



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Services des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

CANADIAN THESES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

THÈSES CANADIENNES

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

Canada

GRAPHIC SEMIOTIC EFFECTS IN SPORT 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



Jonathan Rahn, Ottawa, Canada, 1984



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was prepared under the supervision of Professor Louis G. Kelly, Ph.D., of the Department of Linguistics of the University of Ottawa.

This writer is indebted to Dr. Kelly and to Professor Philip Fry of the Visual Arts Department of the University of Ottawa for their advice, patience and understanding, and for their guidance in those areas of semantics and graphics touched upon in this thesis.

CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Jonathan Rahn was born 20 July 1944 in Saint John, New Brunswick. He received the Bachelor of Arts degree in French and History from St. Thomas University, Fredericton, New Brunswick, in 1966. He received the Master of Arts degree in French Literature from the University of Toronto in 1969.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	page
INTRODUCTION	vi
1. - THE CARTOON AS A COMMUNICATION PROCESS ...	1
1.1 Preliminary considerations	1
1.2 The communication process	3
1.3 The cartoon as a text	11
2. - THE CARTOON AS A SIGNIFICATION PROCESS ...	17
3. - A SET OF ASSOCIATIONS	33
3.1 Preliminary considerations	33
3.2 Presentation of the corpus	37
3.3 General graphic characteristics of the corpus	42
3.4 Graphic analysis of the cartoon: an example (PC 50)	51
3.5 Linguistic and visual interaction	56
CONCLUSION	95
BIBLIOGRAPHIES	100
1. Annotated	101
2. Other works consulted	105
APPENDICES	119
1. List of cartoonists and their contribution to the corpus	120
2. The corpus of cartoons	123

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURES

	page
1. - Schema of communication for the cartoon ...	8
2. - The nature of the cartoon as a text	13
3. - Model for the analysis of the cartoon as text	18
4. - The metaphorical process	20
5. - Model for the analysis of the cartoon as a multi-levelled discourse	26
6. - Cartoon by Josh Seutel which appeared in <u>The Telegraph-Journal</u> of 9 February 1981 ...	28
7. - Cartoon by John Larter which appeared in <u>The Toronto Star</u> of 4 March 1981	30
8. - Breakdown of sports used as image vehicle according to sport and month and year	40
9. - Cartoon by Girera which appeared in <u>Lapresse</u> of 13 November 1981	52
10. - Types of linguistic - visual interaction ..	62
11. - Schema of the vectors of influence for audio-visual information	93

TABLES

1. - Graphic information collected for each cartoon of the corpus	38
---	----

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 l'intin, 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 5 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. Sadoul 1971).

Scant 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 1976:8-9). 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

INTRODUCTION

viii

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 (Gelpel 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" (Gelpel 1976:21, 20).

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

According to Gelpel (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 mot caricature employé aujourd'hui dans de nombreuses langues vient du mot italien caricatura, signifiant 'action de charger, d'exagérer' ... La caricature est donc d'après son origine une exagération,

une charge, une déformation" (Topuz 1974:18).

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 Topuz (1974:28), "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" (Topuz 1974:119).

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

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. Bühler 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

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

7

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 Moles (Moles & Zeltmann 1973:138) 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

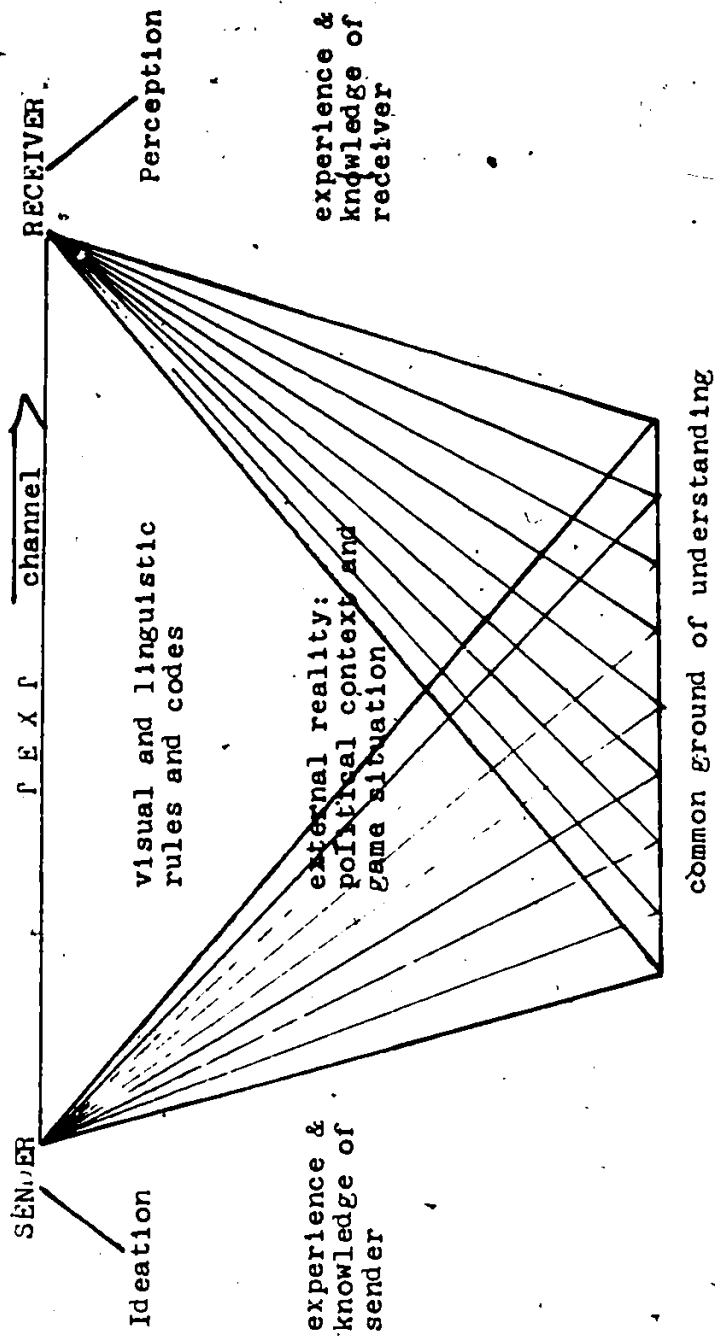


Figure 1: Schema of communication for the cartoon

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 themselves 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 cartoon as a text has to be based on an understanding of its nature as a sign.

High on the list of priorities for the sender is what Gelpel (1976:32) terms "the ability to put across an idea with a minimum of effort and a maximum of comprehensibility". In Lopez' (1974:44) view "la caricature est donc une image perçue globalement et instantanément à partir d'un déclic: 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" (Eco 1976:57). We venture further than Eco 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, Roland Barthes 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" (Barthes 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" (Geipel 1976:32-33), but most texts are bi-codal:

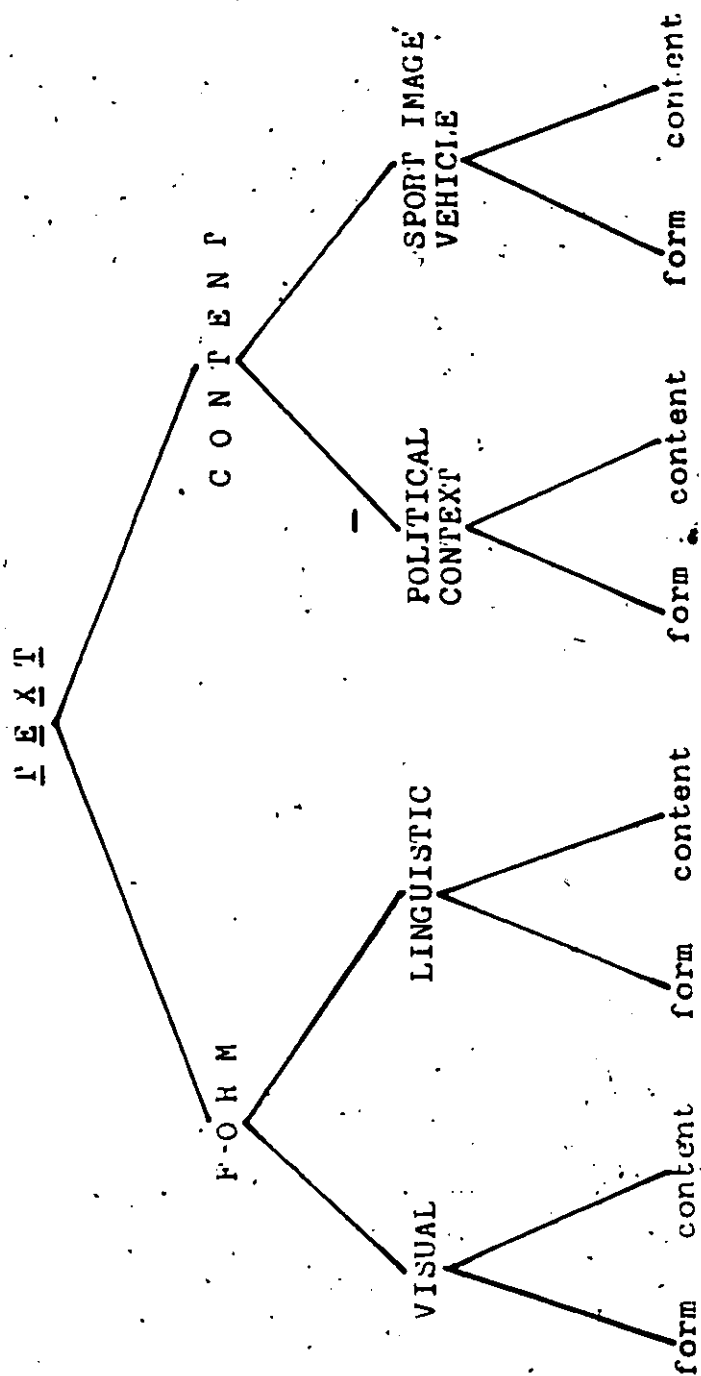


Figure. 2: The nature of the cartoon as a text

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. (Popuz 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 game 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 game situation of the image vehicle.

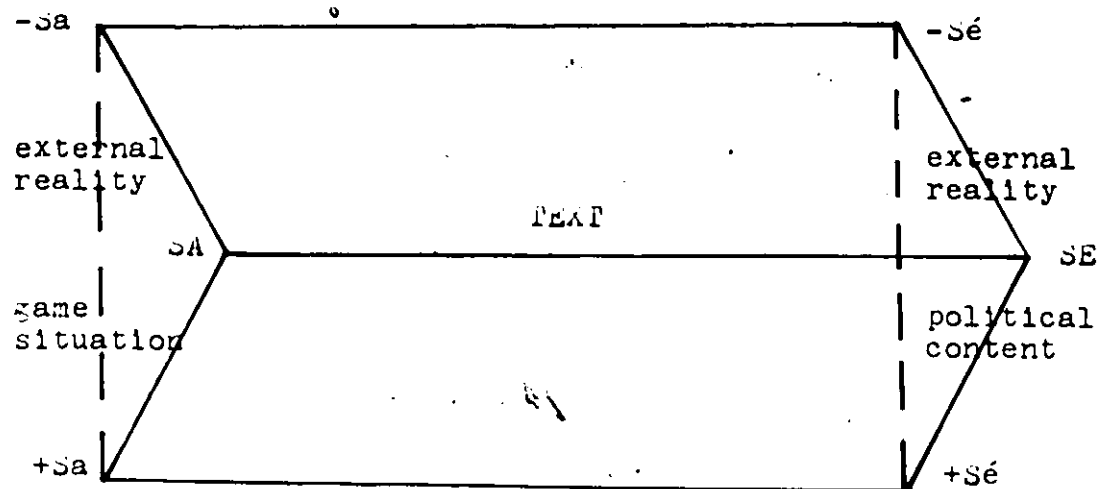


Figure 3: Model for the analysis of the cartoon as text

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" (Eco 1972:28). 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, iconic, encapsulating image" (Risbet 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 procès métaphorique présentent des champs sémantiques en intersection [cf. figure 4 on the following page 7. La seconde concerne l'axe syntagmatique et suppose une certaine homogénéité du contexte sémantique, ... " (Beauvois 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

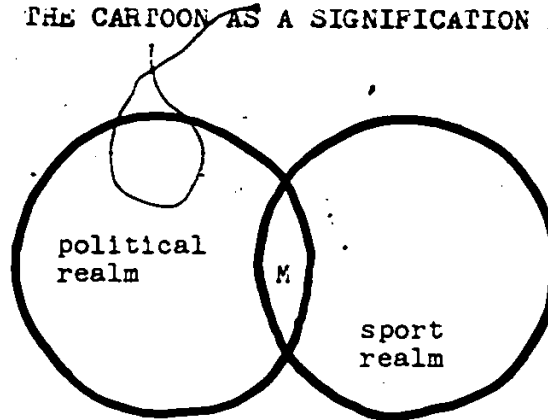


Figure 4: The metaphorical process

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

[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 sous-jacente 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) global" (Eco 1973:26). Eco posits further three types of metonymical connection --- by contiguity, by antonymy, or by differentiation (Eco 1973:35-36).

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 signifiant (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 an other.

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 15 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

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.

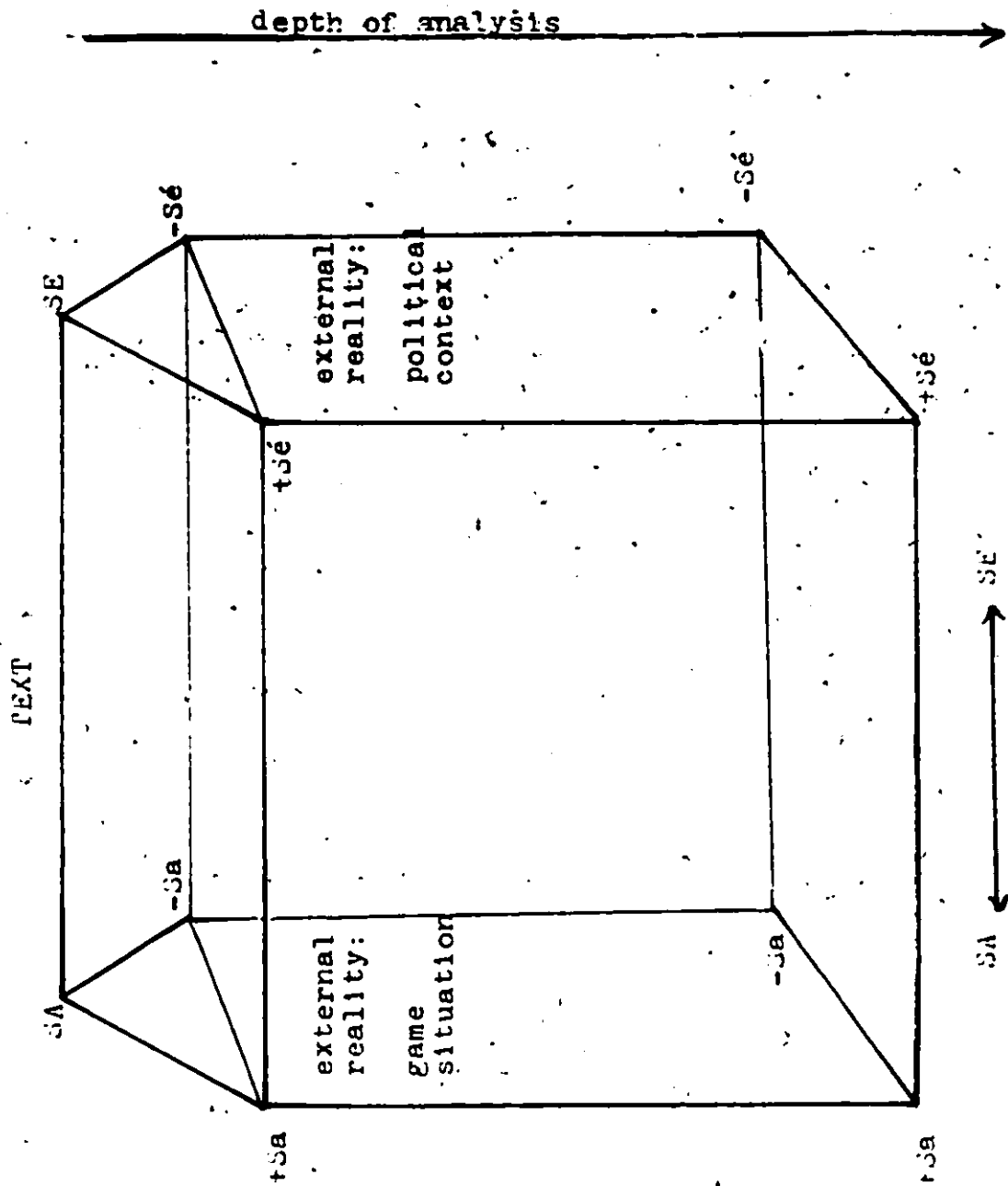
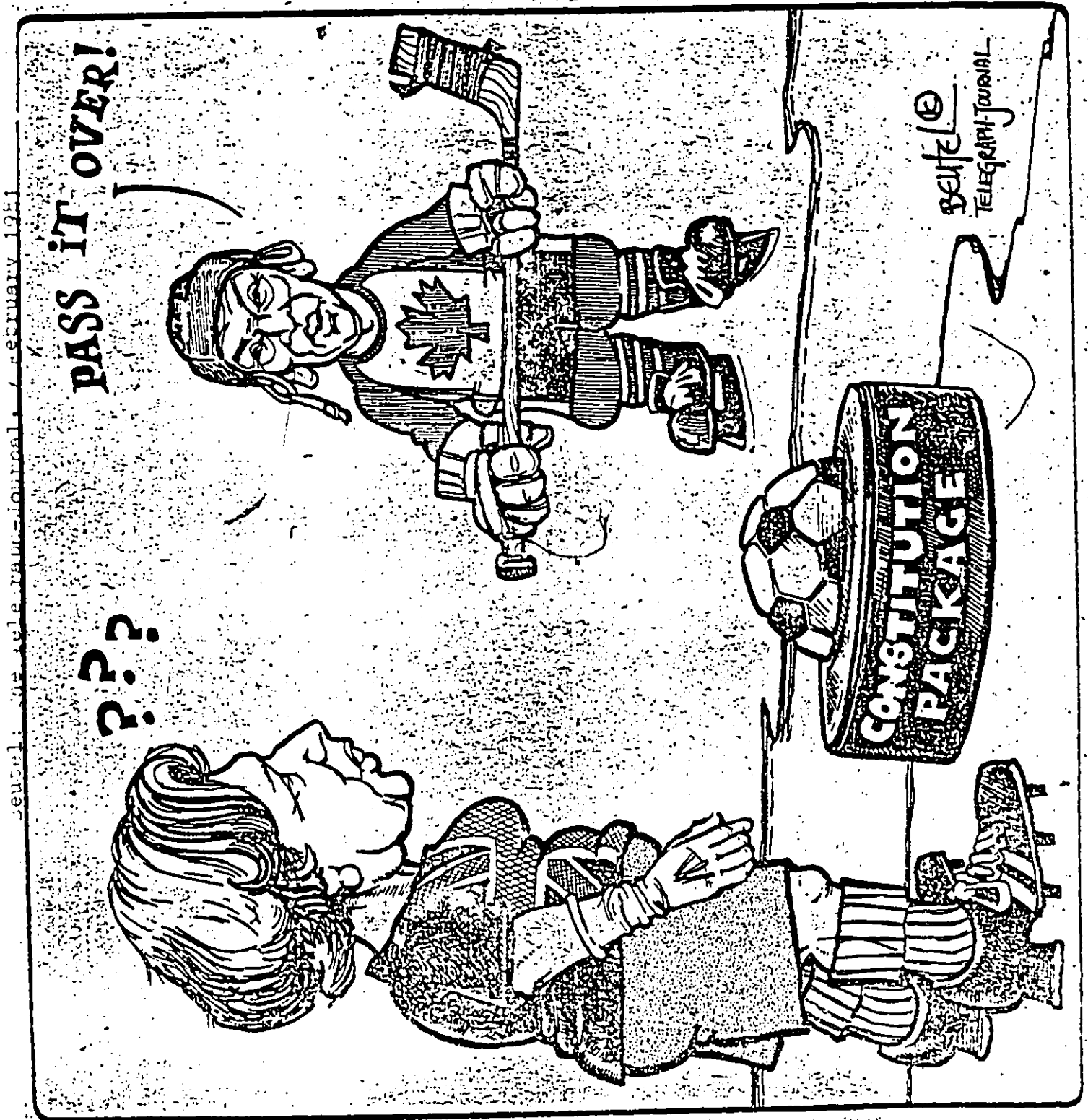


Figure 5: Model for the analysis of the cartoon as a multi-leveled discourse

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 caricaturizes a political incongruity of one sort or another as an incongruity of a sport or game 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 signifiant (SA) and the signifié (S₁) and then as signifiant (+SA) and anti-signifiant (-SA) and as signifié (+S₁) and anti-signifié (-S₁). Level 3 represents the level of the individual visual signs. On this same level the linguistic elements are analysed as signifiant and anti-signifiant -- this is for convenience sake only. Level 4 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

TEXT

Level 1: Content - ss -- Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada requests that Prime Minister Thatcher of Great Britain return the Constitution to Canada

Level 2: +ss -- Trudeau makes a request to Thatcher re: the patriation of the Constitution

-ss -- Thatcher has trouble dealing with the Canadian request

Level 1: Form - sa -- two players ostensibly playing what appears to be a form of pond hockey

Level 2: +sa -- Trudeau dressed and equipped as a hockey player

-sa -- 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' gloves

linguistic elements -- composed of the following:

+sa - PASS IT OVER!

-sa - ???

Level 4: Signals - the lines, strokes, etc. of which both the visual and linguistic signs are composed

Carter, Toronto Star, 11 March 1981

EN GARDE

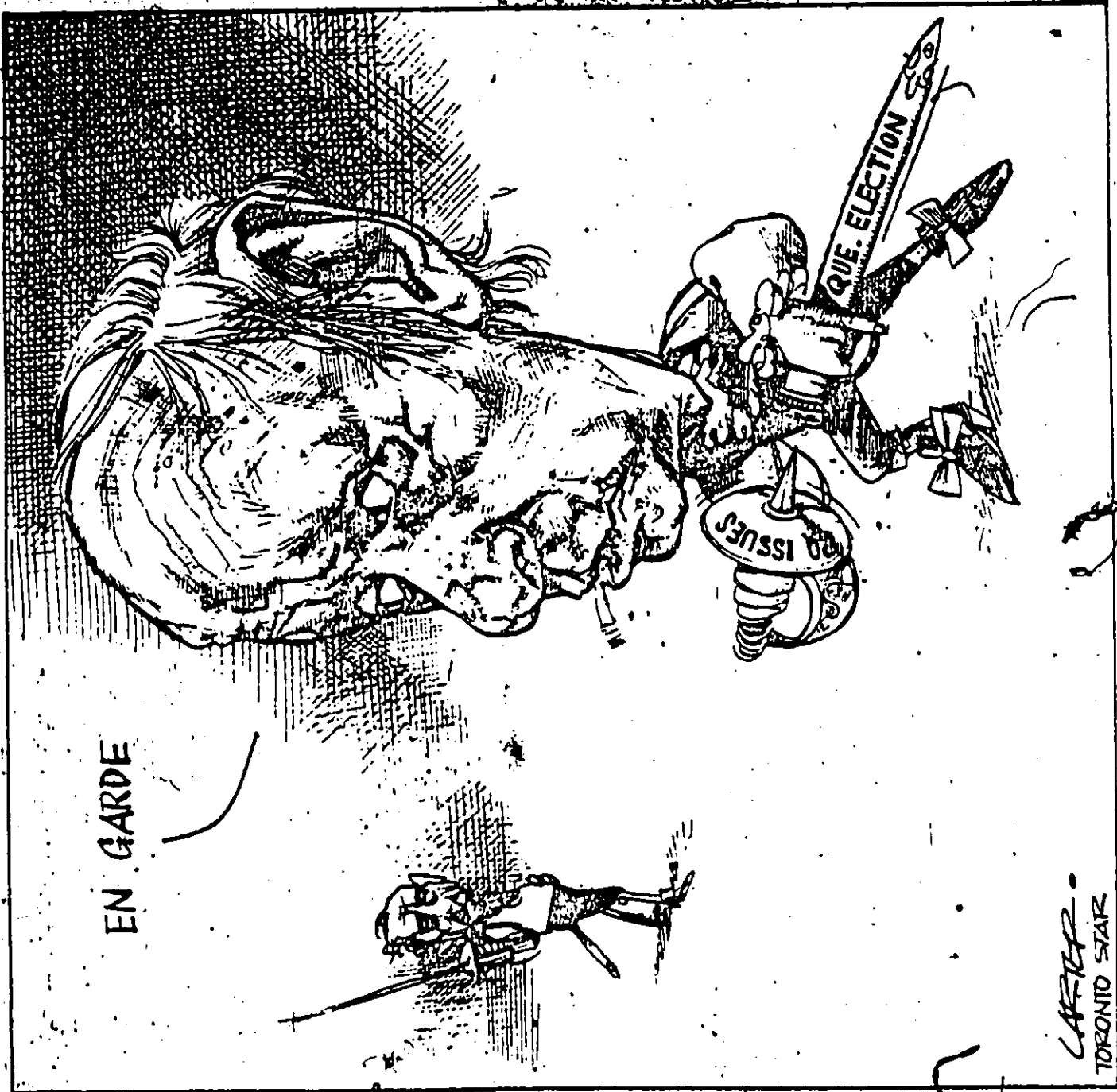


figure 7

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

TEXT

Level 1: Content - SE -- 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 - QUE. ELECTION
EN GARDE

-Sa - Pq 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 signifiantes 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 1973:12)

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 Koffka (1934), 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 1983).

Man 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.

Rudolf 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 (Londis 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.

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

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 the 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 and image 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 1980 and 1981. The Moscow Olympic Games were held in 1980 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 Games 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 c 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 Games.

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).

[illegible]

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 preceeding 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., PC 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..." (Pry 1977:75). 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 actants 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,

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 exceptions, 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 display 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.

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 38); 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 Buchler 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;" (Buchler 1957:104). "... (A) sign may be iconic, that is, may represent its object mainly by its similarity, no matter what its mode of being" (Buchler 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 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: 99).

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 50)

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'être ces b... gies, on ne connaît toujours pas le sens, encore moins le but de la motion que le premier ministre a fait passer à l'Assemblée nationale de Québec pour donner la position de la province face à l'accord constitutionnel de 1981.

Il s'agit d'un accord qui ne donne pas de pouvoir à la province, mais qui lui permet de participer à la prise de décisions importantes. M. Lévesque a déclaré que la province ne devait pas accepter cet accord sans avoir obtenu des garanties supplémentaires. Il a souligné que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

M. Lévesque a également déclaré que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit. Il a souligné que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

On lui demande simplement de signer le document et de passer à l'ordre du jour. M. Lévesque a répondu que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

M. Lévesque a également déclaré que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit. Il a souligné que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

M. Lévesque a également déclaré que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit. Il a souligné que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

des suggestions qui pourraient lui servir de base à la reprise de la négociation. Le premier point soulevé par M. Lévesque concerne la mobilité de la main-d'œuvre. Le chef libéral a déclaré que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

M. Lévesque a également déclaré que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit. Il a souligné que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

M. Lévesque a également déclaré que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit. Il a souligné que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

l'Assemblée nationale. Les deux classes qui ne sont pas représentées par M. Lévesque sont les classes moyennes et les classes supérieures. M. Lévesque a déclaré que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

M. Lévesque a également déclaré que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit. Il a souligné que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

M. Lévesque a également déclaré que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit. Il a souligné que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

Enfin, même si l'on admet que M. Lévesque a le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit, il n'est pas évident que la province ait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

M. Lévesque a également déclaré que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit. Il a souligné que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

M. Lévesque a également déclaré que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit. Il a souligné que la province avait le droit de décider de son avenir et que l'accord de 1981 ne respectait pas ce droit.

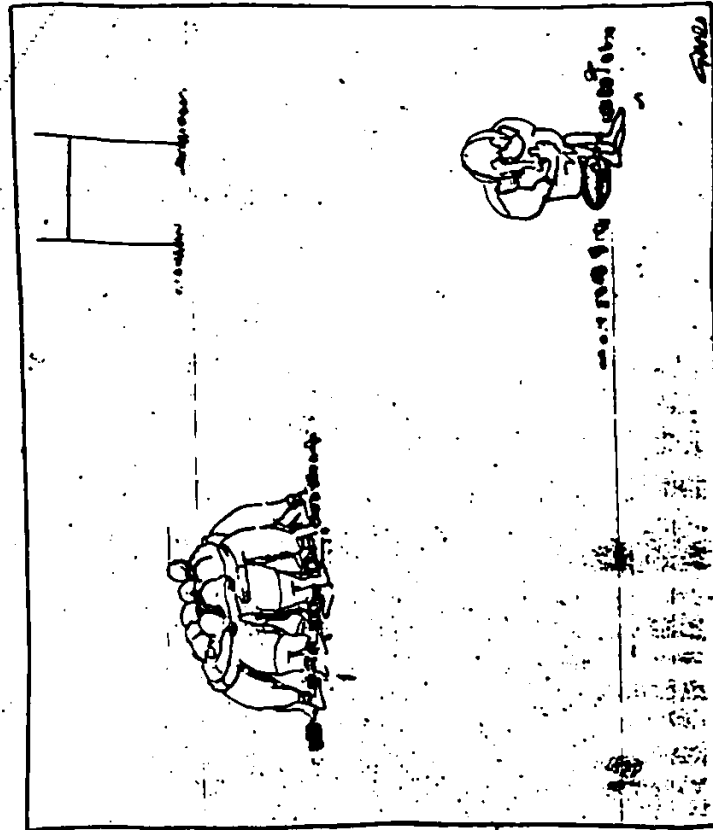


Figure 8

Girard, Lapresse,
13 novembre 1981

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 LaPresse it can be surmized 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 Levesque 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 + 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.

