal
David Pinto

Consulting Editor
Terry O'Connor

Business/Circulation Manager
Norah Zwicker

Comics, page 3, by Don Hawkes. Cartoon, page 15, by Terry Mosher.

Content is published 11 times a year at
22 Laurier Ave., Toronto, Ontario, Canada
M4X 1S3.

Tel. (416) 920-6699 (if busy 920-7733)

Subscriptions

Canada
One year: \$6.50
Two years: \$11.00
Three years: \$15.00
U.S.A.
One year: \$7.50
Two years: \$12.50
Overseas
One Year: \$8.50
Two years: \$14.00

Your first copy of *Content* will be mailed the same day your order is received, when you print your name, address and postal code clearly. Please enclose cheque, if possible. Make cheques payable to *Content*. Institutions and companies: Please include name(s) of person(s) to receive *Content*. Gift subs accompanied by personal note, if requested. Requests for missing issues are not accepted after three months from date of publication.

Grants from the Ontario Arts Council are gratefully acknowledged.

International Standard Serial Number:
0045-835X

Second Class Mail Registration Number:
2501 (Return postage guaranteed)

Typesetting by
Ireland Graphics Limited
Scarborough, Ontario

Printing by
Delta Web Graphics
Scarborough, Ontario

Advertising
Rates and Data Card No. 6
on request

Membership in
Audit Bureau of Circulations
applied for

MEMBER
Canadian
Periodical
Publishers'
Association

Letters

Editor:

You are to be commended for the excellent coverage (in the December *Content*) of the recent dispute between *The Canadian Press* and the Canadian Wire Service Guild.

However, it is most distressing to see the references to "picketers" in the article. It can without a doubt be argued that "picketer" is a legitimate "doer noun" formation from the verb "to picket." But, inasmuch as the verb derives from the noun "picket," which means, presumably, the same thing as "picketer," would not "pickets" be preferable to "picketers?"

We don't mean to be nit-picketing about this, but we are being pickety-pickety.

Jim McPeak, news editor,
Terry Campbell, copy editor,
The Mirror,
Don Mills, Ontario.

CKCO PRESIDENT DEFENDS STATION

Editor:

Content magazine occupies a unique place in the media field, providing comment, information and updates for media people. As such, however, *Content* should accept the responsibility for a reasonable standard of accuracy. In the interests of keeping up that standard, I hope you will find it possible to let your readers know your staff were taken in when they repeated inaccurate statements made last fall by the Kitchener newspaper.

In the October issue of *Content*, unfavourable references were made to the amount of our news gathering equipment, staff morale, and my involvement in news decisions. To respond, may I point out that *CKCO-TV* has been a leader in the fast-developing field of Electronic News Gathering (ENG). For our local film reporters, we have three sound-on-film cameras, three ENG camera/tape units, and complete editing equipment for both film and ENG videotape. Our news department has received a number of awards for its efforts, and our news continues to out-rate the combined opposition; for example, our 6 o'clock SCAN newscast is presented head-to-head with six other newscasts and is No. 1 over the combined audience for the six.

Possibly because I was involved in the successful redevelopment of the business

core of Kitchener, leading to the city's Market Square complex, the newspaper reporter posed a hypothetical question which I answered truthfully. Your summary, however, seems to indicate I am or was in some fashion involved in a further project proposed for Kitchener by Marathon Realty. This is simply not true. As a matter of fact, at the time the article was published there was no Urban Renewal Committee in Kitchener. The Committee's work was completed last

year, and so the City held a public event this spring to mark the completion of its work.

All in all, one must conclude there is little basis for the very negative account of *CKCO-TV* published by *Content*. We have an active group of highly qualified journalists operating under a capable news director who is responsible for his own judgments on news content. Our

(See Letters, Page 22)



THE PRESS AND THE PARTI: 1

“What must be understood is that there is no fabrication; no one is deliberately or even consciously coloring the facts.”

By **GRETTA CHAMBERS**

To get any real idea of how the Quebec press has dealt with the Parti Quebecois before and after the recent provincial election one has to go back at least to the campaign of 1973.

The delicate relationship between politics and the press becomes that much more sensitive at election time. Campaigning politicians often complain that campaign coverage does not deal with the issues, only with the partisan one-upmanship of politicking. In 1973 newspaper readers might have been in some doubt as to which group was the less responsible, the politicians or the press. Front page stories quoting the politicians gave hardly a hint of what people were supposed to be voting for. Indeed, that election appeared to revolve around the hypothetical worth of the Independence Dollar. That was the mythical residue of the “Year One Budget” published by the Parti Quebecois in its attempt to take some of the economic terror out of the idea of independence.

The PQ tactic backfired. Other parties picked up the idea of a devalued PQ dollar and ran with it, making yards for the Liberals who then appeared as the only people capable of protecting the province from monetary disaster.

If the parties were not campaigning on their platforms, editorialists in the province’s newspapers were making a stab at raising issues and a more realistic political debate. Op-ed and commentary pages were full of analyses, summaries and discussions of party platforms. This led to an artificially exaggerated difference in party ideologies.

Everyone learned something from that campaign. The Liberals discovered that if the “bogey man” of separatism could be invoked in all its scary uncertainty, fear would sweep the Liberals to power. Hence the ’76 campaign geared to the Liberals’ ubiquitous campaign poster “NO to separatism” in dramatic black and red.

The Union Nationale learned that fighting separatism sent its clientele straight into the Liberal camp so the UN in 1976 fought a straight anti-government campaign.

The Parti Quebecois now knew that any way one approached the question of independence was fraught with real or apprehended dangers which could not be

dealt with in the heat of an election campaign, so it was wiser to simply rise above the question altogether.

And the press learned to mind its own business which was to follow the campaign and not try to lead it.

At the outset this was a difficult assignment as the campaign which had started from nowhere, for no apparent reason, out of no necessity, didn’t appear to be going anywhere either. Then movement was detected in the English-speaking ridings of the western section of Montreal. A most unusual occurrence. In the past, the Liberals could have run a small, brown dog in these constituencies and not worried. But for several weeks, at the beginning of the ’76 campaign, election coverage in both English and French language newspapers focused on Anglophone and New Canadian discontent, the dissatisfaction of English-speaking voters with the Liberal party that they felt had betrayed them.

This set the tone of the campaign. The

(See Chambers, Page 18)

Editor Claude Ryan, background, reversed a long stand and swung his influential *Le Devoir* around to back the Parti Quebecois led by Rene Levesque, foreground, in the Nov. 15 election. Circa 1974.



COVERAGE



THE EVENING TELEGRAM

St. John's, Nfld. (pm)

Lede of main story: "MONTREAL (CP) — Parti Québécois leader Rene Levesque made the most of what he called the 'last chance election' Monday leading his pro-independence forces to power in Quebec's 31st general election since Confederation."

Space devoted to election coverage: Eight news stories and features fill 1 1/2 of 42 pages (2.6% of the paper).

Photo play: Four black and white, head and shoulders shots of Levesque, Bourassa, Mackasey, and Marchand. All on front page.

Editorial page reaction: A front page editorial calls for an early referendum and expresses mild antipathy toward Levesque: "He kept making wry faces and shrugging his shoulders as much as to say: 'Well, now I've got it. What do I do with it?'"

Comments: Coverage is brief. Not much is said about implications for Newfoundland, i.e. the Labrador dispute. A prominent story on page 1 is about Premier Frank Moore's reaction but is in the main concerned with Quebec vis-a-vis Canada. All other stories are CP copy. (Jared Mitchell)

THE MAIL-STAR

Halifax, N.S. (pm)

Lede of main story: "The political uncertainty brought about by Monday's Quebec election results will probably cause a hesitant attitude on the part of many potential foreign investors looking at Canada in general and the effects will be felt in the Maritimes, Premier Gerald Regan said this morning."

Space: Nine stories fill 1 1/2 of 58 pages (2.5%).

Photo play: Only one, very small, somewhat grainy photo of Levesque.

Editorial page reaction: None on Nov. 16 or 17, CP roundup on Nov. 17. (*The Mail-Star* and *Chronicle-Herald* are published by same company, in a single plant. Their editorial pages are identical.)

Comments: *Mail-Star* coverage is national in scope but more inflammatory in nature than that of its sister, *The Chronicle-Herald*. Both papers are distinctly frightened by the PQ victory, but *The Mail-Star*, with hostile headlines, cautious copy, much "don't panic" reaction, and few positive reactions, seems to assume panic where there may be none. (Becky Schechter)

L'ÉVANGÉLINE

Moncton, N.B. (am)

Lede of main story: "QUEBEC (CP) — Premier Robert Bourassa was defeated in his own riding of Montreal-Mercier Monday night while the Parti Québécois literally swept the province, capturing 68 seats against only 29 for the Liberal Party and 10 for the Union Nationale."

Space: Eleven stories fill 2 1/2 of 24 pages (10.4%).

Photo play: Main shot is a 1/4-page photo on front page. It's grey and slightly out of focus and Levesque is somehow lost amidst all the reporters and photographers. Yet, the effect of the juxtaposition of the flag and the superimposition of Bourassa in the top left-hand corner makes up for the dreary reproduction.

The only other photo is a small three-column shot of Levesque being mobbed by supporters. Stuck in the middle of the page it's just too small and poorly composed to have any impact.

Editorial page reaction: Editorial is cautious and goes out of its way to attempt to calm English Canadians: "It must be pointed out immediately that even if the Parti Québécois has a

separatist philosophy, it doesn't have a mandate to make Quebec independent . . . We must not go off frightened this morning and hastily conclude that this is the end of Confederation . . . It's very important that English Canada not jump to conclusions serving independence or provoke separation faster than Quebecers themselves."

Comments: In general, the news coverage is superficial. There is no story that brings together the overall affects and effects of the election. No analysis or interpretation.

The losers get short shrift, only a few lines. Main reaction stories on page 2 deal with the Maritimes and, in essence, run contrary to the tone of the editorial. Headlines like "Acadia welcomes the PQ victory with optimism," "Hatfield 'stunned' and 'distressed' by the PQ victory" and "The Economic Council of the Atlantic Provinces: The Atlantic region must prepare itself for separation" seem to suggest Quebec separation is imminent and that, perhaps, the Maritimes should follow its lead. (Stan Oziewicz)

THE MONCTON TIMES

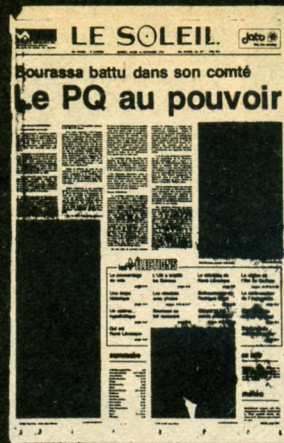
Moncton, N.B. (am)

Lede of main story: "QUEBEC (CP) — Rene Levesque said Monday night the 'clear majority' given the Parti Québécois in the Quebec election enables it to hold a referendum on whether or not the province should separate from Canada and become a republic."

Space: Nine stories fill 2 of 28 pages (7.1%).

Photo play: There are large photos of Bourassa, Biron and Levesque. Levesque is shown with "jubilant" supporters. The Bourassa shot is the popular CP Wirephoto showing the former premier with an expression resembling a pout.

Editorial page reaction: Appeared Nov. 17. The paper takes a reas-



enable approach to the election and supports and respects Levesque as an honest and competent politician. It also judges the PQ to be a favorable replacement for the "often seemingly corrupt Liberal government." Rather than simply cautioning readers not to panic, the editors take a more positive approach:

"The future may hold some uncertainty, although surely Mr. Levesque and other Canadian political leaders will hasten to remove as much as possible. . . Mr. Levesque will follow his chosen course, but the eventual outcome may not be separation, but a revised Canada . . . Monday's election may not be the beginning of the end, but rather the beginning — for a better Canada for all."

Comments: Coverage is unbiased and thorough, including lists of all the elected MNAs and short profiles of significant victors and losers. As well, there is substantive positive reaction from, for example, Quebec labor leaders and Acadian rights groups who support the goals of the PQ. (Becky Schechter)

LE QUOTIDIEN

Chicoutimi, Que. (pm)

Lede of main story: "QUEBEC (CP) — Premier Robert Bourassa was defeated Monday night in his own riding of Montreal-Mercier, while the Parti Québécois literally . . ." (see *L'evangeline*).

