

War on the Air: CBC-TV and Canada's Military, 1952–1992

by

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Abstract

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From the earliest days of English-language Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television (CBC-TV), the military has been regularly featured on the news, public affairs, documentary, and drama programs. Little has been done to study these programs, despite calls for more research and many decades of work on the methods for the historical analysis of television. In addressing this gap, this thesis explores: how media representations of the military on CBC-TV (commemorative, history, public affairs and news programs) changed over time; what accounted for those changes; what they revealed about CBC-TV; and what they suggested about the way the military and its relationship with CBC-TV evolved.

Through a material culture analysis of 245 programs/series about the Canadian military, veterans and defence issues that aired on CBC-TV over a 40-year period, beginning with its establishment in 1952, this thesis argues that the conditions surrounding each production were affected by a variety of factors, namely: (1) technology; (2) foreign broadcasters; (3) foreign sources of news; (4) the influence of the military and its veterans; (5) audience response; (6) the role played by personalities involved in the production of CBC-TV programs; (7) policies/objectives/regulations set by the CBC, the Board of Broadcast Governors and the Canadian Radio-Television Commission (later, Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission); (8) ambitions for program development and the changing objectives of departments within the CBC; (9) economic constraints at the CBC; (10) CBC-TV's relations with

the other producers of Canadian television programming, like the NFB; and, (11) broader changes to the Canadian social, economic, political and cultural scenes, along with shifts in historiography. At different times, certain of these conditions were more important than others, the unique combination of which had unpredictable results for programming. The thesis traces these changes chronologically, explaining CBC-TV's evolution from transmitting largely uncritical and often positive programming in the early 1950s, to obsession with the horrors of war and questioning of the military's preparedness by decade's end, to new debate about the future of the forces and the memory of war in the 1960s, to a complex mixture of activism, criticism and praise in the 1970s and 1980s, and, finally, to controversy and iconoclasm by the 1990s.

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Glossary

ACTRA	Association of Canadian Television and Radio Artists
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BBG	Board of Broadcast Governors
CBCRL	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Reference Library
CBC-TV	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television
CBFT	CBC Montreal television station (French since 1954)
CBHT	CBC Halifax television station
CBLT	CBC Toronto television station
CBMT	CBC Montreal television station (est. 1954 to provide English-language programming)
CBOT	CBC Ottawa television station
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System (United States)
CCF	Co-operative Commonwealth Federation
CF	Canadian Forces
CFB	Canadian Forces Base
CNE	Canadian National Exhibition (Toronto)
CNN	Cable News Network (United States)
CP	Canadian Press
CRTC	Canadian Radio-Television Commission (later, Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission)
CTV	Canadian Television Network
DHH	Directorate of History and Heritage (Department of National Defence, Ottawa)
DND	Department of National Defence
EMO	Emergency Measures Organization
ENG	Electronic newsgathering
ESD	English Services Division
FLQ	<i>Front de la libération de Québec</i>
HDTV	High definition television
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBC	National Broadcasting Company (United States)
NDP	New Democratic Party
NFB	National Film Board
NFL	National Football League (United States)
NL&P	Northernlight and Picture Corporation
NORAD	North American Air Defence Command (after 1981, North American Aerospace Defence Command)
ONUC	<i>Opération des Nations Unies au Congo</i> (United Nations Operation in the Congo)
PPCLI	Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry
RAF	Royal Air Force (United Kingdom)
RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
RCN	Royal Canadian Navy

SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SAR	Search and Rescue (Canadian Forces)
UN	United Nations
UNEF I	United Nations Emergency Force (est. 1956 to resolve the Suez crisis)
UNEF II	United Nations Emergency Force (est. 1973 in response to the Yom Kippur War)
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNOGIL	United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization

Introduction: Television as evidence of “the world in which we live”¹

From the earliest days of English-language Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television (CBC-TV), the military, its veterans and the policies pursued by the Department of National Defence (DND) have frequently been subjects for news, public affairs, commemorative and history programming. News programs regularly reported on the latest developments in weaponry, provided updates on peacekeeping missions, and showed footage of training exercises at sea, on land and in the air. Public affairs programs debated defence policy, produced hard-hitting interviews with government ministers, and questioned Canada’s preparedness for war. CBC-TV also produced programs that commemorated significant military anniversaries with reverence and, at times, nostalgia. On in-house news and public affairs programs, documentaries and dramas, and programs purchased from Britain and the United States, CBC-TV regularly taught, debated and rethought subjects in military history.

A few media representations of the military and aspects of the media-military relationship have received some attention in Canada. For instance, there were first-hand accounts and some scholarly work about the experience of reporting from the front.² Journalists explored best practices for war reporting, stressing the necessity of

¹ Memo, Frank W. Peers to A. Ouimet, “Speech by Edward R. Murrow on Television Network Policy,” 19 November 1958, vol. 907, file PG 10-15 (part 1), 1955-75, “Radio & Television. News Directors Association.” RG 41, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, RG 41, LAC].

² For example, A.E. Powley, *Broadcast from the Front: Canadian Radio Overseas in the Second World War* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1975); Peter Stursberg, *The Sound of War: Memoirs of a CBC Correspondent* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Scott Taylor, *Unembedded: Two decades of Maverick War Reporting* (Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 2009); Aimé-Jules Bizimana, *De Marcel Ouimet à René Lévesque : Les correspondants de guerre canadiens-français durant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale* (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 2007); Jack Cahill, *If you don’t like the war, switch the damn thing off!* (Don Mills: Musson Book Company, 1980).

maintaining contact with both sides so as to ensure balance in the news.³ Military public relations, censorship and propaganda during the world wars were the subjects of academic study and memoirs.⁴ Several examples of Canadian war reporting from the arrival of the first Europeans to the present – including transcripts of a handful of CBC radio reports from the Second World War – have been republished.⁵ Some have discussed the military-media relationship in the 1990s.⁶ Scholars also examined media representations of conflicts and formed critiques about media ethics,⁷ argued that the media turned war into a “commodity” to be “consumed,”⁸ or found woven into the news narratives that affirmed national self-image.⁹ CBC-TV’s airing of the controversial miniseries *The Valour and the Horror* (1992) about Canada’s part in the Second World

³ For example, Donald R. Gordon, “The News and Foreign Policy,” *Behind the Headlines* XXIV, no. 2 (October 1964): 1-21; John Scully, *Am I Dead Yet? 71 Countries, 36 War Zones, 1 Man’s Opinion* (Markham, ON: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 2007). For a similar international example, see Michael J. Arlen, “Living-Room War,” in *Living-Room War*, the Television Series, ed. Robert J. Thompson, 6-9 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 7-8.

⁴ For example, Jack Donoghue, *The Edge of War* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1988); Alain Canuel, “La censure en temps de guerre: Radio-Canada et le plébiscite de 1942,” *Revue d’histoire de l’Amérique française* 52, no. 2 (1998): 217-42; Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada’s Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996); Timothy John Balzer, “The Information Front: The Canadian Army, Public Relations, and War News during the Second World War” (PhD diss., University of Victoria, 2009); Mark Bourrie, *The Fog of War: Censorship of Canada’s Media in World War Two* (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 2011).

⁵ Mark Bourrie, *Fighting Words: Canada’s Best War Reporting* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2012).

⁶ Denis Stairs, “The media and the military in Canada: Reflections on a time of troubles,” *International Journal* 53, no. 3 (Summer 1998): 544-53; Michael Croft, “Information Warfare: Media-Military Relations in Canada,” *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (Summer 1998): 34-35.

⁷ Lise Garon, “A Case Study of Functional Subjectivity in Media Coverage: The Gulf War on TV,” *Canadian Journal of Communication* 21, no. 3 (1996): 317-37; David Murrell, *A Balanced Overall View? Media Reporting of the Labrador Low-Flying Controversy* (Toronto: The Mackenzie Institute, 1990).

⁸ Paul Rutherford, *Weapons of Mass Persuasion: Marketing the War against Iraq* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 4 and 7.

⁹ Michèle Martin, *Images at War: Illustrated Periodicals and Constructed Nations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Colin McCullough, “‘No Axe to Grind in Africa’: Violence, Racial Prejudice, and Media Depictions of the Canadian Peacekeeping Mission to the Congo, 1960-64,” in *New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness*, ed. Karen Dubinsky et al., 229-36 (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2009). For a recent, comparable American example, see, Richard L. Kaplan, “American Journalism Goes to War, 1898-2001: a manifesto on media and empire,” *Media History* 9, no. 3 (2003): 209-19.

War also generated much interest and opened a new conversation about the quality of history programming in Canada.¹⁰

However, none have yet studied the way television programs about the military changed over time. Indeed, at the time when veterans' groups were protesting *The Valour and the Horror*, historian Stephen J. Harris (then Director of History, DND) told its filmmaker, Brian McKenna, "The other thing I find funny is that, while challenging your film, no one that I know of has looked at other films, produced in the past, to see if they were at all impressionistic or 'guilty' of promoting a particular point of view."¹¹ Scholars were not the only ones to neglect this subject; there has also been little self-reflection at the CBC about its output. It would seem that the only report on the subject was a "videography" of military history productions from the 1980s and the 1990s.¹² Harris' implied question could easily be broadened: how did media depictions of the military on CBC-TV (commemorative, public affairs and news programs, as well as histories) change over time? How can those changes be explained? Specifically, what do they reveal about CBC-TV? What do they suggest about the way the military changed and its relationship with CBC-TV evolved?

To answer these questions, this dissertation will present a study of 245 programs/series about Canada's military, veterans, and defence issues broadcast on television by the CBC (though, not necessarily produced by the CBC) between its

¹⁰ For example, Ernest J. Dick, "'The Valour and the Horror' Continued: Do We Still Want Our History On Television?" *Archivaria* 35 (Spring 1993): 253-69; Graham Carr, "Rules of Engagement: Public History and the Drama of Legitimation," *Canadian Historical Review* 86, no. 2 (June 2005): 317-54; Teresa Iacobelli, "'A Participant's History?': The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Manipulation of Oral History," *Oral History Review* 38, no. 2 (2011): 331-48.

¹¹ Harris to McKenna, 2 September 1992, vol. HA 1155, file "HISTORIANS: D'ESTE, DECARIE, BLISS, GRANATSTEIN, SUTHREN, HARRIS," Brian McKenna fonds, P112, Concordia University Archives, Montreal [hereafter, P112, Concordia].

¹² Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, "Videography of English Television Network Programs On World War II 1982-1991," [1992?].

establishment in 1952 and its broadcasting of *The Valour and the Horror*. Some were broadcast locally or across a region, while others were seen nationally or on cable. In so doing, this project offers a new perspective on a formative period in the Corporation's development. In addition to the few works about the CBC's handling of military subjects mentioned previously, there have been many memoirs written by former CBC staff about their experiences, as well as histories of CBC-TV programming (especially drama and news), audience research, and analyses of the changing role of the Corporation within a broader broadcasting context.¹³ This study builds on this foundation, while expanding its parameters, by offering a more comprehensive analysis of the evolution of media depictions of the military and media-military relations in Canada than has yet been attempted. Indeed, a major contribution of this study is its unearthing of long-forgotten programs and reading them within a history of the CBC. Doing so provides a new way of thinking about four decades at the CBC, viewing those years through the prism of as-yet unexplored relationships, programs, policies, and related production concerns.

¹³ For example, Paul Rutherford, *When Television Was Young: Primetime Canada 1952-1967* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Mary Jane Miller, *Rewind and Search: Conversations with the Makers and Decision-Makers of CBC Television Drama* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); Mary Jane Miller, *Turn Up the Contrast: CBC Television Drama since 1952* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987); Knowlton Nash, *Prime Time at Ten: Behind-the-Camera Battles of Canadian TV Journalism* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987); Frank Peers, *The Public Eye: Television and the Politics of Canadian Broadcasting, 1952-1968* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979); Ross A. Eaman, *Channels of Influence: CBC Audience Research and the Canadian Public* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); *Beyond the Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada's Broadcast News Heritage / Au-delà de l'écrit: La patrimoine de la radio-télédiffusion des nouvelles au Canada*, ed. Richard Lohead (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1991); T.C. May, "News and Policy at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation: A History of the CBC News Service and a Study of Corporate Programming 1989-1994" (PhD diss., The University of Wales College of Cardiff, 1995); Bruce McKay, "The CBC and The Public: Management Decision Making in the English Television Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1970-1974" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1976); Philip D. Savage, "The Audience Massage: Audience Research and Canadian Broadcasting Policy" (PhD diss., York and Ryerson University, 2006).

To that end, it draws on a wide, varied selection of print and audio-visual sources. The aforementioned programs, as well as documents within the CBC's fonds, were viewed at Library and Archives Canada (LAC). Some valuable information was found in published memoirs and on tapes that record the oral history of former CBC staff, produced by the Institute of Canadian Studies at Carleton University. CBC publications and government documents, along with newspapers and periodicals from across the country, also proved useful. So, too, was material from the CBC Reference Library and the Directorate of History and Heritage at DND. The papers of many individuals who worked with the CBC in various capacities, preserved across the country, in the United States and the United Kingdom, also contained important material.

In addition, this study benefits from information provided to the author by six individuals who were intimately involved in the production of many of the programs under consideration. Philip Anido, a former Public Affairs Officer, spent more than 30 years with the Canadian Forces before his retirement in 2008. David Halton was a CBC correspondent for 40 years, covering wars in Israel, Lebanon, Vietnam, Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and Cyprus. Paul T. Hellyer served as Minister of Defence in the government of Liberal Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson. During his time in office, Hellyer enacted the controversial unification of the three services of the armed forces – a much-debated topic on CBC-TV news and public affairs programs from the period. Brian McKenna was a founding producer of the current affairs program, *the fifth estate*, and the filmmaker behind *The Valour and the Horror*. Ian Parker was Executive Producer of News and Current Affairs for CBLT (Toronto) in the 1970s before taking up a position as a host-reporter on *the fifth estate* and a part-time correspondent for *The*

Journal. During his career, journalist John Scully covered 36 wars for British and Canadian television news (for more detailed biographies, see Appendix A).

At its core, this is a study of the unpredictable interactions between production contexts, program content and audience responses. In an address to the National Association of Radio and Television News Directors in Chicago in November 1958, legendary American newsman Edward R. Murrow remarked, “If there are any historians about fifty or a hundred years from now, and there should be preserved the kinescopes for one week of all three networks, they will find recorded in black-and-white, or color, evidence of decadence, escapism, and insulation from the realities of the world in which we live.”¹⁴ In his criticism of American television Murrow revealed, if perhaps unintentionally, the way television was shaped by its time and place, including the desires of audiences. British broadcaster Sir David Frost came to a similar conclusion about the state of the news, when he said all that aired had to first pass through certain “filters,” including legal and economic concerns, limited resources, and limits on the length of a newscast.¹⁵ Academics have also long been interested in the ways in which the media and society interacted, especially: the effects of the media on audiences; the interplay of the media and culture; and the ways production environments shaped programming.¹⁶ According to historian Mary Vipond, “The best

¹⁴ Memo, Frank W. Peers to A. Ouimet, “Speech by Edward R. Murrow on Television Network Policy,” 19 November 1958, vol. 907, file PG 10-15 (part 1), 1955-75, “Radio & Television. News Directors Association.” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁵ Peter Macklin, “Newsmen must fight for the sacred right to be wrong,” *Broadcaster* 29, no. 11 (November 1970): 14.

¹⁶ Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: James Lorimer, 2000), 89-95; William C. Adams, “Network News Research in Perspective: A Bibliographic Essay,” in *Television Network News: Issues in Content Research*, ed. William Adams and Fay Schreibman, 11-46 (Washington: School of Public and International Affairs, George Washington University, 1978).

studies today are those that recognize that the media must be studied simultaneously as institutions, as texts and as social discourse.”¹⁷

In some ways, adopting an approach that is sensitive to context, content and reception is intuitive, particularly for those who study material culture. In the early 1970s, American scholar E. McClung Fleming developed a model for the analysis of objects that provided insight not only into its “basic properties,” like its materials and function, but also the culture and society to which the artifacts belonged.¹⁸ For instance, he called for the “product analysis” of artifacts in order to reveal “the ways in which a culture leaves its mark on a particular artifact.” He also insisted upon “content analysis” that aimed to expose “the ways in which a particular artifact reflects its culture.”¹⁹ When historian John E. O’Connor proposed a means of studying film and television, he began with the premise that “the analysis of a film or television program *as historical artifact* can contribute to both a fuller understanding of the nature of history and a richer appreciation of the media production [emphasis in original].”²⁰ His approach mirrored the practices for the analysis of material culture, like those championed by Fleming. O’Connor’s method began with a reading of the content of a film or television program. This required some awareness of camera technique, editing, the use of images to evoke “codes” (cultural or other), and the structure of the piece being evaluated.²¹ The next

¹⁷ Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, 95.

¹⁸ E. McClung Fleming, “Artifact Study: A Proposed Model,” in *Material Culture: Studies in America*, ed. Thomas J. Schlereth, 162-73 (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1982), 164 and 166.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 171.

²⁰ John E. O’Connor, “Image as Artifact: An Introduction,” in *Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television*, ed. John E. O’Connor, 1-9 (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger, 1990), 4.

²¹ John E. O’Connor, “Historical Analysis, Stage One: Gathering Information on the Content, Production, and Reception of a Moving Image Document,” in *Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television*, ed. John E. O’Connor, 11-26 (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger, 1990), 11-17. Only a very basic content analysis will be performed in the pages that follow, with limited use of the sophisticated theories and research that abound in the field. For example, Benjamin D. Singer, “Violence,

steps involved an analysis of the production contexts (“the social, cultural, political, economic, and institutional background of the production and the conditions under which it was made,” as he put it), and research on audience reception. Finally, the historian must decide what combination of the four “frameworks” best suited the intended study. That is, whether one wished to study the production as: a form of history, like historical documentaries and dramas; as “evidence for social and cultural history”; as “evidence for historical fact”; and/or to write a “history of the moving image as industry and art form.”²²

Such an approach provides a means by which to study the choices and constraints that went into the creation of television programs. For, as argued by John Fiske and John Hartley, “Television is a human construct, and the job that it does is the result of human choice, cultural decisions and social pressures. The medium responds to the conditions within which it exists. It is by no means natural for television to represent reality in the way that it does....”²³ Awareness that the conditions surrounding a production impact, and thus help to explain, content has influenced some Canadian scholars over the past 30 years. For instance, Debra Clarke argued that, when it comes

Protest, and War in Television News: The U.S. and Canada Compared,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 34 (1970–1): 611–16; Richard A. Pride and Daniel H. Clarke, “Race Relations in Television News: A content analysis of the Networks,” *Journalism Quarterly* 50 (Summer 1973): 317–29; Adams and Schreibman, eds., *Television Network News*; Barry Cooper, *Sins of Omission: Shaping the News at CBC TV* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

²² O’Connor, “Image as Artifact,” 6–7. See also, John E. O’Connor, “History in Images/Images in History: Reflections on the Importance of Film and Television Study for an Understanding of the Past,” *The American Historical Review* 93, no. 5 (December 1988): 1200–9. For a similar approach, see M.J. Clark, ed., *Politics and the Media: Film and Television for the Political Scientist and Historian, Audio-Visual Media for Education and Research*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Pergamon, 1979); Karsten Fledelius, “Fields and Strategies of Historical Film Analysis,” in *History and Film: Methodology Research Education, Studies in History, Film & Society 2*, The proceedings of the 8th International Conference on History and the Audio-visual media, Amersfoort, September 1979, ed. K.R.M. Short and Karsten Fledelius, 53–80 (Copenhagen: Eventus, 1980), 58–69; Mary E. Beadle, “Visual Evidence,” in *Methods of Historical Analysis in Electronic Media*, ed. Donald G. Godfrey, 67–112 (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006).

²³ John Fiske and John Hartley, *Reading Television*, with a new foreword by John Hartley (New York: Routledge, 2003), 5.

to Canadian television news, “it is the *process* (of information production) which produces content, and not the producers [emphasis in original].”²⁴ Mary Jane Miller was similarly conscious of the impact of such factors as policy and technology, as well as the influence of the people involved in producing programs, when she studied CBC-TV drama.²⁵

People mattered because they shaped programs by reacting to constraints and by making choices. Their power was great during the age of “*broadcasting*,”²⁶ when only a small number had a hand in producing content. The result was a “social conflict over the real,” according to James Carey:

Reality is, above all, a scarce resource... The fundamental form of power is the power to define, allocate, and display this resource. Once the blank canvas of the world is portrayed and featured, it is also pre-empted and restricted. Therefore, the site where artists paint, writers write, speakers speak, filmmakers film, broadcasters broadcast is simultaneously the site of social conflict over the real. It is not a conflict over ideas as disembodied forces. It is not a conflict over technology. It is not a conflict over social relations. It is a conflict over the simultaneous codetermination of ideas, technique, and social relations. It is above all a conflict not over the effects of communication but of the acts and practices that are themselves the effects.²⁷

²⁴ Debra Clarke, “Constraints of television news production: The example of story geography,” *Canadian Journal of Communication* 14, no. 4 (December 1989): 90.

²⁵ See, Miller, *Rewind and Search*. For other examples, see, Monica Macdonald, “Producing the Public Past: Canadian History on CBC Television 1952-2002” (PhD diss., York University, 2007); Diane Burgess, “Kanehsatake on Witness: The Evolution of CBC Balance Policy,” *Canadian Journal of Communication* 25, no. 2 (2000): 231-49; Rosemary Bergeron, “The Presentation of News on CBC Television, 1953-1988” (MA thesis, Carleton University, 1990); Graham Cooke, “Creativity and Constraint in the Making of a CBC Radio Current Affairs Program” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2005); Robert J.F. Albota, “Dan McArthur’s Concept of Objectivity and His Struggle to Defend the Integrity of the CBC News Service, 1940-1945” (MA thesis, Carleton University, 1988).

²⁶ The term “broadcasting” is sometimes used to refer to the period before the popular adoption of cable television in Canada, after which there was such rapid and increasing diffusion of the audiences across ever-increasing numbers of television channels that stations were participating in what has been called “narrowcasting.” For this usage of these terms, see Rutherford, *When Television Was Young*, 482; Knowlton Nash, *The Microphone Wars: A History of Triumph and Betrayal at the CBC* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994), 511.

²⁷ James W. Carey, “Reconceiving ‘Mass’ and ‘Media,’” in *Communication As Culture: Essays on Media and Society*, 53-67, rev. ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 66.

Although not necessarily inspired by Carey, the idea of the media as contested terrain has been a popular subject. Some have analyzed how film and television became a forum for cultural conflicts over the way groups were represented. Professor of Film Studies, Yvonne Tasker, for instance, studied representations of women in the military in film and on television in Britain and the US. She argued that “the masculinity and misogyny of military culture is in many ways officially sanctioned renders the incorporation of women into that culture, and the narratives that represent or valorize it, a particularly acute site of contest over gender and power.”²⁸

Others have focused on the political economy of television production. In their classic work, *Manufacturing Consent*, American scholars Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky argued that, not only did the news shape opinion,²⁹ but the consensus opinion was decided by the “elite” in control of the media. To understand the nature of its influence, the pair studied “the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public.”³⁰ Money and power were

²⁸ Yvonne Tasker, *Soldiers' Stories: Military Women in Cinema and Television Since World War II* (Durham: Duke University Press 2011), 17.

²⁹ Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), xii. This is a popular idea. For Canadian examples of its use, see Gordon, “The News and Foreign Policy,” 1; David Taras, *The Newsmakers: The Media's Influence on Canadian Politics* (Scarborough, ON: Nelson, 1990), 3; Robert A. Hackett and Yuezhi Zhao, *Sustaining Democracy? Journalism and the Politics of Objectivity* (Toronto: Broadview Press, 1998), 13-14; François Nadeau, “Can a Political Documentary Influence Foreign Policy Attitudes? The Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Effects of CBC's *Masters of Space*” (MA thesis, Carleton University, 2011). It is often applied to the analysis of communication during conflict, sometimes with explicit reference to the agenda-setting model. For example, see Philip Seib, ed., *War and Conflict Communication: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 2010); Robert E. Denton, Jr., “Television as an Instrument of War,” in *The Media and the Persian Gulf War*, ed. Robert E. Denton, Jr., 27-42 (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993): 28; Lauren Rabinovitz and Susan Jeffords, “Introduction,” in *Seeing Through the Media: The Persian Gulf War*, ed. Susan Jeffords and Lauren Rabinovitz, 1-18 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 1.

³⁰ Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*, 2. Michael R. Real came to a similar conclusion. See, Michael R. Real, *Mass-Mediated Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1977), xi. Herman and Chomsky influenced some analyses of war reportage. See for example, Steve Hallock, *The Press*

not necessarily determinants of influence, however. For instance, Robert Hackett argued that the Canadian “defense groups,” including National Defence and the military, had little influence on the press in the 1980s, in spite of their economic and political power. He reasoned that this was evidence that these groups did not want or need to publicize their work.³¹ There was clearly more to “the acts and practices”³² of the broadcast arts than conflicts over air time can describe.

Aware of the significance of context for content, scholars have called for increased attention to the complex interplay of the two in studies about war news. Daniel Hallin’s study of American coverage of the Vietnam War continues to provide an example of how to study the media at war more than two decades after its publication.³³ In 2005, Piers Robinson, Robin Brown, Peter Goddard and Katy Parry of the United Kingdom cited the breadth of his study (he consulted hundreds of television news reports and five years of the *New York Times*) when outlining the ideal characteristics of future research into wartime journalism. Beyond a “broad-scale analysis,” they also sought research that was sensitive to the impact of government and “contemporary ideological imperatives” on the news, hoping that it would “help build a more complete empirical and theoretical account of wartime media-state relations, which, in turn, might illuminate the extent to which technological advances, shifting geo-political landscapes

March to War: Newspapers Set the Stage for Military Intervention in Post-World War II America (New York: Peter Lang, 2012), 1-23.

³¹ Robert A. Hackett, *News and Dissent: The Press and the Politics of Peace in Canada* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing, 1991), 158-60.

³² Carey, “Reconceiving ‘Mass’ and ‘Media,’” 66.

³³ Daniel C. Hallin, *The “Uncensored War”: The Media and Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

and strengthened government attempts to influence media have affected levels of media autonomy during war.”³⁴

Attention to the influence of technology, culture, society, government and geopolitics also provides new insight into the presentation of the military on public affairs, history and commemorative programs. Commemoration is linked with the nebulous idea of memory and the work of French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917). He argued that social groups determined which times and spaces were sacred and then used ritual to “stimulate and sustain or recreate certain mental states....”³⁵ One of the few studies on the role of mass media in commemoration is the oft-cited, “neo-Durkheimian”³⁶ work by Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz about “media events.” They argued that

Like the holidays that halt everyday routines, television events propose exceptional things to think about, to witness, and to do. Regular broadcasting is suspended and pre-empted as we are guided by a series of special announcements and preludes that transform daily life into something special and, upon the conclusion of the event, are guided back again. In the most characteristic events, the interruption is *monopolistic*, in that all channels switch away from their regularly scheduled programming in order to turn to the great event, perhaps leaving a handful of independent stations outside the consensus [emphasis in original]. Broadcasting can hardly make a more dramatic announcement of the importance of what is about to happen.³⁷

Media events also strengthen social bonds,³⁸ while presenting unique challenges, like leaving journalists “trapped in the rhetoric of reverential lubrication.”³⁹ They functioned as “electronic monuments” to historic events, were shared experiences for a generation,

³⁴ Piers Robinson, Robin Brown, Peter Goddard and Katy Parry, “War and media,” *Media, Culture & Society* 27, no. 6 (2005): 958.

³⁵ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Carol Cosman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 11.

³⁶ Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz, *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), viii.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 7-9.

³⁹ Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 193.

and provided a means to “*edit and reedit collective memory* [emphasis in original].”⁴⁰

While this research has inspired some new thinking about special events broadcasting in Canada, televised military commemorations have yet to be given the same attention as has the international cultural output and memory of the world wars in literature, letters, places, plays, poems and paintings.⁴¹

By contrast, television and film histories have received a lot of attention in recent years. Three Canadian television events, in particular, sparked interest in the subject, often among authors not otherwise engaged in writing about broadcasting history. They were the telecasts of the “Heritage Minutes” and *The Valour and the Horror* in the 1990s, along with the epic CBC-TV miniseries *Canada: A People’s History* in 2000–1. Academics generally responded to these programs/commercials with two broad questions: who should do history on television and how is history presented (by which was implied, what history, prepared according to which standards, and for what purpose)? The approaches used to answer these questions ranged from interest in CBC journalism to cultural history.⁴²

⁴⁰ Ibid., 211-13. This argument was echoed in Anne Wales, “Television as History: History as Television,” in *Television and Criticism*, ed. Solonge Davin and Rhona Jackson, 49-60 (Chicago: Intellect Books, 2008), 52.

⁴¹ For example, Matthew Hayday, “Fireworks, Folk-dancing, and Fostering a National Identity: The Politics of Canada Day,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 91, no. 2 (June 2010): 287-314; Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 25th anniversary edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997). There is some discussion here: Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Patricia M.E. Lorcin and Daniel Brewer, eds., *France and Its Spaces of War: Experience, Memory, Image* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Heinz Kosok, *The Theatre of War: The First World War in British and Irish Drama* (New York: Palgrave, 2007).

⁴² For example, Dick, “‘The Valour and the Horror’ Continued,” 253-69; Carr, “Rules of Engagement,” 317-54; Iacobelli, “‘A Participant’s History?,’” 331-48; “‘Canadian History in Film’: Excerpts from a Roundtable Session on ‘Canadian History in Film’ organized by the *Canadian Historical Review* at the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, 27 May 2000, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta,” *Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 2 (June 2001): 1-9; Margaret Conrad, “My Canada Includes the Atlantic Provinces,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* XXXIV, no. 68 (November 2001): 392-402; Peter Hodgins, “The Canadian Dream-Work: History, Myth and Nostalgia in

However, Canadians were not the first to raise concerns about the presentation of history on television nor did they produce the landmark works on the subject. Those credits go to the likes of French scholar, Pierre Sorlin, who argued, “Historical films are all fictional. By this I mean that even if they are based on records, they have to reconstruct in a purely imaginary way the greater part of what they show.”⁴³ According to Robert A. Rosenstone, while the means of telling history on film were different than those used for written texts, both were flawed and both were history. He explained, “To the extent that written narratives are ‘verbal fictions,’ then visual narratives will be ‘visual fictions’ – that is, not mirrors of the past but representations of it.”⁴⁴ Such ideas have underwritten much of the recent work about television history in the United States and Britain. Rather than determining if programs were accurate, recent academic work has focused instead on their themes and approaches. For example, James Chapman analyzed *The World at War* (1973, Thames Television) and found that it was “intended

the Heritage Minutes” (PhD diss., Carleton University, 2003); Patrice Groulx, “La meilleure histoire du monde,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* XXXIV, no. 68 (November 2001): 403-14; Gene Allen, “The Professionals and the Public: Responses to *Canada: A People’s History*,” *Histoire sociale / Social History* XXXIV, no. 68 (November 2001): 381-91; David Frank, “Public History and the ‘People’s History’: A View from Atlantic Canada,” *Acadiensis* 32, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 120-33; Lyle Dick, “‘A New History for the New Millennium’: *Canada: A People’s History*,” *Canadian Historical Review* 85, no. 1 (March 2004): 85-109; Joe Friesen, “‘Canada: A People’s History’ as ‘Journalists’ History,” *History Workshop Journal* 56 (2003): 184-203; Glenn Leonard Brook, “*Canada: A People’s History* – An analysis of the visual narrative for a colonial nation” (MA thesis, Concordia University, 2002); Amy Stuart, “Moment of silence: Constructions of race and nation in narratives of Canadian history” (MA thesis, McGill University, 2006).

⁴³ Pierre Sorlin, *The Film in History: Restaging the Past* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1976), 21.

⁴⁴ Robert A. Rosenstone, “History in Images/History in Words: Reflections on the Possibility of Really Putting History onto Film,” *The American Historical Review* 93, no. 5 (December 1988): 1181. See also, Robert A. Rosenstone, *Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Robert A. Rosenstone, *History on Film / Film on History* (Toronto: Pearson Longman, 2006). For a similar argument, see Robert Brent Toplin, “The Filmmaker as Historian,” *The American Historical Review* 93, no. 5 (December 1988): 1226; Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 159.

as an anti-war text.”⁴⁵ One popular line of inquiry has been the way history on television (including news programs) and film provides a vehicle for conveying collective identity.⁴⁶ Such works represented a gradual maturing of the line of inquiry and the implicit adoption of a view of culture best defined by Clifford Geertz: “Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.”⁴⁷

With these frameworks, methods and debates as a guide, this thesis argues that the perspectives presented on programs about the military, broadcast by CBC-TV between 1952 and 1992, were shaped by their production contexts, as the conditions around each production affected one another in unpredictable ways. The first and arguably most fundamental of these was technology. Its significance to war reporting is well established. For instance, scholars like Michael Mandelbaum have argued that during the Vietnam War “the operational procedures of television news did shape the way that

⁴⁵ James Chapman, “*The World at War: Television, Documentary, History*,” in *The Historian, Television and Television History*, ed. Graham Roberts and Philip M. Taylor, 127-44 (Bedfordshire, UK: University of Luton Press, 2001), 141. For other examples, see, Lawrence H. Suid and Dolores A. Haverstick, *Stars and Stripes on Screen: A comprehensive guide to portrayals of American Military on film* (Toronto: The Scarecrow Press, 2005); Edward Braun, “Stereotypes and Other Types: The Portrayal of the Army in British Television Drama,” in *Acts of War: The Representation of Military Conflict on the British Stage and Television since 1945*, ed. Tony Howard and John Stokes, 179-91 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1996), 179. Contrast with, Natalie Zemon Davis, *Slaves on Screen: Films and Historical Vision* (Canada: Vintage Canada, 2000), 123;

⁴⁶ Netta Ha-Ilan, “Images of History in Israel Television News: The Territorial Dimensions of Collective Memories, 1987-1990,” in *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*, ed. Gary R. Edgerton and Peter C. Rollins, 207-29 (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 207; Robert Burgoyne, *The Hollywood Historical Film* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 2; Emily West, “Selling Canada to Canadians: Collective Memory, National Identity, and Popular Culture,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 19, no. 2 (June 2002): 212-29.

⁴⁷ Clifford Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures: selected essays by Clifford Geertz*, 3-30 (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5.

the war was presented to the public.”⁴⁸ However, the role technology played in shaping the particular production contexts at CBC-TV that impacted the presentation of the military on the news, specials, public affairs and history programs has not been explored. While there was an element of choice involved in the adoption of technologies (the establishment of a microwave link with Buffalo, for instance), once adopted, they played a role in determining content.⁴⁹ Some technologies imposed constraints on field reporting. In other cases, technology had a more positive impact, making possible the previously unimaginable. For instance, communication satellites revolutionized newsgathering in Canada and around the world, while cable television made it possible to launch a 24-hour channel devoted to information programming, which redefined breaking news. Technology could also impose limits on cooperation with foreign sources of film. The decision to not adhere to the technical standards of some of the more dominant American newsreel services, for example, at times made the acquisition of newsfilm from abroad cost prohibitive, because it needed to be converted to be used by CBC-TV.

Second, and related to this, foreign broadcasters – particularly those in Britain, the US and Australia, but also France and the Netherlands – had a significant impact on CBC-TV programming. They influenced program styles, as CBC-TV staff copied techniques and borrowed program ideas from foreign broadcasters. CBC-TV also

⁴⁸ Michael Mandelbaum, “Vietnam: the television war,” in *War and Conflict Communication: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, ed. Philip Seib, vol. 2, 152-65 (London: Routledge, 2010), 155.

⁴⁹ The complex interplay of society and the technologies it creates has been the subject of a great many works that range in approach from studies of the ways society shapes technology to arguments for technological determinism. While this study is informed by this work, it does not strictly adhere to any single approach. See for example, Wiebe E. Bijker, Thomas P. Hughes, and Trevor Pinch, eds., *The Social Construction of Technological Systems* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989); Merritt Roe Smith and Leo Marx, *Does Technology Drive History? The Dilemma of Technological Determinism* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994); Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *A Social History of American Technology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

rebroadcast foreign programming, including a large number of British and American military history documentaries, which offered a different perspective on past wars and an often unflattering picture of Canadian contributions, in the few cases such efforts were discussed at all. Some were co-productions with the likes of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). While co-production provided the CBC with greater editorial control than it would otherwise have, such projects took resources away from in-house productions about the Canadian military. The CBC's international relationships were significant in another way, as well. Foreign sources of news reports, particularly in the early years of television news, played an important role in shaping content. This is the third production context. The CBC's relationships with NATO and the UN were particularly vital to obtaining footage of the military's work with those international organizations, as poor relations often meant few films. However, even the best relationships with foreign freelancers did not always prove fruitful. Freelancers often served many masters, including American networks. As a consequence, their travel, equipment and time were often ruled – not by CBC-TV – but by the Americans. Negotiating for access to their valuable time was accordingly an exercise in inter-broadcaster (if not international) relations and yet another way in which foreign influences shaped programming.

Fourth, the military and its veterans also had an important role to play. The Queen's Regulations, along with directives from the Chiefs of Staff, Ministers of Defence and public relations officers, determined what information the military could share with the media. Even with these restrictions, the military had a fair amount of freedom to: provide film for news programs; furnish actors with old uniforms for period dramas; vet history productions; collaborate on documentary ideas; and offer transportation and

accommodation to CBC staff while they visited the troops abroad. The military also staged events for the camera that often resembled theatre more than reality. Philip Anido explained,

In my experience in Public Affairs at all levels, we invited media to cover exercise and training, which are scripted and planned, and we invited and anticipated their presence during real emergency operations such as support to floods. There is very little staging in the military-media relationship. Briefings and interviews have to have a useful backdrop whether outdoors or in a briefing room; the spokespersons are real; demonstrations to show training scenarios may be staged e.g. a SAR [Search and Rescue] demo, but coverage [of] flood support and peace support operations e.g. in Haiti or Kosovo are the real thing.⁵⁰

The ways in which the military sought media attention and worked in the service of the media have received little attention, not only in Canada, but in other countries as well.⁵¹

This study also sheds new light on the ways in which the media-military relationship was perceived and experienced differently, depending upon the project concerned and one's role. For instance, Ian Parker filmed reports about the forces for *the fifth estate* and was the writer/director of a DND promotional series, called *Home Base*. He recalled having the "full cooperation" of the forces for both series.⁵² David Halton found embedding with the military to be beneficial:

I found it easier (and generally safer) covering a war with regular army units, as opposed to reporting independently. In Vietnam, for example, the U.S. Army provided reporters with fairly accurate information about situations at the fronts you wanted to visit, and transportation to get there. Ditto with the Canadian ICCS [International Commission of Control and Supervision] force I deployed to Vietnam with... Operating independently with just a cameraman, or sometimes a

⁵⁰ Philip Anido, e-mail to author, 1 December 2011.

⁵¹ Sarah Maltby, *Military Media Management: Negotiating the 'front' line in mediatised war* (London: Routledge, 2012), 2-3. Some have dealt with the way the state managed the media and the military. For example, William H. Hammond, *Public Affairs: The Military and the Media, 1962-1968* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1988). Others have provided guidelines for the military's handling of the media. For example, Mari K. Eder, *Leading the Narrative: The Case for Strategic Communication* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2011).

⁵² Ian Parker, letter to author, 22 June 2012.

local “fixer,” was much more hazardous, especially in areas where the [Vietcong] might be in control at night but not during the day.⁵³

By contrast, John Scully believed the media-military relationship was laden with conflict – a view informed by his experiences reporting about the forces in the 1980s, by which time the militaries of several countries were exercising new vigour in their control of information. He explained that “[m]ilitary topics were chosen using several criteria. Are Canadians involved (troops and civilians)? Will we be able to report without bias or restrictions? This attitude put us on collision course with the military, be they Canadian, UN or any other power that tried to dictat[e] the content of the stories we fed back.”⁵⁴ Although Brian McKenna worked closely with forces to make docudramas and prepare reports for *the fifth estate*, whatever intimacy existed did not restrict his freedom to produce highly-critical, contentious programs.⁵⁵ Paul Hellyer reflected on the limits of National Defence’s ability to control the presentation of the forces in the media when he explained that, “We just reported in a straightforward manner while, of course, hoping that the CBC would put the best possible interpretation on the facts as we presented them.”⁵⁶

⁵³ David Halton, letter to author, 11 January 2012. For more about the challenges facing unilateral and embedded journalists, see , Judith Sylvester and Suzanne Huffman, *Reporting from the Front: The Media and the Military* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 211-14; Michael S. Sweeney, *The Military and the Press: An Uneasy Truce* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2006), 181-227.

⁵⁴ John Scully, e-mail to author, 12 February 2012. For more about such concerns, see William V. Kennedy, *The Military and the Media: Why the press cannot be trusted to cover a war* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993); Lloyd J. Matthews, ed., *Newsmen and National Defense: Is Conflict Inevitable?* (New York: Brassey’s, 1991); Thomas Rid, *War and Media Operations: The US military and the press from Vietnam to Iraq* (New York: Routledge, 2007); William M. Hammond, *Reporting Vietnam: Media and Military At War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), ix; Gary C. Woodward, “The Rules of the Game: The Military and the Press in the Persian Gulf War,” in *The Media and the Persian Gulf War*, ed. Robert E. Denton, Jr., 1-26 (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993).

⁵⁵ Brian McKenna, e-mail to author, 1 February 2012.

⁵⁶ Hon. Paul T. Hellyer, letter to author, 15 November 2011.

That said, the close relationship had its benefits for the military, DND and veterans, beyond the possibility of good publicity. The CBC provided troops on isolated bases in Canada and around the world with radio and later television programming. It also produced “concert party” tours of bases, which provided live entertainment to service personnel and their families. The CBC filmed and later broadcast several of these tours. It also provided a service to the Royal Canadian Legion by broadcasting programs it produced, as well as airing its annual Remembrance Day ceremonies from the Cenotaph in Ottawa on radio and television. In these ways, this thesis moves beyond simple notions of the “clash of cultures” between the forces and the media,⁵⁷ and thusly helps to flesh out some of the previously-neglected complexities of the media’s relationship with the military.

Fifth, the audience mattered. While the reactions of viewers help to explain how CBC-TV efforts were received and perceived – and due consideration will be paid to these responses – the audience was also a significant factor in determining what the CBC produced. CBC-TV staff cared about viewer feedback and ratings, particularly in the more competitive broadcast markets of the 1970s to the 1990s, and worried about whether viewers would like what they produced. Beginning in the 1960s, for instance, the CBC organized regular audience panels to evaluate the content of television programs, ranking among other things their “enjoyment.” Participants would indicate whether “‘I enjoy it very much,’ ‘I enjoy it quite a bit,’ ‘it’s all right, not bad,’ ‘I don’t enjoy it too much,’ ‘I don’t enjoy it at all.’”⁵⁸ The resultant ranking was converted into a

⁵⁷ For example, Stairs, “The media and the military in Canada,” 545.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Eaman, *Channels of Influence*, 192.

figure out of 100, which was supplied to producers.⁵⁹ In some cases, feedback, ratings and Enjoyment Indices, as they were known, influenced decisions about whether to continue, cancel, or change the format/content of programs.

People mattered in another respect, as well. The sixth production context considered here is the impact people working on programming for CBC-TV had on content. For, as political scientists Lydia Miljan and Barry Cooper argued, “It is all very well for cultural critics, critical theorists, and so on to draw links between the powerful and the media conglomerates, but it is also important to assess critically the views of people who actually make the day-to-day decisions.”⁶⁰ Staff, independent producers, screenwriters, and freelance reporters made the choices that determined what happened on television. They selected topics for newscasts, documentaries or dramas, determined the approach, and created the programs on which they aired. Some of these decisions were reactions to problems, like technological constraints or internal disputes. Others were informed by personal ambition, creative vision, or professional friendships with persons working for other broadcasters. Understanding something about the people behind the programs (their views, disputes, friendships and backgrounds) will thusly help to make sense of the decisions they made, which shaped CBC-TV’s presentation of the military.

However, there were limits to what people working for or with the CBC could do. The policies/objectives/regulations set by the CBC, the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG; 1958–1968) and the Canadian Radio-Television Commission⁶¹ (CRTC;

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Lydia Miljan and Barry Cooper, *Hidden Agendas: How Journalists Influence the News* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 23.

⁶¹ It was later known as the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission.

1968–on) had some bearing on content. For example, the language used on television, the production of newscasts, the purpose of public affairs programming, and even the rules for “Emergency Measures Broadcasts” were all governed by internal CBC policy directives. Also, the BBG and the CRTC’s regulations for Canadian content proved particularly influential, even shaping CBC-TV’s guidelines for international co-productions. Thus, this is the seventh production context under consideration. Eighth, and related to this, were the ambitions for CBC-TV, expressed in the recommendations of royal commissions, as well as in internal plans for program development and the changing objectives of departments within the CBC. There were, for instance, periodic attempts to revive program forms that were waning in popularity. Public affairs programming was revitalized in the early 1960s and then again in the early 1970s, the result of which were some of the most significant and controversial productions CBC-TV has yet produced, like *This Hour Has Seven Days* and *the fifth estate*. With new program forms, came new approaches, like the use of satire and a new emphasis on investigative journalism, which fundamentally changed the handling of military subjects, with real consequences for the media-military relationship.

Periodic revitalization of CBC-TV programming was dependent upon the size of the Corporation’s coffers. As a result, economic constraints are the ninth context. Severely limited budgets and government funding for co-productions with independent producers in the 1980s and the 1990s, for instance, provided one of the impetuses for the Galafilm-National Film Board-CBC-Radio Canada co-production, *The Valour and the Horror*. Related to this, the tenth consideration was CBC-TV’s relations with fellow Canadian television producers. For example, there was some latent tension underwriting

the CBC's relationship with the National Film Board (NFB),⁶² which was perhaps best expressed by the Assistant Director overseeing Information Programs in 1972. He wrote, the "NFB would like to have the CBC as a passive delivery system. On our part we want control over the content. In a negative way we want to be sure that anything NFB does for CBC does not duplicate or contradict our own mandate and policies."⁶³ Exploring programs about the military that were the products of co-production or were produced by others thusly offers a case study in the evolution of such relations and their impact on content.

Beyond the intricacies of the CBC's operations, broader changes to the Canadian social, economic, political and cultural scenes, along with shifts in Canadian historiography, also affected the approaches taken on television programs. In the years leading up to the celebrations of Canada's Centennial, for instance, military history was politicized. The federal government staged celebrations of the forces across the country, some of which were televised, which stressed the military's proud history and present-day strength. Some at the CBC also politicized the past, by working to ensure the inclusion of the First World War in the changing "national memory"⁶⁴ as a nation-building endeavour. By contrast, the military and war were subjected to much criticism in the early 1970s. There was, in particular, new stress on the physical and psychological harm war inflicted upon those who fought. This reflected the widespread protests against the apparent futility and brutality of the Vietnam War, fuelled by the

⁶² This was explored from the vantage of "public enterprise interaction" in Mary L. Lemon, "The Relationship Between the CBC and the NFB: A Case Study in Public Enterprise Interaction" (MA research essay, Carleton University, 1990), 2.

⁶³ Memo, Ken Black to C.K. Nash, "NFB/CBC," 13 December 1972, vol. 814, file "Information Programming TI 3-3-5 National Film Board, Oct. '69 – July '73," (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁴ Memo, A.E. Powley to J.D. Nixon, "Historical Program Series – World War I – 1964-1968," 21 November 1960, vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 1), "PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY," RG 41, LAC.

revelations of civilian deaths, along with the growing moral panic about the impact witnessing violence had on individuals.

While all of these eleven production contexts were significant determinants of programming, they were not of equal importance. Indeed, each decade produced a unique combination of personalities, relationships, policies, technologies, social, cultural and economic concerns, that had unpredictable results for programming. The chapters that follow will trace these changes chronologically, explaining the evolution from largely uncritical and often positive programming in the early 1950s to controversy and iconoclasm in the 1990s.

Chapter 1: A “Golden Age” of CBC-TV for the Military, 1952–1956¹

When the CBC-TV stations in Montreal and Toronto – the country’s first – began to broadcast in September 1952, one news story dominating the headlines was the Korean War. In the immediate postwar years, the military remained in the news as it continued a slow transition in its tactics and technologies, making necessary adjustments befitting Canada’s new responsibilities as a founding member of the United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The fledgling English-language television news programs, *CBC Newsmagazine* and the newsreel on *Tabloid*, reported on these developments to Canadians. Stories of troops returning from Korea, new aircraft, and combat training exercises, and the recording of live commemorative ceremonies like Remembrance Day served as a training ground for journalists, announcers, cameramen and editors during a formative period in CBC-TV’s development. During these early years, the CBC adapted the old radio policies, adopted the technologies, pioneered the program formats, and forged the relationships that defined television’s delivery of news, public affairs, and specials for years to come. These choices were tested and, in a few cases, influenced by the particular challenges of covering news about the military at war and peace, around the world, including in unreachable, restricted or remote locations, which placed consequent constraints on visual reports.

