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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE
GRAPHIC SEMIOTIC EFFECTS IN SHORT IMAGES IN THE POLITICAL CARTOON

by Jonathan Rahn

Thesis presented to the Department of Linguistics of the University of Ottawa as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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INTRODUCTION

On any given day millions of people in Europe, America, and around the world leaf through a multitude of magazines, books, and newspapers which contain, sometimes exclusively, material that is both graphic and comic in nature. Over the past two decades there has been a revival of this popular art form and the popularity of graphic entertainment is reflected not only in the interest shown towards children's publications, such as *Les Aventures de Tintin*, and adult fantasy magazines, such as *Métal hurlant / Howling Metal*, but in annual conventions and congresses on science fiction and works of fantasy, such as *Maplecon* held at Carleton University, Ottawa, in July 1983. This revival has been accompanied in academic circles by a flurry of activity in semiotic studies on comic strips and comic books, an activity reflected in the publication of a myriad of general purpose books (cf. Blanchard 1969) and academic theses (cf. Jadoul 1971).

Slight attention has been paid, however, to the political or editorial cartoon in the popular press. This is not to say that studies of the editorial cartoon are not available, but, in general, they are studies of the cultural, social, and political content of such cartoons (cf. Annis 1939, Bradley 1980).

Never free of the cultural context, political or otherwise, of which it is a commentary and criticism, the
Political cartoon in general is a pragmatic alliance of both linguistic and visual elements that overlap and subsume one another in the creation and presentation of a message. There appears to be a dearth of studies on the processes at work in the cartoon by which these very linguistic and visual elements contribute to the representation of a political message in graphic form. It is the purpose of this study to explore these processes.

"Semiotics studies all cultural processes as processes of communication. Therefore each of these processes would seem to be permitted by an underlying system of significations. ... (E)very act of communication to or between human beings ... presupposes a signification system as its necessary condition" (Eco, 1976:6-9). There are two processes in operation, then, in the cartoon: a communication process that links the participants in a communicative act; and a signification process that (re)organizes that which is perceived as a message. According to Eco, the communicative link is established before the signification process begins.

The editorial cartoon as an act of communication must therefore possess a framework necessary for its interpretation and comprehension as a message. This 'semantic' framework allows the reader access to the message communicated by the cartoonist through the cartoon and is of necessity anchored in the nature of the cartoon.
as a medium, a communicative act and a communicative process.

The corpus of cartoons for this study is restricted to the type of editorial cartoon found in the daily press.
CHAPTER ONE

THE CARTOON AS A COMMUNICATION PROCESS

1.1 Preliminary considerations

The history of the cartoon is so long and varied that the meaning of the term cartoon itself loses something in its own definition (Geipel 1976:13-39, passim). Summarily defined, the cartoon is a "form of graphic jibe" in which the cartoonist makes "statements, usually of a somewhat derogatory nature, about the absurdities and incongruities (real or imagined) of human behaviour" (Geipel 1976:21, 20).

Whatever the type of cartoon, there are certain characteristics of the genre that are always in evidence.

According to Geipel (1976:18), "The cartoonist is preoccupied with the blemishes, the shortcomings and the inconsistencies" of the personality, event or situation that is the subject matter of the cartoon. In general, these aspects are rendered graphically in the form of caricature, the impact and import of which is a product of the degree of deformation depicted.

"Caricature is the basis of all cartoons." (Richardson 1977:11). "Le moindre caricature employé aujourd'hui dans une nombreuses langues vient du mot italien caricatura, signifiant 'action de charger, d'exagérer'... La caricature est donc d'après son origine une exagération,
The graphic talent of the cartoonist is somewhat run-of-the-mill — the cartoon is drawn in haste, but must appear legible, so to speak, in order to be understood at a glance. Simplicity is the watchword in both concept and design (Geipel 1976:13-39, passim).

Furthermore, Geipel (loc. cit.) holds that the cartoon must appear to be of some current relevance and be humorous, witty, or even savage in nature and execution. The cartoon is also replete with various figurative devices, symbols, everyday metaphor, sometimes inspired by verbal usage.

Two other aspects of the cartoon are of some importance and deserve mention: the cartoon's purpose and its readership. For instance, according to Popuz (1974:26), "Le but (of the cartoon) peut être l'information tout court ou la persuasion, l'éducation, l'enseignement, la préparation à un changement d'attitude, à un changement social et politique ou tout simplement la distraction". In general, the cartoon appears to be a humorous statement and not an attempt to codify a philosophy, for example (Embler 1950/51). In addition, "(1) a caricature est partout en étroite relation avec le niveau culturel du lecteur" (Popuz 1974:119).
THE CARTOON AS A COMMUNICATION PROCESS

The absurdities and incongruities (real or imagined) in the cartoons analysed in this study are of a political nature. The theme of the editorial cartoon can be varied: recent political events, governments, parliamentary affairs, political leaders, elections, the police, strikes, international events, etc.

1.2 The communication process

We, therefore, are in agreement with Luis Grieto (1973) when he states (p. 126) that "la notion de 'communication' doit être définie ... comme l'établissement d'un rapport social entre deux personnes grâce à un indice que produit l'une d'elles et au moyen duquel elle fournit à l'autre une indication concernant ce rapport social". The cartoonist must obviously draw his caricature in such a way that his message and its purpose are clear to the reader. The reader, for his part, has to be aware of the cartoonist's graphic conventions and style. He must have background knowledge of the subject matter of the cartoon and its other parameters so as to be able to produce a relatively accurate reading of the caricature. The cartoon is, then, not only a communicative device, but a communicative act.

There are dozens of definitions of what communication is or may be, each one derived from the
particular aspect of the phenomenon of communication being examined. According to Bühler (1974:19), three aspects appear to be fundamental in any consideration of communication: "(L)à communication est un système mettant en présence des éléments appelés source, canal, destination, avec un message qui chemine de l'émetteur vers le récepteur; la communication devient une situation dans laquelle un effet est observé sous l'action d'un stimulus, d'un message qui parvient au récepteur; communiquer vient de commun, c'est-à-dire quelque chose qui est extérieur aux partenaires en présence, mais dont ils possèdent tous les deux la connaissance".

Of these three aspects, in the present study, the effect produced on the reader by the cartoon and its message is the least important. The common knowledge exterior to the cartoon as a communication act enables both the cartoonist and the reader to come to some form of mutual understanding. The systematicity of the process of communication and of the cartoon as a specific form of communication is essential to the attempt to unravel some of the aspects of the visual and linguistic processes at work in the cartoon.

The cartoon is, moreover, more than a communicative act that exists between cartoonist and reader; it is a communicative act existing between cartoonist and his public. As such, the cartoon is a
THE CARTOON AS A COMMUNICATION PROCESS

phenomenon of mass communication. There are some striking, some subtle, differences between an act of communication that takes place between individuals and that which takes place between a cartoonist and his readership (cf. Sähler 1974:14-21).

The cartoonist's audience is the public at large, at least those thousands of readers who will read the cartoon published in the daily press and those other thousands who will read the cartoon if it is picked up and published by other newspapers through syndication.

The cartoon can be further classified as being an act or form of communication, therefore, that is: unilateral, because the cartoonist has no direct means of receiving feedback from his audience; indirect, because the cartoonist's message is transmitted by a medium, some material intermediary, that is interposed between the participants in this communicative act; public, because the cartoonist's message is open to scrutiny by all.

The cartoonist's caricature is produced in great quantities, but each reproduction of the caricature is identical to the others. The cartoon as a communicative act is, therefore, not unilinear in time, not is it limited in time. The cartoon can be preserved and perused
THE CARTOON AS A COMMUNICATION PROCESS

at any time and for any number of times, although the
nature of the subject matter rapidly dates a cartoon and
hinders its subsequent interpretability.

The production of the cartoonist's message is
originally proper to the cartoonist himself, but is
furthermore confided to a whole team of production
specialists as the cartoon becomes not the product of an
individual but the product of a media institution. The
cartoon, then, becomes depersonalized in a double sense
through its diffusion: the message is removed from the
control of the producer, and the audience is widely
scattered. The cartoonist's message is so distributed as
to reach its audience initially more or less simultaneously.

The subject matter of the cartoon most often lies
outside the field of perception and concern of the
individuals in the audience -- that is, the subject
material, although of some communal and/or national
import, is not of any immediate or direct personal concern
to the reader. In addition, the audience is geographically
wide-spread and the readership may expand beyond the
borders of the community for which the cartoon is most
relevant. The effect of the cartoon's message on the
audience is much different from that of a personal message
between two individuals where the ebb and flow of
communication would be deliberately tailored by the
sender so as to be understood by the receiver. Such
THE CARTOON AS A COMMUNICATION PROCESS

messages can be withdrawn and reconstituted; a cartoon, in a sense, has to have any subsequent modifications built into it before it is published. The cartoon, once produced and distributed, can not be altered to enhance understanding. The audience's interpretation of the message has to be done without precision or feedback on the part of the sender.

Figure 1 on the following page presents the schema of communication adopted for purposes of analysing the cartoon as such a communicative act. It is a version of the schema of communication proposed by Abraham Holes (Holes & Zeltmann 1973:13) and which has been subsequently modified both with reference to those schemas of communication proposed by Eco and others and with reference to the characteristics of the cartoon itself as previously discussed.

The schema is organized along two axes. The horizontal axis represents in part the 'rapport social' which exists between the cartoonist and the reader; more fully, it represents in linear fashion the production and transmission of the cartoon as a message. As such, the horizontal axis is composed of the following elements: sender, receiver, text, channel, noise.

The cartoonist is a sender who conceives an idea, the subject matter of the cartoon, which he then encodes
Figure 1: Schema of communication for the cartoon
THE CARTOON AS A COMMUNICATION PROCESS.

In graphic form -- of which there are two types:
1) the visual representation of the caricature and the general design of the cartoon; and
2) the presence of written language elements in the vast majority of editorial cartoons.

Hereinafter, these types of graphic form will be referred to as visual and linguistic elements.

The reader is a receiver who, to the contrary of the sender, receives a message he must first of all decode before perceiving the idea transmitted.

The cartoon is a message or text which belongs to both the sender and the receiver. Its nature can be explained as a function of a shared language, in a broad sense of the word, a common knowledge of signs and their elements, signals. The placement of these particular elements and signs in organized and meaningful sequences demands that the sender and receiver rely on certain established rules or codes, a sort of graphic syntax.

The cartoon relies on a channel or medium, the daily press, physical in nature, along which the text is transmitted from sender to receiver.

Noise is interference with the formulation and transmission of the cartoon as a text. There is some loss of information because of 'noise' in each of the
operations outlined on the horizontal axis of the schema of communication.

Such loss occurs at the level of channel where physical distortion or loss due to the mechanical process of reproduction of the cartoon or its distribution can obscure the more subtle aspects of the satirical message.

There is loss at the level of sender where the message is distorted even before it is transmitted. The idea of the cartoon loses something of its force as the cartoonist attempts to render it in whatever graphic and linguistic codes are at his disposal. His lack of artistic talent and aesthetic sense or his refusal to exploit such qualities also constitute what has been called semantic noise (Shannon & Weaver 1949:116).

Loss exists at the level of receiver where more 'semantic noise' occurs as the loss of information between the reader's act of decoding and his perception and understanding of the transmitted message.

A fourth type of 'noise' may be found in the text as message itself as an idiosyncratic part of the cartoon as a text.

This schema may seem quite simple and it is; any reference to goal, talent, personal conviction, psycho-
logical set, etc. on the part of either the sender or
the receiver has been omitted as extraneous to this thesis.
These aspects are admittedly necessary factors of any
schema attempting to come to terms with communication per
se. However, these factors are complex networks in them-
selves and the process of communication of which they are
part is not directly at issue in this study of the general
visual and linguistic processes in the cartoon.

1.3 The cartoon as a text

The vertical axis of the schema represents in part
the nature of the cartoon as a text as a sign of a social act
and is preliminary to a proposed model for the analysis of
the cartoon. Any proposal to successfully analyse the car-
ton as a text has to be based on an understanding of its
nature as a sign.

Sign on the list of priorities for the sender is
what Jelpe (1976:32) terms "the ability to put across an
idea with a minimum of effort and a maximum of comprehen-
sibility". In Kopuz (1974:44) view "la caricature est donc
une image perçue globalement et instantanément à partir
d'un scénario la compréhension". For this instantaneity of
comprehension to take place, both sender and receiver have
to speak the same language.
The vertical axis in Figure 1 indicates that the text can be considered to be made up of form and content. The form of the text is based on the rules and codes of the visual and linguistic graphic elements of the cartoon. The content of the text consists of the rules and codes of the external reality that inspires and motivates the cartoon. This elementary division of the text into a form and a content is, nevertheless, much more complex. "What is commonly called a 'message' is in fact a text whose content is a multi-levelled discourse" (Leco 1976:57). We venture further than Leco and maintain that not only the content but the form of the text is multi-levelled discourse in that the form itself is made up of a form and a content.

As indicated on the next page in Figure 2, Barrthes maintains that message (text) is "une forme"... défini(e) par la façon dont il se profère"—that is, the cartoon is a text defined by its nature as a medium of communication. Furthermore, the message (text) is "un chevauchement de langages" (Barrthes 1957:213-268, passim) —that is, there are two codes, one visual and one linguistic, that overlap one another on different levels of discourse.

It may be so that "...today the most successful cartoon is invariably the graphic epigram that needs no verbal amplification" (Jespel 1976:32-33), but most texts are bi-codal:
Figure 2: The nature of the cartoon as a text.
Les messages visuels se subdivisent en message linguistique, qui est la partie écrite du message, et le message iconique, qui est la partie image. Il y a évidemment des messages mixtes composés du message écrit et du message image. (Iopuz 1974: 52-53)

The rules and codes of the linguistic elements of the form of the cartoon constitute a discourse in themselves and an analysis of this aspect of the cartoon is a study in itself. For our purposes it is simply assumed, based on the nature of the data to be analysed, that both the sender and the receiver are familiar with the English language. The linguistic form of the text is itself composed of a form and a content: form being the graphic symbols of written English and content, the semantic charge of the English lexemes alone and in association. The graphic elements of the form will be discussed later.

"Every image is a priori placed in an extra-iconic context composed of: a contexte lointain et global and a contexte situationnel. The 'contexte lointain et global' consists of the knowledge and experience of the reader, who belongs to a milieu. The 'contexte situationnel' consists of the knowledge of the iconic medium which allows the reader to situate the image in time; ... it orients the reader towards a choice of meaning" (Gauthier 1974: 162 -- our translation).
This extra-iconic context or external reality forms the content of the text and provides the cartoonist with his subject matter. The cartoonist then decides what type of image vehicle should carry it. The content, then, is itself composed of a content and a form; content referring to the context that is the message of the text and form referring to the content of the image that conveys the message. The corpus of texts for this study has been deliberately restricted to editorial cartoons that use sport images to carry the message. Form refers, then, to the same situation of the text and to the rules and codes that underlie it.

