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for Canadian Journalists

Alexander Ross in retrospect

Doug Collins on coverage

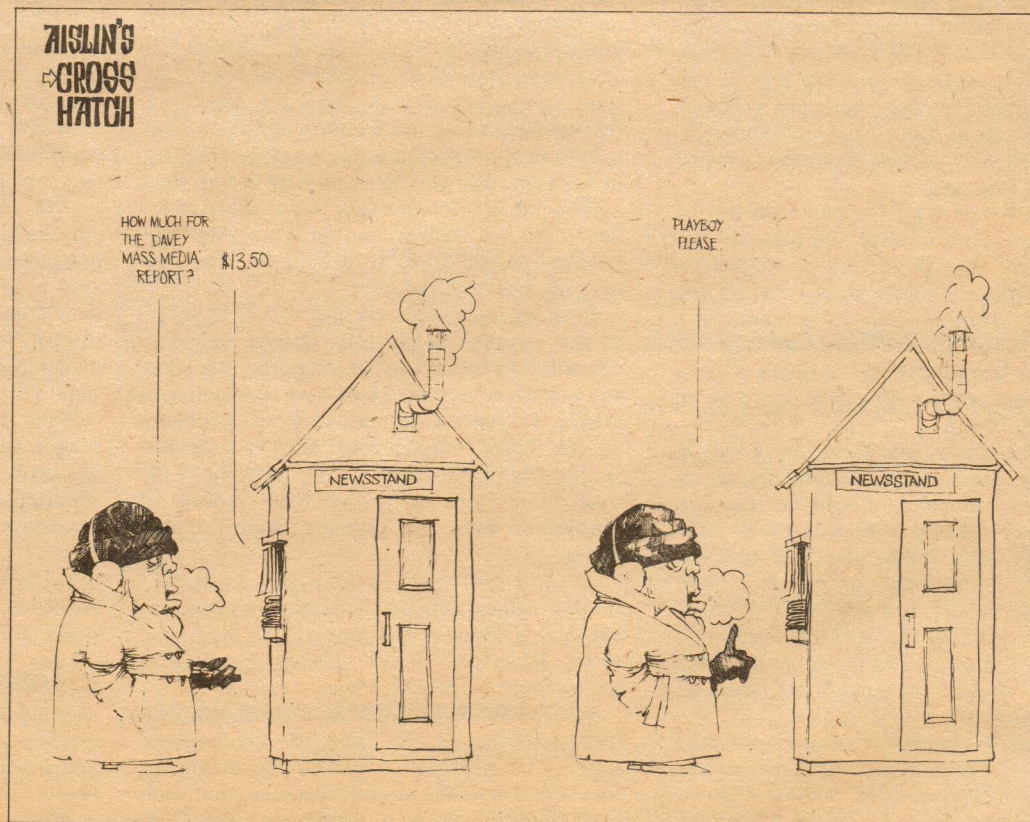
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The Uncertain Mirror



A COMMENTARY: BUT WHAT GOOD WILL IT DO?

THE UNCERTAIN MIRROR

by DICK MACDONALD

Were Keith Davey's committee to be reconvened a year from now, would it find that its work of 1970 had been largely wasted?

Let's hope not, since 1971 may well be a proving year for Canada's news media, now that the public has been given some insight into the nation's communications industries.

In the final analysis, however, the Canadian public will get a better media when publishers and broadcasters decide so. That, really, is what the special Senate committee implies in its report—will the people who own the media, and the people who work within, take to heart the observations and challenges thrown out by Davey and Company? We must not find satisfaction simply in the fact that the committee was created, conducted its hearings and research and tabled a report. The next step for all of us in the media—owners, management and staffs—is to respond vigorously to the valid criticism.

We at *Content* hope to become an element in achieving what the Davey committee calls for in its 1,117-page analysis of the Canadian media. Granted, we are but one example of the growing concern about standards of news reporting in the country. Even where Senator Davey's report is weak—and it is, in several areas—the point comes through: While the Canadian public is, generally speaking, served fairly well by the mass media, it is not served well enough.

Thankfully, the news media were under a moral obligation, if not a professional one, to report extensively on the contents of Davey's report. To have not done so would have been an admission of incompetence. Certainly the major papers and stations went to some lengths to provide broad coverage of the Senate committee's efforts. It seems, though, that most have not gone beyond the immediate coverage; there has been precious little time or space spent weeks after the report was tabled in Ottawa in further discussion of what was said.

It is well that at least the day-after coverage was relatively thorough, because the retail price of the three-volume report is \$13.50. Cartoonist Aislin wasn't far off the mark in the *Montreal Star* as he depicted a chap at a news-stand who, when told the price, opted for *Playboy*. (Aislin's *Cross-Hatch*, reproduced on our cover, courtesy of the *Montreal Star*.)

That really is too bad, because the Davey report, even given its occasional flippancy and frivolous moments, should be required reading for everybody in broadcasting, publishing, advertising, public relations, politics, the academic community, commerce... well, just everyone, ideally. But at \$13.50? Perhaps the Davey report is the sort of document, because of its implications for society, whose distribution should be subsidized. Queen's Printer, please note.

(Some 3,000 copies of volume one and 2,000 each of volumes two and three were distributed to Information Canada bookstores. Individual prices are \$3.50, \$6.50 and \$3.50, respectively. A second printing is possible.)

We at *Content* don't believe creation of

the special Senate committee was a PR gimmick designed to improve Keith Davey's image, had it been tarnished in the past. Nor do we think it was a trick conceived to show the worth of the oft-questioned upper chamber, although surely most will agree the committee demonstrated that the Senate can be useful, after all.

Some media magnates already, of course, have displayed customary defensiveness at the committee's comments. If Davey essentially is a reformist, those people satisfied with the status quo (which unfortunately implies mediocrity far too frequently) will be upset. Yet many working journalists will subscribe to the basics of the views expressed in the report. To a degree, the report legitimizes or officializes, or confirms at the very least, the tavern bitchiness of many journalists. And that, too, is understandable and explainable since journalists helped write the report—just possibly embellishing where public testimony and research material lacked.

It is beyond our capability to reprint great chunks of the Davey report; that would be of dubious usefulness, anyway. Rather, we offer this commentary and carry articles which deal with aspects of the report.

As the import of the report seeps into the media, we will be able to carry further debate and opinion on the essential question which must confront anyone who is familiar with the document: *But what good will it do?*

The report has been criticised for being superficial and loaded with assumptions. A few publishers have accused the committee of making statements without adequate substantiation. Yet anyone who has read the report—including the second volume, on the economics of broadcasting and publishing in Canada, and the third, which shows that a good many Canadians are not entirely satisfied with the information product they are buying—would have to accept the bulk of the committee's argument.

Perhaps the sassy style and nature of some of the remarks (a glorious change in royal commission and committee reports) offended the people who control or own the nation's media. In some cases, we suspect, criticism of the Davey report has been vociferous simply because it hit too close to home. The truth *does* hurt, if you've been pulling a pillowcase over the public's head for decades.

A valid criticism can be made, we think, in the rather blatant Toronto orientation and bias evident in the report. Spears, Alexander Ross and Keith Davey essentially are Toronto-oriented people.

While the report spends considerable effort pleading for diverse and antagonistic sources of information within the media, it seems to leave the impression that that can best be done by Toronto-type people. Yet we've seen the effects of a cultural concentration such as that—*Maclean's*, *Star Weekly*, *The Canadian*, CBC and CTV. What

should be encouraged is decentralization—regionalism, if you will—in which the information needs of the pieces of the Canadian mosaic are served. Served professionally and with top quality, to be sure, but recognizing the characteristics of the given areas.

Perhaps, too, the committee was not entirely justified in making sweeping generalizations about the media outside the metropolitan areas. Of course, there are disaster areas, compounded by monopoly situations, but broad statements do not a clear head make.

Small wonder, you see, that in some circles the Senate document is being labelled the "Honderich Report", after the *Toronto Daily Star's* Beland Honderich. And although we don't say this facetiously, it is a curious coincidence that Borden Spears now is a chief lieutenant to Honderich.

At any rate, we're talking about improving the mass media in any way possible for the benefit of all Canadians.

Any legislation arising from recommendations made by the committee will not, by itself, improve the nature and flow of information. Creating press councils *could* make the media more responsive to the needs and concerns of the public. Stripping *Time* and *Reader's Digest* of their special tax status *could* give Canadian-made publications a larger piece of the advertising action in this country. Establishing a loan fund for new and needy journals *could* be the adrenalin necessary to give us viable forms of alternative media.

But the impetus for an improved media will have to come from within, from the people responsible. And as journalists, we have an obligation to rise to the occasion. Let's quit griping and start doing something to upgrade the business we've chosen to be in.

Media owners may question many of the committee's assertions, especially where they are related to profits. Some publishers, for instance, will shy from the committee's comment that newspapers, by and large, fare better than do factories. It was Roy Thomson who said that his acquisition of Scottish television was tantamount to getting a licence to print money; the Senate committee thinks ownership of a daily paper amounts to the same thing, except one doesn't need a licence.

The committee doesn't complain that people are making money, just that more of the profit is not being plowed back to substantially improve the product for public consumption.

In talking about increasing the media's public-servant role, some fundamental questions about the economic system can be asked. The report doesn't really dwell on them sufficiently: if the media is tied to the existing economic structure, will there be marked change? Is there a way of treating news differently than we do soap, cars and beer?

The recommendation that an ownership review board be created to limit the power to merge or expand (or fold, too, which can be far more disastrous in the effects on a

community) has been criticized, presumably the prospect of government control.

The report, which suggests that anti-combine legislation would be a deterrent by its very existence, does not set out guidelines. It does not say that existing chains and groups be dismantled, but it does call for careful scrutiny of further growth of the chains. Somehow, it seems, conditions must be created under which independent papers and stations remain independent—or is this useless, wishful thinking?

The review board would not be a licensing agency, but a vehicle by which the trend to fewer individual voices in the newspaper business can be arrested or impeded. Davey himself said at a news conference, 'though, that a board would become involved in making quality judgments about firms wanting to buy an established paper. We haven't heard the last of this recommendation.

The report devotes one chapter specifically to journalism per se. It is not particularly complimentary. Starting on page 121, under the heading "Criteria," we are told that we're underpaid, under-trained and unprofessional. There's even an inference that some in our midst might be a trifle uncouth, probably unspectacular and certainly unconcerned about the public.

That description may not be as absurd as it appears at first glance. The birth of three of four associations of journalists and the start of *Content* during 1970 could indicate that some truth lies in the remarks of Davey and his senatorial colleagues. There is, at last, a genuine concern about the state of our performance. It should not be the standard reinforcement of the Fourth Estate mentality. By that, we mean we are not mere spectators of events, not solely mirrors, divorced from the blood and guts of life.

We cannot go glibly and blithely on our way, influencing and affecting and effecting circumstances, without some exhaustive analysis of who we are and why and how we do what we do.

Content does not propose to answer the many questions on the desk. But we do plan to continue to function as a forum where a broad discussion can take place freely.

The Davey report suggests that the media—workers and owners—have failed to evolve anything approaching professional journalistic standards. That, it must be obvious, is a matter of public concern. The report goes so far as to say that steamfitters and plumbers and lawyers and teachers et al have taken a more professional attitude to their trade than have journalists. They insist, at least, on minimum standards of training.

The committee forecasts that from now until 1974, 7,000 new jobs will be created in print journalism alone in Canada. But worthwhile schools and universities will graduate barely half that number in the same period.

So it recommends that programs be established in each of the regions; not journalism departments at every university, but at least one each for the Atlantic Provinces, Quebec, the Prairies and British Columbia—possibly incorporating existing training facilities. Ontario, with Carleton and Western universities and Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, apparently is reasonably well equipped.

The report could have more strongly advocated in-office training programs at papers and stations, for on-site exposure to discipline and guidance in the fundamentals cannot be simulated in a campus environment.

The problem facing most media outlets, insofar as training is concerned, is the lack of personnel. A city editor and his assistants usually are so damned busy with the day-to-day work that they simply haven't got the time to give more influential leadership. There probably isn't a newsroom in the country which doesn't know poor division of labor. Maybe it's time someone produced a formula for restructuring newsrooms and editorial departments. City editors aren't super-human.

Senator Davey's report is critical of the conditions under which many journalists work—overcrowded newsrooms, bleak studios, deplorable washrooms, inadequate libraries (although even inadequate libraries are not used sufficiently), lack of such staples as pencils and desk drawers and typewriters often transferred to editorial when they become too decrepit for the business office.

Is there truth in the comment that squalor and journalism traditionally go together and that many journalists would be uncomfortable in surroundings of normal, decent house-keeping? Our friends will have to attest to, or refute, that.

The report says journalists are underpaid, which shouldn't come as a shock to most of our readers. At the moment, the highest salary scale is in Vancouver, where a five-year reporter can earn just under \$11,000 annually. In the large Prairie cities, the rate is roughly 10 per cent below Vancouver and in the smaller Prairie centres it is 10 to 20 per cent below that.

Reporters at the unionized Toronto papers can earn \$9,620 after five years. Hamilton, London and Windsor aren't far behind, but salaries in the rest of the pro-

vince run as much as 40 per cent below the Toronto level for some salary categories.

In Montreal, the report shows, French-language journalists are near the Toronto level, English-language journalists slightly below it. Salaries in the rest of Quebec can drop 40 per cent below the metropolitan scale. Major cities in the Maritimes have salaries about 25 per cent below Toronto's; in the rest of the Atlantic region, there can be another dip of 10 to 30 per cent.

Davey's report doesn't hesitate to say publishers and station owners can afford to pay more. For instance, while wages and salaries in radio increased by 24 per cent between 1962 and 1968, productivity rose by 47 per cent. In television, pay increased by 39 per cent but productivity jumped by 90 per cent. (*Content* will be exploring the salary subject in later issues.)

While the committee thinks our definition of news remains too narrow—it still concentrates on the dramatic, exceptional event and not enough on the factors which lead to situations—it does us the honor of calling us artists. Well, almost.

"Journalism, however humble, is a sort of art. There can be very few occupations that are so demanding in terms of speed and judgment. The wonder is that newspapers are as good as they are. They really are daily miracles." Thanks, Senator.

What is apparent in any discussion of the media—and 1970 had to signal the start of a Great Communications Think-in—is the ever-present conflict between what society needs and what society can afford. The answer, it seems, is that a balance must be struck. It is in arriving at a formula for striking that balance that arguments are heard.

But if we are serious about journalism, if we are committed to it as an enveloping occupation for our personal and the public good, if there's a shred of professionalism in what we're doing, if our egos demand excellence, if our consciences never let us be wholly satisfied with the end product, if we have respect for intellect, if we yearn for better understanding among men, if we have an insatiable curiosity, if we find a special delight in dealing with facts and ideas... well, these are the ingredients of journalism and we should dedicate ourselves to finding the formula and overcoming the complaints served up by Keith Davey and Company. The Great Communications Think-in barely has started.

Dick MacDonald is Editor of *Content*.

SITTING AT THE END OF THE PIPE AND SUCKING

THE UNCERTAIN MIRROR

by STEPHEN KIMBER

"The press does not speak the voice of the nation. It does not even speak the voice of those who write for it."
Fanny Wright

His long brown finger stabbed the air as he punctuated each point, emphasizing his words, letting them hang in the blue-grey smoke that consumed the studio where we talked. We had been "rapping" for close to an hour about what it was like to be black in Halifax, the eastern bastion of the south that Lucius Walker, a black sociologist from the United States once called "Halifax, Mississippi." The interview was going well, better than I had expected, and I made mental

notes of the quotations I knew would fit into the documentary I was planning.

There was none of the pseudo-hip street language of the "right on" middle-class revolutionaries I was tiring of; just plain simple talk about the agony created by his accident of birth. His was a painful story.