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 straight-forward 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

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)a pertinence 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 10 on the following page gives a breakdown of the corpus in terms of the type of interaction involved.

Graphic elements		Image Centred: Conventional		Image Shifted: Conventional		Iconic Contrast	
Linguistic elements	Linguistic- Iconic Contrast	PC 22 PC 29 PC 30 PC 37 PC 44 PC 48	9°	PC 4 PC 18 PC 34	10°	PC 15	PC 3
	Linguistic- Iconic Confirmation	PC 20 PC 25 PC 26 PC 35 PC 36 PC 45	5°	PC 19 PC 46	6°	PC 41	PC 6
	Linguistic- Iconic Zero Interaction	PC 7 PC 11 PC 12 PC 17 PC 28 PC 43 PC 47	1°	PC 1 PC 5 PC 9 PC 16 PC 23 PC 24 PC 33	2°	PC 27	PC 2 PC 8 PC 10 PC 13 PC 14 PC 21 PC 31 PC 49
							4°
							3°
							2°
							1°
							8°
							7°
							13°
							11°
							12°

Figure 10: types of linguistic - visual interaction

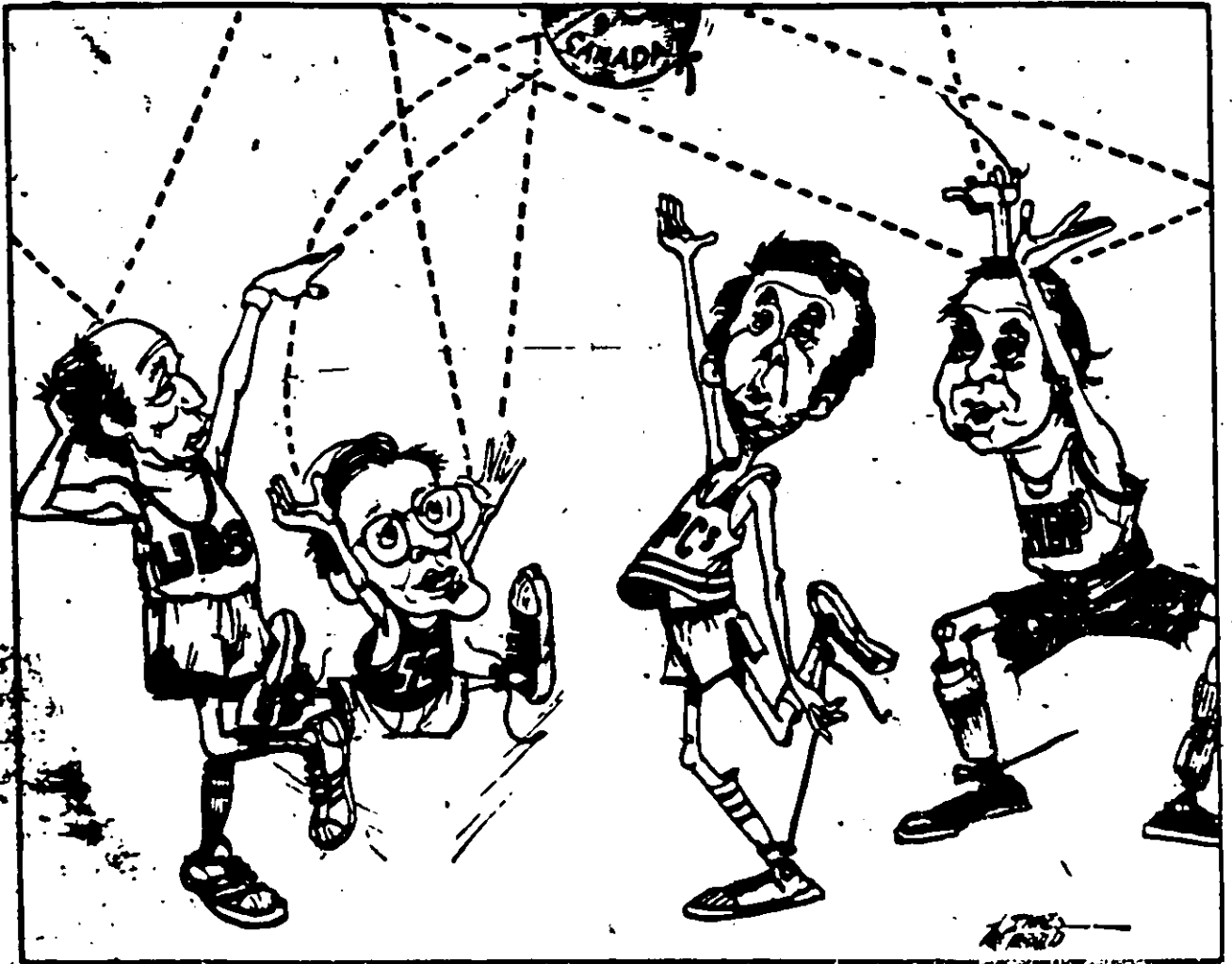


PC 7: Lurie, The Telegraph-Journal, 24 April 1980

- 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.



Games

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.

PC 27: Eisner, the telegraph-Journal, 4 November 1980

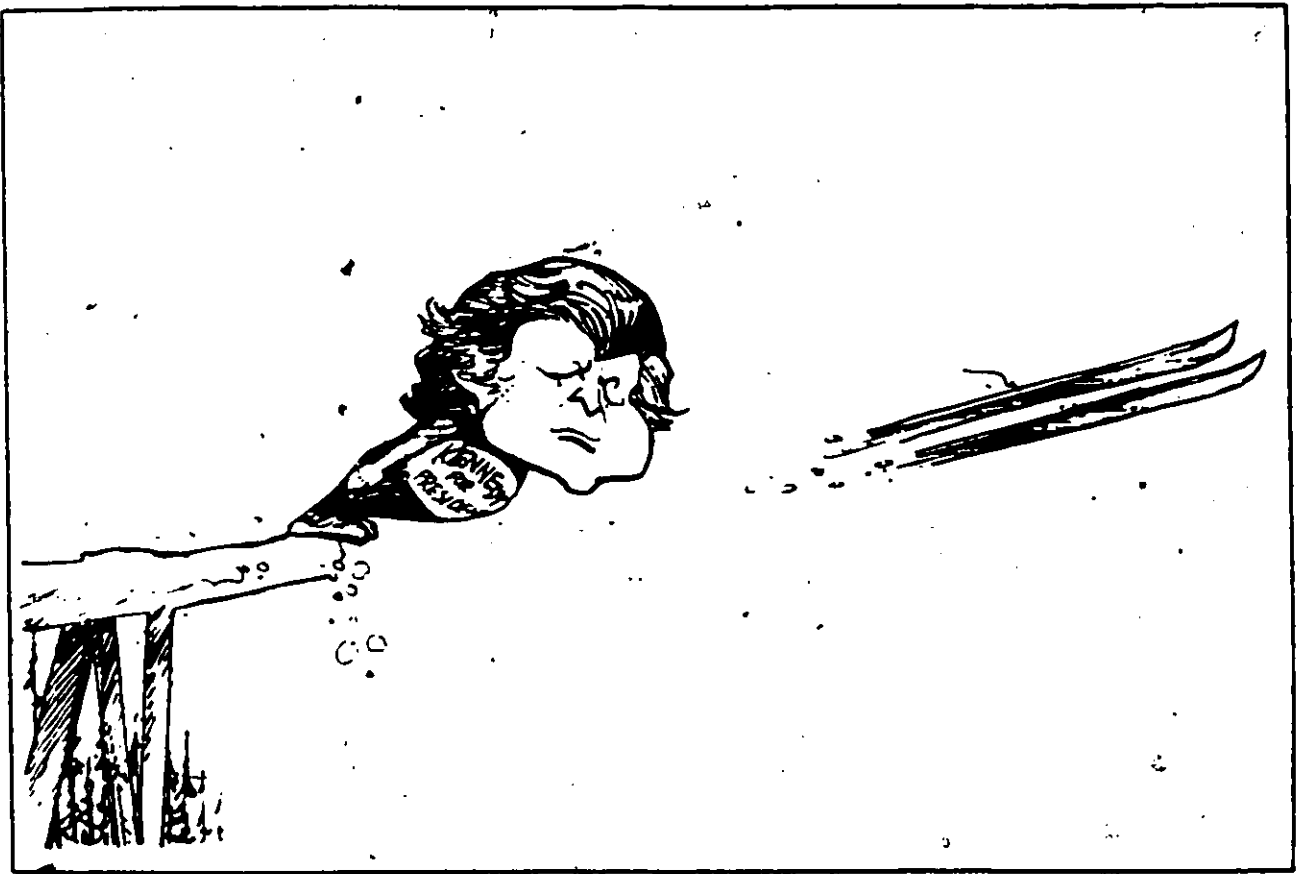
The Main Event



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.

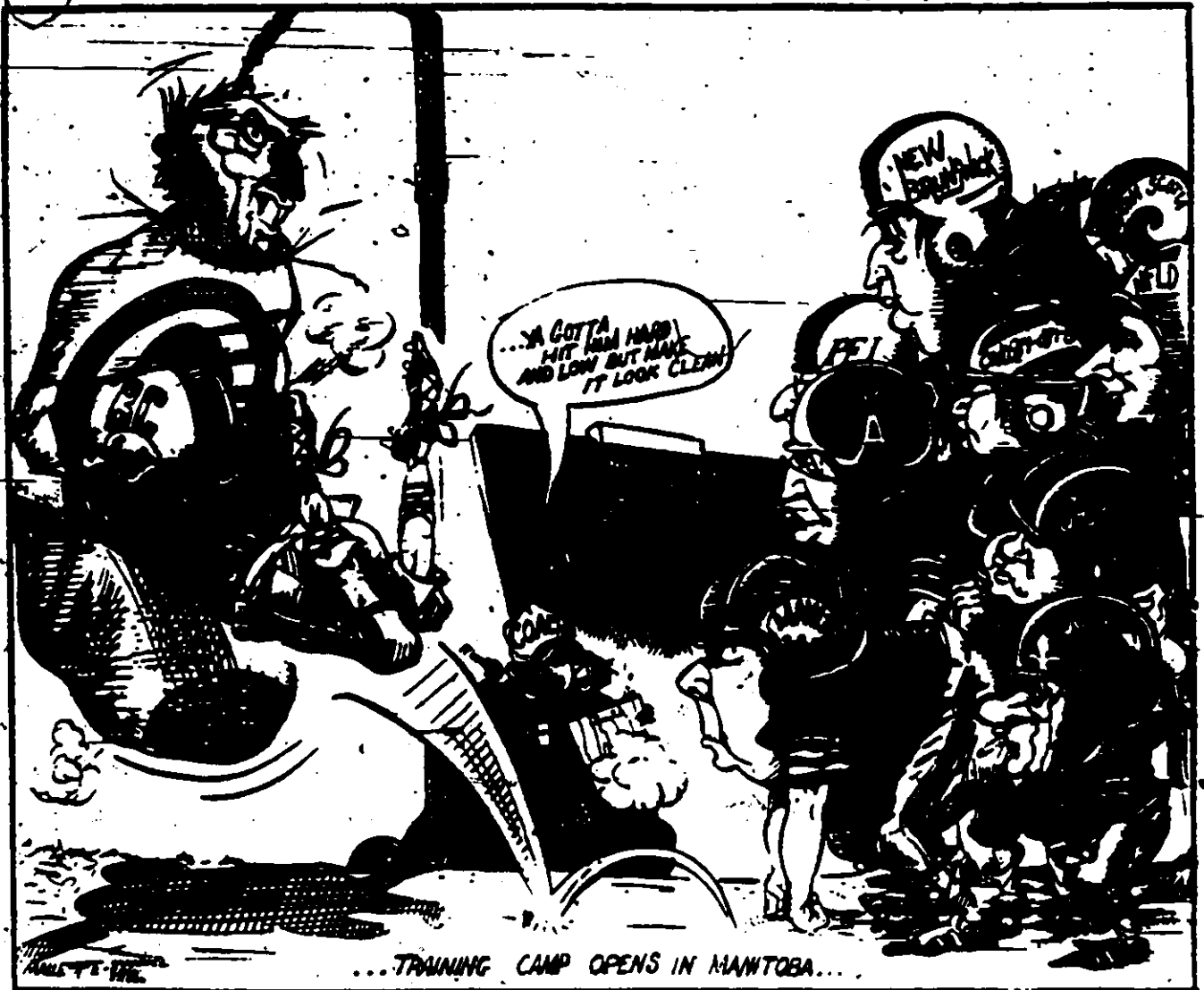


PC 2: franklin, Globe and Mail, 25 February 1980

- 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 metaphoric 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.



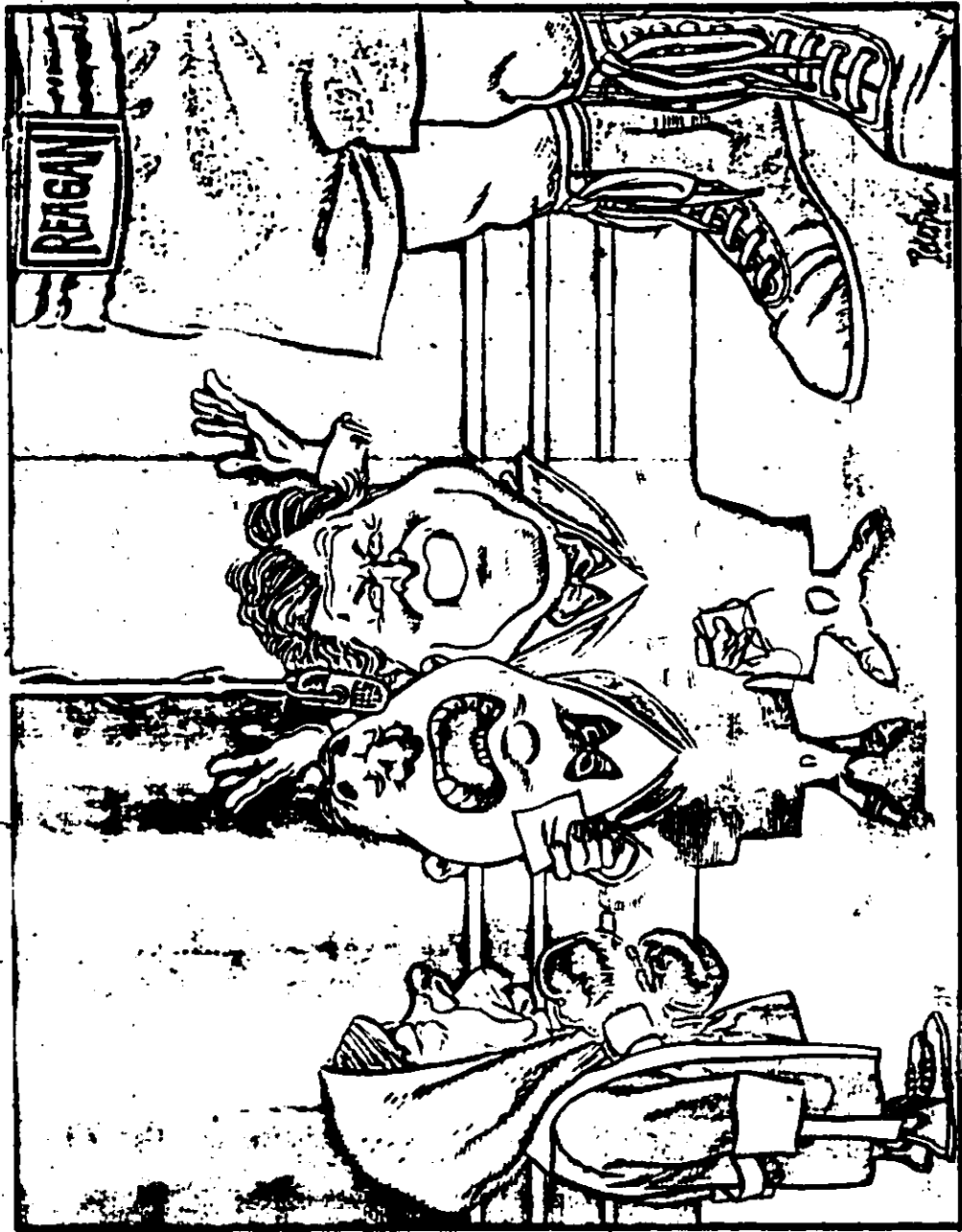
5) Image-centred conventional cartoon with linguistic-iconic confirmation

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.

PC 19: Peterson, Vancouver Sun, 13 August 1980



"... 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 V 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.



PC 6: Lärter, The Vancouver Sun, 21 April 1980

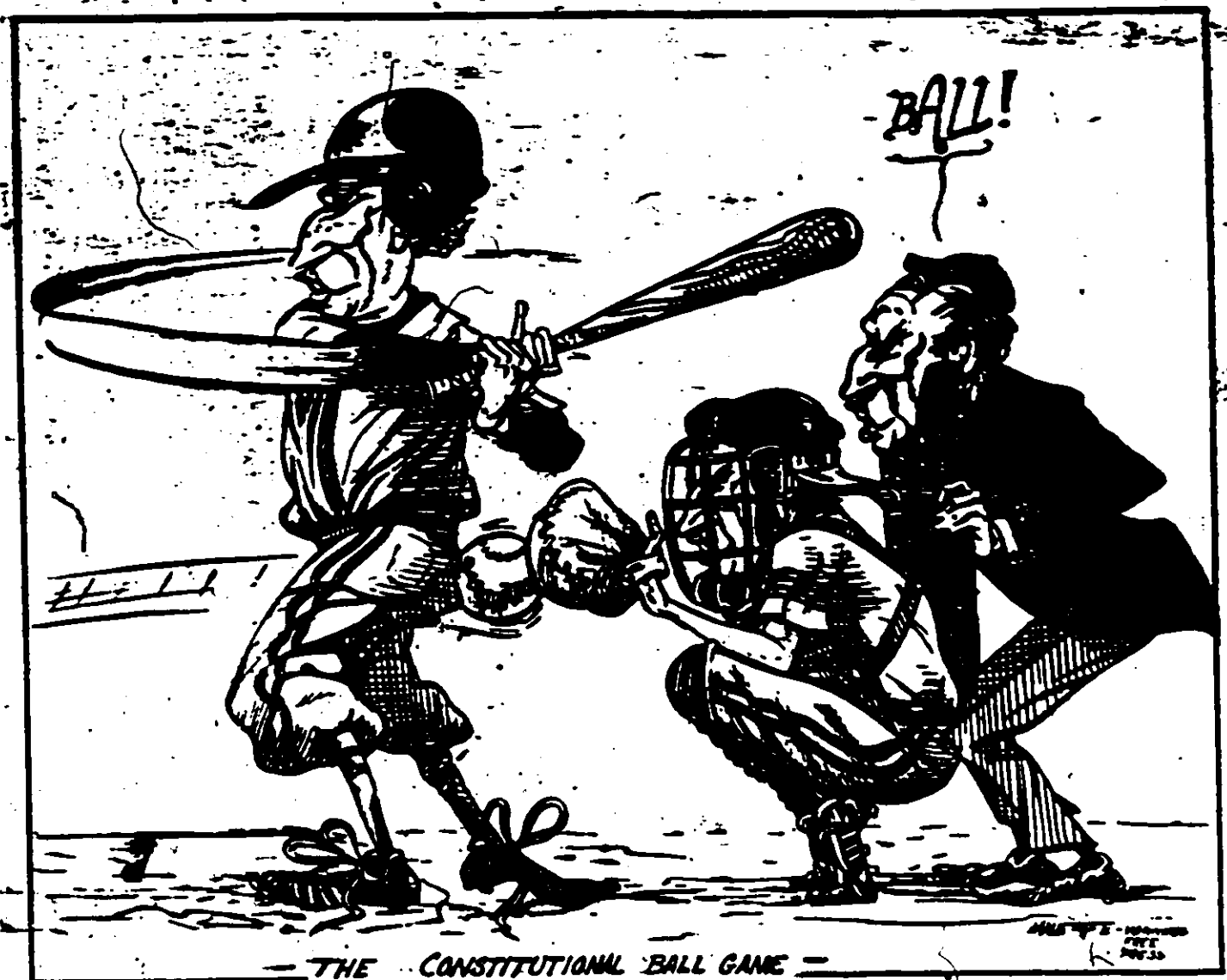
8) Image-shifted focus with iconic contrast and linguistic and iconic confirmation

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.



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 Ryan 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 beleaguered figure of Ryan 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."

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 'OX' on the watch face).



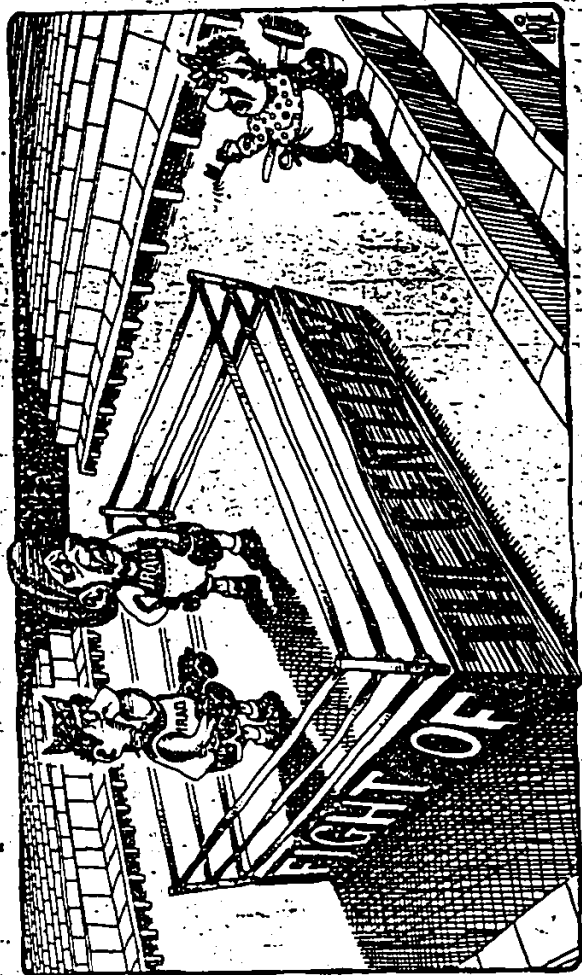
PC 3: Roschkov, Toronto Star, 5 March 1980

12) Image-shifted 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 Trudeau'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 shifted focus, has a Smith verbally requesting help from a team otherwise engaged in a contest 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 inequity.



PC 32: Curle, the telegraph-Journal, 27 January 1981

- 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 (i.e.) either of the visual. "i.e.'s 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, Kraif 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 Kraif 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 (Kraif 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-codal message potentially can have readers prejudiced in some way beforehand towards one of the two codes.

Kraif 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 Araif 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

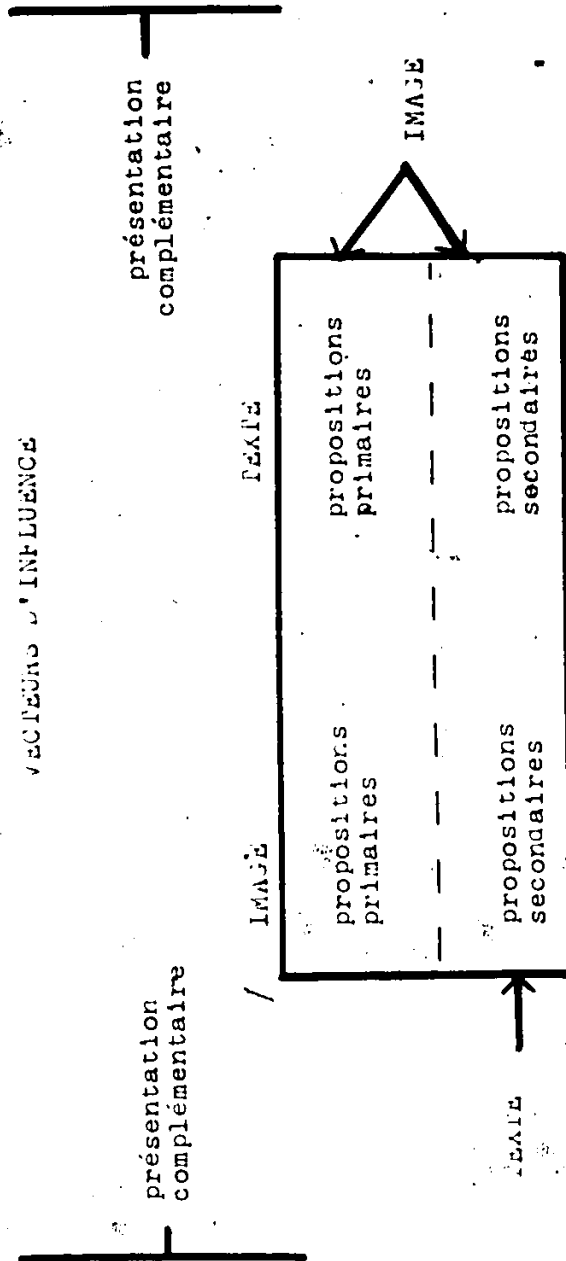


Figure 11: Schema of the vectors of influence for audio-visual information (Kralj et al. 1980:93)

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" (Eisenberg and Smith 1971:8). 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" (Kepes 1967: 44).

For the political cartoon to guarantee an instantaneity 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 metamorphosis. So complete is the metaphorical reading of the visual elements that many cartoonists use linguistic labelling devices and/or visual symbols to remind the reader that the actants depicted are indeed political figures and that a political message is at the heart of the metaphor.

"A signification system is an autonomous semiotic construct that has an abstract mode of existence 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 Halloween into masked creatures, goblins, and other fantasies, or that of the concept of goodness and

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 (Leco 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 paraxématique, 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.

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 Eco (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

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 ambiguë et apparaît comme auto-réflexif, c'est-à-dire lorsqu'il entend attirer l'attention du destinataire sur sa propre forme avant tout" (Leco 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 reconnaissance des codes est particulière à un individu, au récepteur, à ses systèmes d'attente" (Gauthier 1975:76).

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Arnheim, Rudolf. Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1954, x-408p.

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. Arnheim examines in detail questions of balance, shape, form, cognitive and psychological growth, space, light, colour, movement, and tension. Important for some key concepts.

Bergson, Henri. Le rire: essai sur la signification du comique, Librairie Félix Alcan, Paris, 1938, vi-209p.

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

Blanchard, Gérard. La bande dessinée: histoire des histoires en image de la préhistoire à nos jours, Larabaut Université, Paris, 1969, 303p.

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.

Bowman, William. Graphic Communication, Wiley & Sons, New York, 1968, xi-216p.

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.

Buchler, Justus, editor. Philosophical Writings of Peirce, Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1957, xvi-386p.

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.

Sthler, Michaël. Introduction à la communication, Léma-éditions, Paris, 1974, 149p.

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.

Lesbarats, Peter and Terry Mosher. The Hecklers: A history of Canadian Political Cartooning and a Cartoonist's History of Canada, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1979, 255p.

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.

Bondis, Denis. A Primer of Visual Literacy, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1973, xi-194p.

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.

Eco, Umberto. La structure absente: introduction à la recherche sémiotique, Mercure de France, Paris, 1972, 447p.

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.

Eco, Umberto. A theory of Semiotics, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1976, ix-354p.

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.

Fresnault-Deruelle, 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

française, Hachette, Paris, 1972, 188p.

la bande dessinée comme moyen d'expression, Bordas, Paris, 1972, 96p.

"Le personnage de bande dessinée et ses langages" in Langue française, No. 28, 1975:101-111

Récits et discours par la bande, Hachette, Paris, 1977, 253p.

In these several articles and books Fresnault-Deruelle 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.

Gauthier, R. "Sémiotique et bande dessinée" in Annales de l'Université d'Abidjan, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1975:69-76

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.

Gelpel, John. The Cartoon: A Short History of Graphic Comedy and Satire, David & Charles, London, 1972, 185p.

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

Neper, György. Language of Vision, Paul Theobald, Chicago, 1944, 228p.

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.

Lyons, John. Semantics, Vols. 1&2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, xiv-897p.

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.

Moran, Terence. "Propaganda as Pseudocommunication" in EPC, Vol. 36, No. 2, 1979:181-197

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.

Richardson, John. The Complete Book of Cartooning, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs NJ, 1977

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

de Saussure, Ferdinand. Cours de linguistique générale, Payot, Paris, 1972, 510p.

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.

Popuz, Mifzi. Caricature et société, Mame, Paris, 1974, 136p.

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.