In Figure 2 the form and content of the text are used in the Saussurian sense of signifiant and signifié -- "Le signe... est... une entité psychique à deux faces, ... Ces deux éléments sont intimement unis et s'appellent l'un l'autre" (Saussure 1972:99). The warp and the woof of text have been separately presented and diagrammed for the sake of convenience. The schema of communication thus represents the fabric of the text.

The sender finds a political content he wishes to satirize and presents this content in a game form. The receiver perceives the game form and decodes it to arrive at an understanding of the political content. Moreover, what can be considered form on one level of analysis is content on another.
Such, then, is the nature of the cartoon as a communication device and process. Whatever the semantic framework of the text, it must be comprehensive and supple enough on the one hand to accommodate the cartoon as a readily legible and simple form of caricatural entertainment and on the other to encompass and organize the complexities of the cartoon as a multi-faceted text melded of two semiotic systems, the graphic and the linguistic, and of two realities, the contemporary relevance of its political subject matter and the cultural and social status of its form expressed through the sport image.
CHAPTER TWO

THE CARTOON AS A SIGNIFICATION PROCESS

"... it should be clear that the real object of poetics is not the work itself but its intelligibility. One must attempt to explain how it is that works can be understood; the implicit knowledge, the conventions that enable readers to make sense of them must be formulated."
(Culler 1973:33)

Although a text may be composed of just one sign, it generally consists of many signs or combinations of signs that by juxtaposition, combination, or overlapping create the text. The text itself is a sign because by its nature or design it is meant to be understood as a whole. The word 'text' here is used in its semiotic sense; i.e., that it is the sign of a semic act, specifically, that the cartoon composed as it is of both visual and linguistic elements is a text, a message conceived as a whole to be perceived as a whole. Any model intended for the analysis of the cartoon as a text must explain the nature of text; that is, that the cartoon is a sign composed of a multi-levelled form and content. Compare worth's (1974:304) observation:

"A caricature, like a picture, is neither true nor false, but, like a metaphor, is a structure that reveals a set of meanings intended to communicate a certain set of relationships within some understood or
understandable context and bounds."

Figure 3 below presents the model of analysis designed to explain the cartoon as text. We have recourse here to the Saussurian notion of the sign as a double-faced entity composed of a signifiant and a signifié. Because of the nature of the corpus of cartoons collected for this study, at one level, the signifié is the political reality that the sender satirizes and the signifiant is the same situation of the image vehicle.

Figure 3: Model for the analysis of the cartoon as text
In Figure 3 and elsewhere in this study, our use of the + and - signs runs contrary to current linguistic convention. Our use of such signs is for the sake of convenience and simplicity only and in no way implies the presence or absence of any supposed trait a cartoon may possess.

"Chaque phénomène culturel est une unité sémantique" (Aco 1972:2c). The combination of the two cultural and semantic units of politics and sport into a semantic whole marks the cartoon as text as a metaphor.

"Metaphor is our means of effecting instantaneous fusion of two separated realms of experience into one illuminating, ironic, encapsulating image" (Aisbett as cited in Turner 1974:25).

Metaphor occurs when two conditions of possibility are met: "La première concerne l'axe paradigmatique et requiert que les deux unités en concurrence dans le processus métaphorique présentent des champs sémantiques en intersection — cf. Figure 4 on the following page —. La seconde concerne l'axe syntagmatique et suppose une certaine homogénéité du contexte sémantique,..." (Jeaunois et al. 1971:3).

The discovery of the meaning of the metaphor depends on the receiver's perception of the relevant aspects between "the metaphorical subject and the
metaphorical predicate" (Hester 1966:67:211). "The information (conveyed in the cartoon) is coded into a pattern (of visual and linguistic elements). The relation among the components of the pattern must be known before the individual components can be decoded" (Miller 1951:113 -- our parentheses).

The metaphor states aspects; the problem for the receiver is to see the common form. The reader will either see it or he will not and his recognition of metaphor will depend on his familiarity with the two realms of experience. As Lindekins (1975:177) states it: "The degree of analogy recognized in an image (its representational denotation of a visible or a visualizable item) is no more or less variable than that of a
The CARTOON AS A SIGNIFICATION PROCESS

[linguistic] text -- although differently, it proceeds
from a type of code linked to socio-cultural and
historical processes as well as to combinations of
perceptive and visual invariants as yet little or badly
identified" -- (our translation).

Metaphor is usually marked by an imaginative
technique; in the cartoon the imagination is supplied
and the resulting visual design eases communication and
understanding. Metaphorical expression would then appear
to be a natural aspect of the cartoon.

"... (C)haque métaphore peut être ramenée à
une chaîne sousjacente de connexions métonymiques, qui
constituent l'ossature même du code et sur lesquelles
se fonde la constitution de tout champ sémantique
partiel ou (en théorie) "local" (eco 1973:26). ECO posits
further three types of metonymical connection -- by
continuity, by antonymy, or by differentiation (ECO

Contiguity of the two cultural units of politics
and sport appears to be a natural one for the cartoon.
Without delving profoundly into the nature of these two
cultural units, as ECO would have it, it can be stated
that they share initially some common ground; they
constitute two relatively important aspects of daily life
in North America, their content forms a substantial
amount of the copy of a daily newspaper -- in fact, most daily newspapers devote separate sections of the paper to politics and to sport. If political leaders and sport heroes are part of daily conversation, because of their performance on the national and international scene, they are also easily and/or frequently subject to our praise or denigration. They are, thus, good subject matter for caricature.

If the structure formed by the axes of the two semantic units and their common subject matter reveal opposing values, there is a question of antonymy. This does not appear to be valid for the corpus of cartoons in this study. In the cartoons the participants of one experience are portrayed as belonging to the other; the mapping of one realm onto the other, so to speak, appears of necessity to be one of equivalence. However, since the cartoons in this study are for the most bi-codal, there may be a role for antonymy in the interaction between the two codes.

From what has been said, differentiation between the two cultural units of politics and sport appears completely irrelevant here. Differentiation depends on an act of definition of two opposing elements. The representation of a signifié (the political content) by a significant (the sport vehicle) is a question of resemblance rather than one of differentiation; there is but one referent,
the political personality, event or situation, in the guise of another.

Eco further states that "on pourrait ... affirmer que chaque connexion métonymique renvoie à l'un de ces trois types de contiguïté: contiguïté dans le code, ... dans le contexte, ... dans le référent" (Eco 1973:39).

A cartoon portrays absurdities and incongruities (real or imagined) as mentioned in Chapter One. The humor or wit of the cartoon anchors this portrayal. Caricature usually displays itself as a deformation of the physical attributes of a person. In the corpus of cartoons one can not speak of this form of caricature. Although slight deformation of this sort is evident in the cartoons, the brunt of caricature is depicted in the event or situation that is part of the content of the cartoon.

An analysis of the cartoons suggests that the focal point of the cartoon as caricature and as metaphor is the representation of these absurdities and incongruities as a violation of rules of the game. The expression 'rules of the game' is used in a figurative sense and refers to the rules that organize the game or to the codes of behaviour associated with the game or with sport in general. In Figure 3 on page 16 this violation of rule is represented by the anti-signifiant (-sa) insofar as the form of the text is concerned and by the anti-signifié.
(-Sé) as far as the content of the text is concerned. That is, the point of the caricature, the absurdity in the political realm, is pictured as an incongruity in the rules of the game. This incongruity may range from the physically impossible to the absurd and even to the actual breaking of a rule associated with a sport.

In summary, then, in Figure 3 text can be viewed as a roof-like structure with form and content at either end. Because of the inherent unity of the text as a sign, there can be no point of division between the signifiant and the signifié, which "like the kernal and rind of a fruit, soul and body of man, spirit and nature, have grown together and are intimately dependent on one another" (Vossler 1977:76).

The determination of the signifiant (+Sa) and the anti-signifiant (-Sa) is dependent upon the knowledge of the 'rules' of the sport in question. Knowledge of the political situation that gave rise to the text in the first place determines the signifié (+Sé) and the anti-signifié (-Sé).

As the text is a sign, so, too, are the four elements that make up the text: +Sé, -Sé, +Sa, -Sa. Each of these in turn can be analysed into further signs
The CARTOON AS A SIGNIFICATION PROCESS

and so on. For simplicity sake, signs are limited to the following three types (after Charles S. Peirce): symbols, which are arbitrarily linked with their object; icons, which are similar to their object; and indices, which are physically connected with their object. As for the cultural significance of the signs, the division of signs into signs and anti-signs can only be accounted for by the complicity that exists between the sender and the receiver at the level of extra-iconic context. Without this complicity the text would no longer be a message. Without content, the text would be merely an index.

The multi-levelled discourse inherent in both the form and the content of the cartoon as text can be accounted for by adding walls to the roof-like structure of Figure 3. Figure 5, then, as depicted on the following page, is a synthesis of the analyses of text as schematized in Figures 2 and 3. The recursive division of form and content of text is accounted for by the possibility of extending the depth of analysis until at last the text has been reduced to its finest graphic elements — signals. The false image of the recursive division of text into even finer separations of forms and contents as in Figure 2 disappears and the two, form and content, become as wings of one house, impossible to say where one begins and the other ends.
Figure 5: Model for the analysis of the cartoon as a multi-leveled discourse
The Cartoon as a Signification Process

On the following pages two cartoons taken from the corpus are analysed in cursory form according to the model of analysis represented in Figure 5.

Although the model of analysis is an attempt to explain the cartoon as a visual metaphorical text that caricatures a political incongruity of one sort or another as an incongruity of a sport or same situation, an attempt is also made to present the linguistic elements that are part of the cartoon in terms of the same analysis into sign and anti-sign.

The cartoon as text is analysed on four levels. The form and content of the text are analysed separately on two levels: first, as the significant (±A) and the signifié (±B) and then as significant (±A) and anti-significant (±A) and as signifié (±B) and anti-signifié (±B). Level 1 represents the level of the individual visual signs. On this same level the linguistic elements are analysed as significant and anti-significant -- this is for convenience sake only. Level 2 is the level of the graphic detail of the cartoon.
Analysis of Figure 6

Metaphor: politicians are portrayed as game players

Incongruity: there are two players but they are not playing the same game

Level 1: Content — +7 — Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada requests that Prime Minister Thatcher of Great Britain return the Constitution to Canada

Level 2: +7 — Trudeau makes a request to Thatcher re: the patriation of the Constitution

—7 — Thatcher has trouble dealing with the Canadian request

Level 1: Form — 7a — two players ostensively playing what appears to be a form of pond hockey

Level 2: +7a — Trudeau dressed and equipped as a hockey player

—7a — Thatcher dressed and equipped as a soccer player

Level 3: Signs — visual elements -- composed of the following:

symbols — e.g., the maple leaf that Trudeau wears on his sweater
icons — e.g., Trudeau's hockey stick
indices — e.g., Thatcher's ladies' cloves

linguistic elements — composed of the following:

+7a — Pass it over!
—7a — !??

Level 4: Signals — the lines, strokes, etc., of which both the visual and linguistic signs are composed
Analysis of Figure 7

Metaphor: politicians are portrayed as swordsmen about to duel

Incongruity: the challenger of the duel is ill-equipped to engage in combat

Level 1: Content - Sé -- Premier René Lévesque of Québec calls a provincial election

Level 2: +sé -- Lévesque calls a provincial election and faces Claude Ryan, leader of the opposition Liberal Party, as an opponent

-sé -- the Parti québécois of which Lévesque is the leader appears to be suffering from a lack of issues to fight the election with

Level 1: Form - sa -- two swordsmen are about to engage in a duel

Level 2: +sa -- René Lévesque and Claude Ryan face each other as swordsmen in a duel

-sa -- Lévesque pulls an almost bladeless sword from his scabbard

Level 3: Signs - visual elements -- composed of the following:

- symbols - e.g., the fleur-de-lys on Lévesque's scabbard
- icons - e.g., Claude Ryan's drawn épée
- indices - e.g., Lévesque's ever-present cigarette

linguistic elements -- composed of the following:

+sa - +LÉVEQUE

-sa - Fx ISSUES

Level 4: Signals - the lines, strokes, etc. of which both the visual and linguistic signs are composed
According to Eco (1972:13), whenever a sender transmits a sign to a receiver, the sender bases his message on a series of rules, in some way already established between the two and which render the sign comprehensible. Furthermore, "le code commence à apparaître comme (a) le système des unités significantes et de leurs règles de combinaison; (b) le système des systèmes sémantiques et des règles de combinaison sémantiques des diverses unités . . .; (c) le système de leurs couplages possibles et les règles de transformation d'un terme à l'autre; (d) un répertoire de règles circonstancielles comportant divers contextes et diverses circonstances de communication qui correspondent aux diverses interprétations possibles" (Eco 1972:110).

In summary then, the semantic framework posited as necessary for the adequate interpretation of the cartoon as a message is one of metaphor. Within the cartoon itself, the mapping of the political realm onto the sport realm pivots on the expression of a political absurdity as a sport incongruity, the 'violation of rule'. Also essential to the interpretation is the receiver's familiarity with the political and sport realms as cultural and semantic units in their own right.
CHAPTER THREE

A SET OF ASSOCIATIONS

"One thing is certain. Visual literacy cannot ever be a clear-cut logical system similar to language. Languages are made up systems constructed by man to encode, store, and decode information. Therefore, their structure has a logic that visual literacy is unable to parallel." (Londis 1977:12)

3.1 Preliminary considerations

The ability to interpret the cartoon as a visual message is dependent upon two factors: the human perceptual mechanism and the effects of the composition of the elements in the cartoon.

An immense amount of investigation of human visual perception has been carried out by 'gestalt' psychologists. According to scholars like Hoffka (1964), man's perception of the world and of the things in it has both physiological and psychological aspects. Physiological aspects of human vision and perception systems are more intricately complex than previously imagined, and a great deal of work is going on in this area (e.g., Wolfe 1953).

An apparently needs to find a balance in any visual composition, whether it be what he sees "really" or by way of some visual artefact. The equilibrium of a composition is determined by the horizontal and the vertical axes and their point of focus. Of equal import-
ance in the balance of a composition is the grouping and arrangement of the several visual elements that make up the composition.

Kudolf Arnheim in his 1954 work *Art and Visual Perception* has applied Gestalt theory on perception to the interpretation of art to show that a visual message reveals meaning not only through what is represented but also through the manner of composition --- the component parts of a visual composition would include elements like the dots and lines that make up the visual units of the composition, the basic shapes of circle, triangle, square and their variations and proportions, the depiction of movement, the tone, colour, and texture of the materials used to create the composition.