There still were traces of an earlier hair straightening where his Afro was growing in, but the new hair style and the freedom it signified for him were beginning to make

themselves felt. Once he had simply wanted to be a white man in black skin; now he wanted to be a man, unhypenated and without adjectives, a human being who could stand tall and unashamed. Yet, he knew there still was a long, tortuous path to be stumbled along before he could take his place in the sun (and before, I suppose, I could take mine).

I seldom prodded him as he talked. There was no need for there seemed to be a desperate urgency in his actions. He wanted more than anything else to make me and my kind understand, not sympathize but empathize, with the position of his people, with the dehumanization that comes from being a black man in a white town.

Suddenly, he paused without warning, exhausted and frustrated—what was the use? What in *God's name* was the use of trying to explain it all again, one more time, when in all likelihood it wouldn't change a thing, not a single thing?

"Okay," I jumped in, "you've told me what it's like and you've told me what you want. What we have hardly touched on are the conditions that make it all possible. You've got the problem. . . . Why does the problem exist?" It was a stock question, the kind reporters always keep handy for pregnant pauses and worse. You pick them off the top of the desk. That happened to be the question on top at the time in my mental deck.

The eyes were intense, the big black first clenched, rose and came crashing down on the table. Then the finger jabbed again at the empty air, making almost threatening gestures at me as he fired back his answer, bitterly: "You want to know? you really want to know. . . . well, it's you, you motherfuckers—you guys on the radio and those guys from the paper. You never tell it like it really is. If you start trying to tell it like it really is instead of all this bullshit you do, then the world wouldn't be so fucked up!"

He had been almost screaming; now, suddenly, he slumped back in his chair, exhausted and waiting for a reply, a rebuttal to his outburst. The silence was electric.

It wasn't that I was really shocked by his accusations. I'd heard it all before a million times—from social worker friends, from student radicals, from politicians of the left and even of the right. Yet, it always had been couched in linguistic niceties, and the charges seldom seemed so personal, so close to home. Still, they had a common thread, they all blamed the media, the institution so intricately tied to my future and my immediate past, for the ills of the world.

My initial reaction to the angry black man who sat opposite me was defensive. You don't get into the media for the money. *Why don't you find a nice steady nine to five job?* My parents had suggested timidly when I told them I was going to be a writer, a journalist, a member of the famed Fourth Estate. Sometimes, after working a sixteen-hour day and being called back to work seemingly minutes after I settled into bed, I wished I had heeded their advice and taken commerce at university. I almost told him not to complain: he was getting his money's worth. Instead, I kept quiet.

It's always been my rationalization that I got into radio because I wanted to do something for my fellow man, to make some drop-in-the-bucket contribution to the society I lived in. Screw off, I wanted to tell him, get off my back because I'm doing the best I can. I didn't.

You and me, we're really in the same boat, I thought to myself. The only difference is in the degree of our exploitation. You're exploited by white society, and I'm exploited



by my employer. It was a fatuous bit of self-indulgence, but I cringed from facing the truth of the indictment against me.

All my excuses in some way sounded plausible, but in the end that's all they were: excuses for failure. They were hollow and weak-kneed when compared with the reality they were designed to avoid.

The silence between my black friend and I had become unbearable; he seemed almost embarrassed for me. Finally, I cleared my throat and, thanking him profusely for his time and trouble, I declared the interview ended. I never answered him directly and I avoided his eyes. There was nothing to say—he had said it all.

If one incident, one speck in the sands of time, can signal an end to an affair, my inability to answer that accusation, that one question, was the "yours truly" of my romance with the intimacies of electronic journalism—of once-over-lightly-skim-the-surface news reporting.

I had gotten into radio quite by accident, although, like many of my contemporaries, I was a would-be disc jockey in high school. But, as they say in the sports world, cooler heads prevailed and I put away my myriad audition tapes and other childish things to

enter the hallowed halls of the university to become a man of learning. Somehow, I maintained my interest in journalism, becoming editor of the student newspaper. It was in this position that I was able to wangle the Student Council into paying me a salary for the summer to put in order the affairs of the paper. It hardly was an onerous task. In fact, I had nothing to do but sit in the office and catch up on my reading. Occupied in this fashion one morning, my peace was intruded upon by a man from the radio station in Dartmouth who asked me if I'd like a job as a reporter.

So I said, why not and, all of a sudden, presto, instant ready-mix, I was a reporter. No questions asked. There was no training, no nothing—all of a sudden you're a reporter, with all the privileges and responsibilities attached thereto.

The first few months were exciting: becoming confidants to important people; boozing it up at a police convention with 200 cops and privately gloating over the fact that I was underage; sneaking past security guards with my tape recorder to record every gasp and sneeze of Prime Minister Trudeau when he breezed into town; but most of all becoming intoxicated with the power and

the responsibility of keeping the great unwashed up-to-date on the large and small affairs of the world. They were good days.

But the sobering-up was not long in coming. There were the memos that warned about the dangers of unfavourable stories about advertisers. Never were they explicit, but they made you think twice. Then, some things just couldn't be reported, such as when members of the legislature were too drunk to continue public business. One MLA had to be carted out of the House of Assembly one afternoon before a visiting group of high school students could be admitted to the visitors' gallery. No one thought the quality of representation was worthy of comment, either in the press or on radio or television.

Oh, I'd fought the good fight, struggled valiantly in the face of great dollar signs to bring some meaning to the jumble of facts spat out across the airwaves hourly. During one editorial meeting, I'd even managed to outshout the station manager when he thought we should cool it on our human rights coverage. I argued for more resources and personnel so we could explain the factors that lead the poor to organize to fight for their rights. "But we always get bad news," my boss replied, "why have more people so we can give more bad news. People want to hear some good news for a change." Whatever the merits of his argument, it carried the day.

Reporters are in a peculiar position, because we can't beg off our neglect with profuse apologies that we didn't know what was going on in society. With the exception of those directly affected by poverty and dehumanization, reporters more than anyone else see the contradictions and the realities of our "affluent society" every working day.

We watch as another in a string of endless committees set up to inspect and dissect the poor, flies into town, stays in the best hotel, listens politely and patiently to the poor and their representatives for a few hours in luxurious surroundings—and heads off to a cocktail party in the upper-class section of town. Then, without so much as a glance at the real conditions of those who live in poverty, they're off, swooping down on another town in their touring roadshow.

We are there to hear the speeches of the mayors and the legislators, and the businessmen who tell us how this new claustrophobic high-rise building will ease the serious housing shortage, and that's why government is providing a low-interest, long-term loan for its construction. We go back to our typewriters, buoyed by the knowledge that our officials really are doing a good job, trying their best. More than likely the fact that rents start at \$225 a month is not even included in our story.

Another new industry has been attracted to the province, we trumpet over the airwaves. How much it has cost the government to "attract" this industry we are not told and we don't trouble ourselves to ask. We also don't ask questions about the kind and extent of pollution controls which will be utilized to prevent the desecration of our lands. After all, the government didn't bother to ask that question, so why should we?

A kid of 17, probably no different than thousands of contemporaries, is sentenced to two years in federal penitentiary for possession of dope barely one day before Dean Gerald LeDain and his commission recommend against such penalties. Reporters, those defenders of the public's right-to-know, can't be bothered to find out why such a stiff sentence is handed down. Can it be because the judge is the same judge the boy appeared

before two months earlier in connection with a sit-in at the local high school? Could his punishment really be more for his political activity than his indulgence in youth's alternative to the adult foible of booze?

When the poor demonstrate against unfair housing laws, we are there to record the facts, the numbers, the signs, the response from government. Where were we when the situation began to develop? Probably out covering the ribbon-cutting for another high-rise, high-cost apartment complex.

The reporter sees all these things, and more, but he does nothing. It is far easier to hide behind a smokescreen piously claiming "Objectivity and responsibility" whenever someone dares to question our motivation and our morality. Sometimes, it's by choice; sometimes, reporters don't really care. We have our lazy incompetents, as does any business, but more often it's because the reporter, too, is caught in the grip of a system he can't change. To twist pen nibs into the side of sacred cows is to risk your livelihood, and that is dangerous, particularly when you have a wife and kids to feed. So you play the game, maybe drink a little more, take what you can get, and live out your existence in what Senator Keith Davey and the committee investigating the mass media correctly referred to as "the boneyards of broken dreams."

Most reporters, I know did at one time, want to do some good, to make a difference in the world. But the years and the subtle pummeling take their toll, and the burning sensation leaves their gut. It's replaced by an emptiness, sometimes grawing at what's left on their spirit but mainly content to hold alcohol instead of dreams and desire.

I know. I spent two years in that boneyard of broken dreams one night not so long ago. It was frightening and it was frustrating. Beginning wet behind the ears with the anger of the young man who wanted to tell it like it really is, to put it into the perspective my black friend had so desperately wanted, I became as much a part of the system as the businessmen and politicians I despised, part of the great public relations swindle that sells our society and its way of life to the people who suffer its injustices, who are trampled in its rush for profit. Businessmen and their cohorts in politics may have created the system that is so brutal and dehumanizing, but we in the media, by our failure to expose it, have helped to perpetuate the whole mess.

During my brief tenure in the radio business, I watched money and liquor exchanged on a north-end Halifax street for votes in a provincial election. The story never was used by my employers, CJCH, despite affidavits and witnesses, because, I suppose, it could hurt our Toronto bosses, CHUM Limited, in their attempts to purchase a local television station and the fact that it might cause a local scandal involving an employee of the radio station. Ignore the fact that the democratic process is being subverted by the very people we elect to defend it; the urge for self-preservation is most important to a radio station.

In another instance, a story I and others worked on for days conclusively proved that a local landlord (a lawyer) was attempting to circumvent new landlord-tenant legislation to keep his tenants in a state of virtual servitude.

The story was used, but station brass later apologized, publicly, blaming "certain overzealous do-gooders" on the reporting staff for getting them into the fix. Their out was to apologize for calling the man a slumlord (which, in fact, he was not called) and

ignoring his deliberate evasion of the law.

Such is the law of the broadcast jungle. To thine ownself be true and screw the people.

There were the demonstrations by students and unionists against the American invasion of Cambodia, which we were told not to report "because these things get too much publicity anyway." We also were told to cut down the volume of reporting on strikes, protests by the poor and others, apparently in the naive belief that it was all a publicity stunt which would go away if ignored.

I can remember sitting numbly in the newsroom listening to the open-line host on a competing station destroy the local Miles for Millions march simply by comparing one of the projects it was funding with the FLQ during the height of the Quebec kidnapping crisis and insinuating that funds raised in Halifax would be used to aid "Castro supporters." While nothing could be further from the truth, as subsequent investigation proved, the damage had been done and less than fifteen per cent of the needed \$200,000 was raised. Broadcasting may not always be right, but it is never wrong.

During the race riots in Detroit in the late 1960's, station brass in the Halifax area called a special private strategy session for dealing with the eventuality of such a situation in the Nova Scotia capital. They decided to report, as briefly as possible, the cold, hard facts of the riot when and if it occurred without embellishment and without interpretation. There was no concern recorded about the fact that they were discussing the kinds of action they would take after an incident occurred, rather than attempting to head off such a disaster by digging into the causes of social disorder in the city with Canada's largest black population.

Somehow, we in the news departments managed to swing a Saturday morning hour-long public affairs show during my time at CFDR in Dartmouth. Sometimes it was good, some weeks it was terrible, but always it was biting and irreverent. From week to week it teetered on the brink of being canned by the station manager or the president, but we managed to preserve this one important bit of the week for us by hook and by crook. Finally, most of us were fired or forced to resign and the show fizzled, happily for the uncomfortable upper echelon and sales people at the station.

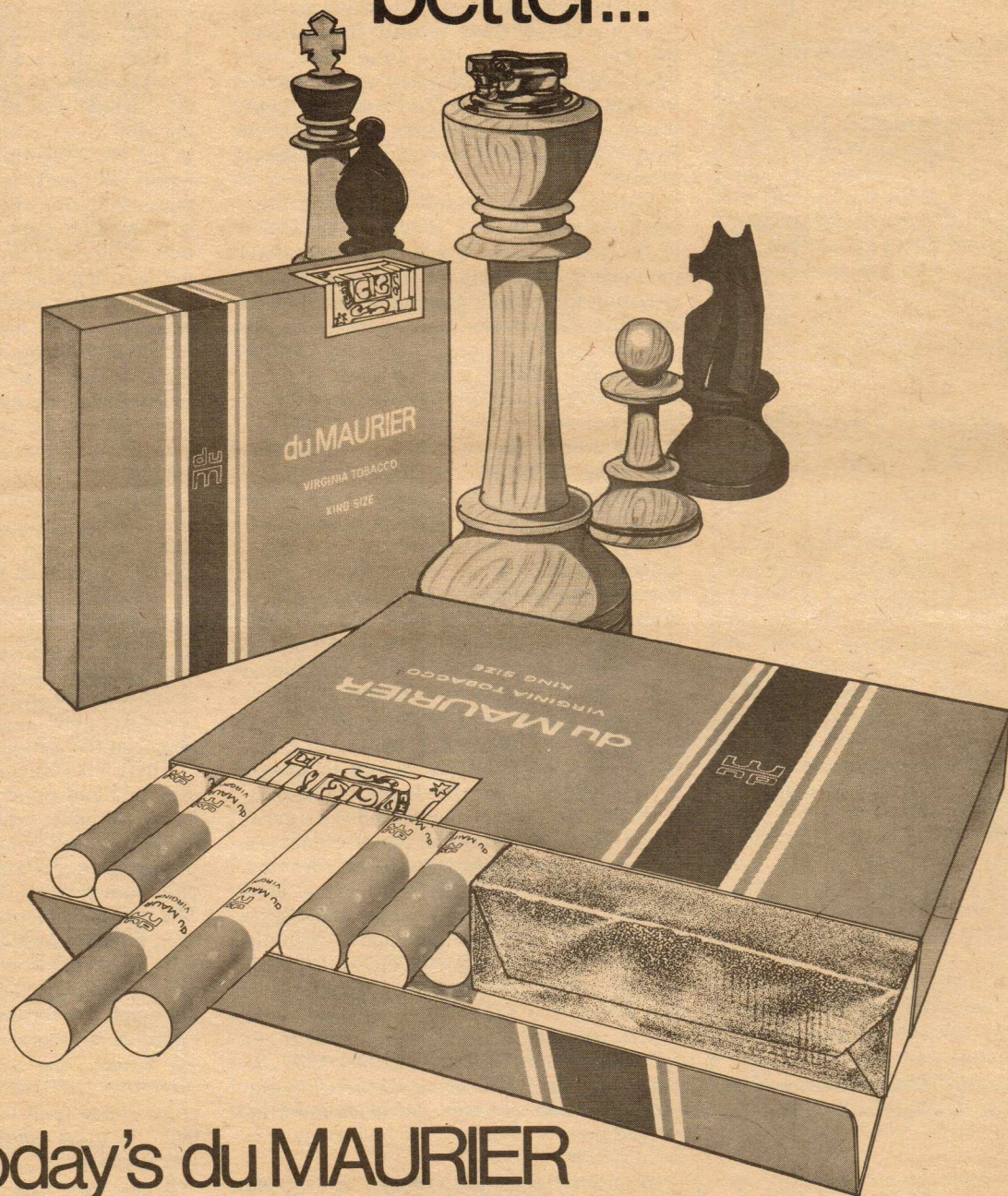
There were other incidents, of course, some dramatic and some staid, which contributed to the ultimate realization that "publish it and be damned," the old trademark of muckraking, gutsy journalism, was a thing of the past, something to be buried and forgotten. The age of bellicose Joe Howe is gone forever, replaced by neat businesslike journalists who do their job and go home to suburbia and contemplate their navels. Really, there's not much else for them to do anymore.

Frank Fillmore, executive editor of the *4th Estate*, one of what Senator Davey's committee referred to as the "Volkswagen press," once tried to cheer me up by saying that "the press can do in a free society whatever it will do."