- Aldrich, Virgil. "Pictorial Meanings; Picture-thinking, and Wittgenstein's Theory of Aspects" in Mind, Vol. 67, No. 265, 1958:70-79
- "Picture Space" in Philosophical Review, Vol. 67, 1958:342-352
- "Image-mongering and Image-management" in Philosophy and Phenomenological Research, Vol. 23, 1962:51-61
- "Visual Metaphor" in Journal of Aesthetic Education, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1968:73-86
- Anderson, Renald and Stephen Weiting. "Graphical Humor and the Measurement of Attitudinal Ambivalence" in Communication Research, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1976:311-326
- and Elaine Jolly. "Stereotyped Traits and Sex Roles in Humorous Drawings" in Communication Research, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1977:455-484
- André, Jean-Glaude. "Esthétique des bandes dessinées" in Revue d'Esthétique, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1965:49-71
- Annis, Albert. The Cartoon and Editorial as Propaganda, Ph.D. Thesis, State University of Iowa, 1939
- Arrouye, Jean. "Semi-photo ou la mort de l'analogie" in Critique, Vol. 34, No. 368, 1978:72-87
- Bales, Robert. "Communication in Small Groups" in Miller, Communication, Language, and Meaning, 1973:205-218
- Bär, Eugen. "Things are Stories: a Manifesto for a reflexive Semiotics" in Semiotica, vol. 25, Nos. 3-4, 1979:193-205
- Barnicoat, John. Histoire concise de l'affiche, Hachette, Paris, 1972, 279p.
- Barthes, Roland. Mythologies, éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1957, 247p.
- "Éléments de sémiologie" in Communications, No. 4, 1964:91-135

- "L'ancienne rhétorique, aide-mémoire"
in Communications, No. 16, 1970:172-229
- Barthes, Roland et al. "Bibliographie critique" in
Communications, No. 4, 1964:136-144
- Bassy, Alain-Marie. "Du texte à l'illustration: pour une
sémiologie des étapes" in Semiotica,
Vol. 11, No. 4, 1974:297-334
- Beauvois, J.L., A. Frognon and G. Lopez. "Etude théorique
et expérimentale de la métaphore" in
Psychologie française, Vol. 16, Nos. 1-2,
1971:3-13
- Bengough, John. A Caricature History of Canadian Politics,
Vols. 1 & 2, The Grip Printing and Pub-
lishing Co., Toronto, 1886, x-269p.
- Benveniste, Emile. "Sémiologie de la langue" in Semiotica,
Vol. 1, No. 1, n.d.:1-12, No. 2,
n.d.:127-135
- Berger, Arthur. "Marvel Language: the Comic Book and
Reality" in ELC, Vol. 29, No. 2,
1972:169-180
- Bertin, Jacques. "La graphique" in Communications, No. 15,
1970:169-185
- Bever, Thomas. "Language and Perception" in Miller,
Communication, Language, and Meaning,
1973:149-158
- Bickerton, D. "Prolegomena to a Linguistic Theory of
Metaphor" in Foundations of Language,
Vol. 5, No. 1, 1969:34-52
- Bierman, Arthur. "That there are no Iconic Signs..." in
Philosophy and Phenomenological Research,
Vol. 32, 1962:243-249
- Blake, Robert. "I See what You Mean - But Not by Words:
Extraverbal Communication" in ELC, Vol. 30,
No. 3, 1973:233-242
- Bloodstein, Oliver. "General Semantics and Modern Art" in
ELC, Vol. 1, 1943/44:12-23

- Bonheim, Helmut. "Bringing Classical Rhetoric Up-to-date" in Semiotica, Vol. 13, No. 4, 1975:375-388
- Bouissac, Paul. "Models for Comparing the Arts" in Language Sciences, Vol. 45, 1977:31-34
- Bradley, Steve, editor. The Art of Political Cartooning in Canada / 1980, Virgo Press, Toronto, 1980, 224p.
- Bremond, Claude. "Pour un gestuaire des bandes dessinées" in Langages, No. 10, 1968:94-100
- Briggs, Clare. How to Draw Cartoons, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1926
- Brockway, Diane. "Connecteurs pragmatiques et principes de pertinence" in Langages, No. 67, 1982:7-22
- Carter, Curtis. "Painting and Language: a Pictorial Syntax of Shapes" in Leonardo, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1976:111-118
- Cèbe, Jean-Pierre. La caricature et la parodie dans le monde romain antique des origines à Juvénal, E. de Broccard, Paris, 1966, 403p.
- Charaudeau, Patrick. "Quelques procédés linguistiques de l'humour" in Les Langues modernes, Vol. 66, No. 3, 1972:62-73
- Chesebro, James and Caroline Hamsher. "Contemporary Rhetorical Theory and Criticism: Dimensions of the New Rhetoric" in Speech Monographs, Vol. 42, No. 4, 1975:311-334
- Cohen, Jean. "Théorie de la figure" in Communications, No. 16, 1970:3-25
- Collier, Mary. "Popular Cartoons and Prevailing Anxieties" in American Imago, vol. 17, n.d.:255-269
- Covin, Michel. "Proposition sur la bande dessinée" in Communications, No. 19, 1972:138-147
- "L'image dérobée ou Comment le désir en (re-)vient à la bande dessinée" in Communications, No. 24, 1976:197-245

- Culler, Jonathan. "The Linguistic Basis of Structuralism" in Robey, Structuralism: an Introduction, 1973:20-36.
- Lebes, John. "Communication with Visuals" in ETC, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1968:27-34.
- Lerrida, Jacques. "Sémiologie et grammatologie" in Information sur les sciences sociales, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1968:135-148.
- Downey, June. "The Psychology of Figures of Speech" in The American Journal of Psychology, Vol. 30, 1919:103-115.
- Lubois, Jean, F. Meline et al. Rhétorique générale, Larousse, Paris, 1970; 206p.
- Lurand, Jacques. "Rhétorique et image publicitaire" in Communications, No. 15, 1970:70-95.
- eco, Umberto. "Sémiologie des messages visuels" in Communications, No. 15, 1970:11-51.
- "Sémantique de la métaphore" in Le quel, No. 55, 1973:25-46.
- Meline, Francis. "Nouvelles recherches sur la métaphore" in Semiotica, Vol. 25, Nos. 3-4, 1979:379-387.
- Ekman, Paul and Wallace Friesen. "Hand Movements" in Journal of Communications, No. 22, 1972:353-374.
- Ellul, Jacques. "An Aspect of the Role of Persuasion in a Technical Society" in ETC, Vol. 36, No. 2, 1979:147-152.
- Embler, Weller. "Metaphor and Social Belief" in ETC, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1950/51:83-93.
- "Design as Metaphor" in ETC, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1953/54:101-112.
- "Metaphor: A Study in Method" in ETC, Vol. 28, No. 1, 1971:81-90.
- "Metaphor of the Game" in ETC, Vol. 29, No. 4, 1972:387-399.

- Fardeau, Mira. L'humour visuel: histoire et technique -- caricature, bande dessinée, dessin animé, Cahier de communication graphique No. 5, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, Québec, 1976, 76p.
- Firth, J.R. Papers in Linguistics 1934 - 1951, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1957, 233p.
- du Pontbaré, Vicky and Philippe Sohet. "Codes culturels et logique de classe dans la bande dessinée" in Communications, No. 24, 1976:62-80
- Forcé, Roland and Maryanne. "Keys to Cultural Understanding" in Science, No. 133, 21 April 1961:1202-1206
- Fresnault-Deruelle, Pierre. "Aux frontières de la langue: quelques réflexions sur les onomatopées dans la bande dessinée" in Cahiers de Lexicologie, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1971:79-88
- "Du linéaire au tabulaire" in Communications, No. 24, 1976:7-23
- Gauthier, R. "Réflexions sur l'image comme médium" in Annales de l'Université d'Abidjan, Série H, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1974:159-168
- Gella, Teresa. "The Intrinsic Dynamics of the Syntax of the Visual Sign (in Reference to Representation and Abstract Art)" in Semiotica, Vol. 23, Nos. 3-4, 1978:303-306
- Gibson, James. "A Theory of Pictorial Perception" in AV Communication Review, Vol. 2, 1954:3-23
- "The Information Available in Pictures" in Leonardo, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1971:27-35
- Gombrich, Ernst. Art and Illusion, Pantheon Books, New York, 1960, xxxi-466p.
- "The Visual Image" in Scientific American, Vol. 227, No. 3, March 1972:52-96
- Gropper, George. "Why Is a Picture Worth a Thousand Words?" in AV Communication Review, Vol. 11, No. 4, 1963:75-95

- Guenther, Franz. "On the Semantics of Metaphor" in Poetics, Vol. 4, Nos. 2-3, 1975:199-220
- Guimbretière, André. "Métaphorisation et ouverture" in Degrés, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1973:j-j3
- Guiraud, Pierre. La Sémiologie, Les Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1971, 122p.
- Haddenhorst, Georgina. "The Spirit of Science and the Visual Arts" in EFC, Vol. 28, No. 3, 1971:319-322
- Hahn, Dan F. "Metaphors, Myths, and American Politics" in EFC, Vol. 35, No. 3, 1978:254-264
- Hamlyn, D.W. and A.C.Lloyd. "The Visual Field and Perception" in Aristotelian Society Proceedings Supplement, Vol. 31, 1957:107-144
- Hankiss, Elemér. "Meaning as a Source of Aesthetic Experience" in Semiotica, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1972:201-211
- Hansen, Norwood. "On Having the Same Visual Experience" in Mind, Vol. 69, No. 275, 1960:340-350
- Haratonik, Peter. "Information/Propaganda: Analects from a Technological Society" in EFC, Vol. 36, No. 2, 1979:153-156
- Helbo, André, editor. Le champ sémiologique: perspectives internationales, Editions Complexe, Brussels, 1979, 413p.
- Hengen, Nora. "The Perception of Danger in Action Illustrations" in AV Communication Review, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1970:250-262
- Hess, Stephen and Milton Kaplan. The Ungentlemanly Art: A History of American Political Cartoons, MacMillan, New York, 1968, 252p.
- Hester, Marcus. "Metaphor and Aspect-seeing" in Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. 25, 1966/67:205-212
- Hill, Alette. "The Carter Campaign in Retrospect: Decoding the Cartoons" in Semiotica, Vol. 23, Nos. 3-4, 1978:307-331

- Hjelmslev, Louis. Prolégomènes à une théorie du langage, Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris, 1968, 227p.
- Hochberg, Julian. "The Psychophysics of Pictorial Perception" in AV Communication Review, Vol. 10, No. 5, 1962:22-54
- Holenstein, Elmar. "A New Essay Concerning the Basic Relations of Language" in Semiotica, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1974:97-128
- Hudon, Normand. La Caricature, Lidec, Inc., Montréal, 1967, 96p.
- Huttenlocher, Janellen. "Language and Thought" in Miller, Communication, Language, and Meaning, 1973:172-184
- Jakobson, Roman. "On Visual and Auditory Signs" in Phonetica, Vol. 11, Nos. 3-4, 1964:216-220
- Essais de linguistique générale -- rapports internes et externes du langage, Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris, 1973, 317p.
- Jaquith, James. "Tabued words in Comic Strips: a Transparent Mask" in Anthropological Linguistics, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1972:71-77
- Jenkins, James. "Language and Meaning" in Miller, Communication, Language, and Meaning, 1973:159-171
- Kaplan, Abraham. "Content Analysis and the Theory of Signs" in Philosophy of Science, Vol. 10, 1943:230-247
- "Referential Meaning in the Arts" in Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. 12, 1953/54:457-474
- Katz, Jerrold. "The Realm of Meaning" in Miller, Communication, Language, and Meaning, 1973:36-48
- Kelly, Louis. The True Interpreter. A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1979, 282p.
- Kirk, John and George Yalbot. "The Distortion of Information" in MLC, Vol. 17, 1959/60:5-27

- Knowlton, James Q. "On the Definition of 'Picture'" in AV Communication Review, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1966:157-183
- Koffka, Kurt. Principles of Gestalt Psychology, Routledge & K. Paul, London, 1962, xi-720p.
- Kövecses, Zoltán. "Toward the Semantics of Sport" in Semiotica, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1976:313-338
- Kraif, André, Ingrid Marino et al. "Compréhension de documents publicitaires IV: une approche empirique" in études de linguistique appliquée, No. 38, 1980:82-105
- Krampen, Martin. "Signs and Symbols in Graphic Communications" in Design Quarterly, No. 62, 1965, 31p.
- Kristeva, Julia. "L'expansion de la sémiotique" in Information sur les Sciences sociales, Vol. 6, No. 5, n.d.:169-181
- Kristeva, Julia and Michèle Lacoste. "Bibliographie" in Langages, No. 10, 1968:132-149
- Lacassin, Francis. Pour un neuvième art: la bande dessinée, 10/18, Union générale des éditions, Paris, 1971, 510p.
- Lee, Alfred and Elizabeth. "The Fine Art of Propaganda Analysis -- Then and Now" in EPC, Vol. 36, No. 2, 1979:117-127
- Linaekins, René. "Éléments pour une théorie générale des objets iconisés" in Semiotica, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1971:197-214
- "De l'iconographie à la sémiotique" in Semiotica, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1975:175-180
- Loewenberg, Ina. "Identifying Metaphors" in Foundations of Language, Vol. 12, No. 3, 1974/5:315-338
- Ludskanov, Alexander. "The Semiotic Approach to the Theory of Translation" in Language Science, No. 35, 1975:5-8

- Marin, Louis. "La description de l'image" in Communications, No. 15, 1970:186-209
- Marny, Jacques. Le monde étonnant des bandes dessinées, éditions du Centurion, Paris, 1968, 296p.
- Mateescu, Catalina. "Toward a Structural Approach to Pictorial Language" in Poetics, Vol. 10, 1974:45-61
- Metz, Christian. "Au-delà de l'analogie, l'image" in Communications, No. 15, 1970:1-10
- "Images et pédagogie" in Communications, No. 15, 1970:162-185
- Metz, Christian and Michèle Lacoste. "Orientation bibliographique pour une sémiologie des images" in Communications, No. 15, 1970:222-252
- Miller, George. Language and Communication, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1951, 298p.
- Communication, Language, and Meaning, Basic Books, New York, 1973
- "Nonverbal Communication" in Miller, Communication, Language, and Meaning, 1973:231-241
- Miller, George. "Homo ridens. Towards a Semiotic Theory of Humour and Laughter" in Semiotica, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1972:1-30
- Moles, Abraham and Claude Zeltmann. La communication et les mass media, Les Dictionnaires Marabout Université, Paris, 1973, x-758p.
- Moles, Abraham and Elisabeth Rohmer. L'image: communication fonctionnelle, Casterman, Paris, 1981, 271p.
- Moelij, J.A.A. "Refer, vehicle, and reference" in Poetics, Vol. 4, Nos. 2-3, 1975:257-272
- Morin, Violette. "Le dessin humoristique" in Communications, No. 15, 1970:110-131
- Newmark, Peter. "An Approach to Translation" in Jabel, Vol. 19, No. 1, 1973:3-18
- Osborn, Michael and Douglas Ehninger. "The Metaphor in Public Address" in Speech Monographs, No. 29, 1962:223-234

- Péninou, Georges. "Physique et métaphysique de l'image publicitaire" in Communications, No. 15, 1970:96-109
- Plécy, Albert. Grammaire élémentaire de l'image, Estienne, Paris, 1962, 312p.
- Posner, Judith. "Dirty Old Women: Suck Brown's Cartoons" in Review of Canadian Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 12, 1975:471-475
- Postal, Paul. "The Realm of Syntax" in Miller, Communication, Language, and Meaning, 1973:23-35
- Postman, Neil. "Propaganda" in ELC, Vol. 36, No. 2, 1979:128-133
- Prieto, Luis. Etudes de linguistique et de sémiologie générales, Librairie Droz, Geneva, 1975, 196p.
- Pylyshyn, Zenon. "What the Mind's Eye Tells the Mind's Brain: a Critique of Mental Imagery" in Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 80, 1973:1-24
- Reddy, Michael. "A Semantic Approach to Metaphor" in Papers From the Regional Meeting of The Chicago Linguistic Society, Vol. 5, n.d.:240-251
- Reinsch, N. Lamar Jr. "An Investigation of the Effects of the Metaphor and Simile in Persuasive Discourse" in Speech Monographs, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1971:142-145
- Rio, Michel. "Cadre, plan, lecture" in Communications, No. 24, 1976:94-107
- Robey, David, editor. Structuralism: An Introduction, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1973, 154p.
- Rosenfield, Lawrence. "The Anatomy of Critical Discourse" in Speech Monographs, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1968:50-69
- Ruwet, Nicolas. "Synecdoques et métonymies" in Poétique, No. 23, 1975:371-388
- Ryan, Alonzo. Free Lance Political Caricature in Canada, Dominion Publishing Co., Montreal, 1904, 112p.

- Sadoul, ... Archétype de concordances dans la bande dessinée moderne, Mémoire de maîtrise, U.E.R. des Lettres et Sciences humaines, Nice, 1971
- Sallenave, Danielle. "La traversée de l'image" in Semiotica, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1972:184-205
- Schafer, Peter and Donald Rice. "Metaphor, Metonymy and Synecdoche revis(it)ed" in Semiotica, Vol. 21, Nos. 1-2, 1977:121-150
- Schapiro, Meyer. "On Some Problems in the Semiotics of Visual Art: field and Vehicle in Image-signs" in Semiotica, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1969:223-242
- Schefer, Jean-Louis. "L'image: le sens 'investi'" in Communications, No. 15, 1970: 210-221
- "Note sur les systèmes représentatifs" in Rel Quel, No. 41, 1970:44-71
- "Éléments pour une sémiologie picturale de Louis Marin" in Semiotica, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1971:171-196
- Scher, Jordan. "Policom: The Dialogue between Political Communication and Events" in EPC, Vol. 30, No. 3, 1973:265-273
- Schramm, Wilbur. "Mass Communication" in Miller, Communication, Language, and Meaning, 1973:219-230
- Schwyzler, H.K.J. "Wittgenstein's Picture-Theory of Language" in Inquiry, Vol. 5, Nos. 1-4, 1962:46-64
- Sebeok, Thomas. "Iconicity" in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 91, No. 6, 1976:1427-1436
- Segy, Ladislav. "Art Perception and Projection" in EPC, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1954/55:23-32
- Seller, William. "The effects of Visual Materials on Attitudes, Credibility, and Retention" in Speech Monographs, Vol. 38, No. 4, 1971:331-334

- Shannon, Claude and Warren Weaver. The Mathematical Theory of Communication, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1949, 125p.
- Shapiro, Gary. "Intention and Interpretation in Art: A Semiotic Analysis" in Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. 33, No. 1, 1974:35-42
- Silverman, Jen, E. Winner and H. Gardner. "On Going beyond the Literal: The Development of Sensitivity to Artistic Symbols" in Semiotica, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1976:291-312
- Spaulding, Seth. "Research on Pictorial Research" in AV Communication Review, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1956:35-45
- "Communication Potential of Pictorial Illustrations" in AV Communication Review, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1956:31-46
- Speranski, J. "Essai sur l'origine psychologique des métaphores" in Revue philosophique, Vol. 44, 1897:494-507, 605-621
- Spiegelman, Marvin, C. Perwilliger and F. Fearing. "The Content of Comic Strips: A Study of a Mass Medium of Communication" in The Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 35, 1952:37-57
- "The Content of Comics: Goals and Means to Goals in Comic Strip Characters" in The Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 37, 1953:189-203
- Steiner, Peter. "Jan Mukařovský and Charles W. Morris: Two Pioneers of the Semiotics of Art" in Semiotica, Vol. 19, Nos. 3-4, 1977:321-334
- Steinfalt, Thomas. "Evaluating Approaches to Propaganda Analysis" in EPC, Vol. 36, No. 2, 1979:157-180
- Stolovic, L.N. "Les recherches sémiologiques et l'esthétique" in Revue d'esthétique française, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1969:102-106

- Streicher, Helen. "The Girls in the Cartoons" in Journal of Communications, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1974:125-129
- Sheall, Donald. "The Role of Aesthetic Theory in (Mass) Communication Theory" in The Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. 61, No. 3, 1975:271-278
- Thibault-Laulan, Anne-Marie. L'image dans la société contemporaine, Editions L.P. Lenoël, Paris, 1971, 317p.
- Le langage de l'image: étude psycholinguistique d'images visuelles en séquence, Editions Universitaires, Paris, 1971, 208p.
- Toussaint, Bernard. "Idéographie et bande dessinée" in Communications, No. 24, 1976:81-93
- Treadwell, Yvonne. "Bibliography of Empirical Studies of Wit and Humor" in Psychological Reports, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1967:1079-1083
- Turbayne, Colin. "Visual Language from the Verbal Model" in Journal of Typographic Research, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1969:345-370
- "Visual Language" in ELC, Vol. 28, No. 1, 1971:51-58
- Turner, Victor. Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1974, 309p.
- Uspensky, S.A. "Structural Isomorphism of Verbal and Visual Art" in Poetics, Vol. 5, 1972:5-39
- van Dijk, Teun. "Formal Semantics of Metaphorical Discourse" in Poetics, Vol. 4, Nos. 2-3, 1975:173-198
- Verón, Eliseo. "L'analogie et le contigu (note sur les codes non digitaux)" in Communications, No. 15, 1970:52-69
- Vossler, Karl. Filosofia del lenguaje: ensayos, Editorial Losada, Buenos Aires, 1968, 269p., translated by Amado Alonso and Raimundo Lida

- Jossler, Karl. The Spirit of Language in Civilization,
Kegan Paul, French, Frubner & Co., London,
1977, vii-247p., translated by Oscar Oeser
- Walton, Kendall. "Pictures and Make-Believe" in
Philosophical Review, Vol. 82,
1973:283-319
- Warr, Peter and Chris Knapper. "The Relative Importance of
Verbal and Visual Information in Indirect Person
Perception" in British Journal of Social and
Clinical Psychology, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1966:118-127
- Wendt, Paul. "The Language of Pictures" in ETC, Vol. 13,
1955/56:281-288
- Wheeless, Lawrence. "A Functional Theory of Metaphor" in
Language and Style, Vol. 4, No. 4,
1971:273-278
- Wolfe, Jeremy. "Hidden Visual Processes" in Scientific
American, Vol. 248, No. 2, February
1983:94-103
- Wollheim, Richard. "Nelson Goodman's Language of Art" in
Journal of Philosophy, Vol. 67, No.
16, 1970:531-539
- Worth, Sol. "Seeing Metaphor as Caricature" in New
Literary History, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1974:
195-209
- Wright, C.H. Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective,
Randem House, New York, 1959, 124p.
- Yoos, George. "A Phenomenological Look at Metaphor" in
Philosophy and Phenomenological Research,
Vol. 32, No. 1, 1971:78-88
- Young, Robert Q. "I See What You Mean: the Semantic
Environment of Sign Language" in ETC,
Vol. 35, No. 2, 1978:145-159
- "On Propaganda: Pseudocommunication as
Paradox" in ETC, Vol. 36, No. 4,
1979:325-332

APPENDICES

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

Aislin	<u>Telegraph-Journal</u>	PC 16	1980-05-22
		PC 40	1981-04-06
Beutel	<u>Telegraph-Journal</u>	PC 15	1980-05-22
		PC 28	1980-11-22
		PC 34	1981-02-09
		PC 49	1981-11-07
Blaine	<u>Hamilton Spectator</u>	PC 13	1980-05-17
		PC 17	1980-06-25
Collins	<u>Montreal Gazette</u>	PC 41	1981-06-05
Donato	<u>Toronto Sun</u>	PC 33	1981-02-04
Franklin	<u>Globe and Mail</u>	PC 2	1980-02-25
		PC 5	1980-03-21
		PC 11	1980-05-12
Girard	<u>Montreal LaPresse</u>	PC 50	1981-11-13
Innes	<u>Calgary Herald</u>	PC 1	1979-12-15
Much	<u>Winnipeg Free Press</u>	PC 9	1980-05-02
Larter	<u>Vancouver Sun</u>	PC 6	1980-04-21
	<u>Toronto Star</u>	PC 37	1981-03-14
Macpherson	<u>Toronto Star</u>	PC 42	1981-06-21

APPENDIX 1

121

Mallette	<u>Winnipeg Free Press</u>	PC 20	1980-08-21
		PC 22	1980-08-26
		PC 35	1981-02-18

Peterson	<u>Vancouver Sun</u>	PC 12	1980-05-15
		PC 19	1980-08-13
		PC 25	1980-10-03
		PC 45	1981-09-29
		PC 46	1981-10-15
		PC 48	1981-11-05

Hoschkov	<u>Toronto Star</u>	PC 3	1980-03-05
		PC 4	1980-08-20
		PC 18	1980-07-29
		PC 36	1981-02-19
		PC 38	1981-03-25

Husins	<u>Ottawa Citizen</u>	PC 14	1980-05-22
		PC 21	1980-08-23

King	<u>London Free Press</u>	PC 39	1981-03-25
------	--------------------------	-------	------------

Bluschkak	<u>Edmonton Journal</u>	PC 10	1980-05-06
		PC 44	1981-08-15

Foreign Cartoonists

Benson	<u>Edmonton Journal</u>	PC 43	1981-07-13
--------	-------------------------	-------	------------

Eisner	<u>Telegraph-Journal</u>	PC 27	1980-11-04
--------	--------------------------	-------	------------

Richetti	<u>Telegraph-Journal</u>	PC 26	1980-11-03
----------	--------------------------	-------	------------

Lurie	<u>Telegraph-Journal</u>	PC 7	1980-04-24
		PC 8	1980-05-02
		PC 23	1980-09-09
		PC 32	1981-01-27

APPENDIX 1

122

MacNelly	<u>Vancouver Sun</u>	PC 30 PC 47	1980-12-31 1981-10-15
Mauldin	<u>Telegraph-Journal</u>	PC 29	1980-12-17
Hawls	<u>Telegraph-Journal</u>	PC 31	1981-01-20
Vadillo	<u>Winnipeg Free Press</u>	PC 24	1980-09-19

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

(Anderson is a Herald editorial writer.)

Alberta is the big loser in the defeat of Joe Clark's government.

A budget that proposed more rapid escalation of energy prices and protected the producing provinces' share of vastly increased revenues has gone down the drain.

As a tough, stubborn bargainer, Premier Peter Lougheed may have inadvertently played a key part in this province's misfortune. An earlier agreement, an earlier budget might well have sneaked through the House of Commons.

Now it's back to square one — or worse. Federal opposition parties will callously exploit nation-wide annoyance about the Conservative's 18-cent excise tax hike on gasoline... and Ontario's resentment about the impact of a schedule of energy price escalation that would have seen oil prices jump from the current level of \$13.75 per barrel to \$31.50 by Jan. 1, 1984.

It represented a politically painful but overdue adjustment to reality. The time-table has now been aborted.

There is now little chance that any new federal government will be willing or able to proceed with such a tough stance. Considering the mood in Ontario, there's only a very faint prospect that Clark will gain the majority to do the job that so desperately needs doing. If he retains a lead in the next House of Commons but loses seats, another tough budget would certainly lead to another defeat and more chaos in the country.

There's a worse scenario. A Liberal minority government dependent on NDP support. Then what chance would there be for belt-tightening, even if the Liberals suddenly acquired a touch of class and gumption?

It looks very much like Alberta is back on a tiresome treadmill — but

Alberta is not blameless. I agree with Nick Taylor, the maverick leader of the Alberta Liberal party who charged that Lougheed made a "fatal error" by dragging out negotiations for higher oil prices. "Peter was being too cute by being tough."

It's a snappy, aside 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 a reluctance to concede the obligation of other politicians to be equally as dedicated in looking after the interests of their 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 34 per barrel a year so as to reach world prices within six or seven years. There was a catch as far as Alberta was concerned. The council suggested recycling resulting 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 surcharges on the windfalls.

Swallowed whole, this would have represented unacceptable trespass on Alberta's ownership of its own resources — but the report did signal the need for give-and-take bargaining to break a stalemate situation needed to move prices upward.

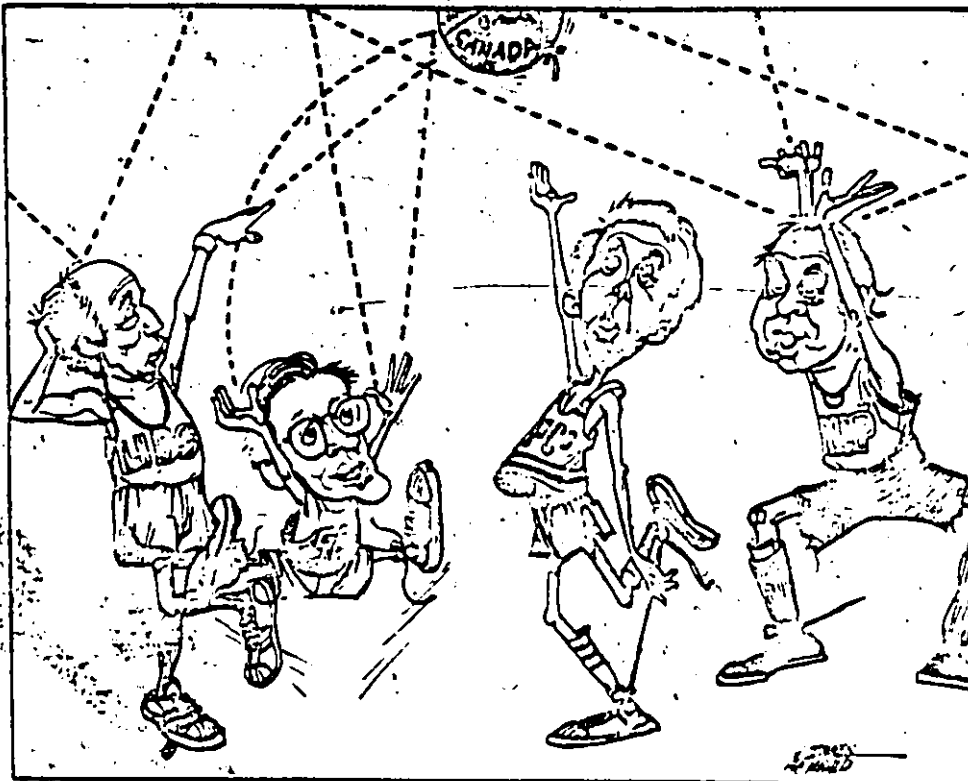
Lougheed struck a posture that indicated he wasn't prepared to give an inch. He threatened Canada with a unilateral move to raise oil prices to world levels.