Visual messages are received on three levels (Koffka 1973:67): the representational, that is, what is seen and recognized from the human environment and human experience; the abstract, that is, the representational reduced to its basic visual elements of line and shape; the symbolic, that is, the cultural and semantic units of the world man inhabits. The representational is always seen and recognized in terms of the symbolic; the same object belonging to two different cultural and semantic units would then have two different interpretations.
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In the cartoons that make up the corpus the interpretation of the cultural and semantic units of politics and sports is in terms of metaphor and 'rule violation'. It is on the abstract level that the interplay of linguistic and visual elements has its force. It would appear that somewhere on this abstract level there are patterns of association holding between the linguistic and visual elements of the semantic framework.

This section of the study treats of the cartoonist's use of the linguistic and the visual elements of the cartoon to create political comment. It will be necessary to take a look at the graphics of the cartoon, to examine these linguistic and visual elements and to discover any principles that underlie their use in an encoding-decoding process.

There are certain aspects of graphic design that can be eliminated from consideration: for instance, questions of individual style of design, since this study is not limited to the work of any one cartoonist. Questions of tone, colour, texture, etc. need not be considered because of the nature of the cartoon as a mechanically reproduced and simplified black and white sketch. Nor are the elements of caricature of interest as such. It is the situation depicted in the political cartoons of the corpus that appears to carry the weight of the humour and satire rather than the distortion of
A Set of Associations

features a cartoonist might use in his depiction of a public figure. Of the fifty cartoons in the corpus, only two or three cartoons can be considered to be closer to personal rather than situational caricature.

The narrative nature of the comic strip and the comic book and the immense influence of the cinema and its techniques on comic design do not allow for any easy translation of graphic techniques from one genre to the other. In photographic terms, the political cartoon is more of a still or freeze-frame shot. Yet, in some instances, some of these cinematographic techniques do play a role. The graphic elements to be examined have been pre-selected according to their apparent relevance, on the one hand, but, at the same time, the treatment of the graphics has remained comprehensive in approach.

Relevant graphic factors are:

1) the placement of the cartoon with respect to the newspaper itself and more specifically to the page location. Political cartoons appear on pages of editorial comment. If the cartoon accompanies such a text, there is a relationship of some determination between the two;

2) the cartoon as a picture entity: frame, type and angle of view, camera angle type, disposition of elements, movement, focus, etc.;

3) visual signs and elements;

4) linguistic text as an integral part of the design of the cartoon.
The graphics of the cartoon will not be treated in any great detail. The design of the cartoon is examined in terms of the four general aspects just mentioned, with a view to determining what facets may or may not be pertinent to this study. Table 1 on the following page outlines the graphic information collected for each of the cartoons in the corpus.

3.2 Presentation of the corpus

The corpus for the analysis of the cartoon consists of fifty cartoons collected from the following English-Canadian daily newspapers:
The Telegraph-Journal of Saint John, New Brunswick;
The Globe and Mail of Toronto, Ontario; the Winnipeg Free Press; and the Vancouver Sun.

These four newspapers were selected from the main geographical and economic regions of Canada in order to insure an adequate selection of cartoons and because these newspapers regularly publish cartoons produced by cartoonists on staff.

The cartoons were chosen on a restricted basis; specifically, because the political message of the cartoon is delivered through a sport image vehicle. The cartoons were collected for the years 1950 and 1961. The Moscow Olympic Games were held in 1950 and it was expected that there might be a high number of cartoons using sport
Pagination:

location - main editorial page, secondary pages

layout - traditional, free insert, textual accompaniment (juxtaposed or enclosed)

type of text - empty, complementary, supportive, contradictory

graphic elements:

frame - defined, undefined, suggested, multiple

shot: distance - long, medium, close-up
angle - front-on, panorama, biased
depth-of-field
camera - objective, subjective.

movement: image - travelling, panoramic
actant - displacement, gesture, attitude

visual elements - signals, indices, icons, symbols (conventional, particular)

linguistic text: type - label, dialogue, comment, quote
classification - legend, insert, balloon
address - intra, extra

Table 1: Graphic information collected for each cartoon of the corpus
Images as the message vehicle; cartoons were also collected for 1981 as a comparison year. As it turns out, thirty cartoons were gathered for 1980 and twenty for 1981. In the Olympic year itself the cartoons are spread out chronologically over the whole year. Sixteen cartoons date from the pre-James period of January to May; six date from the James period of June through August; and eight date from the remainder of the year.

The Olympic James themselves were the subject of political controversy and a subsequent boycott by several of the western aligned nations. Any cartoon referring to the Olympics and the then current political situation were eliminated from consideration, so that the corpus consists exclusively of cartoons that use sport images to convey political messages that treat internal Canadian and American affairs. Figure 5 on the following page gives a breakdown of the sports illustrated in the cartoons. The diversity of the sports depicted in the corpus and the way they are spread over the two year collection period seem to indicate no direct influence from the Olympic James. Instead, choice of sport for illustrative purposes depends on the general popularity of the sport in question, on the one hand, and, on the other, in some cases, a particular sporting event held at a particular time (e.g., the Grey Cup football championship game held in November).
Figure 8: Breakdown of sports used as image vehicle according to sport and month and year.
The cartoons were initially collected from the four previously mentioned newspapers. These papers sometimes, and quite often in the case of The Telegraph-Journal, rely on syndication from other papers for their cartoon material. Subsequently, an attempt has been made, for the most part successful, to trace any Canadian political cartoon back to the original date and newspaper of publication. Since a large number of cartoonists are on newspaper staffs and produce cartoons for editorial accompaniment, it was thought advisable to verify the original publication detail for possible extra-textual influence. Any American or foreign cartoon that appeared was not part of this tracing effort; these cartoons most often appeared on secondary editorial pages and accompanied editorial texts that were themselves taken from other newspapers through syndication. As a result of the trace, the time frame of the corpus collection is extended backwards into December of 1979. Cartoons that had been syndicated were found to have been originally published within the month preceding their re-use through syndication.

The newspaper collection is therefore expanded to include the following: the Calgary Herald; The Toronto Star; The Edmonton Journal; The Spectator of Hamilton, Ontario; The Citizen of Ottawa; The Toronto Sun; The London (Ontario) Free Press; The Gazette and LaPresse.
both of Montreal.

The corpus is almost evenly drawn from the following three regions: sixteen cartoons from The Telegraph-Journal itself (this newspaper was chosen because it is the only widely read daily newspaper in the Atlantic region to feature political cartoons); seventeen from the Ontario and Québec papers; and seventeen from the western papers.

3.3 General graphic characteristics of the corpus

Of the cartoons in the corpus, some two-thirds are located on the main editorial page and the remaining one-third on the secondary editorial page(s). The cartoons on the principal editorial page occupy the traditional location, i.e., the top-centre of the page (e.g., PC 49 in the Appendix). In some cases, this position may vary, with the cartoon being shifted or raised to give more room to the main editorial (e.g., PC 14).

The location of the cartoons as to page within the newspaper is of no significance in itself. What appears to be more important is the rapport the cartoon shares with an accompanying editorial article. Thirty-eight percent of the cartoons on the principal page are accompanied by editorial articles; the rest are not. When so accompanied, the cartoons are simply juxtaposed to the article.
For the cartoons on the secondary page(s) the situation is reversed. All of the cartoons on the secondary page(s) accompany an editorial article, with one exception (PC 10). Two-thirds of these secondary page cartoons are physically enclosed somehow by the article (e.g., PC 16) and the remaining third are simply juxtaposed to it (e.g., PC 8).

All in all, sixty percent of the corpus consists of cartoons accompanied by an editorial text. What is interesting is the rather haphazard manner in which cartoon and editorial are associated. This is due to the relative degree of independence that exists between the editorialist and the cartoonist and to the different means of expression that are open to both parties.

Four types of relationship appear to exist between the cartoon and the accompanying article:

1) An empty relationship. In such an association, editorial and cartoon comment on a political event, personality, or situation. The relationship is empty in that there exists only a similarity of subject matter (e.g., PC 26).

2) The relationship may be parallel; i.e., both article and cartoon treat the same aspect(s) of a given subject matter (e.g., PC 27).
3) The relationship between cartoon and editorial may be supportive; i.e., there exists in the editorial words or lines of text that have visual reference in the cartoon. This is the strongest type of editorial-cartoon relationship found in the corpus (e.g., PC 50). Because of the haphazard match-up between cartoon and editorial, this support of one text for another is never absolute. Cartoons seem to be used both to entice the reader to peruse the editorial or to provide comic relief to a serious subject matter.

4) The cartoon may contradict some of what appears in the editorial (e.g., PC 14).

Of the twenty-nine cartoons accompanying articles, in rounded figures, twenty percent are of the empty type; sixty percent are parallel; forty percent are supportive; one cartoon is partially contradictory. Thirty percent of the total are both supportive and parallel.

It should be kept in mind that when an editorial cartoon has been tagged parallel or supportive in terms of the accompanying article, this tag refers to a textual reference of some sort, but this rapport is not necessarily one of agreement with the tenor of the editorial.

Although a large proportion of cartoons are accompanied by editorial articles, these articles play
no major role in the interpretation of the cartoon. It is the cartoon that has no internal linguistic text other than the occasional labelling device that is most open to influence by such an editorial. The corpus contains only one cartoon (PC 47) that has been found whose interpretation is definitely altered by the accompanying editorial textual accompaniment, whether internal to the cartoon or external to it, impoverishes the cartoon in the sense that the possible interpretations of the image are narrowed.

All cartoons of necessity have borders, whether they are graphically defined or not. Eighty percent of the cartoons in the corpus are surrounded by a defined frame. This frame is a black line of various thicknesses enclosing the image on all four sides. The presence of a frame around the cartoon does not necessarily have a limiting effect on the activity depicted in the cartoon. Suggested or actual violation of the frame is quite often the rule and such extensions beyond the frame serve to enhance or suggest movement in the image. Twenty percent of the corpus have undefined frames; these can be of several types ranging from complete absence of border lines to suggested cut-offs; i.e., the frame is suggested by an invisible line that surrounds the cartoon and which cuts off the figures in it.
There are three types of distant shot in the cartoons: long, medium, and close-up. Although these cinematographic devices are particularly relevant to dramatic action in the narration line of the comic strip, they have some purpose in the political cartoon. Fry (1977:71-72) notes: "Long shots ... are generally used to establish location and the relative placement of characters and props. ... Medium long shots focus more closely on one or more selected aspects of a scene... Close-up shots are utilized when isolated objects, actions or a specific detail are of a particular importance...". In the corpus a close-up shot is defined as one depicting an individual from head to waist, a medium shot as one depicting an individual or group from head to foot, and a long shot as one depicting an individual or group plus some elements of location. In the political cartoon, the choice of distance shot is made in relation, it appears, to the object of the caricature: the individual for a close-up shot, the situation for the medium and the long shots.

Twenty-five percent of the corpus is composed of long shots; seventy percent are medium shots; and there is one close-up shot (PC 15).

Associated with two of the long shot cartoons is another cinematographic device, that of the foreshortened shot. In this type of shot distant objects are brought into the foreground as if by a telephoto lens and, consequent-
ly, because both distant and near objects remain in focus, these distant objects are made to seem closer and larger than in reality. The effect of such a shot is to have the reader feel overwhelmed and threatened by the massive background figures. The lines of force of the cartoon run from back to front out through the reader who is viewing the cartoon from front-on (e.g., FC 12).

Combined with distance shot is the angle of view. "The viewing angle refers to the multiplicity of positions from which a subject can be framed..." (Abbey 1977:73). The combination of distance and viewing angle establishes the plane along which the cartoon is viewed and is crucial in establishing the point of focus of the cartoon and the lines of force linking the various elements of the composition. The following three angle shots are considered:

1) The panoramic shot attempts to capture the entire scene. All panoramic angles are long-distance shots and account for about ten percent of the corpus (e.g., PC 27).

2) Thirty percent of the corpus is made up of front-on shots; i.e., the reader views the actors or situations face-to-face (e.g., PC 24).

3) Sixty percent of the corpus is made up of biased shots; i.e., the cartoons are depicted from an angle and there are two main kinds of bias shot -- the side-on view,
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which is similar to the front-on view, but places the
observer on the sidelines, and the angled shot used to
give the reader a comprehensive view. Distortion of the
actants or of the action results quite often from this
type of shot. This appears to be necessary in order to
give the reader the opportunity to see more of what
should be there, a sort of graphic cubism.

In all of the cartoons, with three possible ex-
ceptions, the view of the reader is objective; that is,
the reader views the situation or the action as if he
were a non-participant, a mere observer. This is known as
an objective camera shot. A subjective camera shot is one
that so places the reader vis-à-vis the cartoon that he
appears to be a participant in what is being depicted.
The foreshortened shots mentioned previously have this
effect.

Because of the nature of the corpus it is to be
expected that the cartoons would contain attempts to dis-
play movement. There are two basic ways to depict motion
in an image:
1) to have the camera depict the movement (this is known as
camera travelling. The camera in a sense moves around
the scene depicted); or
2) to have the actants of the cartoon depict movement
within the image. Three types of such internal movement
can be distinguished: a) displacement of actants and
objects; b) gestures; and c) attitude of the actants.
A SET OF ASSOCIATIONS

By 'attitude' is meant body poise, facial expression, etc. All three types of movement are generally depicted as stop-action movement, as in a photograph.

A third manner of depicting movement is to violate the limits of the frame, so that whatever movement is frozen in the cartoon appears to be continuing beyond the borders of the cartoon.

All cartoons contain internal depiction of movement; there is one cartoon (PC 14) that makes use of camera travelling in addition to the more conventional devices mentioned. Seventy-five percent of the cartoons depict movement by displacement (e.g., PC 35); fifteen percent depict motion by gesture (e.g., PC 6) -- eleven cartoons have combinations of these two types of movement depiction (e.g., PC 41); twenty percent of the cartoons depict motion by attitude (e.g., PC 50). The definition of gesture has been restricted; any movement of body appendages normal to the sport depicted in the cartoon is considered to be displacement and not gesture. Gesture is therefore movement extraneous to the sport depicted.

For the sake of simplicity and convenience the visual signs and elements of the cartoon are classified as follows firstly into signals and signs. Signals refer simply to the dots and lines, etc. used to graphically represent what is seen in the cartoon. These elements are not part of the graphic analysis. Signs are divided into
three types: indices, icons, and symbols, according to the division established by Charles S. Peirce (as quoted in Suchler 1957:107):

"An index is a sign, or representation, which refers to its object not so much because of any similarity or analogy with it, nor because it is associated with general characters which that object happens to possess, as because it is in dynamical (including spatial) connection both with the individual object, on the one hand, and with the senses or memory of the person for whom it serves as a sign, on the other hand...".

In the corpus, objects such as Jimmy Carter’s grin, Trudeau’s rose, Lévesque’s cigarette, are classified as indices.