Frank was right, but that's not really the point. Unfortunately, they have chosen to do nothing.

Stephen Kimber, a Halifax free-lance writer, formerly was news director at CFDR in Dartmouth and a reporter at CJCH in Halifax.

for people
with a taste
for
something
better...



today's du MAURIER

ALMOST 30 FOR THE TRIB

THE UNCERTAIN MIRROR

by ERIC WELLS

The Davey committee's conclusions that the newspaper industry is making huge profits brought out Ron Williams a-swinging. Within 24 hours of the report's tabling, the publisher of the Winnipeg *Tribune* signed the lead editorial himself and announced that the paper was broke, and was only existing on the charity of Southam Press.

The publisher stated that the *Tribune* had never made enough money to pay a satisfactory return on its owner's equity, and was not making its operational overhead. He announced that he was forced to cancel the staff's Christmas Bonus; something, he indicated, he should have done back in 1967 when the paper was slipping into the red.

This Yuletide message confirmed the common gossip around town that it is getting close to 30 for The Trib. All over the place, on billboards and television, the *Free Press* hammers out the message: "In the city it is 2-1 for the FP." And the ABC confirms it; in metropolitan Winnipeg, the FP delivers 102,000 copies every day to the *Tribune's* 50,000.

In the rural areas, the papers are about even, but what happens out there is not relevant; it is the city advertising, particularly the classified, that is killing The Trib. Without the classified, the paper can't gain circulation, and without circulation it can't get the ads.

The gap is widening steadily between the rival papers; back in the post-war boom decade, when the *Free Press* first topped 100,000, Fred Auger, then *Tribune* publisher, proudly announced in full-page advertisements that the *Tribune* had 70,000 subscribers, all satisfied that they were getting the best newspaper in the West. But since that faroff day, The Trib has only advanced

**The message is, in a city of
500,000 we can't afford
two dailies**

to 80,000—a figure it first hit in 1962—while the FP has achieved 136,000.

Most of the *Free Press'* gains have been in the city; both papers are suffering attrition in rural circulation, and in their economics it is the city that counts. Only the city circulation brings in the heavy advertising revenue of the retail outlets and the classified.

Although Mr. Williams assured his readers that Southams would not allow the *Tribune* to collapse, he did not allay forebodings that Winnipeg was destined to become a one-newspaper town. After all, no one expects Southams to sustain persistent losses. In any event, by the rule of the market place, ownership demands profit. The avenues of this for the *Tribune* are tortuous and perhaps impossible; in recent years, the paper has spent thousands upon thousands of dollars in promotions, contests, and give-aways without any perceptible change in the steady advance of the FP.

To a considerable degree, it was the *Tribune's* obsession with contests that aggravated its economic plight. Until recent years the two papers disciplined their rivalry, basically, to the news with only occasional and limited promotional forays. There was an "understanding" about such things: circulation obtained by door-pounding by the delivery boys or by the persuasion of news coverage was approved but the excesses of circulation wars were not indulged in until 1966. Since that time, the *Tribune* has come out on the short end of a contest which it introduced itself. For five years, the paper has paid more attention to promotions than to news. Ron Williams tore up the old rule book, and Dick Malone of the FP got sore.

In the *Tribune* of December 11, in which Mr. Williams made his declaration that the paper was losing money, there were 42 pages—a total of 336 columns, but of these columns not more than 74 could be described

**Real competition in the west
could end within three years**

as news columns. The *Tribune's* news content is not singularly low by Canadian standards but it does give some pertinancy to the question whether the paper is going broke "because of the burden of the news." For a city faced with the loathsome prospect of becoming a monopoly newspaper town, the economics require some explanation.

With our newspapers admittedly tied in with the advertising industry, we must ask: "How come a paper with 213 columns of ads and only 74 columns of news can't make money?" (The paper had 49 columns of other non-ad content).

If a paper can't make a go of it at that ratio, then what hope is there for the free, competitive press under the aegis of the advertising industry? In this age of saturation advertising, when the daily press is running from 40 to 60 pages, we can't afford two newspapers in a city of half a million—that's the message.

It is to be regretted that the Davey committee didn't address itself to this question, for this is the crux of Canada's communications dilemma. We didn't need the senators to tell us that Toronto is well served by a competitive press but, as determined by the ad market, only Toronto can afford it. So what is the future for the rest of the country? Only the ad dollar can decide.

This decision has already been made in other large centres such as Edmonton (Southam monopoly) and Vancouver where the two biggest chains, FP Publications and Southams, have produced the hybrid Pacific Press. In the present trend, the most that Winnipeg can hope for is a carbon copy of the Pacific Press arrangement while Edmonton, of course, has to struggle along as a one-newspaper town. For the West this is a dismal prospect, and for Winnipeg—once the

cockpit of published controversy—it's curtains. Within three years, unless there is a remarkable change in the FP-Trib 2 to 1 ratio, significant press competition will end in the West.

When this sad day arrives, it will be revealed that the ad dollar in this era of all-out consumerism killed the competitive press. The *Tribune* won't die because of insufficient readers wanting to read its news and commentaries; it will expire because it hasn't enough readers to subsidize its advertisements.

Although the Davey committee was candid in its assessment that the daily press is the major domain of the advertising industry, it was snowed in by publishers who claimed that the ads make it possible to publish the news. Such arguments are set deeply in the mythology of our free press.

In Winnipeg, the *Tribune* commonly circulates letters to its critics who complain about the dearth of news content, asserting that it costs Southams two to three dollars a week per subscriber to produce and deliver the paper while the home-delivered cost to the reader is only 60 cents. Reeling from these "facts," the reader is usually content to settle for whatever he gets, grateful, in fact, for 60 columns of news strung out through 250 columns of ads.

But there are other facts to be considered. For example, when Senator Davey concludes that advertising is the major source of revenue of the paper, he is right. But he is wrong when he swallows the argument that the ads help pay for the news. The ads themselves account for the greatest portion of the paper's production costs. A newspaper using 10,000 tons of newsprint over a year will run off 6,000 tons or more as adprint, a fact which is not likely to be mentioned in the editorial lamenting pulp price increases and the threat posed to freedom of the press.

This is not a situation peculiar to Winnipeg; all publishers lament the cost of newsprint, refuse to call it adprint, and to make ends meet will short-change the reader who buys the paper for news. It is actually the reader and his ten-cents who subsidizes the ads.

For the *Tribune*, to produce a 40-page paper over the year, the total operating cost would be about \$4.5 million, say \$400 a page

**Will the ad dollar deal the
death blow?**

delivered to the home. About \$16,000 a day would be close enough.

The 80,000 subscribers, at a dime each, pay half of that—\$8,000. On a 40-page edition on a cost basis they should be entitled to 20 pages of news, comics, stock quotations, or all the other content which a publisher normally calls "non-revenue". Why do we have this misnomer in the newspaper industry? The readers are paying their full

freight and more, for the *Tribune* seldom gives them more than six cents on their dime. In its classified section, the *Tribune* gives away the space at about half price of what it costs to print the paper.

While this situation is acute on the *Tribune*, short-changing the reader to subsidize the ads is a common practice: for papers in more fortunate financial circumstances, it helps account for those exorbitant profits Senator Davey talks about. But it is unfortunate that the myth of the ads "making it possible to have news" continues, and the Senate inquiry has failed to tell us how we might have more newspapers; and at what cost. The Senate team somehow clambered aboard an advertising vehicle which was camouflaged as a newspaper. In the case of the *Tribune*, if the ads paid their full share

of the freight, the paper would be making money.

In Winnipeg, we have two big newspaper chains in competition for the advertising dollar. Readership only represents ad dollars to them, and despite what Senator Davey says about the daily press representing the essential vitality of a community, the name of the game is Monopoly or its variant Saw-Off, a Pacific Press deal. For those people in Edmonton, hoping some day to have another paper to challenge the Southam monopoly, the future holds no promise. If a well-established paper such as the *Tribune* can't break even on 80,000, what hope is there for a paper starting from scratch, striving to reach 50,000?

The ad rates would kill off any endeavour, for they are based on entrenched interests

which long have thrived on "building and selling the right audience" to the advertising industry, to quote the Senate report. In Winnipeg today, we probably are seeing the last struggle between the two big chains, with Dick Malone of FP Publications teaching upstart Ron Williams of Southams a lesson in how the game is played. Dick's got all the marbles in Winnipeg, and he will leave Edmonton to Southams. As he said at the Senate hearing, he wouldn't touch that place with a \$10 million pole.

But let's not forget what happened in Vancouver.

Eric Wells, former editor of the Winnipeg Tribune, is a free-lance writer and communications consultant in Winnipeg.

PRESS COUNCILS: A FULL EXPLANATION

THE UNCERTAIN MIRROR

by E. U. SCHRADER

Press Councils have scrutinized the performance of the print media, particularly daily newspapers, in some fifty countries for several decades. Although the most famous one is the British Press Council, others exist in Austria, Belgium, Ceylon, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Nigeria, South Africa, South Korea; and several areas of the United States have had community press councils. Sweden has a Court of Honour, and in December 1968, the government appointed a Press Ombudsman.

To deserve and maintain its freedom from government restraints and vested interests, the press must merit and preserve the respect of the public. Press councils therefore concern themselves with:

- 1) Improving the professional standards of journalism;
- 2) Keeping under review developments likely to restrict access to news;
- 3) Reporting publicly on developments leading to changes in ownership that might tend toward greater concentration or monopoly in the press.

While press councils are endowed with no statutory sanctions, they use moral persuasion to correct flaws in performance; and over the years these convictions of conscience have become moral guidelines against which the individual journalist can measure his own behaviour.

The councils consist of professional and lay members, with an independent chairman who enjoys national prestige. They investigate complaints from the public about misbehaviour and assess these, as a crown attorney weighs evidence, before laying a charge. If the question is a legal one, the complainant is advised to proceed through the courts. If it is not, he is counselled to seek redress by personal confrontation with the editor and only if this avenue fails to produce satisfaction will the council, as a whole, judge the complaint. Many complaints are found to be frivolous or vicious, and those that are upheld draw a rebuke from the council, which is publicized.

Councils also concern themselves with news makers' efforts to impede journalists in obtaining news. Attempts by local authorities, hospital boards or business concerns to sup-

press information or mislead the press are firmly dealt with. Councils review laws restraining the press, such as libel and contempt of court, and make recommendations to government.

While conceding that newspapers are designed to make a profit, press councils note the need to reconcile private enterprise with public service. They recognize that freedom of the press involves freedom of the reader to choose from a diverse assortment of newspapers, and therefore amalgamations, failures and chain ownership come under their scrutiny.

Success of press councils in improving professional standards depends on absolute independence from government. Critics frequently observe that press councils in Nigeria and South Africa are glossy facades of government censorship. Press councils should be financed by an internal levy against their membership, and answer to the public at large by publicizing their adjudications through the mass media. Because self-regulation itself can become censorship, only moral sanctions are provided. The question of fines has been debated and discarded.

Lord Devlin, retired chairman of the British Press Council, observed that "the work of the Press Council in challenging encroachments on freedom of the press is just as important as its work in maintaining standards."

Following the Second World War, concern arose that freedom of the press was being whittled away, that combines had bought up and killed independent journals, that finance was degrading journalism. On October 29, 1946, a free vote in the House of Commons called for the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the finance, control, management and ownership of the press. The commission subsequently recommended that the press itself should create a central organization. Following the debate on the royal commission's findings (July 28, 1949), the Newspaper Proprietors' Association and the Newspaper Society met to consider how the press council could be established. There appeared to be no real enthusiasm in press circles for such an organization.

Three years later, a private member intro-

duced a bill to establish a Press Council by legislation but the bill proceeded only to second reading when, in February 1953, newspapers agreed on a draft constitution. The Press Council came into existence July 1, 1953.

During its first eight years, the body, consisting entirely of journalists, dealt with public complaints. During this period, mergers and failures caused public anxiety, and in February, 1961, Prime Minister Macmillan announced a second royal commission. The Shawcross Report was presented in 1962. It reviewed the economic and financial factors of the industry; the high earnings and high cost of newsprint; overmanning, restrictive practices, administrative and editorial efficiency, and labour relations. The commission urged more efficiency in the interest of maintaining an independent press. The hope of weaker newspapers was to find managers and editors of such enterprise and originality as would enable these publications to overcome economic forces affecting them. Although the commission conceded that weak newspapers absorbed into chains might have failed, thus eliminating voices, the report expressed anxiety that monopoly ownership could influence public manners and political opinions. Mergers, the commission thought, should concern the public and not merely the shareholders. Amalgamations must serve the public interest.

The 1949 commission had recommended that the Press Council should study the long-term developments of the press and the economic and social factors which affect it, particularly regarding monopoly ownership, as well as matters of research. The Shawcross Report stated that had the Press Council adopted this suggestion, the work of his commission would have been unnecessary.

The commission recommended a reform-council which would undertake to:

- 1) Scrutinize and give publicity to changes in ownership and control of newspapers;
- 2) Publish up-to-date statistics;
- 3) Ensure that the newspapers carried the name of the company or individual in ultimate control of its affairs;
- 4) Hear complaints from journalists of undue influence by advertisers.

The new council, under Lord Devlin, and including lay members, met January 14, 1964.

The complaints committee handles approximately 400 cases a year. Most complainants are referred to the courts or to individual publishers, and less than one quarter go before council for review. In the 1967-68 council year, 35 of the 88 cases before council were upheld, and articles reprimanding the offending publishers appeared in the press.

To say that the nature of complaints is diverse is an understatement:

1. Confidential meetings: The council ruled that the duty of the press is not to help politicians keep their secrets, but to let the public know what is happening on vital issues. Regarding documents: Experience has shown that documents are sometimes marked "private and confidential" in order to prevent publication of matters which in the public interest ought to be published.

2) Comment: When a journalist invents or distorts facts, or presents as a fact, only a deduction or an assumption, any comment that follows is as dangerous as the bogus fact on which it is based. Regarding disclosure of interest: It is not necessary to disclose financial interests in presenting objective news reports (in which the newspaper is interested) but in editorials such interest should be declared.

3) Misreporting: Striving for an attractive headline; biased reporting; inaccurate or altered quotations; one-sided reporting in a controversy; insufficient investigation; conjecture reported as fact; altering copy without writer's consent; altering a letter writer's intention by cutting his letter.

4) Sensationalism and distortion: Presenting unimportant news as more exciting than it is; pandering to morbid tastes; the difference between liveliness and sensationalism; exaggeration.

5) Letters to the editor: Can restore the balance between an editorial comment and the person put to a disadvantage; letters should not be abridged without the writer's consent; editors have the right to exercise discretion on what letters they choose to print.

6) Corrections and apologies: Where a misstatement of fact is made, there should be a frank correction and apology on a page where the correction and apology are likely to be seen by those who read the original misstatement.

7) Intrusion and privacy: Intrusion on bereavement; private life of person in public eye; photographs; hounding. "Intrusion begins where consent ends." When dealing with complaints of infringement, the Press Council considers: whether the information sought was a matter of public interest; whether the conduct and methods employed by the reporter were legitimate and fair; whether the inquiries were made at a reasonable hour; whether the behaviour of reporters amounted to hounding. To obtain news or pictures by dishonest representation or by intimidation or by undue intrusion on privacy is conduct discreditable to a journalist.

8) Courts: Too detailed reports of sex cases; calling accused persons "Mr."; one sided reports; attitude of judges to the press.

9) The journalist and the public: Proper identification; misrepresentation; late telephone calls; non-journalist representing himself as such.

10) Reporting crime: Glamorizing criminals; "I got away with murder" articles.

11) Schools: Reports should not be founded on the tittle-tattle of children; seek information from the head; never enter school property without permission; trivial incidents

should not be exaggerated; private lives of teachers should be respected.