Six main factors affected CBC-TV programs about the military in 1952–6. The first was the Cold War. In his history of the early days of primetime television in Canada,

¹ The *Canadian Historical Review* published part of this chapter. See, Mallory Schwartz, “A ‘Golden Age’ of CBC Television News for the Military, 1952-1956,” *Canadian Historical Review* 94, no. 4 (December 2013): 489-513. DOI: 10.3138/CHR.1739. Reprinted with permission from University of Toronto Press (www.utpjournals.com), © University of Toronto Press 2013.

Paul Rutherford explained, “News, as a rule, did serve to assure people about the virtues of the existing order.”² For the CBC, this was not the result of self-censorship (at least not at the level of policy-making).³ In its guidelines for “Political and Controversial Broadcasting,” the Board of Governors explained the Corporation’s insistence on “Freedom of Speech” in these terms:

In accordance with its policy of resisting any attempts to regiment opinion or to throttle freedom of speech, the Corporation lays down no specific rulings covering controversial broadcasting. The Corporation itself supports the policy of the fullest use of the air for:

- (a) Fortright discussion of all controversial questions;
- (b) Equal and fair presentation of all main points of view;
- (c) The discussion of current affairs and problems by informed, authoritative and competent speakers.⁴

The Talks and Public Affairs Department was particularly dedicated to the presentation of a diversity of opinions about equally varied issues, ranging from governance to home economics.⁵ In 1946, the CBC insisted that “[o]nce we have selected speakers we encourage them to express their views frankly and honestly. Aside from the obvious safeguards against libel, slander, defamation or racial or religious discrimination, we do not exercise censorship or attempt to dictate what speakers shall or shall not say.”⁶ Although the news was more limited in its mandate to presenting only that which was of strict “news value,” it did not self-censor, either. In 1952, section 14.11 of the

² Rutherford, *When Television Was Young*, 166.

³ Mary Vipond has found evidence that the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission did censor talks. See, Mary Vipond, “Censorship in a Liberal State: Regulating Talk on Canadian Radio in the Early 1930s,” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 30, no. 1 (March 2010): 75-94.

⁴ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “Political and Controversial Broadcasting: Policies and Rulings,” issued by authority of The Board of Governors, rev. ed., 1 May 1948, 17.

⁵ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “CBC 1946: A Digest of Statements on the Policies, Administration and Programs of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, presented before the House of Commons Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting 1946, by A. Davidson Dunton, Chairman of the Board of Directors; Dr. Augustin Frigon, General Manager; E.L. Bushnell, Director General of Programs; and Jean-Marie Beaudet, Director, CBC French Network” (1946), 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 41.

“Internal Rules and Regulations” guiding the production of news programs read, “It is realized that if any channels were opened whereby pressure could be put on editors to include or exclude certain news, modify it in any way, or give it special emphasis, the integrity of the service would be lost immediately. With that in mind, editors must at all times appraise and present the news in their bulletins strictly on the basis of its objective news value.”⁷ Although the CBC did not censor controversial stories or political debate, none appeared in the sample of programs with military subjects drawn from between 1952 and 1956. Though this absence may have reflected a measure of the conformism cited by Rutherford, it also grew from consensus in society.⁸ As Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse explained, “[R]eal debate about the fundamental issues at stake was widely seen as threatening the national consensus, and dissent from that consensus was often interpreted as disloyalty to the country.”⁹ It took the creation of North American Air Defence Command (NORAD) in 1957 to break the consensus about defence policy, for example.¹⁰

The second factor that shaped the programs was the institutional culture within the CBC, which accepted and perpetuated longstanding, close collaboration with the military. It took many forms. They were partners on programming that showcased the best of the armed forces, allies in broadcasting for isolated radio stations at Canadian bases in Canada and abroad, and co-writers of the calendar of ritual military

⁷ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “Internal Rules and Regulations, Part 14, News, Effective December 1, 1952,” vol. 2, file “CBC News Policy, File A – Basic Policy 1940-52,” MG 30 E 333, A.E. Powley fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, MG 30 E 333, LAC].

⁸ Hallin came to a similar conclusion about American news media during the Vietnam War, writing, “The behavior of the media ... is intimately related to the unity and clarity of the government itself, as well as to the degree of consensus in the society at large.” See, Hallin, *The “Uncensored War,”* 213.

⁹ Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 4.

¹⁰ J.L. Granatstein, *Yankee Go Home? Canadians and Anti-Americanism* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1996), 126.

commemoration. They forged these intimate partnerships during the Second World War, wherein radio journalists wore officers' overcoats and followed the men into battle.¹¹ The extension of such intimacy into the postwar years shaped the type of programming seen on the CBC and the opinions contained therein. The third and related factor was Department of National Defence (DND) policies and military regulations that guided media-military relations, restricting what information the media had access to and what could be broadcast. The fourth factor was technology. At issue were the choices of technologies, their nature, and their application. For instance, CBC-TV's decision to use 16 mm film as its standard – as opposed to 35 mm, like many Americans newsreel services – limited the newsfilm available to them. This relates to the fifth factor: the influence of the British, but most especially the United States. Although fear of the encroachment of American television helped spur the creation of CBC-TV, the news service did not shy away from following the example of American television news or using American newsreels, the latter often resulting in reports that overlooked the Canadian military's involvement in foreign conflicts. They also made use of American documentaries, like *Victory at Sea*, which offered the only criticism of Canadian Forces in the sample drawn. Indeed, CBC-TV's in-house programs tended to be commemorations, filled with grieving for the men who died at war and pride in their service. Sixth, established practices, policies and program formats from radio, along with the personalities from the radio news service who oversaw the introduction of television news, determined its form and purpose. For them, television was of less importance than radio – a bias reflected in content and resources.

¹¹ Powley, *Broadcast from the Front*, 14; Stursberg, *Journey into Victory: Up the Alaska Highway and to Sicily and Italy* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1944); Peter Stursberg, "It Got by the Censor – How 'Lili Marlene' Reached Canada," *CBC Times* 9, no. 8 (2-8 September 1956): 12.



PA-152118

Figure 1. Johnny Wayne (*left*) and Frank Shuster performing in a CBC radio broadcast of *The Army Show* (21 January 1944).

Source: Canada. Dept. of National Defence/Library and Archives Canada/PA-152118

For a time, these circumstances resulted in what might well be termed a “golden age” of television. Critics used that phrase to contrast the seemingly sorry state of American and Canadian television in the 1960s with television’s early years, which they viewed as a period of burgeoning artistry and ingenuity.¹² Some veteran broadcasters rejected the idea. “There was no such thing,” according to comedian Johnny Wayne (Figure 1), himself a long-time contributor to CBC radio and television. He and his partner Frank Shuster believed it was a figment of a nostalgic imagination. Shuster

¹² Discussed in David Hogarth, *Documentary Television in Canada: From National Public Service to Global Marketplace* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 40; Rutherford, *When Television Was Young*, 98-102.

quipped, “The only time you *didn’t* catch a stagehand on camera – that was the golden age.”¹³ Rutherford similarly argued that it was a “myth.”¹⁴

However, in the case of the military in the 1950s an exception might be made. Television’s early years were “golden” for the military, not for the many technical or artistic milestones. They were exceptional because so much of what aired on CBC-TV programs between 1952 and 1956 was generally uncritical and typically supportive of the military. Indeed, that was true of all of in-house CBC-TV productions considered by this study. Through such programs, the national broadcaster reinforced the existing consensus on defence policy and military commitments, not because of deficiencies in its journalistic ethics, but as a consequence of the peculiarities of the programs’ production contexts.

By the time CBC-TV began broadcasting, the Korean War was nearly over. The war began when North Korea crossed the 38th parallel and attacked South Korea in the hopes of ending the partition between them and establishing a single, Communist Korea. In August 1950, Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent committed ground troops, a transport squadron and three destroyers to the American-led, UN-sanctioned military intervention in defence of the south. Over 25,000 Canadians served.¹⁵ CBC radio’s experience during the conflict provides necessary context for understanding television’s early reports about the military. It provides insight into established practices and policies that guided the production of those news reports. It also exposes

¹³ Quoted in Richard Wright, “An Academic Tackles Television,” *Broadcaster* 46, no. 12 (December 1987): 27.

¹⁴ Rutherford, *When Television Was Young*, 101.

¹⁵ David J. Bercuson, *Blood on the Hills: The Canadian Army in the Korean War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 27, 29-34, xi and xiii.

contradictions in the CBC's relationship with the forces, revealing both the intimacy between the two as institutions and the distance between journalists and soldiers.

The CBC's radio newsrooms were responsible for the early reporting on the Korean War. The federal government established the CBC in 1936 as a radio broadcaster. In its first few years of operation, it relied on the Canadian Press (CP) for news. CBC announcers merely read copy written by the CP reporters. The significance of radio news during the Second World War provided the impetus for the establishment of the CBC National News Service in 1941 that wrote original copy, while still using the services of the Canadian Press and the British United Press.¹⁶ In Chief Editor Daniel McArthur's words, it soon "supplemented" those reports with "interviews by voice, eye-witness accounts of important happenings, and most important of all, the overseas reports of our war correspondents with the Canadian Forces in Italy and in the United Kingdom."¹⁷ Its "News Service Policy" remained unchanged into the television age. It stated that the CBC news was a "public trust" and the role of the news service was "to present ... all the significant news of the day's happenings in Canada and abroad factually, without bias or distortion, without tendentious comment, and in a clear and unambiguous style."¹⁸ McArthur explained the importance of presenting the news without comment or sensationalism in 1949, writing, "One would think that in these days of 'cold war' – *live* war in many parts of the world – it should be desirable to ease

¹⁶ Report, "THE CBC NEWS SERVICE," 1952, vol. 2, file "CBC National News – general policy statements n.d., 1941-52," MG 30 E 333, LAC. Documents from vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 2), 1941-56 "News Programs, General Correspondence," RG 41, LAC: memo, D.C. McArthur to General Manager, "Feature Items By CBC News Staff," 1 February 1941; memo, D.C. McArthur to General Manager, "CBC News Service: Feature Reporters," 20 January 1941; memo, D.C. McArthur to General Manager, "Report of meeting with Director of Public Information and Press Liaison Officers of War Service Departments in Ottawa December 28th," 30 December 1940.

¹⁷ Report, "Statement on CBC News Service by D.C. McArthur, Chief Editor," 25 May 1944, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 2), 1941-56, "News Programs, General Correspondence," RG 41, LAC.

¹⁸ "News Service Policy," 1 August 1958, vol. 171, file 11-17 "Programming – News Broadcasts – National News Service – General," RG 41, LAC.

tensions rather than add to them, to deal calmly with disquieting news rather than to squeeze out every last bit of ominous implication [emphasis in original]. Dealing calmly with news that could by its nature be made sensational, does not mean suppressing or modifying essential facts. It means presenting the available facts in a manner that is simple, straightforward and understandable.”¹⁹ With roughly 86 percent of Canadians listening to the CBC news by the mid-1940s,²⁰ the news service had a growing social responsibility.

Journalists William Herbert, Bernard Kaplan and Norman McBain were among the first to report from Korea for the CBC. Herbert was filing reports as early as October 1950. Before long, he was earning praise from a public relations officer with the Canadian Forces who was grateful for Herbert’s efforts to “keep news of our boys on CBC networks.”²¹ The recording and transmission of the reports was not a simple affair, as Herbert explained:

Consider this. We’ll say we do a tape at the Pats HQ on Monday at noon. It has then to be jeeped [*sic*] to corps hq, which brings us to 4 p.m. From there it’s picked up in the “safe bag” and delivered to the nearest airfield, which takes another two to three hours. It is now 7 p.m. This courier aircraft takes the bag to Taegu, reaching there at about 8 o’clock. The bag remains at Taegu airport, until it picks up the regular GHQ courier plane...a C-54...which leaves once a day for Tokyo...at about 4 p.m. in the afternoon, arriving there at about 7.30 or 8 p.m. We will then have the bag taken to GHQ-PIO, where it is opened and our own representative must see that the tape is passed by the censor ... and then pass it onto the Programme Transmission people at the Overseas telephone office for release next morning at 9.30...which is a helluva long way from the original taping.²²

¹⁹ D.C. McArthur, “*A Public Trust*. ‘Here is the CBC News...’: A national service of information on Canadian and world affairs,” *CBC Times* 1, no. 28 (30 January – 5 February, 1949): 4.

²⁰ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “A SURVEY OF LISTENER ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CBC NATIONAL NEWS SUMMARY,” March 1944, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 2), 1941-56 “News Programs, General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

²¹ Documents from vol. 2, file “Korean War, CBC News,” MG 30 E 333, LAC: Captain D.L. Burleson to E.L. Bushnell, 12 January 1951; Handwritten note, n.d.

²² Herbert to [McArthur?], 8 March 1951, vol. 905, file PG 10-8 (pt. 1) – “Korean News Coverage,” RG 41, LAC.

To further complicate matters, reporters could not embed with the troops and therefore had to make quick visits to the front along a road so dangerous they drove at 15 miles per hour – a “fool’s pace.”²³ They struggled even to establish telephone contact with the frontline through military public relations.²⁴ With humour born from frustration, Herbert asked, “why in hell don’t they fight these ‘police actions’ in a more accessible place?”²⁵

The CBC not only reported on the war’s progress, but also provided the troops with news and entertainment from home. In the early 1950s, the CBC began delivering radio programs for broadcast to isolated troops in Canada and overseas,²⁶ including those serving with NATO in Europe.²⁷ Over the course of the Korean War, the CBC supplied recordings to: Canadian destroyers at sea; Crown Radio and US Armed Forces Radio Service Station Nomad, to which Canadians listened; and Station Radio Maple Leaf at the headquarters of 25 Canadian Infantry Brigade. Radio Melbourne also relayed the CBC news to Korea, which it received by shortwave.²⁸ For those beyond its reach,

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Herbert to McArthur, 9 March 1951, vol. 905, file PG 10-8 (pt. 1) – “Korean News Coverage,” RG 41, LAC.

²⁵ Herbert to [McArthur?], 8 March 1951, vol. 905, file PG 10-8 (pt. 1) – “Korean News Coverage,” RG 41, LAC.

²⁶ Memo, Andrew Cowan to Controller of Management Planning & Personnel Services, “CBC Relations with Department of National Defence: Armed Forces Radio Stations,” [1959?], vol. 17, file “C.B.C. Armed Forces Service – Correspondence with Department of National Defense. Oct. 1955 – Dec. 1960,” MG 30 E 298, Andrew Cowan fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, MG 30 E 298, LAC]; report, for F/Lt. W. Smalluk, 20 December 1953 vol. 754, file NF3-4-10 (pt. 3), “Northern & Armed Forces Services, Programme Production – Armed Forces, Liaison with Armed Forces – General,” RG 41, LAC; “For the Soldiers Overseas,” *CBC Times* 4, no. 40 (20-26 April 1952): 3; “A Merry Christmas!” *CBC Times* 5, no. 23 (21-27 December 1952): 3.

²⁷ NATO was created in 1949 for the mutual self-defence of its member states, much of Western Europe, the United Kingdom, the US and Canada among them. Fearing Soviet incursion, it stationed troops in Western Europe. See, Sean M. Maloney, *War Without Battles: Canada’s NATO Brigade in Germany, 1951-1993* (Whitby, ON: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1996), 127-28, 497; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*. 5th edition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2007), 232.

²⁸ All documents can be found in various parts of vol. 754, file NF3-4-10, “Northern & Armed Forces Services, Programme Production – Armed Forces Liaison with Armed Forces – General,” RG 41, LAC: Lt.-Col. H. Stewart to Harry Low, 27 January 1953, (pt. 1); Harry Low to Len Cosh, 2 June 1954,

Japan News printed transcripts.²⁹ The reasoning behind all of these efforts was simple. Supervisor of Troop Broadcasts at the CBC, Andrew Cowan explained, “I am very anxious that Canadian servicemen overseas get a chance to listen to a Canadian interpretation of national and international affairs.”³⁰

In spite of the difficulties, CBC radio reported regularly to civilians and servicemen about the progress of the war. Its reports, along with those heard on private stations, were not universally commended. Complaints soon reached the desk of Minister of National Defence Brooke Claxton, denouncing radio newscasts for “sensationalism of the worst order.”³¹ The critics targeted CP reporter William Boss for his “harrowing,” overly-detailed accounts of the Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI), which caused much worry among the soldiers’ families.³² In one letter of complaint about the broadcast of “gory details” from the front, a listener wrote, “If we have not got a censor in action now ... it is about time there was one.”³³ Claxton responded by asking A.D. Dunton, as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the CBC – the national broadcaster and the regulator of the industry – to advise radio stations to prioritize

(pt. 4); Harry Low to Len Cosh, 11 April 1953, (pt. 2); Harry Low to Len Cosh, 7 May 1953, (pt. 2); Harry Low to Len Cosh, 11 April 1953, (pt. 2); D.G. Scuse to Len Cosh, 28 April 1953, (pt. 2); Len Cosh to Lt. Colin Hann, 5 February 1953, (pt. 1); Lt. H.W. Norris, “Report on Existing Radio Facilities in Korea,” 16 November 1953, (pt. 3).

²⁹ Memo, Len Cosh to Charles Gursky, “CANADIAN FORCES BULLETIN – KOREA,” 23 June 1953, vol. 753, file NF3-4-3, (pt. 1), “Northern & Armed Forces Services, Programme Production – Armed Forces, News Broadcasts,” RG 41, LAC.

³⁰ Memo, Cowan to Len Cosh, “Public Affairs Broadcasts to Troops,” 21 September 1954, vol. 754, NF3-4-10 (pt. 4), “Northern & Armed Forces Services, Programme Production – Armed Forces, Liaison with Armed Forces – General,” RG 41, LAC.

³¹ William McLaws to Douglas Harkness, [1951], vol. 905, file PG 10-8 (pt. 1) – “Korean News Coverage,” RG 41, LAC.

³² Ibid.; Memo, A.D. Dunton to Director General of Programs, “Reporting from Korea,” 19 March 1951, vol. 905, file PG 10-8 (pt. 1) – “Korean News Coverage,” RG 41, LAC; *CBC Times* 4, no. 8 (9-15 September 1951): 6.

³³ William McLaws to Douglas Harkness, [1951], vol. 905, file PG 10-8 (pt. 1) – “Korean News Coverage,” RG 41, LAC.

“propriety.”³⁴ Dunton insisted that the CBC had acted responsibly, presenting the news “in a sober and objective way, avoiding any sensationalism or alarmist tendencies” and did not mention soldiers’ names. Moreover, it was DND’s responsibility to “suggest” that stations avoid “‘personalized’ war reporting.”³⁵

Depersonalizing the news by withholding names frustrated servicemen who were eager to know which of their peers had died.³⁶ Though little consolation, these restrictions did not apply to programs about the daily life of servicemen. For instance, in June 1952, editor of *CBC News Roundup*, Norman DePoe, launched two regular radio features on a new, Saturday evening Trans-Canada Network program meant to provide a weekly digest of news about the armed forces. They were *This Is My Job* and *How We Live*, in which servicemen described their duties.³⁷ The same differentiation – the use of names for good-news stories, but not in reports about action at the front – continued throughout the Korean War, both on radio and on the new television news programs.³⁸

Plans for television’s debut were well underway in the summer of 1952. Canada was a latecomer to the technology. Television began to be developed in Great Britain and the

³⁴ Brooke Claxton to A.D. Dunton, 16 March 1951, vol. 905, file PG 10-8 (pt. 1) – “Korean News Coverage,” RG 41, LAC.

³⁵ Documents from vol. 905, file PG 10-8 (pt. 1) – “Korean News Coverage,” RG 41, LAC: Dunton to Claxton, 28 March 1951; memo, E.L. Bushnell to A.D. Dunton, “Reporting from Korea,” 22 March 1951.

³⁶ Lieutenant (S) RCN H.T. Cocks (aboard HMCS *Haida*) to CBC, 14 April 1953, vol. 754, file NF3-4-10 (pt. 2), “Northern & Armed Forces Services, Programme Production – Armed Forces, Liaison with Armed Forces – General,” RG 41, LAC.

³⁷ “*Armed Services*: A Weekly Roundup,” *CBC Times* 4, no. 49 (22-28 June 1952): 4.

³⁸ By 1956, the rules governing the broadcasting of service casualties were included in the formal “principles of news handling for both Radio and Television...” Item 14.14 read: “When names of accident victims are withheld at source, particularly of servicemen, a line should be added to the effect that names of victims are being withheld pending notification of next of kin [emphasis in original]. When a large number of lives are lost, good judgment should be used as to whether it is better to include all the names in the newscasts or leave a great many people tortured by uncertainty. Nine or ten might be the maximum except under unusual circumstances.” See, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “CBC News Directives and Style Guide” (June 1956), sec. 14.14, “Casualties – Service and Civilian.”

United States in the 1920s and 1930s. By 1951, there were over 300,000 receivers in Britain and 10,000,000 in the United States.³⁹ Some Canadians living close to the border were able to experience the new technological marvel. An estimated 30,000 residents around Toronto, for instance, purchased television sets in order to tune in to American television stations by 1952.⁴⁰ Seeing the rapid expansion in Canadian consumption of American television, the government made plans to expand the CBC's responsibilities to include television broadcasting. In 1949, it announced an interim policy whereby the Board of Governors of the CBC would oversee the introduction of television, granting licenses and establishing program "production centres" in Montreal and Toronto. In its 1951 report, the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences, chaired by Vincent Massey, recommended that this arrangement be maintained for the foreseeable future and that private stations be required to be part of the CBC network, functioning as "outlets" for CBC programming. As for those programs, it recommended that the CBC "encourage Canadian content."⁴¹

After much planning, television was ready to debut in the fall of 1952. Though producers at the CBC were "good and scared" in the months leading up to the inaugural broadcasts, knowing that viewers would compare their efforts to the American programs they had been watching, they were also excited by its prospects. As producer Mavor Moore wrote, it was "[a] rare chance to do something freshly Canadian."⁴²

³⁹ Canada, *Report: Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences, 1949-1951* (Ottawa: Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1951), 43-44; Leonard Spencer, "Birth of the TV miracle --- 1925," *The Canadian Broadcaster* 27, no. 8 (25 April 1968): 58.

⁴⁰ Mavor Moore, "A Chance To Do Something Freshly Canadian," *CBC Times* 4, no. 28 (17-23 February 1952): 2.

⁴¹ Canada, *Report: Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences*, 302-303, 305. See also, Paul Litt, *The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 3-5, 25, 142.

⁴² Moore, "A Chance To Do Something Freshly Canadian," 3.

Canadians had the opportunity to evaluate their efforts in September: the CBC's television station in Montreal (CBFT) began broadcasting on the 6th and the Toronto station (CBLT) followed two days later.⁴³

Initially, the radio news service prepared the television news. By 1952, it consisted of over fifty editors and writers in newsrooms at locations in St. John's, Halifax, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver.⁴⁴ The men of the news service had ambitious plans for the new medium. William Herbert Hogg – then senior editor of the CBC's Toronto newsroom⁴⁵ – explained that his “ideal setup” would mirror the lavish American National Broadcasting Company (NBC) television news productions that used newsreels, still photographs, mobile units, commentators and reporters. Hogg wrote, “As the rooster said to the hen, pointing to an ostrich egg, ‘That’s something to shoot for.’”⁴⁶ Although McArthur did not object, he was pragmatic. For the time being, television would supplement radio: radio would provide “regular newscasts,” while television would play newsreels provided by the likes of the Associated Screen News and the National Film Board.⁴⁷

In the beginning, there was no daily television news – a sign both of radio's continued dominance and the challenges inherent in producing the telecasts in the early

⁴³ “Canadian Television!” *CBC Times* 5, no. 7 (31 August – 6 September 1952): 2.

⁴⁴ Report, “THE CBC NEWS SERVICE,” 1952, vol. 2, file “CBC National News – general policy statements n.d., 1941-52,” MG 30 E 333, LAC.

⁴⁵ Press release, “Biography WILLIAM HERBERT HOGG Chief News Editor,” November 1959, file “Hogg, W.H.,” Biography files, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Reference Library, Toronto [hereafter, Biography files, CBCRL].

⁴⁶ Memo, “Television News,” W.H. Hogg to D.C. McArthur, 25 February 1949, vol. 2, file “CBC National News – general policy statements n.d., 1941-52,” MG 30 E 333, LAC.

⁴⁷ Memo, “Television Programme Ideas, News and Special Events,” D.C. McArthur to Director General of Programmes, 9 March 1949, vol. 2, file “CBC National News – general policy statements n.d., 1941-52,” MG 30 E 333, LAC.

1950s.⁴⁸ It also reflected audience biases. Many Canadians did not take television news seriously, considering it to be the equivalent of the “colour pages” in the newspaper.⁴⁹ The “first CBC-TV news program” was *CBC News Magazine* – a half-hour show broadcast on Sundays at 7:30 p.m.⁵⁰ Originally, it only aired on CBC-owned stations. By 1953, the network supplied its affiliates with a film of the program by airmail.⁵¹ *CBC News Magazine* relied entirely on newsreels, as McArthur had planned. The CBC drew on long-established techniques used in the presentation of theatre newsreels, like the use of music to set the mood for the stories. A suitably-named composition, called “Aftermath,” frequently accompanied news of earthquakes and wrecks, for example. Overseeing its production was Gunnar Rugheimer, who was the newsreel editor at CBLT and one of only five staff at the CBC Newsreel Service’s “home office” in Toronto.⁵²

Although the original techniques were antiquated and the resources small, the creation of the CBC Newsreel Service and its development of television news began to change the way the CBC made the news. Television required far more newsgathering and storytelling than had been practiced on radio. As former news editor Leslie Jackson

⁴⁸ Sandy Stewart, *Here’s Looking at Us: A Personal History of Television in Canada* (Toronto: CBC Enterprises, 1986), 102.

⁴⁹ Interview of Gordon Glynn by Ron Hallam, 10-15 April 1982, Institute for Canadian Studies collection, R9336-0-6-E, Carleton University fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, Interview of Glynn by Hallam, R9336-0-6-E, LAC].

⁵⁰ Nash, *Prime Time at Ten*, 21. The spelling of the program’s name changed over time. Between 1954 and 1956, it became known as *CBC Newsmagazine*. See, “First ‘Made in Canada’ Newsreel Service,” *CBC Times* 5, no. 29 (1-7 February 1953): 5; memo, G. Rugheimer to Co-ordinator of TV, Ottawa, “NEWSMAGAZINE,” 15 June 1954, vol. 907, file “PG 10-17, pt. 1 1954-59, News. CBC News Magazine,” RG 41, LAC; “Year-end ‘Newsmagazine,’” *CBC Times* 8, no. 25 (30 December 1955 – 6 January 1956): 3.

⁵¹ CBC Press Service, news release, 13 October 1953, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 2), 1941-56 “News Programs, General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC. Initially, it was not shown on CBFT either, which instead broadcast a comparable 15-minute program called, “CBC Newsreel.” See, Nash, *Prime Time at Ten*, 21.

⁵² Interview of Glynn by Hallam, R9336-0-6-E, LAC; “National News Service Inaugurated for TV,” *CBC Times* 6, no. 16 (1-7 November 1953): 11; “First ‘Made in Canada’ Newsreel Service,” 5.

recalled, television “forces you to go out to get the story....” on camera rather than rely on reports that could be written into a script and read by an announcer.⁵³ In its first year, the CBC made its first humble steps toward developing this sort of newsgathering when the CBC Newsreel Service’s “home office” hired its first cameraman, Stanley Clinton, to film breaking stories in the Toronto area. Freelance “camera-reporters,” the newsreel department of CBFT, private Canadian television stations, and international newsreel services, like those of NBC and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), delivered the rest of the content.⁵⁴ According to the *CBC Times*, “The armed forces, particularly the RCAF [Royal Canadian Air Force], also supply a lot of films.”⁵⁵ From these sources, the CBC received more than 10,000 feet of film a week, only 10 percent of which made it into *CBC News Magazine*.⁵⁶

The principal achievement of the television newsreel was also its fundamental flaw. For television to be more than footage of the announcer reading the same headlines that were heard on radio, film of the story was necessary. Coverage of Korea in 1952 on a surviving episode of *CBC News Magazine* did not include film of action at the front, likely for reasons made obvious by Herbert’s complaints about the lack of access to the frontlines. Instead, it aired film of returning servicemen and naval training exercises. An episode from 14 September contained two such stories. Veteran announcer Lorne Greene read the news. Over footage of servicemen exiting a plane, he explained that

⁵³ Interview of Leslie Jackson by Ross Eaman, 6 June 1983, Institute for Canadian Studies, collection, R9336-0-6-E, Carleton University fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, Interview of Jackson by Eaman, R9336-0-6-E, LAC]. See also, Rutherford, *When Television Was Young*, 162.

⁵⁴ “First ‘Made in Canada’ Newsreel Service,” 5; memo, Gunnar Rugheimer to W.H. Hogg, “Co-operation with Private TV Stations and Other Canadian Freelance Sources,” vol. 12 October 1954, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 2), 1941-56, “News Programs, General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁵ “Tabloid: Daily Actualities on CBC-TV,” *CBC Times* 5, no. 51 (5-11 July 1953): 3. See also, “First ‘Made in Canada’ Newsreel Service,” 5.

⁵⁶ “First ‘Made in Canada’ Newsreel Service,” 5.

they had just returned from Korea and were all, except one, with the Canadian Army. The exception was Private E.R. Macmillan's new bride from Japan. Greene recounted, "The Army says that five or six Canadian soldiers serving in the Far East have married Japanese girls, but Mrs. Macmillan is the first to come to her new home." The next story profiled "Operation Floating Bull's-eye": the introduction of "floats" that could latch onto the side of UN ships participating in the police action in Korea, providing a platform to land helicopter ambulances. Greene praised the operation: "Practice has made the navy corpsman adept in the job of hoisting litters and the entire operation is performed in rapid fashion."⁵⁷ The features had some news value,⁵⁸ but they provided little insight into the ongoing conflict. Moreover, despite their length, they contained no analysis and, particularly in the case of "Operation Floating Bull's-eye," were so positive in nature that they seemed to promote the military's actions in Korea.

Nightly television news began to air in March 1953, as part of a new CBC-TV program called *Tabloid* (Figure 2). In its first season, this half-hour show aired six days a week at 7:00 p.m. on CBLT and CBOT (Ottawa). Producer Ross McLean oversaw its eclectic mix of topics and formats, ranging from panel discussions to science demonstrations.⁵⁹ The only segment outside of his control was the news, which was Rugheimer's domain. Initially, because it was a segment of the show and not an independent program, the

⁵⁷ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 14 September 1952 by CBC, a CBC television news production, written by Harry Rasky and produced by Gunnar Rugheimer, ISN: 12089, LAC.

⁵⁸ The CBC defined the "news values" of film in this manner: "While every legitimate effort should be made to make visual the news for TV audiences, CBC policy regarding news as information and not entertainment must be recognized in both television and radio. Strict news values – significance, importance, public interest – must be placed first in the handling of film or other graphic material." See, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, "CBC News Directives and Style Guide" (June 1956), sec. 14.11, "News Values – Film."

⁵⁹ "News of the World on CBLT and CBFT," *CBC Times* 5, no. 34 (8-14 March 1953): 5; "Tabloid: Daily Actualities on CBC-TV," 3.

news varied from 10 to 12 minutes in length. When it came to deciding what items made it into the news on *Tabloid* and what to reserve for *CBC News Magazine*, Rugheimer saved the “colourful longer items” for the latter.⁶⁰ The lab that processed the film for the news was a fair distance from the studio where the CBC filmed *Tabloid*, making late additions tricky, but as Rugheimer explained, “thanks to good police co-operation, we always manage to get late news ready for the show.”⁶¹ The nightly news remained part of *Tabloid* until the CBC established a dedicated television news service in October.⁶² Its national newsroom, based in Toronto but separate from the CBLT newsroom, began operations with only 12 personnel late in 1953. Rugheimer was department head, while Hogg oversaw its establishment in his new role as Chief News Editor.⁶³ Its principal function was “[t]o produce a CBC National Television News Bulletin over all Canadian Television Stations.”⁶⁴ Before long, there was an “early edition” – a 15-minute bulletin that aired before *Tabloid* – and a “national edition” at 11:00 p.m.⁶⁵ The program continued to use newsreels, but combined the films with an on-camera role for announcer Larry Henderson (by 1960, Earl Cameron),⁶⁶ reading

⁶⁰ “Tabloid: Daily Actualities on CBC-TV,” 3.

⁶¹ Quoted in *ibid.*

⁶² CBC Press Service, news release, 13 October 1953, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 2), 1941-56 “News Programs, General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC; “‘Facts with Fun’ – Ross McLean’s Motto for ‘Tabloid,’” *CBC Times* 6, no. 28 (24-30 January 1954): 3.

⁶³ “National News Service Inaugurated for TV,” *CBC Times* 6, no. 16 (1-7 November 1953): 11. Documents in vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 2), 1941-56 “News Programs, General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC: CBC Press Service, news release, 13 October 1953; memo, Gunnar Rugheimer to Director of TV, Toronto, “DIVISION OF COSTS BETWEEN NATIONAL TV NEWS SERVICE AND TORONTO TV,” 7 October 1953.

⁶⁴ “NATIONAL TELEVISION NEWS SERVICE,” vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 2), 1941-56 “News Programs, General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁵ In addition, Larry Henderson replaced *Tabloid*’s Gil Christy in reading the news. Christy went on to become a producer with CBC-TV. See, “‘Facts with Fun’ – Ross McLean’s Motto for ‘Tabloid,’” *CBC Times* 6, no. 28 (24-30 January 1954): 3; Frank Stalley, “The Early Days of CBC Television News: An Announcer’s Perspective and Recollections,” in *Beyond the Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada’s Broadcast News Heritage / Au-delà de l’écrit: La patrimoine de la radio-télédiffusion des nouvelles au Canada*, ed. Richard Lohead, 128-40 (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1991), 129; Nash, *Prime Time at Ten*, 22.

⁶⁶ “behind the mike: Earl Cameron,” *CBC Times* 12, no. 29 (23-29 January 1960): 8.

headlines, introducing reports, and narrating silent films.⁶⁷ At the time, as Director of Programmes Charles Jennings explained, the CBC was “attempting to develop for our CBC Television News Service the same standards and reputation enjoyed by the CBC News Service in Sound – and we therefore feel that there must not be any over-lapping between the two departments (News – and Talks and Public Affairs). . . .”⁶⁸

Gil Christy⁶⁹ read the news on *Tabloid* on 31 March 1953. After reports on Dag Hammarskjöld’s appointment as secretary-general of the United Nations and food prices in Russia, Christy provided an update on the progress of the war in Korea. “The battle picture in Korea has radically changed,” he explained, as his image was replaced by a grainy, silent newsreel of artillery explosions and troops in tanks, paired with dramatic music. At no point did he mention Canadians. He said,

A few days ago, the Communists captured Old Baldy Hill on the road to Seoul.... Both sides suffered heavy casualties, but today, fighting on the front is at its lowest ebb in eight days. This could be tied up with the Chinese offer of exchanging prisoners and resuming peace talks. The pace of the battle, however, would have been slowed, in any case, by drenching spring rains and mud.... Here on the Old Baldy sector, today there was only one small action: a patrol clash between Americans and Chinese Communists. Other parts of the front were equally quiet.⁷⁰

The CBC likely purchased the newsreel from NBC, which was its main supplier of footage from Far East.⁷¹ Such a relationship meant greater access to films from around

⁶⁷ “Prize Pak,” *Radio-TV* 21, no. 5 (July-August 1965): 17-18.

⁶⁸ Memo, Jennings to General Manager and Assistant General Manager, “Talks and News on Television,” 8 March 1954, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 2), 1941-56, “News Programs, General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁹ Christy was “the first voice heard on CBLT” when it began broadcasting in September 1952. See, press release, “Gil Christy – Former Bowmanville Boy Idol of C.B.C. Viewers,” 10 March 1955, file “CHRISTY, GIL,” Biography files, CBCRL.

⁷⁰ *Tabloid*, first broadcast 31 March 1953 by CBC, a CBC television program, hosted by Dick MacDougal, news read by Gil Christy, and produced by Ross McLean, ISN: 172802, LAC. This newscast was reflective of the reporting about the Korean War at the time. According to David J. Bercuson, “If the Chinese attacked some recognizable and oft-fought-over feature such as Old Baldy, or Pork Chop Hill, or The Hook, or Little Gibraltar, the evening radio newscast might contain a few words. Otherwise the story was always the same: ‘The Korean front is “quiet”’....” See, Bercuson, *Blood on the Hills*, 193.

⁷¹ “First ‘Made in Canada’ Newsreel Service,” 5.

the world, but also those films (and consequently, the television news) did not always feature Canadians. In this respect, the use of American newsreels seemed to run counter to the Massey Commission's ambitions for television.⁷² Even with Canadian television news, Canadians still received American news – not only as supplements to Canadian reports, but in place of them and on subjects of national significance.



PA-169804

Figure 2. Interior of television studio during the filming of *Tabloid*. February 1954.

Source: Gar Lunney/National Film Board of Canada. Photothèque/Library and Archives Canada/PA-169804

Radio was not much better. Just four months after that newsreel aired, the war in Korea ended with an armistice. Canadians who turned to the CBC's radio networks for news of the breaking story heard a NBC program recorded in Panmunjom that

⁷² The Commission praised American television news and acknowledged that it might be "desirable to use appropriate American television programmes...." Nonetheless, it wrote, "Recalling the two chief objects of our national system of broadcasting, national unity and understanding ... we do not think that American programmes, with certain notable exceptions, will serve our national needs." See, Canada, *Report: Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences*, 47, 302.

commented on the agreement, which was followed by a NBC documentary about the war and the armistice. The reliance on NBC left some listeners frustrated, feeling that the coverage of this significant event was “too American.”⁷³

War’s end did not mean less attention to the military. There was some attention given to military history during this period. For example, CBC-TV rebroadcast the BBC documentary series *War in the Air*⁷⁴ and NBC-Radio Corporation of America series *Victory at Sea*.⁷⁵ The latter was a 26-episode miniseries based entirely on newsreels, propaganda films and similar footage shot by allies and enemies during the war. It was a lavish production that featured music by famed Broadway composer Richard Rogers and narration by actor Leonard Graves. The United States Navy partook in the production, with Captain Walter Karig acting as a technical advisor. Producer Henry Salomon and his writing partner Richard Hanser also consulted the Royal Canadian Navy, among others. While it did not overlook Canada’s contributions to the Allied cause, neither did it praise their efforts. Consider the episode titled “Design for War,”⁷⁶ for example. Over footage of merchant ships in harbour and at sea, Graves explained that while Canada was “quick to act with all her means,” she had little to offer. Canadians committed “converted yachts, the fishing fleet and, if they are lucky, a ship or two of the hard-pressed Royal Canadian Navy” to “makeshift convoys....”

⁷³ Teletype message, H.G. Walker to Charles Jennings, 27 July 1953, vol. 905, file PG 10-8 (pt. 1), “Korean News Coverage,” RG 41, LAC.

⁷⁴ The CBC “obtained first North American rights....” to air the program in March 1955. See, “‘War in the Air’ Starts on TV,” *CBC Times* 7, no. 37 (13-19 March 1955): 1.

⁷⁵ For more about the production, see Peter C. Rollins, “*Victory at Sea*: Cold War Epic,” in *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age*, ed. Gary Edgerton and Peter C. Rollins, 103-22 (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001).

⁷⁶ This episode aired on NBC on 26 October 1952, on CBLT on 28 December 1952, and on CBFT on 5 January 1953. See, *Victory At Sea*, produced by Henry Salomon and directed by M. Clay Adams. 1952; NBC and The History Channel, 2003. DVD; “‘Victory at Sea’ on Television,” *CBC Times* 5, no. 24 (28 December 1952 – 3 January 1953): 1 and 4.

Ultimately, the men who sailed in these convoys were “sustained cheaply by the knowledge that the sea is wide and the U-boats cannot cover every mile of every route. It’s a pitiful, feeble way of making war....”⁷⁷ It was rare criticism of the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) on CBC-TV.

There was no such criticism on the telecasts of the Royal Canadian Legion’s Remembrance Day services at the Cenotaph in Ottawa, which were among the few in-house CBC-TV productions to deal with the past. Televised ceremonies began airing live circa 1953, thanks to the newly-acquired CBOT-CBOFT mobile unit. The Ottawa mobile unit, like others already in use by the CBC elsewhere in Canada, had three television cameras and was capable of feeding both sound and film to its home station using a microwave transmitter.⁷⁸ In 1954, there was some discussion about having CBOT relay the coverage to the small microwave network once it reached the station. CBLT would then kinescope⁷⁹ the program for later broadcast by stations that were not yet connected to the network. Significantly, the telecast did not replace radio coverage. Instead, the ceremony aired on both media simultaneously.⁸⁰

The telecasts from the 1950s stressed the personal nature of remembrance. For example, in 1954, over footage of the Cenotaph, the unseen narrator explained that

⁷⁷ “Design For War,” *Victory At Sea*, produced by Henry Salomon and directed by M. Clay Adams. 1952; NBC and The History Channel, 2003. DVD.

⁷⁸ Report, “CBOT-CBOFT MOBILE UNIT,” vol. 86, file 3-12-2 (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC. Its use in recording the Remembrance Day ceremony from 1955 was detailed here: memo, T.F. Benson to Manager CBO-CBOT (Ottawa), “Remembrance Day Service – November 11th,” 2 November 1955, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC.

⁷⁹ Gordon Glynn explained that the kinescope was an imperfect technology: it was a “very bad system of filming at television screen. At the time, it was the only way of making a record of what appeared on television that in fact didn’t originate as film. In fact, kinescope is film, but it is film taken from a television monitor and in those days it was the only way to record a program....” Interview of Glynn by Hallam, R9336-0-6-E, LAC.

⁸⁰ Teletype message, C.P. Wright to A.E. Powley, 21 October 1954, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC; *CBC Times* 9, no. 18 (11-17 November 1956): 1.

“[w]e have only to think of those we knew and loved short years ago – a husband, a son, a daughter – and we realize, as we stand here, that we are more than citizens of a great country. We are a family and we visit this morning with the spirit of brother and sister Canadians who have died.”⁸¹ The immediacy of the war also made such broadcasts immensely significant for CBC audiences. For that reason, they subjected the programs to careful scrutiny. For instance, one listener complained that the announcer on the radio broadcast of the ceremonies from 1954 made a “glaring mistake,” calling the cross worn by bereaved mothers a “Silver Star” and implying that it was a decoration. “Our little silver cross is all we have,” she wrote poignantly.⁸² In his response, the Assistant to the Director of Programs in Ottawa explained that most likely “the commentator did not know....”⁸³

The Legion’s relationship with the CBC went beyond organizing the ceremonies at the Cenotaph, which the CBC broadcast. CBC-TV also aired programs advertising the Legion’s work, like *The Long Silence*, which the Legion produced in partnership with the Department of Veterans Affairs and Crawley Films Canada. It aired on CBOT on 11 November 1955. The film, which explained the value of the work done by the Legion, was both a tribute to veterans and a plea for support for its Poppy Funds. For instance, as viewers saw a montage of trains racing across the prairies, steel workers and ships, followed by film of a veteran in hospital, the narrator said:

⁸¹ *Remembrance Day*, first broadcast 1954 by CBC, a CBC mobile television production, ISN: 2471B, LAC. The ceremony from the following year was very much the same. *Remembrance Day*, first broadcast 11 November 1955 by CBC, a CBC special events feature, narrated by Bruce Rogers and Lamont Tilden, and produced by Pierre Normandin, ISN: 295211, LAC.

⁸² Joan Norman to The Director, C.B.C., 12 November 1954, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC.

⁸³ MacDonald to Norman, 18 November 1954, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC. For another example, see documents from vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC: John William Griffin to A.D. Dunton, 15 November 1954; Dunton to Griffin, 22 November 1954.

Maybe they didn't think of it that way, but they were fighting for the future of Canada, and the National War Memorial, standing tall in the heart of the capital city, symbolizes the gratitude and honour we owe and freely give to those who fought and died for our freedom. But no matter how heroically conceived, a monument of bronze and granite cannot help the brave men who returned with broken, war-torn bodies or the wives and children of those who did not return. For these and for the many who have suffered in different ways from the far-reaching legacies of war, there is another symbol: the poppy. Because for them, it stands for the year-in-year-out help and comfort of the Canadian Legion.⁸⁴

On programs of its own creation, CBC-TV in the mid-1950s prioritized the Second World War.⁸⁵ For example, *CBC Newsmagazine* marked the anniversary of the Battle of Cassino ("one of World War II's most bitter battles"), as well as the tenth anniversaries of V-E Day and D-Day.⁸⁶ *Seven Days of Victory*, however, provided the most extensive coverage. This CBC public affairs production that marked the tenth anniversary of V-E Day combined commentary from Ralph Allen⁸⁷ with Lorne Greene's narration of the events as they unfolded in the last seven days of the war, supplemented by newsreels. The program ended with a statement that was remarkably sober, tempered by the realities of the Cold War and the ongoing limited wars, like the Korean conflict. "In honesty," Allen began,

⁸⁴ *The Long Silence*, first broadcast 11 November 1955 by CBC, presented by the Canadian Legion in cooperation with the Department of Veterans Affairs, and produced by Crawley Films Canada, ISN: 231348, LAC.

⁸⁵ There was more variety on radio. See, "VE Day – Ten Years After," *CBC Times* 7, no. 43 (8-14 May 1955): 1 and 3; *CBC Times* 7, no. 47 (5-11 June 1955): 8; *CBC Times* 6, no. 38 (4-10 April 1954): 1; "The Celebrations at Annapolis Royal," *CBC Times* 8, no. 4 (7-13 August 1955): 6; "The Sailors' Memorial – Radio & TV Plans," *CBC Times* 8, no. 3 (31 July – 6 August 1955): 9.

⁸⁶ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 16 May 1954 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 234498, LAC; *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 8 May 1955 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 234593, LAC; *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 6 June 1954 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 234500, LAC; Press release, "TV PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS...", 1 June 1954, vol. 919, file PG 18-31 (pt. 1), 1942-67, "SPECIAL BROADCASTS DIEPPE," RG 41, LAC.

⁸⁷ Andrew Ralph Allen was a gun-crew sergeant with the 30th Anti-Aircraft Battery from 1942 until his discharge in 1943. He spent the rest of the war as a war correspondent for the *Globe and Mail*. In the years that followed, he worked at *Maclean's* and the *Toronto Daily Star*. He also wrote fiction based on his wartime experiences, including the novels *Home Made Banners* (1946) and *The High White Forest* (1964). See, "Ralph Allen," in *Great Canadian War Stories*, ed. Muriel Whitaker, 193-94 (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2001), 193-94.

they didn't leave us the kind of world they had meant to leave us, or if they did, we who remain behind soon allowed it to begin going to waste. But they did leave us something far more than it seemed reasonable to hope for during the dark years of their travail: they did leave us a beachhead; they did leave freedom on its feet. They left it tough and infinitely healthier than it would have been if they had not intervened on freedom's side. They did leave us in business. If we can do so well for the next generation, perhaps we shall have done very well indeed.⁸⁸

Although these were among the most frank of any expressions about the legacy of the war heard on in-house CBC-TV productions during this period, Allen's candour did not amount to criticism. The war, it seemed, was still too close to be subjected to any serious reconsideration.

Such candour was even rarer on programs about the current state of the military. Throughout the early 1950s, CBC radio programs frequently discussed the new resources and roles of the military. Among them was William Herbert's 30-minute tour of the new destroyer-escort HMCS *Algonquin* that aired on the Trans-Canada network on 18 April 1953. It stressed the modernity of Canada's navy, saying that the *Algonquin* was a significant new addition to Canada's anti-submarine arsenal that was not only "a push-button instrument of marine warfare," but also had a soda fountain!⁸⁹ Also, Norman DePoe visited Canadian bases in Germany, England, France and Italy and presented reports for listeners of *CBC News Roundup*.⁹⁰ Like *This is My Job* and *How We Live*, the reports shared something of the lives of servicemen with Canadians. For

⁸⁸ *Seven Days of Victory*, first broadcast 8 May 1955 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, hosted by Ralph Allen and Lorne Greene, ISN: 110770, LAC.

⁸⁹ Quoted in, "Step Aboard H.M.C.S Algonquin With CBC Reporter Bill Herbert!" *CBC Times* 5, no. 39 (12-18 April 1953): 2.