Space: Twenty-seven stories fill 7 of 24 pages (29.1%).

Photo play: Eighteen b/w, half of them head-and-shoulders. On the front is a Levesque-Payette photo which was also used by several other papers on page 1.

Editorial page reaction: The editorial is uncertain, hesitant and middle-of-the-road. It concentrates on the reasons the Liberals didn't win, except for this comment:

"In brief, the astonishing pequist victory opens new horizons to Quebec. It indicates, above all, the wish of the people to finally benefit from social peace, an essential condition for a dynamic evolution."

Comments: The paper contains several refreshing items. One of these is a nonsense, humor piece — titled "Nose stuck to the screen" — played across the bottom of the front page. The piece is accompanied by a cartoon which shows Levesque, cigarette dangling from his lips and puffing away, running ahead of Bourassa who's engulfed in the smoke. It's rather difficult to translate the words that go with the cartoon while at the same time remaining faithful to the meaning and retaining the bite. Translated literally, the caption says: "They're still going to say smoking cuts your wind."

Another interesting approach: a front-page regional wrap-up uses the Liberal and PQ logos to show, in a quick, graphic way, the victors. Also, the two pages of tabulations of riding results are set in bold type, making individual constituencies easy to pick out and quick to read. A fault: There was only one Liberal

(Robert Lamontagne — Roberval) to break through the pequist wave in the Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean region. The paper carried a short story about him on page 5. It deserved much better play. (Stan Oziewicz)

LE SOLEIL

Quebec, Que. (pm)

Lede of main story: "The unforeseeable has happened!"

Space: Twenty-nine stories fill 21 of 104 pages (20.2%).

Photo play: Twenty-four pictures include 3 muddy color shots of the party leaders on the front page and a shot of Pointe-Claire winner William Shaw with the cutline, "The Anglophone face of the UN party." (Also, riding by riding results lists include small head shots of 109 winners.)

Editorial page reaction: By Claude Beauchamp, who writes: "Quebec, on this day after the election, is no longer the same because it has taken the greatest risk, and at the same time, the greatest challenge of its existence." He reaffirms the fact that the PQ does not have an automatic mandate to separate Quebec. Nor

does it have the complete support of Quebecers for its left wing platform ("60 per cent of the voters are more to the right than the PQ."). Levesque, he concludes, has a big job ahead because Quebecers are going to expect more from the PQ than they'd have expected from a Liberal government.

Comments: Comprehensive and balanced coverage includes separate reaction articles from all sectors and stories on the results in various regions of the province. (Barbara Yaffe)

THE MONTREAL STAR

Montreal, Que. (pm)

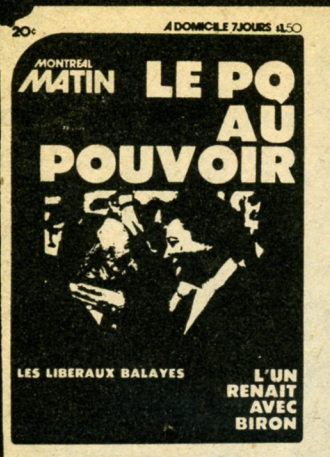
Lede of main story: "The Parti Québécois has swept into power, winning at least 66 of the 110 national assembly seats, but premier-elect Rene Levesque immediately reassured Quebecers that the province will stay in Confederation until a majority clearly expresses its desire to secede."

Space: Thirty-seven stories fill 8 1/6 of 68 pages (12%).

Photo play: In all, 20 b/w photos are included. At least 11 were taken on election night. Many are played large, including one by staff photographer Gerry Davidson taken early in the evening at the Paul Sauve arena, which shows that Nov. 15 was an election day different from most. Actress Denyse Filiatrault is shown dancing, arms held high, on the then-uncrowded stage. The background is a wall of PQ posters. **Editorial page reaction:** Dissatisfaction with the Bourassa government and the resurgence of the Union Nationale allowed the PQ win. But "whatever else it may have been, yesterday's vote was quite clearly not a mandate for separatism." The new government's task is to cure an ailing economy, maintain political and economic stability and produce a solution to

For thoughtful assessments, rendered tightly, thanks to **Robert Clarke**, freelance, of Ottawa; **Jared Mitchell**, Toronto journalism student in his graduating year; **Stan Oziewicz** and **Barbara Yaffe** of *The Globe and Mail* (who translated and assessed the French papers); **Ken Popert** of Toronto who becomes *Content's* new co-editor with the next issue; **Rebecca Schechter**, editor of *The Critical List* and **Reg Silvester**, a freelancer of the Prairies and Toronto.

Unless otherwise indicated, information in the assessments refers to the paper of November 16, and in most cases, to the final edition of the day. Under the sub-heading "Space," the information refers to news stories and features, but not editorials. The percentage figure indicates how much of the whole paper, not just the news hole, was filled by the stories.



the province's language problem. "And when it comes to be judged by the voters it will be judged on its ability to cope with immediate problems, not on its commitment to a far-off separatist adventure."

Comments: The *Star's* coverage includes reportage on election night activities and the fortunes of the major parties and personalities. Ottawa and business community reactions to the Levesque sweep are adequately covered. A lack of comment and reaction from other areas of Canada and the world makes for the only soft spot in otherwise extensive coverage.

The paper also reprints, starting on page 1, excerpts from Levesque's July 1976 article in the U.S. quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*. In it, he outlines his ideas for a separate Quebec and its relationship with Canada. Three op-ed page pieces, by Richard Gwyn, W.A. Wilson and Dominique Clift add meat to the generally level-headed coverage. (Ray Bendall)

MONTREAL-MATIN

Montreal, Que. (am)

Lede of main story: "I never thought that I could be so proud to be a Quebecker. We aren't a small people, we are perhaps something resembling a large people." (Rene Levesque)

Space: Forty-four stories fill 17 of 72 pages (23.6%).

Photo play: Twenty-three of the 26 b/w photographs are head shots of various candidates. On the front page, TV personality and elected candidate Lise Payette warmly congratulates Levesque. Elsewhere, a photo of Bourassa speaking to his wife has the presumptuous outline: "The defeated premier tries to console his wife."

Editorial page reaction: The writer, Marc Laurendeau, congratulates dissatisfied Quebeckers for having

the courage to give themselves a new government with a strong majority status. He expresses the hope the government won't disappoint the great hopes invested in it by the electorate. He notes that during the election campaign, Bourassa hysterically requested a debate with Levesque, and comments: "To put an adversary on the defensive—that already constitutes a step towards victory."

Comments: Coverage is slightly sensational (much use of exclamation marks), slightly presumptuous (use of words like "probably" and "evidently") and conveys a positive, optimistic outlook (one headline: "And Now, Independence!"). The paper neglected to cover the potentially negative reaction of the business community, choosing instead to concentrate on positive reaction. For example, Camille Laurin (PQ-Bourget) is quoted: "A page of history has been turned. A new Quebec is beginning. . . . We are going to give Quebec the government which the people have been waiting 250 years for."

Another featured story says the leaders of the three major Quebec unions were "unanimously satisfied" with the results. The newspaper also ran a complete story outlining the party's planned path to independence. Meanwhile, no commentary from Anglophone or business community leaders. The paper did run, at the very end of the election coverage, a full-page story on Charles Bronfman's statements opposing the PQ government, along with Levesque's subsequent derision of his remarks. (Barbara Yaffe).

THE GAZETTE

Montreal, Que. (am)

Lede of main story: "Quebeckers elected a strong majority Parti Quebecois government yesterday,

rewarding Rene Levesque with the premier's job only eight years after he left the Liberal party to promote the independence of Quebec with his own political party."

Space: Twenty-five stories fill 6 1/6 of 52 pages (11.9%).

Photo play: Twelve b/w shots, mostly fresh. Levesque waving in victory (outline: "Levesque: We never expected it to happen this soon") and a head shot of Bourassa (outline: "Bourassa: Stayed calm.")

Editorial page reaction: A fairly positive reaction to the results: Leadership achievement of Levesque stressed, along with the party's ability to carry out its promises of good government; it should, however, go easy on its movement towards independence.

Comments: Coverage is generally even and comprehensive, if placid. One special item is a reprint of the portions of the PQ platform which deal with independence. The editorial comments that "readers can see that the process of accession to sovereignty . . . is a formidable one." (Robert Clarke)

LE JOURNAL DE MONTREAL

Montreal, Que. (am)

Lede of main story: "Rene Levesque's Parti Quebecois last night pulled off a comfortable victory over Robert Bourassa's Liberal Party, thus paving the way for profound changes in Quebec."

Space: Twenty-one stories fill 13 of 88 pages (14.9%).

Photo play: Twenty-six b/w photos include a full-page cover photo of Levesque, a one-page spread of rejoicing pequistes, and another two-page spread of the same. Many of the other shots, dispersed evenly throughout the election pages, are of the head-and-shoulders type and a variety of cliché shots (Bourassa sitting with his mother and son watching television for returns,

Rodrigue Biron putting his ballot in the box).

The spreads are extremely well done, combining action, emotion and the spirit of the moment. They effectively tell the story of a PQ sweep. One of the more interesting photos shows Levesque holding a broom in his left hand. The outline refers to a sweeping victory. Corny, but . . .

Editorial page reaction: Signed by Jacques Beauchamp, managing editor, the editorial is lightweight and stays clear of dealing with the meaning of the PQ win vis-a-vis the rest of Canada:

"BRÁVO to Rene Levesque and to the members of the PQ who will form the new provincial government . . .

"All that I hope for now is that the new premier be backed up by his team better than Karl Kuehl was by the Expos players . . ."

Comments: Coverage is fairly comprehensive but in a very immediate sort of way that only touches the surface. It lacks perspective and depth. A PQ bias is quite evident. There are too many clichés, as in the headline: "Quebec turned a page in history." (Stan Oziewicz).

LA PRESSE

Montreal, Que. (pm)

Lede of main story: "Outwitting all the prognostics, the head of the Parti Quebecois, twice defeated since 1970, led his party to an overwhelming victory yesterday, winning 70 seats in the National Assembly, against 27 for the Liberal Party, 11 for the Union Nationale, one for Social Credit and one for the Popular National Party."

Space: Thirty-six news and features in a special, 16-page, first section.

Photo play: *La Presse's* election special made excellent use of photos, including a color shot of

LE DEVOIR

31 CENTS

1000000

Montreal, mardi 18 novembre 1976

31 CENTS

LE PQ AU POUVOIR



Emporté par la déroute des libéraux, Bourassa perd son siège dans Mercier

Le Parti Québécois a remporté la victoire lors de l'élection provinciale de mardi 16 novembre. Le Parti libéral a subi une défaite cuisante, entraînant la chute de Robert Bourassa.

La Québec a voté hier pour un gouvernement libéral dirigé par Robert Bourassa. Le Parti Québécois a obtenu 41,1% des voix, ce qui représente un record historique.

Une étape décisive

Après avoir été pendant des années le principal adversaire du Parti libéral, le Parti Québécois a franchi un cap décisif en devenant le plus puissant parti de l'opposition.

Le PQ au pouvoir



11 candidats du parti		11 candidats du parti	
Parti	Voix	Parti	Voix
Libéral	41,1%	Libéral	41,1%
PQ	38,2%	PQ	38,2%
UN	10,7%	UN	10,7%
NDP	2,0%	NDP	2,0%
PC	8,0%	PC	8,0%

LE DROIT

L'Outaouais dans l'Opposition



Le Parti Québécois a obtenu la majorité absolue lors de l'élection provinciale de mardi 16 novembre. Le Parti libéral a subi une défaite cuisante, entraînant la chute de Robert Bourassa.

Levesque on the front page and an array of winners on two pages inside. All of them are well-displayed and manage to catch expressions well, thus transmitting the mood and atmosphere of the moment. The modular layout used by *La Presse* also lends itself to good photo display.

Editorial page comment: The cartoon is a classic. Entitled "The Vanquished," its border is a boxing ring rope. In the bottom left-hand corner an arm (Bourassa's), with the hand in a boxing glove, is draped over the rope and extends outside the perimeter of border.