12) Hospitals and doctors: The Press Council drew up a statement of principles on how to obtain such news, with first regard for the patient.

13) Police: "If the police helped the press to publish full and accurate news about their activities, they would help themselves by ensuring that people understood what they did and why they did it."

14) Politics: "Party and political bias in the selection of news can result in suppression of facts which ought to be known, just as a quotation out of context from an important speech may reduce the report to a travesty."

15) Advertisers: "An editor who thinks more of his advertisers than of his readers will soon have neither advertisers nor readers to think of." The Press Council is opposed to advertisements that appear to be news stories, and in 1967 condemned a newspaper for writing a free publicity blurb, accompanied by a paid display advertisement.

16) Cheque-book journalism: The council is opposed to the paying of large sums to criminals and other notorious characters for their exclusive stories. If such a story is of public concern, it should not be closed to all but the highest bidder.

If concentration of ownership restricts dissemination of news and opinions to fewer journals, the freedom of the reader to choose what he wants to read is thwarted. The Press Council insists that mergers be in the public interest, and offered the following guidelines:

1) That the newspaper to be acquired was not likely to continue in production unless sold to a purchaser prepared to continue it;

2) That the economies or increased efficiency to be achieved by the merger would guarantee the continued publication of that newspaper;

3) That due regard be given to the specialized character and readership of the newspaper, and that readers continue to be served with the accurate news and diverse opinions they deserve;

4) That the transaction would leave the aggregate circulation of newspapers controlled by the vendor greater than that controlled by the purchaser. (Thus the Press Council saw no harm in increasing the empire of a small purchaser by decreasing the domain of a large seller.)

Opposition to the acquisition of the *Times* by the Thomson organization revolved around four points:

1) It would put too much power in the hands of the Thomson organization;

2) It was undesirable that a newspaper with the reputation of the *Times* for independence and objectivity should become associated with any newspaper chain;

3) Although commercial soundness was the only guarantee of independence, too great a preoccupation with profitability was likely to make a newspaper more concerned with pleasing its customers than undertaking its task as a leader of opinion;

4) The Thomson organization had substantial interests outside the newspaper industry, and the editorial staff could not disregard those interests; where there was a conflict, news might be suppressed or opinion distorted.

The *Times* was on the brink of bankruptcy and there was no alternative in sight offering a firm ground for keeping it alive. The Thomson organization guaranteed freedom of its editors.

The Press Council maintains a constant

flow of recommendations to government regarding libel, contempt of court, and other laws which affect the press. The council expressed its deep anxiety about the severe penalties of imprisonment imposed on two reporters who declined to depart from the journalistic code of honour of respecting confidences. The council is concerned over the practice of local authorities going into committee, to exclude the press, and over the tendency to hold trials without publicity.

COMMUNITY PRESS COUNCILS

Five cities in the United States have experimented with Community Press Councils. One editor described them as voluntary, private, non-governmental, lay-citizen groups meeting in unfettered, objective and responsible criticism of the press with a view to forcing upon the proprietors of the media a measure of self discipline. The cities are: Bend, Oregon; Redwood City, California; Cairo, Illinois; Sparta, Illinois; Littleton, Colorado.

Opponents of the press council idea argue that newspapers are already engaging in self criticism and self discipline; and a press council may fall into the hands of politicians or government and thus infringe on freedom of the press.

Proponents of press councils argue that such an organization induces a sense of responsibility and allows the public to make complaints, desires and needs known to the publisher. U.S. adherents to the concept say there is no way to make a national press council function effectively because of the preponderance of local newspapers. Richard Tobin said in *Saturday Review* that even state and regional press associations have difficulties.

The Mellett Fund for a Free and Responsible Press, nevertheless, finances experimental community press councils. Lowell Mellett established the fund by giving \$40,000 to the American Newspaper Guild to encourage responsible press performance without infringing on freedom. President is Ben. H. Bagdikian, press critic.

The Fund enabled Dr. William L. Rivers, of Stanford University, and Dr. William B. Blankenburg, of the University of Wisconsin, to conduct two councils. The two professors set down this definition of an ideal community press council:

"The council brings the community's information needs (in addition to its wishes) to the attention of the publisher, who is in no way bound to follow the council's criticisms and suggestions. But he listens to the viewpoints and acts upon those that are feasible. The improvement in his newspaper is perceived by the public, which in turn feeds back its appreciation to the publisher directly and through the council again."

Dr. Rivers and Dr. Blankenburg found that the community press councils led the newspapers publishers to a greater awareness of the need for responsible press performance. The publisher knew a problem could not be swept into the wastepaper basket, because a press council was standing by to ask questions.

The councils also served a valuable public relations function: the publisher could explain newspaper practice and policy, and also listen to the needs of citizens. At the end of the one-year experiment, no publisher thought his freedom had been controlled.

Dr. Blankenburg envisions a variety of

kinds of press councils: one-medium, multi-media, local, regional, lay, professional, short-term, one-problem, general councils.

The Freedom of Information Center at the University of Missouri reported "considerable alarm" in the United States regarding the types of press councils discussed in Quebec and Ontario. These councils would be modelled after the British Press Council, which handles complaints, issues formal censures and exerts influence through the power of publicity.

The Americans fear that any censure can become censorship.

Proponents of Press Councils argue that the press is a public utility designed to serve the reader, but with the motivation of private enterprise, and that public scrutiny can guarantee the prime function of service.

Four of southern Ontario's major newspapers—the Toronto *Daily Star*, the Windsor *Star*, the London *Free Press*, and the Hamilton *Spectator*—told the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media that

they favoured a form of press council. This would appear to be a viable group for starting a regional council in Ontario.

E.U. Schrader, chairman of the journalism department of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto, contributed data on press councils to the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media.

(Next month, Professor Schrader will discuss the functions of Community Press Councils in greater depth. Ed.)

ANY WORD MARKSMEN IN THE HOUSE?

THE UNCERTAIN MIRROR

by BARRIE ZWICKER

A BAND OF HIPPIES MAY HAVE KILLED LAPORTE, POLICE SAY

Toronto *Daily Star* headline, Nov. 2, 1970

In everyday conversation, labels such as "communists," "bosses" and "democracy" are used more or less thoughtlessly without, usually, anyone questioning these terms of reference. Sometimes labels are more carefully employed:

Throughout this book I use the word "gooks" in referring to the North Koreans. Some people object to this word. By "gook" I mean I see no reason for anyone who doesn't fit this definition to object to the way I use it. (Rear Admiral D. V. Gallery [Retired] in a foreword to his book, *The Pueblo Incident*.)

An alarmingly large number of people similarly feel little compunction about using the word "hippie," if everyday conversation and letters-to-the-editor are indicators. I know one perfectly law-abiding youth who was refused service in a Sudbury restaurant because his long hair was sufficient evidence to the proprietor that he was a "hippie."

A neat, affluent, attractive girl I know was told, on signing a lease for a new apartment, that she would be kicked out if she entertained any "hippie friends." The superintendent grew apoplectic when challenged to define what he meant by the word.

There are places where such labelling should be taken very seriously; for instance, in editorial rooms.

Most newspapermen pride themselves on being guardians of the language. *Watch Your Language* is the title of a brilliant book by a New York Times editor, Theodore Bernstein. *Globe and Mail* writers and editors have for some years been issued *Style Notes* with entries such as "Enormity refers to evil, not to size," "Trek should be limited to its primary meaning of an organized migration" and "We must not throw in the towel on 'may' and 'can'." There is an almost-fierce belief among editors that they are engaged in a linguistically patriotic battle to preserve "plain English" from nitely raids by advertising copywriters, from modern educators who downgrade spelling and from know-nothings who believe that grammar is snobbish nonsense.

Newspapermen are especially alert against "jargon," which I've found during nineteen years in the field is any word they cannot, or do not want to, understand. "TRANSLATE SPECIAL JARGON," a Toronto *Daily Star* memorandum titled *Plain Writing* admonishes.

Basically, I support the cause. That's why I view so seriously the speed with which some highly-emotive words have been accepted as language tools by some newspapers in recent years.

"Hippie" and similar words have been resisted to some extent by those in a position to give them wide currency. The *Globe and Mail's Style Notes No. 20* on Feb. 3, 1967 told staffers: "Peacenik should be avoided as a flip description of a bearded demonstrator, except in direct attribution."

For sometime, a naked display of "hippie" was considered shocking and the word was stubbornly clothed with quotation marks by generations of city editors (a generation in City Editorland being as short as one year). This was laudable. Now "hippie" is out of quotation marks, legitimizing the epithet. Examples are Tom Hazlitt's articles in the Toronto *Daily Star* on Oct. 31 and Nov. 2 last year (the latter run under the headline at the top of this article). And in the *Globe* last Oct. 21, we find Charles Manson described as a hippie-style cult leader, free of quotation marks or other warning devices.

Surely, "hippie" conceals as much as it reveals. Each person has his notion of what is revealed. My view is that "hippie" commonly suggests long hair, dirt, unkemptness, the taking of (illicit) drugs, unemployment, irresponsibility, rebelliousness against (hard-working, decent, respectable, law-abiding, tax-paying) parents, a hate of "cops," laziness, sexual immorality, willingness to steal, cowardice. Even part of that is quite a load of emotional baggage to lay on most anyone with long hair.

I conducted an informal poll of about twenty clergymen and church-related people recently, asking what popped into their minds when they heard the word "hippie." Most mentioned characteristics along the lines in the previous paragraph. Almost half also said they thought of "freedom," "honesty," "lack of hypocrisy" or something of the sort. None, curiously, mentioned drugs.

Concealed about a person labelled "hippie" (in other words, the degree of lie involved) are any of the above characteristics that do

not, in fact, apply to that individual. Concealed is that person's individuality. It's not that no communication is taking place when the word "hippie" is used. For instance, there is no doubt wide agreement that a person we dub "straight" (How often have you seen *that* word used in the papers?) would differ markedly from a person we label "hippie." Philip Slater, in his book *The Pursuit of Loneliness: American Culture at the Breaking Point*, assumes such differences reflect two cultures in conflict:

There is an almost infinite number of polarities by means of which one can differentiate between the two cultures. The old culture, when forced to choose, tends to give preference to property rights over personal rights, technological requirements over human needs, competition over co-operation, violence over sexuality, concentration over distribution, the producer over the consumer, means over ends, secrecy over openness... and so on. The new counterculture tends to reverse all these priorities.

This is stuff of vigorous debate, but not necessarily some sort of violent revolution as a number of people I know are beginning to predict, fear and, in some cases, relish. Use of the word "hippie" (like "communist," "capitalist," "cop" and "draft dodger") is so stereotypical that it snips off the thinking process. We've seen what stereotypes have helped accomplish in the past for "Japs," "queers," "half-breeds," "niggers," "egg-heads"—the stale and dangerous list is far too long.

Stereotypical words and phrases alone do not cause blind prejudice. But they reflect it. They contribute to it. Perhaps worst, they are a vehicle for it.

As Stuart Chase said in *The Tyranny of Words*, written in 1938:

If one is attacked and cornered, one fights; the reaction is shared with other animals and is a sound survival mechanism. In modern times, however, this natural action comes *after* the conflict has been set in motion by propaganda. Bad language now is the mightiest weapon in the arsenal of despots and demagogues.

Walter Lippmann, in his 1921 classic, *Public Opinion*, writes:

...experience seems to show that [the eyewitness brings something to the scene which later he takes away from it, that oftener than not what he imagines to be the account of

an event is really a transfiguration of it. A report is the joint product of the knower and the known, in which the role of the observer is always selective.

After citing experiments to prove that point, Lippmann sounds a thorough warning against the stereotypes we carry with us like so many bunches of grapes in our minds. "[These stereotypes] mark out certain objects as familiar or strange, emphasizing the differences, so that the slightly familiar is seen as very familiar, and the somewhat strange as sharply alien."

Is all this theoretical? "Those whom we love and admire most," says Lippmann, "are the men and women whose consciousness is peopled thickly with persons rather than with types, who know us, rather than the classification into which we might fit."

But can we do without stereotypes, without generalizations? Perhaps not. They are an economy, shortcuts we substitute for endless inquiry. What matters is the character of the stereotypes, who is using them and why, and what attitudes they enforce. In our writing, we must recognize them for the coarse and heavy-handed language tools they are, the broadaxes of the language.

We also need to see that each person employs a pattern of stereotypes which is not neutral. This stable of stereotypes defends our position in the world. Our fixed impressions include ideal enemies, ideal friends. If someone we have pegged as an enemy refuses to act like one, we are thrown off base (as were captured U.S. soldiers in Korea, indoctrinated to see the "gooks" as butcherous sub-humans, when their captors gave them food and cigarettes).

Unless personal experiences which shatter our stereotypes are forced upon us (by U.S. military accounts, the cigarettes were a form of "brainwashing"), our stereotypes have frightening powers as self-fulfilling prophecies, for we act as if they are totally true.

Lippmann puts it this way:

... we do not study a man and judge him to be bad. We see a bad man. We see a dewy morn, a blushing maiden, a sainted priest, a humorless Englishman, a dangerous Red, a carefree Bohemian, a lazy Hindu, a wily Oriental, a volatile Irishman, a greedy Jew, a 100% American. In the workaday world, that is often the real judgment, long in advance of the evidence, and it contains within itself the conclusion which the evidence is pretty certain to confirm. Neither justice, nor mercy, nor truth, enter into such a judgment, for the judgment has preceded the evidence.

Our bags of stereotypes protect our moral codes and we are fiercely protective of those codes. The special Senate committee report on the mass media underscores how fearful the Canadian reading public is today of losing its standard codes. On page six of Volume III, under the heading "Violence, Sex Love and Drugs," the report summarizes the conclusions reached from the extensive surveys by Martin Goldfarb Consultants: "People seem to want not be confronted with issues disturbing their way of life."

Ultimately, then, our use of stereotypes is political, as brought out in George Orwell's 1946 essay *Politics and the English Language*. Orwell attacks the "half-conscious belief" that language is a "natural growth" and not "an instrument which we shape for our own purpose."

He notes that language can become "ugly and inaccurate" because of foolish thoughts, "but the slovenliness of our language makes it easier for us to have foolish thoughts."

Getting rid of bad language tools will help us think more clearly, "and to think clearly is a necessary first step toward political regeneration: so that the fight against bad English is not frivolous...."

Orwell's comments bite sharply at the use of words such as "hippie," although the word had not been invented in 1946. Referring to several writing faults, including the use of stereotypes, Orwell writes:

Two qualities are common.... The first is staleness of imagery; the other is lack of precision. The writer either has a meaning and cannot express it, or he inadvertently says something else, or he is almost indifferent as to whether his words mean anything or not.

Orwell punctures many of the "snarl" and "purrr" words (classifications of semanticist S. I. Hayakawa) of postwar England—such as, "petty bourgeois," "mad dog," "democracy," "Fascism," "socialism," "realistic" and "pacification." A writer, says Orwell, can shirk his duty and "let the ready-made phrases, come crowding in." These words and phrases "ill construct your sentences for you—even think your thoughts for you, to a certain extent—and at need they will perform the important service of partially concealing your meaning even from yourself. It is at this point that the special connection between politics and the debasement of language becomes clear."

Semantics is no ivory tower field. Perhaps people (including reporters) who are so ready to dismiss serious discussion of words ("Oh, you're just talking semantics.") instinctively know that their sloppy assumptive world is threatened by scrutiny of their language tools. Again, Chase is relevant:

One must practise [the semantic discipline], as in other disciplines. Training in semantics gets into the reflex arcs of the nervous system and after a while we respond, as an airplane pilot responds to a shift of wind.... Semantics provides a method of reaching agreement. On how much can we get together—before the controversy begins? One shifts from the belligerent "You're wrong!" to "Exactly what do you mean by your statement?"

What are reporters and editors to do? The Davey Report is of absolutely no help in this regard: it simply doesn't go into such tools-of-the-trade questions. It does remind us of the degree to which the public believes newspapers carry specific and detailed information, rather than stereotypes and concealed moral codes.