⁹⁰ *CBC Times* 5, no. 49 (21-27 June 1953): 3.

the military, such programs offered a way to better inform Canadians about its work and establish a strong public image in the process.⁹¹

There were similar programs on television in 1954–6 that stressed the modernity of the forces and profiled the latest advances in warfare. At the time, there was growing concern that international bodies such as the UN receive adequate coverage on the CBC.⁹² This did not result in increased attention to Canada's international commitments on news reports about the military. Indeed, many made no mention of what Canadians were training and preparing for. Perhaps these international commitments went without saying, given the size of Canada's contributions, particularly to NATO in Europe, to which over 11,000 Canadians were committed by 1954.⁹³ However, neglect was also a likely result of problems that existed between NATO public relations and the CBC that made obtaining footage difficult at the best of times. CBC foreign correspondent Douglas LaChance explained that NATO was little help because "the old fear of the press lingers on to a point where even the offices of the public relations officers are out [of] bounds to the press unless after receiving telep[h]oned permission to enter you are escorted to them by a guard. (Someone later has to bring you back)." LaChance insisted that this was "indicative of a divorce of understanding which is bound to go on getting

⁹¹ Programs like these continued to be broadcast into the later 1950s. In 1956 alone, for example, the CBC broadcast programs about the building of HMCS *Bonaventure*, Bill Herbert's visit to the Pine Tree radar line, and a documentary called *Soldiers of the Queen*. See, "Arctic Series on 'Perspective' Features the Navy 'Frogmen,'" *CBC Times* 8, no. 39 (8-14 April 1956): 3; *CBC Times*, 8, no. 30 (5-11 February 1956): 1; "The Story of Army Week in British Columbia," *CBC Times* 8, no. 44 (13-19 May 1956): 8; "Hull 1,229," *CBC Times* 8, no. 50 (24-30 June 1956): 2.

⁹² See, for example, memo, Vincent Tovell to Frank Peers, "SPEECH BY THE HON. ALAN MACNAUGHTON," 9 April 1954, vol. 916, file PG 18-18, pt. 2, 1949-54, "United Nations Programs," RG 41, LAC.

⁹³ Order of the House of Commons No. 52, 28 February 1955, vol. 4, file "Defence - Army, 1952-56," MG 32 B-9, Gordon Churchill fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, MG 32 B-9, LAC].

NATO at best indifferent and at worst a positively irritated press.”⁹⁴ There were also technological impediments that prevented close cooperation. At the time, NATO relied on the US Information Agency and American Army signal corps cameramen with Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers, Europe, for film of its ceremonies and meetings, including those held by the Canadian delegation. All used 35mm film for sound-on-film recording, whereas the CBC used 16 mm (which was cheaper).⁹⁵ When, for instance, the CBC requested film of the special events marking NATO’s fifth anniversary, it received 3,000 feet of 35 mm film “too late for use.” The cost for the CBC to reduce it to a “useable size” would have been roughly \$500, at a time when it paid freelance cameramen as little as \$35 for 70 feet of edited film for the daily news and \$75 for 150 feet for *CBC Newsmagazine*, which was often more than enough for a feature. LaChance explained that, had the film had arrived on time, Rugheimer still “might not have used it” because of the cost.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Memo, Douglas P. LaChance to Charles Jennings, “NATO P.R. Facilities,” 28 May 1954, vol. 919, file PG 18-25, pt. 1, 1950-55, “SPECIAL EVENTS NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO),” RG 41, LAC.

⁹⁵ Ibid. The problem extended beyond events filmed by Americans to those filmed for US television. For instance, in 1954, there were few cameramen in Pakistan and Ceylon, and those whom CBC-TV located were filming in 35 mm for Americans. This complicated efforts to get film from the region where, it is worth noting, Canada’s military had been contributing to the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan since 1949. See, memo, Marcel Ouimet to Gunnar Rugheimer, “Television Coverage in Asia and France,” 7 April 1954, vol. 900, file PG10-1 (pt. 2), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC; United Nations, *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping*, 3rd edition (New York: United Nations, Department of Public Information, 1996), 703-4. For more about the use of 35 mm and 16 mm cameras for recording newsfilm, see Mike Conway, *The Origins of Television News in America: The Visualizers of CBS in the 1940s* (New York: Peter Lang, 2012), 271, 296.

⁹⁶ Memo, Douglas P. LaChance to Charles Jennings, “NATO P.R. Facilities,” 28 May 1954, vol. 919, file PG 18-25, pt. 1, 1950-55, “SPECIAL EVENTS NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO),” RG 41, LAC; memo, Gunnar Rugheimer to Assistant to Coordinator of Television, Ottawa, “Conditions of Payment for News Assignments to Private Stations and Freelancers,” 5 January 1954, vol. 900, file PG10-1 (pt. 2), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC; memo, D.J. Macdonald to W.H. Hogg, “Freelance Cameraman’s Fee for Shooting Newsmagazine Features,” 29 March 1956, vol. 906, file PG10-11 (pt. 2), “News. CBC News Contributor,” RG 41, LAC.

The most reliable way for the CBC to obtain footage of NATO activities was to film it itself. The RCAF proved invaluable in these efforts. In early 1955, for example, the RCAF flew Thom Benson and René Lévesque to Germany so that they might prepare features for radio and television about NATO.⁹⁷ The air force provided help under certain significant conditions. The RCAF made it clear that “Service air transport is being provided to enable you to obtain radio coverage of RCAF and Army units overseas.”⁹⁸ In the end, they shot roughly 3,500 feet of film, which appears to have been used on a CBC-TV documentary in September 1955, called *Patrol for Peace*. The CBC advertised it as “a film documentary on the everyday life of an R.C.A.F. jet pilot, Jerry Patterson, and his wife, stationed at Grostenquin in France.”⁹⁹

The surviving reports about the military on *CBC Newsmagazine* in 1954–6 that are considered here reviewed events staged by the military for the camera and possibly filmed by the forces, as well. The reasoning behind this relationship was captured in the newly-drafted article 19.375 (3) of the Queen’s Regulations (Army).¹⁰⁰ It read, “Since it is desirable that the public should be acquainted with conditions of life in the services

⁹⁷ Documents can be found in vol. 919, file PG 18-25 (pt. 1), 1950-55, “SPECIAL EVENTS NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO),” RG 41, LAC: A.E. Powley to R.V. Dodds, 5 January 1955; A.E. Powley to R.V. Dodds, 26 January 1955; memo, A.E. Powley to René Lévesque, “NATO Council,” 28 March 1955.

⁹⁸ Quoted in memo, A.E. Powley to Assistant Director of Programmes, Ottawa, “World Hockey Tournament & NATO Air Division,” 2 February 1955, vol. 919, file PG 18-25 (pt. 1), 1950-55, “SPECIAL EVENTS NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO),” RG 41, LAC.

⁹⁹ Teletype message, W.H. Hogg to M. Ouimet, N. DePoe and Thom Benson, 6 April 1955, vol. 919, file PG 18-25 pt. 1 1950-55, “SPECIAL EVENTS NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO),” RG 41, LAC; *CBC Times* 8, no. 10 (18-24 September 1955): 1.

¹⁰⁰ It came into effect in the spring of 1959. See, Memo, Naval Secretary to the Flag Officer Atlantic Coast, the Flag Officer Pacific Coast, the Commanding Officer Naval Divisions, Naval Member of the Canadian Joint Staff (London), and Naval Member of the Canadian Joint Staff (Washington), “Policy – Release of Information on Military Installations,” 15 April 1959, series 2 “Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press,” file 47, Directorate of Information Services fonds, 85/304, Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence, Ottawa [hereafter, 85/304, DHH]; Government of Canada, *The Queen’s Regulations and Orders for the Canadian Army*, vol. 1 (Administrative), “Issued under the authority of the National Defence Act” (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1959), article 19.375.

and local interest encouraged, commanders are authorized at their discretion to invite representatives of the local Press to visit their formations or units and to furnish them with such information in the nature of formation or unit news as they may consider suitable for the purpose.”¹⁰¹ They were not, however, permitted to discuss defence policy with the press. This article merely refined the longstanding regulations – namely, articles 19.36 and 19.37 – that required officers and men to obtain permission before publishing any writing or participating in a broadcast, in an effort to ensure that they did not disseminate controversial material or ideas that challenged government policy.¹⁰²

There was also a certain practicality to such arrangements. The CBC Newsreel Service had access to the services of nearly 180 cameramen – freelance and staff – by 1956. Together, they could cover most of the events staged by the military, so long as they were planned in advance. Silent cameras, like the Pathé Webbo Super 16 mm, used “spring-wound motors” and were light enough that they could be carried by one man. Nonetheless, television struggled to cover breaking news for years to come, if only because the few cameramen available were not at the site of the action. The situation only worsened with the introduction of portable cameras capable of “synchronized sound recording,” which were heavy and required a sound operator. Planned events made sense under these circumstances.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Memo, Judge Advocate General Brigadier W.J. Lawson to the Minister of Defence, “Disclosure of Information,” 9 December 1955, series 1 “Canada Defence Policy,” file 32, 85/304, DHH.

¹⁰² See for example, Government of Canada, *The Queen’s Regulations and Orders for the Canadian Army*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1952), articles 19.36 and 19.37; draft memo, Ralph O. Campney to Deputy Minister, Chairman of the Defence Research Board, Chiefs of Staff and Chairman, “Public Statements,” 16 June 1955, file 32, 85/304, DHH.

¹⁰³ “‘A Public Trust’ – the CBC News Service Is 15 Years Old This Week,” *CBC Times* 8, no. 25 (30 December 1955 – 6 January 1956): 2; National Archives of Canada / Archives nationales du Canada, *Beyond the printed word: ...newsreel and broadcast reporting in Canada / Au-delà de l’écrit: ...actualités filmées et reportages radio et télé diffusés au Canada* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1988), 328; “CBC IS 20 YEARS OLD,” *CBC Times* 13, no. 27 (7-13 January 1961): 8; George Frajkor, “The Changing Technology of TV News,” in *Beyond the Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada’s*

The principal forum for newsreels about military efforts was *CBC Newsmagazine*, which by 1954 was maintaining strong ratings.¹⁰⁴ On 24 January, it gave viewers a tour of “HMCS Royal Roads” in Victoria, BC, that was an enthusiastic endorsement of the school for “Canada’s future defenders.” Over footage of the students at work in science laboratories, the narrator explained that the education was first-class. “Tomorrow’s pilot conducts an experiment,” he said, “but there’s actually nothing in the picture to distinguish him from a budding doctor, radio engineer, soldier or sailor.”¹⁰⁵ In February, *CBC Newsmagazine* profiled more new recruits in its report on the RCAF auxiliary to the Downsview Squadron based at No. 2 Group Headquarters in Toronto. “This is the story of the men who keep the planes flying,” the narrator explained. It profiled the “boys” who trained to be aeroengine technicians. The feature emphasized their skill and the advanced technology of the Vampires they were learning to repair. The narrator said, “The eyes and ears of a modern fighter are the numerous instruments that cover the dashboard of its cockpit – delicate pieces of equipment that require careful handling by men who have a sense of craft and precision. Some instruments, like the artificial horizon, are keener sense organs than the human brain.”¹⁰⁶ Only the rapid progress in servicemen’s skills matched these dramatic advancements in technology.

The fighting abilities of the servicemen were the subjects of films from May and September. In May, *CBC Newsmagazine* presented footage of a mock army battle at

Broadcast News Heritage / Au-delà de l’écrit: La patrimoine de la radio-télédiffusion des nouvelles au Canada, ed. Richard Lohead, 162-67 (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1991), 163; interview of Jackson by Eaman, R9336-0-6-E, LAC.

¹⁰⁴ Memo, G. Rugheimer to Co-ordinator of TV, Ottawa, “NEWSMAGAZINE,” 15 June 1954, vol. 907, file PG 10-17, pt. 1 1954-59, “News. CBC News Magazine,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁰⁵ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 24 January 1954 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 234484, LAC.

¹⁰⁶ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 7 February 1954 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 234476, LAC.

“Petawawa military camp in Ontario.” It was “the first citizen’s armed forces visit,” where the forces invited Canadians to view an exercise that highlighted their advanced equipment and their skills. The action began with an attack by 25-pounders on the infantry, who were led into action by Sherman tanks. Attacks with flamethrowers and mortars followed. “The demonstration is designed to show battle procedure in an attack of this type, including the employment of support weapons and infantry-tank cooperation,” said the narrator.¹⁰⁷ With the ground demonstration completed, it was time for the paratroopers of 1st Battalion, Royal Canadian Regiment to showcase their talents. *CBC Newsmagazine*’s 12 September tour of the Canadian Army Engineers camp near Farnham, Quebec, was much the same in tone and content. The nearly 2,000 cadets were seen doing drill, working on trucks, driving as part of a convoy and laying the wire for a field telephone along the road they travelled. The report ended with footage of the cadets eating at the cookhouse and the narrator insisting that, after seven weeks in the camp, “the boys have learned many things that will stand them in good stead, whether in time of peace or time of crisis.”¹⁰⁸

Stories produced in 1955 began to hint at the purpose of all of this training and equipment, without breaking the veneer of positive, whitewashed even, narratives about war and military life. The 5 June episode of *CBC Newsmagazine* focused on the RCAF flying club at Rockcliffe, Ontario. After discussing the flying instruction offered by the club, the narrator described what the future held for the students who earned their private pilot certificates. He said RCAF flying clubs were “part of Canada’s economic

¹⁰⁷ *CBC Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 23 May 1954 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 218659, LAC.

¹⁰⁸ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 12 September 1954 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 216352, LAC.

development and they will play an important role in her national security and defence. Future pilots to open Canada's far north will probably be trained here. Some airmen have re-enlisted in the RCAF as aircrew and the clubs have offered their services to the Canadian Civil Defence organization."¹⁰⁹ A similar hint was offered by the story from 6 November about the christening of HMCS *St. Laurent*. It was a ship of "radical design: the navy's answer to atomic age submarine warfare," the narrator explained. Among the many features he listed were the ship's "flared bows" which were "rounded to shed radioactive water." As silent footage of Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent speaking at its commissioning played, the narrator said, "[I]t is a great moment" for the captain of the *St. Laurent*, "the youngest and most modern of Canada's ships."¹¹⁰

CBC Newsmagazine reported on innovations in nuclear warfare with similar optimism in 1956. The episode from 12 August featured a story by Kingsley Brown about "Exercise Morningstar" – a joint air force, navy and army war game at Camp Gagetown, New Brunswick. Narrator Rex Loring explained that this was the first war game in Canada to deal with "nuclear tactics." Newsreel footage of the exercise showed simulated combat, complete with T-33 jets flying overhead and an attack on paratroopers who dropped "deep into 'Blue Land' territory" to assist the "Fantasia" forces. Triumphant music followed the sounds of gunfire and a soldier yelling "Fire!"¹¹¹ The report avoided discussion of the gruesome realities of nuclear warfare, which also

¹⁰⁹ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 5 June 1955 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 234776, LAC.

¹¹⁰ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 6 November 1955 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 224168, LAC.

¹¹¹ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 12 August 1956 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Rex Loring, and edited by Jean Pouliot and Ronald Hallam, ISN: 224297, LAC.

seemed to be ignored by those who designed the exercise.¹¹² At one point, the soldiers on the “Fantasia” side flared out, “so they won’t provide a nuclear target” – the presumption being that a nuclear attack killed only on a direct hit. Loring concluded, “No winner was declared in the war games, but of Exercise Morningstar itself, the army says it fulfilled its purpose by teaching the First Infantry Division the elementary lessons of warfare.”¹¹³ The importance of such lessons went without saying.¹¹⁴ Programs such as these did educate the public about the military’s new roles, but were selective in their lessons.

The “golden age” was short-lived, ending almost as quickly as it had begun. It was “golden” for the military because programs produced by CBC-TV between 1952 and 1956 were either uncritical or supportive of new military roles, technology and training. The views expressed grew from their production contexts. The lack of debate or even critical analysis of defence issues, in part, reflected the conformism and consensus of the early Cold War. Censorship and guidelines issued by DND shaped the coverage of the Korean War. The military influenced – if not, designed – reports featured on *CBC Newsmagazine* as well, by staging and sometimes providing film of events. The Legion did the same, by organizing ceremonies such as the Remembrance Day services at the Cenotaph in Ottawa, which CBC radio and television broadcast, and by producing their

¹¹² The leaders of Canada’s NATO brigade “discounted radiation’s effects, if they knew them....” J.L. Granatstein, *Canada’s Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 348.

¹¹³ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 12 August 1956 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Rex Loring, and edited by Jean Pouliot and Ronald Hallam, ISN: 224297, LAC.

¹¹⁴ In 1956, *Newsmagazine* and the CBC National TV News produced similar items about Fort Churchill, Kirkland Lake, and winter training. See memo, L.H. Chambers to Andrew Cowan, “News Stockshots – Canadian Army,” 3 July 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

own Remembrance Day programming for CBC-TV. Although the Talks and Public Affairs Department encouraged debate, there was no effort to challenge or rethink Canada's part during the Second World War during these years. Indeed, the only criticism appeared, not on an in-house production, but on the American documentary, *Victory at Sea*. Likewise, though the CBC National News Service prohibited "bias," "distortion," or "tendentious comment" in its reports, it nonetheless broadcast praise of military efforts. Moreover, *CBC Newsmagazine* reports contained little critical analysis, despite their length. The television news service contracted freelance "camera-reporters," hired a staff cameraman, but also obtained newsreels from the forces, as well as from American, British and European sources. The reliance on these newsreels meant that these services – foreign or military – shaped the content of the newscasts. Finally, strained relations between NATO public relations and the press, combined with CBC-TV's decision to use 16 mm film as its standard made it expensive and difficult to obtain newsfilm of NATO's activities. It was this combination of technologies, personalities, policies, programs and circumstances that determined the content of television programs in 1952–6. While uncritical and supportive coverage of the military continued after 1956, this was no longer the dominant approach. It was increasingly mixed with an emerging current of more critical treatment on in-house CBC-TV programs.

Chapter 2: Peril, Fear and Horror, 1956–1959

Between 1956 and 1959, there emerged a new current of more critical treatment on in-house CBC-TV programs with military subjects. This was not only the result of planned changes within the CBC or DND, but also a series of responses to international events, chiefly the Suez crisis and mounting international concern about the proliferation of nuclear weapons. There were four broad responses to these developments on CBC-TV news and public affairs programs. First, the events of the Suez crisis unfolded so rapidly that they caused CBC-TV to push forward a long-considered change in the way it presented the news – namely, the increased use of radio correspondents on the television news. Their reports were more analytical and critical than those recorded by freelance cameramen and written by CBC newsrooms in earlier years. Second, there was new and increasingly frank discussion about Canada's defence policy, particularly the country's readiness to face a nuclear attack. Third, as a reaction to the nuclear threat, there was a fear of war that permeated CBC-TV programs. Finally, reflective of these contemporaneous concerns, there was attention paid to Canada's military contributions to NORAD, NATO and the UN. History and commemorative programs – likely reacting to the many of the same concerns, as well as reflecting historiographical developments and changes in the way audiences perceived past wars – underwent a transformation of their own. Gradually, nostalgia gave way to an emphasis on the horrors of war. Yet, CBC-TV was not reckless with its criticism of defence policy, the forces, or military history. In part, its self-restraint reflected its internal policies and the tenor of the national dialogue on the military and its history. However, the special relationship between the CBC and those bodies charged with the defence of Canada –

the military and the Department of National Health and Welfare principal among them – was also influential. The Corporation faced special scrutiny from the forces because they were partners in matters of civil defence and collaborated on programs about the forces. Nonetheless, the combination of peril, fear and horror that characterized this period signalled the end of the “golden age” of CBC-TV programming for the military.

Between 1952 and the fall of 1956, *News magazine* relied heavily on silent newsreel footage shot by “camera-reporters” and foreign newsreel services, rather than reports filmed in partnership with the CBC’s foreign correspondents. When it came time to renew the contracts of the correspondents resident in London, Paris, Washington and New York for 1954, Director of Programmes Charles Jennings explained their role thusly:

the reports made by these correspondents, (Mathew Halton in London, Douglas Lachance [*sic*] in Paris, Peter Stursberg at the United Nations in New York, and James Minifie in Washington) make a very important contribution to news and talks [radio] programmes such as CBC News Roundup, Capital Report and International Commentary. They also act as our liaison in setting up occasional panel discussion programmes and in making arrangements for television news material.¹

They did not, however, produce much content for television. The previous year, LaChance, Halton, Stursberg and Minifie contributed between 126 and 234 items for radio. In preparing the workload for the correspondents, Chief News Editor W.H. Hogg explained that “[t]he big question that remains is what demands will we want to make upon the correspondents for television. As far as we can tell, they will be negligible in the straight news field....” He forecast that each might be expected to contribute

¹ Memo, Charles Jennings to General Manager and Assistant General Manager, “CBC Correspondents Abroad,” 23 March 1954, vol. 906, file PG 10-11 (pt. 1), 1953-55, “News. CBC News Contributor,” RG 41, LAC.

between four and thirty items per year.² In the end, LaChance and Halton each made three contributions, Minifie six and Stursberg two over the course of 1954.³

In the mid-1950s, the most desirable beat for foreign correspondents was the Middle East. The rise to power of the nationalist Egyptian President Gamal Abd al-Nasser and his subsequent disputes with Israel dramatically increased journalists' fascination with the region. For instance, in August 1955, Stursberg proposed to travel to the region to report on the changes for CBC radio and TV. Hogg turned him down, in part because the region was already being covered well on radio and television by the likes of freelance journalist⁴ Harry Rasky and "a cameraman named Lazarus," who travelled to Israel earlier in 1955. Among their planned reports was a feature about the country for *Newsmagazine* and an interview with Maj.-Gen. Eedson Louis Millard Burns,⁵ who was the Canadian head officer of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), which Canada joined in 1954.⁶

Interest in the region only increased when, in the fall of 1956, Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal – a vital route for transport and trade. Israel responded by attacking Egypt, in defiance of calls for calm from Major-General Burns. The attack threatened to

² Memo, W.H. Hogg to Director of Programs and Supervisor of Talks & Public Affairs, "CBC Correspondents – Work Load," 1 March 1954, vol. 906, file PG 10-11 (pt. 1), 1953-55, "News. CBC News Contributor," RG 41, LAC.

³ Memo, W.H. Hogg to Director of Programs, "Correspondents' Retainers – 1955-56," 27 January 1955, vol. 906, file PG 10-11 (pt. 1), 1953-55, "News. CBC News Contributor," RG 41, LAC.

⁴ CBC-TV news relied on newsreel services and freelancers it sent to the region because, as Hogg explained, "you would find it impossible to get Auricon equipment for sound-on-film work in most if not all Middle East cities, even including Cairo. We have the odd stringer in the area, but am informed that they cannot be entrusted with any major film assignment." Memo, W.H. Hogg to Peter Stursberg, "Proposed Trip to Middle East," 8 August 1955, vol. 906, file PG 10-11 (pt. 2), "News. CBC News Contributor," RG 41, LAC.

⁵ Ibid.; Teletype message, W.H. Hogg to Charles Jennings, 16 March 1955, vol. 907, file PG 10-17 (pt. 1), 1954-59, "News. CBC News Magazine," RG 41, LAC.

⁶ UNTSO was the world's first peacekeeping operation. It was established in 1948 to supervise the truce that followed the Arab-Israeli war. Its work continues today. United Nations, *The Blue Helmets*, 17, 691-92.

escalate into an international conflict because Egypt and Israel were engaged in an arms race at the time, their weapons supplied by the Soviet Union and the West, respectively. On news of the Israeli attack, Britain and France responded by calling for an immediate ceasefire or else they would intervene with force. Egypt rejected the ultimatum and the Anglo-French forces attacked on 31 October. All-out war seemed inevitable. In response, the UN passed a motion proposed by Canadian Lester B. Pearson, laying the groundwork for a United Nations force to restore peace.⁷ On 4 November, CBC-TV aired an address by Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent about the situation. With a calm and steady voice, St. Laurent told viewers that the “Canadian government is ready to recommend Canadian participation in such a United Nations Force if it is to be established and if it is thought that Canada could play a useful role.”⁸

Table 1. Voice reports about Suez used on television newscasts between 31 October and 6 November 1956.

	<u>31 Oct</u>	<u>1 Nov.</u>	<u>2 Nov.</u>	<u>3 Nov.</u>	<u>5 Nov.</u>	<u>6 Nov.</u>
Fraser	1:14			1:12		
Keatley	2:03		1:02			1:07
LaChance	1:06				2:07	0:22
Lynch		0:46	0:42	1:50	0:44	0:55
McKenzie		0:58		1:03	0:55	
Minifie			0:46			
Safer						1:15
Wasserman	1:00	1:05	1:52			0:46

Source: Data from Report, Craig Armstrong, “LIAISON – RADIO AND T.V. NEWS,” 9 November 1956, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 3), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

For its coverage of the drama unfolding in New York, CBC-TV relied on newsreels from NBC, the BBC,⁹ and the UN. The UN even offered a 45-minute newsreel of the

⁷ United Nations, *Blue Helmets*, 35-37.

⁸ *Address by Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent*, first broadcast 4 November 1956 by CBC, ISN: 294649, LAC.

⁹ Report, Craig Armstrong, “LIAISON – RADIO AND T.V. NEWS,” 9 November 1956, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 3), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

proceedings in the Security Council that could be cut for the news or played in its entirety.¹⁰ Viewers appreciated these efforts. “That the CBC could spend hours doing this, abandoning planned programming at short notice, is a tribute to its very being,” one faithful viewer wrote.¹¹ More remarkable were the ways in which the Suez Crisis challenged and ultimately changed the CBC News Service. First, this crisis and the Hungarian revolt of the same year¹² prompted Rugheimer’s return to the television news service to set up its first overseas bureau, located in London, thereby improving the CBC’s access to breaking news.¹³ Second, Suez changed the way news was gathered and presented on CBC-TV. As Craig Armstrong explained,

it was felt the immediacy of news could not be covered adequately by film because of delays in getting film from out-of-town news centres. In this period, television news required more voice reports and actuality of the kind normally collected by the radio newsroom for use in News Roundup and in regular news bulletins.

To facilitate the availability of such voice and actuality reports for TV news, an editor in the Central Newsroom (Radio) was freed from his normal duties, and made available to handle voice reports for T.V. news and liaison between the two newsrooms.¹⁴

During these tense days, the correspondents had more television airtime than previously, providing “voice reports” on the breaking news. Take the case of the broadcast from 6 November, which used seven such reports, including five items from correspondents about the situation in Suez (Table 1). Some of these reports were presented using what Armstrong described as a “relatively new” production style. That

¹⁰ Teletype message, V. Tovell to W.H. Hogg, 24 September 1956, vol. 254, file 11-39-13 (pt. 19), “PROGRAMS – TALKS ‘UNITED NATIONS’ GENERAL,” RG 41, LAC.

¹¹ “Letters,” *CBC Times* 9, no. 25 (30 December 1956 – 5 January 1957): 8.

¹² Hungarians staged a “full-scale rebellion, not just against their own communists, but against the Soviet Union itself” in the fall of 1956. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev responded by sending in troops to “crush the rebellion.” See, John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 108-109.

¹³ Don Macdonald, “The Evolution of CBC Television News and Current Affairs,” in *The Evolution of Canada’s Broadcast News Heritage / Au-delà de l’écrit: La patrimoine de la radio-télédiffusion des nouvelles au Canada*, ed. Richard Lohead, 197-205 (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1991), 201.

¹⁴ Report, Craig Armstrong, “LIAISON – RADIO AND T.V. NEWS,” 9 November 1956, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 3), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

is, they paired a new voice report with old film. As Armstrong explained, this allowed them to “give the immediate report and a background film report at the same time.”¹⁵

The content of the news was noteworthy for other reasons, as well. Consider for example the episode of *Newsmagazine* that aired on 25 November. In a report prepared early in the week, reporter Kingsley Brown spoke at length about the “fine-looking troops” Canada was planning to ferry to Egypt aboard HMCS *Magnificent*.¹⁶ Following the report, as film continued to play of the troops lining up to receive paperwork necessary for their departure, announcer Rex Loring explained that the Queen’s Own Rifles was no longer being sent overseas. He called it “an ironic twist for the country that had fathered the police force idea.” For Nasser, the regiment, given its name and heritage, was interchangeable with the British they were trying to remove from Suez.¹⁷ Significantly, *Newsmagazine* did not mention these objections.¹⁸ Instead, Loring said that “Nasser had complained, among other things, about the proposed export of Canadian Sabre jets to Israel.” This was a significant statement. Given that this relationship with Israel prevented the “polished and disciplined” Canadian troops from participating in the UN Emergency Force (UNEF I), which was also described in

¹⁵ Ibid. The impact of the crisis on the development of the news service was hinted at here, “Crisis Coverage Reflects CBC News Scope,” *CBC Times* 11, no. 8 (31 August – 6 September 1958): 2.

¹⁶ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 25 November 1956 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Rex Loring, and edited by Walter Brode, George Domnas, Ronald Hallam and Jean Pouliot, ISN: 224312, LAC.

¹⁷ Lieutenant-General E.L.M. Burns, *Between Arab and Israeli* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1962), 209.

¹⁸ The impact of Pearson’s proposal for Anglo-Canadian relations was also ignored. See, *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 11 November 1956 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Rex Loring, and edited by Jean Pouliot and Ronald Hallam, ISN: 224310, LAC; *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 19 November 1956 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Earl Cameron, ISN: 230049, LAC.

positive terms, Loring's statement had clear negative connotations. Thus, it was one of the first criticisms of defence policy on the surviving news reports about the military.¹⁹

After some delicate negotiation, Egypt accepted Canadians into UNEF, providing logistical and administrative support.²⁰ In the months and years that followed, CBC correspondents were a source of information on UNEF's progress. Among them, Paris correspondent Douglas LaChance,²¹ who made regular trips to Italy and Germany, reported on NATO,²² and covered some of the biggest stories that broke in the Middle East and North Africa.²³ For instance, in May 1957, he visited a RCAF UNEF staging centre at Naples to film a feature for *News magazine*.²⁴ Correspondents who travelled to the Middle East received help from DND. In January 1957, the Director of Public Relations (Army), Lt.-Col. H. Stewart advised the CBC that the RCAF was authorized to transport "correspondents accredited to cover Canadian Army and Royal Canadian Air Force activities in the Middle East..." However, they would only take them as far as Naples, leaving them to scrounge for their own transport into Egypt. Once there, the correspondents were not to expect much support by way of free lodgings or food, for example, because of the "very limited facilities."²⁵

¹⁹ *News magazine*, first broadcast 25 November 1956 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Rex Loring, and edited by Walter Brode, George Domnas, Ronald Hallam and Jean Pouliot, ISN: 224312, LAC.

²⁰ Ibid.; Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, 346; Burns, *Between Arab and Israeli*, 214.

²¹ J.M. Beaudet to H.W. Hogg [sic], 20 August 1957, vol. 176, file 11-17-8-4, "LACHANCE, Douglas (Paris Correspondent)," RG 41, LAC.

²² Documents from vol. 176, file 11-17-8-4, "LACHANCE, Douglas (Paris Correspondent)," RG 41, LAC: K.P. Brown to Don Macdonald, 27 March 1957; LaChance to W.H. Hogg, 14 May 1957; W.H. Hogg to LaChance, 24 May 1957.

²³ Heather Wilson, "Time out for Understanding," *CBC Times* 12, no. 25 (26 December 1959 – 1 January 1960): 27.

²⁴ Teletype message, C.G. Gunning to M. Ouimet, 10 May 1957, vol. 176, file 11-17-8-4, "LACHANCE, Douglas (Paris Correspondent)," RG 41, LAC.

²⁵ Lt.-Col. H. Stewart to B. MacDonald, 25 January 1957, vol. 906, file PG 10-11 (pt. 3), "News. CBC News Contributor." RG 41, LAC.

There were other concerns correspondents had to bear in mind, among them restrictions on the freedom of the press. As Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart explained, “Correspondents will be required to conform with Egyptian and UNEF regulations regarding censorship and transmission of copy. The Canadian Army is not permitted to provide any means of press communications.”²⁶ The latter instruction was stricter than the usual regulations governing the release of information to the press. Indeed, the Queen’s Regulations did not prevent officers or men from communicating with the press. It merely required that they obtain permission before doing so.²⁷ For instance, instructions issued to the navy in September 1958 that designated what type of information was considered “On the record,” for “Limited attribution,” “Non-attributable,” or “Not usable” by the press did not prohibit the communication of even the most sensitive matters. Even the strength of the forces in a particular theatre could be revealed to the press, if the “Service Department concerned” was amenable.²⁸

For its part, the army appears to have relaxed the embargo on press communications from its troops with UNEF by 1958, by which time Lieut. Harry Norris established an Army Public Relations unit with the Canadians in UNEF. According to Jack Craine (Supervisor of Programs, Armed Forces Service), Lieutenant Norris was

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ See, Government of Canada, *The Queen’s Regulations and Orders for the Canadian Army*, vol. 1 (Administrative), “Issued under the authority of the National Defence Act” (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1952), articles 19.36 and 19.37; Government of Canada, *The Queen’s Regulations and Orders for the Royal Canadian Navy*, vol. 1 (Administrative), “Issued under the authority of the National Defence Act” (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1952), articles 19.36 and 19.37; memo, Minister to Chiefs of Staff, “Public Statements,” 16 June 1955, series 1 “Canada Defence Policy,” file 32, 85/304, DHH.

²⁸ C.A.F.O. 96, “SECURITY AND SECURITY – PRESS INTERVIEWS (M./CN.I. 1022/52/ E.F.O. 398/58 – 26 Sept. 1958.), series 2 “Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press,” file 47, 85/304, DHH.

planning to have “a portable ampex [videotape recorder²⁹] with him in Egypt and he is quite anxious to do the occasional story, either news or feature, for the CBC.”³⁰ In addition, the military was partly responsible for what was apparently the only television documentary about Canada’s role in UNEF. Called the *Thin Blue Line*, it aired on CBC-TV in May. Capt. George Acland was its director, Sgt. Ken Ferguson (RCAF) the cameraman, and Wally Hewitson of the NFB its producer. The film stressed the positive influence of one Canadian officer, in particular. “A tense physical peace had been restored, and has since been maintained,” the advertisement assured, “thanks mainly to UNEF and its Canadian commander, Lieutenant-General E. L. M. Burns.”³¹

Canadian officers serving in the Middle East were also giving interviews on camera in 1958. *News magazine* aired one such interview about the United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL) on 10 August. UNOGIL received a mandate in June 1958 to patrol the border between Lebanon and Syria, ensuring, as the UN put it, that no “illegal infiltration of personnel or supply of arms” occurred.³² Among the group of 200 were roughly 15 Canadians³³ whom Prime Minister John Diefenbaker reluctantly agreed to contribute to UNOGIL after popular pressure forced his hand. After Pearson received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957³⁴ for his part in resolving the Suez crisis, many Canadians converted to the gospel of peacekeeping.³⁵ Significantly, CBC-TV news

²⁹ See, Alexander B. Magoun, *Television: The Life Story of a Technology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2009), 130-32.

³⁰ Memo, Craine to John MacRae, “Army Public Relations in Middle East,” 17 October 1958, vol. 906, file PG 10-11 (pt. 4), “News. CBC News Contributor,” RG 41, LAC.

³¹ “All Quiet on the Thin Blue Line,” *CBC Times* 10, no. 45 (18-24 May 1958): 12.

³² United Nations, *Blue Helmets*, 701.

³³ *News magazine*, first broadcast 10 August 1958 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Frank Stalley, edited by Walter Brode, Don Evraire, Michael Maclear and Morley Safer, and produced by Richard Ballentine, ISN: 20880, LAC.

³⁴ CBC covered the ceremony on its Trans-Canada and Dominion networks. See, *CBC Times* 10, no. 22 (8-14 December 1957): 12.

³⁵ Granatstein, *Canada’s Army*, 347.

programs did not reflect this new faith. The *Newsmagazine* feature from August 1958 was a good example. Over silent footage of UN border patrols, announcer Frank Stalley said “the UN observer is no more keeping the peace than the customs official watching for American cigarettes at Niagara Falls.” The report prepared by correspondent Donald Gordon during his visit to El Kah reiterated this complaint. Gordon interviewed Capt. A.J. Rasmussen of Toronto, who explained the difficulties faced by the UN. “Well, everyone has arms,” Captain Rasmussen said. “Every ... male over 10 years, pretty well, carries a weapon.... You’ve got to physically see something in order to report it.”³⁶

There was similar criticism of peacekeeping in a report prepared by LaChance for *Newsmagazine*, broadcast on 12 April 1959. It included an interview with Lt.-Col. Paul Bertrand of Montreal, who was serving with UNTSO. Lieutenant-Colonel Bertrand stood in front of a UN truck, LaChance just outside the field of view. Only LaChance’s microphone was visible as he asked, “would you see if one side or the other were building up to make a massive attack on the other?” Lieutenant-Colonel Bertrand replied, “Well, that’s a very difficult question to answer. However, one thing I would know is that if there was any building up in the defensive area where each party is supposed to have only a certain amount of troops and equipment.”³⁷ If UNTSO could not even be sure that there was no massive arms build-up underway beyond the “defensive area,” how could it hope to supervise the truce?

³⁶ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 10 August 1958 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Frank Stalley, edited by Walter Brode, Don Evraire, Michael Maclear and Morley Safer, and produced by Richard Ballentine, ISN: 20880, LAC.

³⁷ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 12 April 1959 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Rex Loring, edited by Walter Brode, Don Evraire and Morley Safer, and produced by John Lant, ISN: 23411, LAC.

The military was in the process of adopting article 19.375 (2) of the Queen's Regulations around the time that this report aired.³⁸ The article stated, "In fleet establishments, commands, areas, groups, stations and units communications to the Press may be made by the headquarters concerned when they affect only the formation or unit and do not purport to enunciate, defend or criticize service, departmental or government policy."³⁹ To that end, the Naval Secretary released a policy statement in April 1959, advising officers to answer questions about national defence policy by saying, "That is not within the scope of my activity" or "That is a matter of policy for which I am not responsible and I, therefore, do not feel free to discuss it."⁴⁰ Important as this reiteration of established practise was, it could not prevent officers from seeming to criticize defence policy in the press. Interviews, like those conducted by Gordon and LaChance for *Newsmagazine*, suggest that even when officers did not directly address national defence policy, their responses could have implications beyond their unit.

The adoption of article 19.375 (2) in 1959 was nonetheless timely, as defence policy was quickly becoming one of the most-discussed topics on CBC-TV news and current affairs programs with military subjects. Attention to policy grew from new discussion

³⁸Documents from series 2 "Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press," file 47, 85/304, DHH: confidential memo, "Minutes of Meeting No. 7/59 of the Personnel Members Committee held in the AG Conference Room (Room 2015 B Building) on Thursday, 19 Feb 59 at 0930 hours"; memo, Naval Secretary to the Flag Officer Atlantic Coast, the Flag Officer Pacific Coast, the Commanding Officer Naval Divisions, Naval Member of the Canadian Joint Staff (London), and Naval Member of the Canadian Joint Staff (Washington), "Policy – Release of Information on Military Installations," 15 April 1959. See also, Government of Canada, *The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Canadian Army*, vol. 1 (Administrative), "Issued under the authority of the National Defence Act" (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1959), article 19.375.

³⁹ Memo, Judge Advocate General Brigadier W.J. Lawson to the Minister of Defence, "Disclosure of Information," 9 December 1955, series 1 "Canada Defence Policy," file 32, 85/304, DHH.

⁴⁰ Memo, Naval Secretary, "POLICY – RELEASE OF INFORMATION ON MILITARY INSTALLATIONS," 15 April 1959, series 2 "Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press," file 47, 85/304, DHH.

of Canada's international commitments in the late 1950s. In 1958, there were reports about the RCN's "[u]ltra-modern, streamlined ships" taking part in training exercises with the United States Navy.⁴¹ Canadian troops serving with NATO in Europe were featured on *News magazine* in the spring and summer⁴² and were the main subject of the Christmas television special *Yuletide Europe*. Of the Canadian airmen serving with NATO, narrator Rex Loring said that they were "playing for keeps in the deadly game of nerves, played with world peace as the stake."⁴³

NORAD also received considerable attention.⁴⁴ The United States and Canada agreed to establish NORAD in 1957 for the purpose of defending the continent against a nuclear strike by Soviet bombers.⁴⁵ The agreement was a milestone for Canada, not least because of the debate it spurred. According to J.L. Granatstein, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) opposition to the agreement marked "the first major break in the widespread support Cold War Canadian foreign and defence policy had commanded."⁴⁶ CBC-TV reflected – and, indeed, provided a forum for – the new

⁴¹ *News magazine*, first broadcast 2 March 1958 by CBC, a CBC television news production, edited by Ronald Hallam, ISN: 244051, LAC.

⁴² *News magazine*, first broadcast 6 April 1958 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Rex Loring, and edited by Jean Pouliot, Ronald Hallam and Dave Reynolds, ISN: 244054, LAC; *News magazine*, first broadcast 20 July 1958 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Rex Loring, and edited by Michael Maclear, Ken Croft, Don Evraire, Dave Reynolds and Ralph Winthrop, ISN: 20876, LAC.

⁴³ *Yuletide Europe*, first broadcast 25 December 1959 by CBC, a CBC production, narrated by Rex Loring, written and directed by Gerald Richardson, produced by Edward Rollins, ISN: 29482, LAC.

⁴⁴ For example, *News magazine*, first broadcast 8 June 1958 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Bruce Marsh, edited by Walter Brode, Don Evraire, Michael Maclear and Morley Safer, and produced by John Lant, ISN: 20915, LAC.

⁴⁵ This was a popular theme for radio and TV in 1957. CBC radio's *Canadian Scene* profiled the work of RCAF Air Defence Command in March, while Arthur Hailey explored this frightening possibility in his teleplay "Course for Collision," which aired on CBC-TV in April 1957. See, "The Lonely Defenders," *CBC Times* 9, no. 39 (7-13 April 1957): 12; *Course for Collision*, first broadcast 21 April 1957 by CBC, a CBC Theatre presentation, written by Arthur Hailey, starring Irwin Browns, and produced by Sydney Newman, ISN: 72385, LAC; "Letters," *CBC Times* 9, no. 47, (2-8 June 1957): 12. See also, Joseph T. Jockel, *Canada in NORAD 1957-2007: A history* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 1.

⁴⁶ Granatstein, *Yankee Go Home?* 126.

conversations about Canadian defence that began to emerge in the year that followed. The programs were not necessarily critical, but were beginning to ask far more difficult questions about defence than had previously been heard on television. Among them was Norman DePoe's tour of NORAD headquarters in Colorado Springs for *News magazine* in the summer of 1958. Viewers saw the stunning array of technologies at the Combat Operations Center and were privy to a "simulated defence action – a preview of what might happen if an attack were suddenly launched from over the pole." Interviews with General Partridge and Air Marshal Charles Roy Slemon (the Canadian Deputy Commander of NORAD) followed. DePoe's questions focused on NORAD's preparedness and the "heavy responsibility" borne by its commanding officers. For instance, he asked Air Marshal Slemon, "under what circumstances would it fall to your lot to be the one who pushes the button in the event of war?" Air Marshal Slemon stressed that the organization was purely defensive, insisting that "we are incapable by the nature of our operation and our organization ... of launching a war by our own efforts." Still, as DePoe said by way of conclusion, "In this single room and on this one map, the life and death destinies of 185 million North Americans may eventually rest."⁴⁷

Such grim statements had new resonance by August, when Kingsley Brown reported for *News magazine* on "the government announcement that existent early warning radar warning lines in Canada's north is not adequate against high-level

⁴⁷ *News magazine*, first broadcast 27 July 1958 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Frank Stalley, edited by Michael Maclear, Ken Croft, Don Evraire, Dave Reynolds and Ralph Winthrop, and produced by Dave Reynolds, ISN: 244065, LAC.

supersonic bombers” from the Soviet Union.⁴⁸ There were also growing concerns about the CF105 Arrow – a Canadian fighter aircraft built by A.V. Roe to defend against supersonic bombers.⁴⁹ As Brown explained, “the DEW [Distant Early Warning] Line is not adequate to utilize the aircraft’s capabilities. The Minister of Defence, Mr. Pearkes, has said that perhaps a fresh look will have to be taken at the prospects of jet interceptors versus ground-to-air guided missiles in continental defence.”⁵⁰

The RCN’s ability to fend off an attack at sea received attention on a program called *Challenge From the Sea*, broadcast in November 1958.⁵¹ The program had its origins in a proposal submitted to the CBC by Capt. William Strange (Director of Naval Information).⁵² Work began in September 1956, when the MacLaren Advertising Agency contacted National Script Supervisor Hugh Kemp with an eye to producing a series about the navy for CBC-TV. Although a collaboration, editorial control rested with the CBC.⁵³ There was some interest at the CBC, seen for example in Assistant General Manager E.L. Bushnell’s decision to put aside roughly \$5,000 (over \$43,000 in 2013⁵⁴) for the scripts.⁵⁵ However, months passed without a firm commitment from the

⁴⁸ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 10 August 1958 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Frank Stalley, edited by Walter Brode, Don Evraire, Michael Maclear and Morley Safer, and produced by Richard Ballentine, ISN: 20880, LAC.

⁴⁹ Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 240-44.

⁵⁰ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 10 August 1958 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Frank Stalley, edited by Walter Brode, Don Evraire, Michael Maclear and Morley Safer, and produced by Richard Ballentine, ISN: 20880, LAC.

⁵¹ Similar programs appeared on American television around this time. CBS, for example, produced a 26-part miniseries called *Air Power* about the history of aviation that focused, in particular, on recent developments in military aircraft. It aired on CBC-TV in December 1956 and again in 1958. See, “The History of Aviation and Its Heroes,” *CBC Times* 9, no. 21 (2-8 December 1956): 3; “The Battle of Britain,” *CBC Times* 10, no. 47 (1-7 June 1958): 8.

⁵² Memo, Hugh Kemp to D.C. McArthur, “Canadian Navy Film Series,” 18 January 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵³ Memo, Hugh Kemp to E.L. Bushnell, “Royal Canadian Navy TV Film Series,” 5 September 1956, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁴ Figure determined using the tools on this site, Bank of Canada, “Inflation Calculator,” *Bank of Canada*, <http://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator> (accessed 29 March 2013).

CBC. In response, Captain Strange wrote to Bushnell, “We just don’t seem to have anybody who has really pressed the button!”⁵⁶ Eventually, Jean Beaudet (Director of Program Planning and Production) assigned J. Frank Willis to begin planning for the production with Captain Strange.⁵⁷ The pair met in December to discuss treatment and the possible use of archival film. Willis left the meeting convinced that the project was a bad venture for the CBC, even advising Beaudet that “I fear that the Captain’s perspective on what constitutes an engrossing half hour of home viewing is somewhat warped.”⁵⁸ He went on to say that the series, as proposed, would be 13 episodes long and require roughly six-months work from at least three directors and six editors. Because of the proposed treatment and significant resources required, Willis concluded that “this is a proposition which the Department of Naval Information should take to a professional film making organization such as [the] N.F.B. or Crawley.”⁵⁹ Beaudet suggested that, rather than reject the proposal outright they should place it before a committee that could review these concerns.⁶⁰ Captain Strange responded with assurances that “the series as proposed will not in any way affect the facilities of your film people as it is not proposed that these facilities be used....”⁶¹

⁵⁵ Memo, E.L. Bushnell to Hugh Kemp, “Royal Canadian Navy TV Film Series,” 7 September 1956, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁶ Capt. William Strange to E.L. Bushnell, 27 November 1956, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁷ Memo, Hugh Kemp to J. Beaudet, “Canadian Navy Film Series,” 11 December 1956, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁸ Memo, J. Frank Willis to J. Beaudet, 11 January 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁹ Memo, J. Frank Willis to Director of Program Planning and Production, “R.C.N. film series suggestion,” 11 January 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁰ Memo, J.M. Beaudet to Director of Programs, Assistant General Manager, Hugh Kemp, and J. Frank Willis, “R.C.N. Film Series Suggestion,” 16 January 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶¹ Capt. William Strange to J. Frank Willis, 18 January 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

After months of delay and discussion, Captain Strange told Bushnell that he hoped “the birth pangs will provide a suitable indication of the lustiness of the child when born.”⁶² However, there was little progress by February 1957, as Kemp awaited approval of the program from the Program Development Group (sometimes called the Programme Research Development Committee).⁶³ Finally, in March, the series was assigned the working title of *The Changing Forces*,⁶⁴ the Minister of Defence “approved in principle” the involvement of the forces in its production, and William Stephenson was selected to develop the idea into a workable television program or series.⁶⁵ The Program Development Group wanted Stephenson to work on the series because he had a strong reputation in freelance writing for magazines like *Maclean's*.⁶⁶ Once chosen, Captain Strange immediately set to work getting Stephenson approved by the Minister and “cleared for security,” so that he could work closely with the forces on the project, with Captain Strange as his “liaison.”⁶⁷ Captain Strange proved a particularly valuable partner.⁶⁸ He provided Stephenson access to visit and film at

⁶² Capt. William Strange to E.L. Bushnell, 18 January 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶³ Capt. William Strange to E.L. Bushnell, 4 February 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁴ Hugh Kemp to Capt. William Strange, 1 March 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁵ It was not his first documentary about the military. He produced a film for the National Film Board about “crash-fire fighting of RCAF at Camp Borden.” See documents from vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC: McArthur to Captain Strange, 27 March 1957; Capt. William Strange to D.C. McArthur, 26 March 1957.