Most of the editorial deals with the voters' disaffection with the Liberals and the ambiguity of the result: "If the result of this election is clear, its sense is equivocal, because the Parti Québécois, which is a formation essentially dedicated to achieve Quebec sovereignty, has been elected by voters, a majority of whom refuse Quebec independence. And if one adds to these, those who have voted for other federalist parties, we have a predominantly federalist society which has elected an independentist party."

Comments: The election section *La Presse* pulled together is impressive both in volume and quality. While the sheer quantity of stories and space devoted to the election may, at times, be overwhelming they are presented in a way that makes the reader want to read on — and go back to a few days or months hence. Particularly dynamic is the newspaper's use of graphics to illustrate the riding-by-riding voting pattern. A whole page is organized into hexagonal symbols with different colors for each party. At a glance, a reader can see the outcome of a particular riding or determine the mold of the entire election. Other noteworthy items are two graphs, one of the percentage of votes and seats for each party, the

other one of opinion polls taken since 1970 showing the eventual decline of the Liberals and the rise of the PQ.

Four complete pages are devoted to covering 13 regions of the province, two of these being Montreal Francophones and Montreal Anglophones. In all but one case, where two reporters were assigned to cover one region, one reporter was responsible for one region. *La Presse* gave ample space to reaction stories about people like Trudeau and Clark, but also about many of the Liberal "stars" washed away in the PQ tide. It also, unlike some of the other papers, gave considerable attention to Rodrigue Biron and his party's fortunes. Probably more than any other Canadian daily of Nov. 16, 1976, *La Presse* will serve as a historical document. (Stan Oziewicz).

LE DEVOIR

Montreal, Que. (am)

Lede of main story: "Quebec gave itself yesterday a Parti Québécois government with a strong majority."

Space: Thirteen stories fill 5½ of 20 pages (27.5%).

Photo play: Four b/w, all fresh. Under a picture of Liberal Bryce Mackasey the cutline reads, despite his victory "he did not appear to be overcome with joy."

Editorial page reaction: On Nov. 16, editor Claude Ryan writes a brief analysis of the political context of the Liberal defeat and PQ win. He says, in reference to the Liberals, "Governments, it is said, defeat themselves — they are rarely beaten." He says the PQ victory is like "an injection of new blood to Quebec political life."

On Nov. 17, Ryan writes of the overwhelming support among Franco-Quebeckers for the Parti Québécois and the unquestionable

impact the new political force will have on Quebec's status in Confederation. While the first tasks of the PQ government must revolve around economic and social problems, he says, "sooner or later, this will lead unavoidably to a situation of fundamental conflict with Ottawa." He continues: "The PQ now has at its disposal a unique base from which to demonstrate to Quebeckers the advantages of its fundamental option. If Mr. Trudeau wishes to counter these arguments he will have to avoid taking refuge in legalities alone. Rather, he will have to don his combat uniform and conduct his democratic and public battle in Quebec more consistently and frequently instead of relying on his legal arguments which could lead the country into another crisis even more grave than the one of October 1970."

Also on Nov. 17, Jean-Claude Leclerc writes there are now two new ambitious and typically Quebecois forces in Quebec: the PQ and the UN parties. He notes the election has resulted in the rebirth of the UN party which gleaned the Anglophone and ethnic votes which could not be directed to the Liberals as a result of embitterment over Bill 22. He says: "Not only can the UN join the Liberals in exploiting discontentment, characteristic of all opposition parties, but it can also try to defend the federal option which a majority of Quebeckers still refuse to exchange in favor of the sovereignty of their province."

Comments: *Le Devoir's* coverage was more global in approach. While it contained a list of riding winners, it refrained from doing stories on individual winners in local ridings as *Le Droit* chose to do. Instead, there was particularly detailed coverage given to the reaction of the three Quebec party leaders to the PQ's massive win. This newspaper gave a

great amount of space to union and business reaction to the PQ win, interviewing 14 business community leaders and three prominent union leaders. The writing brought out the highly emotional nature of the event: "sadness in Mackasey's voice;" "like magic . . . a collective madness in the crowd" as Levesque arrived; "He was motionless, eyes lifted to the sky, glazed, silent. In the building deafening roar of the party song — 'beginning tomorrow, Quebec is ours' and 'people of our country'." (Barbara Yaffe)

LE DROIT

Ottawa-Hull (pm)

Lede of main story: "The Quebec population yesterday elected, in a decisive vote, the Parti Québécois, and inflicted a devastating defeat on the outgoing government of Robert Bourassa."

Space: Forty-five stories fill about 10 of 96 pages (10.4%).

Photo play: Twenty-nine in all, seven in color (with the best color reproduction of all papers reviewed). The great majority of them are fresh, showing happy victors and excited youths in street celebrations. In one interesting photo, Prime Minister Trudeau is caught in a peculiar pose as he touches his cheek, almost giving the reader the impression he is wiping away a tear.

Editorial page reaction: Pierre Tremblay emphasizes it is now incumbent upon the Parti Québécois to carry out the overwhelming tasks facing them. "Much must be accomplished by the PQ to fulfill the mandate given by an impatient majority. . . . All eyes are turned on a Quebec which opened a new page in a history which is also new."

Gilbert Brunet analyses the election results in a socio-political context. The PQ he says, got its support from blue-collar workers in urban areas.



He notes there is a distinct rural/urban voting pattern. The UN party took much of the rural vote and most Anglophones went Liberal. Lohannes Godbout notes the Outouais region, having voted largely Liberal, is now opposition party territory.

Comments: *Le Droit's* straightforward coverage has an emphasis on the opposition status of those elected in the Outouais region — the only Quebec region which “went Liberal.” Generally, the reaction stories on the local, national and international fronts were comprehensive and adequate, but the depiction of Quebecker’s reactions was slightly one-sided. The euphoria and delirium of PQ supporters was played up, while little coverage was given to reaction from Quebec Anglophones and immigrants (about 20 per cent of the province’s population). (Barbara Yaffe)

OTTAWA JOURNAL
Ottawa, Ont. (pm)

Lede of main story: “A new page in Canadian history began Monday as Quebeckers voted in a majority Parti Quebecois government committed to holding a referendum on independence within two years.”

Space: Twelve stories fill 4 of 100 pages (4%).

Photo play: Twelve b/w scattered throughout coverage.

Editorial page reaction: Appeared on Nov. 17. Everyone, including Trudeau, Levesque and Bourassa, acted in good form in both victory and defeat on election night, although Trudeau made a mistake by taking a hard line in the Commons the next day (saying he had no authority to negotiate separatism) — his leadership capacity remains dangerously in doubt.

“An instant confrontation with Mr.

Levesque is precisely what should be carefully avoided. The battle is not between Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Levesque. The fight is between Mr. Trudeau and the people of Quebec for their continuing allegiance to something called Canada. The burning question is whether Mr. Trudeau has enough credibility left in any part of Canada to meet this greatest challenge.”

Comments: Tone of coverage is shallow and reassuring to English Canadians. Rather than looking at “the PQ in victory and why,” the *Journal's* coverage was definitely oriented toward the English Canadian reaction. Of two front page articles, one is a Richard Gwyn analysis piece which looks first at Trudeau’s reaction and then the meaning of the results for English Canada. (Robert Clarke)

THE WHIG-STANDARD
Kingston, Ont. (pm)

Lede of main story: “Montreal (CP) — Parti Quebecois leader Rene Levesque made the most of what he called the ‘last chance election’ Monday . . .” (see St. John’s *Evening Telegram*).

Space: Fifteen stories fill 2 1/3 of 44 pages (5.2%).

Photo play: Ten b/w include large shots of Levesque and Biron, and a small reproduction of Bourassa’s pouting pose.

Editorial page reaction: More alarmed than news coverage. The editors express wholehearted disapproval of the Bourassa regime along with a subdued faith in the honor and intelligence of Levesque. But they also express their worst fears:

“But Rene Levesque has a different sort of magic. He is surrounded by henchmen whose true measure has still to be learned . . . Quick successes (by the PQ) in a few of the many areas of current economic and

industrial difficulty, or effective steps to cure chronic unemployment in the province could transform (Levesque’s) present momentum into a terrible force that could end by destroying a confederation that is barely a century old.”

Comments: Considering its size, the *Whig-Standard's* election coverage was thorough and comprehensive. Several wire stories, ignored by many papers, were picked up. All put the PQ win into a slightly favorable light. The paper was also one of the few to use a picture of excited PQ supporters without a politician’s head in front of them. (Becky Schechter)

THE GLOBE AND MAIL
Toronto, Ont. (am)

Lede of main story: “The Parti Quebecois under leader Rene Levesque swept to power last night across Quebec, crushing Premier Robert Bourassa’s Liberals in a stunning landslide victory.”

Space: Seventeen stories fill 2 2/3 pages of 54 pages (4.9%).

Photo play: Seven b/w, including large “tired and haggard” Levesque shot used by many papers, on front page.

Editorial page reaction: Election doesn’t mean people of Quebec decided to separate from Canada. But the PQ will be moving, “however cautiously, however recklessly,” towards separatism and the campaign to counter separatism must come from Ottawa.

“The best hope of coming through it (the days ahead) is to face up honestly to the threat — and perhaps the first point of honesty is to admit that it is, to whatever concepts of Canada we have had in the past, a threat. It is a threat that has a price, not just for the people of Quebec but for the people of the whole country.”

Comments: Coverage is fairly

comprehensive, fairly positive (in stressing the “vote for good government but not for separatism” line). For example, a headline on an article which is a compendium of diverse comments: “Levesque will give Quebec good government, ‘perhaps best in a while,’ Smallwood says.”

There’s not much special or different about the *Globe's* typical level-headed though conservative coverage. The emphasis, as usual, is on separatism rather than any other issues. An editorial cartoon shows a worried beaver with his tail clipped off. (Robert Clarke)

THE TORONTO SUN
Toronto, Ont. (am)

Lede of main story: “QUEBEC (CP-UPI) — Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa went down to personal defeat last night as Rene Levesque’s Parti Quebecois won the province with a solid majority that raised questions about the future of Canada.”

Space: Eight stories fill 4 of 64 pages (6.3%).

Photo play: Five b/w, mainly fresh.

Editorial page reaction: (A special editorial appeared on the main news page, p. 3). Not a triumph for separatism as much as a reaction against corrupt, autocratic government. The majority of Quebeckers don’t want independence. Yet the referendum should come soon (within months rather than two years) to clarify the future (stresses the importance of reassuring investment). The outcome also a blow to Trudeau and federal Liberals.

“A lot will hinge on how Rene Levesque handles power and whether it corrupts his government the way it seems to corrupt so many governments of Quebec . . . If it takes electing a corrupt government in Quebec to keep Canada united —



better to take a chance on what seems an honest, clean party, although it preaches separatism." **Comments:** The main characteristic of the coverage was its slightness which, however, is the *Sun's* usual style and part of its tabloid character and appeal. No picture or story on the front page but, along with three quotes emphasizing the separatism threat, there is a cartoon of a boxer-Levesque knocking down his opponents Bourassa and Trudeau. Bourassa, by the way, has a bottle of Seagram's tucked into his boxing shorts. On page 4 there is a profile of Levesque lifted from the *CP* wire, amounting to only four paragraphs. On the same page there is a lengthy (18 paragraph) page-wide piece headlined "Industry sees separatism menace." (Robert Clarke)

THE TORONTO STAR
Toronto, Ont. (pm)

Lede of main story: "Parti Quebecois leader Rene Levesque prepared today for a swift takeover as premier of Quebec following an emotion-filled promise 'to build this country of Quebec.'" **Space:** Fifty news and feature stories (excluding columns) fill 8 3/4 of 90 pages (9.7%). **Photo play:** Thirteen b/w, mostly fresh, mostly large and mostly of leaders. **Editorial page reaction:** Reassurance that the vote was not a vote for separatism, emphasizing that it is important to get the referendum over as quickly as possible to clear up the situation, then Quebecers can judge the government on the basis of the "socialist methods likely to be used by Levesque and his followers. . . . "Levesque's victory itself had little to do with separatism. He did not emphasize it during the campaign but instead stressed the need for

good government and economic and social reform. Separatism was something to be discussed later. "Nonetheless, it would be folly to underestimate the determination of the PQ and its militant hardcore to achieve their separatist goal." **Comments:** Like some of the other papers, there seem to be mixed feelings, almost a contradiction of thought: While it's emphasized (especially in the editorial) that the vote was not for separatism, every page on the election, almost every article, is dominated by the separatism issue. Almost no attention is paid to the other issues — economic, promise of good government, social tensions, agricultural policy — which supposedly won the election for the PQ. It seems that even if Levesque had wanted to concentrate on those other, important, issues, the press (and maybe the readers) wouldn't let him. Only one article, an editorial page piece by John Dafoe, looked into those matters. (Robert Clarke)