The Goldfarb surveys show, for instance, that 56 per cent of Canadians believe newspapers "get below the surface of the news" (as compared with 31 per cent who believe that TV does and 11 per cent, radio). Fifty-five per cent believe newspapers "tell the whole story." Only 9 per cent of Canadians believe that newspapers "let you forget" the true state of the world (while 62 per cent believe that TV lets you forget).

Orwell suggests that a scrupulous writer, in every sentence that he writes, will ask himself at least four questions: What am I trying to say? What words will express it? What image or idiom will make it clearer? Is this image fresh enough to have [the intended] effect?

The writer then will choose—not simply *accept*—the words precisely needed "and decide what impression one's words are likely to make on another person."

Orwell notes that the rules sound elementary but that they demand a deep change of attitude in anyone who has grown used to

throwing around currently-acceptable words and phrases. He says "silly words and expressions" often have disappeared owing to the conscious action of a minority. "Two recent examples were 'explore every avenue' and 'leave no stone unturned,' which were killed by the jeers of a few journalists."

Language can be compared to a high-powered rifle and stereotypes to bullets. The important thing is to know how to handle the gun and what each bullet can do. Very few of us can confidently assume we are marksmen. I feel uncomfortable when I see the word "hippie" tossed around newspaper pages just as I would be anxious in the presence of an amateur messing around with a .303.

We've all heard ugly talk about what should be done with "those hippies and draft dodgers." Such fusillades of loose and violent references have, in the past, preceded awful physical violence. Don't think it can't happen here.

We're moving rapidly into intensely difficult times, perhaps the final time. We need everything possible going for us. In Canada, at least, let's not pass out verbal ammunition made to order only for the extremists among us—and within us.

Barrie Zwicker, a free-lance writer in Toronto, was a Globe and Mail reporter for eight years and education editor of the Toronto Daily Star.

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THREE MONTHS WITH COACH DAVEY

by ALEXANDER ROSS

In 1926, the year Keith Davey was born, the Toronto *Daily Star* was already one of the world's great newspapers.

Ernest Hemingway had left the staff years before, but still filed dispatches from Paris. Gordon Sinclair had already established himself as a promising young reporter. The newspaper's publisher, Joseph Atkinson, was one of the most powerful men in the country—a remote, godlike figure who had built his newspaper into a mighty organ of Methodist uplift, the authentic conscience of Canadian liberalism.

You must understand this background if you are to understand Senator Keith Davey, whose report on the mass media was tabled in Ottawa Dec. 9. Keith Davey's father, you see, went to work in the *Star's* pressroom in the year of the Russian Revolution. Today, fifty-three years later, he is still there—now the newspaper's production manager, the man who worries about the machines that, six days a week, churn out 400,000 copies of what is still one of the world's greatest newspapers.

By the time Keith Davey was old enough to read, Gordon Sinclair was one of the best-known people in Canada—the ultimate Footloose Reporter, with a hat clamped on the back of his head, roaming the world in search of stories, having incredible adventures, braving incredible dangers. (Sample headlines from 1935, when Sinclair was exploring Northern India: BOULDER SIZE OF ELEVATOR GRAZES NEWSPAPER-MAN'S CAR and, two days later: LEECHES LIKE HOT DOGS FEED ON SINCLAIR'S BLOOD.) It is not surprising that Keith Davey, growing up in one of the *Star's* households, came to believe that being a newspaper reporter must be the most glamorous, most desirable job on earth.

And if reporters were so regarded in the Davey household, what must they have thought of *publishers*? Joe Atkinson was practically a family saint, a man whom the elder Davey consulted on his son's education, a man whose word was revered. When Keith Davey was young, newspaper publishers were beings of another, higher species. Some kids collect stamps, but Keith Davey pasted the cut-out mastheads of the world's newspapers in a scrapbook he kept in his bedroom.

So you can see that for Keith Davey, the tabling of the 500,000-word report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media could represent a sort of conquest of his own childhood. The boy who decided in high school that he wasn't a good enough writer to be a reporter has spent the past two years producing the most exhaustive study of the mass media ever attempted in this country. The boy who used to paste newspaper mastheads in a scrapbook has cross-examined the media's mighty, lunched with the most powerful publishers in the country, shared the secrets of their balance-sheets.

Davey himself is candid about the wonder he feels at how far he has traveled. "When I sit back and reflect on the enormity of the thing," he says, "well . . . for me it's pretty

breath-taking."

The report itself, emanating as it does from what must be one of the country's least radical institutions, is rather breath-taking, too. It is a strongly reformist document—Joe Atkinson would have heartily approved of almost everything in it—and it says things about the mass media and their owners that can often be heard at Newspaper Guild meetings, but are seldom expressed by committees of Her Majesty's Senate.

The tone is tough but constructive. Some of the financial revelations are startling. Some of the recommendations are controversial, but they are argued carefully and fairly. Some media owners find it an infuriating document. Others applaud much of it. So, I suspect, will most of the working press. The report is so good that it may do a lot to expunge Keith Davey's persistent image as a Loser, an image I don't think he's ever deserved. It may even persuade a few people that the Senate of Canada can be a useful institution.

Now, after that fulsome review, I must admit my bias.

I spent three months last summer helping write that report. My role was a minor one—to help arrange the language, once all the research and thinking had been done.

I was around Ottawa long enough to acquire a large respect for the calibre of the committee's staff and its members, and for the man who ran the whole thing. On several occasions the staff was just *floundering* around, trying to convert some broad policy that the committee had arrived at into the kind of narrow, specific thing you can put on paper. Then Davey would lope in—sideburns, sharp suit, hulking football shoulders, black briefcase, always armed with a new piece of funny gossip—and simply *dissolve* the problem with a few amazing words. I saw this happen often enough to be persuaded that the man really does have a knack for extracting the essentials from a situation, then coming up with a policy in response to it.

This is either a tribute to our incompetence or Davey's incisiveness, but I prefer to think it's the latter. Call him a loser if you like, for he has lost several battles he should have won. But a light weight he's not.

I think it should also be recorded that Keith Davey would make a really superb football coach. It's no secret that some royal commissions and Senate committees are wracked, almost to the point of paralysis, with inter-office bickering. But the media committee was a genuinely *together* group, and this is all Davey's doing. For the committee members, he arranged for a week of briefings after every two weeks of hearings—with the result that, by the time the hearings ended, the committee's fifteen senators were close to a consensus on almost everything.

For the staff he threw parties. I have never attended so many birthday parties in my life. There must have been one every couple of weeks or so, complete with joke gifts (rubber ducks, framed portraits of Paul Mar-

tin and so on), joke speeches and a pep talk from Senator Davey. Hell, we even had committee *songs*. Ordinarily I tend to shrink from this sort of manufactured camaraderie. But Keith Davey somehow made it genuine. We'd all go away from those bashes re-enthused about the job we were doing. It makes me cringe to put it this way, but there really was a team spirit around the committee offices, and I give Keith Davey full marks for creating it.

In fact, this genius for mobilizing people to get a job done is one of Davey's strongest assets, and it has been a constant thread in his career. In high school, he says, "I played every sport—badly. So, when I discovered I wasn't a real athlete, I started doing the publicity for the teams."

At Victoria College in the late 1940s, he was the campus number one booster—president of Victoria's student union in his final year and a tireless organizer of pep rallies. (To publicize one rally, he arranged for a plane to drop leaflets on campus—and very nearly wiped out an elderly pedestrian on Spadina Avenue when the leaflets, instead of fluttering down in a paper blizzard, came hurtling down in a single bundle.) By criticizing their "brutish" behavior at football games, he also managed to displease the university's engineering students, who paid him a rare tribute: at one of the engineers' beer busts, the ornamental centrepiece was a real flushing toilet, with Keith Davey's smiling face pasted at the bottom of the bowl.

Being Keith Davey, he also gravitated naturally towards campus politics. Being part of Joe Atkinson's "family," he naturally became a Liberal. Some of his colleagues in the campus Liberal club later assumed important positions in the party: Paul Hellyer, Judy LaMarsh and Phil Givens were all classmates and political allies.

One of his finest *coups* from this period, he says, was to pack a Tory meeting with Liberal students, and pass a resolution deleting the word "progressive" from the party's name. When he graduated, he was awarded Victoria College's "Senior Stick," an award given to the year's outstanding graduate. "But when my marks came out, I had to give the stick back—my grades weren't high enough. It was the only year anybody could remember that they had to have a by-election for the Senior Stick."

By this time, a pattern had emerged. Davey had become preoccupied with the techniques of political organization, but frankly uninterested in its content.

After flunking out of first-year law and briefly selling space for a suburban Toronto weekly newspaper, Davey settled down to ten hard-working years of exercising his pep rally talents on behalf of (a) Foster Hewitt's radio station and (b) the Liberal Party. He was spectacularly successful at both.

As sales manager of CKFH, he helped bring the station from approximately nowhere to the status of a very decent little money-maker. Starting after the spectacular Diefenbaker triumphs of 1957 and 1958, he did the same for the Liberal Party in Ontario.

Working with "Cell 13," a group of young Liberals which used to meet weekly at the King Edward Hotel, Davey and his friends simply decided to take over the party in Ontario—a feat which, at the time, was roughly equivalent to capturing a corpse. They started by bumping the Old Guard from several key committees and then, riding by riding, started rebuilding.

Cell 13's slogan was "Work or Resign"—a challenge to Ontario's riding presidents to either get off their butts and rebuild their organizations, or make way for someone who would. Signs of revitalization came quickly; in 1960, Davey got 600 Liberals together in a hotel to watch the Kennedy-Nixon election results on TV; and on Mackenzie King's birthday they threw a Liberal bash on a chartered Toronto Island ferry that was successful enough to almost sink the boat. By 1961, the party's membership in Toronto had gone from 3,000 to 10,000.

When Lester Pearson was looking for a new national director of the federal Liberal Party, Davey was the obvious choice. He resigned from CKFH, moved to Ottawa and, in two years—with a little help from John Diefenbaker—had become instrumental in helping Lester Pearson's Liberals to form a minority government.

Then, in fairly quick succession, came the string of misfortunes that contributed to Davey's ill-deserved loser image. Along with Walter Gordon, he advised calling the 1965 election, the one in which the Liberals failed to win a majority. (Was this dumb advice? Not necessarily. The polls said the party's popularity was declining; the Liberals may have failed to win a majority in 1965, but if they'd waited until 1966, the polls indicated they might have lost.)

Davey resigned—though Pearson wanted him to remain—and went to the Senate at the age of 39, one of the youngest senators ever appointed. Immediately, he started looking for ways to be useful. "I'm the kind of guy," he says, "who believes that every aspect of everything can be improved. If that's your wicket, it means you're a Liberal." And so, with that slightly gee-whiz reformist urge, he set about trying to improve the Senate.

At first he thought what the Senate needed was a public relations campaign. He even took

personal polls to find out what Canadians know and think about the Senate. He spent several months of Saturdays knocking on people's doors, interviewing them about their knowledge of the Senate and then, at the end, introducing himself as one of its members. "Usually they were stunned," he says.

Davey's reformist urge also contributed to another disaster: his firing, after 54 official days in office, as commissioner of the Canadian Football League. He'd spent six months on the job on a trial basis, and his appointment became official on 1 January, 1967. By this time, he had developed a plan for expanding, improving and, to some extent, democratizing the CFL. He'd even drafted a "Football Fan's Bill of Rights" which he wanted the team owners to approve.

"I think I could have kept that job," he says, "but I decided that if I was going to stick with it, it would have to be on the understanding that I was going to be a *real* commissioner, not just a tame senator." He decided to settle that point by making his reform plans the issue of a vote of confidence.

But when he ran this up the flagpole at a CFL meeting in February, only one team owner saluted; the notion that the people who pay to see the games ought to have some say in how the game is run was simply too heretical for the majority to accept. Davey walked out of that meeting without a job. But he was his own man.

By this time, a new pattern had emerged. The man who'd mastered the techniques of political organization started thinking instead about political issues. The Senate really does give a man time to think; Davey started thinking about where the country was going, and where it should go.

This helps explain Davey's rationale for proposing formation of the Mass Media Committee. Even so noble and perfect an institution as the press is capable of improvement. Davey, with his lifelong interest in the media, wanted to hurry the process along. As a side-effect, it would also enhance the Senate's sleepy reputation.

"The Senate," he says, "is the most underrated institution in the body politic. Of course, it could be improved dramatically. But even the unreformed Senate is much better than its critics realize.

"I bet you didn't know, for instance, that the Senate initiates a lot of legislation. It's true—maybe 40 per cent of the legislation in an average parliamentary session originates in the Senate. It's usually not controversial. It's housekeeping legislation. But it all takes time and talent, and the Senate provides a lot of it.

"Now look: I didn't propose the Media Committee as a PR ploy for the Senate. But I'd be a fool not to know that it's going to help the Senate's image.

"Our report isn't exactly a polite document. A lot of publishers have gotten their backs up, because we say they're making big profits and not giving back enough to the public in the form of good newspapers. That may not be a very tactful thing to say, but it happens to be true."

Davey may be understating the case. Politicians who risk offending publishers are not usually smart politicians.

But Keith Davey is playing a different game now. After a lifetime of learning how to win—and winning a lot oftener than people give him credit for—he seems to have developed a new orientation.

Hardly anyone noticed this, but it is a matter of record: when the Senate voted on the Public Order (Temporary Measures) Act, the Tories voted against the section of the bill that makes membership in or support of the FLQ *retroactively* a crime, thus violating a principle of British justice that took several centuries to establish. Three Liberal senators, to Paul Martin's great displeasure, voted with the Tories against this clause. One of them was Davey.

Keith Davey still wants to win. But even more than that, he now wants to be fighting on the right side.

Alexander Ross, of the *Financial Post*, helped write the report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media. He did so while on a three-month leave of absence from the *Post*. Deeming it not expedient to prepare a "memoir" of the task for *Content*, he suggested we publish this *Post* feature, which appeared three days after Keith Davey tabled the report.

IT ALL DEPENDS ON WHAT'S SAID OF YOU

THE UNCERTAIN MIRROR

by DOUG COLLINS

Editors waited for the Davey report on the mass media the way Dad waits for a baby. Would it be a monster or would it have ten fingers and ten toes?

Judging by the reaction of the majority, the babe was presentable even if it wasn't perfect. But for a minority, their worst nightmares assumed living flesh and bone. Everywhere (with the exception of TV, of which more later), coverage was massive.

The loudest cries of pain, naturally, came from the press of the Maritimes, and if the report has done nothing else it has made those paragons of the bland take full notice of themselves. Even so, some of them still couldn't play it quite straight. The *Halifax Chronicle-Herald's* line story, for example, wasn't on any main feature of the report at all, but on what a man who had been on

the committee six months ago said about it. "Sees Dictatorial Davey Motivation", read the headline. "Attack Unfair, Extreme."

There followed a statement by Senator Orville Phillips (Prince Edward Island) about wicked Keith and his co-plotters, and a front page editorial described the report as being full of "cheap, offensive rhetoric and Madison Avenue jargon". There was also a front-page picture of a senator holding up Volume One of the document. At first I thought Davey had suddenly become old and haggard under the barrage of Maritimes criticism. But it turned out to be a bloke called John M. Macdonald (PC, Nova Scotia), and the caption informed the world that this fine chap had just quit the committee in protest against all the dirty work that had been going on. (He'd left it a bit late, though,

since he quit on Tuesday night and the report came down on Wednesday.)