⁶⁶ Report, “The Changing Forces,” June 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁷ Documents from vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC: Captain Strange to D.C. McArthur, 2 April 1957; Captain Strange to D.C. McArthur, “CBC Armed Forces Television Project,” 30 April 1957; Andrew Cowan to W. Stephenson, 15 April 1957; Captain William Strange to Daniel C. McArthur, 26 March 1957.

⁶⁸ Stephenson to Cowan, 24 April 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

military installations across Canada,⁶⁹ like the Pacific Naval Labs of the Defence Research Board,⁷⁰ and made arrangements for him to speak with officers (the Vice Chiefs of Staff among them)⁷¹ about new developments in warfare. Through all of these efforts, Stephenson's job was to find and study all that DND "was willing to make available" in order to determine whether a television series could be made about "the present status of the Armed Services."⁷² Stephenson reported to Cowan and McArthur about his ongoing research, including his visit to the base in Petawawa in April 1957, of which he wrote: "I asked the C.O. of training ... if there were any recruits these days that he couldn't train [emphasis in original]. He looked startled, came up close and whispered 'this is not for publication, is it?' then admitted sadly that there were some damn poor specimens who couldn't find the way from a plate of food to their teeth."⁷³ The Program Development Group hoped that all of this research would result in an entertaining series about the "hottest" developments in weapons and strategies that would "use these as points of departure for exciting pictorial journalism." However, it raised several important concerns about the possible scope and treatment. For instance, the group questioned whether a series based on only one of the three services might not

⁶⁹ Documents from vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) "THE CHANGING FORCES," RG 41, LAC: memo, Andrew Cowan to Director for the Prairie Provinces, "Bill Stephenson," 13 May 1957; Bill Stephenson to Andrew Cowan, 15 June 1957; memo, Andrew Cowan to Controller of Broadcasting, "'Changing Forces' – Bill Stephenson," 12 June 1957.

⁷⁰ Stephenson to Cowan, 11 June 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) "THE CHANGING FORCES," RG 41, LAC.

⁷¹ Andrew Cowan to D.C. McArthur, "Bill Stephenson," 3 May 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) "THE CHANGING FORCES," RG 41, LAC.

⁷² Memo, D.C. McArthur to Controller of Broadcasting, "The Changing Forces," 16 August 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) "THE CHANGING FORCES," RG 41, LAC.

⁷³ Stephenson to McArthur and Cowan, 20 May 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) "THE CHANGING FORCES," RG 41, LAC.

“keep an audience watching....” It also insisted that “a sincere but dull documentary series in the name of public service won’t do....”⁷⁴

After months of research, Stephenson produced his proposal for *The Changing Forces* in August 1957. At its heart was the argument that, “although it doesn’t look as if we’re at war, we really are.” He divided his subject into 16 parts, each highlighting a different aspect of warfare as it evolved over the course of the 20th century. For example, he proposed an episode about the RCAF that compared the “devil-may-care buckaroo” piloting of the Great War to the new pilots guided in war by “electronic devices.” Another examined the transformation of the navy, from its use of corvettes during the Second World War to the introduction of the aircraft carrier *Bonaventure*. There would also be a program about the “Future Soldier,”

carried in on helicopters or tri-phibious vehicles, wears an eye patch in case one eye is blinded by an atom flash; may be fired in a huge shell which is launched deep into enemy territory where it opens and floats to the ground on parachutes; has a helmet radio and a throat mike to communicate with tanks or aircraft; has different lenses on his helmet-glasses to enable him to see great distances or see at night; has an explosive charge to dig a slit trench for him in a hurry, anti-radiation clothing....⁷⁵

Daniel McArthur, then Director of Special Program Projects, read the proposal with enthusiasm, saying that it “offers exciting possibilities” and “would be a most important piece of television reporting....”⁷⁶ The CBC decided to begin with two half-hour episodes that could be presented together as a one-hour program should the rest of the 13 or 26 episodes be cancelled. Partly the result of Captain Strange’s enthusiasm, they

⁷⁴ Report, “The Changing Forces,” June 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁷⁵ Report, “THE CHANGING FORCES,” August 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁷⁶ Memo, D.C. McArthur to Controller of Broadcasting, “The Changing Forces,” 16 August 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

began with the navy.⁷⁷ Hugh Kemp courted the popular screenwriter Arthur Hailey for the project, but in the end hired Antony Ferry to write the scripts.⁷⁸

The original title of the one-hour pilot episode was “The Fighting Navy: What Now?” and cost just over \$20,000 (nearly \$163,000 in 2013) to produce.⁷⁹ In April 1958, Charles Jennings (Controller of Broadcasting) obtained a formal agreement from the RCN to collaborate on the filming of the program. This involved making naval facilities and ships, like HMCS *Bonaventure*, available to a CBC crew for filming, as well as putting RCN cameramen to work on the project.⁸⁰ It also meant filmed interviews with senior officers, like Vice-Admiral Harry George DeWolf, who commanded HMCS *Haida* during the Second World War and the aircraft carriers *Warrior* and *Magnificent* in the postwar years.⁸¹ As Captain Strange explained, the military was willing to participate in the project, so long as it had a say in the final product: “it will be necessary to ensure that the content of all programmes in the envisaged series ... is acceptable to the Department of National Defence as well as to the CBC. This will, in due course, necessitate approval of both script and film material – in

⁷⁷ Documents from vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Charles Jennings to Director of Network Programming (TV), “Pilot Film ‘The Changing Forces,’” 31 December 1957; Daniel McArthur to Captain Strange, 6 January 1958.

⁷⁸ Documents from vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC: minutes, Programme Development Group (Hugh Kemp, A.G. Cowan and D.C. McArthur), Meeting in Ottawa, 28-29 January 1958; Hugh Gauntlett to Antony Ferry, 28 March 1958.

⁷⁹ Documents from vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC: memo, G. Richardson (TV Film Director) to E.E. Rollins (Film Production Supervisor, TV Film Service), January 1958; Hugh Gauntlett to Antony Ferry, 28 March 1958; purchase request for scripts, issued by the Program Research & Development Group for William Stephenson, 2 April 1958.

⁸⁰ Documents from vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Hugh Kemp to J.A. Swackhammer, “CUTAWAY SHOTS FOR THE ‘OPERATION NEW BROOM 8’ SEQUENCE,” 10 September 1958; memo, Hugh Kemp to J.A. Swackhammer, “HALIFAX,” 10 September 1958.

⁸¹ Hugh Kemp to Captain Strange, 10 September 1958, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC; David J. Bercuson and J.L. Granatstein, “DeWolf, Harry George,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Military History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), 65.

this instance by the appropriate authorities at Naval Headquarters.”⁸² It seemed that the series would be a “public service” – the very thing that the Program Development Group wanted to avoid. Indeed, it was even marketed as such.⁸³

A rough outline of the sequences for the pilot began to take shape between June and August under a new title, *Challenge From the Sea*, with Hugh Kemp as executive producer and E.E. Rollins of the CBC Film Service as supervising producer.⁸⁴ By October, with 80 percent of the film shot and the rest in the process of being “security-cleared” by the US and Canadian governments, attention turned to selling the program, which CBC-TV scheduled for broadcast on 10 November 1958 at 10 p.m.⁸⁵ The sales department explained to advertisers that time slot was “one of the prime periods of the week,” which was chosen because the program was of “vital importance.”⁸⁶ Having Stanley Burke as commentator added credibility to the project, they argued, since he served with the RCN in the Second World War.⁸⁷

⁸² Captain Strange to Jennings, 11 April 1958, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁸³ Report, “Available For Sponsor Participation: ‘CHALLENGE FROM THE SEA,’” vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁸⁴ Hugh Kemp to Captain Strange, 5 June 1958, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC; Hugh Kemp to Dan McArthur, 15 August 1958, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC; Press release, “CHALLENGE FROM THE SEA ON CBC TV MONDAY NIGHT,” 5 November 1958, file “Productions – CF – CHAN,” Program files, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Reference Library, Toronto [hereafter, Program files, CBCRL].

⁸⁵ Although it was broadcast the day before November 11th, the program was not advertised as a Remembrance Day special. See, report, “Available For Sponsor Participation: ‘CHALLENGE FROM THE SEA,’” vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC; press release, “CHALLENGE FROM THE SEA ON CBC TV MONDAY NIGHT,” 5 November 1958, file “Productions – CF – CHAN,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁸⁶ Report, “Available For Sponsor Participation: ‘CHALLENGE FROM THE SEA,’” vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁸⁷ Ibid. He was not alone, as many men at the CBC served in the Armed Forces during the Second World War, Hugh Kemp among them. See, press release, “NEW CBC CORRESPONDENT AT UN HEADQUARTERS,” 23 December 1957, file “Burke, Stanley,” Biography files, CBCRL; “Biography Data Sheet,” 21 May 1958, file “DePoe, Norman,” Biography files, CBCRL; Obituary, “Benson, Thomas Frederick,” *National Post*, 16 Oct. 2002, file “Benson, Thom,” Biography files, CBCRL; Press release, “HUGH KEMP – BIOGRAPHY,” file “Kemp, Hugh,” Biography files, CBCRL; “Biography – Peter G. R. Campbell,” June 1971, Biography files, CBCRL.

Challenge From the Sea stressed the threat posed to the RCN by the “missile-firing submarine.”⁸⁸ As Burke explained, “this is the challenge from the sea.”⁸⁹ Canada’s commitments to NATO (“the most formidable array of sea power ever assembled on the face of the globe”) were the main subject. Viewers toured the headquarters of Supreme Allied Command Atlantic, along with its flagship the *USS Forrestal* and Canada’s main contribution, the aircraft carrier HMCS *Bonaventure*. They also witnessed a hunter-killer anti-submarine exercise called “New Broom 8,” undertaken by *Bonaventure* and four destroyer escorts. There were also interviews with Commodore Frank Freeborn, Capt. Eric Brand and Vice-Admiral DeWolf. While Captain Brand spoke ominously about the realities of nuclear war begun at sea (“You’ve got bombs raining down on North America and Europe and everybody ... in a mess”), Commodore Freeborn and Vice-Admiral DeWolf struck a more optimistic tone, singing the praises of the Canadian-made anti-submarine vessels.⁹⁰

Reviews were mixed. Ron Poulton of the *Telegram* called the program a “command performance because it was the first documentary produced by CBC-TV on a branch of Canada’s Armed Forces.”⁹¹ *The Globe and Mail* reviewer was more critical: “CBC-TV’s *Challenge from the Sea* went nowhere so frequently I found myself

⁸⁸ “Challenge from the Sea,” *CBC Times* 11, no. 18 (8-14 November 1958): 4.

⁸⁹ *Challenge From The Sea*, first broadcast 10 November 1958 by CBC, a “CBC SPECIAL FEATURE Produced in co-operation with the ROYAL CANADIAN NAVY,” narrated by Stanley Burke, written by Antony Ferry, and produced by Hugh Kemp, ISN: 234322, LAC.

⁹⁰ Ibid. Kemp did a lot of editing to generate the final interview as seen in *Challenge From The Sea*. He explained to Captain Strange that “We have done a bit of re-arranging in the cutting room to increase the pace, and we are probably going to use one or two cutaway shots while the Admiral is talking, - to the ice floes at that point, and perhaps a shot of Regulus too, just briefly, while he is speaking of North American cities. Little things like this can greatly increase the tempo. They satisfy the restless eye, and in that way we get the best of Admiral DeWolf.” Hugh Kemp to Capt. Strange, 10 September 1958, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁹¹ Ron Poulton, *Telegram*, 12 Nov. 1958, file “Productions – CF – CHAN,” Program files, CBCRL.

muttering ‘Down periscope!’ and switching to the Timex jazz show....”⁹² Viewer feedback received at Army Headquarters was more favourable. One serviceman called the film “excellent,” while a civilian insisted that it “shows the reason of our taxed dollar. I now have a different opinion of the Armed Forces.”⁹³ In response to many similar letters, William Dumsday (Director of Public Relations, DND) enthusiastically endorsed the continuation of the series.⁹⁴ However, the CBC made no serious efforts to produce a follow up until April 1959, at which point it decided to leave the series “in abeyance because of uncertainties in the area of defence policy.”⁹⁵

One of those “uncertainties” was the Canadian defence against an airborne nuclear attack. Fears of a “push-button” nuclear strike and the effects of atmospheric nuclear testing were running rampant worldwide. Prominent environmental crises – like radioactive rain in Chicago in 1955 and the discovery of strontium-90 in milk a few years later – increased the public profile of these issues and changed the American discourse from acceptance of nuclear weaponry to fear.⁹⁶ Governments responded with attempts to calm their publics.⁹⁷ For its part, the United States Atomic Energy Commission insisted that any doses of radiation received by the public were “very, very small” and the testing was necessary. “[I]n defence of ourselves and our allies,” it argued, “we cannot place our dependence upon obsolete and obsolescent weapons

⁹² *The Globe and Mail*, 12 Nov. 1958, file “Productions – CF – CHAN,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁹³ Lt.-Col. W.A. Milroy to Andrew Cowan, 20 November 1958, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁹⁴ William H. Dumsday to Charles Jennings, 15 December 1958, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁹⁵ Teletype message, D.C. McArthur to Norman Caton, 10 April 1959, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (2) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁹⁶ Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb’s Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 334 and 352.

⁹⁷ Clipping from Hansard, 24 April 1958, file 135530, Foreign Office; Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1996, FO 371, The National Archives, Kew, UK [hereafter, F0 371, The National Archives].

systems and we cannot waiver in the use of defensive arms.”⁹⁸ Reflecting worldwide worries, there were many CBC radio and television programs in the late 1950s about the destructive capacity of nuclear weaponry, the dangers of nuclear testing, and concerns about radiation.⁹⁹

While CBC programs debated the dangers of nuclear proliferation, the Corporation prepared for the worst. Throughout the 1950s, the CBC shared its resources with DND, the Department of Transport, and the Department of National Health and Welfare for the purposes of civil defence. Indeed, the CBC was prepared to assume responsibility for radio alerts in the event of an enemy attack. It also worked closely with the military, giving the RCAF access to television channels 14 to 18 for the purpose of detecting enemy aircraft in 1953, for example. In addition, the Corporation participated in civil defence tests and training, and sent representatives to attend annual courses taught by Lt.-Gen. G.G. Simonds at the Canadian National Defence College in Kingston.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Press release, United States Atomic Energy Commission, “RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT AND NUCLEAR TEST SUSPENSION,” 30 April 1958, file 135530, FO 371, The National Archives.

⁹⁹ “A United Nations Film on Disarmament,” *CBC Times* 10, no. 41 (20-26 April 1958): 10; “Ban the Bomb?” *CBC Times* 10, no. 45 (18-24 May 1958): 3; “CONFIDENTIAL Draft Contribution to CBC broadcast: NUCLEAR TESTS AND THE COLD WAR,” file 8291, Dominions Office and Commonwealth Relations Office: Original Correspondence, DO 35, The National Archives, Kew, UK [hereafter, DO 35, The National Archives]; F.E. Cumming-Bruce (Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, Ottawa) to Ben Cockram (Commonwealth Relations Office), 8 May 1958, file 135530, FO 371, The National Archives; N.F. Cairncross (10 Downing Street) to J.M. Gibbon (Ministry of Defence), 16 May 1958, file 135530, FO 371, The National Archives.

¹⁰⁰ After 1954, all civil defence efforts were organized by the CBC’s Co-ordinator of Civil Defence, H.E. Stanley Hamilton. See, circular letter, E.L. Bushnell to all heads of divisions, regional directors, regional engineers, officers in charge and supervisors, “Civil Defence,” 20 December 1954, vol. 434, file 27-2-2 (pt.1), “CIVIL DEFENCE,” RG 41, LAC; Teletype message, R.S. Bryden to R.C. Fraser, 11 September 1953, vol. 434, file 27-2-2 (pt.1), “CIVIL DEFENCE,” RG 41, LAC; G.C.W. Browne to J.A. Ouimet, 4 August 1953, vol. 437, file 27-9-1 (pt. 5), “WAR EMERGENCY OPERATIONS,” RG 41, LAC; Ouimet to Browne, 11 August 1953, vol. 437, file 27-9-1 (pt. 5), “WAR EMERGENCY OPERATIONS,” RG 41, LAC; H.E.S. Hamilton to F.F. Worthington, 4 April 1957, vol. 434, file 27-2-2 (pt. 4), “CIVIL DEFENCE,” RG 41, LAC; memo, D.J. Stockley to Technical Supervisor, Hornby Transmitter, “Recoverable Costs Federal Civil Defence,” 31 July 1958, vol. 434, 27-2-2 (pt. 5), “CIVIL DEFENCE,” RG 41, LAC; Interview of Hugh Palmer by Ross Eaman, 9 June 1983, Institute for Canadian Studies collection, R9336-0-6-E, Carleton University fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, Interview of Palmer by Eaman, R9336-0-6-E, LAC].

According to Hugh Palmer, who attended on behalf of the CBC in 1950–1, “one of the conditions in the course was that these people would ... let their hair down and speak very, very frankly to us in their field, knowing that we were not permitted to take any notes at all, ... nor were we permitted to quote them.”¹⁰¹

This intimacy made programs on subjects related to civil defence subject to unique scrutiny. Consider the case of a film called *The Homeless Ones*, broadcast on the CBC-TV microwave network by the Talks and Public Affairs Department on 5 January 1958. The Deputy Federal Civil Defence Co-ordinator Major-General G.S. Hatton responded to the broadcast by requesting the film’s withdrawal from the National Film Library. He explained,

My reasons for not having withdrawn it previously are that I felt it was harmless and of some historic interest like the pictures of Wolfe and Montcalm at the battle of the Plains of Abraham. I did not expect it to be exhumed and used as part of a programme of public education on current Civil Defence plans for which it is quite unsuited. The film makes no reference to the evacuation of cities for which, as I think you know, it is the policy of the Government to plan. The film is in fact completely outdated by the H-bomb.¹⁰²

The purpose of the letter was not simply to offer criticism, but also to insist that the CBC “clear” with Hatton’s staff the content of all civil defence material used on television or radio.¹⁰³ The CBC acceded to the request and cancelled the planned broadcast of *The Homeless Ones* on stations not connected to the microwave network.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Interview of Hugh Palmer by Ross Eaman, 9 June 1983, Institute for Canadian Studies collection, R9336-0-6-E, Carleton University fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, Interview of Palmer by Eaman, R9336-0-6-E, LAC].

¹⁰² Hatton to Davidson Dunton, 8 January 1958, vol. 434, 27-2-2 (pt. 5), “CIVIL DEFENCE,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Documents from vol. 434, 27-2-2 (pt. 5), “CIVIL DEFENCE,” RG 41, LAC: Teletype message, Peter Francis to B. McDonald, 14 January 1958; Dunton to Hatton, 21 January 1958; memo, Charles Jennings, to Film Procurement Officer (Toronto), “Liaison with Civil Defence on Programmes,” 21

Just as the memos were making their rounds, CBC-TV broadcast a play called “The Radioactive Man” on the series *Television Theatre*. Although civil defence was not addressed, Major-General Hatton insisted that his department should have been consulted, given its focus on the impact of radiation. He complained that the play “greatly exaggerated the danger from radioactive materials” and, in doing so, “detracted” from the CBC’s ongoing efforts to inform Canadians about radiation.¹⁰⁵ Sydney Newman, then Supervising Producer of TV Drama, responded to this criticism with “great alarm.” He explained that “we produced a play based upon actual [emphasis in original] procedures used. It would seem that such procedures aren’t standardized nor are they universally accepted which puts the producer of an entertainment play in a tough spot. I am glad I don’t face the problem of trying to produce an instructional program on this subject.”¹⁰⁶ Davidson Dunton (Chairman, CBC Board of Governors) similarly responded to Major-General Hatton with explanations that the play was fiction and therefore did not have to adhere to the Corporation’s standards for reporting. However, he did urge producers to “take special care” when dealing with matters related to civil defence, given that it was such a sensitive topic.¹⁰⁷

Scrutiny did not halt the production of controversial information programs about defence in the nuclear age. A prominent topic of discussion was the cancellation of the Avro Arrow project by the Diefenbaker government. In its place, the government

January 1958; memo, W.H. Hogg to Manager, National TV News (Toronto), “Liaison with Civil Defence re Programs,” 27 January 1958.

¹⁰⁵ Hatton to Dunton, 27 January 1958, vol. 434, 27-2-2 (pt. 5), “CIVIL DEFENCE,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁰⁶ Memo, Sydney Newman to Peter McDonald, “So-called inaccuracies: THE RADIOACTIVE MAN,” 12 February 1958, vol. 434, 27-2-2 (pt. 5), “CIVIL DEFENCE,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁰⁷ Dunton to Hatton, 29 January 1958, vol. 434, 27-2-2 (pt. 5), “CIVIL DEFENCE,” RG 41, LAC.

adopted cheaper, American-made F101 Voodoo jets and Bomarc-B¹⁰⁸ solid fuel (non-nuclear) missiles.¹⁰⁹ This was one of the main topics on CBC-TV's *Defence against Tomorrow* from 22 March 1959, which promised to be a "controversial program of authoritative comment and opinion" about the defence of Canada.¹¹⁰ Among the contributors were *Maclean's* editor Blair Fraser, CBC correspondents Stanley Burke and James M. Minifie, and Charles Lynch of Southam News Services. Lynch, who doubled as the program's host, explained that the program aimed to answer the following questions: "how great a threat do we face, now and for the future, from the striking power of the Soviet war machine? What can the Western world do to meet that threat? Where can Canada make her most effective contribution?"¹¹¹ To find answers, they interviewed experts like former Chief of the General Staff Lt.-Gen. Guy Simonds – who established a reputation as a military tactician during the Second World War.¹¹² They pre-recorded the interviews and included them in the program as film inserts. The program also rebroadcast interviews seen in earlier years, including film from Norman DePoe's visit to the Colorado Springs headquarters of NORAD in 1958.

¹⁰⁸ Bomarc was an abbreviation for Boeing-Michigan Aeronautical Research Center surface-to-air missile. Jockel, *Canada in NORAD*, ix.

¹⁰⁹ Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 240-44; John Herd Thompson and Stephen J. Randall, *Canada and the United States: Ambivalent Allies*, 4th ed. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 196; Jockel, *Canada in NORAD*, 43-44; Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?*, 48.

¹¹⁰ "Defence against Tomorrow," *CBC Times* 11, no. 39 (21-27 March 1959): 2.

¹¹¹ *Defence Against Tomorrow*, first broadcast 22 March 1959 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production in cooperation with the CBC National Film Service, with James M. Minifie, Stanley Burke, Blair Fraser and Charles Lynch, written by Del MacKenzie, and produced by Michael Hind-Smith, ISN: 9814, LAC.

¹¹² See, Bercuson and Granatstein, "Simonds, G.G.," in *Dictionary of Canadian Military History*, 198-99.



Figure 3. Jack Granatstein (*second from left*) and other Royal Military College Cadets being interviewed on CBC TV, 1959.

Source: CWM 20020029-0044, George Metcalf Archival Collection, © Canadian War Museum.

Significantly, no active servicemen or officers participated in the program. This may have been the producer's choice. However, it might also reflect the strained relations between the military and the media at the time. In January 1959, the Chiefs of Staff decided to cease giving interviews. They made this decision after newspapers interpreted a press conference Air Marshal Slemon gave in November as evidence that the military was trying to influence defence policy.¹¹³ In response, the Chiefs of Staff decided that they would no longer give interviews about "current issues, especially

¹¹³ The confidential report did not disclose the nature of the press conference or the newspaper comments. See, memo, General Charles Foulkes to Director of Public Relations, "Interviews with the Press," 13 January 1959, series 2 "Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press," file 47, 85/304, DHH.

during this period when defence matters are being actively discussed in many places.”¹¹⁴ They did not allow officers to do so, either. W/C W.M. Lee (Director of Public Relations for the Chief of the Air Staff) insisted that this was “impractical,” “poor policy,” and “dangerous”: “If a copy should come into the hands of a hostile Press representative, a chain reaction of enormous proportions would inevitably result. To say the least, it would be splashed all over the Press, controversial editorials would be written, and it almost surely would be raised in the House.” As a result, he advised a simple reiteration of the Queen’s Regulations.¹¹⁵ That is precisely what Minister of National Defence Maj.-Gen. George Randolph Pearkes did, reminding officers “not to give the appearance of seeking to enunciate policy, or of urging the adoption of any specific policy or military project.”¹¹⁶ He also warned that

the press and other publicity media are a competitive group, each striving for scoops, or failing the achievement of a scoop, attempting to draw attention by spectacular headlines. Therefore considerable care and judgment should be exercised in any unilateral discussions or comments with individual members of the press, and as a general rule, individual discussion with the press should be avoided and the release of information should be made through the authorized press relation channels.¹¹⁷

For example, when one journalist approached the RCN with questions about the future of naval defence, Director of Naval Information Cmdr. R.C. Hayden advised him “to

¹¹⁴ Ibid. See also, draft restricted memo, Lt.-Col. W.A. Milroy to all PROs in all sections, “Press Interviews,” series 2 “Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press,” file 47, 85/304, DHH.

¹¹⁵ See, memo, W/C W.M. Lee to A/CAS, “Public Relations – Policy,” 22 January 1959, series 2 “Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press,” file 47, 85/304, DHH.

¹¹⁶ Memo, Pearkes to Deputy Minister, Chairman, Chiefs of Staff, Chief of the Naval Staff, Chief of the Air Staff, Chief of the General Staff, and Chairman, defence Research Board, 19 January 1959, series 2 “Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press,” file 47, 85/304, DHH.

¹¹⁷ Restricted memo, Minister of National Defence to Deputy Minister, Chairman of Chiefs of Staff, Chief of the Naval Staff, Chief of the Air Staff, Chief of the General Staff, Chairman of the Defence Research Board, 19 January 1959, series 1 “Canada Defence Policy,” file 32, 85/304, DHH.

obtain his answers through research, rather than interview.”¹¹⁸ The Chiefs of Staff maintained their “self-imposed silence,” to quote Commander Hayden, into late March 1959.

Since the purpose of *Defence Against Tomorrow* was to engage in a controversial debate about defence policy, it was not surprising that the military did not participate. Among the more provocative exchanges was this conversation between Fraser and former Deputy Minister of National Defence Charles Mills Drury¹¹⁹:

Drury: In Canada, there is no – as far as I know – no means of guaranteeing the immunity, the physical immunity, of the Canadian people against an attack on this country. For this reason, what particular type of hardware we adopt, or form of organization for our forces within Canada, is not nearly so important as that the existence of these forces and the size of these expenditures is evidence of the determination [to resist aggression by force]....

Fraser: You mean it really doesn't matter whether we have an Arrow or a Bomarc?

Drury: Given a choice between these two, if one of the weapons falls within the budget and the other is going to cause us to exceed largely from our budget, and they both perform substantially the same function, clearly the one which will cause us to exceed our budget is not acceptable.¹²⁰

In his estimation, the decision to scrap the CF105 was financially pragmatic and militarily irrelevant. The program ended with each of the correspondents presenting their conclusions. Minifie insisted that Canada should become a “neutral belt,” while Fraser argued that the country ought to “carry our share of the load” in order to influence American decisions. Burke said Canada was too “obsessed with weapons” and would do better to spend its resources contributing to the peace and security of the

¹¹⁸ Director of Naval Information, Commander R.C. Hayden to Lt.-Cmdr. W.L. Patton, 24 March 1959, series 1 “Canada Defence Policy,” file 32, 85/304, DHH.

¹¹⁹ Drury served with the Canadian Army during the Second World War and, between 1948 and 1955, was deputy minister of national defence. Robert Bothwell, “Drury, Charles Mills,” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, ed. James H. Marsh, 519 (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1985), 519.

¹²⁰ *Defence Against Tomorrow*, first broadcast 22 March 1959 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production in cooperation with the CBC National Film Service, with James M. Minifie, Stanley Burke, Blair Fraser and Charles Lynch, written by Del MacKenzie, and produced by Michael Hind-Smith, ISN: 9814, LAC.

Third World. For Lynch, “Our defence is and seems likely to remain for the foreseeable future in the balance of terror.”¹²¹ Worldwide doubts about the wisdom of nuclear proliferation soon changed to cries for disarmament in some circles in Canada, seen for example in the founding of the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in November 1959 and the Voice of Women in the summer of 1960.¹²²

As news and public affairs programs looked towards the future with fear, programs about military history looked to the past with affection. Nostalgia was seen, for instance, in the decision to rebroadcast Second World War-era feature films and radio plays.¹²³ Some viewers and listeners, members of the Trans-Canada Alliance of German-Canadians among them, took exception to this cultural predilection for the war years. After resisting continued complaints, the CBC began to limit the reuse of wartime cultural productions after 1958, as it gradually accepted that “many of these have become embarrassing to ‘old’ Canadians as well as being embarrassing or offensive to many ‘new’ Canadians,” produced as they were “in an atmosphere of wartime prejudice and emotion.”¹²⁴

The harkening back to the Second World War was also seen in the content of new productions. One example was the hugely popular three-act teleplay by Royal Air Force (RAF) pilot-turned-writer, Arthur Hailey, called *Flight into Danger*. The play first aired

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Josephine Davis – wife of Fred Davis, long-time host of CBC-TV’s *Front Page Challenge* – was a founding member of the Voice of Women. See, Patricia I. McMahon, *Essence of Indecision: Diefenbaker’s Nuclear Policy, 1957-1963* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009): 78; Doug Owsam, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 165; Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, *Canada since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism*, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 241.

¹²³ For example, “Ottawa Veterans,” *CBC Times* 9, no. 17 (4-10 November 1956): 12.

¹²⁴ Internal Memo, Charles Jennings to all staff, “PROPAGANDA FILM,” 20 May 1958, vol. 857, file PG 3-1 (pt. 1), 1954-62, “DRAMA PROGRAMS GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE,” RG 41, LAC.

on CBC-TV's General Motors Theatre on 3 April 1956.¹²⁵ The hero of Hailey's story, George Spencer (played by James Doohan, later of *Star Trek* fame), was a Second World War veteran of the RCAF who, after the pilot and co-pilot became ill, was pushed to take control of a commercial airliner. This exchange between Spencer and a fellow passenger captured the tone and characterization in this piece:

Doctor: Can you fly and land this airplane?
 Spencer: Can I fly and land it? No, no. Not a chance!
 Doctor: But you told me you flew during the war!
 Spencer: I did. That was fighters – little combat aircraft. There's no comparison. Look, I flew aircraft which had one engine. This has four! The flying characteristics are different. The controls don't react the same way. It's another kind of flying altogether! And besides that, I haven't touched an airplane in nine, nearly ten years!¹²⁶

With added pressure from a stewardess, the hero finally agreed, saying "I guess I just got drafted."¹²⁷

To give the drama an extra sense of realism, producer David Greene and cameraman Len Macdonald involved the RCAF in the production. They went to Trenton to film planes in flight and landing. For the cockpit of the airliner seen in the play, they used film of the interior of a C119 Boxcar and a North Star (Canadair C4) cockpit loaned to them by the RCAF.¹²⁸ This sort of collaboration continued throughout the 1950s, with the army providing the CBC with military equipment, weapons and uniforms from the Second World War for use on other television programs.¹²⁹ The CBC

¹²⁵ Janice Tyrwhitt, "Arthur Hailey slays 'em with suspense," *Maclean's* (27 April 1957): 20; *CBC Times* 9, no. 12 (30 September – 6 October 1956): 1.

¹²⁶ *Flight Into Danger*, first broadcast 3 April 1956 by CBC, a General Motors Theatre presentation, written by Arthur Hailey, starring James Doohan, produced by David Greene, with Sydney Newman as supervising producer, ISN: 287296, LAC.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *CBC Times* 9, no. 6 (19-25 August 1956): 3; press release, "BBC BUYS FILM RECORDING OF CBC-TV PLAY," 29 August 1956, file "HAILEY, ARTHUR," Biography files, CBCRL; Janice Tyrwhitt, "Arthur Hailey slays 'em with suspense," *Maclean's* (27 April 1957): 20.

¹²⁹ By 1959, Second World War equipment, uniforms and weapons were becoming harder to find, so the Army advised that the CBC acquire their own stock of the most frequently used items. See

was particularly keen on such collaboration, so as to ensure the accuracy of its productions. As a directive issued in 1956 insisted, “When actors are representing uniformed members of the Canadian or British navy, army or air force, the uniforms worn should be correct in all details....” However, “if a play calls for a character to appear in the military costume of an imaginary country his uniform should be imaginary in its details.... It should be within our power in such a case to design a uniform which will not draw protests from our own military people.”¹³⁰

Only in January 1959 were the CBC’s directives governing collaboration with the military consolidated into a single guideline. It provided instructions on how to request travel with the RCAF, arrange interviews with senior officers, and obtain “specialist advice and accurate information” about the military, past and present, for use on television or radio programs.¹³¹ Even when the CBC consulted DND on matters requiring “specialist advice,” the programs were not always considered “accurate.” Such was the case with the General Motors Theatre teleplay, *Undermined*, set in the trenches of the First World War. Responses were plentiful and negative. Several veterans criticized its recreation of trench life, complaining, for example, that the actors were “too clean (we were plastered with mud from head to foot); rum was never issued in bottles, always in one-gallon demijohns; [and] no one wore Sam Brown belts in the

documents from vol. 17, file “CBC Armed Forces Service – Liaison with Department of National Defense 1958-62.” MG 30 E 298, LAC: memo, Lt.-Col. W.A. Milroy to Andrew Cowan, “CBC-TV Requirements for Army Stores,” 29 September 1959; memo, Andrew Cowan to Controller of Broadcasting, “TV Stage Properties: Military Equipment,” 1 October 1959.

¹³⁰ See, Charles Jennings, “Authenticity of Military Costumes,” 21 June 1956, vol. 848, file PG 1-1 (pt. 1, 1952-74), “Programs, General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

¹³¹ Memo, Deputy Controller of Broadcaster to staff, “LIAISON WITH DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE,” 10 March 1959, vol. 17, file “CBC Armed Forces Service – Liaison with Department of National Defense 1958-62.” MG 30 E 298, LAC.

line.”¹³² The Legion’s magazine, *Legionary*, published the CBC’s response, which was an unflattering denial of responsibility. It implied that the army and the Military Institute were responsible for remaining faults because they vetted the script. On hearing of this, Marcel Ouimet (Deputy Controller of Broadcasting) issued a memorandum to all CBC staff, insisting that the “CBC ... must take full responsibility for everything it puts on the air irrespective of what advice it receives.”¹³³

Flight into Danger fared better with the critics. Viewers raved that it was a “great credit” to the network and “the most exciting play” they had “ever seen on TV.”¹³⁴ A First World War veteran even said, “As you can imagine I have been subjected to many and varied experiences which should have made me armor-plated, but this show ... really took me out of myself. May we have many more of this sort!”¹³⁵ So positive was the response that Hailey produced a novel based on the play, which was subsequently translated into several languages, and the CBC repeated the program on August 20. The play was also broadcast by the BBC and remade by NBC.¹³⁶

Heroic veterans were not only characters in fiction programming. *Newsmagazine* marked the passing of Billy Bishop with an effusive report on his daring exploits in its year-end review in 1956. As footage of an aerial dogfight played, the announcer said, “During World War I, Billy Bishop flew a plane that he painted bright red – a cocky

¹³² “Undermined,” *CBC Times* 11, no. 35 (7-13 March 1959): 7.

¹³³ Memo, Deputy Controller of Broadcaster to staff, “LIAISON WITH DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE,” 10 March 1959, vol. 17, file “CBC Armed Forces Service – Liaison with Department of National Defense 1958-62.” MG 30 E 298, LAC.

¹³⁴ “Letters,” *CBC Times* 8, no. 41 (22-28 April 1956): 8.

¹³⁵ “Letters,” *CBC Times* 9, no. 20 (25 November – 1 December 1956): 12.

¹³⁶ Press release, “ARTHUR HAILEY IS INTERVIEWER FOR CLOSE-UP STUDY ON EUGENICS,” 29 January 1960, Biography files, CBCRL; *CBC Times* 9, no. 6 (19-25 August 1956): 1; Press release, “BBC BUYS FILM RECORDING OF CBC-TV PLAY,” 29 August 1956, file “HAILEY, ARTHUR,” Biography files, CBCRL; Janice Tyrwhitt, “Arthur Hailey slays ‘em with suspense,” *Maclean’s* (27 April 1957): 20; *CBC Times* 9, no. 12 (30 September – 6 October 1956): 1; Rutherford, *When Television Was Young*, 282.

taunt to any and all comers. Scores of German pilots took up the challenge. Bishop shot down 72 of them.” Over images of him in uniform during the two world wars, the announcer described Bishop as “[h]andsome, daring, and brilliant.”¹³⁷ The report seemed reminiscent of celebrations of the feats of Bishop and fellow Victoria Cross recipient W.G. Barker in the years immediately following the First World War. The pair even performed mock aerial battles at the Canadian National Exhibition in 1919.¹³⁸ If this report was any indication, there was still an audience for such material in the mid-1950s.

Light entertainment programs like *Front Page Challenge* also profiled the heroism of Canadians in war. *Front Page Challenge* debuted on CBC-TV in 1957,¹³⁹ during the “summer hiatus” from regular programming.¹⁴⁰ Each half-hour episode featured three “challengers” who, as producer Jim Guthro explained, “represent, or is involved in, a famous history-making event” from the recent past.¹⁴¹ After the announcer introduced each mystery challenger to the viewers, the panel would spend four minutes asking the guest questions, to try to determine their identity and their headline. If the panel failed, the challenger received a \$100 prize. A \$25 prize was also given to the viewer who

¹³⁷ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 30 December 1956 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Rex Loring and Bruce Marsh, edited by Walter Brode, George Domnas, Helga Faust, David Ellison, Jean Pouliot and Ronald Hallam, ISN: 224317, LAC.

¹³⁸ Vance, *Death So Noble*, 88-89.

¹³⁹ *CBC Times* 9, no. 50 (23-29 June 1957): 1.

¹⁴⁰ The show caught on quickly and by February 1959 it was reaching an audience of 3.6 million per episode. It remained on the air for 38 years. See, Barris, *Front Page Challenge*, 3, 7 and 10; “Flashes from Audience Research,” *CBC Times* 11, no. 42 (25 April – 1 May 1959): 10.

¹⁴¹ In order to be included, producer Jim Guthro explained, “the events we use must have made the front pages of at least four large metropolitan daily newspapers in Canada.” Quoted in, *CBC Times* 11, no. 25 (27 December 1958 – 2 January 1959): 2. See also documents from file “Proposed Television and Radio Projects for Harry S. Truman [6 of 12; ‘Front Page Challenge’, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1957-59],” Box 22, William Hillman Papers, Harry Truman Presidential Library, Independence, Missouri: Jim Guthro to Harry Truman, 25 October 1957; Jim Guthro to Wm. Hillman, 28 December 1957. See also, “Front Page Challenge returns September 20,” *CBC Times* 13, no. 11 (17-23 September 1960): 1-2.

suggested the headline.¹⁴² In its first season, there was one guest panellist and three regulars: columnists Gordon Sinclair and Alex Barris, and actress Toby Robins. The moderator was Winston Barron.¹⁴³ On 22 July, the panel were unable to guess the identity of Flight Lieutenant Wally Floody. The narrator told viewers that Floody was one of the 76 “ingenious” Allied prisoners of war who made a “sensational” attempt to tunnel their way out of a German prison camp in “one of history’s greatest mass escapes.” The interview that followed revealed that the Germans killed roughly 50 of his fellow prisoners as they tried to escape and that Floody lost about 40 pounds while in captivity.¹⁴⁴ The framing and interpretation of the Floody interview bore some notable similarities to Second World War-era CBC radio series, like *Canada Marches*. Consider the episode from 12 August 1942, for example, which dealt with the “fight at Givenchy” in 1915. The narrator said that it was “the story of two men who stuck at it and did their job when some lesser men would’ve said, ‘It can’t be done.’”¹⁴⁵ Television

¹⁴² *Front Page Challenge*, first broadcast 22 July 1957 by CBC, a CBC variety production, moderated by Win Baron, with panellists Gordon Sinclair, Toby Robbins, Frank Tumpane and Alex Barris, ISN: 75975, LAC. In its first year, prominent figures like Harry Truman were offered \$1,500 to appear on the program. Ultimately, Truman declined due to his “hopeless overcrowded calendar of prior commitments.” See, documents from file “Proposed Television and Radio Projects for Harry S. Truman [6 of 12; ‘Front Page Challenge’, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1957-59],” Box 22, William Hillman Papers, Harry Truman Presidential Library: Jim Guthro to Wm. Hillman, 28 December 1957; Hillman to Guthro, 3 March 1958.

¹⁴³ *CBC Times* 9, no. 50 (23-29 June 1957): 1; *CBC Times* 10, no. 4 (4-10 August 1957): 12. Fred Davis replaced Baron in the autumn. See, *CBC Times* 10, no. 18 (10-16 November 1957): 12.

¹⁴⁴ *Front Page Challenge*, first broadcast 22 July 1957 by CBC, a CBC variety production, moderated by Win Baron, with panellists Gordon Sinclair, Toby Robbins, Frank Tumpane and Alex Barris, ISN: 75975, LAC.

¹⁴⁵ “Canada Marches,” first broadcast 12 August 1942, *CBC Digital Archives*, <http://re-archives.cbc.ca/programs/1531>, accessed 19 January 2013. See also documents from vol. 432, file 27-1 (pt. 5), RG 41, LAC: script, *Canada Marches*, episode titled “The Story of the Royal Canadian Regiment,” by Allister Grosart, January 1942; script, *Canada Marches*, episode titled “The Story of the Governor-General’s Horse Guards,” by Allister Grosart, January 1942; script, *Canada Marches*, episode titled “Fort Garry Horse,” by Allister Grosart, January 1942; script, *Canada Marches*, episode number 4 [Royal Highland Regiment of Canada], by Allister Grosart, January 1942; memo, Charles Jennings to Supervisor of Feature Broadcasts, “Dramatic series suggested by Allister Grosart,” 3 December 1941.

military histories thusly carried some characteristics of wartime narratives into the more sober programming of the late 1950s.¹⁴⁶

This phenomenon gradually gave way to greater emphasis on the horrors of war by decade's end. Consider, for instance, the way *Newsmagazine* marked the anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge in April 1958. Over footage of the Canadian memorial at Vimy and the preserved trenches, announcer Rex Loring stressed the obscene toll the battle took. "The battle was so savage than even the impersonal statistics appalled the imagination," he read. "Total casualties in that single battle were almost 150,000 Commonwealth soldiers. 12,000 Canadian bodies were never even recovered. In three years, both sides lost almost half a million men trying to either hold or take this battleground."¹⁴⁷ There was no praise for Canadian success or mention of the battle's lasting significance.

Close-Up's Remembrance Day special from 1958 was much the same.¹⁴⁸ When *Close-Up* debuted in October 1957 – the product of the Talks and Public Affairs Department – producer Ross McLean struggled to describe its purpose. He said they "could argue that *Close-Up* was concerned with clarifying controversy, interested in news-making people, less involved in following issues and more involved in

¹⁴⁶ So too did CBC radio. For example, *Project '59* aired a documentary that attempted a "reconstruction" of the Battle of Vimy Ridge, using oral history. See for example, *CBC Times* 11, no. 39 (4-10 April 1959): 19; *CBC Times* 11, no. 43 (2-8 May 1959): 30; "peter stursberg Assignment Army Day May 22 1959," vol. 3, file "CBC – PROJECTS, DOCUMENTARIES 1959 (4 of 4)," MG 31 D78, Peter Stursberg fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, MG 31 D78, LAC]; "This Week," *CBC Times* 12, no. 18 (7-13 November 1959): 10; Script, "'PROJECT '59', 'The Battle of Ortona,' Monday, December 22nd, 1958. 9:00 – 10:00 pm EST, CBL – Trans-Canada Network, Production: John Reeves, Script: Brian Swarbrick," vol. 3, file "CBC – PROJECTS, DOCUMENTARIES 1959 (4 of 4)," MG 31 D78, LAC.

¹⁴⁷ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 13 April 1958 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Rex Loring, edited by Jean Pouliot and Ronald Hallam, and produced by Dave Reynolds, ISN: 244055, LAC.

¹⁴⁸ Another was *Twentieth Century* which presented "two news-film reconstructions of the story of the Normandy invasion in 1944...." *CBC Times* 10, no. 33 (23 February – 1 March 1958): 1.

anticipating them – if not precipitating them.”¹⁴⁹ Perhaps these ambitions explained why, on 12 November 1958, program contributor Gregory Clark did not shy away from complaining about a social trend he found troubling. He criticized how “lightly is war brushed off by all save the true mourners, and even some of them forget. By reasons of convenience, many of the formal observations of November 11 were held on Saturday and Sunday, November 8th and 9th.”¹⁵⁰ Charles Templeton’s interview of British war cartoonist Bruce Bairnsfather, who reminded viewers of the horrors and sacrifices endured by the men who fought, offered a remedy to this apathy. His sardonic, dark humour, born from his grim experiences on the frontlines, was popular among Canadians during and after the First World War.¹⁵¹ During his conversation with Templeton, Bairnsfather recounted one particularly grim encounter with a Canadian soldier during the Second Battle of Ypres:

I was going across a field with a machine gunner when suddenly I saw an officer pass me and a few yards ahead of me threw his hands up in the air and dropped on the ground. And I ran to him and opened his shirt and ... I felt he got it ... bad ... right here, in the heart. And ... I managed – myself and the machine gunner – we got him back onto a stretcher and I lugged him back into a barn... And ... we hadn’t got to wait long before they started shelling this farm. So, it was really from out of the frying pan [and] into the fire, but we did the best we could. And I understand he was in the Canadian Army and came from somewhere near Toronto.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Ross McLean, “‘Close-Up’ on an Anniversary,” *CBC Times* 11, no. 12 (28 September – 4 October 1958): 2.

¹⁵⁰ *Close-Up*, first broadcast 12 November 1958 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, hosted by Frank Willis, with guests Bruce Bairnsfather and Bill Mauldin, and produced by Daryl Duke and Pat Watson, ISN: 273722, LAC.

¹⁵¹ Vance, *Death So Noble*, 84; Fussell, *The Great War*, 72-73.

¹⁵² *Close-Up*, first broadcast 12 November 1958 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, hosted by Frank Willis, with guests Bruce Bairnsfather and Bill Mauldin, and produced by Daryl Duke and Pat Watson, ISN: 273722, LAC.

The growing apathy decried by Clark was all the more unsettling, if not impossible to maintain, juxtaposed against the horrors of Bairnsfather's memories.¹⁵³

In addition to these in-house productions, the CBC also exposed Canadian viewers to British programs, which offered different perspectives on the Second World War. There were dramas about ill-fated wartime romance.¹⁵⁴ There were also miniseries, like the eight-part BBC-TV documentary *Men in Battle*, which examined tactics at places like Normandy, Stalingrad and Monte Cassino. Of the episode about the Allies' "plodding advance through the Reichswald Forest," the *CBC Times* noted that the "program will bring back memories for many CBC-TV viewers" since the First Canadian Army was involved.¹⁵⁵ The following year, the CBC broadcast another BBC-TV documentary miniseries about military leadership during the Second World War, called *Command in Battle*.¹⁵⁶ Viewers found the British perspective on the war "refreshing" in light of the "much too large a dose of U.S. *20th Century* boasting, that forces of the Commonwealth also made some contribution to success."¹⁵⁷ CBC-TV aired many more Second World War documentaries by or about the British in the years that followed, including the American Broadcasting Company's *The Valiant Years* about Sir Winston Churchill (1960)¹⁵⁸ and the BBC's *Men of Action* (1961).¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ Audience reactions were strong and positive. One viewer exclaimed that "I relished seeing your program..." "Letters," *CBC Times* 11, no. 22 (6-12 December 1958): 8.

¹⁵⁴ *CBC Times* 10, no. 13 (6-12 October 1957): 11.