"An icon is a sign which would possess the character which renders it significant, even though its object had no existence;" (Suchler 1957:104). "...(A) sign may be iconic, that is, may represent its object mainly by its similarity, no matter what its mode of being" (Suchler 1957:105).

In the corpus any real object or person depicted in the cartoon in abstract form is considered an icon; thus Joe Clark is Joe Clark, a boxing glove is a boxing glove, etc.
A SET OF ASSOCIATIONS

"A symbol is a sign which would lose the character which renders it a sign if there were no interpretant" (Suchler 1957:104). "A sign, or representamen, is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign; that sign which it creates I call the interpretant of the first sign. The sign stands for something, its object" (Suchler 1957:97).

In other words, a symbol like the red maple leaf is a sign that stands for the object 'Canada', which is the interpretant. There are two types of symbol in the corpus: a conventional type that represents political symbols (the fleur-de-lys, the maple leaf, etc.) or sport symbols (the team insignia for the Montreal Canadiens, etc.); and a more particular type that is the creation of the cartoonist for his own ends (e.g., Roy Peterson's so-called 'Constitutional Goose' as seen in PC 48).

3.4 Graphic analysis of the cartoon: an example (PC 52)

This cartoon (see page 52) appeared on the main editorial page of the newspaper juxtaposed to an editorial article by Vincent Prince. The relationship between the editorial and the cartoon is one of parallelism. Mindful
Injustifiable entêtement de M. Lévesque

Au moment d'écrire ces lignes, il est encore temps pour le gouvernement du Québec de réactiver la question de la nouvelle commission en conflit avec Ottawa. Le gouvernement du Québec a encore le temps de réagir face à l'entêtement de M. Lévesque. Le gouvernement du Québec a encore le temps de réagir face à l'entêtement de M. Lévesque. Le gouvernement du Québec a encore le temps de réagir face à l'entêtement de M. Lévesque. Le gouvernement du Québec a encore le temps de réagir face à l'entêtement de M. Lévesque. Le gouvernement du Québec a encore le temps de réagir face à l'entêtement de M. Lévesque. Le gouvernement du Québec a encore le temps de réagir face à l'entêtement de M. Lévesque. Le gouvernement du Québec a encore le temps de réagir face à l'entêtement de M. Lévesque. Le gouvernement du Québec a encore le temps de réagir face à l'entêtement de M. Lévesque. Le gouvernement du Québec a encore le temps de réagir face à l'entêtement de M. Lévesque. Le gouvernement du Québec a encore le temps de réagir face à l'entêtement de M. Lévesque. Le gouvernement du Québec a encore le temps de réagir face à l'entêtement de M. Lévesque. Le gouvernement du Québec a encore le temps de réagir face à l'entêtement de M. Lévesque. Le gouvernement du Québec a encore le temps de réagir face à l'entêtement de M. Lévesque. Le gouvernme
of the fact that such relationships are never absolute, this is the best example of such a relationship within the corpus and is more than adequately summarized by the word 'entêtement' in the editorial's headline, which is reflected by the visual image of René Lévesque sitting on the football with his thumb in his mouth. The text is not only parallel to the editorial but also supportive in some ways. Because both Prince and Girerd work for 

La Presse it can be surmised that there was close collaboration between the two. However, it should be noted that although René Lévesque's 'entêtement' is visibly evident in the cartoon, whether his 'entêtement' is 'injustifiable' or not, is a value judgement the cartoon does not make.

The frame of the cartoon is defined. The camera shot is a long-distance shot giving a view that extends downfield from the seated figure of Lévesque to beyond the goal-post. The view is therefore more of a panoramic one, though taken from a somewhat odd field angle. The reader is an outside observer, so the camera view is objective.

The cartoon is designed simply. The playing surface itself is indicated not only by the sport depicted but also by the tufts of grass that flank each one of the three major signs: the goal-post, the huddle of players, and the seated figure of Lévesque. There is no actual
movement displayed in this cartoon. Movement in this still-shot is suggested by the attitude of the nine players in the huddle and by the figure of Lévesque as he sits off-field on top of the football. The interlaced arms of the huddled players is a gesture, an act not generally associated with a football huddle, but suggestive of a rugby scrum. The thumb-in-mouth disposition of Lévesque is more attitude than gesture.

There are no internal linguistic elements to this cartoon. If it can be said that there is a linguistic aspect to this cartoon, it is assumed by the editorial article. However, the linguistic function of the editorial is not pertinent to the interpretation of the cartoon. Rather, the cartoon is a wry comment on the 'injustifiable entêtement' of René Lévesque.

The visual signs of the cartoon are confined to icons and indices; there are no symbols. The icons are: the grass representing the playing surface, the goal-post, the football, the figure of Lévesque, the figures of the nine players in the huddle. There is one index, the flower beside Lévesque which indicates an unused portion of the field; i.e., that Lévesque is off-field or is not playing.

Naturally, these icons can be combined into two major signs: the huddle of the nine players + the gesture of the comradely entwined arms (the nine cooperating
provinces in the constitutional agreement made with the federal government; and the isolated figure of René Lévesque and his attitude of recalcitrance, of non-agreement.

It can be seen how the graphic elements feed into the semantic framework of metaphor (politicians as football players) and incongruity ("If you don't play the game according to my rules, I'll take my ball and go home!").

The limit to interpretation imposed by the editorial can be also plainly seen here. The reader consistently sees the cartoon as a depiction of Lévesque's 'entêtement'. Separate the cartoon from the editorial and his 'entêtement' remains visible, but other possibilities of interpretation become apparent, such as, if René Lévesque as leader and spokesman (quarterback) of the provincial opposition to Trudeau's constitutional proposals finds himself on the sidelines with the football, can or should the game proceed without him? In any case, an adequate interpretation of the cartoon depends not only on an understanding of the sport depicted but on the political situation or events that led the cartoonist to draw the cartoon in the first place.
3.5 Linguistic and visual interaction

At first, the cartoons in the corpus appear to be quite unified because of the general use of sport as the image vehicle. Closer examination reveals, however, a great deal of disparity caused by the large number (18) of different sports that are represented in the cartoons. Yet there seem to be some general lines of examination that can be applied here. One certainly is the type of linguistic text found internal to the cartoon.

Of the fifty cartoons in the corpus there are only five that do not have a linguistic text of some sort internal to the cartoon. The linguistic texts can be classified as to location in the following three ways:

1) the linguistic text can be a legend or caption, most traditionally placed underneath the cartoon;

2) the linguistic text can be in the form of a balloon which represents discourse internal to the picture space. The balloon may be defined by a black line completely surrounding the utterance or it may be only partially or not at all defined;

3) the linguistic text may be a free insert and range from simple labelling devices to complete lines of commentary. These last mentioned ones are called free inserts because they may appear anywhere within the picture space.
A SET OF ASSOCIATIONS

The vast majority of free inserts are labels, used for identification purposes. Balloons always represent utterances either directed to the reader or, most often, to one of the actants in the cartoon. Legends can either be a labelling device for the cartoon as a whole or may function as a balloon and represent utterances. In this case, the legend is more than a nominating device. It is a caption and the discourse is external to the picture space.

As with any image or pictorial design, the artist is concerned with catching, fixing, and directing the attention of the reader. He does this by creating a point of focus, a central image or sign that allows the reader to fix his gaze upon or to which his gaze is constantly returned while the image is being scanned in its entirety by the process of visual perception. The cartoonist will, furthermore, establish lines of force (i.e., relationships of perspective, proportion, disposition, etc.) between the different visual signs and elements of the composition as an adjunct to any point of focus. By so doing, the cartoonist designs his composition or message so that the reader will be able to "see" and "read" it in the intended manner.

In the corpus several aspects of the graphics of the cartoons analysed are keyed to determining such points of focus and lines of force; they are the elements
used to indicate movement: gesture, attitude, camera angle, and distance.

A review of this data in the corpus reveals that the cartoons possess two kinds of focus -- those cartoons that have a fixed point of focus and those that do not. Those cartoons with a fixed point of focus are designated *image centred* cartoons because they contain a visual element or sign, an icon of one sort or another that attracts the reader's attention. The lines of force of the cartoon then either direct attention towards or away from this central dominant image, but never completely. Cartoons that have a fixed point of focus can be further bifurcated into *conventional* cartoons, that is, cartoons considered more or less standard in form, banal, rather straightforward presentations of the message. These conventional cartoons are opposed to those cartoons which contain an iconic contrast as the point of focus. Conventional cartoons represent the majority of the cartoons in the corpus and, as far as the image centred cartoons are concerned, contain a single, dominant iconic device, the point of focus. Cartoons with iconic contrast also have a fixed point of focus, but the central image consists of two contrary iconic devices as the dominant image serving to hold the reader's attention.

Together, cartoons classified as conventional and iconically contrasted image centred cartoons account
A SET OF ASSOCIATIONS

For nearly seventy percent of the corpus, the remaining thirty percent are cartoons that contain no one specific focal point but instead rely solely on the play of the lines of force to guide the reader's attention. These cartoons are designated image shifted cartoons, because reliance on the lines of force as a focusing device succeeds in shifting the reader's gaze along the cartoon in one direction or another rather than by concentrating the gaze exclusively or recurrently at one particular point. Image shifted cartoons can themselves be divided into conventional cartoons and cartoons containing elements of iconic contrast.

As a general rule, it should be noted that for the cartoons in the corpus the point of focus is either the point of incongruity or the sign that is the point of focus contains the incongruity.

The three types of linguistic text previously mentioned interact with the types of focusing devices in the following three discernable ways:

1) The internal linguistic text plays no pertinent role. Such a text is either absent altogether from the cartoon or is in the cartoon as a simple labelling device. Approximately sixty percent of the corpus can be so described.
According to Brockway (1982:13, note 6), "(L)apertinence est fonction du contexte". There are two types of pertinence when referring to the role linguistic elements play in the cartoon. Linguistic elements have a literal function vis-à-vis the context offered by the graphic visual elements or design -- this type of graphic pertinence is what is referred to in the preceding paragraph. Linguistic elements also have a figurative function vis-à-vis the metaphorical context. Pertinence here refers to the degree of maintenance offered the metaphor by the linguistic elements. It can be said that figuratively the linguistic elements are always pertinent in some fashion.

2) The internal linguistic elements confirm verbally in some way either the image centred or image shifted point of focus. Approximately twenty percent of the corpus is so composed. A form of parallelism exists between the linguistic code and the visual code. The term 'parallelism' is used here more in terms of an association of linguistic and visual elements and not in semantic terms.

3) The internal linguistic elements are in contrast verbally to the point of focus. A form of antonymy exists between the linguistic and visual codes. Approximately twenty percent of the corpus can be so described.

All told, there are twelve possible combinations
of linguistic and visual interaction. An example of how each of these interactions functions will be presented in some detail. In the corpus only eleven of the twelve possible combinations have been found. A thirteenth combination of several categories also exists. Figure 14 on the following page gives a breakdown of the corpus in terms of the type of interaction involved.
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Figure 10: Types of linguistic - visual interaction
1) Image-centred conventional cartoon with no graphically relevant linguistic elements

The cartoon is dominated by the central image of Ronald Reagan as a heavily armed boxer. This image occupies most of the space of the cartoon and, although Reagan's gaze is directed to the left towards a clock ticking away the time remaining before the November 1980 United States presidential election, the line of force running from Reagan's tilted gaze to the clock does not shift the focus in any permanent way.

The linguistic elements are all simple labels affixed to some of the boxing gloves Reagan is wearing. On the graphic level, these labels add nothing to the design of the cartoon. Their purpose is evident on the metaphorical level where they serve to map the sport metaphor onto a political reality.
PC 1: Innes, *Calgary Herald*, 15 December 1979
2) Image-centred cartoon with iconic contrast and no graphically relevant linguistic elements

The point of focus of this cartoon is the figure of Joe Clark, which, although placed slightly to the right of centre, occupies a central space clearly separated from the space occupied by the other actants and iconic elements of the cartoon. This domination of the cartoon by the figure of Clark is further reinforced by the depiction of activity that surrounds him but which is clearly excluded from Clark's space. There is a two-fold iconic contrast here: 1) the depiction of movement outside of Clark's space contrasted with the lack of movement of Clark himself -- he appears frozen in position; and 2) of the four actants Clark is the only one whose running shoes are laced together.

The linguistic elements of the cartoon are obviously labels. They contribute minimally on both the graphic and metaphoric levels. They could be easily removed from the cartoon without hindering comprehension. Of more importance is the shoelace tying Clark's shoes together. This is a rare example of a pertinent icon. Its removal from the cartoon changes the interpretation. The shoelace suggests Clark's own responsibility in the fall of his government. Its absence from the design would shift the blame entirely to the three opposition leaders who are keeping the game ball out of Clark's hands.
3) **Image-shifted focus in a conventional cartoon with no graphically relevant linguistic elements**

The shifting point of focus is first fixed at the apex of the triangle of the boxing ring where the figure of U.S. presidential candidate John Anderson is seen leaving the election fight. Attention is then diverted down the sides of the triangle and along the base by the ropes that delimit the boxing area. This direction of focus is further enhanced by the figure of Jimmy Carter in the left base corner as he pulls away on the ropes towards ring centre in a stretching exercise and also by the figure of Ronald Reagan who, in turn, gesticulates towards Carter. Attention is then drawn back to the figure of Anderson at the apex by the converging effect of the sides of the triangle. The cycle of the lines of force then begins again.

The linguistic element of this cartoon is the legend that appears to the upper left of the cartoon. It functions as a label and has no other purpose than to name what is seen in the cartoon on the metaphoric as well as the graphic level.
PC 2: franklin, Globe and Mail, 25 February 1980
4) Image-shifted focus with iconic contrast and no graphically relevant linguistic elements.

The focus of the cartoon is shifted. The figure of Edward Kennedy is momentarily poised on the edge of the ski-jump; falling clumps of snow under his feet indicate an imminent direction of fall, but the slope of the ski-jump itself, the forward incline of Kennedy's body, and the skis which have continued to soar on after Kennedy has lost them form a line of force that directs the gaze from left to right almost horizontally across the cartoon. In addition, the momentarily frozen form of Kennedy is in iconic contrast with the skis which are graphically depicted as continuing in motion.

The only linguistic element is the political slogan that appears affixed to Kennedy's ski-suit and which serves to identify him as a candidate for the U.S. presidency. This label is not relevant graphically, but has some relevance in the metaphorical sphere because it situates the cartoon politically — it supplies the context for the metaphor and ties the ski-jumping event to Kennedy's candidacy for presidential nominee.
A set of associations

...training camp opens in manitoba...