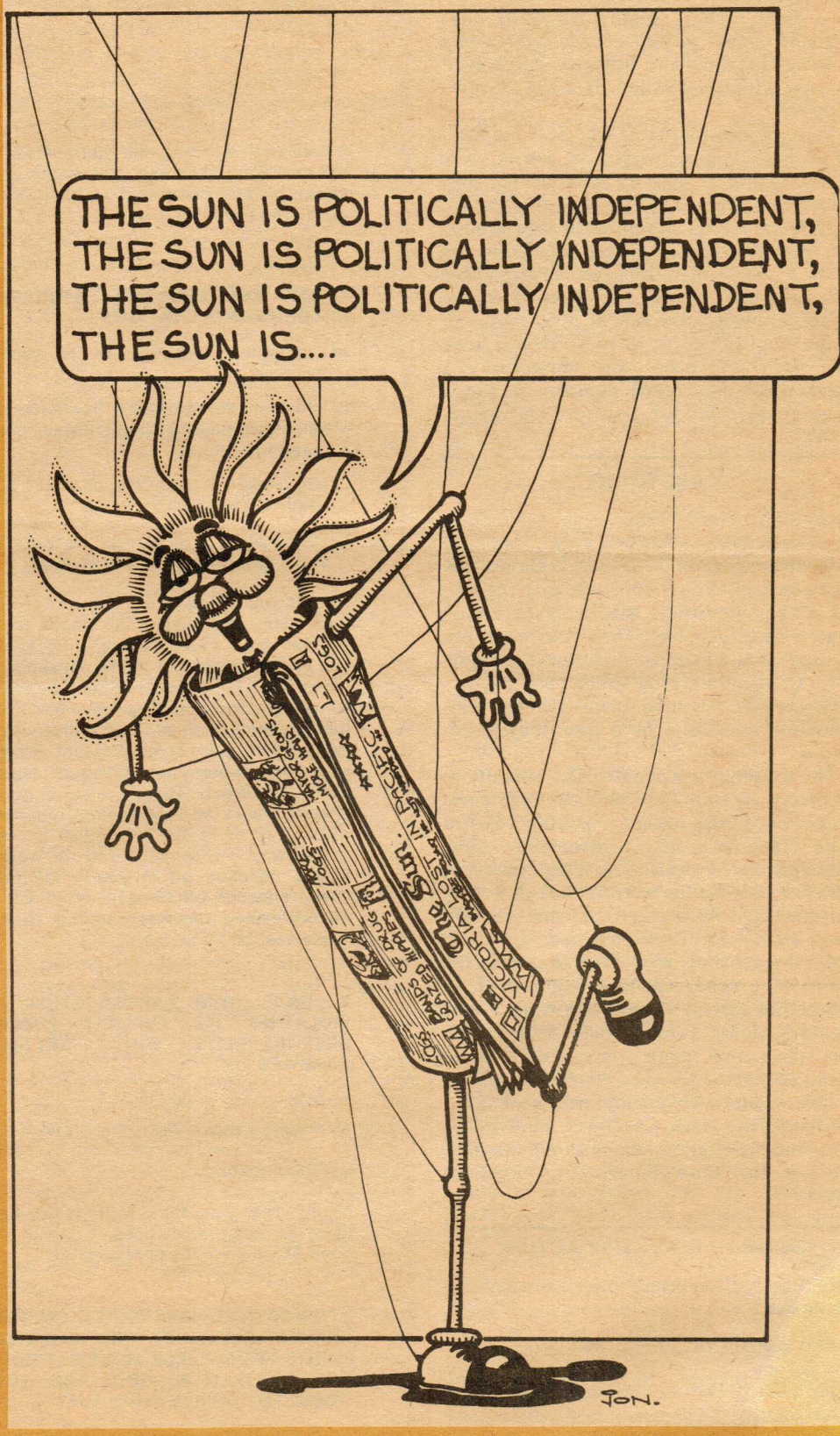
What with one thing and another, then, faithful reader had to get to Page 3 to find out what all the fuss was about. There he could discover that the Halifax papers were guilty of "uncaring, lazy journalism", and that Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were journalistic disaster areas. Still, the feast was on the table, even if the guests did have to reach for it a bit.

But the paper returned to the joust again the next day with two more front-page attacks on Davey. In the first, a row of one-column cuts presented Davey, Spiro Agnew and Martha Mitchell, looking for all the world like three characters from the FBI's "most wanted" list. Directly below there was a three-column headline which read: "Mego-

Television's performance was abysmally bad. Neither network gave the report enough space, and with what space it gave, CBC did a worse job than CTV. One would expect more from the public network. But it didn't even have an interview with Davey (CTV did), and it compounded this omission with the gratuitous suggestion that there wasn't too much interest in the report since only twenty or so reporters turned up for the press conference. Obviously, somebody didn't know or care that the multitude arrived at 8 a.m. to get the report and remained locked up with it for six hours. Also, both networks played the Vancouver *Sun*-Charles Lynch game. CBC *had* to mention the great news that if it didn't exist it would have to be invented, and CTV *had* to mention that its nightly newscast was "credible"

down. There's a similar lack of enthusiasm on the West Coast (FP and Southam), but some Southam papers think the idea would be worth trying. The Edmonton *Journal* and the Ottawa *Citizen* do. Thomson papers are opposed, but presumably they would be in favor if there were any way to make money from press councils. And no, jolly Lord Roy, I *don't* think Davey was unfair to your mob.

A masthead is a masthead is a masthead. Unless, that is, one sees it through the eyes of Toronto cartoonist Jon McKee. In this third of a series of satirical sketches, he aims the pen at the Vancouver Sun.



REPORTER POWER MANUAL

ANONYMOUS

"Freedom of the press belongs only to those who own one"—A.J. Liebling, "The Press."

The sentiment of "Reporter Power" so prevalent today in newspapers and radio and television stations is about as significant as a minor revolt in the Alberta section of the Young Liberals.

Consider:

1) Most of it is found in a rising class of young intellectual reporters interested only in advancing their own influence and power, by using a loosely-new-leftish jargon of worker power;

2) A serious journalist who sees the futility of his effort at his present job is more likely to quit it and try to start his own publication with equally pissed-off friends;

3) Were a mass movement to grow around the "Reporter Power" slogan tomorrow and cause a wave of coronaries among those who currently control the press, we'd see about as much come out of it as came out of the record industry when everybody grew hair, wore love beads, and started singing peace. Like the record industry, it would prove to be colourful, but not very revolutionary.

CASE STUDY

Great stuff! You're going to get a bunch of people together in so-and-so's place and have long meetings and bellyache sessions that lead nowhere. You'll conclude that the reason it's going nowhere is because there's too large a range of views. Then you'll start not inviting certain people to your next meeting. Hope *Content* lasts longer than your group.

Organizing was tried at the *Toronto Star*. The effort proved to be a case-study in co-option.

The *Toronto Star* people tried valiantly to get everybody from Entertainment to Finance to the Police Desk to sign a "petition" (called "The Hack Manifesto") demanding some participation in decision-making meetings, representation on the editorial board, weekly staff-management conferences, and the right to see a story after it's been edited.

All the demands were granted and so the whole thing collapsed. Who wants to sit in a bunch of meetings discussing what stories should be done? Even so there are some papers where such minor concessions as these would be regarded as very revolutionary.

That, somewhat oversimplified, is the short, sad life of the Hack Caucus at the *Toronto Star*. And they signed up almost half the staff, not just the Entertainment and Features freaks.

GUIDE TO EFFECTIVE ACTION

Let's face it, "Reporter Power" is meaningless unless:

You control the hiring and firing of reporters...
you control the assigning of reporters...
you control the choice of desk editors, city editors and managing editors.

This brings us to those of you who picked 3A in the questionnaire; taking over the paper as a tactic. It's obvious you'll never get the three above conditions unless they're granted to you or you're prepared to have a permanent armed guard stationed around the building after you capture it (groovy trip, but the enemy can cut off the newsprint supply). Should you win such conditions from your

publisher, you'd better start worrying, and so should the friends around you. You would have to be a bunch of creeps.

So if the 3A birds will step out of the picture and wait for the Revolution, we can discuss those moderates who believe they have a chance of getting half the cake.

It's possible, but not as a small bunch of sensitive, young freaks.

A TEST FOR REPORTER POWER ADVOCATES

If you are manning the barricades in aid of the *nouvelle vague* of journalistic style, please complete the following questionnaire.

1. WHY ARE YOU SHIT-DISTURBING IN YOUR PAPER/STATION?

- A) To better the quality of the paper/station
- B) Because the reporter is treated as an object, with no rights, and always frustrated in his work
- C) Because the paper/station is not honestly covering all the news
- D) Because it is a journalist's duty to strive for professional excellence

(OK. If you checked off A you're a liar or a poor, misguided fool—that's what you tell your publisher when he hauls you on the carpet, but you're not supposed to start believing your own bullshit. If you checked off B people are probably getting sick of your bellyaching. You should join some Student Power movement, where your problems might seem important. There's also a good chance you're an incompetent reporter, at best, or can't see a problem except in the way it discomfits you, at worst. If you checked off D you're kidding. If you checked off C—quickly, check it off now—then you may continue to the next question.)

2. SINCE YOUR PAPER/STATION IS VIOLATING ITS IMPLICIT PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY, WHO'S GETTING SCREWED?

- A) You
- B) T*H*E*P*R*O*F*E*S*S*I*O*N*
- C) The public

(Right. That was easy. Nothing seedier than an actor who doesn't know his lines. Move on to the next question.)

3. SINCE YOU HAVE TAKEN ON THE HEAVY MANTLE OF SAVING THE NAKED PUBLIC FROM THESE MONEY-GRUBBING CAPITALISTS, HOW ARE YOU GOING TO ACHIEVE YOUR AIM?

- A) By taking over the paper
- B) By getting a say in the decision-making process
- C) By letting your voice be heard on crucial points and thus hoping to influence the course of the paper
- D) By quitting

(If you answered A we'll get to you later—you've got plenty of time on your hands anyway. If you answered B continue reading but you won't like this article any more than you like it so far. If you answered C join the Liberal Party or have lunch with your managing editor—you'll get far. If you answered D you're either extremely modest or fairly sane—we'll get to you a little later too.)

A word to those of you who answered B. A quick survey of your legion would probably show most of you fall into the first category mentioned at the beginning of this article. Please look it up again. A deeper study would undoubtedly establish many of the following characteristics:

- You like to spend your evenings talking to separatists, drinking with Black Panthers, or reading "The Unjust Society";
- you're disliked by most of the staff—MOST, we said, that includes Finance and Sports;
- you are usually found brooding on the twenty-second take of a page-seven think piece on Latin American Liberation movements, Biafra, René Lévesque, or some nationalistic diatribe;
- you find it hard to write anything under 3,000 words;
- you don't like the police desk;
- half your friends are in the entertainment department;
- you couldn't interview a cop off the record to save your life;
- you have long talks with your managing editor, city editor, or news editor, and he likes you;
- you think most of the general news staff is "fascist" and they think you're a commie (in some papers, "maoist" is taking on greater currency);
- you went to university or (godhelpus) journalism school;
- if all of these characteristics fit, you work for the CBC.

First of all, you have the same problem as any union—sign up the majority of the shop. But sign them up into what? A Reporter Power Club? You have to organize into a valid body.

The only open avenue is a union. In most cases only the Guild is open to you. In Montreal you have the CNTU.

Unquestionably, you must have bargaining rights. The only difference from the classic union-management negotiations which are common in the media industry today is that your contract demands are not just bread and butter issues, but include editorial issues. For example, you would not only ask for a fifty cent-an-hour wage hike, but also a staff veto over, say, the choice of the next managing editor. Over a few contracts, you might be able to work yourselves into a position of

having a staff veto over all appointments. But look around your staff and think: If you had a vote tomorrow, wouldn't seventy per cent of the people holding the jobs now be voted in by the staff?

If you're young, have no kids and are good, it's a lot more significant to start a weekly tabloid in Sudbury to give Thompson's Sudbury *Star* a run for its money, rather than to try to join its staff to play reformer. Money's a squeeze, but the *4th Estate* had no sugar daddies, neither did the *Mysterious East*, nor the *Last Post* which costs over \$2,000 an issue just to print. A group of reporters in Toronto has started a good-looking community paper—reporters still employed at the papers and radio stations, and doing it on the sly in off hours. So if you have to hang onto your job, you can still do something.

If the limited circulation of these publications doesn't appeal to you, consider this: One article written about the politics of the Noranda Mines Co., in Quebec, was reprinted fourteen times in student, union, and small papers within the period of a month, adding up to a circulation of 200,000.

With the growth of small regional opposition papers, we are coming close to a situation where national-interest articles can get regular circulation of well over 100,000. An effective network of serious regional counter-papers (not Age of Aquarius bullshit rags) should emerge within the next two years. This possibility is a hundred times more significant and exciting than mini-reform movements in the city rooms of the big dailies.

The writer prefers to remain anonymous. Overly-sensitive? Perhaps. He likes to eat.

THIS IS RADIO FREE WINDSOR (FORMERLY THE WINDSOR STAR)

by BRIAN VALLEE

When a sit-in strike by pressmen, typographers and stereotypers hit the Windsor *Star* in early December, the non-union editorial staff had no idea it would continue to disseminate the news—over television and radio.

The strike started Dec. 2, when the day-shift refused to leave the building at the end of the day. The employees, about 95 in all, were members of Local 553 typographers, Local 274 pressmen, and Local 9 stereotypers. The day-shift had reported for work as usual at 7 a.m. but they did not work and then refused to leave the building.

The three unions involved have a total membership of about 175 at the *Star*. There are about 220 non-union employees. Members of the editorial staff, and other non-union employees, had been concerned that a picket line might go up. They feared that if they crossed the picket line—which they would have had to do if they wanted to get paid—it might strain relationships between union and non-union employees. The union felt the same way and decided on the sit-in tactic, instead of a picket line.

Star reporters reported for work as usual and during the first two days of the strike they were instructed to cover their beats as they would under normal circumstances. All stories were turned into the city desk, then edited as usual, and subsequently kept on file in the library to retain continuity.

Although the reporters were kept busy, morale began to droop because they didn't get to see their final product in print—and that's what it's all about.

Meanwhile, management was confronted with several important matters. Among them, it had to decide whether or not to have the sit-in strikers removed by an injunction or to permit them to remain in the building. Publisher Mark Farrell decided to let the men remain in the building because he said he wanted it to be a civilized strike and did not want to see any violence.

Having made that decision, he permitted church services inside the building in the struck areas and he allowed the men to order food and have it brought in three times daily. He also had the strikers' cheques delivered to them and they were permitted to sign and turn them over to their

dependents to be cashed.

Management apparently sensed an obligation to continue gathering and disseminating the news and Farrell ordered that inquiries be made with local radio stations to see if air-time was available for use by the *Star*.

CBE, the Windsor outlet for the CBC, was the first contacted but it said that time wasn't available and that it was against corporation policy to let anyone other than its own staff edit and deliver the news. Another Windsor radio station, CKWW, also was contacted but it had no "prime time" available.

The word got out that the *Star* was looking for air-time and, as a result, CHYR radio in Leamington, about 50 miles southeast of Windsor, called the *Star* and offered to sell a half-hour air time from 5:30 to 6 p.m. daily, except Sunday. The station's signal could be picked up with no trouble in Windsor so the *Star* agreed and "Radio Free Windsor" was born.

The first half-hour news and feature program was aired Friday, Dec. 4. The newscast was prepared by *Star* reporters and taped in the *Star*'s newsroom with typewriters crackling in the background. Although the participating reporters took a lot of ribbing from newsmen in the electronic media, that program and those to follow were well received.

On Dec. 9, with the sit-in strike a week old, a second 30-minute daily news and feature program was added at CHYR, from 9:30 to 10 a.m. Two days later, the *Star*'s district staff got into the act when management purchased a daily 15-minute telecast over the cable television system in Sarnia and 15 minutes on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays in Chatham.