¹⁵⁵ "Crucial Moments of the War Recaptured on CBC-TV in 'Men in Battle,'" *CBC Times* 11, no. 2 (20-26 July 1958): 12.

¹⁵⁶ "From El Alamein to Luneberg Heath," *CBC Times* 11, no. 50 (20-26 June 1959): 8-9.

¹⁵⁷ *CBC Times* 12, no. 1 (11-17 July 1959): 30.

¹⁵⁸ "The Valiant Years," *CBC Times* 13, no. 21 (26 November - 2 December 1960): 11; "The Valiant Years," *CBC Times* 13, no. 26 (31 December 1960 - 6 January 1961): 13. CBC-TV replayed *Winston Churchill - The Valiant Years* beginning in January 1965. See, "The Valiant Years," *CBC Times* 17, no. 27 (2-8 January 1965): n.p.; "The Valiant Years," *CBC Times* 17, no. 33 (13-19 February 1965): n.p.; "Dunkirk," *CBC Times* 17, no. 29 (16-22 January 1965): 2.

¹⁵⁹ "Men of Action," *CBC Times* 13, no. 49 (10-16 June 1961): 5-6. There were similar discussions of British military leaders on CBC-TV in-house programs. See for example, *Close-Up*, episode titled,

One of the few in-house CBC-TV programs to discuss the Canadian experience of British leadership was *Close-Up*. On 17 December 1958, it presented a history of the Dieppe Raid of 1942 based on the filmed testimony of eight men who were there. The raid, in which roughly nearly 20 percent of the Canadian force was killed and 40 percent taken prisoner,¹⁶⁰ had just been described as a mistake by Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery of Alamein and criticized by American historian Samuel Elliot Morrison. *Close-Up* responded to this renewed interest with an episode devoted to the “bloodbath called Dieppe,” to quote host Frank Willis. The episode outlined the sequence of events, explored the experience of prisoners of war, debated the tactics used, and recounted veterans’ feelings during the raid (“I was scared all day,” one veteran said). The interviewees also responded to Morrison’s claim that, as Willis put it, “Dieppe was a British waste of Canadian manpower.” Former war correspondent Ross Munro dismissed the idea, saying, “It’s silly to talk like that.” One of the veterans replied fatalistically, “no war is worth it, I don’t think. But ... if we’re going to have a war ... you’re expendable.” Another simply said that “they needed good troops and they had them.” The episode ended with grim footage of bodies strewn across the stony French beach, paired with mournful music.¹⁶¹

Although such gruesome, fatalistic depictions of war came at a time when many feared that a new, more terrible war might yet be on the horizon, few history or

“THREE WARRIORS,” first broadcast 7 October 1962 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, hosted by J. Frank Willis and produced by John Kennedy and Jim Guthro, ISN: 5693, LAC.

¹⁶⁰ “‘Close-Up’ remembers the Dieppe raid,” *CBC Times* 11, no. 23 (13-19 December 1958): 8; Bercuson and Granatstein, “Dieppe Raid,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Military History*, 66.

¹⁶¹ *Close-Up*, first broadcast 17 December 1958 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, directed by Daryl Duke, hosted by Frank Willis, and produced by Ross McLean and George Ronald, ISN: 285577, LAC. There was a similar discussion about Dieppe on *Close-Up* in 1962. See, *Close-Up*, episode titled, “DIEPPE / AUGUST 19 1942,” first broadcast 9 September 1962 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, written and produced by George Ronald, research by Raymond de Boer, directed by John Kennedy, and produced by George Ronald and Jim Guthro, ISN: 5711, LAC.

commemorative programs were as clearly marked by current events as was coverage of NATO's tenth anniversary. The government took the anniversary seriously, holding meetings to plan ways to suitably mark the event. Among the attendees was Marcel Ouimet, who presented the CBC's program ideas, which included a televised message from the prime minister and coverage on the news, using film provided by American networks.¹⁶² When *News magazine* marked the event, it had nothing but praise for NATO. Over footage of children playing, announcer Rex Loring said, "This boy, born April 4th, 1949, is as old as NATO. If he and other children are strong and healthy and free, if they are unscarred by war, if they know nothing of refugee camps, it is at least in part because NATO was born with them."¹⁶³

From 1956 to 1959, programs about the military were coloured by a new uneasiness. It was brought on by new perils, namely the Suez crisis, the threatened use of the intercontinental ballistic missile, and the nuclear missile-launching submarine. In response, CBC-TV bolstered its coverage of breaking news, recruiting the resources of radio and its foreign correspondents. It also aired programs that examined troubling new concerns about the nuclear threat, obsessed about the necessity of civil defence, and questioned the military's ability to protect the country. At the same time, history programming was also changing. Wartime narratives that had continued into the early 1950s, filled with grieving and gratitude, gradually gave way to nostalgia for wartime culture, fascination with the war's heroes, and a new determination to communicate the

¹⁶² Minutes, "MINUTES OF SECOND MEETING ON NATO'S TENTH ANNIVERSARY," 17 March 1959, vol. 919, file PG 18-25 (pt. 2), "SPECIAL EVENTS NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO)," RG 41, LAC.

¹⁶³ *News magazine*, first broadcast 5 April 1959 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Rex Loring, edited by Walter Brode, Don Evraire and Morley Safer, and produced by John Lant, ISN: 23410, LAC.

horrors of war to those who did not fight. This reflected the changing perceptions of the war among viewing audiences, historiographical debates and, to an extent, the new threats of war on an unimaginable scale. When CBC-TV produced programs that raised controversial questions about defence policy, the forces or military history, it did so with considerable care. Caution was partly a result of the special relationship between the CBC and those bodies charged with the defence of Canada – the military and the Department of National Health and Welfare principal among them. They were partners in civil defence and on programs, like *Challenge From the Sea*. Representatives of the forces and government offered advice, vetted and collaborated on the content of several such programs, while scrutinizing others and sometimes chastising producers for failing to consult with them. While this intimacy continued into the early 1960s, the narratives evolved. In a remarkable change of tone in the early 1960s, the questioning of the mid-1950s gave way to praise for all of the military's efforts to keep the peace around the world.

Chapter 3: “[T]here remains a place for the strength and skill and stamina of the fighting infantryman,”¹ 1960–1961

The future of Canada’s conventional forces was the main topic on CBC-TV programs about the military in 1960–1. In part, this trend marked a new variation on the worries from the late 1950s. After years of discussion about whether civilians would survive a nuclear war, news, commemorative, and history programs started to wonder if the military would survive the worldwide transition away from conventional weaponry. News programs presented peacekeeping as an ideal alternative role for the forces during these years. Indeed, there was more favourable news about the Canadian military’s role in the UN effort in the Congo than had been given to previous peacekeeping efforts. This not only reflected concerns about the future of the military, but also growing criticism of NATO for its failure to act on promises of non-military collaboration between its member nations and the popularity of peacekeeping. It also reflected the views of individual CBC correspondents, whose reports were wholly positive about the role Canada was playing in the Congo.

The coverage was revealing of the production contexts specific to the CBC news in the early 1960s as well. The forces granted access to the troops in the Congo, for example, while American broadcasters and the UN provided newsfilm and collaborated with the CBC to make live broadcasts from New York City possible. The development of more portable sound-on-film cameras also made it easier to gather film of the UN efforts in the interior of Congo. Finally, increased attention to the Canadian part in the UN mission in the Congo reflected not only the temper of the times, but also the

¹ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 24 January 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Harry Mannis, hosted by Norman DePoe, edited by Walter Brode, George Domnas, Charles Fullman and Morley Safer, and produced by John Lant, ISN: 25543, LAC.

provisions for Canadian content in the *Broadcasting Act* of 1958 and regulated by the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), as well as broader concerns about the balance of foreign and domestic stories in national newscasts. In 1960, the CBC news department was enforcing and developing policies to ensure that Canadian audiences were well served. Increased attention to the importance of Canada's contribution to the UN mission in the Congo (a Canadian angle to an otherwise international story) was a likely result of such scrutiny. For some, the CBC's coverage of the UN and criticism of NATO were illustrative of Communists in their midst. The CBC responded to the fears that underwrote the "Red Menace" with, for example, public affairs programs that exposed the damage to respectable persons by government security screenings, including those conducted by DND. However, criticism was reserved for the bureaucracy of National Defence and did not affect the presentation of the forces. By 1961, as a result of these varied production contexts, even the brief, all-film news bulletins that offered little more than the headlines had changed. Increasingly, these stressed acts of goodwill by the military, while continuing to emphasize the value/need of conventional forces.

Years of questions and concerns about the threats facing Canada coloured the CBC-TV news in the early 1960s. There continued to be reports about the military's training to prepare for the new realities of warfare, like the American-Canadian naval exercise "Sweep Clear 5." As announcer Frank Stalley said, "The fleet are practising the deadly game of cat and mouse – submarine against anti-submarine ships."² However, on a few

² *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 15 October 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Frank Stalley, ISN: 174371, LAC. See also, *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 13

such reports, awareness of the nuclear threat not only shaped the topics in the newscast, but also their interpretation. Consider, for example, Kingsley Brown's *Newsmagazine* report about the Royal Canadian Regiment's winter training exercises at Kirkland Lake, Ontario, in January 1960. Brown, standing in the snow with a tank behind him, introduced the report by saying,

The infantry for a long time has been referred to as the "Queen of Battle." Today, in the nuclear age, the role of the infantryman may not be as positive. And when it comes to holding and fighting for the unfriendly ground of the north, some military observers claim that the infantry – as old as organized fighting itself – has much to learn about a type of warfare for which Canada began its training a relatively short time ago.³

Brown narrated the film that followed, which showed soldiers moving equipment on aluminum toboggans, tramping through the snow, patrolling with rifles drawn, and setting up a camp, along with footage of paratroopers dropping from six RCAF C119 Flying Boxcars. For Norman DePoe – the host of that episode of *Newsmagazine*⁴ – the report suggested that "there remains a place for the strength and skill and stamina of the fighting infantryman."⁵

The idea that the conventional forces were still of value in the age of nuclear warfare was echoed on a series of programs commemorating significant military anniversaries, among them the centenary of the Queen's Own Rifles in 1960. To mark

October 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Ken Haslam, ISN: 174322, LAC.

³ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 24 January 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Harry Mannis, hosted by Norman DePoe, edited by Walter Brode, George Domnas, Charles Fullman and Morley Safer, and produced by John Lant, ISN: 25543, LAC.

⁴ CBC-TV began to make plans for the production of a "second edition" of *Newsmagazine* for the microwave network in 1956, which was to air live and have an in-studio host. While *Newsmagazine* originally had a host (Lorne Greene), he appeared on only a handful of the earliest episodes. Thereafter, the series had only a narrator that was often unidentified and always unseen. See, report, "NOTES on 'CBC Newsmagazine' (Dictated by Manager, National TV News, 18 May 1956)," vol. 907, file, PG 10-17 (pt. 1), 1954-59, "News. CBC News Magazine," RG 41, LAC.

⁵ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 24 January 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Harry Mannis, hosted by Norman DePoe, edited by Walter Brode, George Domnas, Charles Fullman and Morley Safer, and produced by John Lant, ISN: 25543, LAC.

the event, Blair Fraser interviewed Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery for *Close-Up* in April and CBC-TV aired a 30-minute documentary about the history of the regiment, from its formation to the present day.⁶ For the latter, a CBC camera crew recorded “winter assault courses, march pasts, manoeuvres and gun drill” to demonstrate “the regiment’s modern training tactics.”⁷ That same year, the RCN celebrated its 50th anniversary. CBC-TV partook in the festivities, airing three documentaries that offered a history of the navy and a “look at the role the navy plays in the atomic age.” *Exercise at Sea* focused on the technical capabilities of HMCS *Bonaventure*, whereas *Navy Day, 1960* discussed the Atlantic fleet, and *Pacific Fleet: 50* profiled the ships patrolling the West coast.⁸ CBC-TV’s *Comparisons* joined in the celebration with a 60-minute “film history” of the RCN.⁹ The CBC also telecast the presentation of ceremonial drums, given to the RCN by the Province of Nova Scotia on the event of its anniversary.¹⁰ This insatiable appetite for naval history did not go unnoticed. Indeed, the CBC even received proposals from officers, like Captain (RCN) R.L. Hennessy, offering to share their wartime experiences.¹¹ Commander R.C. Hayden (Director of Naval Information) also took note, remarking that after the navy put “very considerable effort” into

⁶ Jack Craine to Alan Brown, 25 April 1960, vol. 754, file NF3-4-10 (pt. 11), “Northern & Armed Forces Services, Programme Production – Armed Forces, Liaison with Armed Forces – General,” RG 41, LAC.

⁷ “On Parade,” *CBC Times* 12, no. 43 (30 April – 6 May 1960): 11.

⁸ “50 Years – from Rainbow to Restigouche,” *CBC Times* 12, no. 45 (14-20 May 1960): 6-7.

⁹ Readers complained that the advertisement for the program contained a significant error. It mistakenly called *Bonaventure* a “light cruiser” and included a photograph that was obviously not of the aircraft carrier. The *CBC Times* later apologized, writing, “It seems we couldn’t tell a seagull from a flying-fish on a clear day.” See, *CBC Times* 13, no. 2 (16-22 July 1960): 24; “Correction: H.M.C.S. Bonaventure,” *CBC Times* 13, no. 3 (23-29 July 1960): 24.

¹⁰ “NEW DRUMS WILL ECHO R.C.N.’s HEROIC PAST,” *CBC Times* 13, no. 13 (1-7 October 1960): 10.

¹¹ Hennessy to Robin Woods, 25 April 1960, vol. 249, file 11-38 (pt. 2), “SPECIAL EVENTS BROADCASTS, DOCUMENTARIES – GENERAL,” RG 41, LAC.

publicizing its anniversary, “press and public reacted almost spontaneously, and thereafter the navy concerned itself mainly with keeping the fire alive.”¹²

Few commemorations were more clearly marked by the present-day worries about the future of the military than *Newsmagazine*’s discussion of the Battle of Britain in September 1960. The episode’s host, James M. Minifie, noted that the anniversary coincided with NORAD’s “Operation Sky Shield”: a large-scale test of the continent’s air defences against attacks that aimed to destroy “our capacity to retaliate.” Although the program did not commemorate Canada’s part in fighting the Luftwaffe during the Second World War, it did feature an interesting interview with W/C Jack Allen, a veteran of the war who was by 1960 the organizer for the aerobatics team, the Golden Hawks. Minifie asked Wing Commander Allen to compare the Hurricane and Spitfire pilots of the 1940s with the jet plane pilots of 1960s, saying “you hear a great deal of talk about a push-button plane. A pilot pushes a button and the plane goes up and meets the enemy. It finds the opponent and it shoots off. Is it a fact that push-button warfare is in?”

“In my opinion as a pilot, I don’t believe so. I don’t think that... the ... pilot’s brain will ever be replaced by instruments,” Wing Commander Allen replied.

After some discussion about the role of electronic equipment, Minifie went on to ask, “So, it’s still a question of [the] pilot, rather than the instrument?”

“He is certainly ... the most important part of the aircraft,” Allen insisted.¹³

¹² Memo, Commander (RCN) R.C. Hayden to VCNS, “PUBLIC RELATIONS,” 7 December 1961, series 2 “Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press,” file 47, 85/304, DHH.

¹³ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 11 September 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Harry Mannis, hosted by James Minifie, edited by Keith Davidson, Jean Pouliot, and Don Cameron, and produced by Richard Ballentine, ISN: 25575, LAC.

Alongside these worries about the future of warfare, a wholly new subject began to emerge on CBC-TV programs about the forces in the summer of 1960. Belgium hastily granted the Congo independence in 1960. Dissatisfaction with the state of affairs after independence soon led to unrest, seen for instance in the mutiny of soldiers in Leopoldville on 5 July. Europeans still in the Congo were the target of much of the violence that followed. In an effort to restore peace, the Belgian military entered the country without the consent of the Congolese Government.¹⁴ In response, the Congolese asked the Security Council for assistance in “protect[ing] the national territory of the Congo against the present external aggression which is a threat to international peace.”¹⁵ The Security Council answered with calls for Belgian withdrawal and the creation of a peacekeeping force to restore law and order. On 15 July, the first troops reached Leopoldville as part of the *Opération des Nations Unies au Congo* (ONUC).¹⁶

According to J.L. Granatstein, the UN asked Canada to contribute some “280 French-speaking and bilingual signallers....”¹⁷ There was pressure, too, from those Canadians who believed the country’s part in resolving the Suez crisis had been among its “finest hours” and thought it had a role to play in the Congo.¹⁸ Some newspapers contributed to this pressure by popularizing the view that Canada was a peacekeeping nation, well-suited to such intervention. The Toronto *Daily Star*, for instance, insisted “Canada – which has no interest in the Congo save that of peace – could play a vital role” in resolving the conflict.¹⁹ In the end, Prime Minister Diefenbaker acquiesced.

¹⁴ United Nations, *Blue Helmets*, 175-77.

¹⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, 177.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 177-78, 709-10.

¹⁷ Granatstein, *Canada’s Army*, 392.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 347; J.L. Granatstein and David J. Bercuson, *War and Peacekeeping: From South Africa to the Gulf – Canada’s Limited Wars* (Toronto: Key Porter, 1991), 217.

¹⁹ Quoted in Colin McCullough, “No Axe to Grind in Africa,” 233.

Canada was part of the mission in the Congo from its establishment until its end on 30 June 1964. The country contributed signals units and airmen to the operation, and made airlifts of food.²⁰

News programs, in particular, emphasized the way the military's contributions to the UN efforts shaped Canada's international image and how that image determined what the country was able to contribute to the UN. This was likely a reflection of the growing public support for peacekeeping. However, there was another explanation. The *Broadcasting Act* of 1958 required that television must be "basically Canadian in content and character."²¹ In 1959, the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), which the Act established as a regulatory body, initially defined "basically" as 55 percent of programs, especially during primetime.²² Regulation was to begin in April 1961.²³ In the meantime, the CBC President commissioned a study of the "overall balance" of the news services in response to unspecified allegations that the news stressed "minor international stories" at the expense of domestic news.²⁴ The study found that, between 15 April and 15 July 1960, the national television newscasts contained "39 per cent Canadian wordage and 35 film." Reviewing these findings in September, Chief News Editor W.H. Hogg thought that the "editors struck a reasonably good balance and in line

²⁰ United Nations, *Blue Helmets*, 175-79, 709-10.

²¹ Quoted in "BASICALLY CANADIAN --- THAT'S WHAT THE ACT SAYS," *Canadian Broadcaster* 18, no. 11 (11 June 1959): 26; "Document 29: Broadcasting Act, 6 September 1958, 7 Eliz. 2, c. 22," in *Documents of Canadian Broadcasting*, ed. Roger Bird, 268-83 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988), 272.

²² Sam G. Ross, "BBC Proposes a Basic Requirement of 55% Canadian Content," *Canadian Broadcaster* 18, no. 15 (13 August 1959): 6.

²³ For more about the regulations (when it began, the definition of "Canadian content"), see Ryan Edwardson, *Canadian Content: Culture and the Quest for Nationhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 84-85.

²⁴ Memo, E.S. Hallman to H.G. Walker, M. Ouimet, and C. Jennings, "CBC News Services - Canadian versus International News," 12 July 1960, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 3), "News Programs. General Correspondence," RG 41, LAC.

with basic policy.”²⁵ However, he felt there was more that could be done. To that end, he told the news supervisors to ensure that:

1. On the occasional nights when ... Canadian stories and ... Canadian film are thin, a deliberate search should be made for Canadian features or secondary Canadian stories that could be used instead of secondary foreign news or newsfilm.
2. Please guard against overdoing U.S. “military” film items even though such news as new planes, rockets etc. are visually exciting, and instead cultivate possible sources of Canadian and U.K. military film.²⁶

Hogg also asked news supervisors to ensure that all staff was well acquainted with the CBC’s “basic policy” and particularly policy directive 15.5 (est. 1956), which stressed the need to focus on Canadian stories:

Unless there is a significant development in the international field, Canadian stories should be given preference in the arrangement of items in our news bulletins [emphasis in original]. Some of these stories may seem secondary in importance, from the viewpoint of world news values. But if they deal with news that interests an average Canadian, and if they are fresh news, they should very definitely be given preference in bulletin position....²⁷

There was, thusly, an atmosphere of scrutiny, in which news stories and film about Canadians were given a place of prominence and abiding policy directives to that end was a priority. It followed naturally that much more attention would have been paid to the importance to Canada of participating in ONUC (a Canadian angle to an otherwise international story) than was given to the UN in earlier years.

²⁵ Memo, W.H. Hogg to “All News Supervisors,” “Canadian Content in News Programs,” 23 September 1960, vol. 174, file 11-17-4-11, “NEWS Policy Instruction,” RG 41, LAC. See also, W.H. Hogg to Vice President, Programming, “Survey of Canadian vs. Foreign News,” 15 August 1960, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 3), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

²⁶ W.H. Hogg to “All News Supervisors,” “Canadian Content in News Programs,” 23 September 1960, vol. 174, file 11-17-4-11, “NEWS Policy Instruction,” RG 41, LAC.

²⁷ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “CBC News Directives and Style Guide” (June 1956), sec. 15.5.

Coverage of the Canadian military's role in the Congo began with the arrival of troops. On 24 July, the CBC's UN correspondent Stanley Burke²⁸ presented an argument for Canadian neutrality in world affairs in his report from New York City for *Newsmagazine*. He explained that Canada could not make a larger contribution to ONUC because it was not one of the world's "neutral countries" on which the Security Council relied. He went on to say that "the Canadians have made great contributions in UNEF and many people have suggested that this is the kind of thing we can do in the future, but if these ground rules are maintained, the Canadian contribution may be modest." Two film reports of that "modest" effort followed. The first was silent footage of the RCAF airlifting foodstuffs to Leopoldville and evacuating Canadian civilians with descriptive narration. The second was a sound-on-film report prepared by CBC staff cameraman Philip Pendry²⁹ and reporter Donald Gordon, who travelled to Congo to prepare film reports for CBC news programs.³⁰ The CBC News Service in Sound used all 15 of the radio news items they produced. The television news used 22 of their 29 film reports ("an unusually high" amount), along with "four in-depth contributions to

²⁸ He had been the CBC's UN correspondent since 1958. See documents from file "Burke, Stanley," Biography files, CBCRL: press release, "THE MANY CAREERS OF CBC's STANLEY BURKE," 13 October 1961; "Stanley Burke – United Nations Correspondent for CBC," *CBC Times* (19 January 1958).

²⁹ According to the *CBC Times*, Pendry had "logged a fantastic 50,000 miles collecting news and feature television film" by 1959. See, Donald Gordon, "Phil Pendry: 50,000 Miles of Headlines," *CBC Times* 11, no. 27 (10-16 January 1959): 3.

³⁰ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 24 July 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, hosted by Norman DePoe, narrated by Harry Mannis, edited by Keith Davidson, Don Evraire and George Domnas, and produced by David Marcus-Roland, ISN: 25570, LAC. The French network also sent a reporter and cameraman to the Congo in the summer of 1960. *Téléjournal* used eight silent film items produced by Dostaler O'Leary and his cameraman Glenn Platt. *Camera '60* (akin to *Newsmagazine*) used silent and sound-on-film reports on episodes from 17, 24 and 31 July. At the time, O'Leary was "the only Canadian foreign correspondent of the French Networks." He was based in Paris and reported on events in Europe, Africa and the Middle East. See, documents from vol. 906, file PG 10-11 (pt. 6), "News. CBC News Contributor," RG 41, LAC: memo, Bruno Comeau to Marcel Ouimet, "Voyage d'O'Leary au Congo," 9 August 1960; Teletype message, Bruno Comeau to Marcel Ouimet, 11 July 1960; report, "Assessment of CBC Foreign Correspondents," 2 October 1962.

two separate Newsmagazines.”³¹ The episode from 24 July, for example, featured Gordon’s interview with Major Wayne King of Victoria, BC, who was Chief Operations Officer for one of the UN Commanders, Lt.-Gen. Carl C. von Horn (Sweden).³² Major King spoke with great optimism about the mission, saying that the Congolese “have confidence in what the United Nations is trying to do.”³³

Optimism gave way to praise on 18 September, when *Newsmagazine* host Norman DePoe spoke directly to the camera from his anchor desk in studio, saying,

While attention was being focused on the Congolese leaders, on the tragic bloodletting, and on the comic Gilbert-and-Sullivan overtones of this Congo circus, one significant aspect of the situation was being neglected. The fact – as yet not fully realized by many people in this country – is that the Canadians serving with the UN in the Congo are making contributions whose usefulness is far out of proportion to their numbers. For instance, a handful of army signals men racing the clock, are setting up a complete Teletype exchange network throughout a country that’s 60,000 square miles larger than the combined areas of Ontario, Quebec, and the three Maritime provinces.³⁴

A film report about these efforts followed, which included an interview with Capt. Robert Carr of the Royal Canadian Army Signal Corps who explained his job in the Congo, handling communications for the UN (“our greatest problem is getting frequencies”).³⁵

³¹ Memo, W.H. Hogg to Director of Networks Programming (English), “Congo Assignment – Assessment,” 12 August 1960, vol. 906, file PG 10-11 (pt. 6), “News. CBC News Contributor,” RG 41, LAC. Gordon reported on the progress his assignment by sending a message by shortwave to London. It was relayed from there by the Atlantic cable to Toronto. See, L.D. Brown to H.G. Walker, 12 July 1960, vol. 906, file PG 10-11 (pt. 6), “News. CBC News Contributor,” RG 41, LAC.

³² Lieutenant-General von Horn had a long history with UN actions. He succeeded Major-General Burns as the head of UNTSO before joining ONUC. See, United Nations, *Blue Helmets*, 709; Granatstein and Bercuson, *War and Peacekeeping*, 217.

³³ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 24 July 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, hosted by Norman DePoe, narrated by Harry Mannis, edited by Keith Davidson, Don Evraire and George Domnas, and produced by David Marcus-Roland, ISN: 25570, LAC.

³⁴ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 18 September 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Harry Mannis, hosted by Norman DePoe, edited by Keith Davidson, Jean Pouliot, Don Cameron and Amedeo Gerngross, and produced by David Marcus-Roland, ISN: 25576, LAC.

³⁵ Ibid.

The views expressed by Stanley Burke and Norman DePoe on *Newsmagazine* were milder, but similar to more controversial opinions about Canada's international commitments, which James M. Minifie was popularizing at the time. Minifie presented an argument for Canadian neutrality in his book *Peacemaker or Powder Monkey: Canada's Role in a Revolutionary World*, released in February 1960.³⁶ In it, he insisted that, not only did military alliances like NATO and NORAD not preserve peace, they also stifled Canadian independence. He wrote,

The vivid and memorable act which would set the stage for restoration of Canadian independence would be a Declaration of Neutrality.

It would involve dissolving the smothering alliance of NORAD..., withdrawing from a NATO already wrecked by President de Gaulle, and annulling the Permanent Joint Board of Defence, Canada-United States. It would not involve withdrawing from the Commonwealth; on the contrary it would strengthen the Commonwealth bond by severing the military fetter with a non-Commonwealth nation. Still less would it involve leaving the United Nations. Here again, it would enable fuller participation in the United Nations, bolder initiatives without the "arm-twisting" which currently goes on whenever Canada shows signs of departing from the American line.³⁷

By the end of 1960, *Peacemaker or Powder-monkey* was in its fifth printing.³⁸ In the wake of its success, Minifie gave lectures on the subject, including one at the Vancouver Institute in March 1961. His speech, perhaps even more so than his book, explained important corollaries to his proposal of neutrality that have often been ignored by critics, like Granatstein, who wrote that "Minifie seemed to believe ... that there was no Soviet Union with missiles and bombers poised to strike over the North Pole, and scarcely any need for Canadian defence."³⁹ Minifie did not ignore the nuclear threat, but shared the pessimism and fear of nuclear war that gripped much of the world.

³⁶ Thompson and Randall, *Canada and the United States*, 206.

³⁷ James M. Minifie, *Peacemaker or Powder-Monkey: Canada's role in a revolutionary world* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1960), 5.

³⁸ Thompson and Randall, *Canada and the United States*, 206.

³⁹ Granatstein, *Yankee Go Home?* 127.

He insisted that nuclear war was unwinnable, so the best course was to preserve peace rather than prepare for war (what he called the “race towards suicide”). Moreover, he argued that playing “peacemaker” was Canada’s only means to make a valuable contribution to world affairs.⁴⁰

Underwriting his criticism of NATO and NORAD and his argument for neutrality was a cry for Canada to cease being an American “satellite” state.⁴¹ In so doing, he blended the growing desire among many Canadians to be known worldwide for peacekeeping with a kind of anti-Americanism popular since the late 1950s. Fears that the Canadian economy was American-controlled led to similar claims about the country becoming an American satellite. Indeed, Prime Minister Diefenbaker was swept into power, in part, on a wave of anti-American feeling that grew from distaste for American ownership of Canadian resources.⁴² However, Diefenbaker was not prepared to go it alone: he publicly and privately declared his government’s commitment to NATO and NORAD during his visit to Washington in the summer of 1960.⁴³ Most Canadians also continued to support NATO.⁴⁴

The CBC News Service did not prevent the publication of Minifie’s book or his speaking tours, but Hogg and his colleagues did worry that Minifie’s views could be problematic. Indeed, they were surprised when little public outcry followed: the CBC received “fewer than a dozen” letters of complaint. The reason, they decided, was not

⁴⁰ James M. Minifie, “Canada – Peacemaker or powdermonkey?” Vancouver Institute Lecture series, 11 March 1961, <http://hdl.handle.net/2429/36428> (accessed 19 December 2012).

⁴¹ As one reviewer wrote, Minifie was insisting Canada was a “helpless satellite.” See, John A. Stevenson, review of *Peacemaker or Powder-Monkey*, by James M. Minifie, *The Western Political Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (June 1961): 611.

⁴² Robert Bothwell, *Alliance and Illusion: Canada and the World, 1945-1984* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 119, 152, 191.

⁴³ Denis Smith, *Rogue Tory: The Life and Legend of John G. Diefenbaker* (Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 1995), 370.

⁴⁴ Granatstein, *Canada’s Army*, 349.

that the opinions were popular or uncontroversial, but “[p]resumably [audiences] do not find that his theories influence his reporting of happenings from day to day or even the assessments he gives of American political developments.....”⁴⁵

Minifie’s views may not have coloured his journalism, but like-minded public figures expressed similar ideas about NATO on CBC-TV programs.⁴⁶ On 14 August 1960, *Newsmagazine* featured an interview with Hazen Robert Argue, the CCF Member of Parliament representing Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, who had just been elected as the party’s national leader.⁴⁷ The CCF had been the first to break with the government over its handling of Cold War defence, by voting against Canada’s participation in NORAD in 1957.⁴⁸ It was no surprise, then, that when reporter Arthur Robson asked about the party’s stance on NATO, Argue responded by saying that “withdrawal from NATO” was the “CCF official policy.” He went on to say that the party’s position reflected “a trend in thinking in Canada, namely, that there is and has been too much emphasis on military commitments and not enough emphasis on economic association and economic assistance.”⁴⁹

However, not all programs presented Canada’s alignment with the West in such bodies as NATO as the antithesis to its good works through the UN. Consider, for instance, *A Christmas Letter* – a television special filmed by the Canadian Armed

⁴⁵ Report, “Assessment of CBC Foreign Correspondents,” 2 October 1962, vol. 906, file PG 10-11 (pt. 6), “News. CBC News Contributor,” RG 41, LAC.

⁴⁶ One reason, beyond the increasing prevalence of these views, was that Minifie was among many at the CBC to have these opinions. Hugh Palmer said that, “There’s no question that the average producer in the CBC tends to be more NDP than he’s either Liberal or Conservative. And there’s no question that even though he tries reasonably hard, that does come out in the programming.” See, Interview of Palmer by Eaman, R9336-0-6-E, LAC

⁴⁷ Bill Cameron, “Argue, Hazen Robert,” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, ed. James H. Marsh, 90 (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1985), 90.

⁴⁸ Granatstein, *Yankee Go Home?* 126.

⁴⁹ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 14 August 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Harry Mannis, edited by Don Evraire, Norman Warren, Amedeo Gerngross, Keith Davidson and Jean Pouliot, and produced by Marcus-Roland, ISN: 25572, LAC.

Forces and the NFB, which CBC-TV aired on 25 December 1960. The program opened with a Christmas message from Defence Minister Douglas Harkness. From the comfort of a leather armchair in a CBC studio, Harkness said,

Canada now shoulders a heavy responsibility in world affairs. As party to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, we are strongly committed to protecting the rights and freedoms of ourselves and our allies.... Canada, through the United Nations, has also accepted the role of peacemaker in the Middle East along the troubled zone between Israel and Egypt; in Asia, where Canada is a member of the Truce Commission in Laos; and now in the Congo, where a new African state struggles to find its way to nationhood.... Closer to home, we have entered into equal partnership with the United States in a Joint Defence of the North American continent.... I am sure we can all agree that the splendid efforts being made by these men and women will help lead to a world at peace with itself.⁵⁰

Canada's partnership with the United States in NORAD and NATO were thusly compatible with its growing responsibilities as a "peacemaker." The film that followed, which profiled the work of three unidentified men who represented the three branches of the armed forces, further reinforced the idea that the military worked to preserve peace. Men narrated a staged portrayal of their frontline experiences in the manner of a letter home. There was a Canadian sailor participating in a 10-day war game aboard a British submarine. An airman with RCAF Maritime Air Command spoke about a routine patrol that provided "an unfailing reminder that peace depends on the vigilant," the narrator explained. A soldier serving with UNEF rounded out the trio. Where the other two were shown preparing for combat, the soldier was seen offering humanitarian aid, even recounting his efforts to help an injured child, over footage of the incident. He said, "Life is hard for these people out in the desert and, although technically the boy's hurt was no concern of ours, we knew they had ventured across the Gaza strip to obtain

⁵⁰ *A Christmas Letter*, first broadcast 25 December 1960 by CBC, filmed by the Canadian Armed Forces and the National Film Board, ISN: 294310, LAC.

our help.” The sergeant cradled the boy in his arms as they drove to a nearby UN hospital.⁵¹



Figure 4. CBC Concert Party in the Middle East.

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Source: Library and Archives Canada/Canada. Department of National Defence fonds/e010776817

In addition to airing promotional armed forces films like as this one, the CBC also provided other forms of support to the military. It made special arrangements to ship

⁵¹ Ibid.

tapes of Christmas radio programs to troops⁵² still serving with UNEF in the Middle East. Tapes were also sent to Canadians serving with ONUC.⁵³ CBC-TV shipped kinescopes of the Stanley Cup playoff games to remote army, navy and air force bases.⁵⁴ The CBC also took its show on the road. Its “concert party” tours brought performers from radio and television to Canadian bases around the world. In 1961, a troupe of 18 musicians and comedians performed a show called *Hits and Mistletoe* for Canadian serving with NATO in Europe. The CBC recorded the concert and broadcast it on the Trans-Canada network at Christmas.⁵⁵ The CBC made similar tours of the Middle East.⁵⁶ The military had to meet certain conditions in order to receive a visit from the CBC’s performers. First, the CBC only played bases where service personnel and their families were “remote from normal sources of Canadian entertainment....”⁵⁷

⁵² The CBC also provided special broadcasts for the Department of External Affairs. As H. Shane (Supervisor of Information Services) explained, “Each night, the Central Newsroom of the CBC in Toronto prepares a special news bulletin for the Department of External Affairs which is made up of the Canadian news items in the National News Bulletin heard at 10:00 p.m. on the Trans-Canada network. This special bulletin ... is picked up nightly and sent to External in Ottawa which then distributes it to Canadian missions around the world,” which included the Congo. See, H. Shane to D. Stansfield, 26 August 1960, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 3), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵³ Documents from vol. 753, file NF3-4-2 (pt. 4), “Northern & Armed Forces Services, Programme Production – Armed Forces, Special Broadcasts,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Keith Lawrence to F.R. Halhed, “Christmas Day Radio Programs for Canadian Troops Serving with United Nations: Middle East & Congo,” 22 November 1960; Lucy MacKay to R.A. Gray, 28 November 1961; memo, Keith Lawrence to Ken Dalziel, “Armed Forces Variety Show: Christmas,” 15 November 1961; Don McGibbon to Lucy MacKay, 15 November 1961; Colonel P.S. Cooper to Jack Craine, 26 January 1961.

⁵⁴ Teletype message, Jack Craine to Paul Fortier, 1 April 1960, vol. 753, file NF3-4-2 (pt. 4), “Northern & Armed Forces Services, Programme Production – Armed Forces, Special Broadcasts,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁵ “CBC Entertainers in Europe,” *CBC Times* 14, no. 25 (23-29 December 1961): 15; Teletype message, Andrew Cowan to Allan Brown, 29 September 1961, vol. 17, file “CBC Armed Forces Services – correspondence with D.N.D. 1961,” MG 30 E 298, LAC; “LETTERS TO THE EDITOR,” *CBC Times* 14, no. 27 (6-12 January 1962): 2.

⁵⁶ Kit Morgan, “CBC concert party takes forces’ ‘Showcase’ to servicemen abroad,” *Canadian Broadcaster* 23, no. 6 (19 March 1964): 20-21.

⁵⁷ Memo from W.E.S. Briggs, “LIAISON WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE AND THE ARMED SERVICES,” 20 March 1962, vol. 17, file “CBC Armed Forces Service – Liaison with Department of National Defence 1958-62,” MG 30 E 298, LAC.

Second, the forces had to provide transportation⁵⁸ and accommodation for the performers. In 1962, the troupe was supposed to be billeted on bases during its tour, but a 20-percent increase in the NATO brigade's strength left no rooms available for them. The show went on, however, thanks to Andrew Cowan of the CBC and Ernie McEwen from the Air Defence Headquarters in Ottawa. The pair, "acting as honest brokers between the Brigade and the Air Division," found the funds to put the troupe up in hotels, so the tour did not have to be cancelled.⁵⁹ Third, the CBC required that the concerts be free and insisted on its right to record them for later broadcast on radio and/or television.⁶⁰ For example, CBC-TV's *20/20* broadcast the concert party in 1962.⁶¹ As the troupe made its largest tour to date, with 14 performances at bases in Europe and the Middle East over a three-week period in April 1964, the CBC recorded six episodes of *The Tommy Hunter Show*, a radio special, and *Country Hoedown* (Figure 4).⁶²

In addition to the CBC's relationship with the military, there were other production factors that shaped programs about the forces overseas, including those serving with

⁵⁸ Ibid. Governed by the *National Defence Act* (7a) excerpt contained in, R.E. Keddy to Donald E. McGibbon, 5 September 1961, vol. 17, file "CBC Armed Forces Services – correspondence with D.N.D. 1961," MG 30 E 298, LAC.

⁵⁹ Memo, Andrew Cowan to General Manager (Regional Broadcasting), "European Trip September 1962," 2 November 1962, vol. 17, file "CBC Armed Forces Service – Reports March 1962 – Sept. 1966," MG 30 E 298, LAC.

⁶⁰ Memo from W.E.S. Briggs, "LIAISON WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE AND THE ARMED SERVICES," 20 March 1962, vol. 17, file "CBC Armed Forces Service – Liaison with Department of National Defence 1958-62," MG 30 E 298, LAC.

⁶¹ Memo, Andrew Cowan to General Manager (Regional Broadcasting), "European Trip September 1962," 2 November 1962, vol. 17, file "CBC Armed Forces Service – Reports March 1962 – Sept. 1966," MG 30 E 298, LAC.

⁶² Kit Morgan, "CBC concert party takes forces' 'Showcase' to servicemen abroad," *Canadian Broadcaster* 23, no. 6 (19 March 1964): 20-21; "Country Hoedown Salutes R.C.A.F.," *CBC Times* 16, no. 42 (18-24 April 1964): 9; "Armed Forces Showcase," *CBC Times* 16, no. 34 (22-28 February 1964): 14-15. For more about their experiences, see Tommy Hunter, *My Story*, with Liane Heller (Toronto: Methuen, 1985), 194-99.

ONUC. When the CBC News Service marked its 20th anniversary in 1961,⁶³ it boasted 14 newsrooms in 6 regions. Between them, they produced 120 daily newscasts for radio and 25 for television, the latter benefitting from the ongoing efforts of 100 staff and freelance cameramen.⁶⁴ Hogg commented on the progress and his hopes for the future of CBC news, saying “TV news must be self-reliant, must have its own reporters and cameramen on the spot when the news is breaking; the news dispatches from the agencies, while still supplying an essential basic service, are not enough. Nor, of course, can they deliver the on-the-spot voice and actuality reporting that has increasingly become the hall-mark of a good radio news operation.”⁶⁵ Efforts towards that end did not result in complete independence from foreign news sources. By 1965, the CBC was still benefitting from “special arrangements for exchanging film” with NBC, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the European Broadcasting Union. Other major suppliers of newsreels were London-based Visnews and United Press International.⁶⁶

Nonetheless, improvements to old technologies helped matters somewhat. News cameras that functioned as a “single system” – recording sound on film – started to emerge during the 1950s. The Auricon PRO-600 was one such camera, but unlike the earlier silent newsreel cameras, it required a three-man crew. The reporter would write/present the story and the soundman operated an amplifier unit to control audio

⁶³ It was also the Corporation’s 25th anniversary. See, “Dedication and Devotion,” *Canadian Broadcaster* 20, no. 21 (2 November 1961): 5; *CBC Times* 14, no. 17 (28 October – 3 November 1961): 1-40.

⁶⁴ Report, “CBC NEWS SERVICE: 20 YEARS AGROWING,” December 1960, vol. 900, file PG10-1 (pt. 3), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC; A.J. Black, “REMEMBER WHEN...?” *Radio/TV* 17, no. 1 (January 1961): 6.

⁶⁵ “CBC NEWS IS 20 YEARS OLD,” *CBC Times* 13, no. 27 (7-13 January 1961): 8.

⁶⁶ Knowlton Nash, *History on the Run: The Trenchcoat Memoirs of a Foreign Correspondent* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), 263; report, “CBC NEWS,” 26 November 1965, vol. 900, file PG10-1 (pt. 4), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

levels, while the cameraman filmed the action. The soundman became redundant in the 1960s, with the development of automatic sound adjustment on cameras like the Trenka-Tomlinson 16mm, which were also more portable.⁶⁷ Such developments simplified filming in remote locations, like the interior of the Congo, as Stanley Burke and freelance cameraman Eddie Higginson were preparing to do in 1961.⁶⁸

While he was in the Congo, Burke was to hand over his duties in New York City to Minifie. These duties included reporting live about events at the UN and hosting *Newsmagazine* on occasion.⁶⁹ For Burke, telecasting live from New York was a source of frustration that once caused him to curse on the air, saying “‘Jesus Christ don’t give me those cues!’ because we were 30 seconds to air, and they had given me a roll film cue from Toronto which said diametrically the opposite of what I wanted to end up saying...”⁷⁰ Although still an imperfect system, the relationship and the technology that made live broadcasting from New York possible was old by 1961. Since the mid-1950s, the UN allowed the CBC to film from its New York headquarters. To transmit the film to Toronto, the CBC had to rent the coaxial cable from New York City to Buffalo⁷¹ for a fee. In 1954, between the “connection charge,” the “basic mileage charge,” the “local loop charge between AT&T” and the “usage charge,” the CBC expected to pay \$6,730

⁶⁷ National Archives of Canada, *Beyond the printed word*, 329-30; Frajkor, “The Changing Technology of TV News,” in *Beyond the Printed Word*, 164.

⁶⁸ Memo, C.G. Gunning to Director of Networks Programming (English), “Newsmagazine Notes – Meetings February 15, 16,” 17 February 1961, vol. 907, file PG 10-17 (pt. 2), “News. CBC News Magazine,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Stanley Burke, “Media Forum: The News Anchor: Announcer, Reporter or Entertainer? / Discussion sur les nouveaux medias : Le reporter est-il un annonceur, un journaliste ou un artiste?” in *Beyond the Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada’s Broadcast News Heritage / Au-delà de l’écrit: La patrimoine de la radio-télédiffusion des nouvelles au Canada*, ed. Richard Lohead, 171-93 (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1991), 188.

⁷¹ W. Gibson Parker to Vincent Tovell, 13 July 1954, vol. 916, file PG 18-18 (pt. 2), 1949-54 “United Nations Programs,” RG 41, LAC.

to use the circuit 20 times a month.⁷² The CBC established a microwave link with Buffalo in 1953 that enabled CBLT to carry American programming live.⁷³ That was the final link in the relay of transmissions from New York City to Toronto.⁷⁴ Once programs reached Toronto, they could be broadcast across the CBC-TV microwave network. Thus, live broadcasting from the UN was an expensive, international affair.

“The centrepieces” of a live episode of *Newsmagazine* Burke hosted in February 1961, as outlined by General News Editor C.G. Gunning, were just as revealing of the CBC’s relationships and priorities, as were the arrangements that made live broadcasting possible. The episode was meant to be a “report on the continuing UN-Congo crisis.” Freelancer George Clay contributed film and a live report. As Gunning explained, Clay was “arriving in New York this weekend from the Congo where he has been reporting to NBC and to us. Clay is being brought to New York by NBC, a very timely trip as far as we are concerned. We will also have film which he and his cameraman have shot in the past few days in the Congo.”⁷⁵ Even through the contracting of freelancers, there was an element of informal collaboration between American broadcasters and the CBC.

Rarely was that more evident than in the plans for another visit to the Congo early in 1961. Norman DePoe travelled there to visit the troops, along with a freelance

⁷² See, memo, Vincent Tovell to Fergus Mutrie, “Video Link Costs – New York – Toronto,” 8 July 1954, vol. 916, file PG 18-18 (pt. 2), 1949-54 “United Nations Programs,” RG 41, LAC. See also, Teletype message, Doug Nixon to H.G. Walker and Keith Morrow, 20 May 1960, vol. 917, file PG 18-18 (pt. 3), 1954-65, “United Nations Programs,” RG 41, LAC.

⁷³ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *A Brief History of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* (Ottawa: Public Relations, CBC Head Office, July 1976) 14.

⁷⁴ CBLT boasted “easy access” to transmissions from the microwave facility in Buffalo. See documents from vol. 900, file PG10-1 (pt. 4), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC: report, “CBC NEWS,” 26 November 1965; memo, W.H. Hogg to A.K. Morrow, “TV News Feeds – CBC – CTV,” 11 October 1962.

⁷⁵ Memo, C.G. Gunning to Director of Networks Programming (English), “Newsmagazine Notes – Meetings February 15, 16,” 17 February 1961, vol. 907, file PG 10-17 (pt. 2), “News. CBC News Magazine,” RG 41, LAC.

cameraman and Radio-Canada's François Morrisette in the spring of that year. Initially, the newsroom considered contracting Clay, who had returned to Africa to film with a NBC crew, but Hogg felt that "while NBC might say 'sure, we'll make him available', they could just as quickly take him away if they needed him suddenly for their own coverage."⁷⁶ In the end, they opted to send a crew of their own, with considerable help from the military. After the RCAF administered the appropriate inoculations to the three men, they travelled aboard an RCAF aircraft from Italy to Congo,⁷⁷ reaching the interior in early April. During their assignment, they were closely tied to Army Signals, which was their only means of communicating with the CBC.⁷⁸ While in the Congo, DePoe interviewed Canadian servicemen, visited their headquarters, and discussed their responsibilities. Enthusiasm for the military's efforts coloured his reports. Consider, for instance, the *Newsmagazine* episode from 14 May. Over film of a military parade in the Congo, DePoe described the ceremony all of the troops participated in before they left the country: "The medal is ... issued by the United Nations for service in the cause of peace. It's something to be proud of and these men are... A good job, well done, and home at last."⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Memo, W.H. Hogg to Director of Networks Programming (English), "Newsmagazine Notes – Meeting March 8th, 1961," 9 March 1961, vol. 907, file PG 10-17 (pt. 2), "News. CBC News Magazine," RG 41, LAC.

⁷⁷ Ibid.; memo, C.G. Gunning to Director of Networks Programming (English), "Newsmagazine Notes – Meeting March 15, 1961," 16 March 1961, vol. 907, file PG 10-17 (pt. 2), "News. CBC News Magazine," RG 41, LAC.

⁷⁸ This was particularly valuable. In a 1960 memo about the "Security of Correspondents," Dostalier O'Leary wrote, "[i]t is not always possible for the supervisor to arrange fool-proof means of communication in certain countries." See, memo, W.H. Hogg to Director of Networks Programming (English), "Newsmagazine Notes – Meeting March 29, 1961," vol. 907, file PG 10-17 (pt. 2), "News. CBC News Magazine," RG 41, LAC; memo, Dostalier O'Leary to W.H. Hogg, "Foreign Assignments – Security of Correspondents," 6 December 1960, vol. 176, file 11-17-8-5 (pt. 4), "Overseas Bureau – London," RG 41, LAC.