Acrimonious 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 lay claim to a bigger share of the giant pie — provided it came up with an energy tax that was acceptable to Alberta.

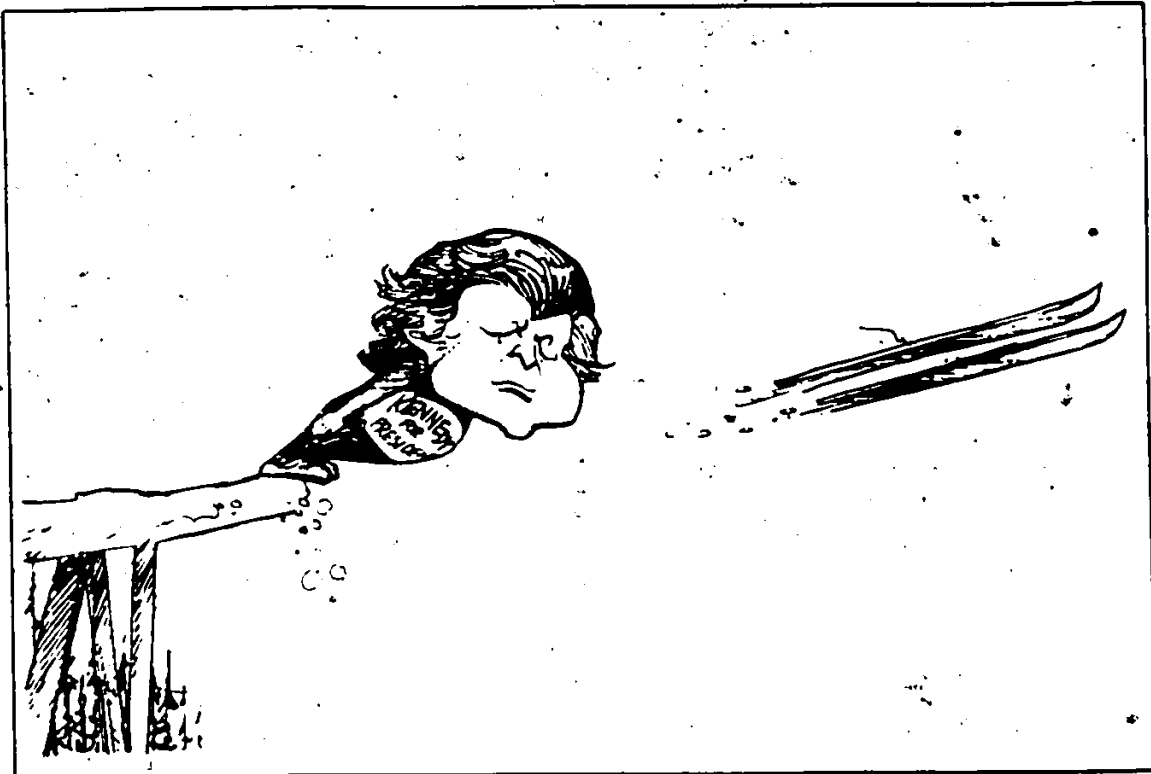
In theory, Alberta won the whip hand in a deal that was to give Alberta \$40 billion of the \$90 billion in total net revenues from oil and gas over the next four years while the federal government was still floundering for ways of capturing its designated \$17 billion. All the preliminary fireworks and negotiating delays proved fatal.

By the time Finance Minister Crosbie presented his budget of realism, the opposition parties sensed many Canadian citizens were jumpy about the cost consequences of vacating fantasy land.

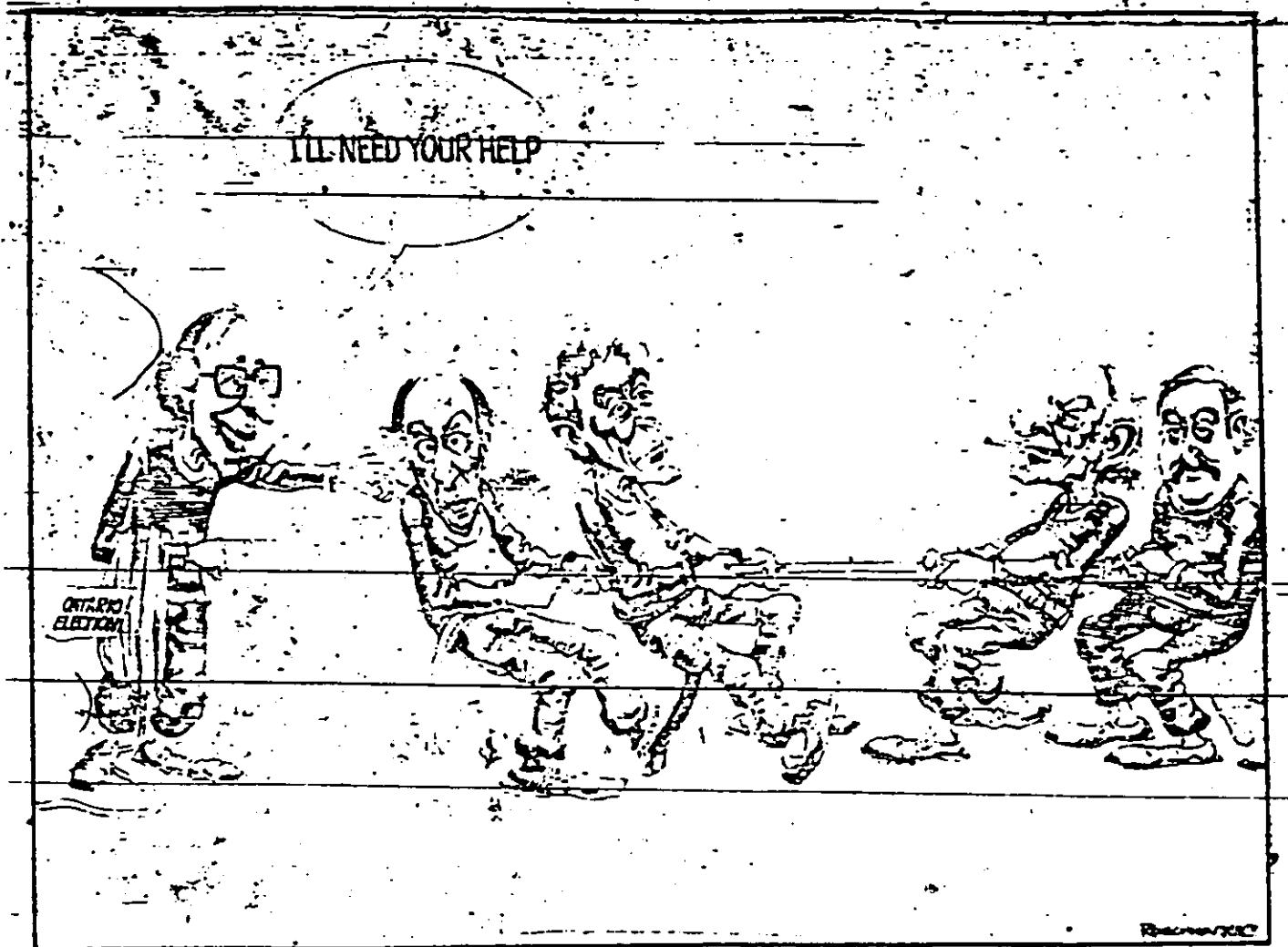
Thursday night the Liberals and NDP moved in for the kill. The most honest and courageous budget of the 1970s has been scuppered. And Alberta, which bargained so toughly and so long with Ottawa, now has no bargain at all.



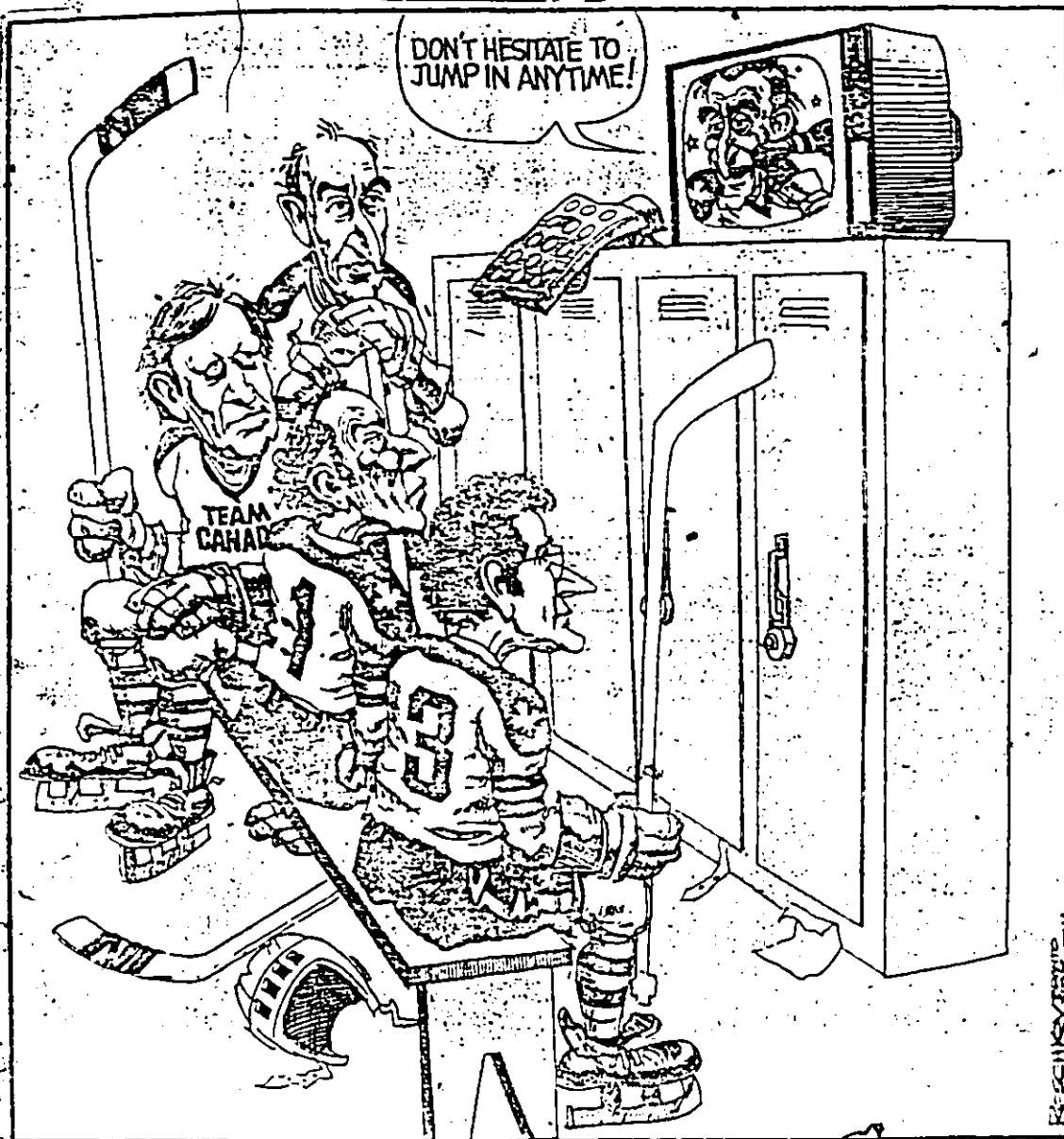
Games



PC 2: franklin, Globe and Mail, 25 february 1980



PC 3: Roschkov, Toronto Star, 5 March 1980.



PC 4: Roschkov, 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 ahead 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, modernize and improve its productivity per unit and its overall capacity to produce goods and services. These government deficits are particularly injurious right now because most Canadian industry is producing to the level of its 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 hogging all the money. So too many dollars pursue too few goods, inflation rises, and more and more people can't make ends meet.

In essence, that 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.

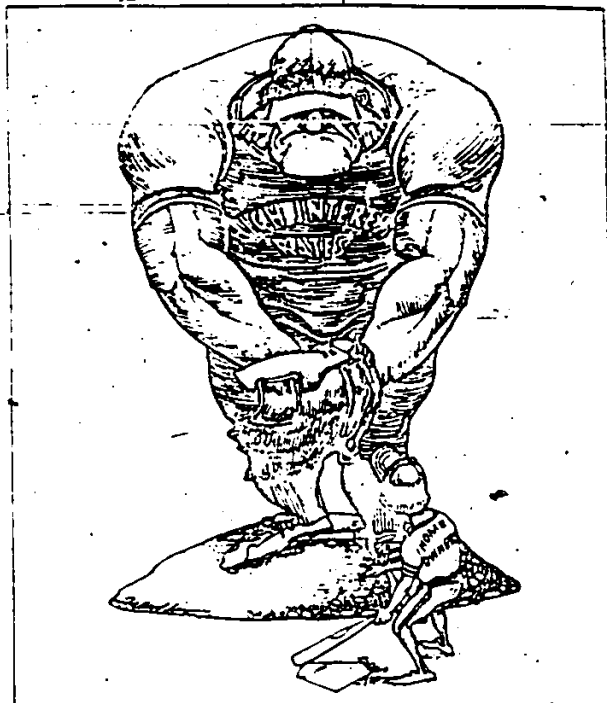
"An element of public financial policy that has very great influence over time on the willingness and ability of the community to invest in productive plant and equipment is fiscal policy. The scale of such investment is much affected by tax policy and by the borrowing requirements of governments. The 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 under-employed 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 international 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 represent a transfer of income between Canadians, from one pocket to another pocket, no harm done.

The Governor says he is wrong.



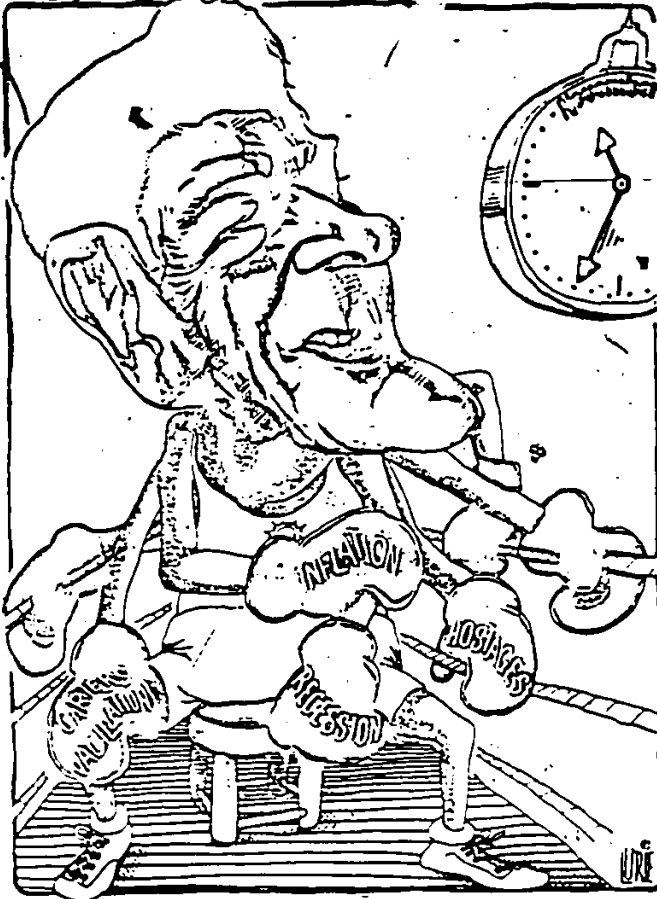
PC-5: Franklin, Globe and Mail,
21 March 1980



PC 6: Larter, Vancouver Sun, 21 April 1980

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 is 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 turned around 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. He narrowly lost.

Of the states that went to Carter in '76, the Reagan forces are confident they can take Texas (with 26 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 1976, 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 would be an even trade with Illinois (also 26 electoral votes.)

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 45 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 nominally 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 politics 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 choice 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 advisers are championing 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 craft, 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 neither a triumph nor a fiasco when he approved it. But history is not fair. The plan fell apart in ignominious mechanical breakdown. And Mr. Carter — who, to give him due credit, gracefully accepted responsibility — is stuck with the consequences.

The consequences, although difficult to predict, can be expected to be significant. The crisis that began November 4 with an act of terrorism by Iranian militants, blessed by Ayatollah Ruhollah 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

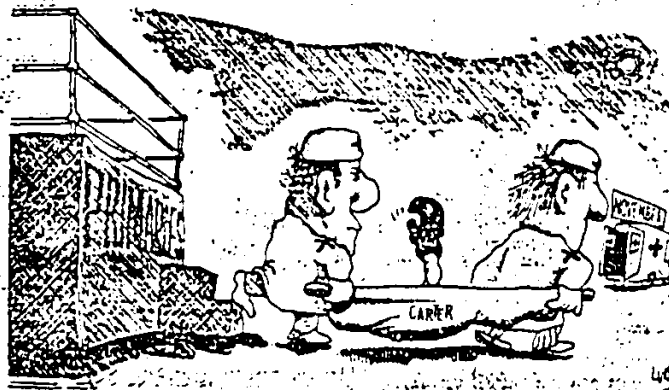
effort, not a hostile or punitive raid on Iran but an attempt to rescue the hostages without bloodshed, and in the process to eliminate the growing risk that the confrontation will lead to severe bloodshed, Iranian as well as American, down the line. Certainly no one with a trace of sensitivity to the manner in which international law is being trampled on in Iran would question 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 stony-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 seized 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 a chance to persuade Iran that Moscow is devoted to the Ayatollah and his revolution.





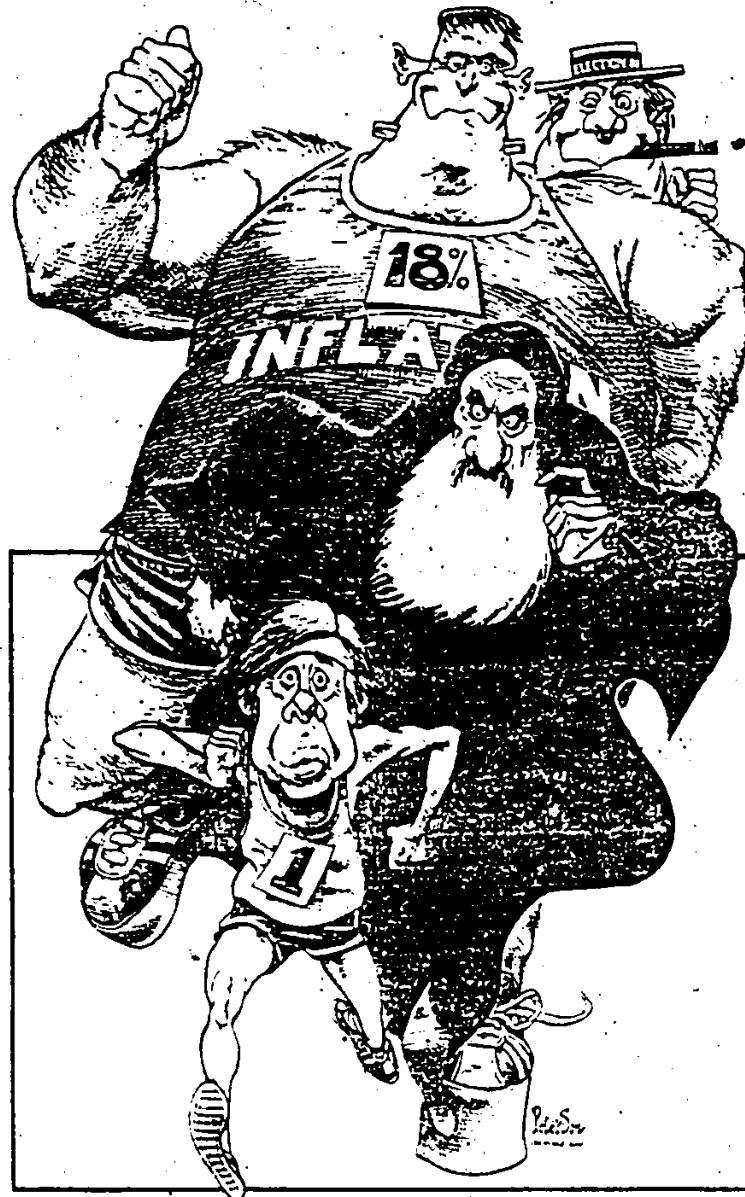
PC 9: Kuch, Winnipeg Free Press, 2 May 1980



PC 10: Bluschnak, Edmonton Journal,
6 May 1980

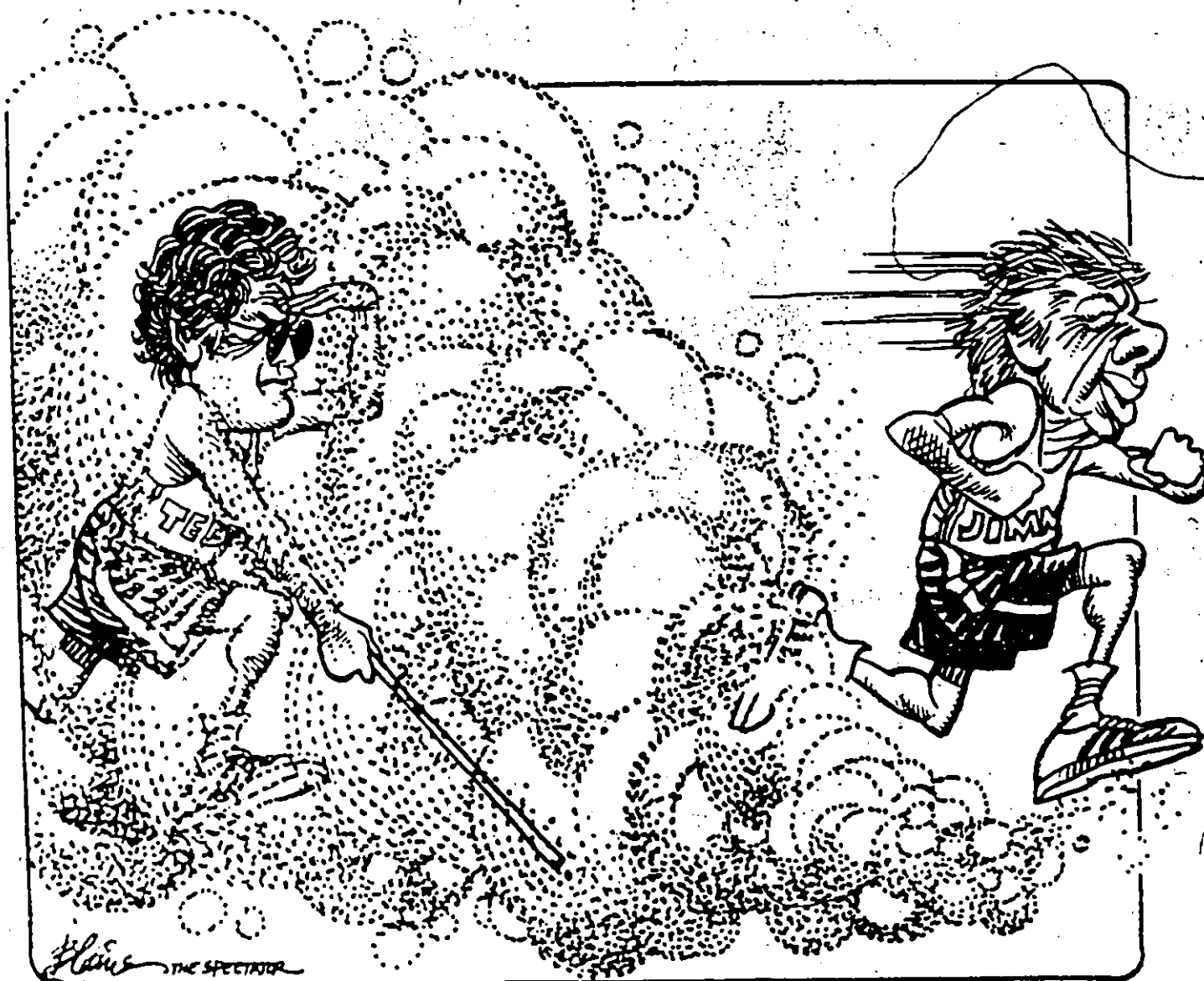


PC 11: franklin, Globe and Mail, 12 May 1980



The Washington Marathon

PC 12: Peterson, Vancouver Sun, 15 May 1980.



PC 13: Elaine, Hamilton Spectator, 17 May 1980



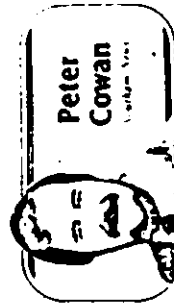
PC 14: husins, Ottawa Citizen, 22 May 1980

Aftermath of referendum defeat

Crirel challenges ahead for Lévesque

MONTREAL In the wake of the harsh defeat in Tuesday's vote, René Lévesque is a politician with big trouble on his hands.

If he had lost the referendum, it was inevitable but he has to accept the fact that Québec's next general election, scheduled for 1981, will be a referendum on whether he is prepared to come next fall or not.



Peter Cowan
Author

market and monetary union with Canada.

Lévesque has considered quoting the before but instead following the PQ's strong defeat in the 1976 provincial election.

But his speech to a sudden crowd of 5,000 PQ supporters in the east end of St. Lawrence on Monday night was a far cry from the one he had given at the time of the referendum.

Lévesque was straightforward, he told the crowd, which cheered him constantly.

He called on his supporters to accept the voters' verdict and to heal the social divisions of the referendum.

But he also told them "not to let go, not lose sight of their dream of a new Québec based on the political equality of two peoples. He told them that one day that dream would be realized."

Plea for vigilance

He also warned that his government would be vigilant, at least until the next elections, to ensure that no constitutional arrangements would be accepted which would deny the demands for greater autonomy which have been the goal of

the Québec people. He said that the referendum would be a turning point in the history of Québec.

He said Québecers had given the referendum a clear and unequivocal answer and that it was now up to Trudeau to make good on his pledge that a new society would be built in Canada and that it would be a society that produced constitutional reform.

Trudeau, he said, had a political duty to the Québec people to fight a new battle.

If he had lost the referendum, but he had to take a solid majority among French-speaking Québecers, he could have claimed a moral victory. But even that was denied him.

Now he will have to deal with dissident elements in the PQ who may have the prohibited approach taken by Lévesque on the advice of his intergovernmental affairs minister, Claude Morin.

It was Morin who conceived of the idea of having the PQ seek power in 1976 on a promise of good government with a referendum to settle the issue of Québec's future.

It was also Morin who engineered the semantic devaluation which saw the PQ banner words like independence from its vocabulary and try to sell self-sovereignty association.

Another target will be the PQ's minister of state for the status of women, who hurt the PQ cause by comparing Québec Liberal

Party was on a par with the PQ and the only advantage might be that the PQ would not be a target for the referendum.

People like Morin and Poirier, however, targets for the referendum, are not the only ones who might be a target for the referendum.

Popular man

While the hard liners might like to see someone like Finance Minister Jacques Parizeau, who is not identified with the gradualist approach, lead the party, the PQ mainstream knows that Lévesque is a very popular politician.

He is far more popular than Ryan and is respected by millions who do not share his views. He may have lost the referendum, but by the same token it is questionable if the PQ would ever have taken power if he was not its leader.

Party faithfuls also know that the PQ's leadership is very strong. It is very popular in terms of its performance, even if a majority rejects independence.

Politicians have often made the case that the gap between satisfaction with the government and public opinion intentions is due to its continuing goals. This was demonstrated in the seven by-elections won by the Liberals since Ryan took over.

But now that the referendum is over and Lévesque has willingly accepted the people's verdict, that

the PQ will behave as it has in the past. They are all the factors which will lead the PQ to a victory in the coming months. If they drive Lévesque out or if he steps down in a by-election, the obvious choice is Parizeau might not be able to get the PQ re-elected.

Lévesque has said he will not be ready for constitutional talks before the August 1981 election. He could conceivably go to such talks with what he calls "the traditional minds of Québec" and make a lot of noise, but an autocrat's pitch for change which Trudeau would reject. Then, he could use that as a spring board for elections afterwards.

The prospect of fall elections might be enough to quieten any internal rumblings within the PQ that he can play to keep events under control, and there is no doubt that if he should retain power his leadership would be safe.

But, in the meantime, he must survive the bitter taste of his campaign's rejection of his vision of the future combined with internal dissension, bargain with a triumphant Trudeau publicly and fight an election which will be an uphill battle all the way.

These are cruel challenges for Lévesque to contemplate. How he handles them will be a severe test of his resolve.



René Lévesque
In the face of defeat

leader Claude Ryan's wife to Yvonne Lévesque's stereotype in school textbooks. Her remarks sparked the

Mr. Levesque's Setback

THEY were cheering wildly in the Paul Sauve Arena even though they had just lost the referendum on sovereignty association. This was cheering the little man at the microphone, the man who had led the Parti Quebecois into power and had brought them so close to his Premier's land of independence.

For a few moments he couldn't speak because of then cheering and because of his own emotion. But when, in acknowledging the defeat of his proposal for Quebec to become a separate sovereign state, an association with the rest of Canada, Premier Rene Levesque told his supporters:

If I have understood you well, you are saying to me that you will vote 'no' at the next time.

While the initial reaction of most Canadians was one of relief that Claude Ryan's federalist force had defeated the Parti Quebecois, a few, like Rene Levesque, felt that a vote 'no' was a setback for the sovereignty movement.

Rejection of the sovereignty vision provided a boost for those favorably disposed to the sovereignty movement. It was a setback for the Parti Quebecois, however, because it meant that the Parti Quebecois would have to fight the next election on a platform of independence.