THE SPECTATOR
Hamilton, Ont. (pm)

Lede of main story: "Stock exchanges in Montreal and Toronto, and the Canadian dollar, were badly battered today after yesterday's stunning Parti Quebecois victory in Quebec." **Space:** Eleven stories fill 2 7/8 pages of 48 (6%). **Photo play:** Eight b/w all fresh. Three are played very large. **Editorial page reaction:** Calm but concerned: "Little can be gained at this time by a search for panic buttons." **Comments:** The coverage is cautious and broad, but an orientation towards business is very noticeable. The main story's lede is above. A second page 1 story is written by the paper's business editor. It's lede: "Don't panic." The layout of the

page tends to neutralize the copy's message. The headline, "Shock spreads" was one of the largest and the most sensationalistic of all the papers *Content* looked at. And among the broadsheets, only *The Vancouver Sun* and *Windsor Star* used as large pictures on page 1. (Ken Popert)

THE LONDON EVENING FREE PRESS
London, Ont. (pm)

Lede of main story: "MONTREAL — Both the English-speaking community and the city's large business community appeared to be reacting with anxious calm this morning following an upset victory in Monday's provincial election by Rene Levesque's Parti Quebecois." **Space:** Eight stories fill 1 1/4 of 52 pages (2.4%). **Photo play:** Four b/w. On the front are two tiny, old head shots. Inside, a larger pic is poorly reproduced. **Editorial page reaction:** Tends to see the PQ, not the constitution, as the problem. Slightly anti-PQ: "All of us have a responsibility to contribute to the strengthening of federalism which, the PQ victory notwithstanding, still claims the majority of Quebecers." **Comments:** The coverage seems peculiarly apathetic. Readers might get the feeling that the story is taking place on the other side of the world and not their own doorsteps. (Ken Popert)

THE WINDSOR STAR
Windsor, Ont. (pm)

Lede of main story: Parti Quebecois leader Rene Levesque, after leading his pro-independence force to a smashing victory, told all Canadians 'who fear they have something to fear because of our victory' that the PQ goal is to make 'Quebec a nation for all Quebecers without

exception." **Space:** Nineteen stories fill 4 3/4 of 98 pages (4.8%). **Photo play:** Eight b/w, all fresh. **Editorial page reaction:** Interprets victory as rejection of bad government, while recognizing Quebec grievances: "Perhaps we will find ourselves — on each side — paying a little more attention to the legitimate complaints of the other side." **Comments:** Coverage was understanding, informative and comprehensive. Included the parts of the PQ platform which deal with separatism. (Ken Popert).

THE NORTH BAY NUGGET
North Bay, Ont. (pm)

Lede of main story (from Southam News Services): "MONTREAL — Rene Levesque's separatist Parti Quebecois turned the political situation in Quebec — and Canada — upside down Monday with a stunning majority win in the Quebec election." **Space:** Two stories fill 2/3 of a page out of 24 (2.8%). **Photo play:** Two medium size head pix (Levesque and Bourassa), on front page. **Editorial page reaction:** Editorial is anti-Levesque and anti-Quebec: "Rene Levesque now has the chance he always has wanted — to rule over Quebec — a province that has generated more problems than a tree toad has bumps." The editorial writer seems decidedly unhappy with the low-level belligerence of the Southam copy on his front page; the editorial piece adds bits of information (some of it clearly exaggerated or thin) not included in the news story and designed to prejudice the reader against Levesque and the PQ: "In his statement, Mr. Levesque referred to Quebec as a country and not a province, which stimulates the belief he intends to put his formula to work



... During the campaign there were reports that bank deposits were being transferred from Quebec centres to Ontario and that some industrialists were mulling over the possibility of switching their operations to centres outside the province . . . Mr. Levesque's victory is comparable to the story of the dog which caught up with the auto he was chasing." (Ken Popert).

THE SUDBURY STAR
Sudbury, Ont. (pm)

Lede of main story: "MONTREAL — (CP) — Parti Quebecois leader Rene Levesque made the most of what he called the 'last chance election' Monday . . ." (see St. John's *Evening Telegram*).
Space: Eight stories fill 1 1/16 of 30 pages (3.2%).
Photo play: Four b/w, including a good, not often used CP wirephoto of the huge, cheering Paul Sauve Arena crowd. No head and shoulders shots.
Editorial page reaction: (Nov. 17) The *Star's* editors take a sober look at the possible consequences the PQ victory may have for Quebec and the rest of the country. They caution against taking the results too lightly and favor a national referendum on separation to accompany Quebec's.
Comments: Coverage is very straightforward and matter-of-fact in tone, but also unusual. It carries a number of items that were not generally picked up by the press, including an item from AP in Brussels, citing the reaction to the PQ victory in Belgium (another country which has two major language groups and in which the struggle between Dutch and French speaking people is a major political issue). There is also a full article on Levesque's victory speech, including a more graphic than usual description of the huge and excited crowd. (Becky Schechter)

WINNIPEG TRIBUNE
Winnipeg, Man. (pm)

Lede of main story: "MONTREAL (CP) — Parti Quebecois leader Rene Levesque made the most of what he called the 'last chance election' Monday . . ." (see St. John's *Evening Telegram*).
Space: Eleven stories fill 2 2/3 of 72 pages (3.7%).
Photo play: Five b/w. Levesque, his supporters and glum Bourassa on page 1.
Editorial page reaction: Front page editorial says, in a slightly tense but calm way, that Canada is at the crossroads. "We implore Western Canadians not to act the fool, but to say simply that Canada can survive if enough Canadians want it to."
Comments: All stories are CP or SNS copy save a page 1 notice of a *Tribune* opinion poll on the election. No local angle in the paper, but the story is obviously given a high importance as it occupies the entire front page with the main headline in one-and-a-half-inch-high block caps with an exclamation mark. (Jared Mitchell)

WINNIPEG FREE PRESS
Winnipeg, Man. (pm)

Lede of main story: "MONTREAL — Rene Levesque told thousands of cheering supporters Monday night in an emotional speech, 'We hope in friendship with our fellow citizens of Canada to give ourselves a country which is Quebec.'"
Space: Twenty stories fill 2 1/4 of 68 pages (3.4%).
Photo play: Seven CP pictures include two of Levesque. All b/w.
Editorial page reaction: "In spite of the dire pre-election warnings and the gloomy post-election comments, Monday's voting in Quebec was not the end of the world. It may not even be the end of Canada as a

nation."
Comments: *Free Press* coverage of the story was comprehensive and calm. Angles include what the West stands to gain, international reception, what will happen to Labrador, the trend to hasten old provincial governments over the last year, labor relations, the Union Nationale's reaction, biography of Levesque. An overall sophistication. Charts also included. (Jared Mitchell).

THE DAILY GRAPHIC
Portage La Prairie, Man. (pm)

Lede of main story: "MONTREAL — (CP) — Parti Quebecois leader Rene Levesque made the most of what he called the 'last chance election' Monday . . ." (see St. John's *Evening Telegram*).
Space: One story fills 1/3 of 8 pages (4%).
Photo play: A single two-column head and shoulders shot of Levesque has a soft focus, studio shot look about it. Circa 1960.
Editorial page reaction: None.
Comments: Coverage was minimal CP bland. About what one would expect from a paper so small. Two more CP stories carried on Nov. 17. (Reg Silvester).

THE STAR-PHOENIX
Saskatoon, Sask. (pm)

Lede of main story: "MONTREAL (CP) — Party Quebecois leader Rene Levesque made the most of what he called the 'last chance election' Monday . . ." (see St. John's *Evening Telegram*).
Space: Seven stories fill about 1 of 40 pages (2.5%).
Photo play: Just two. On page 1, the widely used Levesque-flag-reporters shot. Inside, the Paul Sauve crowd.

Editorial page reaction: Editorial expresses concern that Ottawa could become more authoritarian, and asserts: "Confederation is not worth the sacrifice of freedom." There is a prediction of an early referendum to provide a settled business atmosphere, even though it will take time to garner support for separation. "If he (Levesque) moves fast, he may lose support; if he waits, he will lose money."
Comments: Covers the situation as competently as possible with CP copy, but there are no stories of local origin, and little Saskatchewan perspective. (Reg Silvester).

THE CALGARY HERALD
Calgary, Alta. (pm)

Lede of main story (from SNS): "MONTREAL — Rene Levesque's separatist Parti Quebecois turned the political situation in Quebec — and Canada — upside down Monday with a stunning majority win in the Quebec election."
Space: Sixteen stories fill 1 5/6 of 84 pages (2.3%).
Photo play: Four photos on first three pages. The Levesque-press-flag shot is played large on the front.
Editorial page reaction: Two editorials on election, one dealing with Levesque, the other stating problems Canada would face if and as Quebec separates. In the first, Levesque is called "the most exciting politician around," and his party "as brainy and spell-binding an assortment of politicians as are likely to be found anywhere." It says "Westerners can afford the luxury of detachment, or of careless emotions, no more." The second contemplates problems of splitting the armed forces, assuring continued connections with the Atlantic provinces and the possible death of the Liberals as a national party.
Comments: Stories from four



sources — CP, UPI, Financial Times and Southam News Services — plus two local stories on Alberta separatism provided thorough coverage of events in Quebec and related them to the political and social environment in Alberta. No panic. (Reg Silvester).

THE ADVOCATE
Red Deer, Alta. (pm)

Lede of main story: "MONTREAL (CP) — Parti Quebecois leader Rene Levesque made the most of what he called the 'last chance election' Monday . . ." (see St. John's Evening Telegram).

Space: Eight stories fill 1½ of 22 pages (6.8%).

Photo play: A photo of a deadpan Robert Bourassa does not match the headline "Robert Bourassa's head high in defeat."

Editorial page reaction: Editorial decides "it could be a good thing." The result "will put constitutional reform plans on ice until there is some insight into what is to be reformed for what sort of future Canada," and perhaps a "greater receptiveness" to Alberta's position on Confederation.

Comments: Everything is straightforwardly CP. No panic in headlines. (Reg Silvester).

KAMLOOPS DAILY SENTINEL
Kamloops, B.C. (pm)

Lede of main story: "MONTREAL (CP) — Parti Quebecois leader Rene Levesque made the most of what he called the 'last chance election' Monday . . ." (see St. John's Evening Telegram).

Space: Seven stories fill one of 16 pages (6.2%).

Photo play: Five b/w head shots. Levesque and Bourassa shots played large.

Editorial page reaction: The editor-

ial reiterated the 'don't panic' messages which are emphasized throughout the news coverage — but added another caution. Canadians shouldn't be lulled into complacency by the 'don't panic' approach:

"Canadians from every part of the nation who believe in one indivisible country must show responsibility in their efforts to preserve that concept. There is a real danger that November 15/76 will go down in history as the beginning of the end of Canada as a country."

Comments: There was nothing particularly outstanding about the coverage, although regional response received more coverage than national reaction to the election. (Becky Schechter).

THE PROVINCE
Vancouver, B.C. (am)

Lede of main story: "QUEBEC (CP) — Rene Levesque said Monday night the 'clear majority' given the Parti Quebecois in the Quebec election enables it to hold a referendum . . ." (see Moncton Times).

Space: Twelve stories fill 1¾ of 42 pages (3.3%).

Photo play: Three b/w: Levesque, Bourassa, and the crowd at the Paul Sauve Arena.

Editorial page reaction: The editorial treats Levesque's victory as no indication that Quebecers favour separation, and assumes that the PQ's success was "based on the failure of the Bourassa government." The editors speculate on a future for Canada, which does not include separation, but in which Levesque "will . . . have no more power than, say, the premier of British Columbia." The Quebec election, then, will not lead to a major change in the country, but will figure as a major variable in the

outcome of federal politics during the next several years.