⁷⁹ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 14 May 1961 by CBC, a CBC television news production, report by Norman DePoe and produced by David Marcus-Roland, ISN: 25611, LAC.

Not everyone shared this perspective on Canada's international commitments. UN-produced programs did not echo praise for Canada the peacemaker heard on in-house CBC-TV productions. In February 1961, CBC-TV's *Background* aired "The Man in the Blue Helmet" – a documentary produced by the UN. Not only did it not praise Canada, it also argued that the peacekeeping role in the Congo was under threat. Alistair Cooke, the host and narrator, explained the film's significance, saying,

At this very moment, the whole idea of United Nations Force is in serious trouble. The men in the blue helmets are serving most conspicuously in the Congo. Last week there were about 20,000 of them there. Within a few days there will be only 14,000. Four countries – the United Arab Republic, Guinea, Morocco and Indonesia – are in the process of pulling their soldiers out of the force and out of the Congo entirely. Their reasons for withdrawal are political and have to do with the struggle for power among various factions of Congolese.⁸⁰

The film that followed was an extended argument in defence of the UN's work. It included an interview with Major-General E.L.M. Burns, who said that the UN Emergency Force created in response to the Suez crisis was still at work and "has made for stability in the Middle East."⁸¹ He was the lone nod to Canada's contributions.

Not only did Canada's self-perceptions not match the UN's views, but there were also some Canadians who did not share the opinions expressed on the CBC and Société Radio-Canada. CBC programs produced during the "Red Menace" of the early 1960s faced particular scrutiny.⁸² In the summer of 1960, there began a wave of indictments that insisted the CBC's coverage of UN and NATO topics were illustrative of Reds in their midst. For instance, in a veiled accusation of Communism, a Member of Parliament asked the government,

⁸⁰ *Background*, episode titled "The Man in the Blue Helmet," first broadcast 2 February 1961 by CBC, hosted by Alistair Cooke and produced by Cliff Solway, ISN: 40828, LAC.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Other journalists experienced similar scrutiny. See, Pierre Berton, *My Times: Living With History, 1947-1995* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1995), 174.

Has the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation authorized Mr. Jean-Louis Gagnon, of Montreal's La Presse, to criticize the foreign policy of the United States, to attack the members of NATO and to praise the speech of Mr. Gromyko, minister of foreign affairs for the U.S.S.R., in his broadcast commentary on the French network, at 3 p.m. yesterday ... dealing with the emergency meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations?⁸³

G.C. Nowlan, the minister responsible for the CBC, replied simply the "views expressed" on the panel programs were "those of the individuals concerned."⁸⁴ Witch-hunts of this sort continued unabated well into 1962.⁸⁵ Among the more extreme allegations was Newfoundland Liberal MP Chesley W. Carter's claim that "the CBC provides a national platform for subversives ... from which [it] issues a barrage of ideas and points of view which originated in the Kremlin."⁸⁶ He was certain that "there is a liaison between Communist headquarters and the CBC."⁸⁷ Significantly, attacks on the CBC did not hurt its public image. In September 1962, a survey conducted by CBC Research revealed that the CBC news was "believed to be more reliable and believable than news from any other usual sources."⁸⁸

Fears of the "Red Menace" and the witch-hunts it spurred also influenced the presentation of the military on CBC-TV's *Inquir'y* in February 1961. Program producer Patrick Watson⁸⁹ and writer Munroe Scott prepared a two-part exploration into the

⁸³ Excerpt from Hansard, "Question by Mr. J.N. Tremblay, M.P. (Roberval) May 24, 1960," vol. 39, file no. 39/33, "C.B.C., 1960, file 1," MG 32 B27, Marcel Lambert fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, MG 32 B27, LAC].

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ See documents from vol. 237, file 11-27, RG 41, LAC: "Those CBC Reds," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 21 Nov. 1962; "The Woes Of The CBC," *Calgary Herald*, 21 Nov. 1962; "Toronto: Outpost Of Red Strength," *Cape Breton Post*, 15 Aug. 1962.

⁸⁶ "CBC 'Subversive Propaganda' Charge Hurlled by Liberal MP," *The Gazette*, 28 Jan. 1961, vol. 237, file 11-27, RG 41, LAC.

⁸⁷ Greg Connolley, "MP Bares CBC-Kremlin 'Link,'" *The Ottawa Citizen*, 28 Jan. 1961, vol. 237, file 11-27, RG 41, LAC.

⁸⁸ Report, CBC Research, Ottawa, "NATIONAL STUDY OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES TO CBC: A First Look at the Findings," 28 September 1962, vol. 345, file 16-11-1 (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

⁸⁹ Lloyd Robertson, then working at CBOT, remembers Watson as "one of the most innovative thinkers ever to grace the Canadian TV scene. He was among the first to understand that a hard-edged

“security procedures” used to determine if a person was “susceptible” to Communism and thus was a “security risk.” The choice of subject was not wholly their idea. Frank W. Peers (Director, Information Programming) reported that “the producer was encouraged to tackle this subject by Bob Bryce of the Privy Council office, and ... there were a number of discussions with people in the RCMP and in the Ministry of Justice.”⁹⁰ In the second episode, program host Davidson Dunton, then of Carleton University, presented the case of a professor and reserve army officer who agreed to teach a summer course to officers, only to be suddenly dismissed. Dunton and co-host for the episode, Lloyd Robertson, read letters the professor sent to the Ministers of Justice and National Defence asking for an explanation, along with their responses. After many inquiries, the professor discovered that he lost his position due to his “tendency to participate in public controversy,” Dunton quoted. The professor replied to the charges in a letter to the Minister of National Defence, which stated that he was “not ashamed of having behaved like a citizen of a free country....”⁹¹ The criticism of National Defence was all the more significant because the government was reviewing its practices of security screening at the time. Although this was not public knowledge, the producer and program organizer were aware.⁹² However, upon review of the program, Peers found no “undue identification with either party to the

editorial approach combined with engaging production values could build an audience for public affairs programming, which had generally been considered a backwater in Canadian broadcasting.” See, Robertson, *The Kind of Life It's Been: A Memoir* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2012), 66.

⁹⁰ Memo, Frank W. Peers to Vice-President, Programming, “‘Inquiry’ Programs on Security Clearance,” 9 March 1961, vol. 897, file PG8 “Inquiry” (pt. 1, 1960-64), RG 41, LAC.

⁹¹ *Inquir'y*, two episodes titled, “RCMP Security Checks,” first broadcast 20-27 February 1961 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, hosted by Davidson Dunton, written by Munroe Scott, and produced by Patrick Watson, ISN: 231919, 230820, LAC.

⁹² Memo, Frank W. Peers to Vice-President, Programming, “‘Inquiry’ Programs on Security Clearance,” 9 March 1961, vol. 897, file PG8 “Inquiry” (pt. 1, 1960-64), RG 41, LAC.

correspondence.”⁹³ Ann Henry of *The Winnipeg Tribune* was among those who praised the episodes, calling them a “valuable public service.”⁹⁴

Over the course of 1961, there was both subtle change and remarkable consistency in the topic and interpretation of reports about the military on the CBC-TV news all-film bulletins. There were reports, for instance, that now stressed the growing do-gooder image assigned to the forces. In January 1961, a News Film Package⁹⁵ played film of HMCS *Venture* at port in Esquimalt, British Columbia, as announcer Bill Bessey explained that the cadets trained there would go on to travel the world with the navy, acting “as goodwill ambassadors for Canada.”⁹⁶ Other reports continued to stress the modernity and value of the conventional forces. There were, for example, reports about training naval reservists in anti-submarine combat⁹⁷ and the development of the Canadian-built CF104 (described by the announcer as “the missile with a man in it...”) for use by NATO in Europe.⁹⁸ Similarly, CBC-TV’s tour of the naval air station HMCS

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Report, “INQUIR’Y – Press Comment on Series, May 25, 1961,” vol. 897, file PG8 “Inquiry” (pt. 1, 1960-64), RG 41, LAC.

⁹⁵ The CBC News Film Package was a newsreel-based bulletin, which was considered to be the “lowliest” of the televised newscasts, watched only by those Canadians living in areas not yet linked into the microwave network. When it began, it served 24 stations across Canada. By 1965, only 10 still used the News Film Package, or Filmpack, service. Because it was film (each episode was a composite of 339 feet of 16 mm film), rather than a live broadcast, it survived where other newscasts were not recorded for posterity. As many of the items included in the bulletin were taken from the previous night’s *CBC Television News*, it provides a glimpse into lost newscasts. See, “Prize Pak,” *Radio-TV* 21, no. 5 (July-August 1965): 17-18

⁹⁶ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 9 January 1961 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Bill Bessey, ISN: 174616, LAC.

⁹⁷ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 22 March 1961 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Bill Bessey, ISN: 174674, LAC.

⁹⁸ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 31 May 1961 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Jim Chorley, ISN: 174864, LAC. For a similar example, see *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 13 June 1961 by CBC, a television news production, news read by Elwood Glover, ISN: 174884, LAC.

Shearwater in February 1961 stressed its “outstanding contribution to the continued strengthening of this country’s defence forces.”⁹⁹

The role of the conventional forces was thusly the main topic of CBC-TV programs about the military from January 1960 to June 1961. On news, commemorative and history programs, there was emphasis on the value and importance of the men who worked the war machines, like the newest push-button planes. After Canada committed its military to participate in ONUC, there was also more favourable treatment of Canadian peacekeepers. This grew from concerns about the nuclear age and what the changing nature of war meant for Canada’s forces, questions about NATO’s future if the promised non-military collaboration between its member states was not fulfilled, and the popularity of peacekeeping. It also reflected the views of CBC personnel and the forces, the latter providing promotional material for broadcast by the CBC. The coverage of ONUC was also influenced by the production contexts specific to CBC-TV news programs in the early 1960s. In particular, it revealed the impact of new scrutiny of Canadian content in the news, the development of more portable sound-on-film cameras, and the CBC’s close partnerships with the UN, the forces and American broadcasters.

All did not share the views expressed on the CBC or by its staff. In its films about peacekeeping, the UN did not mirror the praise of Canada as peacemaker expressed on in-house CBC-TV programs. There were some in Canada, as well, who did not feel that the CBC should broadcast criticism of NATO, even making veiled accusations of pro-communism. In an effort to contest the fear mongering that underwrote the time of the

⁹⁹ “HMCS SHEARWATER,” *CBC Times* 13, no. 32 (11-17 February 1961): 9.

“Red Menace,” CBC-TV’s *Inquiry* exposed the negative impact of the security screenings at National Defence. By the end of this period, CBC-TV news programs were coloured both by the new emphasis on Canadian acts of goodwill and the continued focus on the strength and skill of the conventional forces. The future of the conventional forces remained central in the years that followed, as the discussion turned into a debate over whether the country should go nuclear.

Chapter 4: “There is nothing quite as exciting on television as the real world in action,”¹ 1961–1963

Cold War fears reached their frenzied zenith in the early 1960s. Though Canada was not a major player in international affairs, US-USSR brinkmanship had a significant impact on the CBC. There was a resurgence of worry about the military’s ability to defend Canada against a nuclear attack and attention to the politics around the government’s procurement of Bomarc missiles. News subjects were not the only things affected. The news service readied itself to cover any possible conflict that might result by: placing its staff at the ready; attempting to improve relations with NATO; providing newsfilm and live voice reports from Germany during the Berlin Crisis; and making arrangements for a foreign correspondent in the Soviet Union. The CBC also strengthened its partnership with the federal government on matters of civil defence. During these years, that intimacy hurt the Corporation’s reputation for integrity in its presentation of news and public affairs programming. There were apparently no such complaints about the influence of the military on the media, the CBC included, as the RCN, in particular, worked to foster a positive public image of its work.

History and commemorative programs were often the result of similar, intimate collaboration with the military. The NFB produced the first television miniseries to document Canada’s part in the Second World War, called *Canada At War*. While the CBC, which broadcast the series, had a small impact on its scripts, so too did Director of the Historical Section of the General Staff Col. C.P. Stacey,² who vetted the series.

¹ Hugh Kemp to Captain William Strange, 1 March 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (pt. 1), “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

² He was the author of official histories of the Canadian Army in the Second World War. See, Col. C.P. Stacey, *The Victory Campaign: The Operations in North-West Europe, 1944-1945: Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War*, vol. 3 (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1960).

The series also relied on film from the Second World War, much of it shot, or retrieved from the enemy, by the forces. Some was also censored. Moreover, screenwriter Donald Brittain based the series on the official histories published by Colonel Stacey and his colleagues, servicemen's memoirs, and military documents. Intimate and implicit collaboration also defined the CBC's continued efforts to present live broadcasts of the Royal Canadian Legion's annual Remembrance Day ceremony at the Cenotaph in Ottawa. This was nothing new, however. More remarkable were the arrangements for the ceremonies and the content of the telecasts in 1961–2 that seemed to suggest that the ceremony's social significance was changing and perhaps even waning. Significantly, the diminishing sense that Remembrance Day was an opportunity for reflection on personal grief came at a time when nostalgia for the Second World War was again on the rise.

There was little praise for the military on drama, news and public affairs programs after the Cuban Missile Crisis. In its wake, there was criticism of the accepted approaches to defence (nuclear arms and the construction of basement fallout shelters, for instance) on the CBC. Some were censored, because of the heightened sensitivity in the wake of the crisis. However, before long, criticism became the norm, as contributors to public affairs programs lambasted the military for its unpreparedness and cabinet ministers told reporters that they were resigning in opposition to the government's defence policy. By the time the new Liberal government came to office in 1963 with promises of nuclear arms for the military, the crisis had passed and the CBC was returning to normal operating conditions.

The Cold War started to heat up in May of 1960. That month, the Soviets shot down an American U-2 spy plane and seized its pilot.³ The resulting surge of tension touched the CBC. The news service started to work through “plans to meet any emergency situation that might result if the colder war turns suddenly hot, even on a limited basis.” This meant having cameramen and other staff (“younger men, preferably single”) at the ready.⁴ The news service even considered appointing a correspondent in Moscow. The creation of such a position had been discussed before and rejected, since the cost seemed to outweigh the hoped-for benefits.⁵ By June, the news service revisited the proposal and began courting Bill Boss and Mark Gayne for the job, as they were “the only two Canadian newsmen of any stature who speak Russian....”⁶ Not until 1964 did it name David Levy – who had a degree in Slavonic and international studies and was fluent in Russian – the CBC’s first correspondent in Moscow.⁷

The news service was also making efforts to strengthen its coverage of NATO’s activities in Europe. By September 1960, the CBC Paris bureau was in regular receipt of films from NATO – an arrangement put in place by the Information Officer for the

³ Gaddis, *The Cold War*, 73.

⁴ Memo, Hogg to General Supervisor of News (French), Manager of National TV News (Toronto), Editor-in-Charge of Central Radio Newsroom (Toronto), “War Plans – News Service,” 19 May 1960, vol. 174, file 11-17-4-11 “NEWS Policy Instruction,” RG 41, LAC. See also documents from vol. 174, file 11-17-4-11 “NEWS Policy Instruction,” RG 41, LAC: memo, A.K. Morrow to W.H. Hogg, “War Plans – News Service,” 18 May 1960; memo, W.H. Hogg to A.K. Morrow, “War Plans – News Service,” 17 May 1960.

⁵ Memo, Hogg to General Supervisor of News (French), Manager of National TV News (Toronto), Editor-in-Charge of Central Radio Newsroom (Toronto), “War Plans – News Service,” 19 May 1960, vol. 174, file 11-17-4-11 “NEWS Policy Instruction,” RG 41, LAC; memo, W.H. Hogg to Director of Programming (English Networks), “Moscow Correspondent,” 16 June 1960, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 3), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶ Memo, W.H. Hogg to Director of Programming (English Networks), “Moscow Correspondent,” 16 June 1960, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 3), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

⁷ Report, J.A. Ouimet, “A Confidential and Personal Appraisal of CBC,” 17 December 1964, vol. 986, file 74, RG 41, LAC; “CBC Moscow Correspondent,” *CBC Times* 17, no. 14 (3-9 October 1964): 2; David Levy, “Discussion,” in *Beyond the Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada’s Broadcast News Heritage / Au-delà de l’écrit: La patrimoine de la radio-télédiffusion des nouvelles au Canada*, ed. Richard Lohead, 230-35 (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1991), 233; David Levy, *Reflections of a Moscow Correspondent*, Mackenzie Paper No. 15 (Toronto: The Mackenzie Institute, 1989).

Canadian Delegation to the North Atlantic Council.⁸ This relationship held great potential for the CBC, as NATO provided the news service with film of events and places to which its cameramen might not have access. For instance, the Paris bureau received film that included a press conference given by NATO Secretary-General Paul Henri Spaak. In theory, it would then pass the best footage on to Toronto and Montreal, but as Jean Tétreau (News Assignment Editor, French, Paris) advised Hogg, there was “nothing yet very interesting for News purposes.”⁹ André Payette, also with the Paris bureau, was somewhat more enthusiastic, noting that several of the films sent to Montreal had been “partly used” on *Caméra 60* (akin to *Newsmagazine* on the English network).¹⁰ By January, however, the Film Procurement Officer at CBLT still had no record of any NATO films.¹¹

By 1961, the ongoing international tension was starting to take a toll on the news service. Early that year, CBC radio aired a startling news flash that announced, “[t]he U.S. Air Force says its radar station at Shemya Island, Alaska, has just detected an object with missile characteristics coming out of the Soviet Union in a South-easterly direction. Whether this object is a missile programmed to land in the Pacific or a space vehicle, is not determined at this time.” The bulletin left audiences needlessly anxious and the Chief News Editor miffed. Hogg complained that this information should never have been released in such a vague bulletin, but rather should have been included in the

⁸ Memo, André Payette to D.L. Bennett, “NATO Films,” 28 December 1960, vol. 900, file PG10-1 (pt. 3), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC; memo, I.W. Robertson to D.L. Bennett, “NATO Information Service – Production of Radio and Television Items,” 11 January 1961, vol. 900, file PG10-1 (pt. 4), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

⁹ Memo, Jean Tétreau to Hogg, “NATO FILMS,” 27 December 1960, vol. 900, file PG10-1 (pt. 3), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁰ Memo, André Payette to D.L. Bennett, “NATO Films,” 28 December 1960, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 3), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

¹¹ Memo, W.K. Moyer to D.L. Bennett, “NATO FILMS,” 24 January 1961, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 4), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

“next regular newscast,” by which time it the newsroom would have had more information and more time to place it in its “proper context.” In the hopes of preventing similar flubs, Hogg issued a directive that required, “Before flashing any news of Russian missile launchings – or items of that nature – editors must consult senior supervisors. Keeping in mind the possibility of creating public panic, special care must be exercised in the wording of all such items and their airing.”¹²

The topics in the news also changed, as the news service turned its attention to growing concerns about Canada’s preparedness for war and, particularly, the government’s decision to acquire Bomarc missiles. In early 1961, the news was underwritten by a prevailing assumption that missiles were the best option and all that need be decided was whether they ought to be nuclear.¹³ That point of view impacted the way it presented the acquisition of F101 Voodoo fighter jets from the United States. For instance, a report from 13 June began with assurances from CBC-TV news announcer Elwood Glover that the jets would be “Canadian-owned and armed with conventional weapons” – a politically significant statement. Footage of a press conference followed, wherein a reporter asked, “This being the age of missiles, why is Canada continuing to acquire military aircraft?” Diefenbaker replied that, while the Russians were mass-producing missiles, they were also “maintaining bomber

¹² Memo, W.H. Hogg to news editors and supervisors, “Special Bulletins or Flashes – Missiles – Misguided or Otherwise,” 17 January 1961, vol. 174, file 11-17-4-11 (pt. 6), “NEWS Policy Instruction,” RG 41, LAC.

¹³ Documents from vol. 907, file PG 10-17 (pt. 2), “News. CBC News Magazine,” RG 41, LAC: Teletype message, J.D. Nixon to H.G. Walker, 10 February 1961; memo, W.H. Hogg to Director of Networks Programming (English), “Newsmagazine Notes – February 8th,” 9 February 1961; memo, W.H. Hogg to Director of Networks Programming (English), “Newsmagazine Notes – February 1st,” 2 February 1961. For an example of how the matter was discussed a year earlier, see For example, *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 14 October 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Del Mott, ISN: 174348, LAC.

squadrons. In order to meet that continuing threat ... it was found necessary to assure that we should not be wanting in this particular phase in our national defence.”¹⁴

Later that day, viewers saw a controversial discussion of the Bomarc missile on the CBC-TV public affairs program *Close-Up*. It began with veteran journalist J. Frank Willis asking, “Should Canada join the nuclear club?” Models of the Bomarc were shown, as he explained that “missiles have just one job: to shoot down enemy bombers. This job they cannot do effectively without nuclear warheads. They cannot have nuclear warheads unless the Canadian government decides to take out joint membership in the US nuclear club.” Opinions on Canada’s options followed, presented as a series of film inserts. Among them was footage of Defence Minister Douglas Harkness who, in a speech to the House of Commons, said that “no decision will be taken” until the government received assurances that the nuclear warheads would be under Canadian control. Viewers also heard the opinions of veterans, interviewed by Douglas Leiterman at a branch of the Canadian Legion. They agreed that nuclear warheads were necessary, although some were concerned about overdependence on the United States.¹⁵

There were also news reports about training for war over disputed ground in Germany – the expected site for armed conflict between the NATO member states and the USSR.¹⁶ For instance, on 1 July 1961, over footage of soldiers running, shooting wooden targets shaped like the enemy, and driving tanks, announcer Frank Herbert said,

¹⁴ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 13 June 1961 by CBC, a television news production, news read by Elwood Glover, ISN: 174884, LAC.

¹⁵ *Close-Up*, first broadcast 13 June 1961 by CBC, a CBC television news production, hosted by J. Frank Willis, a CBC public affairs production, ISN: 4901, LAC. Historian Patricia I. McMahon has found evidence that the US ambassador to Canada believed the episode “supports Embassy’s opinion anti-nuclear sentiment in Canada much less than petitions and pickets lead some government leaders to believe.” Quoted in McMahon, *Essence of Indecision*, 117.

¹⁶ Granatstein, *Canada’s Army*, 348.

Over hill and dale and through dummy house fronts, Canadian troops attached to the NATO force in West Germany take part in their annual war game... Every sort of combat situation is duplicated with grim realism... These games found the men encountering dummy enemies in the bush and preparing for action in battles where nuclear weapons might be used. At one point, the infantry attacked through a gap created by imaginary atomic weapons.¹⁷

The report did not indicate whether the Canadians were training to use nuclear weapons or just defend against a nuclear attack. In the weeks that followed, it seemed that this training would soon be put to use, as the Berlin Wall rose during the night of 12–13 August to create a physical barrier to the otherwise unstoppable exodus of people from East Germany.¹⁸ Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev also authorized provocative atmospheric nuclear weapons tests.¹⁹ CBC-TV news programs, like *Newsmagazine*, kept Canadians informed of these developments by using live audio reports from Berlin, Moscow, Paris, London and Washington, and film shipped from Berlin.²⁰

In the meantime, the domestic debate about Canada's preparedness for nuclear war continued to rage on. On 16 September, the news reported on a fiery debate between Opposition Leader Lester B. Pearson and Defence Minister Harkness. Pearson called on the government to reveal its policy on nuclear weapons, to which Harkness replied, "I made it very clear ... that I was not going to be bludgeoned by the opposition into making any statement until the government considered that the time was right...."²¹

¹⁷ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 1 July 1961 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Frank Herbert, ISN: 23232, LAC.

¹⁸ Gaddis, *The Cold War*, 113-15.

¹⁹ Maloney, *War Without Battles*, 159.

²⁰ Teletype message, D. Chase to W. Armstrong, B. Stewart, B. Davies, K. Christie, D. O'Neill, E. Murray and D. Orr, 17 August 1961, vol. 907, file PG 10-17 (pt. 2), "News. CBC News Magazine," RG 41, LAC; *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 20 July 1961 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Bill Lawrence, ISN: 175199, LAC.

²¹ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 16 September 1961 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by [David Scrivens?], ISN: 175479, LAC.

While the Diefenbaker government dithered on the Bomarc question, Khrushchev's actions incited new concerns about civil defence in Canada, as in the United States.²² Knowlton Nash, then a correspondent for the CBC in Washington, remembered the dark humour that developed in these tense days. "What will you do when the bombs start falling?" the joke began.

"I'll join a crowd and walk slowly to the cemetery," another would respond.

"Why slowly?"

"I don't want to start a panic."²³

The government and clever businessmen encouraged Canadians to build or buy basement fallout shelters.²⁴ The trend soon became the subject for CBC-TV public affairs and news programs. *Close-Up* debated the merits of such shelters on an episode called "Three Feet of Earth" in January 1961. As Douglas Leiterman asked, "If everyone built one, would the war which must be prevented be more likely to take place?"²⁵ CBC-TV repeated the program in August.²⁶ The following month, *News magazine* had news editor John McCallum and his family experience life in a residential nuclear fallout shelter.²⁷

At the same time as some television programs debated the merits of Canada's civil defence measures, the CBC took on more of the burden for civil defence. The federal government established the Emergency Measures Organization (EMO) within the Privy Council Office in 1957 to plan its response should the country face a nuclear attack.

²² Maloney, *War Without Battles*, 159.

²³ Quoted in Nash, *History on the Run*, 67-68.

²⁴ *Civil Defence Canada* 2, no. 10 (November 1960): cover.

²⁵ Quoted in "SURVIVAL," *CBC Times* 13, no. 30 (28 January – 3 February 1961): 3-4.

²⁶ "THREE FEET OF EARTH," *CBC Times* 14, no. 5 (5-11 August 1961): 10.

²⁷ Teletype message, D. Chase to W. Armstrong, B. Stewart, B. Davies, K. Christie, D. O'Neill, E. Murray, and D. Orr, 8 September 1961, vol. 907, file PG 10-17 (pt. 2), "News. CBC News Magazine," RG 41, LAC.

This included provisions for the “control” of roads and communication, and arrangements for the “continuity of government in wartime.”²⁸ In its plans, National Defence was to warn of impending attack, while the CBC would take “charge of all domestic broadcasting facilities” for emergency communications.²⁹ In May 1960, the EMO remarked that, “Plans for the development of wartime communications are going forward with considerable speed. These plans include those for emergency broadcasting. The government realizes the extreme importance of its ability to keep in touch with the people as fully as possible.”³⁰ The details were practiced in drills, like Exercise Penthouse II in March and Exercise Tocsin in May 1961.³¹ The participation of broadcasters in such exercises was requested by the EMO and ordered by the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG). The CBC handled the “arrangements for the feed.”³² It also continued to provide a forum for debate about the measures taken by government for civil defence. For example, *Inquir’y* used Tocsin as an opportunity to discuss civil defence with Defence Minister Harkness and R. Byrns Curry, a veteran of the RCAF, who was director of the EMO.³³ Both spoke with cautious optimism, with Harkness

²⁸ Report, Privy Council Office (EMO), “THE EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” 6 May 1960, vol. 436, file 27-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES – INSTITUTIONAL EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” RG 41, LAC.

²⁹ Report, Privy Council Office (EMO), “Memorandum on Canadian Civil Emergency Planning at the Federal Level (Third Revision),” 29 July 1960, vol. 436, file 27-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES – INSTITUTIONAL EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” RG 41, LAC.

³⁰ Report, Privy Council Office (EMO), “THE EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” 6 May 1960, vol. 436, file 27-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES – INSTITUTIONAL EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” RG 41, LAC.

³¹ Documents from vol. 436, file 27-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES – INSTITUTIONAL EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” RG 41, LAC: memo, H.R. Hilliard to many, “EMO,” 31 January 1961; Charles Lynch, “Exercise Tocsin Proves Successful,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, 6 May 1961.

³² Memo, R.J. Kerr to Assistant Director, Radio Networks (Station Relations), “Exercise Tocsin – BBG Circular Letter #30,” 26 April 1961, vol. 436, file 27-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES – INSTITUTIONAL EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” RG 41, LAC.

³³ Memo, Loris Racine to R.S. Bryden and A. Boisvert, “EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION – TOCSIN B 1961,” 27 October 1961, vol. 436, file 18-16-3E-3 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES – INSTITUTIONAL EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” RG 41, LAC.

insisting that with “a sufficient number of shelters” in place, “there is a very, very good chance of saving a great many people....”³⁴

EMERGENCY BROADCASTING PROCEDURES

NOTICE TO STATION PERSONNEL

IF THE CB-1 ALARM RECEIVER IN YOUR STATION IS ACTIVATED AND/OR YOU RECEIVE THE FOLLOWING CANADIAN PRESS OR BROADCAST NEWS WIRE SERVICE EMERGENCY MESSAGE :

"INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL BROADCASTING STATIONS. THE CANADIAN EMERGENCY BROADCASTING SYSTEM IS BEING ACTIVATED ON ORDERS OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT ORDERS ALL AM, FM AND TV STATIONS TO IMMEDIATELY FOLLOW EMERGENCY BROADCASTING PROCEDURES POSTED IN EACH STATION."

PROCEED WITH THE FOLLOWING STEPS :

1. MONITOR CBC RADIO NETWORK (OR CBC TV OR CTV NETWORKS) OR TUNE AM RECEIVER TO _____
2. IF EMERGENCY BROADCASTING HAS BEGUN, MAKE THE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT :

"YOUR ATTENTION PLEASE. YOUR ATTENTION PLEASE. WE INTERRUPT THIS PROGRAM FOR A NATIONAL EMERGENCY BROADCAST. I REPEAT, WE INTERRUPT THIS PROGRAM FOR A NATIONAL EMERGENCY BROADCAST. PLEASE STAND BY AND LISTEN CAREFULLY FOR INSTRUCTIONS. IF THIS STATION CEASES OPERATION, TUNE YOUR RADIO TO A STATION IN YOUR PROVINCE - I REPEAT - IN YOUR PROVINCE SERVING THE AREA IN WHICH YOU ARE LOCATED."

3. AT THIS TIME BROADCAST THE EMERGENCY INFORMATION FROM THE NETWORK OR AM RECEIVER.
4. IF THE EMERGENCY INFORMATION FEED FAILS OR BECOMES UNINTELLIGIBLE OR IS OTHERWISE NOT AVAILABLE, STATIONS SHOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT :

"EMERGENCY BROADCASTING OVER THIS STATION HAS BEEN TEMPORARILY INTERRUPTED. PLEASE RE-TUNE YOUR RADIO TO ANOTHER STATION IN THIS AREA WHICH IS CARRYING THE EMERGENCY BROADCASTING ANNOUNCEMENTS. IF YOU CANNOT RECEIVE ANOTHER STATION PLEASE STAND BY UNTIL SERVICE OVER THIS STATION IS RESTORED."

REPEAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT AT REGULAR INTERVALS WITH DEAD AIR BETWEEN, BUT REMAIN ON THE AIR.

Figure 5. Emergency Broadcasting Procedures (c. 1961).

Source: CWM 20020045-1212C212, George Metcalf Archival Collection, © Canadian War Museum.

³⁴ *Inquir'y*, episode titled “Exercise Tocsin,” first broadcast 22 May 1961 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, hosted by Davidson Dunton and produced by Patrick Watson, ISN: 230824, LAC.

There was some suggestion that the CBC could do more for civil defence by November 1961. A secret memorandum from the Privy Council Office (EMO) proposed that the CBC – along with the Canadian Press and United Press International – should second staff to a “pool” that, in the case of an emergency, would oversee the censorship and communication of information during a “wartime emergency.” The EMO insisted, “The provision of information to the public in a nuclear war is of sufficient importance and magnitude to warrant provision of communications and a combined staff of news organizations and information officers to carry it out.”³⁵ In the meantime, the government approved the CBC’s “Emergency Broadcasting Plan,” which involved setting up “emergency broadcasting studios” and making the necessary arrangements for an “Emergency Radio Network.” The network linking almost all radio and television stations³⁶ would be integrated with the “siren warning system” operated by the army. On detection of an impending attack, the army was to alert the “Federal Warning Centre and Provincial Warning Centres,” which would then notify a “CBC Federal or Provincial Control Studio” (which were operating at a “24-hour state of readiness”) by telephone or a newly-constructed Teletype circuit. The CBC would then transmit the alert to stations nationwide. Through repeated drills, Canadians knew to turn on their radios to receive instructions from the army upon hearing the sirens (Figure 5). If all functioned according to plan, the emergency broadcasts would give 97 percent of Canadians roughly 20 minutes’ warning of an impending attack.³⁷ In a

³⁵ Brief, Privy Council Office (EMO), “BRIEF ON EMERGENCY INFORMATION PLAN,” 3 November 1961, vol. 69, file “Emergency Plans,” MG 32 B-9, LAC.

³⁶ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “Broadcasting in Canada: History and Development of the National System” (1 November 1962), 42-43.

³⁷ “CBC GEARED FOR CIVIL DEFENCE,” *Canadian Broadcaster* 20, no. 21 (2 November 1961): 21; “E.M.O.,” *CBC Times* 14, no. 19 (11-17 November 1961): 3; Teletype message, C. Smith to Loris Racine, 11 October 1961, vol. 436, file 27-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES – INSTITUTIONAL

private conversation during civil defence training organized by the army, a senior officer revealed that the CBC would also be responsible for the “psychological preparation of the public for unpleasant news.”³⁸

The close association between the EMO and the CBC caused some concern about program content. While Bernard Trotter (Supervisor, Public Affairs) insisted that news and public affairs programs should be the principal forum for information about civil defence, he conceded that

Other special programs may be arranged as decided by CBC management [emphasis in original]. These programs should be clearly labelled as providing an opportunity to EMO to communicate directly with the people. EMO should be responsible for the content and the programs “produced by the CBC for the Emergency Measures Organization.” The Institutional Programs Department should be responsible for the organization of such programs.³⁹

Indeed, by the fall of 1961, the department was working closely with Col. J.D. Donoghue (Information Officer, EMO). Program Organizer Bob Leitch even attended the Orientation Course at the Civil Defence College at Arnprior, Ontario, so that he might “advise any CBC personnel who might require further information about the latest developments in civil defence and the EMO.”⁴⁰ The CBC issued a policy statement about the production of “Emergency Measures Broadcasts” in October 1961, which further defined the nature of the CBC’s complex relationship with the EMO. It

EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” RG 41, LAC; confidential memo, Deputy Minister of Transport to the Cabinet Committee on Emergency Plans, “Emergency Broadcasting,” 29 September 1961, vol. 69, file “Emergency Plans,” MG 32 B-9, LAC.

³⁸ H.N. Cowan to John Kannawin, “EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” 13 September 1961, vol. 436, file 27-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES – INSTITUTIONAL EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” RG 41, LAC.

³⁹ Memo, Bernard Trotter to J.D. Nixon, “EMO Programming,” 22 September 1961, vol. 436, file 27-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES – INSTITUTIONAL EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” RG 41, LAC.

⁴⁰ Documents from vol. 436, file 27-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES – INSTITUTIONAL EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” RG 41, LAC: memo, P.A. Boswell to Director of Programming, English Networks, “EMO Programming,” 26 September 1961; Lt. Col. J.D. Donoghue to P.A. Boswell, 27 October 1961.

stressed that the CBC had a responsibility to provide a forum for the “free discussion” of any and all matters of concern to Canadians, including civil defence. However, it also had an obligation to the EMO to disseminate “information related to emergency measures.”⁴¹

Few incidents better exposed the serious contradictions and complications of this relationship than the broadcasting of *Target You* – a CBC-TV program produced for the EMO. It sought to answer Canadians’ questions about nuclear fallout,⁴² like “[w]hat protection does a fallout shelter provide?”⁴³ To that end, Rex Loring interviewed EMO Director R. Byrns Curry, who argued that a person’s chances of survival depended on the “scale” and “nature” of the nuclear attack, a person’s proximity to it, the “preparations” he made, and “just plain luck.” The program closed with haunting images of mushroom clouds and host Lloyd Robertson saying that if war comes, “you may well be the target.”⁴⁴ The program received some scathing reviews. One published in *The Toronto Star*, for instance, called Loring’s involvement “absolutely inexcusable,” given his reputation as a credible newsman. It also chastised the CBC for being “used” as a “propaganda tool in a highly sensitive and critical area.”⁴⁵

The CBC received similar responses to tests of its emergency broadcasting system in mid-November, as part of Exercise TOCSIN B-1961.⁴⁶ On a newscast from 15

⁴¹ Confidential Program Policy, signed by E.S. Hallman, “PROGRAMMING: POLICY & PROCEDURES, Emergency Measures Broadcasts,” 5 October 1961, vol. 165, file 11-2-3 (pt. 3), RG 41, LAC.

⁴² Press release, “EFFECTS OF NUCLEAR FALLOUT EXPLAINED ON TARGET YOU, NOV. 1,” 24 October 1961, file “Productions – TAO – TAR,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁴³ John [Qudy?], “Filling In Gaps On Fallout,” *Telegram*, 26 Oct. 1961, file “Productions – TAO – TAR,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁴⁴ *Target You*, first broadcast 1 November 1961 by CBC, produced for the Emergency Measures Organization by CBC, written by Warner Troyer and produced by Cameron Graham, ISN: 255999, LAC.

⁴⁵ J. Brown, “CBC’s ‘Target You’ Shows Dubious Quality, Taste,” *Daily Star* (2 November 1961), file “Productions – TAO – TAR,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁴⁶ “E.M.O.,” *CBC Times* 14, no. 19 (11-17 November 1961): 3.

November, an officer from Camp Borden stressed that citizens were only “requested to turn on his radio” to hear “one and a half hours of national survival programming over all Canadian stations.”⁴⁷ Listeners called the broadcasts “ridiculous” and “nerve wracking.” One even “accused the CBC of promoting Government propaganda.” The feedback was so negative (202 of the 335 calls received by Audience Relations were complaints) that the Coordinator of Publicity warned the exercise might hurt the CBC’s “PR position,” since the public did not understand that the broadcasts were not CBC productions. Rather, “the CBC is only lending its technical facilities to the Government, so to speak, on the occasion of these EMO exercises....”⁴⁸

In the early 1960s, CBOT’s annual telecast of the Royal Canadian Legion’s Remembrance Day ceremony at the Cenotaph in Ottawa was also a source of criticism. In January 1960, the Ottawa Branch of the Royal Canadian Legion publicly complained about the telecasts, calling the narration “repetitive, unimaginative and not overly informative.”⁴⁹ One solution, it suggested, would be for the CBC to include more film of the event, including footage of the Legion Parade and the crowds at Confederation Square. CBOT was open to these views, even arranging to show a kinescope of the previous years’ Remembrance Day telecast to the Ottawa Branch and discuss possible changes. However, Executive Assistant Charles P. Wright privately advised the Vice-

⁴⁷ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 15 November 1961 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Rex Loring, ISN: 175580, LAC. See also, Teletype message, Michael Sadlier to H.G. Walker, 11 September 1961, vol. 896, file PG 8 “Camera Canada” (pt. 1, 1961-66), RG 41, LAC.

⁴⁸ Report, Loris Racine to W.T. Armstrong, 18 December 1961, “EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION – TOCSIN B 1961, REPORT ON PUBLICITY, PRESS AND AUDIENCE REACTION.” vol. 436, file 27-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES – INSTITUTIONAL EMERGENCY MEASURES ORGANIZATION,” RG 41, LAC.

⁴⁹ D.H. Finlayson (President, Ottawa Branch, No. 16) to D.L. Burgess (Dominion President), 15 January 1960, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC.

President of Corporate Affairs that “the individuals who voiced their opinions at the Legion meeting are not aware of what is involved.” Filming the Legion Parade and the ceremony in the Memorial Chamber, for example, required more resources, which meant additional costs, namely: “it means bringing in extra mobile units from Toronto and Montreal, with the attendant technical problems, because the locations for pick-up of the events are so far apart.”⁵⁰ Nonetheless, CBOT’s telecast from 1961 included film of the memorial chamber wreath-laying.



Figure 6. Armistice Day Parade at Cenotaph, ca. 1943–1965.

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Source: Library and Archives Canada/Canada. Department of National Defence fonds/e010781637

⁵⁰ Memo, C.P. Wright (Executive Assistant, Corporate Affairs) to Vice-President, Corporate Affairs, “Television Coverage of Remembrance Day – Criticism,” January 1960, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC.

The telecast that year was remarkable for another reason. The narration of the event, read by CBOT announcer Lloyd Robertson, was much changed from the 1950s. In 1961, remembrance was depersonalized: it was no longer presented as a moment of shared grief over lost loved ones. Instead, the ceremony was an opportunity for a dutiful retelling of military history and the sacrifices of others. For example, over still photos and newsreels of battlefields, cemeteries, nurses and soldiers from the two world wars, Robertson said the ceremony paid respect to the men of the First World War who fought “to preserve their way of living and their way of dying was not in vain. For 45 years in quiet places, crosses have marked old graves and men still free, their ranks thinning, remember and are proud in memory.” The program ended with Robertson saying, “we have paid tribute to those who gave their lives to preserve our way of life.”⁵¹ It was a ceremony to give thanks, rather than to remember.⁵²

The arrangements for the ceremony in 1962 similarly suggest that Remembrance Day was losing some of its earlier social significance. This impression comes from the Legion’s decision to hold the ceremony in Ottawa at a time other than at the eleventh hour. This was not a new idea. The year before, some at the CBC considered telecasting the ceremony, not live at 11:00 a.m., but in primetime “so that War Veterans and others participating in the ceremonies might have the opportunity to see it....”⁵³ The Legion’s decision to move the ceremony was significant enough, but it was the time selected –

⁵¹ *Remembrance Day*, first broadcast 11 November 1961 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa presentation, hosted by Lloyd Robertson, ISN: 231349, LAC.

⁵² A similar approach was taken with other commemorations. See, *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 4 July 1961 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Jim Chorley, ISN: 23234, LAC; *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 16 October 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Carl Hecknell, ISN: 174428, LAC.

⁵³ G.W. Richardson to Vice President, “Television – Remembrance Day Ceremonies – Cenotaph,” 26 October 1961, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC.

2:15–2:45 p.m. – that seemed to lessen the dignity of the broadcast. The ceremony began at the same time as an American National Football League (NFL) game carried by the CBC.⁵⁴ As a result, viewers joined live coverage of the game in progress upon the ceremony’s conclusion. (The French network, which regularly broadcast NFL games a half hour earlier, interrupted the football game to broadcast the ceremony.)⁵⁵ Though its meaning was perhaps changing, the ceremony was still of great significance to some. Indeed, the change in time created some confusion for audience members, who were quick to criticize the CBC for failing to mark the occasion when there was no coverage at the eleventh hour.⁵⁶

Although the nature of military commemorations was changing, the CBC and the viewing public were not losing interest in the history of the world wars. Proposals for a film history of Canada’s experience of the Second World War began circulating in 1956. The name given to the proposed documentary series was *Canada-at-War*. In the spring of 1956, planning was well underway for the first half dozen episodes. E.E. Rollins insisted that the series needed to have a strong, clear plotline, writing, “I feel ‘Victory at Sea’ sometimes lost sight of this – I couldn’t hear the cannons for the guns sort of thing.” Each episode would examine the “Main Politics and Strategies,” the “Main Military Considerations,” and the “Main Canadian Political and Strategical [*sic*] considerations right down to local tactics.” To that end, Rollins envisioned a

⁵⁴ Teletype message, M. Sadlier to D.L. Bennett, 1 November 1962, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁵ Documents from vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC: Charles P. Wright to George L. Martin, 22 November 1962; Teletype message, M. Sadlier to D.L. Bennett, 1 November 1962; telegram, D.L. Bennett to M. Sadlier, 31 October 1962; Teletype message, R. Lessard to C.V. Hobbs, 2 November 1962.

⁵⁶ Charles P. Wright to George L. Martin, 22 November 1962, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC.

combination of actual war footage, interviews with individuals of some prominence, like General Simonds, and the use of maps as visual aids. He insisted that, “Before nailing the audience in their seats, I feel we should help them understand thoroughly what is going to happen....”⁵⁷

Little was done by autumn. The delays caused National Script Supervisor Hugh Kemp much frustration. He wrote of being “haunted nightly by the thought that all of the footage taken during the war by the Army, Air Force and Navy film units is said to be lying in an Air Force hangar at Pendleton [Ontario], where it is slowly deteriorating.” He pushed for the use of the footage “before the celluloid itself rots and the faces of some of our greatest years as a nation are obliterated.”⁵⁸ In response to repeated complaints that there was insufficient footage on which to build a series or a film, Kemp further insisted that “there is a great danger of defeating such a project through a sense of perfectionism.”⁵⁹ There was also no reason why the custodian of the films, the NFB – which had expressed interest in using the footage for its own purposes – could not work with the CBC to create a worthwhile program.⁶⁰

Nor indeed was there reason, according to Director of Program Planning and Production J.M. Beaudet, not to do a series about the Second World War simply because “the Americans and the British have already told the story of the war through

⁵⁷ Memo, E.E. Rollins to Hugh Kemp and Eugene Hallman, “CANADA AT WAR,” 12 March 1956, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (pt. 1), “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁸ Memo, Hugh Kemp to Director of Programs, “Canadian War Films – NFB Participation,” 7 September 1956, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (1) “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁹ Memo, Hugh Kemp to Director of Programs, “CANADIAN WAR FILMS – NFB PARTICIPATION,” 7 September 1956, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (pt. 1), “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁰ Ibid.; memo, Hugh Kemp to Director of Programs, “CANADIAN WAR FILMS,” 27 August 1956, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (pt. 1), “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

films carried on our network.....”⁶¹ It was an important point. By the time Beaudet was writing, Canadian viewers had already seen *Victory At Sea* (1952) and *War in the Air* (1955). In the years it took to get *Canada At War* on television, viewers were exposed to at least five more British and American series about the Second World War on radio and television, namely: *Men in Battle* (1958), *Winter of the Bombs* (1958), *Command in Battle* (1959), *The Immortal Few* (1960), and *The Valiant Years* (1960). Canadians received some attention in these series, but Beaudet insisted that was no reason not to make the documentary series. “Canada has her own history to be told in her own terms....,” he argued.⁶²

While delays and debate plagued *Canada-at-War*, others at the CBC put forward new proposals for a film history of the Canadian military. In March 1957, Editorial Supervisor, TV Features,⁶³ Norman DePoe, proposed a series about the history of the army. DePoe was a veteran, reaching the rank of captain by the end of the Second World War, which likely contributed to his interest.⁶⁴ He proposed that the CBC create a 13-episode miniseries tracing the evolution of the army from the Northwest Rebellion to the present day. He wanted the series to be filled with “exciting visual material with a great deal of pure entertainment and ‘gee-whiz’ value, stuff to stir the spirit of any red-blooded Canadian....” However, he also wanted to engage viewers in a thoughtful discussion about defence policy. As he drafted his proposal, he reached out to Col. C.P. Stacey, who offered access to primary sources, like war diaries, preserved by National

⁶¹ Memo, J.M. Beaudet to Director of Programs, “CANADIAN WAR FILMS,” 14 December 1956, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (pt. 1), “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ “Biography: Norman DePoe, National Affairs Reporter,” March 1964, file “DePOE, NORMAN,” Biography files, CBCRL.

⁶⁴ Documents from file “DePOE, NORMAN,” Biography files, CBCRL: “DATA SHEET,” 29 January 1962; Norman DePoe, “BIOGRAPHY”

Defence.⁶⁵ The CBC apparently did not pursue the project, likely because of ongoing plans for *The Changing Forces*. Kemp was particularly keen on the idea of using historical footage on that series, insisting, “There is nothing quite as exciting on television as the real world in action.”⁶⁶

The CBC had little to show for all of this planning when the NFB began work on a production of its own. For the NFB, the project of documenting the Second World War was “only part of a larger plan” to create “a complete record on film of the history of Canada” in time for the Centennial Year.⁶⁷ Work began with an attempt by the NFB to create a directory of the roughly 16 million feet of Allied and German films stored by the RCAF in the “censored section of the archives” at Pendleton.⁶⁸ Much of it was in a sorry state, either damaged or lacking labels.⁶⁹ It took over a year to get through it all. As they did, executive producer Peter Jones and producer Stanley Clish started formulating ideas for a series.⁷⁰ In 1959 – even before there was a script – *Canadian*

⁶⁵ Memo, Norman DePoe to D.C. McArthur (Director of Special Program Projects), “Proposed Program Series,” 7 March 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (pt. 1), “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁶ Hugh Kemp to Captain William Strange, 1 March 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (pt. 1), “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁷ “CANADA AT WAR,” *CBC Times* 16, no. 2 (13 -19 July 1963): 6.