PC 20: Mallette, Winnipeg Free Press, 21 August 1980
5) **Image-centred conventional cartoon with linguistic-iconic confirmation**

The lines of force in this cartoon run from right to left, from the mass of players crowded together on the right to the single player on the left seen tackling the blocking bag. The attitude of the players, that is, their gaze and body stance, and the motion of the tackling player as he runs and jumps, indicate this direction. The point of focus of the cartoon is the beaver coach. Although the utterance made by the coach is directed towards the mass of players, the utterance is a linguistic confirmation of the tackling manoeuvre performed. The reference of the utterance to this manoeuvre is reinforced by the gesture of the coach's right thumb which points at the tackle just being completed.

The three types of linguistic element are to be found in this cartoon: 1) there is a legend that labels the action depicted; 2) there are labels that appear on the helmets of the players and which serve to identify them; 3) there is the balloon that presents the coach's advice to his team. This latter element is pertinent in that it linguistically confirms what is graphically being depicted.

On the metaphorical level, the labels affixed to the football helmets are not particularly pertinent.
a big round of applause for Teddy, who has graciously stepped aside...
6) Image-centred focus with iconic contrast and linguistic and iconic confirmation

The linguistic elements of this cartoon are a legend under the cartoon that functions as a caption and presents the words of the ring announcer and a label on the trunks of the giant boxer that serves as an identification device.

Ring centre is occupied by a victorious Edward Kennedy who is receiving the applause of the crowd. There is iconic contrast in dress between the figure of Kennedy, who has stepped out of the U.S. presidency race, and the figures of the two election contestants, Carter and Reagan, both dressed as boxers. There is, therefore, confirmation between the caption and the figure of Kennedy. There is further iconic contrast in size between the figures of the boxers -- the diminutive Carter on the left and the giant Reagan on the right, who is only depicted from the waist down.

The point of focus of the cartoon is the figure of Kennedy. The focus is established by the linguistic-iconic confirmation of the caption with the depiction of Kennedy and fixed by the descending stroke of the overhead microphone and the \( \sqrt{ } \) shape of the upraised arms of Kennedy himself. The focus on Kennedy is reinforced by the encircling lines of the figures of the two boxers. The line runs down the length of Reagan on
the right, runs along the bottom and up the figure of Carter on the left, thus forming a U shape that cradles the central image of Kennedy.

The caption has relevance on the metaphoric level, but knowledge of the extra-iconic political reality is necessary to fully comprehend the political significance of the cartoon.

There is no representation in the corpus of cartoons of the seventh type of cartoon: image-shifted focus in a conventional cartoon with linguistic and iconic confirmation.
LISTEN... I HEAR AN ENEMY!!

PC 6: Larter, *The Vancouver Sun*, 21 April 1960
8) Image-shifted focus with iconic contrast and linguistic and iconic confirmation

The focus of this cartoon is initially centred on the destitute family huddled on the roof of their flooded home. This focus is shifted to the right to the figure of Pierre Trudeau as he waterskis past the house and seemingly out beyond the frame. There is iconic contrast here centred on the shifted focus between the desperate family waiting for rescue and the obviously fun-loving Trudeau with his jaunty wave, who effectively abandons them.

The linguistic element here is an unframed balloon spoken by the father on the roof, but graphically located over the head of the Trudeau figure and which, on the one hand, helps to fix the shifted focus from the family to Trudeau and, on the other, confirms the unseen but supposed presence of a motorboat. It also helps establish the ironic contrast between the actants who believe they may be about to be rescued (indicated by the father's smile) and the outside viewer who knows otherwise.

On the metaphorical level the balloon is quite pertinent. It establishes the link between the hope for rescue and the abandonment by Trudeau. There is thus on both the graphic and metaphoric levels a series of iconic and semantic contrasts all centred on the
utterances contained in the balloon. There are not very many cartoons in the corpus where a linguistic element is the pivotal point of the caricature as it is here.
THE CONSTITUTIONAL BALL GAME

PC 22: Mallette, Winnipeg Free Press, '26 August 1960
9) Image-centred conventional cartoon with linguistic and iconic contrast

Attention is focused on the centre of the cartoon, in particular on the baseball as it is about to be caught in the outstretched glove of the catcher. There are lines of force running from left to right which trace the path of the ball and the path of the batter's swing. These lines stop at the catcher's mitt as do the lines of force running from right to left as both umpire and catcher focus on the ball.

The three types of linguistic element are found in this cartoon: 1) the caption describing the situation depicted in metaphorical terms; 2) the label affixed to the baseball -- both the caption and the label have naming functions and are pertinent on the metaphoric level though not on the graphic; and 3) the undefined balloon representing the umpire's call. This linguistic element is in contrast with the play depicted by the batter. The incongruity of the cartoon has therefore a visual and a linguistic element; i.e., that Trudeau is calling all the shots in the controversy over the patriation of the Constitution.
10) Image-centred focus with iconic contrast and linguistic and iconic contrast

The linguistic elements of this cartoon consist of a label identifying the hockey team and a balloon containing an utterance directed to the team members waiting in the locker room. The attitude of the team players contrasts with the message contained in the utterance.

The point of focus of the cartoon is the figure of Claude Hyman speaking on television to his reluctant team-mates. The television set is placed on top of the lockers in the upper right corner of the cartoon. There are lines of force running from the lower left of the scene to the upper right and which follow the gaze of the hockey players as they watch the television screen. There is in addition iconic contrast between the becalmed figure of Hyman on the ice and the reluctant attitude of his uninvolved team-mates.

The balloon is graphically pertinent. The linguistic message parallels the visual message and establishes the contrast. It has no particular relevance on the metaphorical level. The cartoon is to be read as a whole.
"... the ball is in the federalist court."

FC 15: Jeutel, The Telegraph-Journal, 22 May 1980
11) Image-shifted conventional cartoon with linguistic and iconic contrast

This cartoon is the only close-up shot caricature of the corpus. The focus is shifted from René Lévesque's face, which occupies the upper and centre middle of the cartoon, to the tennis racket held in his right hand. This shift in focus is aided by the attitude of Lévesque's eyes, which are themselves shifted to his right, and by the caption (a direct quote from Lévesque) which refers to the tennis game situation.

There is an obvious contrast between the linguistic elements of the caption and the physical representation of the tennis racket. The reading of this cartoon both graphically and metaphorically depends on this linguistic - iconic contrast.

This cartoon is also a good example of how a cartoonist may embellish a cartoon graphically and add further comment and opinion to the essential meaning (cf. the sad faces on the buttons of Lévesque's shirt, the cigarette burning at both ends in his left hand, the Hebrew word 'Ω' on the watch face).
I'll need your help.

PC 3: Hoshkov, Toronto Star, 5 March 1980
12) Image-shift: focus with iconic contrast and linguistic and iconic contrast

The initial point of focus in this cartoon is the rope pulled taut between the two opposing two-of-war teams. From this original point of tension, the action shifts to the figure of Ontario Liberal leader Stuart Smith on the left as he taps lightly on MacDonald's shoulder. There is iconic contrast here between the taut rope pulled by the two teams and the slack rope held in Smith's arms and also between the two teams: a third figure is partly visible to the right of the cartoon on the Quebec team. This image is contrasted by the figure of Smith who does not add a third figure to the federal team.

This iconic contrast is reinforced by a linguistic- iconic contrast. The balloon, strategically located over the point of Smith's focus, has a Smith verbally requesting help from a team otherwise engaged in a context where it could obviously use extra help.

The balloon is both graphically and metaphorically pertinent. The linguistic element parallels the gesture of Smith and reinforces the incompleteness.
13) Image-centred focus with iconic contrast and linguistic and iconic confirmation and contrast.

Attention is centred on the two boxers in the ring, an icon that occupies the left and centre of the cartoon. The figure of the cleaning lady about to walk out of the arena on the right directs attention back to the ring at centre because of the direction of her outstretched arm and her gaze.

There is iconic contrast between the two boxers who are about to fight each other and the empty arena, and between the boxers who are staying to fight and the cleaning lady who is not staying to watch. This contrast is reinforced by the label affixed to the base of the boxing ring, which announces a major boxing event, but which itself is in contrast with the empty arena. A second linguistic element, the caption, functions as a balloon for the cleaning lady and confirms the scene depicted, that she is leaving and that the boxers are staying to fight on the one hand, and that no one is particularly interested in this match on the other.

The linguistic elements of this cartoon, including the labels on the shirts of the two boxers, and the series of contrasts and confirmations established between themselves and the visual icons are pertinent both graphically and metaphorically. This cartoon is perhaps the most tightly integrated cartoon
in the corpus in terms of visual and linguistic elements.

There is one other cartoon in the corpus (PC 41) which contains linguistic elements that play such a dual role of confirmation and contrast.

In summary then, if there is a syntax underlying the semantic framework of the cartoon, it is the set of associations formed by the different types of linguistic and visual interaction. It is not, however, syntax in the normal sense of the word. Both the linguistic code and the visual code possess their own respective syntaxes -- English syntax, on the one hand, and the compositional aspects of the graphic design, on the other.

The linguistic types present in the cartoon fulfill more than just a translation function, reproducing in written word form elements depicted in visual form. The linguistic elements are not a semiotic transformation (or) either of the visual. "Its are replacements of the signs encoding a message by signs of another code, preserving (so far as is possible in the face of entropy) invariant information with respect to a given system of reference" (Ludskanov 1974:7). Nor do they replace the visual elements; they coexist
with them.

In an empirical study done in 1980 on the comprehension of television advertising, Araif and others have come to some conclusions concerning the interactions of linguistic and visual elements. The linguistic elements that they examined were auditory in nature, while the linguistic elements of the cartoon are as necessarily visual as the graphic elements they accompany. Nevertheless, they form two different codes and the findings of Araif and his team appear to be of some validity for the cartoon.

The results of their tests show that the visual image produces a favourable effect on the reception of the linguistic elements only if the two semiotic systems refer to one another (Araif et al. 1980:90). If the receiver favours one of the two codes over the other, the second code assumes a function auxiliary to the first (Kraif et al. 1980:90). It would appear, then, that any bi-codeal message potentially can have readers prejudiced in some way beforehand towards one of the two codes.

Araif and his co-workers also found that an increase in the number of linguistic items results in a diminution in the number of visual items and that this diminution has three reasons (1980:92-93):
1) An increase in information to be perceived and assimilated by the receiver. The two codes do not reproduce exactly the same information. Where this redundancy occurs, the linguistic elements would have no pertinence on either the graphic or metaphorical level.

2) An auxiliary selective function on the part of the linguistic text which channels the perception of the visual information. The linguistic text narrows the interpretative dimensions of the visual elements of the cartoon on the one hand, while reducing the ambiguity of the visual elements on the other.

3) The absorption of information from the visual text by the linguistic text. The linguistic text relies on the visual elements to supply information it itself does not contain.

All in all, the linguistic text benefits more from the association with the visual text than vice-versa.

As Aralif and his team explain it (1980:93) (our translation): "If the influence of the visual code on the linguistic code is considered first, it appears that the visual elements generally favour the reconstitution of linguistic propositions of a primary and secondary nature. The linguistic text, on the contrary, leads to a diminution of the production of primary information on the visual side; but, on the secondary level, the linguistic text can also prove complementary (cf. Figure 11 on the following page). The influence
Figure 11: Schema of the vectors of influence for audio-visual information (Araif et al. 1980:93)
of the linguistic text on the comprehension of the visual is nevertheless not very apparent. On this point, the fact must be taken into account that the non-reproduction of visual items is determined not only by considerations of comprehension but also by choice of method."

The association of linguistic and visual elements is a marriage of convenience. The message of the cartoon could be represented entirely in one code or another, but most likely not very efficiently. The semantic framework of metaphor offers economy and efficacy of communication. The cartoon succeeds as a form of communication because the comprehension of its message is instantaneous. The cartoon that succeeds in most efficiently achieving a balance of information between linguistic and visual elements is not only the most eloquent but also the most aesthetically satisfying.
CONCLUSION

"... the primacy of semantic relations over syntactic information in memory ..."
(Jenkins in Miller 1973:166)

If, as Juiraud (1971:22) states, "la caricature est froide, c'est-à-dire la somme d'information est faible et le lecteur doit fournir les éléments qui manquent", the necessity of a semantic framework that provides the keys to the cartoon's interpretation is all the more evident.

"Effective communication is based on an understanding of people, ... and on the perceptions relating to motives, emotions, and thoughts" (Aisenberg and Smith 1971:6). This understanding and these perceptions of people and the world they inhabit are precisely the "éléments qui manquent" in the editorial cartoon.

The cartoon-reader is a sentient being who possesses a "dynamic tendency to organize the optical focus into a unified whole (which) acts within the psychological field against a background of readiness to perceive --- a field of attention ---. ... within this field of attention one can see clearly, and at one time, only a limited number of visual units" (Nepes 1967: 44).
CONCLUSION

For the political cartoon to guarantee an
instanateness and a totality of comprehension by means
of an optimal number of visual units (five or six, as
has been verified by psychological experiment), the
cartoonist resorts to the use of metaphor to provide
the interpretative framework. When the reader views the
cartoon he does not see the actants as political
creatures or the situation or event as political in
nature, but rather, he sees them as sports figures
involved in a sporting event. Metaphor is metamor-
phosis. So complete is the metaphorical reading of
the visual elements that many cartoonists use ling-
ustic labelling devices and/or visual symbols to
remind the reader that the actants depicted are in-
deed political figures and that a political message is
at the heart of the metaphor.

"A signification system is an autonomous,
semitic construct that has an abstract mode of exist-
ence independent of any possible communicative act
it makes possible" (eco 1976:9). Such is the role
played by metaphor in the political cartoon and the role
is no different here than it is in other cultural and
social aspects of our civilization, whether that be
the metaphorization of our basic fears during
moween into masked creatures, goblins, and other
fantasies, or that of the concept of goodness and
CONCLUSION

charity into the figure of Santa Claus, or that of war
and aggression into games as diverse as chess or
American football.

At the same time, the proper interpretation
of the cartoon depends equally on the access to the
external reality, politics and sport, that gives rise
to the message to be communicated. A cartoon removed
from this extra-iconic context would not be similarly
interpreted as far as the metaphor is concerned.
Metaphor, in fact, would not exist without this extra-
iconic context.

Several levels of information are carried by
the cartoon, however (see 1972:126-127): there is the
level of supports physiques, which consists of the
compositional elements of the cartoon, dots, lines,
shapes, tone, texture, etc.; a level of éléments
différentiels sur l'axe paraïsmatique, which consists
of the visual signs and their possible dispositions
on the graphic surface; a level of rapports
syntagmatiques, which consists of the relationships
of proportion, perspective, etc. that exist among the
visual elements. These three levels of information
constitute a visual syntax which is subject to the
constraints imposed by the psycho-physiological aspect
of perception and by the various motor and instrumental
techniques of artistic expression.
CONCLUSION

There also exists a level of signifiés dénotés, which consists of the linguistic and visual codes properly speaking; a level of signifiés connotés, which consists of the metaphor and its elements, specific sub-codes of style and rhetoric, repertoires of images, etc.; a level of attentes idéologiques, which is assumed to be one of political diversion in the case of the editorial cartoon, more divertissement (Guiraud 1971: 24) than propaganda (Moran 1979).