Comments: News coverage is relatively thorough and positive in tone, although there's a noticeable absence of reaction from many areas of the country. However, *The Province* does carry three feature stories on the Quebec party leaders — Levesque, Bourassa and Biron — including relatively extensive background information on Levesque. Two unusual items: a page 1 piece which notes that the newly elected Quebec government will be the first in history with no Anglophone members, and a page 10 item from Paris describing the enthusiastic response of young Quebecers abroad to the PQ victory. (Becky Schechter).

THE VANCOUVER SUN
Vancouver, B.C. (pm)

Lede of main story: "MONTREAL — Premier-elect Rene Levesque, swept to power despite his plans for Quebec's secession from Canada, said today he will move with plans for a referendum on separation."

Space: Twenty-five stories fill 5 of 66 pages (7.6%).

Photo play: Extensive, including huge 7 inch by 10 inch front page photo of the tired and haggard Levesque. Inside, a 5 by 10 shot of Levesque trying to silence "the joyous pandemonium." No photo of Bourassa.

Editorial page reaction: Middle of the road. The opening: "The election of the separatist Parti Quebecois last night was more than just another provincial government changing hands . . . Yet it was less than a cause for panic among the vast majority of Canadians . . ."; and the closing: "Separatism's success is not guaranteed by the PQ's election. But neither is Canada's. There's the battle."

However, the editors do take a strong stand in counselling Westerners not to encourage Quebec separatism "by continuing to default to those among us who would shove English down French throats, (and) declare they would let Quebec go."

Comments: As one of Canada's largest dailies, *The Vancouver Sun* gives the Quebec election the extensive coverage this historic event deserves. It includes a variety of unusual features: a front page opinion piece by Allan Fotheringham dealing with Levesque's socialist leanings, past and future; an opinion poll among downtown Vancouverites; a special feature in the business section citing reactions from businessmen across the country. Also unusual — nearly the entire editorial page is devoted to comment on the election.

Overall, the news coverage has an air of cautious disbelief. *The Sun* seems to feel that the election is no indication that separation will occur now or in the near or far future. Another interesting tendency in the *Sun*: Many of the comments from local, regional and national politicians emphasize keeping an "open mind" on the future of Quebec. In actual content, this reaction is not very different from the widespread "don't panic" approach, but the emotional content is very different, and probably much more positive. The cautious disbelief that separation could occur seems to lead the *Sun* to a generally more positive interpretation of events. The headline on the opinion poll report, for example, reads "Straw poll shows most Vancouverites think Quebec will stay in." The actual opinions expressed in the article, however, are evenly distributed across the spectrum from hostile hopes for separation to sincere feelings for a Quebec within Canada. (Becky Schechter). (30)

THE PRESS AND THE PARTI: 3

“The close relationship between the nationalist movement and the Quebec press works its way through all of Canadian journalism in many ways.”

By **FRANK HOWARD**

At least two major theories prevail about the causes of the surprising success of the Parti Quebecois Nov. 15. Both are simplistic and designed to hide a major truth, but both contain a minor truth that permits a comfortable laying of blame on someone else.

The first theory is that Pierre Trudeau, by his arrogance and federalist intransigence, has driven all the provinces, but Quebec especially, into separatism or near-separatism.

The second is that Quebec's progression towards sovereignty has been largely an invention of the media, a thing made true by repetition, a prophecy fulfilled by the wishful thinking of journalists backing one of their own. The only person I know who has advanced this theory in public is Eugene Whelan, our federal minister of agriculture. In a speech

early in December he pointed out that journalists were sympathetic to Rene Levesque because he was “one of them.”

The major truth that is brushed aside in both theories is that Quebec, or at least French-speaking Quebec, has for a long time, since the Conquest perhaps, been nurturing a sense of grievance that in the end can only be exorcised by some gesture of self-assertion.

The people who blame Pierre Trudeau for doing what he was elected to do forget, among other things, that he was elected in Quebec with a majority of MPs either

from Quebec or from ridings close to Quebec.

The fact is that he is one of the many expressions of Quebec's identity and to blame him for Quebec's estrangement is at the very least patronizing. The notion that separatism is the invention of the press is to over-estimate the importance of the press. It's pretty flattering for our trade, but unless we want to be shot for every bit of bad news we deliver, we had better not accept that backhanded accolade.

But as I said, there's a minor truth in each of the theories. In the case of the Prime Minister, it's obvious that he has remained constant in his view that Quebec nationalism is a temporary aberration. He may be wrong, but that's what Quebeckers, among others, liked about him.

As for the press's relations with Quebec nationalism, they have been riddled with advocacy, sycophancy and sensationalism. And that's the way most people read us. So what else is new?

Nothing much, except that in the case of Quebec nationalism, and latterly in the case of the rise of the Parti Quebecois, there's been more of all of these things than in most stories.

And yet the rise of modern Quebec nationalism, starting with the “maitre chez nous” slogans of the Quebec Liberal party in the 1962 election, was the most important domestic political story of our times. It should have received the continuous attention of our best journalistic resources, intelligent analysis, critical questioning and cool but alert distance in times of violent agitation. Sometimes that's the way it was, but too often it was not.

The French-language press had the greatest difficulty keeping a proper professional distance. Indeed, as *journalisme de combat* became the dominant form in political reporting in Quebec, the very idea of a “proper professional distance” began to appear like a foreign value that was being imposed by outsiders. In Quebec journalism and Quebec politics, the players were more interchangeable than anywhere else in the country. A short and by no means exhaustive list of politically prominent Quebeckers who have moved back and forth between the two spheres should make the point:

- Rene Levesque, before he became Resources Minister in the Quebec government, was one of the best TV journalists Quebec had known. Before he became Premier and while he was leader of the PQ, he wrote a political column;
- Pierre Laporte, before he became a provincial cabinet minister and before he was assassinated by the Front de Liberation du Quebec, was one of *Le*

Devoir's most successful political reporters of the Duplessis era;

- Pierre Vallières, before he helped found the FLQ, was an editor of *Cite Libre* magazine. Since he has come out of jail, he has become a literary critic;

- Pierre Bourgault, a founder of the separatist movement, was a reporter for *La Presse*;

- Gilles Gregoire, former Creditiste and a founding member of the PQ (and now a backbencher within the National Assembly) spent some time as a columnist in the late '60s and early '70s;

- And, of course, Lise Payette, before she became a minister in the PQ cabinet, was probably the best known TV interviewer ever to appear on *Radio-Canada* in the present decade.

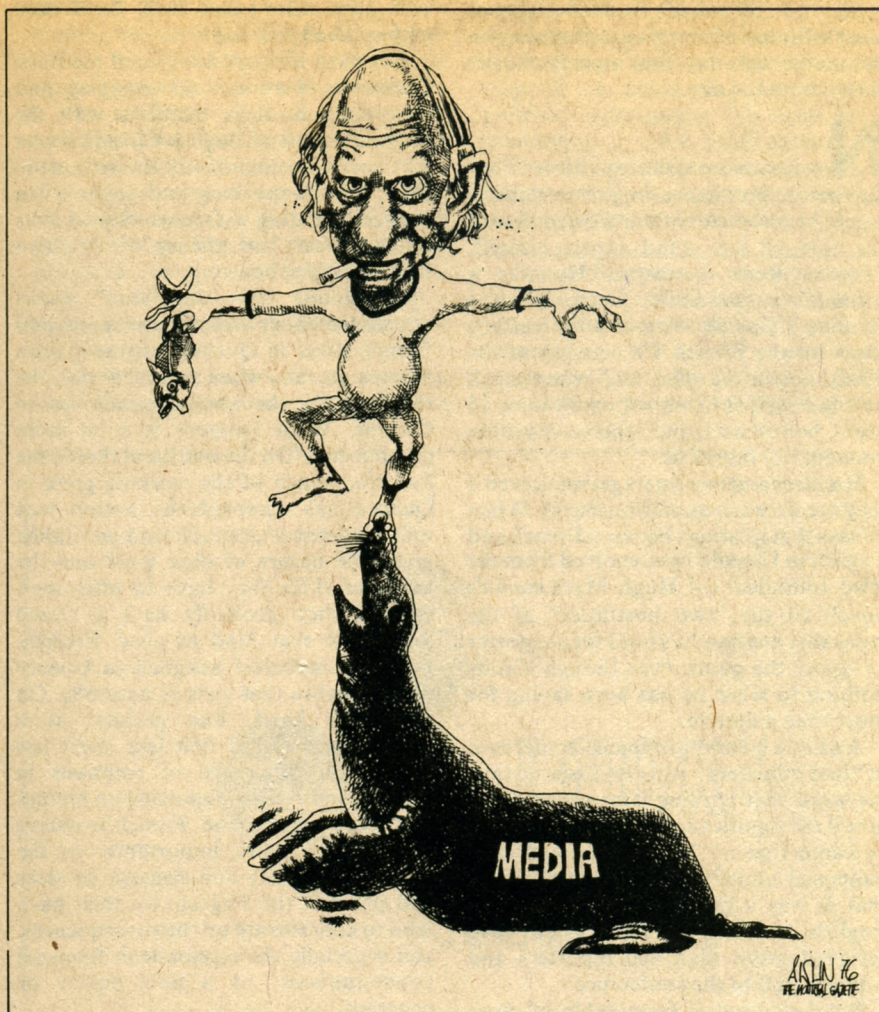
While it is my intention to concentrate mainly on the response of the English-language press to Quebec nationalism, and especially its latest manifestation, the Parti Quebecois, the response of the French-language press is not without relevance. In fact, from my own experience of covering Quebec for Toronto and Montreal papers in the '60s and watching others cover the story in the '70s, I would say that the involvement and commitment of our French-speaking colleagues to the national liberation movement has been a major factor in the kinds of stories we wrote and how we wrote them.

The close relationship between the nationalist movement and the Quebec press works its way through all of Canadian journalism in many ways. First of all it means that the nationalist movement, and more precisely the Parti Quebecois, has more expertise in press relations. It has a better understanding of the strengths and shortcomings of journalism; it knows more about deadlines and the various mechanical constraints of the media. It knows that a simple story is better than a complicated one.

Let me give an example of how this works. One the eve of the federal-provincial conference of finance ministers in the first week of December, the federal government and the Quebec government held briefing sessions for the press.

The federal briefing held in the afternoon was dominated by bureaucrats and technical papers intended to explain the arcane mysteries of tax points, equalization formulae and fiscal transfers.

The Quebec briefing, held that evening in a salon of the Chateau Laurier, was equipped with a portable bar (a rare event on Sundays in Ontario) and presided by Finance Minister Jacques Parizeau and



ARF... ARF...

Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Claude Morin. The bureaucrats were out of sight at the back of the room.

There were a couple of appreciative chuckles from the reporters as Parizeau quickly disposed of his side of the story. Very few people, he said, really understood the whole business, but essentially what was involved were various ways "of splitting a dollar into four quarters." He warned the press that there would be many statements that would confuse them in the next two days, but that's what it was really all about. However, the real purpose of the briefing, he made clear, was to explain what his colleague Claude Morin was doing at the conference.

And Morin then proceeded to tell them. He said that he was there to make a statement at the opening of the conference. And the message was that even though they seemed to be playing according to the old federal-provincial rules, there was no backing down on the PQ's chief objective: the independence of Quebec.

The response of the Ottawa press to this at the private level was mixed. Some English-speaking reporters grumbled about "the Quebec cheering section," by which they meant the amiable questioning, almost chatting, that went on between the Quebec ministers and the French-speaking reporters. Others, like one *CBC* research assistant, seemed impressed by the openness of the Quebec ministers in contrast to federal Finance Minister Donald MacDonald. (My own contention, that it's easier to be "open" about a simple idea than about a complicated situation, didn't get too far in that conversation.)

But whatever the private feelings of English-language reporters, it was obvious the next day that Quebec had used its briefing time well. Had they tried to match the federal technical briefing, their message would have got swamped in stories trying to explain the complexities of tax-sharing.

By pre-releasing the Morin message in time for overnight stories on the

conference, they made the front pages of most editions of morning and afternoon dailies the next day, and most newscasts throughout the day.