But no one could be called a defeatist. The Parti Quebecois had won the referendum on sovereignty association. It was a victory for the Parti Quebecois, a victory for the sovereignty movement, a victory for the people of Quebec.

And now, the Parti Quebecois will be the party to lead the province to independence.

Quebec, and who is likely to be premier when the constitutional conference opens in October.

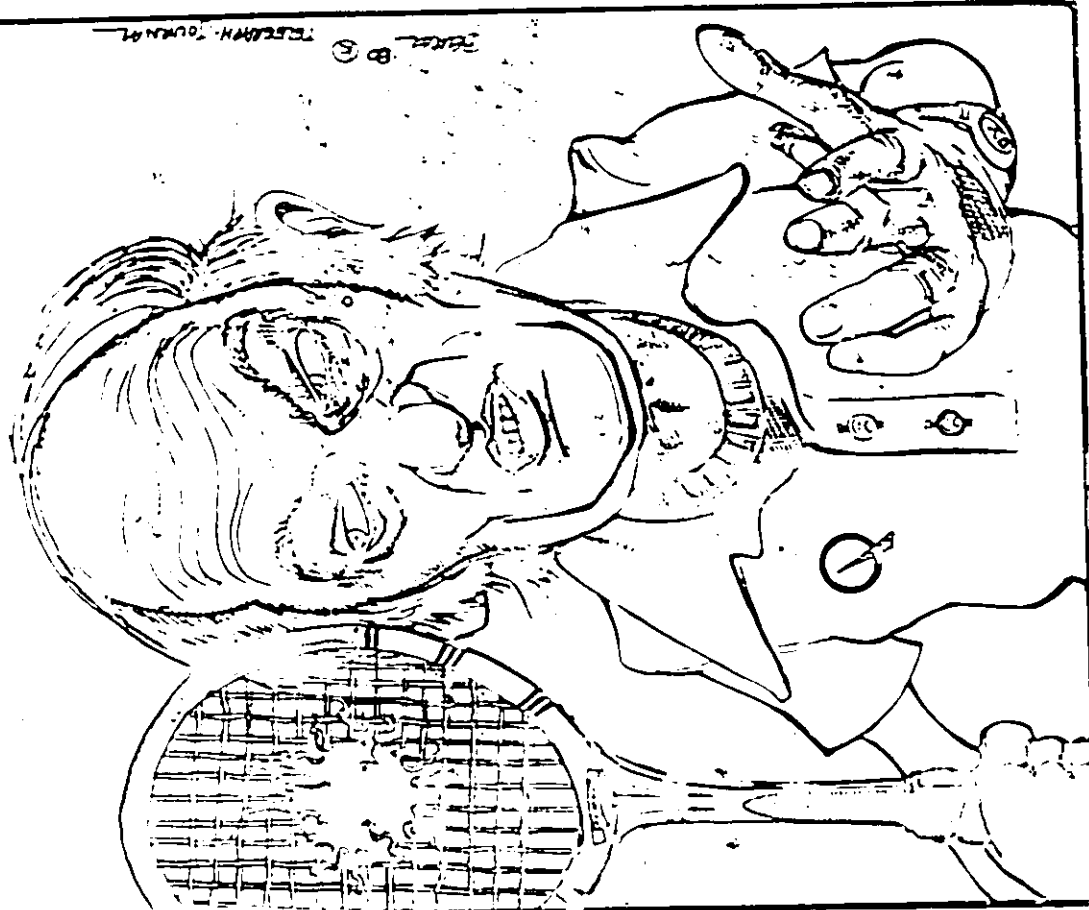
There is much to be said for the Parti Quebecois. It has a clear vision of the future of Quebec, and it has the support of the people of Quebec. It is a party that is committed to the sovereignty of Quebec, and it is a party that is committed to the well-being of the people of Quebec.

Even as the cheering fades, the reality of the situation remains. The Parti Quebecois has won the referendum, but it has not won the election. It is a setback, but it is not a defeat.

The Parti Quebecois will continue to fight for the sovereignty of Quebec. It will continue to work for the well-being of the people of Quebec, and it will continue to be a party that is committed to the future of Quebec.

The Parti Quebecois will continue to be a party that is committed to the sovereignty of Quebec. It will continue to work for the well-being of the people of Quebec, and it will continue to be a party that is committed to the future of Quebec.

The Parti Quebecois will continue to be a party that is committed to the sovereignty of Quebec. It will continue to work for the well-being of the people of Quebec, and it will continue to be a party that is committed to the future of Quebec.



the ball in the federal court

Ed 15: Gentel, Telegraph-Journal, 22 May 1970



PC 16: Aislinn, Telegraph-Journal, 22 May 1980

REFERENDUM: Canada's Press Comments

By THE CANADIAN PRESS

Following is a selection of comments from editorialists in Canadian newspapers concerning the no result in Tuesday's Quebec referendum.

Windsor Post-Free: No one should underestimate the odds of the victory for the no side in yesterday's Quebec referendum. The yes forces had all the advantages which the possession of political power could give them.... In spite of these handicaps, the federal forces, led by Claude Ryan, won a solid majority of votes in every region of the province, and among all social and linguistic groups.

Vancouver Province: So Quebecers have voted not to take the crucial first step that might have led to destroying Canada. We are delighted. We are relieved. We also take the chance to add a warning: Anyone who thinks he can now relax because the problem has gone away is in error.

Toronto Globe and Mail: An aspect of yesterday's vote on sovereignty-association that must not be lost sight of in the days ahead is the fact that more than 90 per cent of the people of Quebec went to the polls. This demonstrates how passionately concerned the people of Quebec are about their future as Quebecers and Canadians. The passion will not be cooled because the counting has been done.

Saint John Times-Globe: The voters of Quebec have made a decision that is at once pleasing and reassuring to most of the rest of Canada. In rejecting Premier Rene Levesque's sovereignty-association bid, they have re-established a more favorable climate for negotiating constitutional changes with Quebec as part of Canada.

Toronto Sun: After nearly four years of Levesque's separatist government and unmatched propaganda and blackmail threats and lies and blandishments and whatever might sway voters, the Quebec people indicated they categorically want to stay within the Canadian Confederation.

The dream they don't want is a revitalized Canada with new terms for Quebec — hell, it's what the politicians in Ottawa and other provinces and made Quebec promised them. It was the carrot, the bribe. And now Ottawa and provinces will have to deliver.

Montreal Gazette: For federalists in Quebec, the first priority must be magnanimity in victory.....

And for the rest of Canada



... the time has now come to make good on its repeated pledge to move rapidly to negotiate a renewal of our constitution.... The referendum was just the prelude to the great changes that now await us.

Ottawa Journal: Canadians would be making a terrible mistake if they concluded that yesterday's vote is the end of the problem. The no vote is not a signal to English Canada to go back to sleep.

Whatever the result, there was only one conclusion to be reached: Canada's federal and provincial governments are faced with the immediate and imperative task of constitutional renewal. Nothing less will preserve Canada's unity.

St. John's News: It might be said to be the biggest vote of confidence Canada and Confederation have received.... Of course the confidence must not be provided to have been misplaced. There must be change in Confederation — change that will make the Canada of the future live the aspirations of the people of Quebec.... and the aspirations of so many Canadians from sea to sea....

Moncton L'Evangeliste: ... what Quebecers said in this referendum.... it is that they are giving a last chance to Canada. It would be catastrophic if the referendum result is interpreted as approval of the status quo. The crisis of Canadian unity was certainly not resolved last night but the message of Quebecers is clear. They want to talk about a renewed federation....

Montreal La Presse: Invited for the first time in their history to take a decision on their future.... Almost 60 per cent of Quebecers refused to give the government a mandate to negotiate sovereignty-association with the rest of Canada.

In choosing to remain in the Canadian federation, Quebecers refused the risk, that in their eyes, the PQ option carried, and to take another that seemed to them less adventurous, having experienced it for 113 years....

Because of that things have to change in Canada and rapidly. Mr. Levesque said last night that the ball now is in the federalist camp. He's right. If there is one thing that's certain in this referendum it's that Quebec wants change.

Mr. Trudeau committed himself last week to do all he could to arrive at it. And he launched a solemn appeal to Canada. Last night he reiterated this will and this appeal.

Toronto Star: This is a great day for Canada — for the immensely promising, generous-spirited nation that already exists, and for the even better nation we can all build, together in the wake of yesterday's Quebec referendum.

Canada has, quite literally, been given a new lease on life. The people of Quebec — invited by the separatist government of Rene Levesque to challenge years of ferment and uncertainty by turning in on themselves and embarking on a path that would render our nationhood — have instead rediscovered themselves in the

great Canadian adventure.

It is a indication that is both courageous and gratifying, but we in the rest of the country must recognize that it is also conditional. Quebecers have made an act of faith in the Canadian ideal. The full partnership of two proud languages and cultures, enriched by many other people from every part of the world and every ethnic heritage. But in making that act of faith, they have also challenged the rest of us to make this deal more of an everyday reality.

Hamilton Spectator: Canadian federation was a battle last night but not the war. Mr. Levesque has declared against this nation's survival.

The referendum forced Canadians everywhere to face the frightening possibility of seeing their country broken up. And even while that threat has lost its immediacy, it must be obvious that things in Quebec and Canada will never be the same.

The "sovereignty-association" question... was not a definitive test of nationhood but only a step in the Parti Quebecois' careful, calculated, long-term plan to achieve absolute power in a new dependent state, carved out of the Canadian nation.

But it would be naive to think the referendum will destroy separatism in Quebec or stop the forces of divisiveness ranging to challenge the national integrity elsewhere in Canada.

Windsor Star: Quebecers delivered a stinging rebuke to

Rene Levesque's concept of sovereignty-association Tuesday and by doing so gave English-speaking Canadians and the federal government the responsibility of pursuing and amending the constitution to meet the needs of all Canada.

But even if Levesque's dream turned into something of a nightmare in Tuesday's referendum, it won't be forever. In fact, he has stated that if he loses the first referendum, he will hold another, and if necessary a third to make Quebec a sovereign independent state.

As long as he stays in power he will have the means to bide his time and choose his opportunity to try again.

Regina Leader-Post: Insured of the probable beginning of the end of Canada as we have known it, the massive rejection of Levesque's target of sovereignty-association means the start of a beginning of a new Canada, if determined Canadians everywhere are prepared to seek it with anything near the single-minded purpose of the separatist forces.

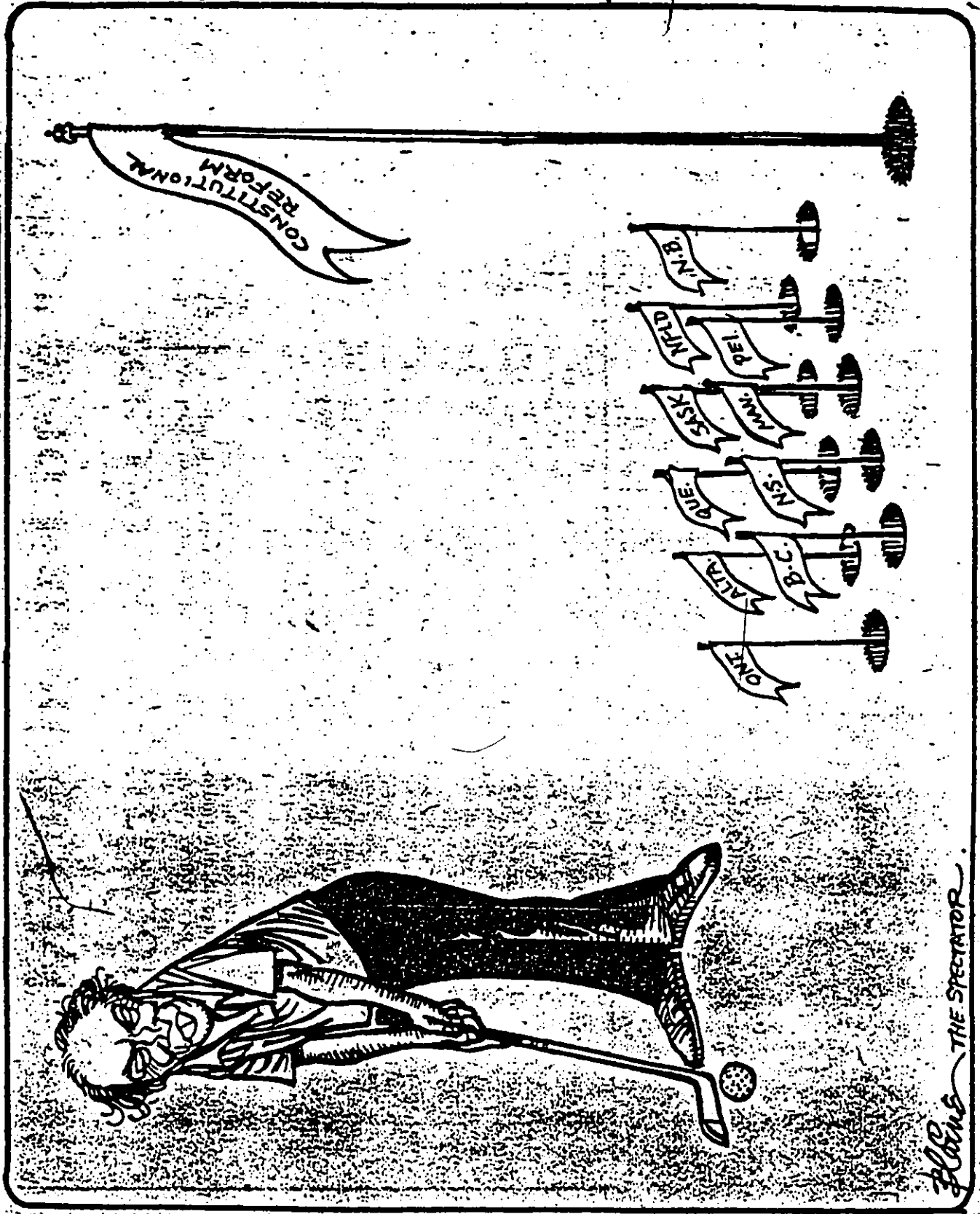
Windsor Tribune: The crisis of joy should be going up across the land that still, now, remains a country. But not the same country it will not be the same again. The remodeling must begin at once.

Ottawa Citizen: The greatest challenge in our country's 113-year history lies before Canada's political leaders today. It is a nothing less than to create a new Confederation and a new Canada that will take into account of the diverging regional, economic and cultural aspirations of its citizens.

Ottawa Le Droit: The federalists have considerable work to do after an unequivocal victory by the majority of Quebecers. It is necessary to rebuild the country, to re-examine each of its institutions, adjust the federal system to the reality of its diversity and its regions.

Vancouver Sun: Quebec has spoken up emphatically for Canada. The rest of us must now show Quebec what we too will do for our country. Most Quebecers, whether they voted yes or no, surely believe that there must and will be changes in the constitution.

Quebec Le Soleil: This majority decision by Quebecers will have at least a positive effect — elsewhere in Canada, one will no longer doubt the patriotism of Quebecers and their desire to participate actively and fully in the reshaping of their country.



PC 17: Blaine, Hamilton Spectator, 25 June 1980



PC 18: Reschikov, Toronto Star, 29 July 1980

After the Big Apple

In an hour's surprise, Jimmy Carter in New York has not disappointed the the Clinton Car into the town, having only his big smile. For better or for worse the Democrats have placed their hopes on his re-election to the White House.

The surprise at the Madison Square Garden opening article was the deep-seated no-show, the crowd with which Reagan, Edward Kennedy were faced by the night. Thus a number of early loss has picked up over the party's increased delivery. But how solid the structure will prove election day is a very hard question about which the party professionals clearly have no illusion.

On the wider all-party scene the surprising factor at this point is how much around the Republican contender, Ronald Reagan, has gained during the past year, and how much Mr. Carter has lost.

If the opinion polls are anywhere near accurate it would seem that Mr. Carter has suffered a fall in public popularity unprecedented in the modern history of the American presidency. In 1976 the key slogan for the Carter campaign was "Why not go home?" This time the Democrats, in explaining away the unhappy state of the nation, agreed pretty close to "It could be worse."

When he entered the White House in 1977 Mr. Carter was hailed throughout the Western alliance as a leader of great promise and, in the expression of the British prime minister, "a breath of fresh air." Today he is regarded by many Western Europeans as the weakest American president since the Second World War.

Inevitably in his fall from grace Mr. Carter is getting a lot of blame he does not deserve; he must take the rap for things caused by factors utterly beyond

his control. Yet in all objectivity the record of presidential accomplishment is not impressive, and at some points it looks lamentable to the point of incompetence.

Emerging from the nomination of Madison Square Garden into the harsh daylight of the election campaign, the Democratic delegates face the monumental challenge of persuading the voters that Jimmy Carter has learned enough and grown enough to ensure he will do better next time round. Now, that the improved performance will surpass everything within the potential capability of Ronald Reagan.

Unless Mr. Carter's public image is seen much improved there may be a landslide in which, for the Democrats, it is for Mr. Reagan to lose the election rather than for Mr. Carter to win it. Certainly Mr. Carter's political future will be influenced crucially by the domestic U.S. economic performance between now and November, especially by the course of inflation.

Whoever is inaugurated as president on Jan. 20 will undoubtedly be confronted by more difficult economic problems than any American leader has been since Franklin Roosevelt. There is a strong possibility the new president must face a more serious inflation problem than any of his predecessors since Abraham Lincoln's second inauguration in 1865.

It can be assumed that the next four years will bring forth economic challenges that no one now foresees. On his record, Mr. Carter may have to do some hard talking to convince the electorate he is the best man available to cope with them and the other trials ahead in the first half of the Eighties.



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



Scrap the Pitfield plan

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

• And the handling of partition of the constitution as if it was just another piece of parliamentary business, lumped in with the Bank Act and budget, suggests that Pittfield himself can't distinguish between the higher purpose of constitutional reform and mere management of parliamentary events.

The Pitfield proposal will be dealt



PC 21: Rusins, Ottawa Citizen,
23 August 1980

Meaningless or dangerous

The one aspect the federal government has to keep in mind in the provinces that it is planning to attempt action should negotiations about the provinces and return of the Canadian constitution fail. But there will be suspicion generated by the formation of the "federal" that would public the extent of federal planning just as the provincial premiers were watching their annual meeting, and before they had heard their final conclusions.

There will be suspicion also about the real motives of the federal government, which has been quite precise about its determination that the September first statement issued on constitutional matters that province matters, or else. The memorandum from Canada's major newspapers, Michael Pickett, to Prime Minister Trudeau on the federal government's action, showed the first statement's meeting did, perhaps lack the language and the implications that the federal government's intransigence believes that they will fail, and make them so.

The reaction of the provincial premiers has been predictable. Manitoba Premier Sterling Lyon has suggested that an attempt on the part of the federal government to take such action might be challenged in the courts.

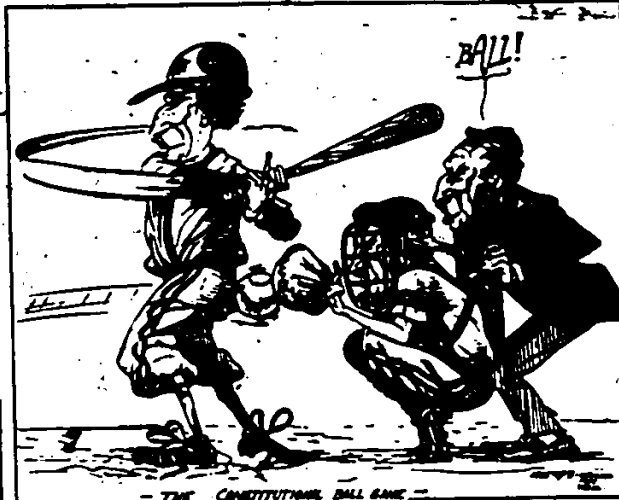
If before the last, the provinces were ready to blame for being constitutional, particularly because of the words of Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed, now the show is on the other foot. The provincial premiers, meeting in Winnipeg,

would spend time to avoid giving Ottawa an opportunity to accuse them of taking a hard line. The top of the federal document appears about as if Ottawa will be disappointed in the preliminary nature of the province and would to keep only on the line.

Ottawa is riding high on the success among Canadians that the country's sovereignty should be devolved to Canada. If there is a failure in Ottawa's position, it is that the federal officials appear willing to give over the most important part of any constitutional settlement, the adoption of an acceptable meaning towards to become part of the new "made in Canada" constitution.

At present, the federalists think it may be difficult to outline from a point of Canadian dignity, since a province going to the Parliament of another country. But a case, if the provinces are brought to Canada for the national meeting of the British Commonwealth, a meeting for which all of Parliament, subject to the same provisions of change as any act. These provisions do not take into account, at the present time, the position of the province.

This should be the objective of the talks between the first statement last month. If no entire package comes to agree upon, then the remaining formula should get first priority. As a mentioned elsewhere in this paper, any move by Ottawa to bring the constitution to Canada without an acceptable formula would be at least meaningless and at worst dangerous.



Suspicion must be banished

By W.A. Wilson

Special to The Free Press

OTTAWA—The best objective news-story should set themselves as their renewed antagonism the constitution that would be elimination of the atmosphere of suspicion which now hangs over the negotiations.

This would offer the best possibility of real progress when the prime minister and provincial premiers meet early next month in the summer which are scheduled as the climax of the series launched after the federalist victory in the Quebec referendum.

The suspicion, which is now the predominant element in the atmosphere of the talks, was not created by the provinces; the federal side is not having suspicion but tough and confident, flushed by victory at the polls recently held in Quebec. It is the provinces which feel that they are under attack and only the central government's representative can dispel that suspicion.

Clashes not suspected

That representative is Jean Chrétien and no one is suspicious of him. The fear is that his key federal colleagues and leader have not perceived him enough regarding flexibility to change the atmosphere and move the discussions ahead.

The suspicions were created by CLAUDE RYAN (Trudeau's former secretary) and ANDREAS (a former member of the federal government) who in a recent issue of the CONSTITUTIONAL (a publication of the provinces) do not second CLAUDE, at the moment of the event, people are feeling that they do not know how to define success or fail

ure, one of the consequences of the prime ministerial threat of unilateral action.

The federal side is confident that it could win a national referendum on the constitutional question and, even, at least, of the provincial players agree. On at least two obvious questions it certainly could.

Obvious answer

How many would vote no if the question involved patriation of the constitution, to make it a Canadian document rather than a British one? The answer is so obvious that a referendum on the question would be without meaning. So it would be if the question sought to confirm that most Canadians want a strong, viable federal government.

There are not that many Canadians who see how you could have much of a country without strength at the centre.

But hesitation with the predictable outcome of a national referendum is a politician's approach, where a politician must be to look to the future and the long-term effects of changing the route. This is not a question in any way comparable to an election giving the Liberals one more year or five-year renewal of their long grip on power.

An almost certain result would be to force Claude Ryan and Rene Lévesque to make common cause in Quebec on the issue, despite the profound disagreement that normally separates them. Another, all available evidence suggests, would be to stimulate western separatism.

If the referendum centered on the patriation question no cause would have any means of giving the proper answer. That is, the federalists but we must have an agreed amending formula in at the same time.

Without that, patriation is at best meaningless and at worst dangerous.

Support the federal government, supported by a referendum did proceed on its own with patriation.

The British Parliament would repeal the British North America Act and it would be immediately necessary to put in place a Canadian reference for Ottawa. Unless there is agreement with the provinces first, how is this to be done?

Familiar objection

The obvious way would be for the Canadian Parliament to pass the same legislation, making them Canadian statutes, or to modify the act and pass them in revised form. This would open the constitution to precisely the same objection that exists in the Drafting Bill of Rights. An act passed by Parliament can also be amended by Parliament, so matter what a current government might say, no matter what provinces were made for provincial spring in, no matter what popular approval might be secured through a referendum.

An amending formula is essential to patriation and it can only be secured through agreement with the provinces. To offer any practical hope for the future, it must be agreed to unanimously by all governments and legislatures.

A federal politician may feel today that he can circumvent disagreement with the provinces.

A politician would know that it is inadvisable.

Neither politician nor statesman would forget that, almost 30 years ago Claude Ryan was writing in Le Devoir by itself turned Quebec against the federal government against the Federalist formula for constitutional amendment.

Campaign Start Delights Carter Supporters

By ROBERT J. WAGMAN
Newspaper Enterprise
Association

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 over on L Street.

The reason for the joyful noise? It seems that Carter-Mondale staffers, from top to bottom, are 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 higher-up said, "only partly in jest, 'If this keeps up, our main problem will be overconfidence.'"

At the convention, the Carter-Mondale people privately were making several predictions: Carter would rebound in the polls; Ronald Reagan would go a long way towards defeating himself; with his penchant for making tactical errors; 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 these 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,

really didn't mean it.

Bush might have carried it off had Reagan listened to pleas from his own staff that he play down the issue from then on. But that appears to have been asking too much. In Houston for a speech while Bush was still in China, Reagan was asked, yes or no, was he for "official relations with Taiwan?" "I guess it's a yes," answered Reagan. The official China news agency then accused Reagan of "meddling in the internal affairs of China." Bush was made to look like the fool and the Reagan operation took on an aura of ineptitude.

(2.) 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 idea entirely. Expectedly, it had appeared in a first draft of the speech, but had been crossed out by campaign aides. Reagan reinstituted it in the final draft.

Said a Carter strategist: "When I saw the quote on the (new) wire, I just couldn't believe it. It was obviously the right statement for that audience, but they were Reagan supporters going in. That's his problem, he's simply so used to telling true believers what they want to hear."

As the Carter strategist 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 nice way to start."



off expected Carter claims of Republican foreign affairs inexperience.

Before Bush left, however, Reagan in a news conference retained once again his desire to see some form of official government-to-government relations re-established between the United States and Taiwan. He even suggested this might be accomplished by having the U.S. liaison office

Florida, where the two men are next and next.

Second, Reagan's penchant for tactical errors. There were two:

(1.) Running mate George Bush's mission to China. The media tour was meant to showcase Bush's foreign policy experience and to head

the president made up over 12 points in three weeks. In a private poll of the South, a key region for Carter the week in 1976 and must hold it in November if he is to overcome Reagan's big lead in the West. Carter now has moved ahead of the GOP standard-bearer in every state but one.

In Taiwan, now run by a private foundation, taken over by the federal government.

Pc 23: Lurie, Telegraph-Journal, 9 September 1980

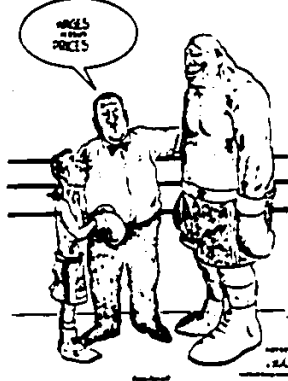
Abstract *Journal of Management Education* 32(10):1039-1050

The house has sprung from the earth, that day will witness the coming of the new Jerusalem city.

The prophet has foretold it with no measure of less confidence or authority for it foretells the resurrection of a nation and a temple and the coming of a new Jerusalem city and the coming of a new Jerusalem city and the coming of a new Jerusalem city.

But, because they do not believe the things are right. Though the Bible says that the resurrection of a nation and a temple and the coming of a new Jerusalem city and the coming of a new Jerusalem city and the coming of a new Jerusalem city.

But, because they do not believe the things are right. Though the Bible says that the resurrection of a nation and a temple and the coming of a new Jerusalem city and the coming of a new Jerusalem city and the coming of a new Jerusalem city.

[illegible]

ONE DAY TWO YEARS AGO I WASN'T THINKING about my present career when I was studying to become a teacher. I was just trying to get my feet under me.

But that has changed. I am now at the forefront of a movement to help all our students get what they need to succeed in the 21st century.

I'm a teacher, and I'm proud. I'm also a leader. I'm the one who's been asked to help other teachers in my district. I'm the one who's been asked to help other districts. I'm the one who's been asked to help other states.

Why? Because I know what works. I know what works for my students. I know what works for my school. I know what works for my district. I know what works for my state. I know what works for my country.

And I know what works for the world.

[illegible][illegible]

The following guidelines for use in government are suggested by the Committee on Governmental Use of the FBI's Statistical Information:

The following conditions and terms apply to the use of the information contained in this report:

1. The information is for reference only and should not be used for any other purpose.
2. The information is not to be used for any purpose other than that for which it was prepared.
3. The information is not to be used for any purpose other than that for which it was prepared.
4. The information is not to be used for any purpose other than that for which it was prepared.
5. The information is not to be used for any purpose other than that for which it was prepared.
6. The information is not to be used for any purpose other than that for which it was prepared.
7. The information is not to be used for any purpose other than that for which it was prepared.
8. The information is not to be used for any purpose other than that for which it was prepared.
9. The information is not to be used for any purpose other than that for which it was prepared.
10. The information is not to be used for any purpose other than that for which it was prepared.

A design prepared by representatives of a New York bank explains that obtaining equipment for a floating submersible can be far more expensive than for land-based ships and that a submersible submersible (submersible) can operate at the bottom of the water in a controlled manner. It is a New York bank representative that says the submersible can be used to explore the bottom of the sea, which is a major goal of the New York bank representative. The submersible can be used to explore the bottom of the sea, which is a major goal of the New York bank representative. The submersible can be used to explore the bottom of the sea, which is a major goal of the New York bank representative.

For a better Canada

Conservative Canadians will naturally agree with the basic objectives of the environmental reform package that Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced last night and will press to Parliament on Monday.

To give Canada full control over her own economy, to guarantee and safeguard the basic rights and liberties of her citizens, to bring them together to share the benefits of unity — these, surely are the values that are sacred.

In today's way of so much to take care
with the Treasury's spending, let's put it
to a simple test: would the introduction
of the new Gulp make a better Canada?