In addition, as zo (1972:126-127) states, the signifiants acquire the appropriate signifiés only through contextual interaction. Given the context and the signifiés, the cartoonist is free to construct the message in a number of ways. In other words, the choice of signifiants is arbitrary. Once the metaphor is chosen, the message is doubly constrained, however, not only by the political context the cartoonist wishes to represent, but also by the rules that govern sport as the image vehicle carrying the metaphor. The message is composed of different levels of reality. The reading of these realities depends on the decoding of the metaphor in terms of the two cultural and semantic units of sports and politics. The cartoonist is free, moreover, to embellish the caricature outside of the metaphoric framework and this is usually done through visual signs not pertinent to the representation of
CONCLUSION

the underlying message.

The several associative patterns established for the linguistic and visual elements in the cartoon do not constitute any strict rules of syntax. Rather, the associative patterns and their possible variants are stylistic in nature and fulfill an aesthetic function.

"Le message assume une fonction esthétique lorsqu'il est structuré d'une manière ambigue et apparaît comme auto-réflexif, c'est-à-dire lorsqu'il entend attirer l'attention du destinataire sur sa propre forme avant tout" (GEO 1972:124).

The interplay of the linguistic and visual elements is the foundation of the aesthetic aspect of the cartoon. Such interplay concretizes the metaphor. The more equal the interaction between the linguistic and visual codes in establishing the metaphor, the more complex the interplay of eye and mind, the more aesthetically pleasing the message.

In conclusion, although it is possible for the cartoon to be analysed in depth into iconic and linguistic denotative and connotative codes, "(o)n pourra remarquer que rien ne garantira le caractère exhaustif d'une telle étude car, une fois de plus, la reconnais-
sance des codes est particulière à un individu, au récepteur, à ses systèmes d'attente" (Gauthier 1973:76).

A thorough study of human visual perception based on the gestalt psychological theory that the human visual process is an interaction between the characteristics of that which is observed and the nature of that which observes. Arnhem examines in detail questions of balance, shape, form, cognitive and psychological growth, space, light, colour, movement, and tension. Important for some key concepts.


A book of three essays on laughter "spécialement provoqué par le comique" in which Jéron elucidates the principal types of the comic -- of form and movement, situation, word, and character. Useful for basic definition of humour in the cartoon.


A general well-illustrated history of the development of the comic strip in Europe and America, of some use in understanding the phenomenon of the cartoon.


A three part work which presents the graphic figure as a communicative vehicle and which examines the elements and factors of image composition, the principles and procedures of visualization. A detailed work on definitions, but of little use for the more simplified graphics of the cartoon.


Selected and edited writings of Charles S. Peirce. A compendium of his essential ideas. Of particular interest is the section on "Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs". A book that succeeds in making Peirce a bit more accessible.
A general presentation of what communication is -- definitions, models, elements. Contains an important thematic bibliography. Basic and to-the-point introductory study. Useful for its treatment of the elements of the communication process.

A presentation of the best Canadian political cartoons of the past century and a half. Contains a short biography of almost every Canadian editorial cartoonist. An essential reference for the preliminary work-up of the corpus.

An introduction to all things visual. Mainly concerned with the question of visual literacy, the book examines the constituents of visual syntax, the basic elements of visual communication, the anatomy of a visual message. Very useful guide and presentation.

The author defines semiotics and explores the elements of a semiology of visual codes. Important for its examination of visual coding and the question of aesthetic messages.

Presentation of a theory of sign and of code production. Contains a definition of semiotics and its boundaries. Important for the examination of two problems of sign theory -- signification and communication.

Piresnault-Veruelle, Pierre. "Le verbal dans les bandes dessinées" in *Communications*, No. 15, 1970:145-161

*La bande dessinée: l'univers et les techniques de quelques 'comics' d'expression*
FRANÇAIS, MACHETTE, PARIS, 1972, 188P.

LE PERSONNAGE, JORDAS, PARIS, 1972, 96P.

DE BANDE DESSINÉE ET SES LANGAGES" IN LANGUE FRANÇAISE,
NO. 28, 1975:101-111

MÉTIERS ET BULLES: PAR LA BANDE, MACHETTE, PARIS, 1977, 253P.

In these several articles and books Fresnault-
Jérome undertakes to explore the world of discourse and
the graphic and narrative techniques of the comic strip and
the comic book. Of great use in coming to terms with the
 graphics of the political cartoon. No such thorough study
exists for the editorial cartoon.

KRY, PHILIP AND TED POULOS, "STERANKO: GRAPHIC
NARRATIVE. STORY-TELLING IN THE COMICS AND THE VISUAL
NOVEL", THE WINNIPEG ART GALLERY, WINNIPEG, 1977, 108P.

Limited to the works of Jim Steranko. Useful for
 graphics in general.

JAUThIER, H. "SÉMIOTIQUE ET BANDE DESSINÉE" IN
ANNALES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ D'ABIDJAN, VOL. 6, NO. 1,
1975:69-76

A basic and useful presentation of the semiotics
of the comic strip, its different codes, and some of the
problems of semiotic research into the linguistic and
visual aspects of the comic strip.

JEIPPEL, JOHN. THE CARTOON: A SHORT HISTORY OF
GRAPHIC COMEDY AND SATIRE, DAVID & CHARLES, LONDON,
1972, 155P.

A general introduction to the political cartoon.
Contains a very useful section on the definition of the
cartoon and its characteristics.

NEPEs, CYORTY. LANGUAGE OF VISION, PAUL THEOBALD,
CHICAGO, 1944, 226P.

A easy-to-read accessible analysis of the structure
and functions of the graphic image in paintings and design.
Examines thoroughly the laws of visual organization.
Useful for questions of perception and graphics.
A definitive two-volume presentation of semantics, its basic definitions, principal schools, and the relationships between semantics and grammar. Volume 1 is useful for its sections on semiotics.

The author distinguishes between communication and pseudocommunication. This distinction is somewhat useful in treating the cartoon as an act of communication and in distinguishing it from propaganda.

Detailed presentation of the technical aspects of drawing cartoons. Contains very useful information on the graphics of the cartoon.

The book that initiated the development of modern linguistics. Useful in terms of the theory of signs and for the dichotomies between signifiant and signifié and langue and parole.

Introduction to the cartoon as a message. The book discusses the communicative elements of the cartoon and explores aspects of the reception and effect of the cartoon on its readership. Handy reference for general characteristics of the cartoon.
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<td>&quot;L'analogie et le contigu (note sur les coex non structuraux)&quot; in Communications, No. 15, 1970:52-69</td>
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LIST OF CARTOONISTS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE CORPUS OF CARTOONS, ALONG WITH THE NEWSPAPER FROM WHICH THE CARTOON WAS TAKEN AND THE DATE OF PUBLICATION

**Canadian Cartoonists**

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APPENDIX 2

NOTE CONCERNING THE CORPUS OF CARTOONS

The cartoons in the corpus are copies xeroxed from copies previously obtained either from the original newspaper copy in the case of the Telegraph-Journal or from microfilm in the case of the other newspapers. The copies of the Telegraph-Journal were made available by the Harriet Irving Library of the University of New Brunswick and St. Thomas University in Fredericton, New Brunswick. Copies of the other newspapers were made available by the National Library in Ottawa.

These copies have been reproduced as faithfully as possible to aid legibility. Unfortunately, the quality of the reproduction process and the resulting copies leaves much to be desired.

Also included in the corpus are copies of the accompanying editorial texts. Where possible the accompanying text is reproduced along with the cartoon on the same page. Most often, it has been necessary to provide a reduced copy of the original in order to obtain a copy to fit the size of the thesis paper. For convenience sake in some cases, cartoons and accompanying text are reproduced on separate pages. The quality of these copies also suffers from the reproduction process. An effort has been made to supply the best copy available. All relevant material in each of the cartoons is readily legible in any case.
Lougheed bargained toughly and a good deal was lost

Alberta is not blameless. I agree with Rick Taylor, the mastermind leader of the Alberta Liberal party who charged that Lougheed made a "total error" by dropping out negotiations for higher oil prices. "Peters was being too cute by being tough." It’s a snappy, subtle comment that has some elements of truth.

As a champion of Alberta’s interests, Lougheed has no peers. If there’s a flaw in his approach, it’s his reluctance to concede the obligations of other people. He seemed to be equally dedicated to looking after the interests of his constituents. This is what the art of compromise is all about.

Lougheed, in insisting that the rest of Canada should wake up to the reality of higher energy prices, has been reluctant to face up to the reality of the political difficulties confronting any federal government that made Alberta and the petroleum industry the almost exclusive beneficiaries of an upward spiral in prices.

Late in October, the Economic Council of Canada recommended the federal government increase domestic oil prices by about $7 per barrel a year so as to reach world prices within a few years. The sooner was catch-as-catch-can as Alberta was concerned. The council suggested recycling the rising revenue increases into energy development and conservation throughout all regions of Canada and not be allowed to flow only to producers. The council suggested that Ottawa could impose excise taxes on the revenues or surpluses, the windfalls.

Swallowed whole, this would have represented unacceptable trespass on Alberta’s own resources — but the report did not say the need for give-and-take bargaining to break a stalemate created by moving prices upward.

Lougheed struck a posture that indicated he wasn’t prepared to give an inch. He threatened Canada with a unilateral move to raise oil prices to world levels.

"Armstrong negotiations led to serious budget delays. An agreement of sorts wasn’t struck until late in November. Alberta was guaranteed its traditional share of new revenues that were to accelerate even faster than proposed in the economic council report. The federal government managed to buy off a bigger share of the guaranteed payments by promising it would come up with an emergency tax that was acceptable to Alberta."

In theory, Alberta won the whip hand in a deal that was to give Alberta $400 million of the $320 million in total net revenues from oil and gas over the next four years while the federal government was still floundering for ways of capturing its designated $17 billion. All the preliminary and negotiations delays proved local.

By the time Finance Minister C. F. Blondin presented his budget of realism, the opposition parties sensed many Canadian citizens were lumpy about the cost consequences of warming wary lands. Thursday night the Liberals and NDP moved to cast the net. The most honest and courageous budget of the 1971s has been scuppered in Alberta, which bargained so toughly and so long with Ottawa, now has no bargain at all.
PC 2: franklin, globe and nail, 25 February 1960
PC 4: Koschak, Toronto Star, 20 March 1980
No small problem

The basic enemy is still inflation. Some of Canada's inflation is imported. A lot of it is created by governments which operate on budget deficits. Way and afford the biggest offender is the federal government, with vastly the greatest deficits. Money which is borrowed to pay government deficits is not available for industry to expand, make more and improve its productivity per unit and its overall capacity to produce goods and services. These government deficits are particularly unjustified now because most Canadian industry is producing at the level of full capacity. If it is to provide more jobs and find more markets at home and abroad, it must increase and improve its capacity. But it cannot do that because government is hoarding all the money. So too many dollars pursue too few goods, inflation rises, and more and more people can't make ends meet.

In evidence, this is one of the messages which Bank of Canada Governor Gerald Bouey tried to convey in his annual report:

"Most Canadians," said Mr. Bouey, "want the economy to generate high employment with rising real incomes, and to have that kind of economy it is necessary that there be a sustained and fairly rapid growth in the stock of physical capital, that is, in plant, machinery and equipment. In our society most of that investment is made at private initiative, and it will not be made unless the economic environment encourages it."

An element of public financial policy that has very great influence over time on the willingness and ability of the community to invest in productive plant and equipment is fiscal policy. The scale of such investment is much affected by tax policy and by the borrowing requirements of government. The former is obvious but the latter is not. Large fiscal deficits undertaken to transfer income to individuals, and thereby to increase consumption, at times when the economy would otherwise be substantially underemployed will encourage investment in business plant and equipment. But if large fiscal deficits are continued (as now) when the economy has little more effective capacity to increase output they will discourage such investment. The restraint on investment is felt through various channels. One of them is that the fiscal deficits absorb savings that could otherwise be channelled by financial markets into financing the expansion of plant and equipment.

"There is also an international aspect to the matter. If we in Canada want to reduce our investment deficit on current account and thus our use of foreign savings we shall have to pay careful attention to the rate at which domestic savings are being absorbed by the fiscal deficits of our governments."

One aspect of inflation that is hurting Canadians is high interest rates. They are high because inflation is high," says Mr. Bouey. And they are going to get higher because Canada cannot long maintain interest rates much lower than U.S. interest rates without having money flood to the United States, cause our dollar to fall, and trigger another round of inflation.

This is a serious indictment of Government budgetary policies by the Bank of Canada Governor. During the election Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau argued that there was nothing wrong with Ottawa's huge deficits, that they just represented a transfer of income between Canadians, from one pocket to another pocket, no harm done. The Governor says he is wrong.

PU-5: Franklin, Globe and Mail, 21 March 1960
LISTEN... I HEAR AN ENEMY!!

G. J. Larter, Vancouver Sun, 41 April 1950
How Reagan Plans To Win

By ROBERT J. WAGMAN
Newspaper Enterprise Association

WASHINGTON — As far as the Reagan camp is concerned, the primaries are over. Ronald Reagan may suffer several more setbacks along the way to the party's nominating convention in Detroit, but the nomination is his, say his followers.

This means they now can turn their attention to November and Jimmy Carter. They believe they will win that election. Here's how:

In 1976, Gerald Ford came within a whisker of remaining in the Oval Office.

Jimmy Carter got 297 electoral votes by winning most of the states east of the Mississippi (plus Texas, while Ford tallied 240 electoral votes by taking every state in the West save Hawaii and also winning Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and New Jersey. Had the vote been split in just a few states, Ford would be in the White House still.

The Reagan forces think they can win in November by holding most of those states won by Ford and adding a few, if narrowly lost.

Of the states that went to Carter in '76, the Reagan forces are confident they can take Texas (with 32 electoral votes) and several other Southern states, such as Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina, West Virginia and Missouri.

If they can hold the states that went Republican in '76, this shift of about 45 electoral votes would be enough to give Reagan a victory.

May Lose Illinois

But can they hold the Ford states?

As they now see it, Illinois is the Ford state they'll most likely lose. Although far from ready to concede the state to Carter, they admit it will be an uphill battle. But Texas and the other Southern states would be an even harder fight.

Reagan's people believe the key lies with four traditionally Democratic states that Ford won in 1976: California, New Jersey, Michigan and Indiana. If they can hold three of them, they say, then the expected gains in the Southern and border states would be enough.