These programs continued and, in addition, on Dec 16, when the strike was two weeks old, the *Star* sponsored its first live weekly "Canadian Affairs" telecast over WTVS, Channel 56 in Detroit, part of the U.S. National Educational Television network. The program was designed around a panel of *Star* editorial staff members that listened to reports from men on the beats and then discussed the subjects in some depth.

The live television program was the only

one produced during the strike, which ended two days later, but management liked the format and decided to continue the weekly Wednesday night production. The telecast still is going strong and is becoming more polished with experts in varied fields appearing as guests to give their opinions and join in the discussion. All the other radio and cable television programs ceased the day before the *Star* resumed publication Dec. 18.

Under terms of the agreement, printers, pressman, mailers and stereotypers will receive a \$12.50 weekly increase retroactive to March 1, 1970. On March 1 this year, they will get an additional \$14 a week. The final increase will be \$16.50, bringing weekly salaries to \$209.50 on March 1, 1972, up from \$166.50—a total of \$43.

The company originally offered a \$40-a-week increase in the three-year agreement, to bring the rate to \$206.50 by March 1, 1972. The union had asked \$228 a week for the groups.

The agreement was reached through intermediaries working between management and the union. The leader in the movement to bring about a settlement was former mayor Bill Riggs—a friend to both sides and a printer at the *Star* for 38 years before his retirement. Associated with Riggs was Bernard Wilson of Ottawa, assistant deputy minister of labor for Canada.

Negotiating was done through intermediaries because *Star* management took the position it would not negotiate with the unions as long as the sit-in strike was in progress and the unions refused to leave the building without an agreement. The agreement was ratified overwhelmingly by the unions.

Resumption of publication by the *Star* headed off plans for a new daily to be called the Windsor *Times*. It was sponsored by the same organization that put out the Detroit *Times* during the lengthy Detroit newspaper strike a couple of years ago.

Brian Vallee is a staff reporter with the Windsor *Star* and was a key participant in the news programming prepared during the paper's strike.

HOW TO LAUNCH A NATIONAL DAILY

FIRST, YOU NEED MONEY

by SARAH RIDDELL

Daily newspapers in the United States are alive and well and making money. This is the word which emerges from newspaper offices around the country and is confirmed as fact by a study published in December. Commissioned by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, the study, which was conducted by John Udell of the University of Wisconsin, analyses the economic trends of the industry with particular reference to circulation, employment, advertising, and newsprint. It reports a positive growth of the newspaper industry.

Some years ago, publishers were concerned that newspapers might become obsolete under the competitive threat of television. Now those fears appear to be groundless because television, radio, and magazines have not replaced newspapers as the most important medium for advertisers. The ANPA is already confidently predicting a bumper year in 1970 for the industry, in spite of the general recession which has seriously affected many other industries?

Last year, newspaper advertising revenues, which are largely responsible for the rising prosperity, were up to a record \$5.8 billion—an increase of more than 11 per cent over the previous year. Daily circulation was up 20 per cent to a record 62 million; 28 dailies

were born, while 11 dailies suspended operations; five were merged and four others changed to weeklies.

This represented a net gain of eight new newspapers. Today the industry ranks as the country's fifth-largest employer, and almost 80 per cent of the population (more than 98 million Americans) read at least one newspaper per day. These are the statistics reeled off by Stewart Macdonald, executive director of the ANPA, as an indication of the good times. "And", he says, "the future looks pretty rosy."

Although the total number of daily newspapers has scarcely altered since 1945 (the figure now stands at 1,761), there has been a considerable shift of emphasis. In the last decade, many metropolitan newspapers went out of business and distribution moved, along with the changing patterns of population, away from the cities to the larger suburban areas. Equally significant has been the trend of consolidation and monopolization of newspapers, thereby virtually eliminating competition among them. At the end of the Second World War there were 117 cities with two or more competing daily newspapers; today there are only 45. Moreover, in 22 of those cities, 44 dailies have pooled printing and business operations to

cut costs. This has been made possible by the Newspaper Preservation Act signed into law by President Nixon in July, which permits newspapers "in probably danger of financial failure" to fix prices, pool profits, and divide markets. This exemption from anti-trust laws directly benefits those large newspaper chains and groups such as Scripps-Howard, Newhouse, Gannett, Hearst, and John Knight, which already own quite a slice of the market.

The individual "quality" newspapers are also expanding in size and wealth. Since the demise of the New York *Heerald Tribune*, the New York *Times* has been piling up substantial profits (last year seven per cent of gross revenues) and circulation has risen to nearly 900,000. In October, the New York *Times* acquired three daily newspapers in Florida, a television station in Memphis, and several other properties from the ailing Cowles Communications Inc. The company already owns, among other things, a news service, radio stations, a printing company, and a book publishing venture.

The Washington *Post* is owned by Katherine Graham, who also owns *Newsweek* magazine, radio and television stations, and a part both of a wire service and the *International Herald Tribune*. The *Post* is steadily



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expanding its advertising and its circulation of 500,000 is more than 60 per cent higher than that of its main competitor, the evening Washington *Star*. The Times Mirror Company, which owns the second-largest newspaper in the U.S., the Los Angeles *Times*, with a circulation of nearly one million, recently added to its empire a 51 per cent controlling interest in *Newsday*, the country's largest suburban daily. The *Wall Street Journal*—circulation nearly half a million—perhaps the fastest growing paper of them all, is published by the Dow Jones Company which earlier this year took over Ottoway Inc. and its nine Eastern dailies. It also publishes the weekly *National Observer* on the idle weekend presses of the *Journal*.

What is good for corporate profits is not, however, necessarily good for the country as a whole. While the newspaper industry may be riding high, this is not being reflected in the service to the newspaper reader. The spread of newspapers across the country is still far from satisfactory. Apart from the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Christian Science Monitor* which are available in many parts of the U.S., there are no truly national newspapers. Of the 1,761 dailies, 1,400 are evening newspapers. Many people live in towns or cities without a morning newspaper and are consequently dependent on an often indifferent afternoon paper. Moreover, lack of competition may have had a tonic effect on newspaper profits, but it tends to stifle the very qualities which are fundamental to good journalism.

Instead of diverse and enterprising voices, there is a monotonous uniformity across the land. Most papers subscribe to the same wire services for national and international news; the same tired faces appear at the top of the same tired columns syndicated from coast to coast. Newspapers are often unadventurous and over-cautious. The selection of news and the decision of what to publish is placed in an ever-diminishing number of hands. This not only makes for dull newspapers but also undermines the traditional position of the press in a free society.

For these reasons, the announcement of a new national daily newspaper, to be called the *Morning News* and planned for publication in October 1971, was an encouraging and welcome event. Behind the ambitious plan, which embraces several revolutionary concepts of the news and how it is communicated, are two young men, Walter Pincus, 37, formerly of the Washington *Post* and currently working for Senator J.W. Fulbright on the Senate sub-committee of commitments abroad, and Dun Gifford, 32, a partner in a Boston investment corporation.

The idea for the paper was conceived in Fort Collins, Colorado, while Pincus was travelling the campaign trail of the 1968 presidential elections. There he found himself in a town which had rapidly grown from 25,000 to 42,000 people, mainly due to the local State University, in which it was quite impossible for him to buy a morning newspaper of any description and the evening paper was a poor substitute for news.

Pincus believes that there are many such university-based towns in the U.S. which are crying out for an intelligent, informed and high-grade morning newspaper. A study conducted by a market research firm has illuminated eighteen such areas where the need exists. The *Morning News* will be printed by offset processes in Washington and transmitted by facsimile to four or five other chosen cities by the end of the first year. Ann Arbor, Michigan will probably

be first on the list. Negotiations are under way with the proprietors of evening newspapers in those areas for the use of their presses and distribution systems which now only work at 50 per cent capacity.

The idea is not unlike the relationship between the television networks and their local stations. The host newspaper shares in the profits and pays a royalty to the Washington-based paper. Gifford, who is in charge of the money-raising operation, claims to have found more than \$3.5 million in prospective backing from "investment bankers and venture capital." By strictly limiting production costs and the size of the paper to 16 pages, he hopes to make this an attractive money-making venture. The paper will cost 15 cents and it is thought that initial circulation in Washington will be 30,000 to 50,000.

Pincus believes that newspapers in the

United States have fallen into a "technological impasse." The measure of financial success is increased ad-lines, and as the newspaper becomes fatter and fatter with advertisements, most people find less and less time to read them. In contrast to the average ratio of advertisements to editorial content (sometimes as high as 80 to 20), the *Morning News* will be more balanced at 60 to 40. It will carry no local advertisements so as not to compete with the local newspapers, but will rely on being able to offer highly visible space for national advertising. Although national advertising has decreased in the last couple of years, Pincus believes that the reason for this is that advertisers cannot be sure that their copy is not going to be buried in an over-size newspaper. And since this is to be a "quality" newspaper, the stress will likewise be on "quality" advertisements.

The Molson
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for words.

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SEVEN YEARS OF TERRORISM

THE FLQ

The Story of a Canadian Revolution
A special report by

The Montreal Star

Published in cooperation with
Simon & Schuster of Canada Limited

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The most attractive features of the new paper are the opportunities it provides for journalists. "The performance of the press is so bad because of the system which is practised", says Pincus. Journalists are trapped in the system of reporting what is going on regardless of whether it has any intrinsic significance. If a high-level press conference is called, journalists are under pressure from their newspapers to attend and report it. In Pincus' opinion, the press is being used and exploited by those who are in a position to command attention.

The *Morning News* will have sixteen national writers, who will have the chance to become experts in their fields. Assuming the primary source of spot news to be radio and television, national and international affairs will be handled in a style close to the European idea of personal journalism. Emphasis will be given to in-depth analysis by journalists who thoroughly know their subjects. There will be no editorials and no syndicated columnists. Two-thirds of the paper will be national and international news; the remaining third will consist of back-of-the-book reportage. There will be reciprocal arrangements with European newspapers not attached to wire services for reprinting articles. Pincus' high esteem for *Le Monde* suggests that he will lean heavily in its direction.

The influence of *Le Monde* is also explicit in the plan to allow 35 per cent of the stock to be held by all employers as a society of journalists. They will receive income from the stock but cannot sell it. The voting power

will be exercised as a single bloc. The remaining 65 per cent of the stock will be in the hands of the original incorporators and the staff, with some held in reserve in the company. Thus, journalists will own a piece of the corporation in their own names which will give them a voice in the operations of the paper.

The appeal of a new paper, the chance to use the expertise which they possess and to influence the direction of a paper, is expected to draw many dissatisfied reporters, particularly from the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*.

The *Morning News* is a bold and ambitious project. There are those who cast doubts on its financial prospects in a time of tight money supply and large monopolies, but anyone who believes that competition and options are vital to the health of the newspaper industry is bound to wish it well.

Sarah Riddell, a free-lance journalist in Washington, D.C., contributes regularly to *Content*.

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THE WATERING HOLE

by PATRICK NAGLE

For reasons best known to itself, the management of the Winnipeg *Tribune* decided to install a Coke machine in the darkroom in the winter of 1955. Perhaps it was the wear and tear on the elevator that did it.

Originally, the machine had been installed in the composing room, two floors above. But the demand was such, at the darkroom level, that, presumably, the company accountants figured to save a thousand dollars a year in Winnipeg Hydro bills.

Whatever the explanation, it was certainly easy to get a Coca Cola in the darkroom that winter. If the management of the *Trib* thought it unusual that one photographer and one technician could drink a case a night, they never expressed any concern to the Canadian Diabetic Association.

It is a long-standing fantasy of mine, stemming from that winter of 1955, that management does not drink. As a practising city editor today (quondam management), I say emphatically it is nothing *but* a fantasy. Really, a Coke machine in the darkroom was—and is—too good to be true.

Rum was the name of the game. Any number could play. And we all did. As an aspiring reporter, photographer, sports writer or

even copy boy, I remember this as the Periclean era. Winnipeg was Athens and the *Trib* building was its Parthenon.

Was there ever a more fatal goddess of love than Ann Henry? As *Tribune* film and drama critic of the time, she usually worked nights. She would come down for a Coke and stay until she sang "Frankie and Johnny Were Lovers," a song that still inspires me far more than it should.

Ann is a great lady now. Author and mother of famous people. I just hope she remembers the space rate speed-skating correspondent and one-shot freelance photographer she used to drink with the year they moved the Coke machine into the darkroom.

There was little else, besides Ann, to make the *Tribune* darkroom memorable as a stylish watering hole. Some of us got sick. Some of us passed out in the combined board and lunch room across the hall. All of us talked at once. And none of us listened, except when Ann was singing.

Lest readers of *Content* think this is a plug for Annie's book *Laugh, Baby, Laugh* (McClelland and Stewart \$6.95), it is not. This is all about drinking.

That is why it is completely irrelevant to

bring up the recent appointment of William Grogan as a special assistant to Opposition Leader Robert Stanfield.

Grogan could be found at the Coke machine, often enough. But his trip in those days—besides rum—was physics. One night, using his physics, darkroom rum and a borrowed Manitoba department of highways surveyor's transit, he calculated the weight of the Golden Boy's bronze scrotum, penis and testicles. Twenty-three pounds as I recall.

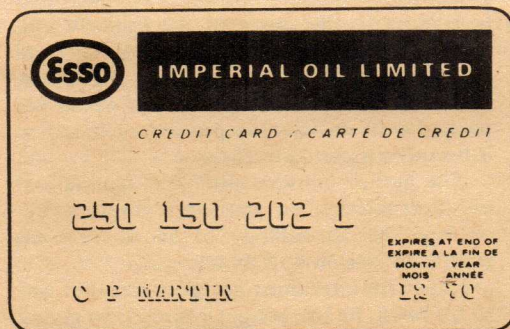
This information was transmitted over the British United Press wire to Halifax where it was received by a puzzled Harrill Bjornson, a former darkroom habitue. Shortly after this scientific razzle-dazzle, Grogan opted out of physics and into media, as a direct result I am sure of brushing up against so many compulsive communicators in the *Tribune's* version of the coal hole.

That compulsive drive to say something had a lot of rum in it. But so many communicators persevered, even after the darkroom was rebuilt and the Coke machine restored to a place of order in the composing room. That's why it's a pleasure to seek out Clell Bryant in the communications jungle of Rockefeller Center or Ian Adams in the even more dangerous communications jungle of the Four Seasons in Toronto. We can always say, "let's find a dark corner and a drink. Then we can talk."

Oh, and Mr. Piano Player, a little Frankie and Johnny music, please.

Patrick Nagle, as furtively noted in the above story, is city editor of the Vancouver *Sun*.

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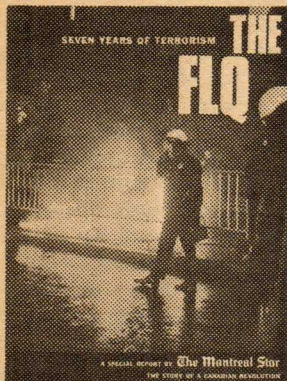
INSTANT PUBLISHING: MAKING THE MOST OF A SITUATION?

by JEAN-V. DUFRESNE

THE FLQ: SEVEN YEARS OF TERRORISM.

by James Stewart.

Published by *The Montreal Star* in
co-operation with Simon & Schuster
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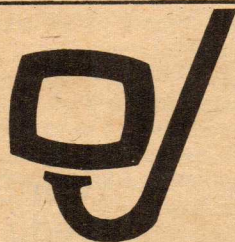
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SMALL HOPE BAY LODGE

Andros Island, Bahamas

In a foreword to James Stewart's book (*The FLQ—Seven Years of Terrorism*), *Montreal Star* Editor-in-Chief Frank B. Walker writes: "This is a book about the politics of impatience. It is essentially a story of a group of men and women who could not wait upon events".

When I was asked to review this fine chronology of the most recent Quebec crisis (there will be others), I did not expect its author to deal with any of the ideological content of events these past months.