The answer is yes. The only question for argument is whether he is going about the subject in the right way at the right time.

Mr. Trudeau's reasons for protesting to be in doing are outstanding. For 15 years, he says, Canada has been consistently persecuted because its leaders

There might be considerable satisfaction of one's own government. But now a protest must be submitted — there is that, a statement "from each Canadian to every other Canadian, is almost

And so the Canadian Parliament will be asked to send a resolution to the G7.

the House is that a commitment in the Welsh Parliament, subject to it to voting on our commitment is an uncontracted, uncontracted—operator of legal and language rights. The 4 way a right of commitment, stamp it

AA. If it were only as simple as the
Tribune could return to his place in Rome.

Polypius' output is a gross misstatement of his production in two short

...and the energy lightness.

Time may be important in winning the nomination to Clinton. But Mr. Trudeau must not let political conditions for what he currently calls "a great act of restraint."



But three, strike two, fast-out, bottom of the run
and the bases are loaded

Joe Clark walks into a neat trap

Telephone Number 3000 for other New York area
area telephone (both in company) or for right to
telephone company in Chicago or from New York
company and work at home for New York area

The Church, the State & the beginning of the right to religious freedom in the Western World: Europe 1500-1600. Edited by David Martin and John A. Pocock. Pp. 304. £12.50. (Cambridge University Press, 1976.)

...of proposed rights, and might reflect the con-
sistency of the Government's policy to support the
President, without go against a change in the
situation.

[illegible]

It was the Broadway way and a satisfied movie man declared that he would look in his last breath to have Perry Tinsley achieve greatness for his fellow countrymen in the cinema.

Four are also operating that in early January.

Development in the form of surveillance system may be an additional source. But, the Chinese have

It will be interesting to see whether the demand and the technology will be able enough to follow the

the two companies will be able to compete to supply the business. Very little was said about the B.C. As the topic of this briefing, the presence of B.C. was understood as a factor more in L'Esperance's winning of business as the company preferred by the Tribunal.

On Sept 20th we read that the Bureau had agreed to withdraw officers to China. But on the 21st of the same month a telegram from the B. C. (British) Consul stated the withdrawal would not be made.

The Tribune has promised to study the company's paper and, in a long long paper, discuss the data and, in an additional column, compare earnings of the proprietors. If C has any right in favor of socialism, C has a case for justice.

[illegible]

As far as membership bill of rights, that, the Commission has been studying a B. C. bill of rights along on one hand element, the elements in membership, the

As for the Tibetan question, it concerns the people's rights. Of course we have an action

groups, vegetarians, or persons who have no sexual orientation. The constitutional arguments advanced by the group seeking to create the right to obtain

MARJORIE NICHOLS
IN VICTORIA

Երևանի քաղաքապետարանի քաղաքացիական ծառայության ղեկավար Գևորգ Բաբայանը հայտարարեց, որ քաղաքապետարանը պատրաստ է օգնել քաղաքացիներին, որոնք հարկադրված են հեռանալ Հայաստանից՝ իրենց ընտանիքներին թողնելով հայրենի երկրում:

July 19-21 1988, North Carolina. Speaker: Paul Wolfowitz and Lieutenant Governor Bruce Bessent. A coordinating group for the conference is being formed.

For the record, Mr. Gathers has also authored the contribution to the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* on the topic of "The Role of the Counselor in the Assessment of the Client's Cultural Background."

Similar to the partners of Communism is found in
fact here a different kind of strategy in the management
of the organizational principle. Charles J. is not
to find on any level, no is found in fact to be the
principle in the ordinary course of the French

It's actually funny in a short sort of way. The President, the leader of the strongest party that is in opposition dominated by Mr. Bush. See up to South Africa the President's administration.

The President says the political controversy about the possibility of a referendum on the subject of independence is still great. He himself has proposed that there be a referendum on the subject.

The fact that previous ownership of a resource is already guaranteed is the equivalent step in resource allocation for the provision of the public good. (St. Onofre, 1997, p. 103)

But the Trustees and the National Library are concerned too. They understand well that the system cannot persist as well as the publisher prepares to be according to the following and to appear to be even to have further changes in the

The shelves of the film is spontaneous cinema
imply that the future Libras are prepared to accept
the reforms proposed by the President. The
Libras cinema school students were seen

[illegible]

Will the demand to share strength in uniformity
mean the "stronger" are stronger, or will the job be
done, but the "stronger" are the stronger? But, the

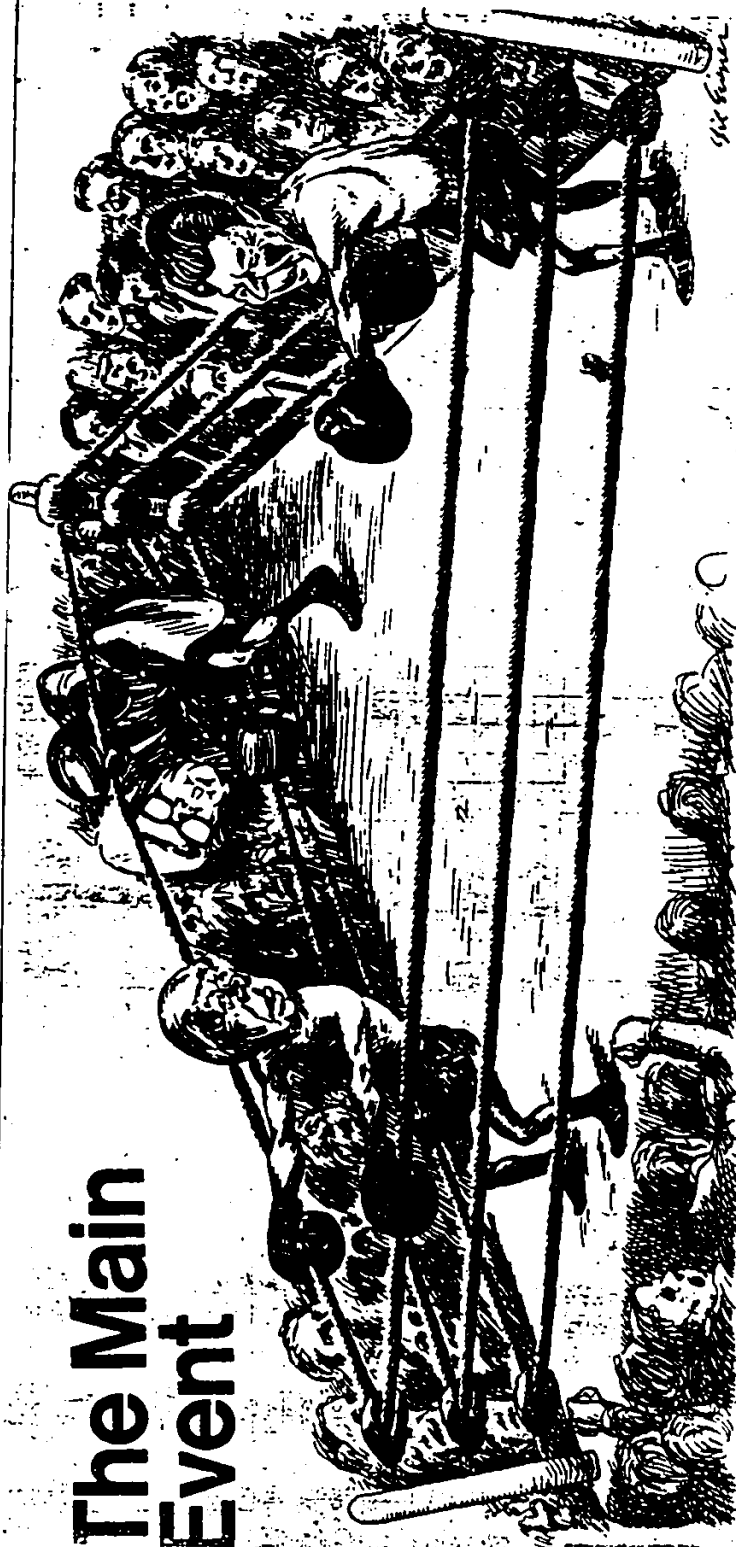
The frequency for a definite statement is a function of the number of times the statement is made.

1. NAME OF THE PARTY
 2. ADDRESS
 3. CITY
 4. STATE
 5. ZIP
 6. PHONE
 7. TELETYPE
 8. TELEFAX
 9. TELEVISION
 10. RADIO
 11. INTERNET
 12. EMAIL
 13. WEB
 14. OTHER
 15. DATE
 16. SIGNATURE
 17. PRINTED NAME
 18. OFFICE
 19. POSITION
 20. DATE
 21. SIGNATURE
 22. PRINTED NAME
 23. OFFICE
 24. POSITION
 25. DATE
 26. SIGNATURE
 27. PRINTED NAME
 28. OFFICE
 29. POSITION
 30. DATE
 31. SIGNATURE
 32. PRINTED NAME
 33. OFFICE
 34. POSITION
 35. DATE
 36. SIGNATURE
 37. PRINTED NAME
 38. OFFICE
 39. POSITION
 40. DATE
 41. SIGNATURE
 42. PRINTED NAME
 43. OFFICE
 44. POSITION
 45. DATE
 46. SIGNATURE
 47. PRINTED NAME
 48. OFFICE
 49. POSITION
 50. DATE
 51. SIGNATURE
 52. PRINTED NAME
 53. OFFICE
 54. POSITION
 55. DATE
 56. SIGNATURE
 57. PRINTED NAME
 58. OFFICE
 59. POSITION
 60. DATE
 61. SIGNATURE
 62. PRINTED NAME
 63. OFFICE
 64. POSITION
 65. DATE
 66. SIGNATURE
 67. PRINTED NAME
 68. OFFICE
 69. POSITION
 70. DATE
 71. SIGNATURE
 72. PRINTED NAME
 73. OFFICE
 74. POSITION
 75. DATE
 76. SIGNATURE
 77. PRINTED NAME
 78. OFFICE
 79. POSITION
 80. DATE
 81. SIGNATURE
 82. PRINTED NAME
 83. OFFICE
 84. POSITION
 85. DATE
 86. SIGNATURE
 87. PRINTED NAME
 88. OFFICE
 89. POSITION
 90. DATE
 91. SIGNATURE
 92. PRINTED NAME
 93. OFFICE
 94. POSITION
 95. DATE
 96. SIGNATURE
 97. PRINTED NAME
 98. OFFICE
 99. POSITION
 100. DATE

Official Canada Likes Carter — Quietly

[illegible]

The Main Event



PS 27: Fisher, Telegraph-Journal, 4 November 1980

Also on today's card - - governors, congressmen, etc.

U.S. Voters To Choose Many Besides President

By The Christian Press

The biggest election by any measure in the western world — in numbers, size and numbers of voters and candidates — is taking place today in some 260,000 voting places throughout the United States.

Overlooked by candidates and ignored by advertising in campaigns that lasted up to a year and cost perhaps \$1 billion in all, American voters on this day pick people for dozens of public offices — from U.S. governors to local school boards — and make hundreds of important votes by phone.

Here are highlights of the vote counts:

THE VOTERS: At various intervals, 160,000,000 Americans in 48 states and the District of Columbia are expected to vote. Only 34 per cent of eligible voters voted in the last presidential year, 1976.

Of every 100 voters, roughly 52 are women, 16 are under 25 years old, 10 are 65 or older, 11 are black, 23 are Roman Catholic and three Jewish.

Approximately 23 of the 100 live in the industrial Northeast.

26 to the Midwest, 22 to the South and 19 to the West.

THE POLLING: Under varying procedures established separately by individual state governments, voting hours between 5:30 a.m. and 9 a.m. and ends at different hours up to 9 p.m. local time.

Most voting procedures are arranged with machines on which voters record choices by filling in, and marking, marks on registered automatically for each election. A few states still use paper ballots.

THE RESULTS: Five states are reported shortly after 7 a.m. AST, with major election camps beginning after 9 a.m. AST. Polls close at 11 a.m. AST in California and Nevada, up to 2 a.m. AST for the last day of voting in Alaska.

In a close presidential contest, as also seems to be, the outcome may remain uncertain until late in night or even well into the following day.

THE PRESIDENT: The other presidential election, choosing the state or to be inaugurated next Jan. 20 in person and vice-presidents for four-year terms, is usually 11 states — one in each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia.

Under the Advanced Electoral College system, the candidate with the most votes in a majority of the states is elected. A total of 538 Electoral College votes are allocated among states in proportion to population — 538 members in California, as low as three each in the smallest states and D.C.

The winner needs 270 electoral votes to provide a majority of at least 270 of the Electoral College votes, a total theoretically possible by voters in 11 of the most populous states.

The college members, partly of largely anonymous individuals named in advance by voters, meet at their state capitals Dec. 11 to elect their ballots to elect the president.

The issue is mentioned frequently in Congress on Jan. 6 — the day of the inauguration, when the new House of Representatives convenes, when the new chief executive is sworn in. The issue is mentioned frequently in Congress on Jan. 6 — the day of the inauguration, when the new House of Representatives convenes, when the new chief executive is sworn in.

THE CANDIDATES: More than 20 men and women are running for U.S. president or vice-president. The most likely to get their names on the ballot in all states.

THE CANDIDATES: More than 20 men and women are running for U.S. president or vice-president. The most likely to get their names on the ballot in all states.

The issue is mentioned frequently in Congress on Jan. 6 — the day of the inauguration, when the new House of Representatives convenes, when the new chief executive is sworn in.

JAMES EARL LARRY CARTER, 75, of Plains, Georgia, former U.S. senator (1965-71), a Presbyterian, father of four, elected president in 1976. He has been in the White House since 1977.

RONALD WILSON REAGAN, 69, of Pacific Palisades, Calif., former U.S. governor (1967-71), a Presbyterian, father of four, elected president in 1980. He has been in the White House since 1981.

WALTER F. FRITZ MONDAL, 55, of Alton, Ill., U.S. senator (1965-71), a Presbyterian, father of four, elected president in 1980. He has been in the White House since 1981.

GEORGE HERBERT WALKER BUSH, 56, of Houston, Tex., U.S. congressman (1965-71), a Presbyterian, father of four, elected president in 1980. He has been in the White House since 1981.

THE CONGRESS: At stake are all 435 seats in the House of Representatives and 96 of the 100 Senate seats, under the system whereby about one-third of the members are elected every two years.

A representative is chosen for a two-year term by a majority vote in each state. There are two senators from each state, regardless of population, and they serve four-year terms that begin at different years.

The newly-elected 97th Congress will convene in the first week of January and, under the American system, it will immediately be dissolved by members of the state party in the following year.

Disputes have been common in both houses for all but two Congresses since the Second World War, the 86th Congress of 1945-49 and the 89th of 1955-59. In the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, Congress has held the legislative for an equal number of years.

Present HOUSE membership is 271 Democrats, 139 Republicans and three members. The Republicans would need to gain 20 seats and hold their own to win a majority of 210 — an outcome regarded as unlikely against a record in which Republicans are favored for re-election.

Incumbents are running in all but 40 states — 22 of them, Democrats and 17 Republicans.

Career SENATE members are 54 Democrats, 41 Republicans and one independent — Harry Byrd of Virginia, whose retirement deadline was 1980.

Of the 96 Senate seats at stake, 34 are held by Democrats, 56 by Republicans and one by an independent.

Eight incumbents — five Democrats and three Republicans — are up for re-election. In New York State, veteran Republican Jacob Javits, 76, has his party's nomination but is running as a Liberal.

THE GOVERNORS: Apart from legislators, mayors and municipal officials in most states, 13 governors are being elected — all for four-year terms except those in Arkansas, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont, where the term is two years.

The other states electing governors are Colorado, Idaho, Missouri, Montana, North Carolina, North Dakota, Utah, Washington and West Virginia.

Incumbents are running for re-election in 10 states, eight of them Democrats and two Republicans. Republican Governor of Indiana is retiring, while Democrat Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois is retiring, while Democrat Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois is retiring.

Thirty one of the 30 states are headed by Democrats, the rest by Republicans.

ELECTION TALLY SHEET

TOTAL ELECTORAL VOTES: 538
NEEDED FOR ELECTION: 270

State	Electors	State	Electors
Alabama	9	Mississippi	7
Alaska	3	Montana	3
Arizona	5	Nevada	3
Arkansas	6	New Hampshire	3
California	54	New Jersey	17
Colorado	7	New Mexico	5
Connecticut	7	New York	29
Del.	3	North Carolina	15
D.C.	3	North Dakota	3
Florida	17	Ohio	20
Georgia	12	Oklahoma	5
Idaho	3	Oregon	6
Illinois	12	Rhode Island	4
Indiana	11	South Carolina	8
Iowa	6	South Dakota	3
Kansas	7	Tennessee	10
Kentucky	8	Texas	36
Louisiana	10	Vermont	3
Maine	4	Virginia	12
Maryland	10	West Virginia	5
Massachusetts	11	Wisconsin	11
Michigan	21	Wyoming	3
Minnesota	10		

Keeping Score? Watch The States

WASHINGTON (CP) — When voters in the U.S. presidential election on Nov. 3, 1980, the voters will be choosing not only the president and vice-president but also the members of the 97th Congress.

This is because U.S. presidential elections are held every four years by the so-called electoral college system devised by the founding fathers 170 years ago.

When it comes to picking presidents, the electoral college is not always fair.

Three times in the past — 1836, 1876 and 1960 — the candidate supported by most of the people at election day was not elected.

It happened because the electoral college is made up of electors chosen by the states. In 1960, the candidate supported by most of the people at election day was not elected.

Electoral votes are 538 in all.

Each state has a certain number of electoral votes.

California has 54, Texas has 36.

Most states have three or more electoral votes.

Some states have only one electoral vote.

Washington, D.C., has three electoral votes.

Alaska has three electoral votes.

Montana has three electoral votes.

North Dakota has three electoral votes.

South Dakota has three electoral votes.

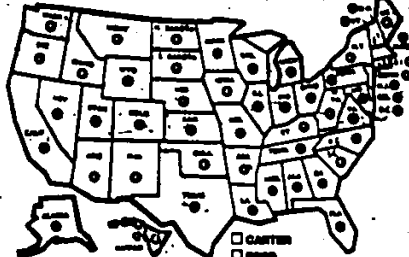
Vermont has three electoral votes.

Wyoming has three electoral votes.

Delaware has three electoral votes.

D.C. has three electoral votes.

ELECTORAL VOTES: 1976



As of 1976, the 1976 Republican ticket is expected to win more of the electoral votes than the Democratic ticket. The Republican ticket is expected to win more of the electoral votes than the Democratic ticket.



PC 26: Beutel, Telegraph-Journal,
22 November 1980



richard gwyn

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, "bullish about the long term."

This means that if you ask your broker whether to buy stocks, even as a sure bet the market is going down in a year, he'll say "yes" because, as he'll explain, over the long-term stock values are bound to go up.

Your broker won't say this because he wants your business, although none of us is immune from that motivation. He'll be appalled because a just is taken to human nature not to assume that one day things will get better, if only by Providence, luck and the cycle of the moon.

Like a bullish stockbroker, Economic Council Chairman David Stauer says, "Once through the uncertainty, but patch that, Canada's medium-term and long-term prospects are much brighter."

It is just published annual report, the Council acknowledges the picture from a computer has showed that the end of the 1970s will be a period of slow inflation will be curbing down the "real" (or after-inflation) wages and salaries of Canadians will be coming up, and the federal deficit,

even without any attempt to slash expenditures, will be double each year.

One drawback to these forecasts is that they mean nothing. All long-term projections always wind up off-target because, before they happen, the market always happens. In any, the are forecast by Statistics Canada (of 100,000 by the end of the century (it's not a point, as the inflation rate of 13 per cent in 1981, made bold by the finance department back in 1977).

The other drawback is that passing off into the far distance in the terms way-to-sustainable straight into a pothole that's right in front of you.

Here, rather than an obsession to computer projections, is where the Economic Council has failed us. It has pointed to the pothole — two of them in fact — all right; but it hasn't told us how to get around or through them.

Inflation is one pothole. It will be close to 11.5 per cent next year, the Council forecasts, in comparison to the height of just six weeks ago. Even the higher forecast is optimistic. It's not so far from the "real" (or after-inflation) wages and salaries of Canadians that as their personal consumption is the fight against inflation.

The other pothole is productivity, or output per person. For eight years now, declares the Council, "productivity has virtually improved in all... After admitting that doesn't really know what the blessed one (concrete) ought to be, "a growth in investment... But it promptly adds that member of the two equally-chance catalysts of investment — higher

Canadians will allow their real wages and salaries to decline.

Through to 1981, according to the Council, inflation will remain at or near the double-digit mark. "I'm not at all confident we can there to live with that high a rate of inflation for that long," says Stauer. He worries about a "scramble" by means for COLA (cost of living adjustment) clauses, and by investors for indexed bonds and mortgages, both of which would embed inflation even more deeply into our system.

Having identified the demons, the Council then averts its gaze. Spending restraint will do as much harm as "monetarism" (or tight money). "The extent to which it has produced the desired effect on inflation is not clear."

The other pothole is productivity, or output per person. For eight years now, declares the Council, "productivity has virtually improved in all... After admitting that doesn't really know what the blessed one (concrete) ought to be, "a growth in investment... But it promptly adds that member of the two equally-chance catalysts of investment — higher

Canadians will allow their real wages and salaries to decline.

Through to 1981, according to the Council, inflation will remain at or near the double-digit mark. "I'm not at all confident we can there to live with that high a rate of inflation for that long," says Stauer. He worries about a "scramble" by means for COLA (cost of living adjustment) clauses, and by investors for indexed bonds and mortgages, both of which would embed inflation even more deeply into our system.

Having identified the demons, the Council then averts its gaze. Spending restraint will do as much harm as "monetarism" (or tight money). "The extent to which it has produced the desired effect on inflation is not clear."

government spending or significant tax cuts — should be interrupted because the federal deficit already is too large."

"In the short-term there isn't a lot to be done," said Stauer. "We could not supply fiscal or monetary policies that would make much difference to inflation and unemployment in the short-term."

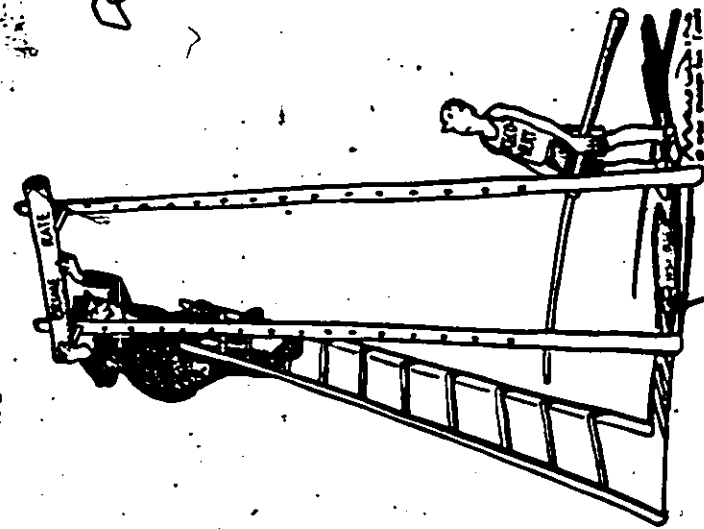
The council is refreshing. The Council would have been even more candid, though, if it had not advanced that long-term forecast. It is not clear that in the last the horizon of an economic black hole, rather than a light at the end of the tunnel.

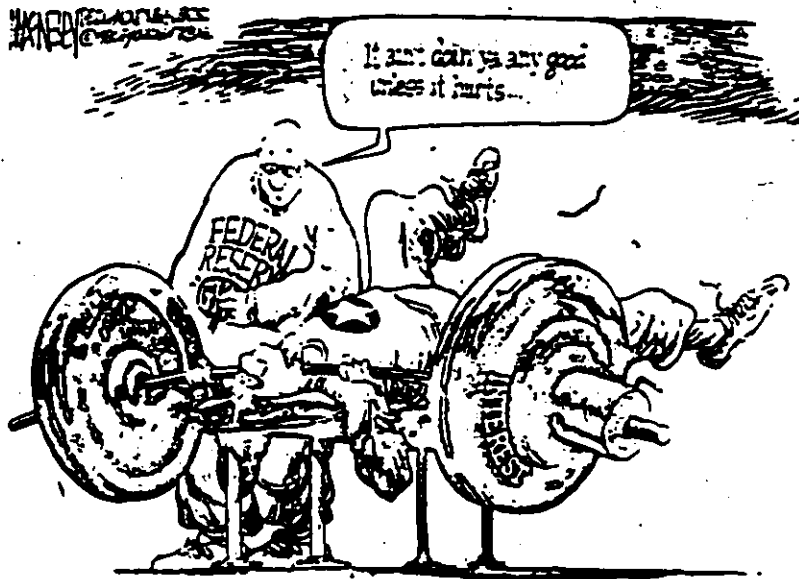
Would "such candor have accomplished anything except to spread gloom and doom? It might. At a recent conference in Toronto, one economist explained that the Japanese government met the oil price shock of the 1970s by selling its citizens that, later or not, their incomes would have to decline until their productivity had improved enough to pay for the increased import costs. Such candor by the Council, let alone by the government, just isn't our style.

Copyright, 1980
Toronto Star Syndicates

Would "such candor have accomplished anything except to spread gloom and doom? It might. At a recent conference in Toronto, one economist explained that the Japanese government met the oil price shock of the 1970s by selling its citizens that, later or not, their incomes would have to decline until their productivity had improved enough to pay for the increased import costs. Such candor by the Council, let alone by the government, just isn't our style.

Copyright, 1980
Toronto Star Syndicates





The green cure

Take those dollar bills and a pair of scissors . . .

ELLEN GOODMAN

Boston Globe columnist

BOSTON

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. My grandfather, a sage of medical economics, never heard of the Vietnamese practice of *cao gio*, but he would have loved it.

Cao gio, according to the journal, is the practice of massaging the skin with coins in order to cure anything from the common cold to menachism.

The authors had surveyed 30 Vietnamese in this country. Every one of them "claimed to feel better after treatments and none knew of anyone who had been harmed by the procedure."

But the article had not been written to praise *cao gio*, but to chastise American doctors. It was time, the authors said sternly, for them to stop criticizing this "folk practice." They called for "better understanding and acceptance by the physician."

I was shocked to find any member of the American Medical Association accused of not understanding or accepting money cures.

How different, after all, are the Ameri-

cans and Vietnamese "folk practices" in their culture, the doctor rubs coins on the patient. In ours, the patient rubs coins on the doctor. Each has its own beliefs.

But the story seemed a perfect footnote and maybe even an anecdote to 1980. This has been the year of the sick economy.

In the last 12 months the prime rate went up and business went down and we were introduced to the wordiest concept of my economic life: the cost of money.

In 1980 money became too expensive to buy — that is, better.

Who among us in those wonderful yesterday years when we saved up for bicycles and Elvin Presley records would ever have expected that one day we would not be able to afford to buy money? Who wanted to buy money in the first place, let alone sell it?

But now we are grown-ups in a world where a company pays as much for dollars as they make with them. We have friends who can't buy a house, not because of the price of the house but of the money. We are parents trying to teach our children about the value of the dollar, explaining why we can no longer afford to buy money.

All this is enough to bring on a double-digit depression if not a Depression.

The only healthy people in this economy are those who can rub their 1 per cent mortgages all over their bodies. The only solvent ones are those who can wipe their cost-of-living contracts across their harried brows.

Where will it all end? you ask. I don't have the foggiest idea. After all, the use of money to buy and sell goods is a modern folk practice.

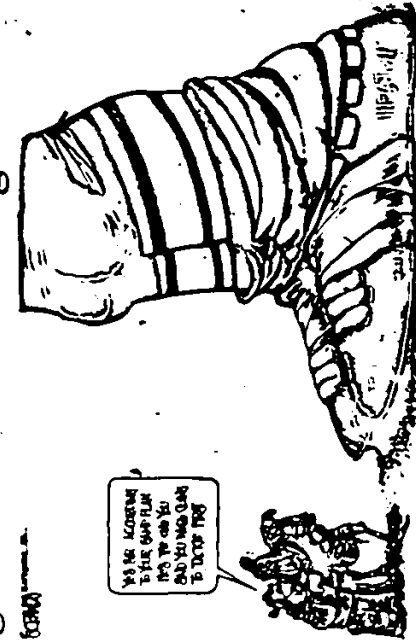
Dollars are our wampum, and if we can't afford them we may be headed straight back to barter.

If so, I have a great plan for all the leftover green stuff. What we should do is shred it into strips and use it briskly, perhaps even brutally, to massage the backs of our national economists.

That updated *cao gio* may not cure blindness, fuzzy thinking, and massive contradictions. But I know that my grandfather would look on approvingly. □

PC 30: Mackelly,
Vancouver Sun,
31 December 1980

Big Deficit Could Crimp Reagan's Economic Program



The very real, concrete possibility that the Reagan administration will bring home the deficit has been brought home to the public by the Reagan budget director, James A. Baker III, in his testimony before the House Budget Committee today.

At one stage, top advisers in Reagan, including Baker, were reportedly in a heated discussion about the budget director's proposal to declare a "state of economic emergency" at the time the budget is presented to Congress.

Reagan's spokesman, James A. Baker III, said today that the president's budget director, James A. Baker III, is "not worried about the deficit."

Reagan's spokesman said today that the president's budget director, James A. Baker III, is "not worried about the deficit."

There is a good, solid reason why Reagan is not worried about the deficit. It is because he believes that the economy will grow so fast that the deficit will be wiped out by the time the budget is presented to Congress.

Reagan's spokesman said today that the president's budget director, James A. Baker III, is "not worried about the deficit."