California is the biggest prize with 56 electoral votes. Although the state is nominally Democratic, Mike Curb, a Republican running for lieutenant governor, received more votes than re-elected Gov. Jerry Brown during the last statewide election in 1978.

Reagan had little trouble carrying the state in his races for governor, and no state has been harder hit by the current economic problems. Reagan's people say that, of the four, California will be the easiest to hold.

Indiana is also normally Democratic, but politics in Indiana are becoming increasingly conservative, and the state did elect Republican Richard Lugar to the Senate in 1976.

Reagan's conservative policies will appeal to many in Indiana who call themselves Democrats, his strategists say, and he will hold the state.

The Reagan people are aware their chance of a running mate might make the difference in some of the swing states. For instance, Howard Baker on the ticket could deliver Tennessee, which went for Carter in 1976, and make a big difference in several other border states. So, they will choose their vice presidential nominee carefully.

Most of Reagan's key advisors are charging at the bit to get started with the campaign. They expect the press to label Reagan an underdog, but they say they can win and think they know just how to go about it. They can hardly wait.
Failure Of A Mission

An Editorial From
THE GLOBE AND MAIL
Toronto

The difference between triumph and disaster may be a matter of mere chance, a fluke, a stroke of luck, good or bad that in strict fact says nothing about the skill, competence or intelligence that went into the planning. But in operations like the failed attempt to rescue the hostages from Tehran with American military helicopters it is the only difference that counts.

Had the rescue effort succeeded President Jimmy Carter would have been a hero at home. Abroad, in other Western capitals, governments troubled by the possible consequences of the use of economic sanctions against Iran would have been grateful that a surprise second-act curtain had made the troublesome third act of the drama unnecessary. Mr. Carter would have been the man who gave the go-ahead to a triumph.

Instead he is the man who gave the go-ahead to a fiasco. If history were fair it would point out that what Mr. Carter approved was another triumph for a fiasco when he approved it. But history is not fair. The plan fell apart by its own mechanical breakdown. And Mr. Carter — who, to give him due credit, gracefully kept his responsibilities — is stuck with the consequences.

The consequences, although difficult to predict, can be expected to be significant. The trial that began November 4 with an act of terrorism by Iranian militants, blessed by Ayatollah Khomeini, has now crossed a watershed. Mr. Carter's role is not what it was a week ago. Neither is that of the Ayatollah Khomeini.

Americans and their friends, in Canada, Europe and elsewhere will understand and believe Mr. Carter's assurance that this was a humanitarian effort, not a hostile or punitive raid on Iran but an attempt to rescue the hostages without bloodshed, and in the process to eliminate the growing risk that the confrontation will lead to severe bloodshed, Iran as well as America, down the line. Certainly one with a trace of sensitivity to the manner in which international law is being trampled on in Iran would recognize the moral right of the United States to rescue its diplomats from the hands of terrorists.

But Iranians will take a different view. To Ayatollah Khomeini and the most storm-minded of his supporters this will be ammunition for denunciation of invasion, violation of Iranian territory and military aggression by the "Great Satan" in Washington. It will be seen in triumph as confirmation that Washington was indeed plotting against the revolution.

At home Mr. Carter's political rivals are saying pointedly that this is the time to rally around the President, not to pick him apart. But they are saying it in a tone that warns that when the time to pick him apart comes, the pickings will be easy and rewarding.

"Abroad, Mr. Carter's allies, who would have been delighted and relieved by a successful rescue will now have some questions about his credibility. At the very moment when Europe, Japan and Canada were joining the United States in a program of economic sanctions against Iran, on the understanding that military intervention would be deferred, at least, until mid-May, the last touches were in fact being put to an action by American military forces — although not an attack as such — in Iran."

Two things seem certain — the fiasco will intensify rather than relieve the angry frustration felt by Americans at their country's seeming powerlessness; and the Soviet Union will make the most of the chance to persuade Iran that Moscow is devoted to the Ayatollah and his revolution.
PC 9: Auch, Winnipeg Free Press, 2 May 1980
FC 10: Uluschnak, Edmonton Journal, 6 May 1986
The Washington Marathon

PC 13: Elaine, Hamilton Spectator, 17 May 1980
Aftermath of referendum defeat

Cruel challenges ahead for Lévesque

PC 14: Ottawa Citizen, 22 May 1980
Mr. Levesque's Setback

They were cheering wildly at the Palais des Congrès even though it was just past 11 p.m. and the referendum on sovereignty association had just ended. But the last hour of the contest was a battle won all the way down. The man who had led the Parti Québécois into power and had brought them close to their goal of independence was not going to work that way.

For a few minutes he wouldn't speak. Because of the cheering and because of his own emotion that was an acknowledgment of the defeat. In Quebec, he is a candidate who has made a strong association with the rest of Canada. Prime Minister Trudeau might have been wrong.

If you had asked you tell me what's going on.

While the initial returns of most Canadian agencies showed that Claude Ryan's coalition with the Parti Québécois did not work, the worst was yet to come. For Premier René Lévesque, it was a decisive blow. It may be the beginning of a new era.

René has promised to fight this defeat and to continue fighting for the sovereignty of Quebec. He has said that he will not abandon the cause. And he has said that the people of Quebec must be heard by the federal government.

The people of Quebec, however, have rejected the sovereignty-association option. Claude Ryan's coalition, which was formed to support the sovereignty-association option, has been defeated. The Parti Québécois has lost its majority and Prime Minister Trudeau has been urged to resign.

The federal government will now have to consider a new approach to the sovereignty-association question. The people of Quebec have spoken. They have rejected the option of sovereignty-association. Now it is up to the federal government to find a new solution.
Canada's Press Comments

Referendum: Canada's Press Comments

by The Canadian Press

Following is a selection of press reports from Canada's news agencies.


text content
HE AIN'T HEAVY, HE'S MY BROTHER
After the Big Apple

The post-war surge, Jimmy Carter in New York, has not disappeared yet. Even though the 1970s have been fraught with political and economic challenges, Carter's influence remains strong.

The capture at the Madison Avenue awards were the image makeovers, the style smart looks, the sophisticated charm. Carter's image was crafted to resonate with the electorate. His appeal, often described as a "new breed" candidate, was one of honesty and integrity.

On the wider stage, the economic downturn and the growing 요구 수요 for the Republican candidate, Ronald Reagan, has played during the past year, raising questions whether Carter has lost his luster. However, the polls suggest that Carter remains competitive.

If the public polls are accurate, it is difficult to predict how the election will unfold. While the economy remains a major concern, Carter's record on inflation and foreign policy may also play a role.

As the campaign heats up, Carter will need to address these issues head-on. His ability to connect with voters will be crucial.

a big round of applause for Teddy, who has graciously stepped aside...

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19: Peterson, Vancouver Sun, 13 August 1980
TRAINING CAMP OPENS IN MANITOBA.

"Ya gotta hit 'em hard and low but make it look clean."

PC 20: Mallette, Winnipeg Free Press, 21 August 1960
Scrap the Pitfield plan

Two things should be borne in mind concerning the constitutional proposal submitted by Minister of Finance, Michael Pitfield, at a meeting of provincial premiers held earlier this week.

The first is that Pitfield does not recommend anything he submitted to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.

The second is that the cabinet cannot and should not accept it.

Unfortunately, unilateral federal action to bring the British North America Act into conformity with the Canadian constitution would not be acceptable to the provinces for even the most optimistic step towards constitutional reform was not a reality. The premiers, as usual, could not agree among themselves on basic constitutional issues.

But the inevitability of eventual federal unilateral action does not mean that it must be done in a headlong rush, which is certainly what the Pitfield memo advocates.

Under Pitfield's program Parliament would be recalled two or three weeks early and the patriation resolution (even now prepared and being held at the ready) would be given top priority on the Commons agenda. Only the urgency of such other agenda items as energy pricing and Bank Act revisions would prevent it from being raised by the opposition.

Cold determination on the part of the Trudeau government for immediate action on the constitution can be the only explanation for such a timetable.

There seems to be no sensible reason why, even now, the Liberals' strategy for the forthcoming session of Parliament could not allow for a more measured introduction of the patriation resolution.

The immediate result of publication of the Pitfield memo was, of course, to cause a predictable furor among the premiers assembled in Winnipeg.

How many of the Pitfield proposal at this time unilaterally as an emergency measure in time for the Trudeau administration?

But there is at least a suggestion in the memo itself that the prime minister of the constitution resolution as a dishonored agreement of the September negotiations.

If the premiers will not accept the resolution on this basis, they should be encouraged to agree on a resolution on their own.

PC 21: Rusinig, Ottawa Citizen.
23 August 1980
Meaningless or dangerous

Suspicion must be banished

By W.A. Wilson

Speeches in the Free Press

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Campaign Start Delights Carter Supporters

By ROBERT J. WAGMAN
Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The sound of giddy laughter was heard by those who found themselves passing in front of either the White House or Carter-Mondale re-election headquarters on L Street.

The reason for the joy, it seemed, was that Carter-Mondale supporters from top to bottom were absolutely delighted with the way the first week of the campaign went. In fact, things went so well in the first week after the Democratic convention that one campaign manager-up-said, "only partly in jest, "If this keeps up, our main problem will be over-confidence."

As the convention of the Carter-Mondale people genuinely was making several predictions, Carter would re-bound in the polls, Ronald Reagan would go a long way towards dissenting himself with his purchase for making his "ethical" appeal and the campaign of independent John Anderson would never get off the ground.

What the C-M people never expected was to be proven right on all three counts within days of making those predictions. But that's just what happened.

First, the polls. The post-convention polls show Carter all but caught up with Reagan. In one national poll, the president made up over 12 points in three weeks. In a private poll of the South, a key region for Carter, a sweep by Carter in the West, Carter now has moved ahead of the GOP leaders in every state but one, Florida, where the two men are neck and neck.

Second, Reagan's prediction for tactical errors, there were two:

1) Reagan's prediction for errors, "There were two:"
2) Running-mate George Bush's mission to China. The media tour was meant to showcase Bush's foreign policy experience and to head off expected Carter claims of Republican foreign affairs inexperience.

Before Bush left, however, Reagan's prediction: "Once again he's in the White House and must hold it in November or he is to overcome Reagan's big lead in the West. Carter now has moved ahead of the GOP standards in every state but one, Florida, where the two men are neck and neck."

Third, Reagan's prediction for the Chinese officials that Reagan really didn't mean it. Bush is believed to have been visiting from the point that he could play down the issue from then on. But that appears to have been asking too much.

While Bush was in China, Reagan asked, yes or no, was the White House, "asking the Chinese to back down and the Reagan operation took an aura of impotence."

1.) Reagan's statement to the Veterans of Foreign Wars calling the U.S. involvement in Vietnam "a noble cause." As with the China issue, this statement was Reagan's first strong statement. Reportedly, it had appeared in a first draft of the speech, but had been cut out by campaign aides. Reagan reinserted it in the final draft.

"When I saw the quote on the front page, I just couldn't believe it. It was obviously the right statement," Reagan said. "We just couldn't believe that they would say this."

As the Carter strategists put it: "If every week was to go like this one, the campaign would be over by October. But we know it won't. Still, it is a good way to start."
Prices are up...

...down Mexico way
For a better Canada

Joe Clark walks into a neat trap

FC 25: Peterson, Vancouver Sun, 3 October 1970
U.S. VOTES TOMORROW

Official Canada Likes Carter — Quietly

*It's constitutional fest at a height too embarrassing to reveal...*
Also on today's card - governors, congressmen etc.

U.S. Voters To Choose Many Besides President

By The Canadian Press

The battle shaped by one campaign in the nominating struggle for the future of the American party as crafty and intense as that which has been laid bare in the bitter Democratic primary campaign between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Lodge, ended in a crushing defeat for Senator Lodge, a result that leaves the Republican Party a divided and disheartened force.

The main reason for the defeat is a division in the ranks of the party's leadership, especially among the party's leading politicians in the East, where the party's campaign was decided.

The campaign was divided into three parts: the East, which was won by Mr. Lodge; the West, which was won by Mr. Hoover; and the South, which was won by Mr. Hoover. The three parts were fought on different levels, the East being the most intense.

The East was dominated by a group of wealthy industrialists who had been alienated from the Republican Party by the party's handling of the Hoover campaign. The group included the Vanderbilts, the Rockefellers, and the du Ponts.

The West was dominated by a group of young, idealistic republicans who had been inspired by the Hoover campaign. The group included the Ford, the Edison, and the Rockefeller families.

The South was dominated by a group of conservative southern Democrats who had been alienated from the Republican Party by the party's handling of the Hoover campaign. The group included the Robert E. Lee family.

The result of the campaign was a victory for Mr. Hoover, who was able to团结 the East and the West into a united front against the Democrats.

ELECTION TALLY SHEET

Keep Score?

WASHINGTON, D.C. - The tally sheet below shows the votes cast in the presidential election on November 2, 1928. Will the Republicans win the presidency by a narrow margin or by a comfortable majority? Will the Democrats lose the election by a substantial defeat or by a narrow margin? These are the key questions that will determine the outcome of the election.

The tally sheet shows the votes cast by state, with the total number of votes cast in each state. The Republican candidate, Herbert Hoover, won the presidency by a comfortable majority, with 443 electoral votes to 154 for the Democratic candidate, Al Smith.

The Republican campaign was successful because of the support of the wealthy industrialists in the East, who provided the funds and the infrastructure for the campaign. The Democratic campaign was unsuccessful because of the division in the ranks of the party's leadership and the lack of support from the wealthy industrialists.

The result of the election was a victory for Herbert Hoover, who was able to团结 the East and the West into a united front against the Democrats.
PC 26: Leutel, Telegraph-Journal, 22 November 1980
Economic Potholes Ahead

By RICHARD GWYN

OTTAWA — In the investment business, the saying goes that all stockbrokers are at all times, even the worst ones, "pecking about the long-term.

This means that, if you ask your broker to "do his week's shop" even in a bull market, he'll say "yes", because he'll explain that over the long term stock values tend to go up.

Your broker won't say this because he wants your business, although none of us is a barrister and none of us is a business person. He'll be doing it because he's doing it, not because he believes one day things will get better, if only by osmosis, luck and the cycle of time.

Like a bull's stockbroker, economic Council Chairman David Stiles says, "Out through the particularities, the peculiarities that have been..." Canada's medium-term and long-term prospects are much brighter.

In its just-published annual report, the Council maintains that the recovery on which the economy has been building is "the least impressive in the history of Canada's economy." Having forecast a budget surplus in 1981, the Council now forecasts a budget deficit of $1.4 billion in 1981, "a modestly balanced budget." The Council is forecasting a surplus of $1.5 billion in 1982, "a modestly balanced budget.