No discussion of the expertise of Parti Quebecois politicians in press relations would be complete without a discussion of the role of the grand expert himself, Premier Rene Levesque. He was a formidable journalist when he was running Point de Mire, a public affairs show on the French TV network of the CBC back in the '50s. And even though he's been a politician for more than 15 years, he still acts, and is perceived often enough, like one of us.

His leads and one-liners get used, even if they are between quotation marks. When he says that relations between French and English in Canada have evolved from the "two solitudes" (of Hugh MacLennan's novel) to the "two hostilities" of the separatist analysis, it's hard for a reporter to ignore the quote, even though it adds nothing to what he has been saying for more than a decade.

And at a federal-provincial conference of "first ministers," it's a lot easier to take his word that nothing is happening and give it the significance that he wants, than to admit that nothing much could have happened under the circumstances, and that it was a mistake for the press of English and French Canada to have assigned more than 400 reporters and support staff to the conference.

But Levesque is formidable in more ways than his journalistic reputation. He is a tough performer on air. No doubt more than one pushy TV or radio reporter has held his tongue remembering the way

real pros, like Larry Zolf, have been zapped live by "Rene."

But even if the politicians of the Parti Quebecois were not so engaging and competent in their relations with the press, the press of English Canada would still have to contend with the attitude of their French-speaking colleagues when they're operating in Quebec. Stated in its crudest form, the theory of the "two hostilities" applies.

Of course "two hostilities" is an overstatement as it applies to English and French press in Quebec, just as it is an overstatement when applied to the relations of the two communities in Canada. What happens is a bit more complicated. On the one hand there's the fact that much of the working press in Quebec has accepted the notion that independence is desirable and inevitable; given the nature of their work and the kinds of skills they have to offer their society, they probably have a vested interest in that kind of view. English-language reporters assigned to Quebec don't come to that view as naturally. On the other hand, and perhaps as a consequence of the first fact, there has emerged a difference of emphasis in English and French reporting on politics and government: the French-language press places more importance on the novelty, ingenuity and elegance of ideas and policies; the English, for their part, tend to concentrate on the consequences, and especially the economic or financial consequences, of a new policy or program.

This is not to say that the French press never asks economic questions; what it does mean is that it tends to regard such questions from English-language repor-

ters with some suspicion, as part of English-Canada's efforts to prove that Quebec nationalism won't work economically.

An anecdote brought back to me by a friend who covered the recent election campaign in Quebec illustrates how this phenomenon operates and how it affects the work of English-language reporters in Quebec: at one point on the Levesque tour, the PQ leader announced a program that would, he said, rescue the Quebec dairy farmers. After the discussion of the proposed program had gone on for several minutes, one outsider, a CBC reporter stationed in Ottawa, decided to get into the conversation. How much would program cost? he asked.

There was a tangible wave of annoyance and surprise among the Quebec reporters who had dominated the "press conference" until then. Levesque sensed it too. "\$50 million, give or take \$10 million," he said laconically, and quickly moved on to something else.

In other words, the program could cost from \$40 million to \$60 million. Such an imprecise answer from a party that prides itself on its economic competence, seems a little arrogant to outsiders. But if you're putting down an uppity Anglo, it seems to work.

The phenomenon is not new. Ten years ago when I was covering the Quebec legislature for *The Globe and Mail*, even Jean Lesage, who by that time was the subject of some disillusionment, could score points with the gallery by attacking the outside press. At the time Quebec was having increasing difficulties raising money on the North American bond markets. One of the finance department's first forays overseas was a loan from West German bankers, in marks obviously. Premier Lesage decided to make a big thing of the loan. He held a press conference, explaining some of the details of the bond issue. He gloated over the relatively low interest rate and presented it as proof of the confidence Quebec's credit still enjoyed on international markets.

But there had been talk that the mark might soon be revalued. So I asked what protection there was against a major rise in the value of German currency. That wasn't the sort of question Lesage wanted and he got out of it by turning on the Toronto press.

"What's the matter with you guys from Toronto?" he asked. "Are you jealous because we got a good deal?"

Most of the gallery chuckled appreciatively and moved on to other questions. In fact the mark was revalued and the protection that had been built into the deal with the German financiers was not enough to cover all of it. So the effective price that Quebec paid for that loan was

CANADIAN FICTION MAGAZINE

announces a special issue devoted
entirely to B.C. novelist
JANE RULE

New fiction, interviewed by editor
Geoff Hancock, essay by Helen
Sonthoff, art by Judith Lodge
and photos by Lynn Vardeman
and Betty Fairbank.

CANADIAN FICTION MAGAZINE

P.O. Box 46422 Station G
Vancouver, B.C. Canada, V6R 4G7

\$9.00 for 4 issues in Canada (\$10. US)



Canadian
Fiction
Magazine



Canadian
Fiction
Magazine



Canadian
Fiction
Magazine



Canadian
Fiction
Magazine

not lower than it had been paying in North America, but higher. But the only story that got any prominence was the one which followed his press conference. And that was the one that "proved" that Quebec's credit was still good.

There are at least two major lines of response to this sort of environment: beat them or join them. Both pose problems; in each the quality of journalism may suffer.

The reporter who decides to fight the prevailing mood of the Quebec press gallery may find an edge of animosity creeping into his reporting of Quebec politics. The reporter who integrates may find himself shying away from questions that do not confirm or support the idea that national liberation is inevitable and desirable.

In the end, however, it is probably the integrators who survive longer. Publishers and editors seem to have a hard time finding people who are not only bilingual but also sympathetic to federalism to cover Quebec politics for any great length of time. The people who are happy in Quebec City these days are foreign-born journalists who like the national liberation movement for ideological reasons, or relatively young progressives who wish they could join the revolution, who'd rather be on the side of the liberators than on the side of the colonial exploiters. I can't say that I blame them, but I'm not sure in the present case that makes for good journalism. It can, for example, turn one into a propagandist.

That may have been the problem with a recent conversation I had with a reporter from *The Gazette* in the Quebec Gallery. I had used the word "separatist."

He sighed reproachfully. "I wish we could erase that word from the English language," he said.

I said I could see nothing wrong with the word. It had been used by everybody for years including such pioneers of the movement as Marcel Chaput in his book *Pourquoi Je Suis Separatiste*. Furthermore, it seemed to describe what would happen if the PQ got its way.

He said that might be the way English-Canada saw it, but what the PQ wants is not separation, but independence.

I quite honestly could not see anything but a propaganda advantage in coining a new word like "independentist." But the conversation set me to thinking about some of the terminology current in Quebec's English-language press. For example, when we read that "moderate" Rene Levesque had beaten down the radicals in his party at the meeting of the National Council in December, are we really seeing a reporter trying to avoid the obvious left-wing/right-wing appellations? My own impression of what happened, gained second hand I must

admit, is that the people who think winning the referendum on independence is more important than the party's social program were the victors. In other words, it was a victory of nationalism over socialism. I don't see how that comes out as a moderate/radical issue.

I said at the outset that our coverage in the English-language press of the rise of Quebec nationalism had been marked by advocacy, sycophancy and sensationalism. I think the first two are still a problem, but sensationalism seems to be dying out.

It could come back as things heat up closer to the referendum. But we have

come a long way from the days when a *Globe and Mail* reporter based in Quebec could always count on making the front page if he could find some Quebec politician questioning the value of the monarchy, or a few years earlier, when almost any demonstration involving the slightest violence was described as a riot in the English press of Montreal.

Frank Howard writes a column, "The Bureaucrats," for the Ottawa Citizen. He worked for the Montreal Star and The Gazette in the early 1960s before becoming The Globe and Mail's Quebec City correspondent from 1964 to 1969. (30)



LOOK ALIKES?

There's a myth that all Thomson newspapers are alike.

The untruth of that myth is equalled only by the myth that Thomson people want them to be alike.

Reporters and editors on Thomson newspapers are expected to reach for highest journalistic standards in serving their own community. In that regard alone, Thomson Newspapers hopes its newspapers will be alike.

Thomson
NEWSPAPERS

Just the facts.

If you need facts about steel — or the steel industry — talk to Ron Dennis at Dofasco.

If it's background information that you want, no problem. He'll also dig up the answers to specific questions.

Ron is a former newspaperman so he knows about deadlines and the need for terse, appropriate facts or comment. Let him help you in the deadline race or the methodical research for features.

Facts. Fast. Just call Ron Dennis at (416) 544-3761, extension 2203.

Or write:

Communications and Public Affairs, Dofasco, P.O. Box 460, Hamilton, Ontario. L8N 3J5

DOFASCO

Our product is steel. Our strength is people.

CHAMBERS (from Page 4)

extensive publicity given Italian Quebecers hammering Mr. Bourassa over the education regulations of Bill 22 started the Liberals off on the defensive and the press kept them there for the next crucial weeks. Editorial after analysis after commentary made the point that Mr. Bourassa and his group appeared to have a death wish.

Meanwhile, Rene Levesque was touring the province criticizing a government divorced from the people, a poor administration, a bad social climate, secret and unethical administrative practices — all issues anyone could relate to. And the press followed along and reported it all straight.

Mr. Levesque did the talking and his candidates worked their ridings. Mr. Levesque got the publicity and his candidates kept low profiles, contenting themselves with voter contact within their constituencies. And the press went along.

As paper after paper produced the usual thumbnail sketches of the province's ridings, there was very little indication of how well the PQ was doing in all parts of Quebec. It was certainly never mentioned. One would have had to read several papers and been familiar with previous voting patterns to have been able to guess at how much better the PQ was doing this time around. One indication was the fact that by all reports the PQ had a chance in just about every French-speaking riding in the province, even in regions where it had never had more than a token vote. On the other hand, it was only after the election that the party's province-wide organization network was revealed, reported and analysed in all its formidable efficiency.

During the campaign, the Parti Quebecois was presented to the general public through the province's press exactly as it wished to be presented: that is, as a younger, more dynamic, more honest, more humane group than the tired, old, patronage-ridden Liberals. The first article of the Parti Quebecois program states the party's intention of moving ahead with independence as soon as it comes to power. That fact was completely overshadowed by reporting of the promise of a referendum at some future date. Three factors contributed to the success of the PQ's tactic. The party did not distribute its program during the campaign. No one broke ranks and talked up independence, not even the party's so-called radicals. And the press did a super job of carrying the reassuring message that the PQ wished to communicate.

Once or twice, some journalist, perhaps pushed by an editor, would ask Rene Levesque or Claude Morin, the father of the referendum, to explain their long term plans for independence. Or ask if perhaps these had been dropped for the moment. This line of questioning seemed to irritate the PQ leaders whose answers always suggested the question was hypothetical and mildly indicative of paranoia. So independence never became an issue, try as the Liberals might to raise its spectre.

As the PQ became more and more of an "ordinary" party with none of the liabilities political parties acquire with the years, the Liberal party lost more and more credibility. After a while it was a question of every Liberal for himself in a riding-by-riding fight in which the candidate alone did the running. A week before election day, *The Montreal Star's* Quebec editor, Dominique Clift, wrote:

If French-speaking voters are turning increasingly towards the Parti Quebecois and are willing to accept the risks of separatism, it is because their self-image as mirrored by the Bourassa government has become so unsatisfactory as to be intolerable.

That self-image was not, of course, confined to the general public. It also affected those who informed the general public. As the campaign drew to a close, editorialists at any rate made some kind of an effort to put the mirror aside and take a last objective look at the outgoing government. They began to point out some of the positive things in the Liberal platform, even suggesting that the government's record had not been as bad as it was being painted. But it was too late. By then, anything Robert Bourassa The Unloved said had been discounted by press and public alike.

Right to the end, the press reported the campaign as a contest between a brave new world and an old corrupt one which was still too entrenched to be dislodged. That it would be shaken was all anyone could hope for.

The caveat here was that the new-style Union Nationale was something of an unknown quantity. There was little consensus as to the party's potential but movement was detected here and there. Apart from the English-speaking ridings in the Montreal area where there was definite UN support until the separatist scare delivered so stridently by Bryce Mackasey and Charles Bronfman took effect, UN resurgence was seen as emanating from the party's traditional

outlying strongholds and, therefore, as no threat to the Parti Quebecois whose power base lay in urbanized regions. The UN got a reasonably good press during the campaign and even some editorial support in the Eastern Townships region.