Reagan's spokesman said today that the president's budget director, James A. Baker III, is "not worried about the deficit."

Reagan's spokesman said today that the president's budget director, James A. Baker III, is "not worried about the deficit."

Reagan's spokesman said today that the president's budget director, James A. Baker III, is "not worried about the deficit."

Reagan's spokesman said today that the president's budget director, James A. Baker III, is "not worried about the deficit."

Reagan's spokesman said today that the president's budget director, James A. Baker III, is "not worried about the deficit."

Reagan's spokesman said today that the president's budget director, James A. Baker III, is "not worried about the deficit."

Reagan's spokesman said today that the president's budget director, James A. Baker III, is "not worried about the deficit."

PC 31: Lawls, tele-rapn-Journal, 20 January 1981

gwynne dyer

A Long, Long Iran-Iraq War?

By GWYNNE DYER

LONDON — The rumour said for the 52 kidnapped Americans will doubtless help Iran pay a few bills; but it is not going to make much difference to this country's real problem, the war with Iraq. And that war is not going well.

The most revealing comment on Iran's badly troubled New Year counter-offensive was made by Ayatollah Khomeini himself in a speech on Jan. 15. "After six days the army advances and another day retreats," he said a delegation of Iranian merchants. "You must not mistake this in the Middle East, in the Islamic or Persian."

"You must remember that ordinary people do not understand the affairs of war. You must say things which support the leaders of the army, the president or the government." Like, for instance, the fact that the great offensive was a great failure.

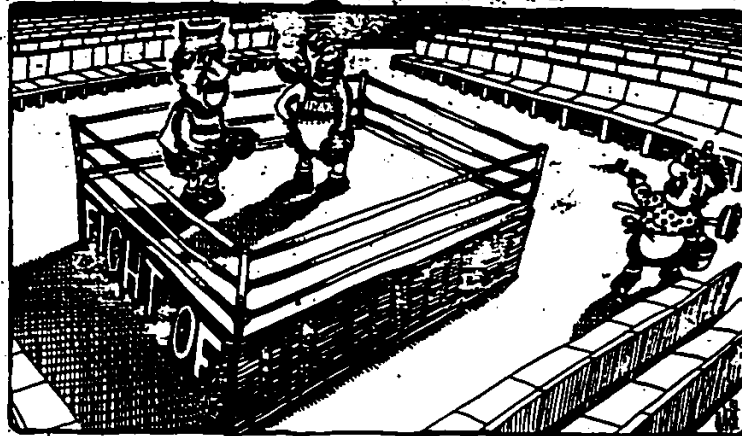
Shortly after the Iranian offensive began Jan. 5, foreign journalists in Iraq were invited down to Basra to watch a display of over 30 Iranian tanks, mostly British-built Chieftains. Comparing them with Iraq's own Soviet-built tanks, an Iraq officer cheerfully observed: "The Chieftain has no real weakness, it just has bad drivers."

The same could certainly be said about Iraqi tank-drivers, who have scarcely distinguished themselves in this slow-moving war that has now reached the four-month point with no end in sight. But since Iraq deliberately went over to the defensive two months ago, to wait out the rain and mud of winter in its present positions well inside the Iranian border, this is not at present a major concern for Baghdad.

Of Major Importance

For Iran, however, the failure of the long-promised counter-attack that was to drive the Iraqi invaders from Iranian soil is of major military and political importance. Iran's counter-offensive was clearly very premature, and was prompted at such an unexpectedly early date almost exclusively for political reasons.

Virtually the only role left in which President Bani-Sadr can still appear more important than the ultra-conservative mullahs who threaten his power is as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Indeed, were it not for the war he would almost certainly not be president by now.



DYA MIND CLOSIN' UP WHEN YOU'RE DONE?

President Bani-Sadr has been under continuous pressure to produce military successes in order to fortify his position against the mullahs of ousting. That was why he and his supporters repeatedly and openly discussed their plans for the counter-offensive for two full weeks before it began, even though this gave Iraq every possible opportunity to prepare for it.

Not only the timing of the Iranian attack was political; so was the choice of the strategic objective. The main weight of Iraq's offensive should have been at the southern end of the front around Gilan-e-Gharb. The Iranians face only three Iraqi divisions on this stretch of front, and Baghdad has only 90 miles (150 km) west of the frontier.

Movement Possible

Movement is still possible in this mountainous area despite the cold and the snow. Moreover, an Iranian breakthrough in the mountains would have forced the Iraqis to pull back their forces from other areas to protect their own capital.

Indeed, the main Iranian attack was made in the south, in Khuzestan, where

Iran faces an well-entrenched Iraqi division. The low-lying waterlogged terrain makes movement in this season very difficult. In some parts of Khuzestan, front-line conditions now bear a passing resemblance to the trenches on the Somme in 1916.

But Tehran allowed the political importance of Khuzestan, which contains almost all of Iran's oil, to outweigh the grave strategic disadvantages of attacking there. On Jan. 5, elements of two or three Iranian armored divisions attacked westwards between Ahwas and Susangerd. The Iranian tanks were repulsed after a four-day battle, and much of the accompanying infantry was trapped by the Iraqis south of Susangerd.

Now the armored striking force so painfully collected by Iran has been frittered away, and there is little likelihood that Tehran will be able to launch another full-scale offensive even in the spring. This means that President Bani-Sadr is in serious trouble domestically.

Over the next few months, as disillusionment with Bani-Sadr's military failure deepens, the radically conservative mullahs are likely to gain complete power in Tehran. Bani-Sadr's departure may well be hastened by the

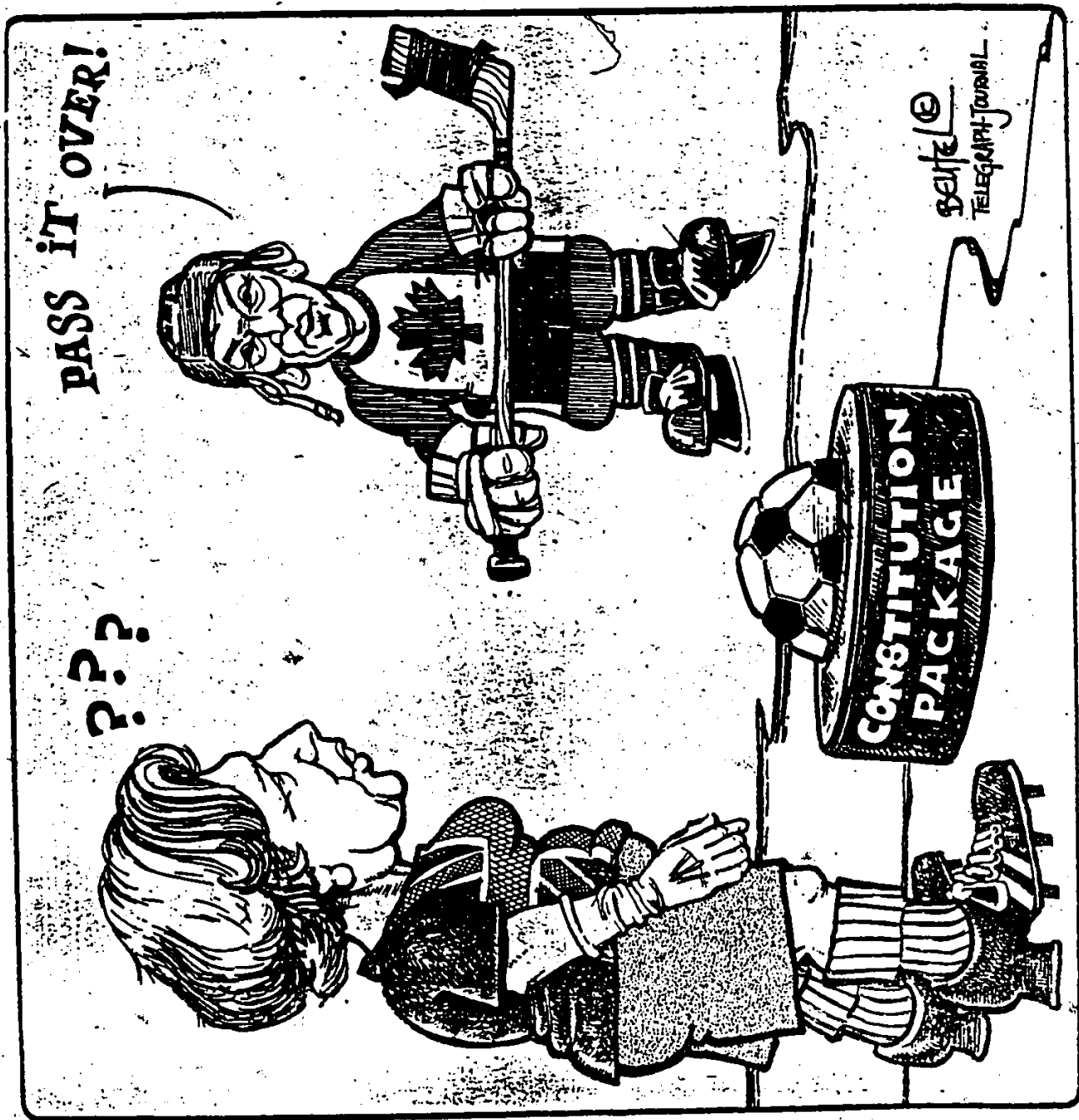
resumption of Iraqi offensive operations when the ground dries out in the spring, starting probably with the final capture of Ahwas.

This will not necessarily mean the collapse of Iran. The mullahs will then have their turn to prove that they cannot run the country either, and behind them the Mujahideen, the well-armed, semi-clandestine "Islamic socialists," are also waiting on the queue. Since none of these groups are willing to cede any of the territory seized by Iraq, and since the Iranian army has practically no offensive capability left, it is beginning to look like a much longer war.

It is not wholly unreasonable now to think in terms of a war lasting a year or 18 months. Amongst other things, this means that the international oil supply situation will probably remain tight, and prices correspondingly high.

The real danger of a longer war, however, is simply that it gives more time for someone in Iraq to make the kind of stupid or desperate decision that could spread the war to the southern side of the Gulf. The wheels of the world can go on turning without the oil of Iran and Iraq. They would stop if all the Gulf's oil were turned off.

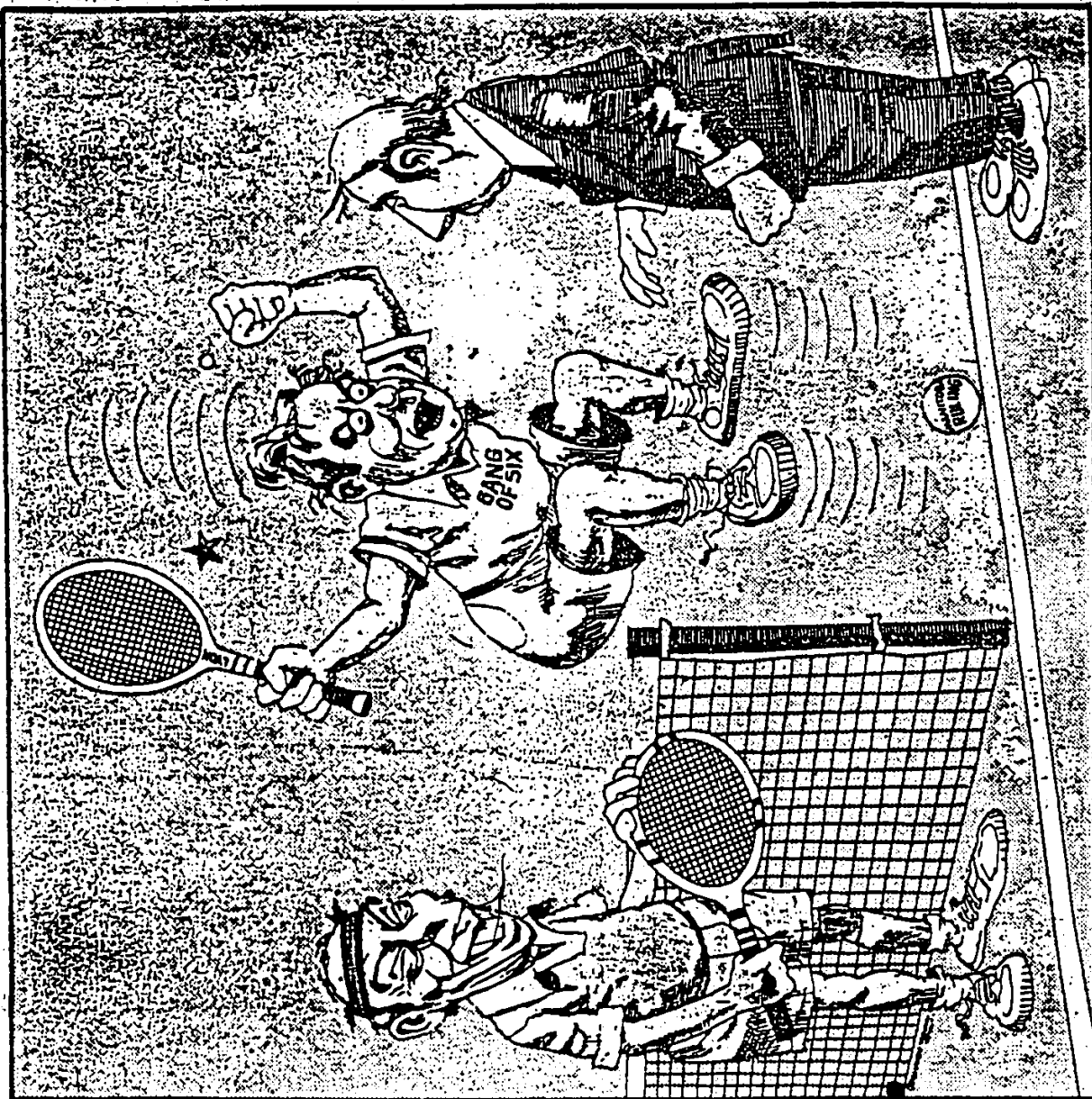




PC 34: centel, Telegraph-Journal, 9 february 1981

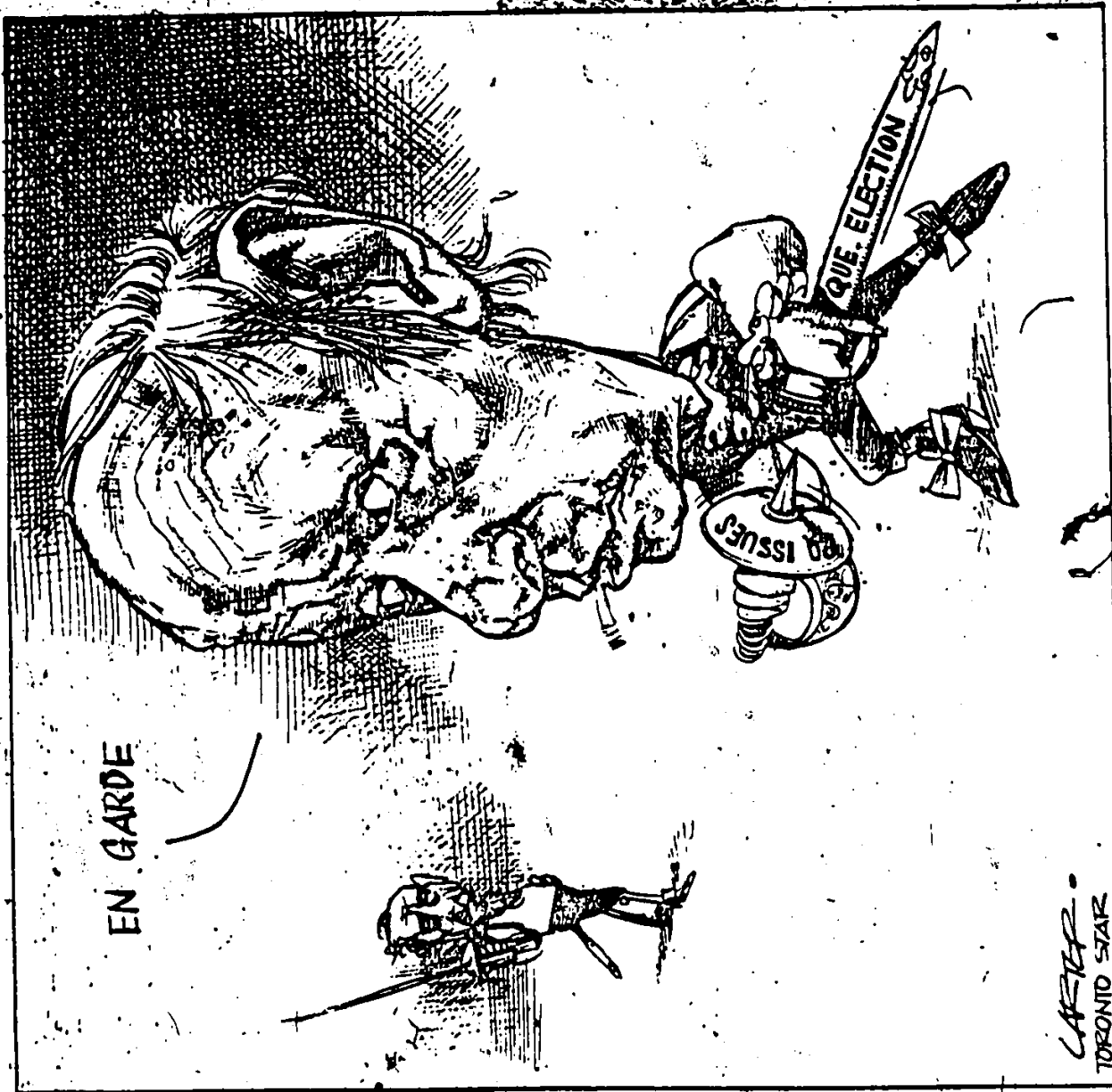


PC 35: Gallette, Winning Free Press, 18 February 1951



"I'LL TAKE THIS TO THE SUPREME COURT! I'LL GO TO THE PEOPLE!
I'LL GO TO BRITAIN! I'LL..."

PC 36: Koshkov, Toronto Star, 19 February 1981



PC 37: Larter, Toronto Star, 14 March 1981

Trudeau makes his point

without agreement until and unless they get what they wanted.

Nevertheless, the federal government has taken pains not to go too far in overriding the resistance of the provinces. The amending formula is essentially the one on which all the premiers agreed in Victoria in 1971. No powers, except perhaps the power to violate basic human rights, are being taken away from the provinces. And no persuasive substantive criticism has been made against the provisions in the charter of rights.

As for the federal government's way of proceeding, via a joint address of the House of Commons and Senate to the British Parliament, it is simply wrong to suggest that this is somehow improper, or a failure to have Canada's constitution made in Canada. Recourse to Westminster is the only legal way to amend our constitution; that's the way it has always been done and, as the Manitoba Court of Appeal recently confirmed in a closely reasoned majority opinion, it does not require provincial consent.

It is absurd to claim that our new constitution is not being made in Canada. It is being made by the Parliament of Canada, representing all Canadians. Its details have been hammered out by a parliamentary committee, representing all three parties, which received submissions from a great many major organizations across the country. It has received, and is still receiving, the most intensive domestic debate imaginable, and it has the support of two out of three federal parties. Britain is merely being asked to cap off this process with a ceremonial act.

Under these circumstances, Canadians have every reason to agree with Trudeau when he says: "It is time to act... We have no more time, but the forces of self-interest pull us apart."

The time for that historic action is indeed at hand. The debate in the House of Commons has virtually run its course, with all the important arguments already made and remade. As NDP Leader Ed Broadbent put it this week: "We have now had over five months of debate, over 100 speeches at this stage... *400, 500, 600, 700, 800, 900, 1,000*."

Now the time has come to wind up the debate and get on with the historic step of severing our last colonial tie, while enshrining the fundamental rights of all Canadians.

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 so masterfully demonstrated the weakness of the case his critics have been able to muster.

All the key points Trudeau made are valid, and persuasive.

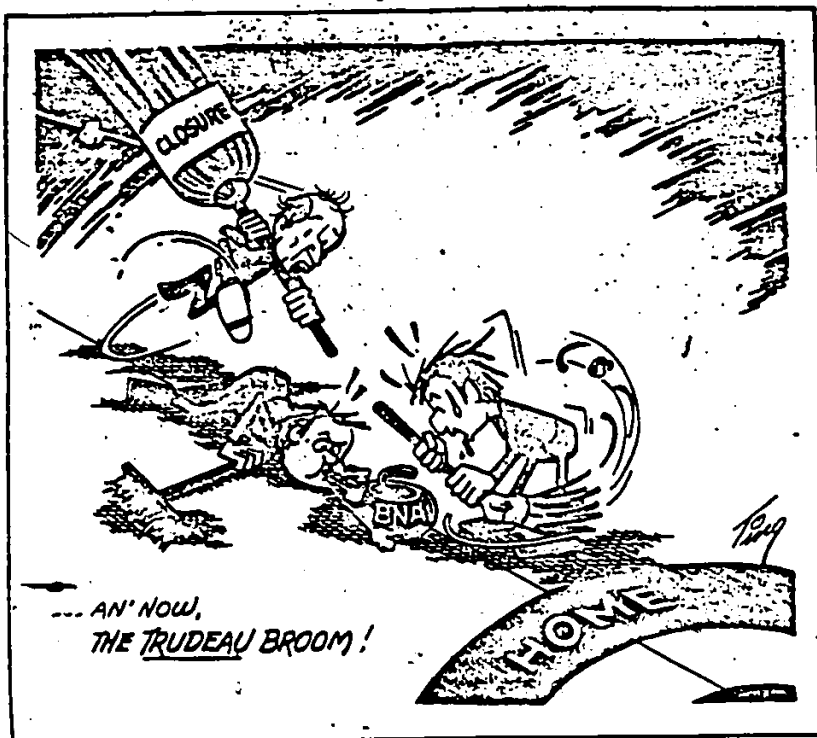
Canadians everywhere rightly favor the substantive content of the proposed initiative. They would prefer a different process, one based on unanimity or at least consensus, but such agreement is quite simply unattainable in the foreseeable future. The government's way of proceeding, by recourse to Westminster, 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 divided constitutional reservation, is now.

As Trudeau correctly pointed out, the message of all the polls is that a strong majority of Canadians in every region, support participation in 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 spearheading the attack, profess to support, in principle, the need for participation as a condition for any change in the constitution. It is undeniable that the public, like the federal Tories, would prefer to see these changes come about through unanimity or consensus with the provinces rather than through confrontation. But the harsh reality is that this option offers not only the only choice between continued stalemate or the course on which the federal government has embarked.

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 would bear fruit even if it continued for decades more. The repeated failure of Trudeau's government to secure the essential first elements of constitutional renewal — a bargaining chip to seek the transfer of a variety of powers from Ottawa, and they would



THE UNI-LATERAL



Approaching the limits

Now that Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau has spoken, the machinery to hasten the end of the constitutional debate will start turning. The party leaders' inability to agree on limits to the debate is an invitation to closure, though 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 on such a critical national issue.

Still, the debate in Parliament is obviously running out of steam. It has become repetitious. The public is bored and, judging from their frequent absences from the Commons, are MPs. Because the constitutional issue has been monopolizing Parliament's time, other pressing public business languishes 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; nothing of consequence has 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 await a supreme court of Canada ruling on the validity of his unilateral action on the constitution, but that doesn't warrant interminable discussion in Parliament.

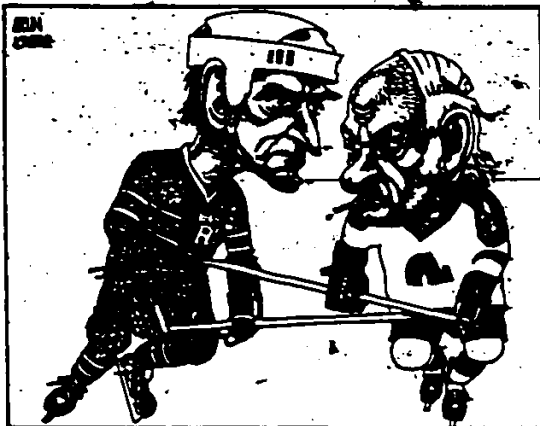
Quebec Votes April 13

Predicting Winner Is Harder Than Usual

What's new in the Quebec election? The Parti Quebecois, which has been the dominant force in the province since 1976, is now the only party to have won a majority in the 1976 election. The Parti Quebecois, which has been the dominant force in the province since 1976, is now the only party to have won a majority in the 1976 election.

In 1976, a second election was held to go over the 1976 election. The Parti Quebecois, which has been the dominant force in the province since 1976, is now the only party to have won a majority in the 1976 election.

Quebec's political landscape is a complex one. The Parti Quebecois, which has been the dominant force in the province since 1976, is now the only party to have won a majority in the 1976 election.



Leaders' Futures Hang In Balance

Quebec's political landscape is a complex one. The Parti Quebecois, which has been the dominant force in the province since 1976, is now the only party to have won a majority in the 1976 election.

Quebec's political landscape is a complex one. The Parti Quebecois, which has been the dominant force in the province since 1976, is now the only party to have won a majority in the 1976 election.

Quebec's political landscape is a complex one. The Parti Quebecois, which has been the dominant force in the province since 1976, is now the only party to have won a majority in the 1976 election.

Quebec's political landscape is a complex one. The Parti Quebecois, which has been the dominant force in the province since 1976, is now the only party to have won a majority in the 1976 election.

Quebec's political landscape is a complex one. The Parti Quebecois, which has been the dominant force in the province since 1976, is now the only party to have won a majority in the 1976 election.



Beware the wrath of hunger PM warns

The starving refugees living in the hot zone of the massive African desert could cause the summer (the drought is not limited to only one area of the world) if the refugees survive, they will remember us — and with fury in their hearts.

— Pierre Trudeau, general statement

The first individual nations, including the United States, have agreed to contribute to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) to help the refugees.

The African World must realize that the "desert refugees" are the first of the Third World in making the first of the world's most powerful leaders.

Leading off a two-day House of Commons debate on foreign affairs and world peace, Trudeau issued his warning to the world's most powerful leaders.

Warning that unless an international conference is held, the world's most powerful leaders will be forced to face the reality of the world's most powerful leaders.

Some of the money poured into the relief fund must be diverted to alleviate the plight of the "desert refugees," Trudeau said, and at the same time the economic rivalry between West and East must be prevented from escalating the potentially explosive Third World.

"To fail in this regard," he said, "would only compound the tragedy in a game where all are run over." On the same day Trudeau delivered his speech to the House, External Affairs Minister Mary McLaughlin announced the government's formal commitment to a "worldwide investment fund" to help the world's most powerful leaders.

Still, among Western and developing France and Britain contribute a greater proportion of their total wealth than Canada. U.S. President Richard Nixon has cut his foreign aid budget by a third.

Despite Trudeau's and for Kerner's health (diabetes), it's questionable whether his partners at the Ottawa summit will welcome his efforts to make it a main issue for serious discussion. Trudeau himself pointed out last week the cabinet members' concerns are in question. Furthermore, although he'll be secretary chairman, Trudeau is the junior power partner, and his intent to reveal may result at best in only token talk on Third World relief.

• • •

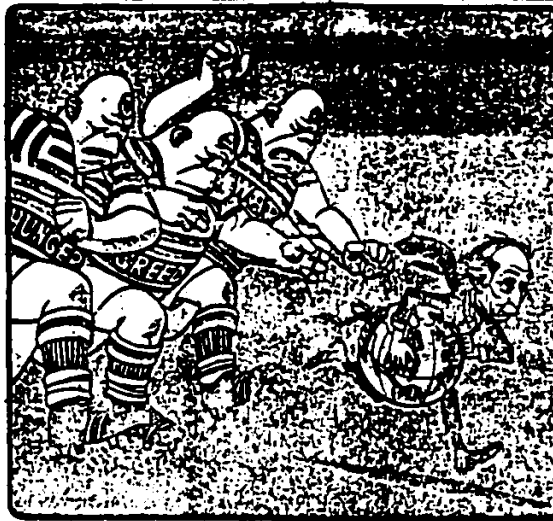
New Democratic Party Leader Yvonne Brezina spent most of the week trying to persuade the government to endorse a negotiated settlement to the bloody civil war in El Salvador and send MacGilligan as an observer representative of the NDP to investigate it. She, and MacGilligan, too, said Trudeau, the government's reaction, the reaction — at home, in the Commons — was rather odd. Much more than Brezina expressed from the United States and the Canadian.

Many people riding El Salvador on his recent peace mission on behalf of the Canadian International.

MacGilligan returned for next year and the big way to end the conflict, said MacGilligan, who submitted NDP MPs by requesting Brezina's efforts "would contribute to the prosecution of the suffering in that country."

The prime minister said later

MAC'S ALMANAC



THE NATION

at the week, says that if 2,000 people sign their names to a bill they can have a registered political party. While the bill is going on, that's taking people to sign their own names.

All New Democrats, and Conservatives and even some Liberals are expected to have a registered political party in El Salvador and heavily want to see a negotiated settlement.

The Americans claim the Duarte regime is the only hope of salvation in El Salvador. Some people around Ottawa feel Canada is being misled by the American position because we have enough common sense to see the American — over and over. Canadians of the old industry movement believe — to arrive without increasing the burden in Latin America.



PC 43: Benson, Edmonton Journal, 13 July 1981



"The way I see it, things are actually looking up."

PC 44: Uluschak, Simonton Journal,
15 August 1981

'A homily on constitutional good manners'

EDWARD McWHINNEY

of the department of political affairs in Ottawa. Formerly, over the years Dr. McWhinney has been an adviser on constitutional matters to the federal government and several provincial governments.