The book, 86 pages from cover to cover, is a one-man job, accomplished in a little less than a month, printing time included, with the help of the wonderful people in the *Star's* archives. There was little time left for historical considerations other than those closely related in time and immediate significance to the James Cross kidnapping and the murder of Pierre Laporte.

James Stewart (I had the pleasure of working with him on a few stories) is one of the finest newsmen in the country, and there is something about him—a rare quality indeed—a certain *réserve* which prohibits pompous judgments, knowing the readers are capable enough of doing just that.

In a story, he interferes as little as possible, and yet one can recognize a Stewart story: it is always well written. This book is what *C.P.* would call clear, crisp and concise.

For those who followed the crisis from Monday, October 5 "just before 8:30 A.M. . . ." until the book went to bed less than a month later (last recorded event is November 6, when Bernard Lortie was arrested, eventually leading to the arrest of the Laporte kidnapers), reading Stewart's account of it all makes one realize how relative is the notion of time. If just so many days or weeks are packed with sufficient important events, then it becomes a period of history.

The author conveys that very feeling and his short story of a Canadian revolution preceding the chronology of events reminds us that 1837 is not all that long ago.

James Stewart does not go back that far. In his book, he has assigned himself to giving an explanation of the FLQ, its origins, its aims, and of the hopes, frustrations and despair of that "group of men and women who could not wait upon events".

Which brings me back to Frank Walker's foreword with which I would like to quarrel, if only because he was my boss not so long ago when I worked for the *Star*, and it always is delectable to be able to tell one's old boss that he has not expressed his thoughts very carefully.

Indeed, the "politics of impatience" to which Mr. Walker refers in his foreword seem to imply that if French-Canadians are patient enough, what they seek they will eventually obtain.

This certainly has not been the experience in Quebec since General Wolfe, nor has it been in any country of the world in a state of political domination.

Quite on the contrary, the FLQ explosion

is the direct result of a policy of "patience", not impatience, which was administered to French-Canadians under the guise of an admirable virtue after having been tested in many other dominions of the British Empire of the French colonies as a distinctively efficient historical sleeping-pill.

The FLQ is the beginning of the end of that patience. Am I seditious?

Mr. Walker also writes of a group of men and women as if the alleged terrorists were not part and parcel of the people of Quebec, or as if the FLQ manifestation since 1963 could be dissociated from our history as a whole.

I do not question his intentions, but chief editors have a way of writing forewords which lead to various interpretations. As is my sacred right as a reader, I choose the one I please.

Enfin, Mr. Walker writes that they "could not wait upon events". What events? That Quebec some day will become naturally independent, without let or hindrance, without the military intervention of the Nova Scotia Lancers?

I will not probe Mr. Walker further nor question James Stewart's careful objectivity. After all, this book does not pretend to dwell much beyond hard facts (a hard fact is a fact that leaves no room for interpretation, thus no room for error. The English in Quebec are a hard fact).

To sum up, I could not find a better way to review this book—too glossy for my own taste, as this is an "instant-book", and should not have been given the sophisticated treatment of a souvenir book—than to say that once I read it, I threw into the dustbin all my copies of newspapers dealing with the crisis.

There is something sinister in adding that this will make a handy reference book for future usage. One would prefer this book already had outlived its use, since it deals with tragedy. However, since Canada has chosen to come of age, even rather late, in the history of nations, James Stewart's book should be in the files of any serious reporter.

As for the rest, it is still unwritten, and may be yet for awhile. Perhaps it is preferable to wait until after Confederation has stopped breathing. They call it a post mortem. Perhaps Mr. Trudeau will write that chapter. He has a fine pen, they say.

Jean-V. Dufresne, now attached to Radio-Canada's Present program, has been on the editorial staffs of such publications as Le Magasin Maclean and the Montreal Star.

(Editor's note: Several books and brochures dealing with political events in Quebec and Canada appeared on stands toward the end of 1970. Time did not permit us to arrange for reviews for this December-January issue of Content. Hopefully, we will include comment in the February issue.)

LETTERS

WHO WAS THERE?

I was very interested to read all of your excellent second issue, but particularly in Boyce Richardson's article on the alleged misreporting by the British press of the battle of Grosvenor Square in London (Where did all the violence go?? Nov. 1970). I have not read the university study on the press coverage of the demonstration, but I did cover the actual demonstration as one of a team of *Daily Mail* reporters.

Where was Boyce Richardson?

He certainly wasn't with me, sheltering from a hail of flying pennies that threatened to take out an eye. Was he there when the policeman referred to, P.C. Rogers, was grabbed from behind by one bearded hooligan and kicked in the face by another? I'm a year out of date now, but the last I heard was that the policeman was still on sick leave, was having serious mental problems from the kick on the head, his marriage was in jeopardy and it was most unlikely he would ever be able to do any demanding sort of job.

Obviously, Boyce Richardson has read the university report and I haven't. But, believe me, no extra colour needed to be put into those newspaper reports. I know it all happened. I was there.

John South, Editor
Office Equipment & Methods,
Toronto

MIDNIGHT SKULKER

The only thing that can be said about working nights is it gives one a chance to steal reading material from cohorts' desks. During a midnight raid the other night, I stumbled upon number two of *Content*. Please add my name immediately to the mailing list. It's a great and greatly needed publication. Besides, the owner wants his copy back.

Wendy Darroch
Toronto *Daily Star*

RAP RIGHT BACK

I like it, I like it already. It is so beautiful to go through 12 pages and find only three ads ... good ones, too.

You have a good thing going here. But I must take issue with Guy Demarino of the *Edmonton Journal* who called for less about Spiro Agnew and more about Canadians in his letter in the second issue of *Content*.

Although Spiro is wholly un-Canadian, he is also as of late rapping the news media as part of a power play. I would very much like *Content* to review anyone who raps the press no matter which country he belongs to; if he is Canadian, so much the better.

John Lindsay
The *Western Star*
Corner Brook, Nfld.

ONE LESS SKEPTIC

A public relations and information director skeptical of Canadian journalism? That seems bass-ackward, if not mildly ironic, in a day when one journalistic style seems to be to live off releases and at the same time preach skepticism of those who produce them, mainly on demand. But it does explain

why this letter wasn't written immediately after receiving my first issue of *Content*.

It took No. 2 to completely break down my skepticism which could have been left over, at that, from 32 years in newspapers. However, my skepticism, she is broke, and enclosed is a cheque for \$5 for my 1971 subscription. The Eric Wells "Conversation," alone, was worth it and perhaps it will allow you to pass on one more courtesy subscription to a practising journalist. I have a list of good fellows who could stand it, if they'll just let it slip up on them.

H.L. Pawson
Public Relations Director
City of Edmonton

NO INCRIMINATION

While I consider the general content of your second issue to be informative, interesting and of a high calibre, I should appreciate your help in clearing up one small misunderstanding.

In the article headed, "Is this a waffling politician?", you say that relations between some members of the Quebec Press Gallery and government officials were very strained. And you attribute this partly to "a communiqué issued by certain members of the gallery who happened to be visiting France at the time... [which]... backed the FLQ manifesto and contained a strong implication that they considered it proper to use any means whatsoever to gain FLQ ends."

Apart from the fact that your version could get all of us arrested, I must tell you this is not true.

We issued no communiqué. On the day that the War Measures Act was invoked, a journalist from *Le Figaro* asked our group (ten members of the Quebec Press Gallery on an exchange program) to react into a tape-recorder. Nine of us recorded our immediate (and, in retrospect, over-dramatic) reactions for about 90 minutes, and the reporter transcribed part of it in an article headed "Document: neuf journalistes canadiens font le point pour *Le Figaro*."

As representatives of Quebec without the restrictions imposed on civil servants, we supplied historical background to Quebec's crisis, analysed social conditions, and discussed the possibility of the Canadian Confederation remaining unchanged after the crisis.

What happened later was that some news agency condensed the *Le Figaro* interview and sent a rather garbled version out to the world. *Montreal-Matin* printed seven paragraphs, enough to give one out-of-context quote to six of us.

The Quebec government launched an investigation, and three days later received a dispatch from *Agence France Presse* giving the entire text of the *Le Figaro* article. For those three days we were highly suspect, but apparently the AFP dispatch convinced the Quebec government that we had not overstepped boundaries of ethics, patriotism, etc.

I can't speak for the other journalists; but I for one would hate to be on record as supporting FLQ tactics.

Susan Altschul
Montreal *Star*

Our apologies for any embarrassment caused. We don't intend to perpetrate incomplete information. Ed.

MORE ON EXPERIENCES

I deeply appreciated the remarks of journalists from outside Quebec who covered the kidnappings. Of particular interest to me was a comment by photographer Bob Olson of the *Toronto Star*: "I'm probably over-exag-

gerating, but there was a fear in asking a normal question because there were so many non-newsmen present." (*Content*, Nov. 1970).

I would like to see more articles about the working experiences of Canadian journalists. I'm sure we all have some feelings and observations of this sort on certain assignments. How we handle them individually should be of collective benefit if shared with a wider audience.

There seem to be certain kinds of news which our presence assists in developing. Some wise observations from senior journalists would be of great value to those of us who are young and sensitive.

Keep the good work going. I enjoy *Content* very much.

Noel Buchanan
Red Deer *Advocate*

US? UNCLE TOMS?

Your second issue is acceptable, though you do get close to the ivory tower league with some of the stuff on the Quebec affair.

S'funny, you people hit the streets with a couple of issues, then you are right against it with Keith Davey's report of the special Senate committee inquiring into the operations of the mass media.

You know what? You will be judged on your handling and your interpretation of this report—and I am betting that you will come out Uncle Tomming for the establishment. Jeeze, I hope that I am wrong.

Kenneth E. Lyall
Editor and Publisher
Durham *Reporter*

So do we. Let's hear from you after this issue. Ed.

CLARIFICATION

Unless I expressed myself so badly as to say the reverse of what I believe, I did not, as stated in your November issue, tell a symposium in Montreal that "the responsibility of journalists is not more difficult or important in a time of crisis than at any other time".

That would be a very silly view: of course the responsibility is both more difficult and more important.

The point that I was trying to put across is that the normal standards of good journalism should continue to be applied as much in times of crisis as at any other time.

W.A. Wilson
Ottawa Bureau
Montreal *Star*

(The point is well taken. Ed.)

SPICE AND MIX

You are filling a yawning need in Canadian publications. To date, each issue has proved that just such an undertaking is possible, even desirable, when the subject matter is considered.

Now that the comparisons with *Nieman Reports* and the *Columbia Journalism Review* (highly complimentary, I might add) have been made, let's also hope that you will spice your material in *Content* with something along the lines of the more contentious issues handled by the *Chicago Journalism Review* and *Last Post*.

I might add that Montreal, not Toronto as stated by one of Canada's media gurus, Peter Gzowski, is where it appears to be "at" as far as Canadian journalism goes—both in English and French!

Hugh Nagle
Windsor *Star*

WHITHER FREEDOM

The International Press Institute, releasing its annual review in Zurich, described 1970 as a disappointing year for freedom of the press. The review, titled *Under Siege From All Quarters*, said the press in totalitarian countries had made no major gains and even faced new dangers in countries with a tradition of press liberty. The institute has 1,600 members from 62 countries.

"In the western world, where press freedom has traditionally been an institution, we are beginning to witness what may soon become an alarming evolution. Motivated by economic pressures, a gulf seems to be developing between publishers and their newsrooms. Faced by rapidly mounting production costs, the publishers are less and less disposed to adopt editorial policies which may put at risk either their readers or their advertisers."

Seen as a threat to press freedom is the trend toward concentration of ownership. At its worst, the report said, the dictating by one man at the top of the editorial policy of an entire publishing chain reduces editors to "rubber stamps."

But perhaps the greatest danger threatening the press is the growing credibility gap between public opinion and the industrialized world and almost all forms of public institutions. "Because the mass media is the pivot of all other public life, this general disenchantment often manifests itself towards the media." Should the disenchantment continue, the report warned, "the erosion of the foundations of the free world will begin."

MISCELLANY

Closing date for the 1970 Memorial Awards of the Canadian Women's Press Club has been advanced to March 15 from March 31. The names of winners will be announced at the CWPC's triennial meeting, scheduled for June 18-20 at the Royal York Hotel in Toronto. There are award categories for news story, feature, column and radio-television scripts. Further information can be obtained from the CWPC at Box 504, Station B, Ottawa 4, Ont.

York University sociologist Dr. Frederick Elkin has been named to head a review committee which will inquire into the relationship between mass media advertising and visible minority groups. The study has been organized by the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Dr. Elkin, who formerly taught at McGill University and the Université de Montréal, acquired practical experience with the media while on the research staff of the Motion Picture Association of America and while teaching in the cinema department at the University of Southern California. He is the author of *Child*

and *Society* and *The Family in Canada*. The committee will hear submissions from ethnic groups, entertainers, advertising and talent agencies and major sponsors.

Perhaps in anticipation of what Anne Francis and her Status of Women royal commission had to say about females in journalism, ever more press clubs in Canada have been abandoning their male-preserve attitude. The Winnipeg club changed its position, after 93 years, and now admits women to full membership, subject to the same qualifications covering male applicants. The Kitchener-Waterloo club dropped its 17-year men-only policy, deciding women employed in the news media are equals. The National Press Club in Ottawa did, too, after the matter was raised in the House of Commons. It's happening everywhere: the Canadian Women's Press Club is considering constitutional amendments which would admit men as members. The subject of sex discrimination and women's rights, incidentally, will be discussed at the annual convention of the American Newspaper Guild in July.

The National Film Board has become the world's first major film producer to sign contracts making its films available in cartridge

form in North America. It means that NFB works will be screened in color on television sets fitted with a special adaptor. The cartridges initially will be sold to schools, hospitals, public safety and law enforcement agencies, different levels of government, cable TV systems and to industry for training, educational and entertainment purposes. The first ones should be available almost anytime. Eventually, the cartridges will be available to the private citizen for under \$10 — but probably five years from now.

PEOPLE:

Deaths: William B. C. Burgoyne, 49, president and publisher of the St. Catharines *Standard*. He also was president of Niagara District Broadcasting Co. Ltd., which operates St. Catharines radio station CKTB. . . John R. Nesbitt, 52, president and publisher of the Dartmouth *Free Press*. . . Eric B. Gardner, 61, general manager of the Kitchener-Waterloo *Record*. . . Alex R. Cameron, 66, formerly of the Saskatoon *Star-Phoenix*.

Appointments: Stuart Underhill has been named assistant general manager of FP Publications Ltd., Winnipeg. He had held executive positions with Reuters, in Europe and the United States, and most recently was assistant publisher of the *Financial Times of Canada*. . . A husband wife team, Gunther and Marnie Smuda, have joined the editorial staff of the Kimberley, B.C. *Daily Bulletin*. He's a photographer, was one of nine official lensmen at Expo 67, and she reports. . . Helen Bahen is home fashions editor and Rodney Birrell is Quebec editor of Maclean-Hunter's *Home Goods Retailing*. It is the first time M-H has based a national editor in Montreal. . . Jim Robson, 27, left the Halifax *Chronicle-Herald* to become press secretary and executive assistant to the chairman of the Nova Scotia Power Commission. . . Renaude Lapointe, former editorial writer for *La Presse* in Montreal, is a Canadian government delegate of the United Nations Commission of Cultural, Social and Humanitarian Affairs during the UN's 25th session. . . Jean Freeman, former CBC commentator, is the new information officer of the Saskatchewan Arts Board.

Maclean's magazine, developing a reputation for internal troubles, has a new editor. Peter C. Newman resigned as editor-in-chief of the Toronto *Daily Star* January 13 to accept the position. Effective February 1, Newman's appointment was made to succeed Philip Sykes, who has been acting editor at Maclean's. Succeeding Newman, 41, at the *Star* is Robert Nielsen, chief editorial writer, who becomes acting editor-in-chief. Sykes was the fifth editor to quit or be fired at Maclean's in the last 30 months.

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