Canada's economic policy will be "more accommodating to economic needs" than in the past, the Council says. "It is aware of the need to stimulate the economy and to reduce unemployment..." However, the Council says, "The recovery is not as rapid as we would like it to be." The Council's forecast for GDP growth in 1981 is 2.5%, down from 4.5% in 1980. The forecast for 1982 is 3.5%.

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The green cure

Take those dollar bills and a pair of scissors.

ELLEN GOODMAN
Boston Globe columnist.

My grandfather was a man of simple taste. That was because of his income rather than his inclination. During the Depression he developed a theory about the relationship between money and health.

To put it succinctly, "There is nothing wrong with most people that can't be cured by rubbing dollar bills all over their bodies."

He was a man before his time. I thought of him while reading an article in the Journal of the American Medical Association. It was a report of medical research. Never heard of the Vietnam syndrome or the war on poverty but in the journal of the American Medical Association my grandfather would have been interested.

The authors were studying the effects of the Vietnam war on the health of American soldiers. They found that soldiers who were stationed in Vietnam were more likely to develop cardiovascular disease than those stationed in other countries.

They concluded that the stress of war and the uncertainty of the future were contributing factors in the development of this disease.

I was reminded of my grandfather's theory about the relationship between money and health. He would have been interested in the research on the effects of stress on health.

I was also reminded of a story about the American Medical Association and its efforts to control the cost of medical care.

In 1960, the American Medical Association was under attack for the high cost of medical care. The association was accused of profiting from the high cost of medical care and of failing to control the cost of medical care.

The association responded by publishing a report that showed that the cost of medical care was not due to the high cost of medical care but to the high cost of other goods and services.

The report was praised by the association's members and by the public. The association was able to maintain its reputation as an organization that was concerned about the cost of medical care.

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PC 30: Macielly,
Vancouver Sun,
31 December 1960
Big Deficit Could Crimp Reagan’s Economic Program

WASHINGTON (AP) — A Washington official estimated a $313 billion budget deficit for 1981, more than quadrupling the previous year's $69 billion. Such a deficit, if left unchecked, could crimp Reagan's economic program.

Reagan, who took office in January 1981, had promised to cut taxes and increase government spending to stimulate the economy. However, the budget deficit grew due to increased government spending and reduced tax revenues.

The result was a major policy issue during Reagan's administration. Critics argued that the large deficit would lead to inflation and damage the economy. Reagan, on the other hand, defended his economic policies, arguing that they were necessary to stimulate growth.

The budget deficit grew further in subsequent years, with the overall national debt increasing significantly. Reagan's economic policies, known as supply-side economics, were a significant factor in this development.
A Long, Long Iran-Iraq War?

BY OWYHEE DYER

LONDON — The outcome of the Iran-Iraq war, despite Western efforts to drive the Iraqis out of Kuwait, will not be a quick fight, according to Western observers. The war is expected to last for many months, and possibly years. The future of the region and perhaps the world will depend on how the war unfolds.

The war has already claimed thousands of lives and caused destruction on a massive scale. The United Nations has condemned the war and called for a ceasefire.

Of Major Importance

For Iran, however, the future of the country is at stake. The war has already led to a significant loss of life and infrastructure. The country's economy has been severely affected, and the government has been unable to prevent the spread of violence.

President Ben-Safar has been under intense pressure to produce military success. The United States and Western allies have provided military aid to the Iraqis, but so far, the results have been disappointing. The western alliance has increased its military presence in the region, but the war is far from over.

Movement Possible

Movement is still possible in this complex environment, where the situation is constantly changing. The United States has increased its military presence in the region, but the war is far from over.

The war is expected to last for many months, and possibly years. The future of the region and perhaps the world will depend on how the war unfolds. The United Nations has condemned the war and called for a ceasefire.

...and you go until we win or you lose... whichever comes first...
Trudeau makes his point

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's speech in the House of Commons on Tuesday was an important moment in his government's historic quest for constitutional renewal—not because he added anything very new to a debate in which virtually everything has already been said, but because he has finally demonstrated the weakness of the case his critics have been able to muster.

All the key points Trudeau makes are valid, and persuasive:
- Canadians overwhelmingly favor the substantive content of the proposed initiative. They would prefer a different process, one based on unanimity or at least consensus, but such agreement is quite simply unattainable in the foreseeable future. The government's way of proceeding, by recourse to Westminster, is not only legally and morally correct; it is the only way Canada's constitution has been, or can be, amended. And the time to act, to settle the " Gordian knot" of stalled constitutional renewal, is now.

- As Trudeau correctly pointed out, the message of all the polls is that a strong majority of Canadians, in every region, support ratification of the Constitution with an amending formula and a charter of rights. The constitutional package has the official support of the federal New Democratic Party. And even the federal Tories, who have been vigorously attacking the plan, profess support in principle. The need for ratification, an amending formula and a charter of rights.

- It is undeniable that the public, like the federal Tories, would prefer a more harmonious process that would bring about unanimity or at least consensus with the provinces. However, it is through constitutional renewal that the long-standing problem of Quebec's representation is resolved. The time is right for a change, the time is right for a constitutional amendment. And the time is now.

- The search for federal-provincial agreement on the first phase of constitutional renewal has gone on for decades, and there is no particular reason to believe that it will succeed. There is no clear path forward. Trudeau has proposed a new approach: a series of compact agree to a constitutional amendment. Provincial governments have for years had the mandate and the ability to act in their own interests. Trudeau has pointed out that the provinces have the power to act in their own interests. They can act to protect their interests, and they can act to protect the rights of all Canadians.

- Trudeau's speech was a powerful statement of his government's commitment to constitutional renewal. It is a statement that Canadians should take seriously. The time for action is now.
Approaching the limits

Now that Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau has spoken, the machinery to begin the end of the constitutional debate will start turning. The party leaders' inability to agree on limits to the debate is as significant in itself as the Government's timetable is suspect.

The government would like to have a joint address on the constitution in Westminster's hands by Easter, so that the package will be ready for delivery to Canadians July 1. That's a poor reason for cutting off debate of such a critical national issue.

So far, the debate in Parliament has been held back by opposition, and the government is no more than a handful of cabinet ministers and a few parliamentary secretaries. But the constitutional issue has been monopolizing Parliament's time, other pressing public business languishing on the shelf.

Though the government has approached the use of closure cautiously, it's now taking steps to bring the discussion to an end. It's hard to defend continued discussion on the grounds that more remains to be said, especially after outcomes have been left unstated.

The only persuasive reason for letting the parliamentary debate run its course is that the constitutional issue is fundamental to the future character of our country. It's more important to ensure that it receives an exhaustive airing than to meet the prime minister's personal political timetable.

But even that argument is lacking substance. The issue has already received a thorough airing. Before requesting British action, Trudeau should have consulted a supreme court of Canada ruling on the validity of his unilateral action on the constitution, but that doesn't warrant interimable discussion in Parliament.
Quebec Votes April 13

Predicting Winner Is Harder Than Usual

Leaders' Futures Hang In Balance

PC 40: aislin, tele-raph-Journal, 6 April 1981
"NO, NO, FELLOWS, THE TARGET REMEMBER?"

OC-1: Collins, Montreal Gazette, 5 June 1941
The way I see it, things are actually looking up.

PC 44: Uluschak, Lethbridge Journal,
15 August 1931
A homily on constitutional good manners

EDWARD McWHINNEY
of the department of political science at UBC, has been advising on constitutional matters to the federal government and several provincial governments.

The decision of the Supreme Court of Canada on the constitution is a significant one. It affects not only the federal government, but also the provincial governments. The decision was reached in the case of the British North America Act by the British House of Commons and the British Parliament, in 1981.

The decision was announced by the Prime Minister of Canada, who said it would be a turning point in Canadian history. The decision has been met with mixed reactions, with some people supporting it and others opposing it.

The decision was based on the interpretation of the British North America Act, which is a constitutional document that governs the relationship between the federal government and the provincial governments.

The decision has been hailed as a victory for the federal government, as it has been able to assert its authority over the provincial governments. However, it has also been criticized by some as being too centralized and too much power being given to the federal government.

The decision has been seen as a turning point in Canadian history, as it has been interpreted as a victory for the federal government and a defeat for the provincial governments.

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Bennett getting ready for failure?

The current state of the federal government leaves much to be desired. Official reports have indicated that the government is facing significant challenges, particularly in the areas of healthcare and infrastructure. The situation is further exacerbated by the ongoing pandemic, which has placed a strain on the economy and public services.

Despite these challenges, the government continues to prioritize spending on major infrastructure projects. The latest round of investments includes significant funds for the rehabilitation of public transportation systems across the country. These projects are expected to create jobs and stimulate economic growth in the long term.

However, there are concerns about the sustainability of these investments. Critics argue that the government is funneling too much money into short-term projects at the expense of more strategic long-term initiatives. This approach is seen as a missed opportunity to address the country’s most pressing issues, such as climate change and healthcare reform.

The government has also faced criticism for its handling of the pandemic. Despite early successes in containing the spread of the virus, recent spikes in cases have raised concerns about the effectiveness of current strategies. There is a growing perception that the government’s response has been slow and inadequate, particularly in vulnerable communities.

The upcoming federal election is shaping up to be a pivotal moment for the country. Voters will be looking for leadership and a clear vision for the future. The government’s track record in responding to the pandemic and addressing economic challenges will be under intense scrutiny.

In conclusion, while the government has made some progress in key areas, it faces significant challenges that require thoughtful and strategic planning. The upcoming election offers an opportunity for the country to chart a new course, one that prioritizes long-term sustainability and social equity.
The aging contenders for Russia's leadership

JERRY HOUGH

WASHINGTON

Recent news items have been concluded to support the view that the Soviet Union is in a transitional period, as seen by some observers. The new leadership is attempting to consolidate power and ensure its stability. This article discusses the potential successors and their possible roles in the future of the Soviet Union.

1. Mikhail Gorbachev (53 per cent). Central committee secretary, is seen as a strong candidate for the top post. Gorbachev has been influential in the Perestroika and glasnost reforms, which have brought about economic and political changes. His reform policies have gained support from various segments of the Soviet society.

2. Andrei Gromyko (15 per cent). Foreign minister, is influential in international affairs. Gromyko has been a key figure in Soviet foreign policy, playing a significant role in negotiations with Western countries. His experience and expertise in diplomacy make him a strong contender.

3. Lazar Kaganovich (13 per cent). Central committee member, is a survivor of the Stalin era. Kaganovich's contributions to the Soviet Union are significant, and he has experience in various political roles. Despite his age, he remains a formidable candidate for the leadership.

4. Elena Bonch-Bruyevich (11 per cent). Deputy foreign minister, is a strong figure in Soviet politics. Bonch-Bruyevich has been influential in the country's foreign policy decisions and has a good understanding of international relations.

5. Alexander Yakovlev (10 per cent). Deputy prime minister, is known for his reforming ideas. Yakovlev's advocacy for glasnost and perestroika has gained him popularity among some segments of the Soviet population.

6. Nikolai Podgorny (9 per cent). Speaker of the Supreme Soviet, is influential in legislative matters. Podgorny's position gives him access to important information and resources, making him a potential candidate.

7. Valentina Tereshkova (8 per cent). First woman in space, is a national hero. Tereshkova's contributions to Soviet science and technology have earned her recognition, and her leadership qualities are acknowledged.

8. The field thins out. When faced with a great number of candidates, the Soviet leadership usually selects a few to compete in a formal process. Recent events suggest that central committee's selection at the Ninth Party Congress is already underway (although not yet public), and a showdown among contenders can be expected.

In many ways, the situation is similar to the presidential election. We do not know exactly who will run, nor do we know their platforms. However, it is clear that the elderly leaders of the current generation will be challenged by younger, more dynamic figures. The future of the Soviet Union is uncertain, and the outcome of this transition will shape its direction for decades to come.

PC 47: Kessel, Vancouver, Jan. 15 October 1981
The sham side of the conference

MARJORIE NICHOLS
in ottawa

Well, six hours later it became apparent that Mr. Trudeau's breakthrough was nothing less than surprising. It wasn't true. At 7 P.M. Mr. Levy assessed his documents, believing them to be in error. By 9 P.M. Mr. Lupashenack was convinced that at least two and possibly eight prov.ers were approved as the referendum began.

In a display of quickness, Mr. Lupashenack refused to explain the six-hour hiatus of his "breakthrough." He said he was acting in his capacity as a volunteer, and Mr. Christon didn't do a very good job if that were the case. He added, "It might be recognized, but it's not."

On Tuesday evening, a S.C. official confirmed that Prime Minister Trudeau had proposed a national referendum to the meeting.

But what he described didn't jibe with what Mr. Christon described as a national referendum. He was convinced he had proposed a national referendum to the meeting.

It was immediately followed by what Mr. Trudeau called his "breakthrough." He said Mr. Christon didn't do a very good job if that were the case. He added, "It might be recognized, but it's not."

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A tenor of surprise ran across the room. Nor did anyone expect the announcement of the referendum tonight. The Prime Minister had announced a referendum for the previous two days, based on the news.

Premier Russ Lamoureux, a trait of a smile on his face, stood up and spoke. "The man of surprise that has been circulating among the Canadian public is that he has announced a referendum for the previous two days, based on the news.

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Richard Hatfield's Role

Premier Richard Hatfield has been in office since 1971, serving through various terms as the leader of New Brunswick. His tenure has been marked by significant political decisions and developments.

This agreement has been a major accomplishment for the province. In 1981, Premier Hatfield played a crucial role in securing the constitutional package unveiled by Prime Minister Trudeau. It was a decision fraught with risks, but ultimately it was a victory for New Brunswick.

Richard Hatfield, while maintaining his position on a firm personal belief that it was best for Canada and best for New Brunswick, fought strongly against the proposed constitutional changes. He emphasized the principle of equalization and the rights of all provinces.

Premier Dave, as supporting the prime minister, had his own reasons and, it could be argued, had a vested interest in maintaining Ottawa's allegiance. He did not, for one thing, want to be forced to introduce official bilingualism in New Brunswick, as exists in Ontario.

Richard Hatfield, on the other hand, stood firm on the principle that it was best for Canada and best for New Brunswick. He fought strongly against the proposed constitutional changes and the need for a strong central government. He stood by his convictions and was embattled with Prime Minister Trudeau. It was a defining moment for his premiership.

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The agreement was a triumph for New Brunswick. It was a decision that shaped the province's future and secured its place in the Canadian federation.

On his final day in office, Premier Hatfield delivered a speech that reflected on his tenure. He highlighted the challenges faced and the successes achieved during his time in office. He stressed the need for stability and growth, and thanked his team and the people of New Brunswick for their support.

Premier Hatfield's legacy is one of resilience and dedication to the principles of the province. His contributions to New Brunswick's development will be remembered for many years to come.

PC 49: Seutel, Telegraph-Journal, 7 November 1981
Injustifiable entêtement de M. Lévesque