THE DECISION OF the Supreme Court of Canada in the *Quebec* case is a landmark in the history of the federal government, by way of provincial autonomy, at the time of the American Act of the British North America Act by the British Parliament, in that on at least one point.

It reaffirms by a crushing judicial majority of seven votes in two what every student of constitutional law has known since 1867 when that proposition was laid down in the *Quebec* case: that the federal government has no power to legislate in a field reserved to the provinces.

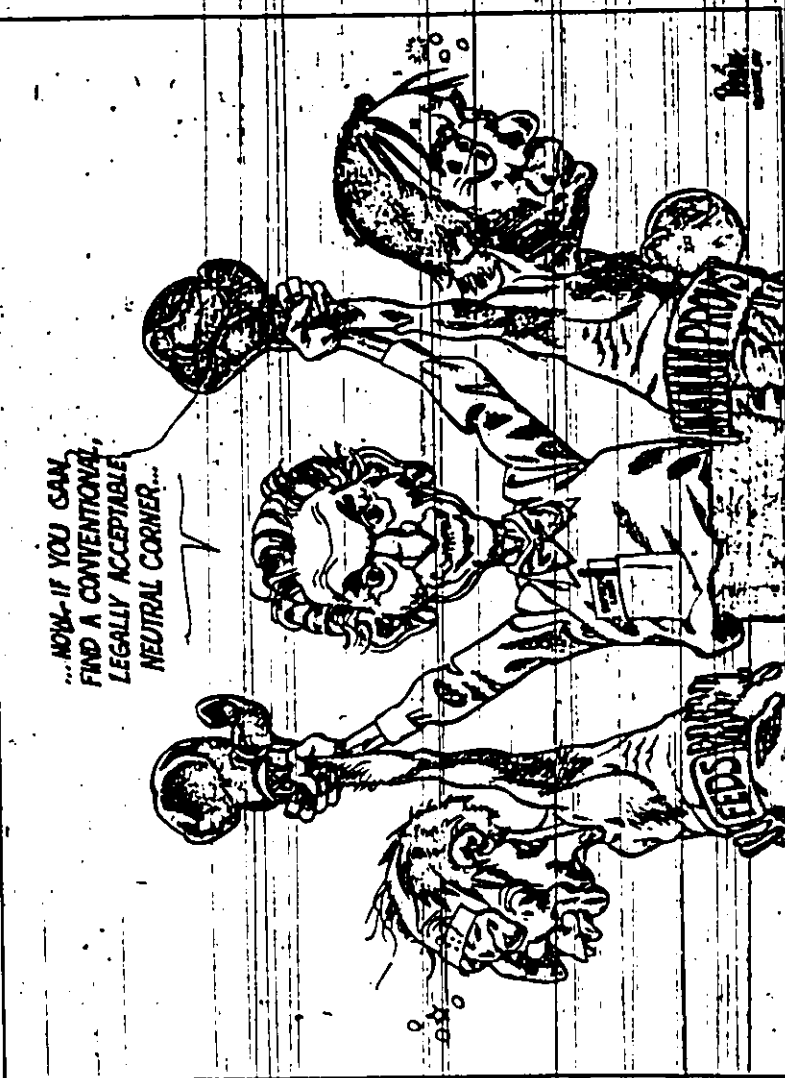
In so ruling, the supreme court has put forward by the judiciary a general of the federal government, in that it has affirmed the principle that the federal government has no power to legislate in a field reserved to the provinces.

It is good to have such a reaffirmation of the principle that the federal government has no power to legislate in a field reserved to the provinces.

The right decision, however, is the one that is most important in the history of the federal government, by way of provincial autonomy, at the time of the American Act of the British North America Act by the British Parliament, in that on at least one point.

It reaffirms by a crushing judicial majority of seven votes in two what every student of constitutional law has known since 1867 when that proposition was laid down in the *Quebec* case: that the federal government has no power to legislate in a field reserved to the provinces.

In so ruling, the supreme court has put forward by the judiciary a general of the federal government, in that it has affirmed the principle that the federal government has no power to legislate in a field reserved to the provinces.



They expected that in the history of the federal government, by way of provincial autonomy, at the time of the American Act of the British North America Act by the British Parliament, in that on at least one point.

I think that the particular court majority in the *Quebec* case is a landmark in the history of the federal government, by way of provincial autonomy, at the time of the American Act of the British North America Act by the British Parliament, in that on at least one point.

Chief Justice Bora Laskin, as a member of the majority, has written a dissenting opinion in the *Quebec* case, in that on at least one point.

that would distinguish between an act that is legal in the strict sense, and one that is both legal and also constitutional. — that accords with both the letter of the law and also the *Meeseque's* spirit — 'spirit of the law.'

President Charles de Gaulle stated the reverse of the doctrine, in 1962 with his use of special decrees to bypass the parliament, 'by declaring his actions as constitutional in the fullest sense of the word, if not necessarily legal in strict conformity to constitutional law.'

If that is so, what our supreme court seems to be trying to do, within the operation of the judicial review, is to bring about a process of evolution on a multi-membered, plural opinion-making, self-regulating body, in the opportunity, at the same time as rendering a necessary and useful decision on the law in favor of the federal government, of delivering a healthy on federal unity and the principles of constitutional good manners that the members of a federal system should equally exercise in their relations with each other.

THE GREAT U.S. CHIEF Justice John Marshall did it more deftly than the most any other judge. He was the first to establish the principle of judicial review in the United States. He was the first to establish the principle of judicial review in the United States.

After he had ruled on a narrow legal issue, he embarked on a remarkable odyssey in his erudite political opinions in the *Marbury v. Madison* case, on the art and style of government in a constitutional democracy.

His very great authority by history has not been without question. He was the first to establish the principle of judicial review in the United States.

He was the first to establish the principle of judicial review in the United States. He was the first to establish the principle of judicial review in the United States.



I put a position on the table and Premier Bennett is going to talk to his fellow premiers and he [Bennett] put a position on the table and I'll think about it.

— Pierre Trudeau, Oct. 14, 1981

Bennett getting ready for failure?

The curmudgeon of the closed-door constitutional negotiations grew currier. Officials have confirmed that B.C.'s chief constitutional expert, deputy minister of intergovernmental affairs Mel Smith, is cooking his heels in London, England.

Spoken for in Mr. Smith's Victoria office were extraordinarily vague when asked to explain the deputy minister's latest trip to the Motherland. It seems apparent, however, that B.C. Premier Bill Bennett was preparing for failure in his head. *Reported by M. S. Smith, Ottawa with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.*

Why else would the premier have dispatched his top hand to London 48 hours before the Trudeau meeting? Wouldn't it have made more sense to have Mr. Smith on site here in Canada to analyze the results of the Trudeau meeting?

It is expected that Mr. Smith will return to Canada in time to attend next Monday's scheduled meeting of the provincial premiers in Montreal. In the meantime, all we know for certain is that Bill Bennett has been accumulating calluses on his telephone-dialling finger, and that the premiers want a delay in any summit meeting with the prime minister.

I think even the constitutional naysayers must agree that this is not a healthy way to run a nation. It serves in fact to reinforce the need for a new constitution, to provide future generations of politicians from such horse-trading behind closed doors.

Can't you see it now. Future generations of Canadian school kids will be required to memorize the fact that the new constitution or the revolution (take your pick) was spawned at the Ottawa hostility known as the Inn of the Provosts. Will they place a commemorative plaque on the door of the room? Or, how about

MARJORIE NICHOLS
IN VICTORIA

a bronze plaque over the bed-stating. — Bill Bennett signs and talks on the telephone here, Oct. 1981.

The world of Canadian politics continues to suffer acute schizophrenia. Tomorrow at noon in Vancouver, the provincial New Democratic Party opens its annual convention, but those looking for radical initiatives would be better advised to pay a visit to the next convention of the Ontario Tories.

The provincial NDP haven't proposed nationalizing a single cardboard box factory.

The emphasis at the convention, it seems certain, will be on health care and housing, with resource policy issues running a poor third. There will also be a pro farms leadership vote, reaffirming Dave Barrett's mandate.

The only intrigue promised by this convention is the matter of who is elected to party offices. With a provincial election possibly a few months away, the party knows that it would be foolhardy to indulge in any fractious intertribe warfare, or to point the party in any radical directions.

Mr. Barrett can, however, be counted upon to deliver a barn-burning speech denouncing those who claim that he has wavered from the truth of the socialist calchism.

Still, it is amusing to journey back in time to the fall of 1972, when the newly elected NDP premier of B.C., one Dave Barrett, provoked nationwide gasps with his proposal to turn resource revenues over to national Cripple corporations.

It remains curious that Bill Bennett delights in resurrecting—I wonder what Mr. Bennett is going to say now that the Ontario Tories, the supposed repositories of all that is free and enterprise, have moved to buy their own oil company?

Much has been made in recent days of the Victoria government's efforts to revolutionize the province's bookkeeping methods in the interest of garnering more revenues for the treasury.

To hear the boys in finance tell it, they are going to plug enough holes to balance the current year's budget. It is good, I think you will agree, that someone is concerned about bureaucratic profligacy.

The point remains, though, that governments aren't any different from the average household that falls upon hard times. When the mortgage payments increase, Joe Lanchbeck responds by cutting back on entertainment and reheating steak for hamburger.

Don't kid yourself. When the good times return and they will the government will return to its old free-spending ways—that is simply the nature of the beast.

The only unknown at this juncture is whether Mr. Bennett and friends have already been dipping into the special and perpetual funds in order to balance this year's books. We probably won't have that information until after the next budget has been introduced.

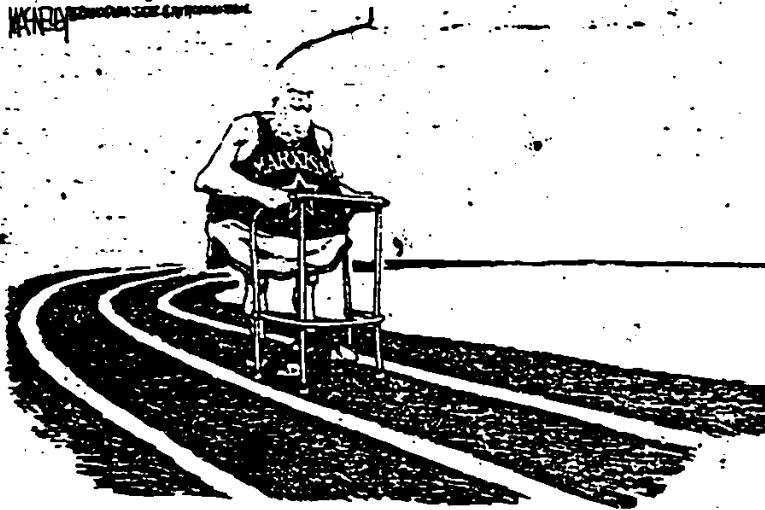
In the meantime, stay tuned for large gobs of propaganda emanating from the finance department, which is still flogging the story that the budget is in jeopardy because of falling revenues. Over-all, revenues are doing fine. It is spending that is out of hand. □

MPs return to the safety of the House

The aging contenders for Russia's leadership

JERRY HOUGH

A professor of political science at Duke University and a member of the editorial staff of the *Washington Post*, Mr. Hough is the author of *Soviet Leadership in Transition*. This was written for the *Los Angeles Times*.



A CRUCIAL factor seems to have been overlooked in the Reagan administration's decision to counter perceived Soviet threats with the largest peacetime military buildup in U.S. history: Who will be directing Kremlin policy in five to 10 years, when elaborate U.S. countermeasures such as the MX missile are finally on line and working? How closely will his heirs follow President Leonid Brezhnev's legacy of a build-up military, a built-up fleet, and expansionist commitments in the Third World?

Predictions about Brezhnev's successors are more difficult than usual analysis of Kremlin policy because Brezhnev, who will be 75 in December, has deliberately prevented the rise of a logical heir. Brezhnev used his position as Nikita Khrushchev's appointed successor to overthrow him 17 years ago.

To prevent a similar coup, Brezhnev filled his key posts with cronies whom he has known for 30 to 40 years. Thus, in the late 1980s the Kremlin probably will be run by a man quite different from the present Politburo elders in power base, background, and set of experiences.

Given these circumstances, almost any of 15 men could be chosen as a compromise or transitional leader. There are seven who are at least reasonable long shots, hence the odds go sky-high. The following is one scholar's early look at the race, and the reader should understand that it has the same high reliability as test sheets sold at a race track:

1. Yuri Andropov (30 per cent). At 67, a member of the middle generation in the Politburo. KGB's top man as head of the KGB, but previously worked for 17 years as a major figure in relations with the Communist bloc. At this time of crisis in Eastern Europe and East-West relations, the only contender with major foreign-policy experience. Would be remaining loyal to conservative and moderate. Questionable health, but that is perhaps a plan if the odds in looking for a transitional leader.

2. Viktor Grishin (20 per cent). Moscow party leader, 67. Served as national trade-union chairman for a decade. A hard-line reputation in the West, but described in the Soviet Union as a very cautious middle-of-the-roader. Probably the most comfortable candidate for other members of the Politburo, but in a time of crisis, will they dare to go for a man with so little foreign-policy experience and a reputation for only moderate intelligence and lack of vision?

3. Konstantin Chernenko (15 per cent). Central committee secretary, 65. Longtime personal assistant to Brezhnev. Near his closest confidant and probably the second most powerful man in the country. Little education, little administrative ex-

perience, and in the type of post that seldom produces the successor to an old leader in any country. Probably should be rated lower, but is the youngest of the 70-year-olds and conceivably is insulated enough from factional politics to be an acceptable transitional leader.

4. Mikhail Gorbachev (15 per cent). Central committee secretary. At 39, the youngest member of the Politburo and the only member too young to have fought in the Second World War. (However, lived in a region occupied by the Germans.) The best educated member of the Politburo and the man in charge of both agriculture and consumer-goods industry. Surely would be an economic reformer, if for no other reason than to have an excuse to replace old ministers with his own men. Totally without foreign-policy experience. Odds should rise rapidly if Brezhnev lives for several more years and the international situation calms down.

5. Andrei Kirilenko (10 per cent). Central committee secretary. The same age as Brezhnev and very closely associated with him for more than 40 years. Oversees planning and economic decision-making for heavy industry within central committee apparatus. Usually considered the heir-apparent in the West, and most would rank his odds much higher. But, unless he's a closet reformer, his election might trigger major unrest in a population and middle class that thinks it is time to give a younger generation a chance.

6. Grigory Yavlinskiy (5 per cent). Leningrad party leader. At 45, the second youngest Politburo member. Fought for four years in the war and received high-level engineering education while working in the Leningrad defense industry. No experience in Moscow, some with foreign relations, agriculture or non-Russian nationalities.

7. Vladimir Shcherbitskiy (three per cent). Ukrainian party leader. 63. Broad domestic experience, likely reformer, and the most presidential in physical appearance. No experience in Moscow, and ethnic Ukrainian background a major minus without such experience.

8. The Field (three per cent). When faced with a great number of candidates, the last College of Cardinals unexpectedly selected a Polish pope. Recent events make central committee

selection of a Pole for Soviet general secretary very unlikely (although quite legal), but in a deadlock, almost anything else could happen.

In many ways, of course, handicapping is an arbitrary exercise. We do not know these men personally. We are not certain about their views; Khrushchev did not know what Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin were thinking, so even the Politburo members may not be certain about one another's views today, either. Nor do we know when the succession will occur, or whether Soviet action or reaction in Poland will change matters drastically.

Yet the exercise is useful for several reasons. It reminds us that alarmist Western talk about a successor who has not experienced the devastation of war simply shows lack of familiarity with Politburo biographies. It reminds us that the candidates for the top office in any nation have pluses and minuses from the point of view of the elite. Most of all, it reminds us that a large field of candidates inevitably means that some is likely to have wrapped up the election, that the situation is fluid.

Thus, chance events can have a major impact in swinging the choice in one direction or another. Just as events abroad had a major role in the defeat of Jimmy Carter and the election of a more assertive president, so foreign events can have a similar influence in the Soviet Union. Some of the Soviet horses will do better on a fast track, some better in mud.

Because the Soviet economy is 60 per cent of the American — let alone the American together with the West European and the Japanese — the Soviet Union can never win a race for military superiority. The military situation was turned in the early 1980s as part of Stalin's drive to catch up with the West militarily. It is difficult for them to adjust to new priorities — or even to accept in their homes that they have achieved equality of parity. The natural tendency for new leaders will be to try to bring military expenditures under control as the only way to solve major economic problems.

President Reagan's policies have been a useful reminder to the Soviets that they risk an arms race they cannot win. Yet it would be an enormous tragedy for the world if the Soviet elite became convinced that it has only two choices: greater armaments or humiliation. What is needed is a combination of clear signals both that the U.S. is willing to have an arms race, and that it is willing to cut it short if the Soviet Union renounces properly. Otherwise, there is the risk of propelling the Soviet leadership in the 1990s that the West must begin to see. □



"Okay, everyone gets a chance to blow the whistle."

The sham side of the conference

MARJORIE NICHOLS
IN OTTAWA

The event that has been taking place here for the past three days under the guise of a federal-provincial confab has been a disgusting sham.

Whenever ordinary mortals meet behind closed doors there is a danger that one will accept their subsequent public utterances as fact. When politicians indulge in the same closed-door cloak-and-dagger operation, the danger is multiplied.

The evidence mounts that the first ministers, allegedly high-minded men, weren't simply indulging in political distortion. They played a dangerous game of wilful deception designed to enhance their own reputations rather than to resolve the great constitutional tangle.

A plainspoken person might suggest that a few of them weren't even telling the truth. Yesterday at 1 p.m. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau emerged to announce that there had been "a surprising breakthrough."

Quebec had endorsed a federal proposal to put both the amending formula and charter of rights on hold for two years. If no agreement could be worked out, there would be a national referendum to resolve the issue once and for all.

Premier René Lévesque, a hint of a smile on his curled lip, confirmed the news. The mob of reporters that had been chasing rumors and tripping over false leads for the previous two days, leaped at the news.

Jean Chrétien, a haggard smile on his crooked face, emerged to say that he couldn't wait to begin the referendum fight. The first time that Mr. Trudeau's "breakthrough" was something less than a peace treaty became apparent when Peter Lougheed of Alberta trotted out to say he was adamantly opposed to referenda.

Well, an hour later it became apparent that Mr. Trudeau's breakthrough was something less than surprising. It wasn't true. At 7 p.m. Mr. Lévesque effectively disavowed his endorsement offered at 1 p.m.

Mr. Lougheed subsequently confirmed that at least seven and possibly eight provinces were opposed to the referendum idea.

In a display of arrogance Mr. Trudeau refused to explain the six-hour flimsy of his "breakthrough." He left Mr. Chrétien to do his dirty work, and Mr. Chrétien didn't do a very good job.

If that were the only example of sham, it might be excusable, but it's not. On Tuesday evening a B.C. official confirmed that Premier Bill Bennett had presented a marvelous compromise proposal to the meeting.

But what he described didn't bibe with what Mr. Bennett described yesterday when he claimed to have proposed the establishment of a commission to study the charter of rights.

In a sidewalk interview Mr. Bennett modestly described his proposal as merely "The Canadian Press moved a story detailing his fantastic initiative."

But the other first ministers obviously saw the proposal as something less than merely. When asked to describe the full array of proposals on the table, Mr. Chrétien forgot to mention it at all.

Throughout the day the feds insisted that most of their time was still being devoted to discussion of an Ontario-sponsored initiative to

strike a trade-off by giving the eight non-accepting provinces the right to opt out of amendments in return for acceptance of Mr. Trudeau's charter of rights.

A Thursday report, confirmed by a member of the federal cabinet as well as a senior official, that Mr. Trudeau would endorse a proposal allowing the provinces to opt out of certain provisions of his charter was being denied by Wednesday.

Considering the lying and distorting that was being passed off here for statesmanship, that information ought to be taken with a large dose of skepticism.

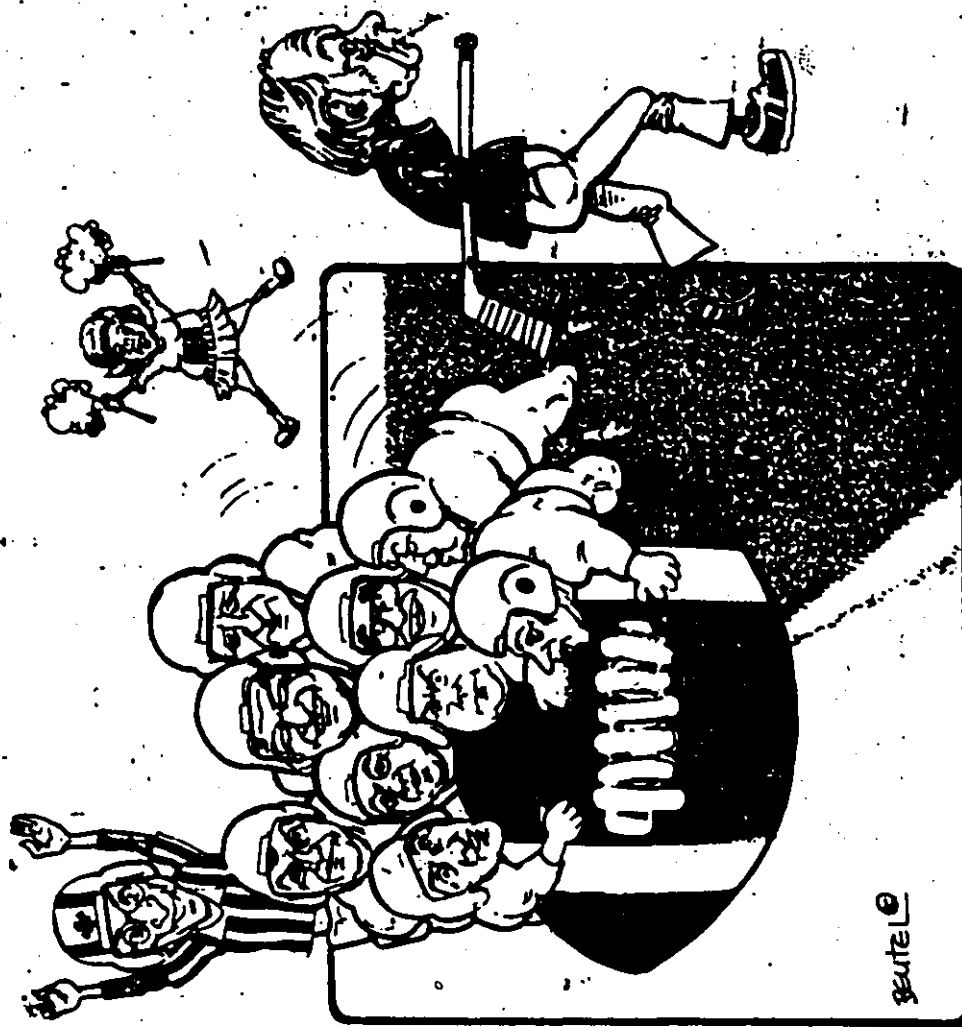
But there are several delegations to this distinguished summit that have been doing their damndest to convince us that Mr. Bennett is a lousy who is in so far over his head that he's going to need a decompression chamber when he eventually surfaces.

He had indeed been acting a touch odd, but from where I sat that simply qualified him for attendance at this meeting.

It apparently didn't occur to Mr. Trudeau that his 11th-hour referendum proposal was about a year too late. In the beginning, when he embarked on this odyssey, he had nothing but contempt for those who argued that the writing of a new constitution was too important to be left to self-serving politicians. The prime minister scoffed at the alternative, the election of a constituent assembly.

Even a year ago when the impasse was reached with the premiers, the prime minister adamantly refused to do the logical thing and hold a national referendum on his constitutional package.

No sir, he said, this was the business of governments, not voters. □



Richard Hatfield's Role

Premier Richard Hatfield, the prime minister, had his own reasons and, it could be argued, his pound of flesh to earn by his allegiance. He did not, for one thing, want to be forced to maintain the official bilingualism in Ontario, as given in New Brunswick.

Richard Hatfield, asked for his position on a firm personal belief that it was best for Canada and best for New Brunswick. He fought for an amendment in the constitution of the principle of equalization and the principle of rights, both of foremost significance to New Brunswick. He staunchly upheld the concept of federalism and the need for a strong central government. Said he: "It's my country; that's what I'm fighting about."

Had Prime Minister Trudeau not had the backing of Premier Hatfield and Davis, the story could have ended much differently. In the last-chance constitutional summit this week, a formula, proposed by Newfoundland's Premier Brian Peckford and not by Richard Hatfield, which formed the basis for an accord. But would the conference have even been held at all — and if it had been held, would it still have been in session had Messrs. Hatfield and Davis not stood with the prime minister? There are many reasons to believe the answer to that question is no.

Today, there are those who have dubbed Premier Hatfield, Premier Davis and Prime Minister Trudeau the modern fathers of Confederation. An overstatement? Maybe. But no one can deny the significance of the role played down through the years and in the final stages of this great constitutional battle by Richard Bennett Hatfield, in this his 50th year and the 11th year of his premiership.

Premier Richard Hatfield was excited and happy. He had had every reason to be. He was a veteran of the constitutional war, going back to the Victoria conference of 1971, the year he became premier of New Brunswick. And over the last year, he had emerged as a prime player in the political drama which culminated in the historic making accord reached in Ottawa this week.

That agreement has to be something that will give him the peace of mind that he has in the last year that he publicly declared his support for the controversial constitutional package unveiled by Prime Minister Trudeau. It was a decision fraught with risk.

But as he said at the time: "There comes a point when you have to make a decision. You can't talk about it forever. When it is clear that the very best cannot be achieved, the Canadian way is to have the courage to compromise. That is the essence of my support for the constitutional revolution."

Mr. Hatfield has been the lung fight and the rocky road. He has tasted the slings and arrows. He has been attacked, derided, rebuffed and scoffed at. He found himself at odds with National PC Leader Joe Clark. He was subject to dissent within his own provincial party caucus. He was "vilified" in Toronto newspapers editorializing for his utterances in London, England, when he went there to counter anti-participation lobbying.

He has stood alone, walked alone and been accused — sometimes by the newspapers — of being out of step with his province and his nation.

But was he wrong? Was he wrong or was he right in forming that strange-bedfellows alliance with Pierre Trudeau and the late Premier William Davis?

Injustifiable entêtement de M. Lévesque

■ Au moment d'écrire ces lignes, le débat sur le statut de la province de Québec est en pleine effervescence. Les députés de l'Assemblée nationale ont voté, le 15 octobre, une motion qui reconnaît le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination.

On dirait que les députés de l'Assemblée nationale ont voté, le 15 octobre, une motion qui reconnaît le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, ils ont voté une motion qui reconnaît le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination.

On dirait que les députés de l'Assemblée nationale ont voté, le 15 octobre, une motion qui reconnaît le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, ils ont voté une motion qui reconnaît le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination.

On lui demande simplement de reconnaître le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, il refuse de le faire.

On lui demande simplement de reconnaître le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, il refuse de le faire.

On lui demande simplement de reconnaître le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, il refuse de le faire.

On lui demande simplement de reconnaître le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, il refuse de le faire.

On lui demande simplement de reconnaître le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, il refuse de le faire.

On lui demande simplement de reconnaître le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, il refuse de le faire.

On lui demande simplement de reconnaître le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, il refuse de le faire.

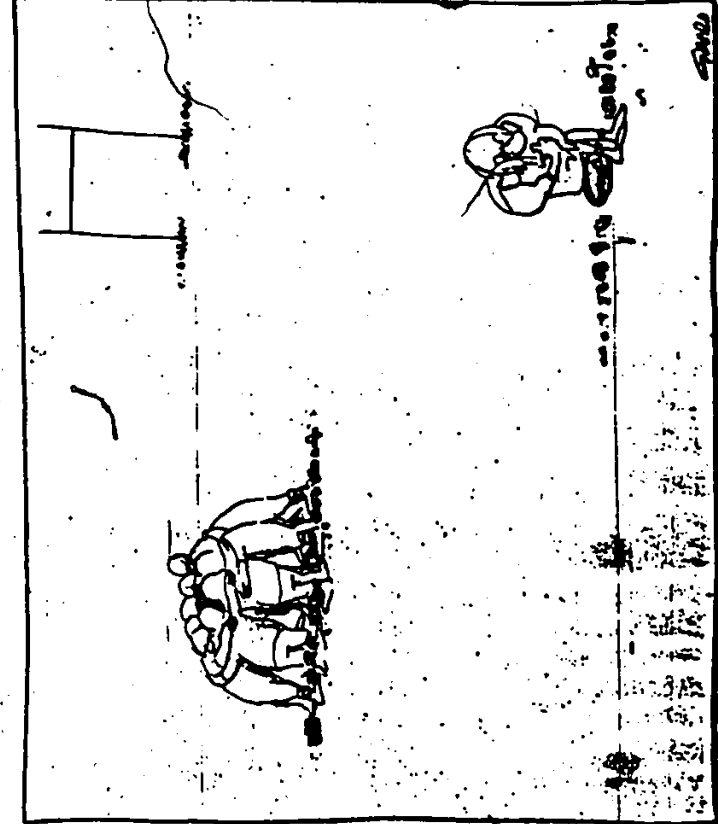
On lui demande simplement de reconnaître le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, il refuse de le faire.

On lui demande simplement de reconnaître le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, il refuse de le faire.

On lui demande simplement de reconnaître le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, il refuse de le faire.

On lui demande simplement de reconnaître le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, il refuse de le faire.

On lui demande simplement de reconnaître le droit de la province de Québec à l'autodétermination. Mais, en réalité, il refuse de le faire.



PC 50: Girard, Montreal Lapresse, 13 November 1981