It is interesting that when the results were in and it was obvious that a good UN vote had hurt the Liberals and therefore given about 30 ridings to the PQ, very little was made of it in the press. Political columnists continued to talk of the PQ's spectacular landslide victory over the Liberals as though the 60 per cent of the province which voted for parties other than the PQ formed a minority of the popular vote.

The overall impression given by the press coverage of this election was that the Liberals were no longer in any kind of shape to govern the province and that the alternative, now that independence had been relegated to a non-priority, was definitely the Parti Quebecois, a party deeply concerned about Quebec and every Quebecker within its borders. The impression was so strong that only *La Presse*, *The Montreal Star*, and *Le Soleil* made even a stab at sticking up for the Liberals.

A few days before the election, *The Gazette* went into several orbits. The publisher, Ross Munro, wrote a front page editorial, a very rare thing for *The Gazette*, urging his readers, who are in the great majority English-speaking, not to vote separatist. There seemed little danger of this. Nevertheless, 36 members of the editorial and news staff bought an ad on page 3 of the paper disagreeing with the publisher, although what course they advocated was not made clear. The editorial page advised readers to vote for any federalist party other than the Liberals. Granby's *La Voix de L'Est* put in a good word for the UN. But no one slammed the PQ. And the venerable *Le Devoir* actually came out for the independentist party, since it was no longer insisting on independence tomorrow. Editor Claude Ryan's attitude was that in the circumstances it was wiser to take a chance with the PQ than to go for a sure discredited thing with the Liberals.

Looking back, it seems hard to believe that anyone was surprised by the results. All signs, not least among them the panic in Liberal ranks, pointed to a Liberal loss. But members of the Parti Quebecois and the press corps appeared genuinely overcome with astonishment at the extent of the PQ success. Elections are, of course, won and lost in the last

few days of a campaign by what the Americans call Big MO, or momentum, but the huge majorities rung up for the PQ in east-end Montreal and south shore ridings, including Rene Levesque's Taillon, were obviously somewhat predictable before Nov. 15. So strong was the feeling that ridings should not be counted until the die was cast—for fear of halting the momentum or changing its direction — that even the Mercier constituency, examined more closely by the media, probably, than any other, was never claimed by the press or the Parti Quebecois to be in any danger of changing hands. Yet PQ journalist Gerard Godin won handily from the incumbent, one Robert Bourassa.

After the election this underplaying was reversed overnight. The euphoria was palpable. The press which had developed an opposition mentality over the last 10 years, suddenly found itself catapulted onto the government's side. And for a while there it was difficult to know who was doing the most talking, the politicians or the press. Papers were brimming with fulsome descriptions of the new members of the National Assembly. When the cabinet was appointed, the most often-used phrase was "so-and-so's post fits him like a glove." The odd, mildly critical remark or note of surprise about some cabinet minister or other sounded like nit-picking among all the glowing notices.

The anomalies of the new situation were not lost on Quebec journalists. As early as Nov. 16 there was much professional resolution among journalists not to give sway to personal preference and to keep the critical senses honed in order to report on the new government as objectively as possible.

This is, of course, easier said than done, as veteran journalist Evelyn Dumas recognized at the time she accepted the Olivar Asselin journalism award at the end of November. Dumas, who has worked on *Le Devoir*, *The Montreal Star* and, more recently, *Le Jour*, admitted the switch from opposition to power was going to be a difficult transition for the journalists of Quebec.

"We are entering a completely new era," said Dumas, "in which we will have to reverse our mental attitudes. In 15 years of journalism, I have always opposed the government. Now I will have to be in opposition to myself; it is my project which is in power." (Dumas was quoted in *Le "30"*, the newsletter of the Federation professionnelle des journalistes du Quebec.)

Editorialists have come to grips with the way things are quicker than reporters

Can we help?

We're The Canadian Life Insurance Association. We represent life insurance companies. And we're the authoritative source of information about life insurance in Canada.

When you need information or quotes for your stories on business, finance and the economy, give us a call. We can give you the answers and the point of view of one of Canada's most important businesses.

In English, call Bruce Powe or Wendy Barnes, collect, at 1-416-364-6295.

In French, call Marcel Theoret, collect, at 1-514-845-6173.

And if you have consumer questions or complaints, call the Life Insurance Information Centre "hot line." It's toll free from anywhere in Canada. In English: 1-800-261-8663. In French: 1-800-361-8070.

The Canadian Life Insurance Association

44 King Street West,
Toronto, Ontario
M5H 1E9

INDIAN OR INUIT . . .

Whatever the story,
we can help you.

Our Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples is a national voluntary citizens' organization of nearly 5,000 members across Canada.

We promote awareness and understanding among non-Native Canadians for Native objectives; and assist Native people, when requested, to develop programs and resources which further these objectives.

Our library and information service offer leads, research, briefing, or names of articulate Native spokesmen in your area.

C.A.S.N.P. Library:
16 Spadina Road, Suite 201
Toronto, Ontario M5R 2S7
(416) 964-0169

C.A.S.N.P. Information Service:
National Office
251 Laurier Ave. W., Suite 904
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5J6
(613) 236-7489

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION IN SUPPORT OF THE NATIVE PEOPLES

or commentators, perhaps because of the nature of their trade. Two weeks after the election, *La Presse's* editor-in-chief, Marcel Adam, pointed out the vast majority of Quebec journalists had taken great care during the campaign to treat the Parti Quebecois as it wished to be treated, never referring to its independentist policy except to bring up the promise of a referendum. "Curiously enough," Adam continued, "the day after the election, journalists who had seen in the Parti Quebecois nothing but an ordinary alternative to an unpopular government, began to say that the new government was destined to bring about the independence of Quebec and to remind us of parts of the PQ program which had been passed in silence during the campaign, and to speculate, day after day, on the eventuality, as though it constituted the new government's chief priority. Today, it is clear that the election of the PQ signifies more than a change of government. It is being viewed as the beginning of a process aimed at changing the country."

Political reporters in the province see this change as almost inevitable. *La Presse's* Yves Leclerc analysed the PQ win as, if not a vote for independence, at least a vote for being allowed a chance to be convinced.

What could be more reasonable than to believe that a good part of the electorate said more or less consciously "We gave six years and two mandates to Robert Bourassa for him to convince us of the benefits of federalism and he did not manage to do so. It would be fair to now give the other camp a chance to show what it is capable of and to see if it can sell its thesis. Later, with the referendum, we can decide if it is acceptable or not." If one accepts this hypothesis, it would be correct to say that independence was one of the issues of this election.

The "anything you say" attitude towards the Parti Quebecois now being expressed by the press of this province is not likely to change very quickly. There is considerable editorial criticism of some new legislation and also of the prolix propensities of the new ministers, many of whom have not stopped talking since they were sworn in. In some quarters there is even some anxiety about the fact that the premier has been speaking about independence in more threateningly absolute terms than he was wont to do before the 15th of November. But the critical faculties of the reporting press have not sharpened appreciably since that date. Every word, weighed or not, that falls from the lips of a govern-

ment member is carefully and, it would seem, admiringly transcribed for the people's benefit.

Mr. Levesque who may be premier but who is also an old pro, knows that even the Parti Quebecois can be killed with kindness. As he could no longer control his admirers in the press, he shut his ministers up temporarily. A moratorium was declared over the Christmas holidays. No statements of any kind were to be made until Jan. 15 by which time it may have become clearer to government members and to the press what is possible to accomplish at the present time and what is simply playing to the galleries.

The conspiracy of silence held to so faithfully during the campaign and the joyful, confident approach to the new government now being displayed so openly in the press bears no resemblance to any kind of plot. It is too widespread and spontaneous to be given a conscious policy. To quote Evelyn Dumas again:

The problem is often posed as a question of principle. The journalist works with his head and facts are as easy to find as names in the telephone book. But the truth is that it is the whole person who becomes a journalist, with his or her emotions, leanings, ideas

And all these relate to the Parti Quebecois, which has not yet lost its crusading aura or the corner it has staked out for itself of being the only truly Quebecois party, as though the Liberal party, the Union Nationale or the Social Credit were not manned and controlled entirely by Quebeckers as well. And the most widespread reaction in the press after this election was that Quebec had finally voted for a party of its own, an intellectually fuzzy but emotionally compelling attitude of mind.

The relationship of the Quebec press and the Parti Quebecois, now the government of Quebec, may seem unnaturally partisan to journalists in other parts of the country. Politicians, political meetings and statements of policy can be reported in a variety of ways. Quebec journalists, and this does not apply exclusively to French-speaking ones, still relate more easily and naturally to members of the Parti Quebecois than to politicians of the old traditional parties.

Parti Quebecois cabinet ministers are being described in the Quebec press in very personal terms. *La Presse's* Lysiane Gagnon, one of the province's most respected journalists and with reason, has been writing some very compelling copy lately but it isn't your conventional political reportage. Her description of

CP News Picture of the Month



Photographer: John Mahoney.

Situation: Mahoney, an 18-year-old CP messenger, took this picture Nov. 15 when he was sent to Montreal's Paul Sauve arena to pick up some film. He was unable to get the film he was sent for, but while waiting, used his own camera to catch René Lévesque's appeal for quiet during his victory speech. Lévesque had just asked the thousands of

supporters in attendance to "accept victory gracefully." At his side is television personality Lise Payette, now a member of the Quebec cabinet. Mahoney, who joined CP in September and covers events two or three times a week for the bureau, hopes to be a full-time photographer as soon as possible.

Technical Details: Fujica camera, 135-mm lens at f4 and 1/250th

of a second. Tri-X film rated at 1600 ASA.

Award: *Canadian Press* "News Picture of the Month," November 1976.

Congratulations: This space is contributed regularly in recognition of excellence in Canadian photo-journalism by The Canadian Life Insurance Association, representing the life insurance companies in Canada.

the first Bourassa-Levesque meeting at which the government was turned over to the PQ leader was packed with emotion and atmosphere. Gagnon's description of the new minister of cultural affairs, Louis O'Neil, was a masterpiece. O'Neil is the man who many years ago as Abbe O'Neil wrote the famous book *Quebec and Elections* with another Laval social scientist, Abbe Gerard Dion. In a short column she managed to convey the impression of a lofty cultural viewpoint and the warm attractive human being, qualifying Mr. O'Neil as a "handsome man but with nothing of the playboy about his good looks."

What must be understood here is that there is no fabrication; no one is deliberately or even consciously coloring the facts. It's the way things look here in Quebec at the present time.

In his first post-election piece, Daniel Latouche, an editorialist with *Montreal-Matin*, put the general feeling this way:

The general impression which emerges from it all is one of immense pride. Francophone Quebecers are no longer afraid. They are no longer afraid to be afraid. Those who voted Liberal . . . certainly did not do so from fear. If they voted Liberal or for the Union Nationale it

was because they really believe in Canadian Confederation. It is as simple as that. They too will be expected to speak out before too long. All Quebecers have attained the age of speaking out. That was perhaps the greatest victory of this election.

The situation at the moment, however, is that if everyone has a right to speak out, some are better placed than others to be heard.

For 10 years, native Montrealer Gretta Chambers has been reviewing Quebec's press for her twice-weekly CBC radio show, *The Province in Print*. She also writes a weekly column, "Cahier: Quebec," for *The Gazette*. (30)

LETTERS (from Page 3)

news department has no more difficulties with staff turnover than other news gathering organizations, and we are proud of the quality of the output of these people.

W.D. McGregor,
President,
Central Ontario Television Ltd.,
Kitchener.

MORRIS, MAGAZINES, AND MONEY

Editor:

It would be nice if a raised consciousness protected publishers from the slings and arrows of economics. But, despite what Morris Wolfe seems to think, it just ain't so.

Branching Out is a bi-monthly Canadian magazine for women, published in Edmonton. Mr. Wolfe, discussing a readership survey conducted on behalf of 15 Canadian magazines (including *Content*), took *Branching Out* to task in your August last edition which I only recently saw, for designing its survey questionnaire around questions on its readers' material possessions and purchases, rather than on their editorial preferences. Says he, "What's most infuriating about these questions is that they come from (or at least have been approved by) people who profess to have had their 'consciousness raised'."