⁶⁸ Documents from file “CANADA AT WAR,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, “SIGHTS AND SOUNDS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR,” 16 March 1962; press release, “CANADA AT WAR SERIES – Released For Television,” 23 March 1962. See also, Bob Miller, “CUTS & SPLICES,” *Canadian Broadcaster* 18, no. 16 (27 August 1959): 10.

⁶⁹ In the 1970s, the NFB made the uncut, catalogued film available to external researchers. See, James Lysyshyn, “SIXTEEN MILLION FEET OF FILM: THREE YEARS’ WORK EXPOSE CANADA’S SECOND WORLD WAR ROLE,” *The Maple Leaf*, April 1962, p. 1; Jan Clemson to Dennis C. Ross, 11 August 1978, vol. 16, file “CANADA AT WAR,” 1960-1963, 1978, MG 31 D 210, Peter Jones fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, MG 31 D 210, LAC].

⁷⁰ British-born Stanley Clish served with the British forces during the Second World War. He spent much of the war in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp after being captured at Singapore. See, “BROADCASTING: In the Courtyard of Hell,” *Time*, 25 May 1962, vol. 7, file “CANADA AT WAR. REVIEWS. 1962,” MG 31 D 222, Donald Brittain fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, MG 31 D 222, LAC]; press release, “SUPERB DOCUMENTARY FILM SHOWS CANADA AT WAR,” 7 March 1962, file “CANADA AT WAR,” Program files, CBCRL; “NFB Prepares W W II Series,” *Canadian Broadcaster* 20, no. 17 (7 September 1961): 26; Press release, “CANADA AT WAR SERIES – Released For Television,” 23 March 1962, file “CANADA AT WAR,” Program files,

Broadcaster announced that the NFB was well on its way to producing “a series of thirteen television films” about Canada’s war.⁷¹

Clish, Jones and writer Donald Code Brittain produced their “statement of intent” for the series in the autumn of 1960 under the long title, “Canada at War: The Contribution and Development of Canada and Canadians During the Second World War.”⁷² The series would be organized chronologically and would offer a complex account of how Canada “matur[ed] into nationhood” through the fighting and winning of the war. It also promised to “salute” servicemen and provide a “reminder of the horror of war,” while appealing to “nostalgic reminiscences” of the war years.⁷³ Nostalgia, in particular, was running high in the early 1960s, as anniversaries and reunions drew veterans and broadcasters back to the sites of battles. Bob Bowman, who recorded the sounds of the landing at Dieppe for the CBC in 1942, was among many who made the pilgrimage to France.⁷⁴

CBCRL; Donald Mulholland to Peter Stursberg, 19 December 1958, vol. 3, file “NATIONAL FILM BOARD, 1958-1960,” MG 31 D78, LAC.

⁷¹ Miller, “CUTS & SPLICES,” 10.

⁷² Donald Brittain, “CANADA AT WAR: The Contribution and Development of Canada and Canadians During the Second World War Told in Thirteen Half-Hour Episodes, A STATEMENT OF INTENT,” vol. 7, file “CANADA AT WAR. TREATMENT. 1960,” MG 31 D 222, LAC; National Film Board, “CANADA AT WAR: The Contribution and Development of Canada During the Second World War. A FILM SERIES IN THIRTEEN PARTS. SYNOPSIS OF SHOWS,” 3 April 1962, file “CANADA AT WAR,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁷³ Donald Brittain, “CANADA AT WAR: The Contribution and Development of Canada and Canadians During the Second World War Told in Thirteen Half-Hour Episodes, A STATEMENT OF INTENT,” vol. 7, file “CANADA AT WAR. TREATMENT. 1960,” MG 31 D 222, LAC.

⁷⁴ The reunion was covered on television news, using silent film provided by “European sources.” The RCAF flew Bowman to Dieppe to cover the events for radio’s *Venture*. See, Bob Bowman, *Dieppe* (Ottawa: Wartime Information Board, [1943?]); “DIEPPE,” *CBC Times* (18-24 August 1962): 3. See also documents from vol. 919, file PG 18-31 (pt. 1), 1942-67, “SPECIAL BROADCASTS DIEPPE,” RG 41, LAC: Bob Bowman to Capt. W.E.S. Briggs, 28 December 1961; G.S. Way to F.R. Halhed, 4 September 1962; Teletype message, W.H. Hogg to D. Bennett, 10 August 1962; Teletype message, D.L. Bennett to B. Raymond, 10 August 1962; Teletype message, A.K. Morrow to H.G. Walker, 8 August 1962; Teletype message E. Veszpremi for H.J. Boyle to C. Jennings, 11 July 1962; Teletype message, A.K. Morrow to H.G. Walker, 13 June 1962; Andrew Cowan to W.H. Dumsday, 7 May 1962. There were also reunions of war correspondents in London. See for example, program, Canadian War Correspondents Association Banquet, 30 May 1960, vol. 3, file “Canadian War Correspondents Association 1960, 1969, 1972,” MG 31 D 78, LAC; memo, W.H. Hogg to Program Director – Radio Networks (English), “Canadian War

Brittain finished the script for the six-and-a-half hour series in 1960. At just 33 years old, he had already written several dozen scripts since joining the NFB in 1954.⁷⁵ He believed his youth was an advantage on *Canada At War*, saying “I was a teen-ager during the war and I think I’ve approached the job of writing about it with a fresh view, without bias.”⁷⁶ However, he relied on a very conventional combination of sources (“official histories, war memoirs, news reports, army documents and battle maps...”⁷⁷) to write his script, covering the period from 1936 to 1946.⁷⁸ This excerpt about D-Day, from the episode called “The Norman Summer,” is representative of the tone and interpretation. Over film of the invasion that included the famous footage of the Juno beach landing shot by Sergeant Bill Grant,⁷⁹ the narrator said,

The infantry had spent eighteen wretched hours on the pitching sea, and the vomit bags were gone. Now, on the calmer off-shore waters, the nausea was lifting. Strangely, the fear was evaporating. The terrible waiting was over. There was nothing left to do but go and fight. Forty-eight hour rations, a tommy cooker [*sic*], some French money, a rifle, and the last few soggy jokes.

Correspondents Dinner – May 30th,” 11 April 1960, vol. 176, file 11-17-8-5 (pt. 4), “Overseas Bureau – London,” RG 41, LAC.

⁷⁵ Press release, “WRITER RELIVES WAR FOR CBC-TV SERIES,” 8 March 1962, file “CANADA AT WAR,” Program files, CBCRL; “BRITTAİN, Donald Code,” vol. 1, file “BIOGRAPHICAL, n.d., 1975-1984,” MG 31 D 222, LAC.

⁷⁶ Quoted in press release, “Canada At War – The Writer’s View,” 20 March 1962, file “CANADA AT WAR,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁷⁷ Press release, “SIGHTS AND SOUNDS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR,” 16 March 1962, file “CANADA AT WAR,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁷⁸ *Canada At War*, written by Donald Brittain, produced by Donald Brittain, Stanley Clish, and Peter Jones. 1962; NFB and Imavision, 2005. DVD.

⁷⁹ In 1962, Bill Grant was 43 years old and working for a “large photographic and electronic equipment firm” as a sales manager. He recalled that the footage shot by his Sergeants Bud Roos and Al Grayston were “ruined” or lost. Remarkably, he did not believe that filming on D-Day was particularly dangerous: “I came closer to being killed during training exercises.” Press release, “BILL GRANT OF VANCOUVER GET’S ‘THE SHOT’ IN BATTLE,” 8 May 1962, file “CANADA AT WAR,” Program files, CBCRL. See documents from file “CANADA AT WAR,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, “INVASION FILMS AUTHENTIC IN CBC-TV’S WAR SERIES,” 22 March 1962; press release, “D-DAY CANADIAN FILM SCOOP ON CANADA AT WAR, MAY 30,” 15 May 1962. See also documents from vol. 7, file “CANADA AT WAR. REVIEWS. 1962.” MG 31 D 222, LAC: Alan Duckett, “D-Day Film Coverage On Canada At War Series Tonight,” *The Gazette*, 30 May 1962; Joyce Fairbairn, “Canada’s ‘Camera Commandos’ Scored World ‘Scoop’ on D-Day,” *The Journal*, 14 April 1962.

The infantry circled, waiting for the tanks, and watching as death surrounded them. For some allied warriors it was a short tragic day. But the momentum was irresistible.

The Canadians turned for the beaches. It was a few minutes to eight, in the morning. For the second time in a quarter century Canadians fight on the soil of France. A thousand lie dead and wounded. But they have snatched a five-mile beachhead.⁸⁰

The NFB sent the CBC's Special Programs Officer A.E. Powley each draft of the script as Brittain completed them. Powley met with the NFB in January 1961 to discuss the project. "They appear to be aiming at what we thought they should be aiming at, i.e., telling what Canada did in the war, instead of the rather diffuse objectives stated in the outline," he told J.D. Nixon (Director of Programming, English Networks). The NFB invited feedback on the scripts and suggested research or film resources. Powley noted, for instance, that the NFB was following Gene Hallman's recommendations "to take proper precautions in the matter of consultations with experts. Any interpretations open to doubt will be submitted to authorities."⁸¹ Col. C.P. Stacey and fellow DND historians were among the "authorities" to vet the final cuts.⁸²

In an interview with *Tabloid's* Percy Saltzman in January 1960 about the release of his latest book about the Second World War, Colonel Stacey⁸³ discussed his views on military history. He said, "I think it's the general opinion nowadays that history – even

⁸⁰ "CANADA AT WAR: final narration complete," vol. 7, file "CANADA AT WAR. NARRATION [1960]." MG 31 D 222, LAC.

⁸¹ Documents from vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 1), "PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY," RG 41, LAC; memo, A.E. Powley to J.D. Nixon, "Discussions at National Film Board on 'Canada at War,'" 30 January 1961; memo, Powley to Nixon, "'Canada At War' – Interim Report," 11 September 1961.

⁸² The editing was completed by late April 1960. The scripts were finalized in the months over the summer. See, "FINAL SCHEDULE FOR EDITORS," vol. 7, file "CANADA AT WAR. TREATMENT. 1960." MG 31 D 222, LAC; Lysyshyn, "SIXTEEN MILLION FEET OF FILM," 2. The National Defence historians who worked on this project were Lt.-Cmdr. E.C. Russell, Col. G.W.L. Nicholson, Lt. Col. H.F. Wood, W/C R.V. Manning and S/L A.P. Heathcote. See, press release, "Production Credits," 7 March 1962, file "CANADA AT WAR," Program files, CBCRL.

⁸³ Stacey, *The Victory Campaign*.

official history – should try and tell the truth and ... it's worth very little if it doesn't tell the truth and doesn't hit hard ... when the time comes to do so.”⁸⁴ Brittain held a similar view about his own work as a documentary filmmaker. He said of *Canada At War*, “without making people physically ill, we do show how horrible the Second World War was. We don't gloss over it. I didn't write an antiseptic war.”⁸⁵ The press latched on to the phrase “no antiseptic war” and used it repeatedly as the catch phrase for the series in the months that followed.⁸⁶

The tone of the series and its sense of authenticity were also set by the soundtrack. Accompanying the chosen war footage and Brittain's script⁸⁷ was original music commissioned from NFB music director Robert Fleming and composers Maurice Blackburn, Eldon Rathburn and Kenneth Campbell.⁸⁸ Reviewers found “the tempo ... in keeping with the tension and emotion of those years.”⁸⁹ Added to this were sound effects replicating the “sounds of war,” either found or created by supervising sound editor Ken Heeley-Ray – himself a veteran of the Second World War – and his department.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ *Tabloid*, first broadcast 19 January 1960 by CBC, a CBC television production, hosted by June Callwood, Max Ferguson, Percy Saltzman and John O'Leary, and edited and produced by Daryl Duke, ISN: 218810, LAC.

⁸⁵ Quoted in press release, “‘Canada At War’ – The Writer's View,” 20 March 1962, vol. 7, file “CANADA AT WAR. REVIEWS. 1962.” MG 31 D 222, LAC.

⁸⁶ See, *CBC Times* 14, no. 41 (14-20 April 1962): 10; “BROADCASTING: In the Courtyard of Hell,” *Time*, 25 May 1962, vol. 7, file “CANADA AT WAR. REVIEWS. 1962.” MG 31 D 222, LAC; Lysyshyn, “SIXTEEN MILLION FEET OF FILM,” 2.

⁸⁷ Toronto actor Budd Knapp was narrator. See, “BROADCASTING: In the Courtyard of Hell,” *Time*, 25 May 1962, vol. 7, file “CANADA AT WAR. REVIEWS. 1962.” MG 31 D 222, LAC.

⁸⁸ CBC radio's *Music from the Films* prepared a special episode about the score on 29 April 1962. See, *CBC Times* (28 April 1962), vol. 7, file “CANADA AT WAR. REVIEWS. 1962.” MG 31 D 222, LAC. See also documents from file “CANADA AT WAR,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, “CANADA AT WAR SCORE ON MUSIC FROM FILMS,” 19 April 1962; press release, “THE SOUNDS OF WARTIME ECHO THROUGH TV SERIES,” 8 March 1962.

⁸⁹ Alan Duckett, “Canada At War Due,” (28 February 1962), vol. 249, file 11-38 (pt. 1) RG 41, LAC.

⁹⁰ “‘Canada At War’: A Great Program,” *The Legionary*, June 1962, vol. 7, file “CANADA AT WAR. REVIEWS. 1962.” MG 31 D 222, LAC. See also documents from file “CANADA AT WAR,”

The response to the series was enthusiastic. In the weeks leading up to the broadcast of *Canada At War* in primetime on CBC-TV from April to June 1962,⁹¹ the RCN's *Crowsnest*, the RCAF's *Roundel*, the Royal Canadian Legion's *The Legionary*, along with major dailies like the *Ottawa Journal* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*, carried full page advertisements and stories promoting the series.⁹² After seeing the program, viewers, veterans and even hard-to-please television producers, like Warner Troyer of *Inquir'y*, responded with praise.⁹³ Some also found that the series provoked feelings of nostalgia for the war. As one reviewer wrote, "one is tempted to sigh for the good old days, when the most efficient weapons of warfare were old-fashioned tanks, guns, planes and battleships."⁹⁴

Among the few to criticize the series was Bob Shiels, reviewer for *Calgary Herald Magazine*, who complained that "it has been done before. The Americans and British, in showing us how they won the war, did a mighty good job of it."⁹⁵ Pat Pearce of the

Program files CBCRL: press release, "THE SOUNDS OF WARTIME ECHO THROUGH TV SERIES," 8 March 1962; press release, "The Sounds of 'Canada At War'," 20 March 1962.

⁹¹ It aired on Tuesdays at 10:00 in central Canada and Wednesdays at 10:30 on the West Coast. A French translation was released. It began airing on Radio-Canada on 1 April. See, "'Canada at War' Film Series Added to Dow Film Library," *Dow Journal*, March-April 1963, vol. 16, file "CANADA AT WAR," 1960-1963, 1978, MG 31 D 210, LAC; *CBC Times* 14, no. 41 (14-20 April 1962): 2; "CANADA AND THE WAR," *Star Weekly*, 31 March 1962, p. 11. See also documents from file "CANADA AT WAR," Program files, CBCRL: memo, Nan Gow to S. Pyke "CANADA AT WAR, N.F.B. – THO-2762," 20 March 1962; memo, Nan Gow to S. Pyke, "CANADA AT WAR, NFB – CONTRACT THO-2762," 3 April 1962.

⁹² Documents from vol. 16, file "CANADA AT WAR," 1960-1963, 1978, MG 31 D 210, LAC: National Film Board of Canada Distribution Branch, "CANADA AT WAR: Preliminary report on publicity," May 1962; memo for all NFB staff, "Publicity for 'Canada At War,'" 22 February 1962. See also, "'Canada At War': A Great Program," *The Legionary*, June 1962, vol. 7, file "CANADA AT WAR. REVIEWS. 1962." MG 31 D 222, LAC.

⁹³ "SEE-HEAR with John Ruddy," *The Telegram*, 9 June 1962, vol. 7, file "CANADA AT WAR. REVIEWS. 1962." MG 31 D 222, LAC. See also documents from vol. 2, file "CORRESPONDENCE 1962," MG 31 D 222, LAC: Warner Troyer to Donald Brittain, 5 April 1962; The Rev. A.M. Laverty to Donald Brittain, 1 June 1962.

⁹⁴ "Old-Fashioned Weapons Look Better Now," *Vernon News*, 7 May 1962, vol. 7, file "CANADA AT WAR. REVIEWS. 1962." MG 31 D 222, LAC.

⁹⁵ Bob Shiels, "Bob Shiels on TeleVision," *Calgary Herald Magazine*, 14 April 1962, vol. 7, file "CANADA AT WAR. REVIEWS. 1962." MG 31 D 222, LAC. Similar complaint here, Bob Burgess,

Montreal *Star* was also less than enthusiastic, complaining that Canada's experience of the Second World War "doesn't necessarily make an engrossing TV series." She criticized its repetition ("endless films of lethal explosives dropping away....") and argued that "it takes, alas, more than plenty of film and a straight record to tell the tale of old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago, and make an epic of it."⁹⁶ A few viewers had more personal reasons for disliking the production. One told the CBC that "it's terrible after all we have suffered since 1914 to rake it up again. What good does it do?"⁹⁷ Nonetheless, CBC President J.A. Ouimet insisted the Corporation was "proud" to broadcast the series.⁹⁸ It rebroadcast *Canada At War* in the summer of 1963 and again in 1970.⁹⁹

In the meantime, Britain released *Fields of Sacrifice*, a short film about the cemeteries where Canada laid its war dead to rest in Europe and the memorials that commemorated their valour. The NFB called it a "sentimental journey...."¹⁰⁰ The Department of Veterans Affairs sponsored/produced the film,¹⁰¹ which was in theatres in November 1963 and shown at the Canadian National Exhibition (CNE) in Toronto in

"TV and RADIO," *The Journal*, 5 April 1962, vol. 7, file "CANADA AT WAR. REVIEWS. 1962." MG 31 D 222, LAC.

⁹⁶ Pat Pearce, "Television and Radio," (Montreal) *Star*, 31 May 1962, vol. 7, file "CANADA AT WAR. REVIEWS. 1962." MG 31 D 222, LAC.

⁹⁷ "LETTERS TO THE EDITOR," *CBC Times* 14, no. 47 (26 May – 1 June 1962): 2.

⁹⁸ J.A. Ouimet to Guy Roberge, 14 August 1962, vol. 16, file "CANADA AT WAR," 1960-1963, 1978, MG 31 D 210, LAC.

⁹⁹ Documents from file "CANADA AT WAR," Program files, CBCRL: press release, "CANADA AT WAR RETURNS TO CBC-TV ON JULY 13," 27 May 1963; press release, "A DECADE RECALLED IN CANADA AT WAR," 15 May 1970.

¹⁰⁰ Documents from vol. 7, file "FIELDS OF SACRIFICE. PUBLICITY, AWARD. 1962-1964." MG 31, D 222, LAC: advertisement, *The Edmonton Journal*, 31 October 1963; *The Province*, 15 November 1963; *The Albertan*, 31 October 1963; *The Vancouver Sun*, 23 November 1963; *Calgary Herald*, 25 October 1963; "Monument To A Nightmare," *The Montreal Star Weekend Magazine* 12, no. 45 (10 November 1962): 46.

¹⁰¹ "Film being made on war memorials," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 21 August 1962, vol. 7, file "FIELDS OF SACRIFICE. PUBLICITY, AWARD. 1962-1964." MG 31, D 222, LAC; script, "FIELDS OF SACRIFICE," vol. 7, file "FIELDS OF SACRIFICE. SCRIPT." MG 31 D 222, LAC.

1964.¹⁰² CBC-TV stations later broadcast it as part of their Remembrance Day programming.¹⁰³ In her review, Pat Pearce commented that the decision to play the film after the ceremony at the Cenotaph in Ottawa “was almost harsh. It emphasized the awful futility of this cannibalism, this shrouding in glory of rearing sons just to have them go out and die. For what? And why?”¹⁰⁴ She also criticized the decision to show a commercial for *Hogan’s Heroes* (a comedy set in a prison camp during the Second World War) at the end of the film.¹⁰⁵ However, she had only praise for the film itself, which she called “evocative” and “sensitive.”¹⁰⁶ Brittain’s film went on to receive some critical acclaim: it was a prizewinner at the Victoria International Film Festival and several of the contributors to the production – including Brittain – received the Donald C. Mulholland award for excellence in filmmaking.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Documents from vol. 7, file “FIELDS OF SACRIFICE. REVIEWS. 1963-64.” MG 31, D 222, LAC; David Cobb, “Film Board multi-screen out but CNE still rich in films,” *Toronto Daily Star*, 22 August 1964; Frank Morriss, “CNE OFFERS CHOICE FOR FILM FANS,” *The Globe and Mail*, 21 August 1964. See also, advertisement, *The Edmonton Journal*, 31 October 1963, vol. 7, file “FIELDS OF SACRIFICE. PUBLICITY, AWARD. 1962-1964.” MG 31, D 222, LAC.

¹⁰³ “Programs for Remembrance Day,” *CBC Times* (1964?), vol. 7, file “FIELDS OF SACRIFICE. REVIEWS. 1963-64.” MG 31, D 222, LAC; press release, “TRIBUTE TO CANADIAN WAR DEAD IN CBC’S FIELD OF SACRIFICE,” 21 October 1965, file “Productions – FF - FIE,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁰⁴ Pat Pearce, “Capturing the Best And Worst of War,” (Montreal) *Star* [1964?], vol. 7, file “FIELDS OF SACRIFICE. REVIEWS. 1963-64.” MG 31, D 222, LAC.

¹⁰⁵ Pat Pearce, “Time to Protest Commercial Drivel,” (Montreal) *Star* [1964?], vol. 7, file “FIELDS OF SACRIFICE. REVIEWS. 1963-64.” MG 31, D 222, LAC.

¹⁰⁶ Pat Pearce, “Capturing the Best And Worst of War,” (Montreal) *Star* [1964?], vol. 7, file “FIELDS OF SACRIFICE. REVIEWS. 1963-64.” MG 31, D 222, LAC.

¹⁰⁷ *The Gazette*, 10 August 1964, vol. 7, file “FIELDS OF SACRIFICE. PUBLICITY, AWARD. 1962-1964.” MG 31, D 222, LAC. See also documents from vol. 7, file “FIELDS OF SACRIFICE. REVIEWS. 1963-64.” MG 31, D 222, LAC; Gerald Pratley, “FILMS at CANNES,” *Saturday Night*, July 1964; “French Film Top Winner,” *Victoria Daily Times*, 20 August 1964.

As these films looked back on military history with a mix of nostalgia, pride and horror,¹⁰⁸ news and public affairs programs continued the conversation about the future of the conventional forces. The navy, for one, was actively working to increase positive – promotional, even – press coverage of its activities in 1961–2.¹⁰⁹ The official responses given to the Royal Commission on Government Organization, chaired by J. Grant Glassco, about the navy’s relationship with the press were particularly revealing. When asked about the distribution of information to the press, the navy representative replied, “TV outlets give extensive coverage to naval activities in the Commands and a proportion of this is telecast nationally. The demand for Navy-produced film for television far exceeds the supply but an effort is being made to increase the output.”¹¹⁰ In an internal report produced in response to the Commission, DND Public Relations noted that, during an “average two-week period,” the services produced a combined 392 radio and 35 television news clips.¹¹¹ They also staged events that were telecast, like the RCN’s Sunset Ceremony,¹¹² and granted interviews to the press. On 13 April 1962, for example, Chief of the Naval Staff Vice-Admiral H.S. Rayner spoke to CBC-TV news about the RCN’s acquisition of new submarines and frigates to replace the aging *Banshee* fighters. He stressed that the submarines would be both conventionally armed

¹⁰⁸ There were many such programs. For another example, see *Camera Canada*, episode titled, “Boer War,” first broadcast 26 May 1962 by CBC, a CBC television production, narrated by Sebastian Shaw and J. Frank Willis, and written by Rayne Kruger and J. Frank Willis, ISN: 41437, LAC.

¹⁰⁹ Memo, Commander (RCN) R.C. Hayden to VCNS, “PUBLIC RELATIONS,” 7 December 1961, series 2 “Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press,” file 47, 85/304, DHH.

¹¹⁰ Memo, Director of Naval Information, Commander R.C. Hayden to Naval Secretary, “Glassco Commission Project No. 14, Public Information Services,” 28 December 1961, series 2 “Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press,” file 47, 85/304, DHH.

¹¹¹ Memo, William H. Dumsday to the Minister and Associate Minister, “RE: Glassco Commission – Public Information Services,” 18 January 1963, series 1 “Canada Defence Policy,” file 32, 85/304, DHH.

¹¹² *Sunset Ceremony*, first broadcast 31 August 1964 by CBC, a CBC special events feature, hosted by Lloyd Robertson and Paddy Gregg, ISN: 230664, LAC.

and valuable: they were “anti-submarine submarines, which the navy needs for training our anti-submarine forces and of course if the need arises they can be used against enemy submarines.”¹¹³

The documentary about the RCN’s anti-submarine fleet on CBC-TV’s *20/20*¹¹⁴ in August had a similar message. Filming for the production required close cooperation with the RCN, which was something the navy welcomed. In December 1961, the Director of Naval Information advised his staff that “first-hand coverage of naval subjects” by the press was desirable in order to “bring the Navy before the public and attract public support.” He explained that the navy needed to encourage press coverage by “presenting editors with an attractive package of a naval event of relatively short duration and high news potential, and transportation to and from the Command via RCAF.”¹¹⁵ The documentary on *20/20* appears to have been the result of such a public relations effort. It featured film of war games in the Pacific involving a submarine and a “ship-and-plane search force.” A wide-angle camera lens was used to “give a vivid impression” of the mock battle. The production stressed that the RCN was both modern (its ships were “closer to science fiction-type space craft than to traditional ships”) and useful. The *CBC Times* explained that Canada’s allies valued the RCN’s specialization as an anti-submarine fleet because it “fit into a particular role in operations with other NATO forces....”¹¹⁶

¹¹³ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 13 April 1962 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Earl Cameron, ISN: 175743, LAC.

¹¹⁴ *20/20* was one of the earliest television documentary film programs produced by the Features Department at the CBC. It debuted in April 1962. It is worth noting that unlike public affairs programs, those produced by the Features Department could be sponsored. See, Stewart, *Here’s Looking at Us*, 127.

¹¹⁵ Memo, Commander (RCN) R.C. Hayden to VCNS, “PUBLIC RELATIONS,” 7 December 1961, series 2 “Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press,” file 47, 85/304, DHH.

¹¹⁶ “SUBMARINES!” *CBC Times* 15, no. 6 (11-17 August 1962): 6-7.

The military's readiness for war was nearly tested in October 1962, when President Kennedy announced that it had evidence of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba within range of most major cities in the United States and Canada. Defence Minister Douglas Harkness responded by ordering Canada's forces to prepare as though a formal alert had been issued (Defence Condition, or Defcon, 3). He did so without cabinet approval. Two days later, Diefenbaker made the alert official. However, he defied American requests to "declare a state of national emergency" (Defcon 4).¹¹⁷ CBC news followed the breaking story for Canadians,¹¹⁸ to the praise of audience members, one of whom wrote, "Nowhere in the world have a people been kept so informed by sane analysis and the events as they have been presented by our own CBC."¹¹⁹

However, the news service was not the only one touched by the crisis. By the time of the crisis, the culture had become saturated with fears of the nuclear threat, some thought to the point of absurdity. *Q for Quest*¹²⁰ satirized the situation in November with a parody about three prospective fallout shelter salesmen learning their trade.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Stursberg, *Diefenbaker: Leadership Lost*, 14-20; McMahon, *Essence of Indecision*, 150.

¹¹⁸ See for example, Nash, *History on the Run*, 139; memo, W.H. Hogg to General Manager, Network Broadcasting (English), "Assignment Results – Safer to Poland (Sept. 25 to Oct. 23) and Berlin (October 24-31)," 22 November 1962, vol. 906, file PG 10-11 (pt. 7), "News. CBC News Contributor," RG 41, LAC.

¹¹⁹ Gladys Addison to CBC Ottawa, 28 October 1962, vol. 906, file PG 10-11 (pt. 7), "News. CBC News Contributor," RG 41, LAC.

¹²⁰ *Q for Quest* debuted in January 1961, with Ross McLean as executive producer. He envisioned the program in these terms: "it is meant to be as flexible as all get-out and to have infinite variety. Its formula will be the scrupulous avoidance of formula. It will present plays, dance, music and talk with all the ingenuity that Canada's finest creative minds can muster. It will be an outlet for writers, performers, composers, painters, poets, personalities to do what they want to do most and can do best. It is an entirely 'free form' exercise in the inventive use of television." The program's audience share in the fall of 1962 in Toronto, for instance, was twice as large as that of the CTV News at 10:30 p.m. See, Ross McLean, "Q is for Quest," *CBC Times* 13, no. 26 (31 December 1960 – 6 January 1961): 4; Report, John Twomey (Sales Policy Department), "Audience for Quest – October 1962," 4 December 1962, vol. 898, file PG 8 "Quest" (pt. 1), 1960-64, RG 41, LAC.

¹²¹ Documents from vol. 898, file PG 8 "Quest" (pt. 1), 1960-64, RG 41, LAC: Teletype message, Doug Nixon to D.L. Bennett, 2 November 1962; telegram, D.L. Bennett to D. Nixon, 1 November 1962. There were several anti-war plays on CBC-TV anthology series in the early in 1962-63. See, Miller, *Turn Up the Contrast*, 211-12.

There was some internal concern about presenting such a comedy so soon after the crisis, but Doug Nixon maintained that the “public will welcome this timely humour which is not alarming, but seems to us very effective in boosting morale with a good laugh at our situation.”¹²² Other attempts at criticism were censored. A CBC-TV station in Edmonton refused to broadcast a speech given the Provincial President of the Royal Canadian Legion in Alberta during a Remembrance Day ceremony. Among his more contentious statements was his insistence that “at the height of the Cuban Missile Crisis ... members of the Voice of Women like the three witches in Macbeth attended at Ottawa while the international cauldron bubbled trying to cast their evil spell over those in whose hands the safety of our country is placed.”¹²³ When he protested the censorship, the CBC offered him the opportunity to express his views on one of its public affairs programs, mandated as they were to provide a free discussion of controversial points of view.¹²⁴

The Cuban Missile Crisis affected content in another way. In the weeks that followed, there was a resurgence of debate on public affairs programs about the ability of the military to defend Canada. *Inquir'y* responded with a three-part series on defence,¹²⁵ which took as its thesis, as host Davidson Dunton said, that “Canada’s defences against the modern submarine seem pitifully inadequate.” For instance, over footage of a destroyer at sea, the narrator of the second episode said:

¹²² Documents from vol. 898, file PG 8 “Quest” (pt. 1), 1960-64, RG 41, LAC: Teletype message, Doug Nixon to D.L. Bennett, 2 November 1962; telegram, D.L. Bennett to D. Nixon, 1 November 1962.

¹²³ Documents from vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC: Teletype message, R.L. Horley to M.A. Harrison, 11 November 1962; Teletype message, Rorke to J.A. Ouimet, n.d.

¹²⁴ Teletype message, R.L. Horley to M.A. Harrison, 10 November 1962, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC.

¹²⁵ See documents from vol. 897, file PG 8 “Inquiry” (pt. 1), 1960-64, RG 41, LAC: Teletype message, M.S. Whitfield to A.W. Wilson, Barry Stewart, and B. Davis, 19 November 1962; Teletype message, G. Hinch to D. Bennett, 19 October 1962; Teletype message, G. Hinch to D. Bennett, 19 November 1962.

A modern Canadian destroyer escort: backbone of our anti-submarine navy. Sleek, packed to the gunnels with electronics, self-decontaminating – lest there be fallout – these are the best we have. But in this age of sophisticated war, is that “best” good enough? The destroyer escort has only half the speed of a nuclear submarine. Four years ago, the navy proposed helicopters to close the speed gap. But a helicopter is a delicate bird on a pitching, rolling, salt-swept platform, and so far no Canadian destroyer escort has an operational helicopter. No helicopter, no nuclear torpedoes, still unequipped with our best undersea detection gear, nothing to destroy, nothing to escort: sixteen stately showpieces at \$30 million apiece.¹²⁶

Later in the episode, Warner Troyer and Charles Lynch interviewed Rear-Admiral Jeffry Vanstone Brock, former chair of the Ad Hoc Committee on Naval Objectives, who avoided giving straight answers to the more difficult questions about defence. When Troyer asked if Canada could defend itself against an attack from missile-launching submarines, like those used by the American navy, Rear-Admiral Brock responded, “Well, of course, we don’t have to contend with American missile submarines.”¹²⁷

Pressure on the Canadian government was mounting in early 1963. In January, General Lauris Norstadt (Allied Supreme Commander of NATO forces in Europe) “dropped what has been described as ‘an atomic brick’ on Canada,” said announcer Gordon Jones on a CBC-TV newscast. General Norstadt declared that “Canada is committed to accepting nuclear weapons for her NATO forces.” Canadian politicians were outraged. New Democratic Party (NDP) MP David Lewis even told CBC-TV news that Norstadt was acting “with the blessing, if not at the request or suggestion of our military leaders.”¹²⁸ The civilians, however, were having a difficult time deciding how to proceed. Indeed, the Progressive Conservative Party was splintering under the

¹²⁶ *Inquir’y*, first broadcast 20 November 1962 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, hosted by Davidson Dunton and produced by Patrick Watson, ISN: 230851, LAC.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ *CBC News Film-pack*, first broadcast 7 January 1963 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Gordon Jones, ISN: 176216, LAC.

weight of the decision. The news was not helping matters for the government, providing as it did a “steady beat” of criticism, in Knowlton Nash’s words,¹²⁹ to the roughly 617,000 households nationwide that regularly tuned in to the 11:00 p.m. newscast in January 1963.¹³⁰

That criticism came both from the Opposition and from the Tory ranks. On 5 February, CBC-TV news announced that Harkness resigned his office. Over footage of Harkness touring Canadian military installations, the announcer said, “He told the Commons that nuclear warheads should have been obtained for Canadian forces as soon as the carriers for them were ready.”¹³¹ It was a dramatic and public rejection of Diefenbaker’s hesitancy.¹³² The Minister of Trade and Commerce George Hees and Associate Minister of Defence Pierre Sévigny followed suit.¹³³ On 10 February, Sévigny told CBC news that “I started ... to think about resigning at the moment of the Cuban crisis and I made up my final decision on Friday afternoon.”¹³⁴

The resignations did not end the debate; it remained at the forefront during the federal election in April 1963, which resulted in a Liberal minority government.¹³⁵ The new government came to office with promises that Canada’s forces serving with NATO

¹²⁹ Nash, *Microphone Wars*, 305.

¹³⁰ Memo, Frank W. Peers to M. Sadlier, “Nielsen Figures for News Programs,” 9 January 1963, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 4), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

¹³¹ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 5 February 1963 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 176259, LAC.

¹³² Peter Stursberg, *Diefenbaker: Leadership Lost, 1962-67* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 25-26.

¹³³ Both were veterans of the Second World War. According to Peter C. Newman, Hees was “so disgusted with the government’s handling of overseas troop shortages that he ran as an opposition Conservative in 1945.” See, Bercuson and Granatstein, “Sevigny, Pierre Albert,” *Dictionary of Canadian Military History*, 197; Peter C. Newman, “Holding the world on a leash,” *Maclean’s* 109, no. 26 (24 June 1996): 18.

¹³⁴ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 10 February 1963 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Don Simms, ISN: 176261, LAC.

¹³⁵ Harkness, for one, campaigned for re-election on promises that Canada would be armed with nuclear weapons. See, for example, Douglas Harkness, “FIVE-MINUTE T.V. SPEECH (Personal),” file M-4762-9, Douglas S. Harkness fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

and NORAD would have nuclear weapons.¹³⁶ The announcement prompted discussion on CBC-TV about what this would mean for the military. The new Minister of National Defence, Paul Theodore Hellyer, appeared on *Inquir'y* to address questions about whether nuclear weapons for the RCAF CF104 Starfighters would be “defensive” or “offensive” in nature (he replied that they would be “tactical”).¹³⁷ Debate about whether nuclear weapons were the best option for the military was a dominant theme on the CBC in the months that followed. It presented a wide range of opinions on the topic, from the views of peace groups on *Document*¹³⁸ to those of National Defence on *Inquir'y*.¹³⁹

By the end of 1963, the debate had changed again. Consider, for example, an episode of *Newsmagazine* from December, called “The Defence Dilemma.” It asked, “What kind of war should the nation prepare for? Are we adequately prepared for that type of war? Is massive nuclear capacity the inevitable weapon of any future conflict, or should we prepare for limited, ‘brush-fire’ wars?”¹⁴⁰ It also asked rhetorically if Canada was getting its money’s worth, in light of a four percent reduction in defence spending.¹⁴¹ This program signalled a transition. After belligerent refusals to negotiate,

¹³⁶ For more, see Granatstein, *Canada’s Army*, 352. In response, William H. Dumsday, DPR (ND), wrote that “[w]hen a firm nuclear warheads policy has been established, it is suggested that DPR(RCAF) again raise the subject of press visits to North Bay and La Macaza [Quebec], with GAS support.” See, memo, William H. Dumsday to D.N. Inf., DPR(Army), DPR(RCAF), and PRO(DRB), “Press – RCAF transport,” 30 April 1963, series 2 “Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press,” file 47, 85/304, DHH.

¹³⁷ *Inquir'y*, first broadcast 23 April 1963 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, hosted by Davidson Dunton and produced by Patrick Watson, ISN: 180825, LAC.

¹³⁸ “THE PEACEMAKERS,” *CBC Times* 16, no. 21 (23-29 December 1963): 3-4. For another example, see “The Nature of ‘Peace Groups’ in Canada,” *CBC Times* 15, no. 30 (26 January – 1 February 1963): n.p.

¹³⁹ *Inquir'y*, episode titled, “The New Face of War,” first broadcast 11 November 1963 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, hosted by Laurier LaPierre and produced by Patrick Watson, ISN: 180732, LAC.

¹⁴⁰ “The Defence Dilemma,” *CBC Times* 16, no. 24 (14-20 December 1963): 6.

¹⁴¹ Script, *Newsmagazine*, “The Defence Dilemma,” 16 December 1963, vol. 6, file “6-8 Miscellaneous Scripts 1963-1965 – Royal visit, separatism, notes, Expo 67, Massey funeral, flag debate,

the Soviet Union finally signed an agreement with the United States and Britain to ban atmospheric nuclear testing.¹⁴² With the easing of Cold War tensions, programs moved away from questions about preparedness and towards investigations of defence spending. Though defence commitments had remained stable since the late 1950s, the defence budget had declined significantly.¹⁴³ CBC-TV hinted at what was to come on a Christmas Day newscast, which featured a report on festivities at a RCAF base in the Northwest Territories. “Next year,” announcer Lamont Tilden explained over footage of the men enjoying a Christmas feast, “there will be no Christmas like this for the men at Resolute Bay: the air force detachment is being recalled as a defence economy measure and the few civilians that remain will staff an arctic ghost town.”¹⁴⁴ Calming fears and government cuts also impacted the CBC’s civil defence measures: CBC studios and relay transmitters that had been operational 24 hours a day, as per the Emergency Broadcasting Plan, returned to normal operating hours.¹⁴⁵

Kemp’s first, uncritical response to viewing film shot during the Second World War was, “There is nothing quite as exciting on television as the real world in action.”¹⁴⁶ Yet, as the programs from 1961 to 1963 suggest, television was not a window onto the world. At best, programs held a mirror up to the society and institutions that produced them. For instance, rising Cold War tensions prompted increased attention to Canada’s

Interview with Hellyer on Defence,” MG 31 D 112, Norman DePoe fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, MG 31 D 112, LAC].

¹⁴² G. de T. Glazebrook, “Emergence of Canada as a Power in International Affairs,” in *Canada: One Hundred, 1867-1967*, 437-62 (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1967), 462.

¹⁴³ Granatstein, *Canada’s Army*, 352.

¹⁴⁴ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 24 December 1963 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Lamont Tilden, ISN: 176670, LAC.

¹⁴⁵ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “Broadcasting in Canada: History and Development of the National System” (1 November 1962), 43.

¹⁴⁶ Hugh Kemp to Captain William Strange, 1 March 1957, vol. 433, file 27-1-11 (pt. 1), “THE CHANGING FORCES,” RG 41, LAC.

preparedness for war and, particularly, the weapons procured for the military. It also caused the CBC to brace for war by increasing its commitment to civil defence and by preparing the news service to report breaking news about possible attacks on North America or Europe. Commemorative and history programming reflected both the changing social responses to the military's past and the CBC's intimate relationships with the forces, the Legion and the NFB. Moreover, the Cuban Missile Crisis, which brought the world to the brink of a nuclear holocaust, first resulted in self-censorship, but soon gave rise to increased criticism of defence policy on drama, news and public affairs programs. While criticism continued in the years that followed, rather than discussing the military's preparedness for war, the next defence debate would be a battle over the future of the army, navy and air force as institutions.

Chapter 5: Contested Terrain, 1963–1968

Between 1963 and 1968, CBC-TV programs (those that aired as well as those that were proposed and rejected) were the site of an extended, complex, and sometimes implicit, debate that sought to redefine identity, memory and the international role of the military. Defence Minister P.T. Hellyer and his opponents, for example, used CBC-TV news and, most especially, its public affairs programs to make public their debate over the integration and unification of the armed forces – at the heart of which were questions about the identity of the military. Reports about the conflict in Cyprus evolved from emphasis on the beneficial presence of Canadians peacekeepers on the island, to a more sober understanding of what the practice of peacekeeping could hope to achieve. As half-century commemorations of the Great War approached, A.E. Powley spearheaded a large-scale project to see more coverage of that conflict on CBC radio and television to raise its profile in “the national memory.”¹ The result was one of the grandest oral history projects ever attempted by the CBC, which was also a landmark of military history programming for CBC radio. Significantly, the CBC did not produce a comparable in-house production for television. Powley’s objectives hinted at larger trends in this period, seen most clearly on commemorative programs. Namely, that there was a growing debate about the memory of the two world wars, which shaped not only public affairs programming, but also telecasts of ceremonies, like Remembrance Day services at the Cenotaph in Ottawa. There were those, Powley and the federal government among them, who strove to see military history included in the nation-building exercises of the Centennial Year. Others, influenced by the growing

¹ Memo, A.E. Powley to J.D. Nixon, “Historical Program Series – World War I – 1964-1968,” 21 November 1960, vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY,” RG 41, LAC.

student protest movement against nuclear proliferation and the images of the brutality of the Vietnam War in the news, marked Remembrance Day with speeches against war. Also, more reverential broadcasts served as ephemeral memorials to Canada's war dead. None of these memories of the world wars held a monopoly. For all of these reasons, the understanding of the military – past and present – and the programs that explored it were contested terrain between 1963 and 1968.

On 23 April 1963, new Minister of National Defence, Paul Theodore Hellyer,² appeared on CBC-TV's *Inquir'y*. Program host Davidson Dunton and Mark Harrison of *The Toronto Star* interviewed him in a CBOT studio.³ A particularly noteworthy exchange came at the end of the interview. Harrison asked Hellyer, "How do you feel about the idea of welding all three services into one armed service?" That idea first emerged in the 1920s and was revived in the early 1960s by the likes of the Glassco Commission.⁴ Hellyer replied by saying, "I think it's widely recognized that some degree of either integration or unification is essential."⁵ In the years that followed, television was a forum for debate about the controversial plan. Indeed, Hellyer and his special assistant Group Captain William L. Lee thought that regular communication with the media was necessary. Hellyer explained that they were guided by the "belief that the public was

² Hellyer became Minister of National Defence on 22 April 1963. He had previous experience working on the defence portfolio, having served a brief term as associate minister of defence in 1957. Hon. Paul T. Hellyer, letter to author, 15 November 2011.

³ Teletype message, Gordon Hinch to Don Bennett, 23 April 1963, vol. 897, file PG 8 "Inquiry" (pt. 1, 1960-64), RG 41, LAC.

⁴ Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 250; Canada, *Royal Commission on Government Organization*, report 20, "Department of National Defence" (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1962-63), 69-73.

⁵ *Inquir'y*, first broadcast 23 April 1963 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, hosted by Davidson Dunton and produced by Patrick Watson, ISN: 180825, LAC.

entitled to know what we were doing. They were more likely to support our policies if they were presented in a reasonable and straightforward manner.”⁶

To that end, Hellyer returned to *Inquir’y* on 30 March 1964 to speak with Warner Troyer about the *White Paper on National Defence* tabled in the House of Commons the week before.⁷ It called for the creation of a “single unified defence force.”⁸ The soundstage was dark and the set dramatic: the pair sat on separate, raised platforms,⁹ facing each other, Troyer behind a desk and Hellyer with only a small table at his side. They discussed Canada’s part in “detering” war, the possibility of a reduced role for Canada within NATO, procurement of military aircraft and defence spending. They also talked about unification. Hellyer explained that his White Paper was “the first step toward a single, unified force for Canada...” When asked by Troyer if he expected “any reluctance within the Armed Forces to accept integration and unification,” Hellyer admitted that there “will be some. This is inevitable.” However, he insisted that “[t]he younger men ... I think are generally enthusiastic. And this goes right up through the ranks, but it naturally tapers off a bit ... as people ... get older and they’re more set in their ways.”¹⁰ When the CBC sent the soundtrack of the program to the managers of forces’ radio stations in Europe for possible broadcast, Program Organizer for the

⁶ Hon. Paul T. Hellyer, letter to author, 15 November 2011. [For more information, see Appendix A.]

⁷ National Defence received a transcript of the episode. See, “Transcription: CBC TV Program ‘Inquiry’ 30 March, 1964, Remarks by the Honourable Paul T. Hellyer, MND,” series 1 “Canada Defence Policy,” file 7, 85/304, DHH.

⁸ Quoted in Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 250.

⁹ This was a difficult scenario to film, according to the CBC’s *Television Studio Practices Manual*. If they sat at different levels, one boom microphone would not “pick up” both voices. The scene had to be carefully rehearsed to ensure cameras were not shooting at an unflattering “tilt angle.” Also, the risers had to be “sufficiently well braced to prevent swaying or the performer will feel insecure and may even become seasick.” See, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Engineering and Operations, *Television Studio Practices Manual* (Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1962), 9.9.1 (p. 18), vol. 86, file 3-12-1 (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

¹⁰ *Inquir’y*, first broadcast 30 March 1964 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, hosted by Laurier LaPierre, and produced by Patrick Watson and Wilson Southam, ISN: 220275, LAC.

Armed Forces Service, Keith Lawrence, asked to be told if the material was used and how audiences responded.¹¹

Integration and defence cuts not only coloured program content, but also influenced production. In December 1964, for instance, DND Public Relations decided not to prepare a special for CBC-TV, promoting the work undertaken by the military over the previous year, as had been past practice. Andrew Cowan (Director, Northern Service) commented that this “decision ... fits ... the ‘new lean look’ given to the Canadian Armed Forces by Minister Paul Hellyer, who has already ‘integrated’ all four former Public Relations Directorates ... into one ‘Information Services Directorate.’”¹² The creation of the Information Services Directorate was a response to the redundancies identified by the Glassco Commission. In May 1964, Hellyer told the Deputy Minister that there was an urgent need to streamline and coordinate public relations efforts because “public understanding of our White Paper on Defence may well depend to a considerable degree on the quality of our Information Department and its policies.”¹³

The CBC was also undergoing a period of serious self-reflection. Staff members were divided about the purpose of public affairs programming. At the time, *Inquir’y* was attracting negative attention from CBC management. The General Manager of Network Broadcasting (English), H.G. Walker, complained about moderator Laurier

¹¹ Memo, Keith Lawrence to Alan Brown and Paul Fortier, “CBC TV Program ‘Inquiry,’” 6 April 1964, vol. 754, file NF3-4-10 (pt. 13), “Northern & Armed Forces Services, Programme Production – Armed Forces, Liaison with Armed Forces – General,” RG 41, LAC.

¹² Memo, A. Cowan to Program Director English TV Network and Program Director French TV Network, “Armed Forces Annual Review Program,” 15 December 1964, vol. 753, file NF3-4-2 (pt. 4), “Northern & Armed Forces Services, Programme Production – Armed Forces, Special Broadcasts,” RG 41, LAC.

¹³ Memo, Paul T. Hellyer to Deputy Minister, “Re: DND Public Relations,” 3 March 1964, series 1 “Canada Defence Policy,” file 32, 85/304, DHH.