Consciousness or no, a magazine has to have money to survive. In the commercial magazine end of the business, advertising revenue is one of the major sources, if not the major source, of money. A large circulation is valuable not because the subscriptions pay for the magazine — many magazines lose money on their introductory offers and such — but

Boobs

#119

On *CBC Radio's The World At Eight* (Nov. 17) Ottawa correspondent Mike Duffy talked about government reaction when they realized "the enormity" of the Parti Quebecois success. I suspect he did not mean "the monstrous wickedness" but rather "excess in magnitude (An incorrect use)" — see *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*.

Andrew Allen,
Montreal.

because it makes the magazine more salable as an advertising vehicle.

Quantity isn't all that matters, of course. Advertisers also want to know about the "quality" of the audience — whether it is a likely market for their product. Factors like age, sex, income, buying habits and lifestyles all enter into this calculation; generally, advertisers don't want to be caught in the position of selling iceboxes to Eskimos . . . sorry, Inuit. Questionnaire surveys are the quickest way of obtaining this kind of information about a magazine's readers.

With the exception of profit margin (a matter of a few percentage points at best), a small magazine has all the expenses of a much larger one. And costs don't drop in proportion to the magazine's size. Printing is notoriously expensive for small runs, and all the other operating expenses of publishing (circulation, production, copy editing) also get more costly on a per-copy basis as a magazine gets smaller.

A small magazine which has little or no advertising revenue has to look for other ways to balance its budget. It can cut back on production quality, or raise prices considerably. It can seek support from government or universities (as do many Canadian magazines), but government support is available only to magazines in certain categories, and depends on a yearly evaluation of an application for funds. This is hardly conducive to the long-range planning necessary to produce a good magazine. University support, while more dependable, is only available to a very restricted group of magazines.

And, of course, a small magazine can depend largely on unpaid, volunteer staff members.

These are all compromises, and any Canadian small magazine has to make many of them. The decision to go into advertising sales, which *Branching Out* and a number of other small magazines have made, may be a compromise, too, but it's a necessary one and should be seen as evidence of the intense dedication of those who publish Canadian magazines. They are fighting a cultural battle desperately important to this country, and they need all the support they can get.

Incidentally, advertisements can be essential to the design, as well as the economics, of a magazine. I can't imagine *Realites*, *The New Yorker*, *Saturday Night* or *Rolling Stone* without their advertisements; neither do I think they are in any sense less worthwhile because advertising provides much of their revenue.

The question of invasion of privacy always comes up in discussing question-

naire surveys. In the survey in question, anonymity was strictly protected, as it is in most such surveys. Far more detailed information than asked for in the questionnaires is available about you, *not* anonymously, if you have ever used a credit card, had a baby, bought a new car or done any one of hundreds of other things. And that information is normally used for purely commercial purposes. So why begrudge information to people like the publishers of *Branching Out*, who are trying to fight a desperately important cultural battle in this country?

Ted Schrecker,
Member, Editorial Board,
Alternatives.

A BLAST FROM THE PAST

Editor:

Gotcha. Al Leishman of *The Montreal Star* should get an award for a put-on, but not a photo. That object at the lips of the football spectator, published in *Content* (December issue, p. 23), is one of those "yard long glasses" and not a "tooter."

Nonetheless, the act suited the occasion, regardless of the interpretation, and we do not dispute the award given.

R.N. Shanks,
President,
North Island Gazette Ltd.,
Port Hardy, B.C.

Sorry, R.N. Shanks, but you're the one who tooted it. According to Leishman, "It is a horn. I waited half-an-hour for the son of a bitch to blow it." Asked if we could quote him to that effect, Leishman replied, "You're goddam right you can." He sent along additional proof in the form of another picture of the same tootin' gentleman, simply holding the tooter. Gotcha.



Column by Morris Wolfe

I was troubled by John Hofsess's non-story ("Who Is Jane Rule? And How Much Does Her Sexuality Have To Do With It?") in the January issue of *Content*. I have trouble understanding why Hofsess wrote it and even more trouble understanding why *Content's* editors ran it. Hofsess concludes his article with the statement "Jane Rule's career would have been a completely different story if the editors of this country had greater moral courage." But just how would her career have been different? OK. She might have had a few more readers. But the fact is Jane Rule is not a popular writer. If, as Hofsess's own article points out, a

magazine such as *The Canadian* hadn't yet run profiles of writers like Margaret Atwood, Robertson Davies and Marian Engel when it turned down a suggestion to profile Jane Rule, it's not anti-lesbianism that's at play. It's nothing more than the fact that mass appeal magazines deal with mass appeal subjects. I don't expect anything more of such magazines and I'm surprised that Hofsess does.

* * *

I loved the typo in a piece by Gretta Chambers in the November 27 issue of the *Montreal Gazette*. In the course of an analysis of the defeat of Quebec's Liberal government, she suggested it was mostly the result of the unloveable image of Bourassa "and the negative response it illicited from all sections of the population." Those illicit negative responses will get you every time. Chambers goes on to remind us of an idea advanced by F.D.

Wilhelmsen and Jane Bret in their 1972 book *Telepolitics*. Quebeckers, they wrote, date their revolution from the asbestos strike, from Duplessis' death, from everything except the advent of television. By the time the Quebec government came up with the confidence-encouraging slogan, "*Quebec sait faire*," they argue, "it was no longer needed. Every Quebecker who watched TV believed in his heart that Quebec knew how! The Parti Quebecois is a creature of the TV screen; sufficiently blurred, it invites the viewer to read into it whatever he wants, to imagine in that future independent Quebec whatever utopia he wishes." Despite the lack of clarity of their prose, Wilhelmsen and Bret's speculation is a fascinating one.

* * *

The world seems to have gone gossip mad. Almost every newspaper and magazine I look at has a gossip column (usually under some euphemistic label such as "People" or "Names in the News"). Gossip columnists are more quoted and sought after than any other journalists. And other journalists spend more time filling one another in on the latest juicy tidbits (usually about one another) than ever before. Gone is the notion that gossiping is an activity only engaged in by people with small minds. If there was any doubt that gossiping is now acceptable, it was dispelled several months ago when *Esquire* put its imprimatur on the phenomenon by publishing a chart on the Gossip Establishment. And somehow it seemed appropriate that in the January 1977 issue of *Esquire*, media critic Nora Ephron should take the process one step further when she devoted her whole column to gossip about gossip about her. It's appropriate because Ephron is married to Carl Bernstein. The effect of the Watergate disclosures on an excessively self-congratulatory press has not been improved political reporting but rather the encouragement of a kind of cynical tongue wagging — i.e., gossiping — about the lives of politicians and others that heretofore had been reserved for people like Richard Burton. The American media have shifted from one unacceptable position — that of being true believers in Kennedy's Camelot — to an equally unacceptable one — believing nothing. As usual, the Canadian media have simply followed the American example.

ERRATUM

Apologies to John Bryden, former city editor at *The Spectator* in Hamilton. In Omnium-Gatherum last month, we had him going to Ottawa for *The Spec*. In fact, Bryden has quit *The Spectator* and gone to work at *The Globe and Mail*.

An item about Franklyn Rasky winning a CBC award for his production of a promotional booklet for the television program Musicamera, was two-thirds right, one-third wrong. Rasky won the award, and for a booklet on Musicamera, but the booklet was not his 1976 effort (a page of which we reproduced) but one done in 1975. In the meantime, Rasky has left the CBC to start his own firm, Franklyn Rasky-Four Star Productions Limited, a publicity service for entertainment people.

Also in Omnium last month, we left the second "o" out of Cobourg.

And in the story "Concentration Countdown," a paragraph on page 18 (top of second column) may have confused readers. The paragraph began: "Groups now control 100 per cent of the daily circulation in . . ." It should have read: "Groups now control 100 per cent of the daily newspapers in . . ." Other figures in the paragraph also refer to number of papers controlled by groups in other provinces, not to the percentages of circulation controlled.

OMNIUM-GATHERUM

. . . is on vacation and will return next month.


FACTS

The journalist who wishes to be better informed about petroleum in a global context can tap BP Canada for a variety of background materials.

For example, in print: the authoritative annual Statistical Review of the World Oil Industry; BP Shield International, a wide-ranging monthly; Hovercraft Today and Tomorrow, a colourful and informative brochure.

These publications, like our comprehensive Film Catalogue, are yours for the asking.

*Public Affairs Department,
BP Canada Limited,
1245 Sherbrooke St. West,
Montreal H3G 1G7,
(514) 849-4789.*

BP Canada 

Classified

TELEPHONE ORDERS NOW ACCEPTED. Until Feb. 3 (guaranteed insertion), Feb. 7 (insertion not guaranteed) for next issue. Distributed Feb. 15. First 20 words, including address, free up to three consecutive issues. Each additional word, 25¢ per insertion. Indicate **boldface** words. Display heads: 14-pt., \$1 per word; 18-pt., \$1.50 per word. Box number \$2.

JOBS WANTED

Journalism student with practical experience looking for low or non-paying part-time job assisting professional as part of educational program. Box 84, *Content*. 14-71

ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITOR of metropolitan daily seeks editorship of daily or weekly. Fully experienced in running newsroom and producing newspaper from ground up. All offers considered anywhere in Canada. Reply to Box 82, *Content*. 13-71

Photography student looking for low or non-paying part-time job assisting professional photographer (photojournalist preferred) as part of educational program. Box 85, *Content*. 15-71

OTHERUM

FREELANCE WRITERS. New organization forming for freelancers. Free details! Passages Press, Box 14, Evanston, Ill., U.S.A. 60204, Dept CT. 10-71

Send Box Number replies to *Content*,
22 Laurier Ave., Toronto, Ont.
M4X 1S3

Notice Board

FEB. 16-17: London, Ontario. Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers' Association regional seminar on editing and headline writing. Write CDNPA, 250 Bloor St. E., Toronto, Ontario M4W 1E7

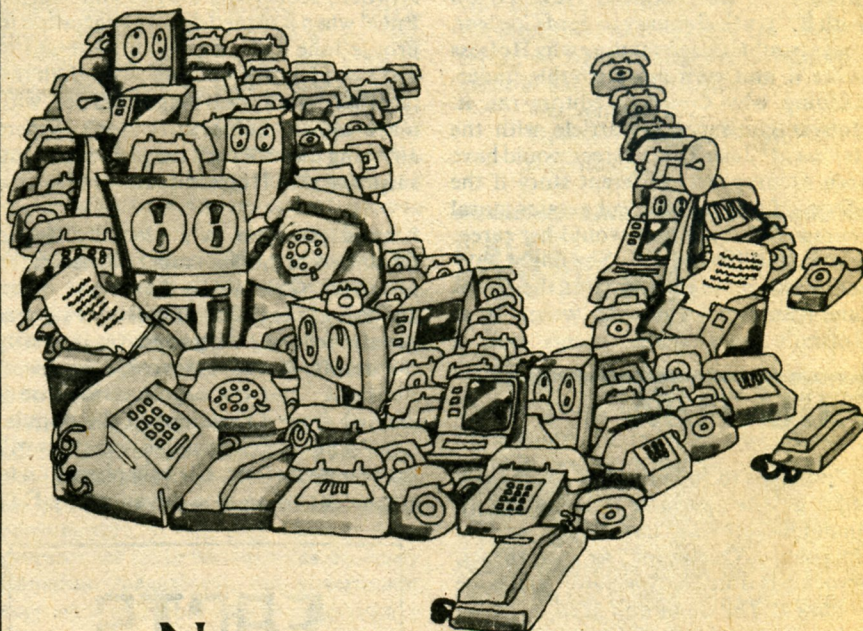
MARCH 7-9: Toronto. Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers' Association national seminar on newsroom management. Write CDNPA, 250 Bloor St. E., Toronto, Ontario M4W 1E7

MAY 6-8: Lake Placid, New York. Outdoor Writers of Canada and New York State Outdoor Writers joint annual convention.

JUNE 9-10: Quebec City. Radio-Television News Directors' Association national convention.

MAILING LABEL

How to get around Canada.



Not just around it.

Up, down and all across it.

We're proud of the role we play in carrying the words and ideas of Canada to Canadians everywhere.

Through our nine member companies, we provide a complete communications network from regular telephone traffic to computer communications.

It takes over 84,000 employees and \$9½ billion to let you get to all parts of Canada.

For more information about TCTS and its member companies, call or write:



Trans-Canada Telephone System

One Nicholas Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1G 3N6
(613) 239-2086