LaPierre's expression of his personal opinions.¹⁴ Walker insisted that "the Corporation and those who profess to speak for it must not appear to be taking sides in matters of political dispute." At the heart of the problem was a disagreement about the nature of public affairs programs. Walker provided the example of Patrick Watson, who "vigorously" maintained that such programs "must adopt a point of view...." Walker thought this could be "very dangerous."¹⁵ His concerns only grew. By May, he was considering cancelling *Inquir'y* and finding a replacement program for the balance of the season.¹⁶

The conflict came to a head with the controversial series *This Hour Has Seven Days*, which debuted in October 1964.¹⁷ In a confidential report from December, CBC President J.A. Ouimet explained that the series

has many good points to its credit but, on several occasions, it has violated long-standing CBC policy regarding the handling of controversial broadcasting. There is also the constant danger that in its effort to be different and interesting, it may fall into some form of sensationalism. We are conscious of this danger, yet, we are keeping it on because we believe that, given time, we can correct its faults without losing its appeal and value.¹⁸

One way they hoped to exert more influence on content was by uniting the public affairs and news departments under Bill Hogg, who became the Director of News and

¹⁴ See for example, Teletype message, Walker to Nixon, 24 January 1964, vol. 897, file PG 8 "Inquiry" (pt. 1, 1960-64), RG 41, LAC.

¹⁵ Documents from vol. 897, file PG 8 "Inquiry" (pt. 1, 1960-64), RG 41, LAC: memo, H.G. Walker to Director of English Networks and Toronto Area, "Inquiry – Lapierre," 14 May 1964; memo, Gordon Hinch to H.G. Walker, "Laurier LaPierre," 20 April 1964; memo, Reeves Haggan to J.D. Nixon, "Laurier LaPierre," 16 April 1964.

¹⁶ Teletype message, H.G. Walker to A.K. Morrow, 4 May 1964, vol. 897, file PG 8 "Inquiry" (pt. 1, 1960-64), RG 41, LAC.

¹⁷ "CBC uses tri-city closed circuit," *Canadian Broadcaster* 23, no. 20 (15 October 1964): 15; "This Hour Has Seven Days," *CBC Times* 17, no. 14 (3-9 October 1964): 3;

¹⁸ Report, J.A. Ouimet, "A Confidential and Personal Appraisal of CBC," 17 December 1964, vol. 986, file 74, RG 41, LAC.

Public Affairs.¹⁹ *Seven Days* remained on the air until the summer of 1966.²⁰ The controversial decision to cancel the program had a profound impact on the CBC, not least because many of the people who had worked on program left the Corporation and Hogg resigned his position.²¹

In the meantime, Hellyer began to implement his reforms.²² Increasingly, those who opposed unification emphasized the loss of identity that would result. For instance, in April 1964, Douglas Harkness told CBC-TV news that, if unification were implemented, “I think a great deal would be lost, as far as corps spirit, regimental spirit, morale, so on, is concerned, and therefore, I would hope that no move along that line is made.”²³ By contrast, Hellyer focused on the financial savings promised by unification.²⁴ In a November newscast, he also insisted that the government’s plan to disband 73 units would make for a “more streamlined, more efficient militia” that would be “better able to do its job....” When a reporter asked him if he expected any “protest,” Hellyer said that he did, but insisted the plan would “be well-received” because it “makes sense....”²⁵ John Diefenbaker, then Leader of the Opposition, joined

¹⁹ He took up this position in December 1964, which replaced the position of Director of English Networks and the Toronto Area. Donald J. Macdonald succeeded Hogg as chief news editor. See documents from file “Hogg, W.H.,” Biography files, CBCRL: biography, “William H. Hogg, Director of News and Public Affairs”; CBC Toronto Newsletter, 8 December 1964; press release, 8 December 1964; biography, “William H. Hogg,” October 1968.

²⁰ “Document,” *Canadian Cinematography*, May-June 1966, vol. 249, file 11-38 (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

²¹ Eric Koch, *Inside Seven Days: The show that shook the nation* (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall, 1986), 240 and 248; Macdonald, “The Evolution of CBC Television News and Current Affairs,” in *Beyond the Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada’s Broadcast News Heritage / Au-delà de l’écrit: La patrimoine de la radio-télédiffusion des nouvelles au Canada*, ed. Richard Lohead, 197-205 (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1991), 202.

²² For more on the reforms, see Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 251.

²³ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 15 April 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Frank Herbert, ISN: 177102, LAC.

²⁴ For example, *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 27 May 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 177077, LAC.

²⁵ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 4 November 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Rex Loring, ISN: 245251, LAC.

the protest against unification by year's end. In a press conference held at his office in Ottawa, he said that the government's plan to spend more than a billion dollars on equipment made any savings that might result from any such cuts to the militia "meaningless."²⁶

The debate became more heated in 1966 as Hellyer and his staff finalized a bill to enact unification. Hellyer gave an interview to CBOT's public affairs program, *The Sixties*, on 28 February. The half-hour program debuted in November 1963 as the replacement for the adult education series *Citizens' Forum*.²⁷ Charles Lynch, who was a regular contributor on the series from its inception, became its host in 1965. A former war correspondent with Reuters, he was witness to the D-Day invasion and the campaign that followed. He joined the CBC in 1956 as its UN correspondent.²⁸ Perhaps as a result these experiences, Lynch presented the service personnel's perspectives with great understanding and sympathy. For instance, Hellyer told Lynch that Canadians, including the men and women of the military, supported what he was doing, which was "evidenced by the fact that no one has ... gone out and ... made a public issue of what we're doing." Lynch replied that "in the case of the officers, I would suggest that they really hadn't much option...." He went on to say that "if you're a career officer, you're muted in our society...."²⁹

²⁶ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 23 December 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Jim Chorley, ISN: 178065, LAC.

²⁷ "Citizens' Forum," *CBC Times* 13, no. 20 (19-25 November 1960): 27; "The Sixties," *CBC Times* (November 1963): 8, file "Lynch, Charles," Biography files, CBCRL; report, Christina McDougall (Program Organizer, Public Affairs), "The Sixties," October 1963, vol. 898, file PG 8 "Sixties, The," (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

²⁸ Press release, "Veteran newsman and commentator named host of CBC's The Sixties," 1 November 1965, file "Lynch, Charles," Biography files, CBCRL.

²⁹ *The Sixties*, first broadcast 28 February 1966 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, hosted by Charles Lynch and produced by Cameron Graham, ISN: 231692, LAC.

Between 1964 and 1966, thousands of men left the military. Some of the more senior among them openly protested Hellyer's plan.³⁰ Television news gave them a large, civilian audience. In August 1966, for instance, CBC-TV news reported on the retirement of Rear-Admiral Michael Stirling. Over footage of sailors and airmen standing in a parade ground to hear his "last address," announcer Bob Wilson said, "The Admiral says he does not believe integration will occur in his time and predicts that more moderate council will prevail. 'Integration now,' says Admiral Stirling, 'will destroy internal efficiency and complicate Canada's participation with its Allies.' It's not tradition, but *esprit de corps* that he fears will be weakened."³¹ Hellyer wrote in *Damn the Torpedoes: My Fight to Unify Canada's Armed Forces* that such criticism effected a "dramatic change in the public perception of the unification battle." He soon felt "outflanked in the propaganda war...."³² Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson did little to help matters when he spoke on CBOT's public affairs program *Twenty Million Questions* in October. The program, which got its name from census results revealing that Canada had a population of 20 million, covered the country's political scene.³³ When asked by co-host Charles Lynch whether a unified military would function effectively, Pearson replied, "Oh, I hope so."³⁴

³⁰ Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 252; J.L. Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2004), 76.

³¹ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 1 August 1966 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Bob Wilson, ISN: 174100, LAC.

³² Paul Hellyer, *Damn the Torpedoes: My Fight to Unify Canada's Armed Forces* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), 170-71.

³³ See, "20 Million Questions," *CBC Times* 19, no. 15 (8-14 October 1966): 14; "20 Million Questions," *CBC times* 19, no. 14 (1-7 October 1966):13; "Twenty Million Questions," *CBC Times* 19, no. 39 (25-31 March 1967): 10; "Television Is ... News and Public Affairs," *CBC Times* 21, no. 13 (21-27 September 1968): 9; *Twenty Million Questions*, first broadcast 6 October 1966 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, produced by Moses Znaimer and Cameron Graham, ISN: 230784, LAC.

³⁴ *Twenty Million Questions*, first broadcast 6 October 1966 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, produced by Moses Znaimer and Cameron Graham, ISN: 230784, LAC.

Hellyer tabled the bill in the House of Commons in November 1966, to fierce resistance from the Progressive Conservative Opposition. Reflecting on press coverage during this period, Hellyer recalled that there was “some conflict” between the objectives of CBC-TV and National Defence

when the bill was being heard by a committee of the House of Commons and I agreed to let officers opposed to unification give testimony as to the reasons for their objections. It is not too surprising that the objectors were given a great deal more press coverage during this period than equally credible witnesses who were favourable to the government’s plan.³⁵

CBC-TV programs also seemed to express sympathy for their complaints and concerns. Consider, for example, the first episode of a new public affairs program, entitled *Sunday*, that the CBC introduced to replace *This Hour Has Seven Days*.³⁶ It provided a forum for controversial opinions, expressed through satire and serious interviews presented before a studio audience, which surrounded the stage (known as “the bearpit”).³⁷ On 6 November, co-host Peter Reilly³⁸ began the segment about unification by introducing film clips of Hellyer’s critics. Vice-Admiral Herbert Rayner, former Chief of Naval Staff (1960–4), criticized the lack of public review and consultation. Air Marshall Wilfred Curtis, former Chief of Air Staff (1947–1953), said “no country in the world other than Germany during the war under Hitler fired so many senior people and let it pass without even a comment from the people who pay the bills.” Lt.-Gen. Guy Simonds, former Chief of the General Staff (1951–5), explained the “feeling” in the services that, “unless you totally agree with the minister’s policy, then there’s no future for you...” Reilly then interviewed Hellyer, who was not in studio, but at his Ottawa

³⁵ Hon. Paul T. Hellyer, letter to author, 15 November 2011.

³⁶ Ian Grant, “Sight and Sound,” *Canadian Broadcaster* 25, no. 23 (1 December 1966): 3.

³⁷ Bruce Lawson, “Reilly quits CBC TV’s Sunday,” *Globe and Mail*, 30 Jan. 1967, vol. 50, file 2-3-6-4 (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

³⁸ He quit after three months. See, *ibid.*

office. Hellyer's image was projected onto a large screen for the studio audience to see. Reilly questioned Hellyer's understanding of his critics, saying, "What you're doing is almost like saying to everybody, 'well now, there are eight churches in this town and we don't need eight churches in this town. We're gonna build one church. It's gonna be *the* church.... I suggest to you that this is the way they're reacting and it's analogous.'" Hellyer dismissed criticism of the plan as "emotional, rather than rational."³⁹

Twenty Million Questions aired a similar program about the "defence crisis" on the eve of Remembrance Day. In the first half of the episode, Lynch and co-host Donald Gordon interviewed Rear-Admiral William Moss Landymore and Vice-Admiral Max Morton Hendrick. Rear-Admiral Landymore, a veteran of the Second World War and Korea who resigned his commission in 1965 to protest unification,⁴⁰ criticized the government for failing to produce a study showing how unification would make Maritime Command⁴¹ more efficient. If it had been studied and shown to be beneficial, "then they'd not only had my support but everybody in the Armed Forces..." he explained. Vice-Admiral Hendricks agreed. Later in the episode, Hellyer tried to explain that unification would, for instance, lead to better "chances for promotion" for service personnel. Lynch responded, "Maybe they don't want it!"⁴² Regardless, the unification bill passed into law in 1967.⁴³

³⁹ *Sunday*, first broadcast 6 November 1966 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, hosted by Larry Zolf and Peter Reilly, ISN: 98365, LAC.

⁴⁰ Bercuson and Granatstein, "Landymore, William Moss," *Dictionary of Canadian Military History*, 113.

⁴¹ By this time, the military was divided into Mobile, Air, Maritime, and Communication Commands. See, Canada, *Task Force on Review of Unification of the Canadian Forces*, Final Report (15 March 1980), 30.

⁴² *Twenty Million Questions*, first broadcast 10 November 1966 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, produced by Cameron Graham, ISN: 230789, LAC.

⁴³ Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, 357.

The divisive debate over unification did not take attention away from the Canadian military's work. The leading story was the conflict in Cyprus. The Republic of Cyprus gained independence in August 1960 through a series of agreements with Greece, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. In November 1963, the President of Cyprus announced his intention to amend the constitution. His proposals – which would, for example, have seen fewer Turkish Cypriots in the military – sparked ethnic conflict on the island. After weeks of fighting, the parties agreed to a ceasefire, policed by the British. However, attempts to translate this agreement into a more lasting peace failed and the UN's observer in Cyprus was reporting an escalation of violence by January. A UN peacekeeping mission seemed the only solution.⁴⁴

The earliest reports about the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), which came into being on 4 March,⁴⁵ stressed the significance of Canadian involvement for Cyprus. CBC-TV news reported on 15 March on efforts to transport soldiers of the Royal 22e Régiment, along with their equipment, aboard RCAF Hercules transport aircraft. They joined the UN “peace force” on the island. The report insisted that, “with their arrival, the island has been pulled back dramatically from the edge of war.”⁴⁶ However, the following day the news began to hint that the mission might take “longer than the three months envisaged by the Security Council.”⁴⁷

Reporter William Curtis, cameraman Paul Murray and soundman Geoff Lawrence from CBC Halifax (CBHT) travelled with the Royal 22e Régiment and the Royal

⁴⁴ United Nations, *Blue Helmets*, 149-51.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁴⁶ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 15 March 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Bob Wilson, ISN: 176926, LAC.

⁴⁷ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 16 March 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Lamont Tilden, ISN: 176908, LAC.

Canadian Dragoons aboard HMCS *Bonaventure*, as it made its way to Cyprus.⁴⁸ On 19 March, the team arranged to fly film of their departure off of the ship and to the CBC's Toronto newsroom.⁴⁹ When *Bonaventure* reached Gibraltar, the CBC team took the opportunity to send by airmail more film and audio tapes recorded during the crossing. They sent the national newsroom film of "the first part of the journey to Cyprus," which amounted to roughly 800 feet of silent and sound-on-film footage.⁵⁰ Curtis also regularly filed reports using the ship's telegraphic services. On 26 March, for instance, he reported, "the destroyer escort *Restigouche* is taking seas high over her bow, and one shudders to think what life is like aboard her at the moment. In comparison, *Bonaventure* seems as steady as a rock."⁵¹ Once in Cyprus, the CBC team received "assistance" from the military and when their work was done, the RCAF flew them back to Canada.⁵²

Such close relations between the military and the press were somewhat controversial. In April 1964, *The Globe and Mail* criticized the military for providing

⁴⁸ Documents from series 1 "HMCS Bonaventure," file "Cyprus – HMCS Bonaventure," (pt. 1), Directorate of Public Relations Fonds (RCN), 73/1135, Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence, Ottawa [hereafter, 73/1135, DHH]: Telegram, Bonaventure to Canconcyp [Canadian Contingent Cyprus], 26 March 1964; telegram, Bonaventure to Canflaglant [Flag Officer Atlantic Coast], 25 March 1964.

⁴⁹ Telegram, Bonaventure to Canavhed [Canadian Naval Headquarters], 19 March 1964, series 1 "HMCS Bonaventure," file "Cyprus – HMCS Bonaventure," (pt. 1), 73/1135, DHH.

⁵⁰ Documents from series 1 "HMCS Bonaventure," file "Cyprus – HMCS Bonaventure," (pt. 1), 73/1135, DHH: telegram, Bonaventure to Canavhed, 25 March 1964; telegram, Bonaventure to Canflaglant, 23 March 1964; telegram, Canflaglant to Bonaventure, 24 March 1964.

⁵¹ Telegram, Bonaventure to Canflaglant, 26 March 1964, series 1 "HMCS Bonaventure," file "Cyprus – HMCS Bonaventure," (pt. 1), 73/1135, DHH. For other examples, see documents from, series 1 "HMCS Bonaventure," file "Cyprus – HMCS Bonaventure," (pt. 1), 73/1135, DHH: telegram, Bonaventure to Canflaglant, 26 March 1964; telegram, Bonaventure to Canflaglant, 20 March 1964; telegram, Bonaventure to Canflaglant, 19 March 1964; telegram, Bonaventure to Canflaglant, 28 March 1964.

⁵² Telegram, Bonaventure to Canconcyp, 26 March 1964, series 1 "HMCS Bonaventure," file "Cyprus – HMCS Bonaventure," (pt. 1), 73/1135, DHH. CBC-TV profiled the arrival, unloading and departure of *Bonaventure*. See, *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 31 March 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Warren Davis, ISN: 177097, LAC; *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 2 April 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Warren Davis, ISN: 177095, LAC; *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 4 April 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by [Brandon Snare?], ISN: 177076, LAC.

free transportation to the press. (The paper refused free transport from the military, as well as that offered by government during election campaigns.) William H. Dumsday, Director of Public Relations at National Defence, advised the minister that the relationship was not improper, insisting, "Correspondents are under no obligation to the department or the armed forces just because we provide transport facilities."⁵³ Significantly, however, the forces provided information as well as aid. By May, 26 photographs taken by army public relations in Cyprus had appeared in Canadian Press reports. Dumsday also reported that, of the roughly 2,000 feet of film offered by the army, "1600 feet has been ... used by the CBC, CTV [Canadian Television Network] and private TV outlets."⁵⁴ The CBC balanced its use of such film with reports from its correspondents, like Stanley Burke and Philip Pendry, who travelled to Cyprus in April.⁵⁵

Between late March and early April, television news reports continued to stress the beneficial impact Canadian peacekeeping was having on the island. Over film shot from within one of several jeeps patrolling the area between Nicosia and Kyrenia, the announcer said, "Since the arrival of Canada's Royal 22e Régiment – the Vandoos – a cautious peace has reined in Cyprus."⁵⁶ Pride in Canadian accomplishment was tempered when, on 30 March, CBC-TV news reported that the "job of the peace force is becoming increasingly difficult." Film of British troops arriving at an airport in Nicosia

⁵³ Memo, Dumsday to the Minister and Associate Minister of National Defence, 3 April 1964, series 1 "HMCS Bonaventure," file "Cyprus – Public Relations," 5 May 1964, series 1 "HMCS Bonaventure," file "Cyprus – HMCS Bonaventure," (pt. 2) 73/1135, DHH.

⁵⁴ Memo, Dumsday to the Minister and Associate Minister of National Defence, series 1 "HMCS Bonaventure," file "Cyprus – Public Relations," 5 May 1964, series 1 "HMCS Bonaventure," file "Cyprus – HMCS Bonaventure," (pt. 2) 73/1135, DHH.

⁵⁵ Teletype message, W.H. Hogg to H.G. Walker, 10 April 1964, vol. 906, file PG 10-11 "News. CBC News Contributor," (pt. 7), RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁶ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 23 March 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 177015, LAC.

played, as the announcer explained, “Canadians ... have been accused of allowing Greek Cypriot police to patrol a Turkish village.”⁵⁷ These were only minor complaints, however. For, as the news reported with great regularity, the Canadians “have yet to clash with either Greek or Turkish Cypriots,”⁵⁸ the area they policed was “extremely quiet,” and “[t]hough there has been some shooting, none of it directed at them.”⁵⁹ The peacefulness of the Canadian efforts was in stark contrast with the work of the British. Consider, for example, this report from 9 April:

Canadian soldiers in the northwest area of Cyprus are briefed by British troops during armoured car patrols in the trouble spot. In a few days, the Canadians will take over the area from the British units. On one patrol, the Canadians received smiles and waves from inhabitants of Kato Pyrgos, as the armoured cars passed through. But earlier, in the same villages, 20 British soldiers had been held at gun point by Greek Cypriot irregulars who claim they saw the British siding with Turkish Cypriots during recent shooting.⁶⁰

In the summer of 1964, the UN was in the news for reasons other than Canadian efforts in Cyprus. In June, CBC-TV news reported on war games held by the 1st Battalion, Canadian Guards to prepare for UN duties. The report was revealing of military and CBC-TV understandings of peacekeeping. “Exercise No Name,” as it was called, took place at Camp Gagetown, New Brunswick. For the exercise, the soldiers were divided into two teams: UN soldiers and “hostile natives.” Announcer Bill Lawrence said, “The native soldiers put their heart into it and shouted uncomplimentary remarks to the soldiers about their dress, their officers, and their sergeant-major.”

⁵⁷ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 30 March 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 177098, LAC.

⁵⁸ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 31 March 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Warren Davis, ISN: 177097, LAC.

⁵⁹ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 2 April 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Warren Davis, ISN: 177095, LAC.

⁶⁰ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 9 April 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Frank Herbert, ISN: 177792, LAC. For another example, see, *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 22 April 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 177115, LAC; *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast [4 July 1964] by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Warren Davis, ISN: 177229, LAC.

Despite their unpleasant words, a transport aircraft was “unloaded without incident” and the troops declared the exercise “a success ... since it isn’t everyday you can insult a sergeant-major.”⁶¹ The following month, there was negative news from Congo. On 4 July, CBC-TV news showed film of the homecoming of the 57th Canadian Signal Unit, which was last of the Canadians to leave the Congo.⁶² Announcer Gordon Jones said that the “four-year intervention ... cost about \$420 million. Fighting continues, even now, between rebels and Congolese government troops.”⁶³ Such implicit criticism of the practice of peacekeeping marked a transition to more sober news about the UN.

The Canadians in Cyprus received periodic coverage on the news in the years that followed. In August, for example, *Newsmagazine* aired a special report on “the crisis in Cyprus,” which included interviews with Canadian politicians and UN officials.⁶⁴ That same month, Michael Maclear and a cameraman travelled to Cyprus to prepare reports for CBC-TV news programs.⁶⁵ Cyprus was back in the news as the UN extended the term by another three months in December, when part of the Canadian force returned home in April 1965, and as tensions on the island increased in November 1967.⁶⁶ These reports were increasingly coloured by the growing criticism of the UN. This perspective

⁶¹ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 13 June 1964 by CBC, a television news production, news read by Bill Lawrence, ISN: 177142, LAC.

⁶² Granatstein and Bercuson, *War and Peacekeeping*, 221.

⁶³ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast [4 July 1964] by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Gordon Jones, ISN: 177237, LAC.

⁶⁴ Documents from vol. 907, file PG 10-17 (pt. 3), “CBC Sustaining Program. CBC News Magazine,” RG 41, LAC; Teletype message, Baillie to A.W. Wilson, G. Gordon, D. Orr, A. Davis, D. O’Neill, B. Nebloch, and D. Nixon, 10 August 1964; Teletype message, Mary Lennon to W.Y. Martin, 12 August 1964.

⁶⁵ Teletype message, D.J. Macdonald to A.K. Morrow, 10 August 1964, vol. 907, file PG 10-17 (pt. 3), “CBC Sustaining Program. CBC News Magazine,” RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁶ See for example, *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 21 December 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Lamont Tilden, ISN: 178068, LAC; *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 10 April 1965 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 287957, LAC; *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 23 November 1967 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 178376, LAC; *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 25 November 1967 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Gordon Jones, ISN: 178370, LAC.

grew not only from repeated extensions of the mandate for UNFICYP and the UN's failure to bring lasting peace to the Congo, but also the UN's inability to stabilize the Middle East. In May 1967, Egyptian President Gamal Abd al-Nasser asked UNEF to leave the region, a request it was obliged to grant.⁶⁷ The Six Day War between Israel and Egypt followed.⁶⁸ Historians J.L. Granatstein and David J. Bercuson argued that "in Canada reaction against the humiliation of Canada's representatives, and against the United Nations and peacekeeping in general, was very sharp – for a time."⁶⁹ The loss of faith in the UN coloured CBC-TV news reports about Cyprus. In January 1968, for example, announcer Leon Manfoff said, "Experience has shown that United Nations troops cannot stop the fighting between the Greeks and Turks once it begins and there are indications that any increase in size of the UN force will not help solve the basic problems at Cyprus, although its very presence has helped to keep the peace."⁷⁰ Ted North, an announcer-producer who travelled to Cyprus to prepare a program for CBC Maritimes, presented an even more sober view of Canada's part in resolving the crisis in 1969. He told the *CBC Times* that "[t]he Canadian soldiers are no more popular than any of the other U.N. troops...."⁷¹ Much had changed since 1964.

⁶⁷ Granatstein and Bercuson, *War and Peacekeeping*, 200 and 221.

⁶⁸ The events were covered on CBC-TV's *The Public Eye*, *Newsmagazine*, *Viewpoint* and *TBA*. Director of Program Policy, D.L. Bennett, expressed some concern over pro-Israel bias on at least one such program. See documents from vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 5), "News Programs. General Correspondence," RG 41, LAC: memo, D.L. Bennett to Director of News and Public Affairs, Toronto, "Arab-Israeli Coverage," 24 July 1967; memo, D.L. Bennett to Chief News Editor, "Strike Zion – July 16th, 1967." For discussion of the CBC correspondents and cameramen in the Middle East during this time, see, memo, Betty Zimmerman to Director of Corporate Relations, "CBC Correspondents, Cameramen in Middle East," 7 June 1967, vol. 906, file PG 10-11 (pt. 7), "News. CBC News Contributor," RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁹ Granatstein and Bercuson, *War and Peacekeeping*, 200.

⁷⁰ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 2 January 1968 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Leon Manfoff, ISN: 178348, LAC. For another example, see *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 13 March 1969 by CBC, a television news production, ISN: 178808, LAC.

⁷¹ Quoted in, "North To Nicosia; Field and Ingram Too," *CBC Times* 22, no. 25 (13-19 December 1969): 8i.

As it did with other UN missions, the CBC not only reported on the military's work in Cyprus, but also played a supporting role. In the autumn of 1964, National Defence and the UN requested that the CBC bring its concert party tour to Cyprus. It agreed and staged *Cyprus Showcase* in December. A recording aired on CBC radio.⁷² The troupe returned in December 1965, with what was the CBC's 10th concert party tour since 1961, and were back again in 1966. The CBC presented highlights of the 1966 tour on a radio show called *Hits and Mistletoe* and on television's *The Tommy Hunter Show*.⁷³ Likewise, the CBC presented *UNEF Showcase* in 1965 and 1966 to the multinational forces serving in the Middle East.⁷⁴ These efforts reached their zenith during the ambitious world tour of 1967. Over the course of 22 days, 40 entertainers presented 18 performances of *Canada Entertains* to troops in various locations in Europe, Asia and Africa. Crews from Société Radio-Canada and the CBC followed along. CBC-TV showed highlights on the one-hour, colour program *Hello, Delhi!*⁷⁵ The troupe played Cyprus again in 1968⁷⁶ and 1969.⁷⁷

⁷² "Talent for Cyprus," *Canadian Broadcaster* 23, no. 22 (19 November 1964): 15.

⁷³ "Cyprus Showcase on radio, Sunday," *CBC Times* 18, no. 26 (25-31 December 1965): 8i; "Cheer from Cyprus," *CBC Times* 19, no. 25 (17-23 December 1966): n.p.

⁷⁴ "CBC Concert Party Tours Middle East," *CBC Times* 17, no. 45 (8-14 May 1965): 8i; "CBC Troupe Goes to Gaza for U.N.," *CBC Times* 18, no. 47 (21-27 May 1966): 8i; "UNEF Showcase from Gaza," *CBC Times* 18, no. 49 (4-10 June 1966): n.p.

⁷⁵ "Canada Entertains," *CBC Times* 19, no. 40 (1-7 April 1967): 9-10; June Graham, "Hello, Delhi!" *CBC Times* 19, no. 47 (20-26 May, 1967): 11-15; "Centennial Troupers to Entertain UNEF in Gaza," *CBC Times* 19, no. 48 (27 May – 2 June 1967): 8i.

⁷⁶ In that year, the CBC issued a confidential program policy governing concert parties for the forces. It explained that "[t]he Department of National Defence is not equipped to act as impresario and, therefore, looks to the CBC to provide concert parties on its behalf. Since the Corporation is the only national organization engaged in hiring professional artists from all parts of the country and in the two official languages, it falls within its interest to co-operate with Department of National Defence in providing concert parties at bases at home and abroad." It went on to say that the CBC benefitted from the performances because they provided the material for radio and television programs, and they generated good publicity. See, Confidential Program Policy, "Programming: Policy and Procedures, CBC Concert Parties for Canadian Forces," 27 March 1968, vol. 165, file 11-2-2, RG 41, LAC.

⁷⁷ "CBC Stars Stage Shows for Forces in Cyprus," *CBC Times* 22, no. 27 (27 December 1969 – 2 January 1970): 8i. In 1968, the CBC also entertained troops in Canada and Europe. See, "Stars for the

The CBC did not, however, broadcast directly to the Mediterranean or the Middle East in the mid-1960s. What little news reached these regions came in the form of day-old Canadian Press reports sent by Telex, to be read by a small number as a “wall newspaper,” and dailies dispatched in the mail, which were several weeks old by the time they finally arrived. Canadian officers serving with the UN, along with diplomats in the area, complained to the CBC about the lack of service. In 1966, Andrew Cowan warned that this neglect “aggravates the endemic feeling of the expatriate that he is forgotten by the folks back home....”⁷⁸

Canada’s contributions to NATO received comparatively little attention on CBC-TV during these years. They received passing mention on *Inquir’y* on 13 January 1964, when Warner Troyer asked two prominent German newspaper editors, “Does it really matter to you at all ... that we have one brigade in Germany, that we had four squadrons of Starfighters?” The editors replied that Germans did not even know that Canada had a military presence in their country.⁷⁹ When Troyer asked Chancellor Willy Brandt the same question four years later, he simply replied that the Germans “like” Canada’s presence.⁸⁰

Some in the navy attempted to increase the profile of Canada’s participation in NATO during these years. In February 1964, Director of Naval Information Cmdr. R.C.

Services,” *CBC Times* 20, no. 43 (20-26 April 1968): 9; “CBC Troupe to Europe to Entertain Forces,” *CBC Times* 21, no. 3 (13-19 July 1968): 8ii.

⁷⁸ Report, Andrew Cowan, “Report on News Service to Canadian Forces in Cyprus and the Gaza Strip,” 16 September 1966, vol. 17, file “CBC Armed Forces Service – Reports March 1962 – Sept. 1966,” MG 30 E 298, LAC.

⁷⁹ *Inquir’y*, episode titled “Hamburg Show Germany,” first broadcast 13 January 1964 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, hosted by Laurier LaPierre and produced by Patrick Watson, ISN: 230875, LAC.

⁸⁰ *The Public Eye*, first broadcast 15 May 1968 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, hosted by Warner Troyer and produced by Robert Patchell and Richard Nielsen, ISN: 76682, LAC.

Hayden was concerned that the navy needed to strengthen its relations with the media in order to fulfill Supreme Allied Command, Atlantic General Order 62-2. It stated, "Through appropriate coverage of ... training exercises NATO publics ... can be informed and kept cognizant of ACLANT activities." To achieve that end, he advised "active" relations with the press. Instead of informing the press about naval exercises only after they had begun or supplying information "only in reply to inquiries," he advised issuing press releases prior to departure from Canada. He also suggested involving the media in the exercises. For those concerned about the consequences of such intimacy, he offered assurances that

When invitations are extended to media to send representatives to sea for exercises or cruises, it is necessary to divulge in confidence, some details of locale, dates and participating ships. Of the many times that this has been done I do not recall one when the confidence was betrayed. There is far more danger in setting up a barrier that compels the press to forage on its own, than there is in taking the press into your confidence.⁸¹

Commander Hayden insisted the benefits were great. The "Active Press Policy" would result in more publicity of the navy's activities, while also affording them "reasonable control" of the content of that coverage.⁸² In the years that followed, CBC-TV programming reflected the pursuit of such "active" relations. For instance, CBC-TV filmed *Peril or Prayer* (1966) – a documentary about the work of naval chaplains – aboard HMCS *Bonaventure* as it partook in NATO exercises in the Caribbean.⁸³

Although coverage was limited, the CBC was faring better than its American counterparts. In 1966, Walden Moore, Director of the Declaration of Atlantic Unity,

⁸¹ Memo, Director of Naval Information R.C. Hayden to VCNS, "Publicity – Naval Exercises," 25 February 1964, series 2 "Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press," file 47, 85/304, DHH.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ "'Peril or Prayer' on Heritage, May 1," *CBC Times* 18, no. 44 (30 April – 6 May 1966): 8i.

told former Minister of Defence and Tory MP Gordon Churchill how difficult it was to attract attention to NATO's work: "Our basic problem in this country is that the President, the State Department, Congress, the press and the public seem to be completely pre-occupied with Viet Nam to the exclusion of almost everything else."⁸⁴

By contrast, there was a surge of interest in military history in 1963–4. Though there were a few programs about colonial wars,⁸⁵ the majority focused on the two world wars. The most significant of these was a radio series. In November 1960, Supervisor of Outside Broadcasts A.E. Powley sent a proposal for several radio and television programs about the First World War to J.D. Nixon. "The 50th anniversaries do not start until 1964," he wrote, "but since the people we would record are mortal, an early start would be desirable."⁸⁶ His commitment to the subject grew from his conversations with D.C. McArthur, who was a veteran of the war.⁸⁷ It also emerged from his desire to raise the profile of the war, particularly during the lead up to Canada's Centennial – years that were filled with bitter struggles to define the Canadian identity. The Quiet Revolution in Quebec, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (est. 1963), and the flag debate of 1964 challenged ideas about the national identity, spurring

⁸⁴ Moore to Churchill, 23 February 1966, vol. 83, file "Atlantic Unity," MG 32 B-9, LAC.

⁸⁵ "FAMOUS FIELDS OF BATTLE – CBC TELEVISION," *CBC Times* 15, no. 47 (25-31 May 1963): 2; press release, "THE FIELDS OF BATTLE, SIX-PART 20/20 SERIES," 21 May 1963, file "Productions – FF – FIE," Program files, CBCRL, Toronto; *20/20*, part 4, "Fields of Battle," first broadcast 2 June 1963 by CBC, a CBC television production, narrated by Harry Mannis, written by Ian Thorne, and produced by Richard Knowles, ISN: 104361, LAC; "His Majesty's Five," *CBC Times* 16, no. 27 (4-10 January 1964): 3.

⁸⁶ Memo, A.E. Powley to J.D. Nixon, "Historical Program Series – World War I – 1964-1968," 21 November 1960, vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 1), "PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY," RG 41, LAC.

⁸⁷ Memo, A.E. Powley to Jack Lusher, "Flanders' Fields," 27 January 1965, vol. 249, file 11-38-1, "FLANDERS FIELDS," RG 41, LAC.

passionate debate.⁸⁸ For Powley, any redefinition of Canadian nationalism needed to include the First World War. He insisted that Canadians should know about the war, since it impacted “every aspect of life.” He was acutely aware that prioritizing the war on radio and television would reshape public memory. He argued,

The value of such programs is that they would recapture tremendous times and events now receding from memory. World War I, largely crowded out of the national memory by subsequent happenings like the depression and World War II, is now somewhere in the middle distance of history, at a point that offers a new but fading perspective. Its true history contains much that is horrible, including a massive and senseless waste of life by generals of incredible incompetence. It is vital Canadian history, though.⁸⁹

His views only seemed to harden as the years went on. By 1963, he argued that while the war should not be romanticized, neither should it be diminished. “If Confederation joined Canada’s scattered parts together and made it a Dominion,” he wrote, “the First World War gave Canada sense of nationhood and the status of a nation. This is not a romantic concept but a historic one.”⁹⁰

The “World War I Historical Project,” as it came to be known, soon gave rise to plans for a radio series about the war. Now Special Programs Officer for History Broadcasts, Powley, was at the helm. In 1961, he imagined the series would emphasize “one or two especially outstanding units,” the PPCLI among them, and would be based entirely on interviews with veterans. It would be an important program, not least because it provided a means to “preserve for future generations, in the very words and

⁸⁸ José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-71* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 164-222.

⁸⁹ Memo, A.E. Powley to J.D. Nixon, “Historical Program Series – World War I – 1964-1968,” 21 November 1960, vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY,” RG 41, LAC.

⁹⁰ Memo, Powley to Thom Benson, “First World War – Television,” [1963?], vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY,” RG 41, LAC.

voices of some of the men who took part, the story of those days and deeds.”⁹¹ Interviews began in 1961, using a questionnaire formulated with the help of Col. G.W.L. Nicholson – the program’s consultant who, at the time, was working on an official history about the First World War.⁹² Within a year, they had gathered enough material for J. Frank Willis to produce a radio program for Remembrance Day, called *Return to Mons*.⁹³ Audiences responded well to this preview. One veteran of the PPCLI even asked if the CBC would repeat the show the following year.⁹⁴ Powley, with help from Bill Herbert, Raymond de Boer, and his former assistant, Frank Lalor (who acted as the “full-time interviewer” on the project), interviewed “some six hundred veterans and accumulated eight hundred hours of tape recording” by 1964.⁹⁵

These efforts culminated with the release of *Flanders’ Fields* on CBC radio.⁹⁶ The 17-hour long series, which borrowed its title from the poem of the same name by John McCrae, debuted on Armistice Day in 1964 and then aired on Sundays thereafter. Advertisements emphasized that this was “history told in the first person.”⁹⁷ Though the

⁹¹ Memo, A.E. Powley to Spencer Moore, “World War I Historical Project Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry,” 23 June 1961, vol. 249, file 11-38-1, “FLANDERS FIELDS,” RG 41, LAC.

⁹² Memo, Powley to Thom Benson, “First World War – Television,” [1963?], vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY,” RG 41, LAC; Col. G.W.L. Nicholson, *Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919: Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War* (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1962).

⁹³ “THE ROAD TO MONS RETRACED,” *CBC Times* 16, no. 12 (21-27 September 1963): 9. See also documents from vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY,” RG 41, LAC: Frank Lalor and Lt.-Colonel P.P. Hutchison, 7 November 1962; Frank Lalor to General J.A. Clark, 5 November 1962; Frank Lalor to Colonel W. Martin King, 5 November 1962; Frank Lalor to Colonel George W. Little, 1 November 1962; Frank Lalor to Major-General W.H.S. Macklin, 1 November 1962.

⁹⁴ Telegram, E.S. Hallman to Bruce Raymond, 29 October 1963, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day,” RG 41, LAC.

⁹⁵ Memo, A.E. Powley to Jack Lusher, “Flanders’ Fields,” 27 January 1965, vol. 249, file 11-38-1, “FLANDERS FIELDS,” RG 41, LAC.

⁹⁶ “Flanders’ Fields: Canada’s role in the Great War,” *CBC Times* 17, no. 19 (7-13 November 1963): 2-3.

⁹⁷ “The War in the Air,” *CBC Times* 17, no. 31 (30 January – 5 February 1965): 6; CBC, *Flanders’ Fields*, November 1964. A similar project was undertaken by the CBC Northern Service. It recorded the memories of elder citizens in the Yukon in 1965 for use on a radio history of the area that was to be “the

veterans did discuss the horrors of the trenches, this was not an anti-war series. The war was a “wonderful experience,” according to one of the veterans who spoke on the series. “There were bad times, but it was an experience that I think that enriches one’s life a great deal....” They reserved criticism for the loss of a generation of young men, the misery of the trenches, and the lack of attention to the war and the men who died. As one veteran explained, “we give [the dead] two minutes of silence once a year, which I regard as an affront, because when you’ve lost someone immediately dear to you, you’re silent – an area of your mind and your heart – your whole living life.”⁹⁸

Hundreds of listeners wrote to the CBC about the series, many calling it a “masterpiece” and a “priceless contribution to Canadian history.”⁹⁹ Veterans praised its faithful depiction of the humour and *esprit de corps* of the Canadians who fought, along with “the mighty fellowship” that made the war “not only tolerable, but glorious.”¹⁰⁰ The series also received positive reviews from the likes of the *Montreal Star*, which insisted that the broadcasts “place the CBC in our common debt.”¹⁰¹ The CBC’s Vice-President in charge of programming shared this enthusiasm, insisting that *Flanders’ Fields* “is a contribution to Canadian history that should inspire the interest and pride of Canadians in the generations ahead.”¹⁰² In response to popular demand, the CBC

major centennial undertaking by the Northern Service.” See documents from vol. 428, file “Centennial Program Planning Submissions Northern & Armed Forces Services,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Keith M. Lawrence to Robin Wood, “Archive Recordings,” 28 June 1965; memo, Robin Woods to Keith M. Lawrence, “Archive Recordings,” 22 July 1965; report, interview with Colonel William A. Steel, “Oral History Interview Analysis.”

⁹⁸ See for example, *Flanders’ Fields: Canadian Voices From WW I*, episode titled “Victory,” produced, narrated, written and directed by J. Frank Willis. 1964; CBC Audio, 2006. DVD.

⁹⁹ Report, A.E. Powley, “History Broadcasts,” 2 June 1965, vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 4), “PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR I DOCUMENTARY,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁰⁰ “To The Editor...,” *CBC Times* 17, no. 28 (9-15 January 1965): 2.

¹⁰¹ “‘In Flanders Fields,’” *Montreal Star* (13 February 1965): n.p., vol. 249, file 11-38-1, “FLANDERS FIELDS,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁰² Memo, E.S. Hallman to Vice-President, “‘Flanders Fields’ in Albums,” 18 February 1965, vol. 249, file 11-38-1, “FLANDERS FIELDS,” RG 41, LAC.

released two LP records based on the interviews with veterans of the Battle of Vimy Ridge.¹⁰³ They cost \$5.00 and came with a brochure with photographs, a map of Vimy, and comments from Colonel Nicholson.¹⁰⁴ The CBC also repeated the episode about the Second Battle of Ypres in April 1965, replayed the whole series in 1968, and made plans to issue a companion book. It also donated the original, unedited, taped interviews to the National Archives in the hopes that students of history would use them.¹⁰⁵

During this same period, the BBC was working on a comparable series for television. *The Great War*, as it was known, was a 26-episode series, produced in collaboration with the Imperial War Museum, the Australian Broadcasting Commission,¹⁰⁶ and the CBC.¹⁰⁷ E.E. Rollins of the CBC film service was assigned to this production in 1963.¹⁰⁸ He joined a large team conducting research at archives and private collections in Europe and North America. In an effort to research the Canadian experience of the war, he published an advertisement in Canadian dailies and the *CBC*

¹⁰³ Ibid.; photograph, "President Presents Album to Head of Royal Canadian Legion," vol. 249, file 11-38 (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

¹⁰⁴ "Historic Recording," *CBC Times* 18, no. 32 (5-11 February 1966): 15; "Historic Recording," *CBC Times* 18, no. 52 (25 June – 1 July 1966): 15; "Historic Recording," *CBC Times* 19, no. 13 (24-30 September 1966): n.p.

¹⁰⁵ See documents from vol. 249, file 11-38-1, "FLANDERS FIELDS," RG 41, LAC: memo, E.S. Hallman to Vice-President, "'Flanders Fields' in Albums," 18 February 1965; A.E. Powley to Alexander McKee, 22 January 1965. Also documents from vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 4), "PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY," RG 41, LAC: memo, Andrew Cowan to A.E. Powley, "'Flanders' Fields," 18 January 1965; memo, A.E. Powley to D.C. McArthur, "Flanders' Fields – Album Proposal," 13 January 1965. See also, "Flanders' Fields," *CBC Times* 21, no. 6 (3-9 August 1968): 6-7; "Flanders' Fields," *CBC Times* 21, no. 8 (17-23 August 1968): 6; "The Agony of the Somme," *CBC Times* 21, no. 12 (14-20 September 1968): 14; "The Great War – 50 Years After," *CBC Times* 21, no. 17 (19-25 October 1968): 6; "Ypres Remembered," *CBC Times* 17, no. 42 (17-23 April 1965): 3.

¹⁰⁶ The Australian Broadcasting Commission existed from 1932 to 1983, at which time it was replaced by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. See, "Australian Broadcasting Commission," *Trove* <http://nla.gov.au/nla.party-458353>, accessed 8 February 2013.

¹⁰⁷ "The Great War," *CBC Times* 18, no. 2 (10-16 July 1965): 14. The same team produced *The Lost Peace*, which aired on CBC-TV in 1969. See, "Between wars: The Lost Peace," *CBC Times* 21, no. 45 (3-9 May 1969): 4-5.

¹⁰⁸ "The Great War," *CBC Times* 17, no. 52 (26 June – 2 July 1965): 5.

Times in the fall of 1963, asking veterans to share mementos and memories.¹⁰⁹ Powley was surprised to hear that he only received some 50 letters. Rollins shared what information he received with Powley and Willis, in the hopes that they might find additional leads for *Flanders' Fields*.¹¹⁰ However, the replies provided little new information, but instead contained photographs, suggested readings, and advised Rollins to contact National Defence, the Air Force Museum in Ottawa and the Royal Canadian Military Institute in Toronto.¹¹¹

The CBC worked with the BBC on *The Great War* for reasons other than benevolence. In July 1963, Powley advised his colleagues that “fair recognition of the Canadian contribution seems essential if we are to carry the series, but I think it would be dangerous to take this recognition for granted.” Indeed, one of the writers for the series had just published an article in Britain that overlooked Canada’s role in the Battle of Amiens, even crediting an Australian with Sir Arthur Currie’s “battle plan.”¹¹² Powley insisted that, if the BBC overlooked Canada’s contributions, there might be “no great outcry, but it would not be fair.”¹¹³ In the end, the CBC was satisfied enough with

¹⁰⁹ “War Material Search,” *CBC Times* 16, no. 13 (28 September – 4 October 1963): 8xvi.

¹¹⁰ Memo, A.E. Powley to J. Frank Willis, “Word From Ed Rollins,” 30 August 1963, vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 2), “PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY,” RG 41, LAC.

¹¹¹ Documents from various parts of vol. 847, file 18-16W-9, “PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY,” RG 41, LAC: E.E. Rollins to J.A. Parsons, 30 August 1963, (pt. 2); E.E. Rollins to T.S. Wilton, 30 August 1963, (pt. 2); E.E. Rollins to George Cassels, 30 August 1963, (pt. 2); E.E. Rollins to Andrew Chapman, 30 August 1963, (pt. 2); E.E. Rollins to S.H. Williams, 30 August 1963, (pt. 2); A.E. Powley to E.E. Rollins, 3 April 1964, (pt. 3); A.E. Powley to J. O’Neill, 3 February 1964, (pt. 3); J. O’Neill to A.E. Powley, 29 January 1964, (pt. 3).

¹¹² Memo, A.E. Powley to J.D. Nixon and Michael Sadlier, “First World War – BBC Series,” 23 July 1963, vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 2), “PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY,” RG 41, LAC.

¹¹³ Documents from vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 2), “PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY,” RG 41, LAC: memo, A.E. Powley to J.D. Nixon and Michael Sadlier, “First World War – BBC Series,” 23 July 1963; memo, A.E. Powley to Ed Rollins, “First Great War – BBC Project, 21 June 1963.

the completed series, which the *CBC Times* called the “definitive visual record” of the war, that it broadcast it in 1965.¹¹⁴

Influenced by the BBC project and the efforts to prepare *Flanders’ Fields* for radio, Powley began to push for an in-house CBC-TV series about the First World War.¹¹⁵ In response to criticisms raised by colleagues about creating a television version of *Flanders’ Fields*, Powley wrote,

Obviously it would be impossible on all counts – financial, technical and artistic – to present a montage of personal history of the kind that is being done for radio. Nevertheless I imagine you do not exclude the idea of some filmed interview material. Perhaps, too, I should explain that the material being recorded for radio is not a mere collection of yarns.... What we are after ... is the reality of the story as it can be known only to the men who had a part in it.¹¹⁶

Progress on the production was slow. By 1966, it was still only an idea.¹¹⁷

In the meantime, viewers continued to see Canadian military history on regular CBC-TV programming. The news, for example, marked military anniversaries, reported on new uses for old warplanes and efforts to remove bombs from the coast of Halifax.¹¹⁸ Public affairs programs and documentaries featured interviews with the crew of HMCS *Haida* (the “fightingest [sic] ship in the navy”) on the eve of its

¹¹⁴ “The Great War,” *CBC Times* 17, no. 52 (26 June – 2 July 1965): 5; “The Great War,” *CBC Times* 18, no. 2 (10-16 July 1965): 14; “Summer TV Fare,” *CBC Times* 17, no. 45 (8-14 May 1965): 2.

¹¹⁵ Documents from vol. 249, file 11-38-1, “FLANDERS FIELDS,” RG 41, LAC: memo, A.E. Powley to H.J. Parizeau, “First World War,” 26 September 1963; memo, A.E. Powley to Marcel Ouimet, “First World War,” 26 September 1964.

¹¹⁶ Memo, Powley to Thom Benson, “First World War – Television,” [1963?], vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 1), “PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY,” RG 41, LAC.

¹¹⁷ Memo, Powley to Bruce Raymond, “First World War – Television,” 8 November 1965, vol. 847, file 18-16W-9 (pt. 4), “PROGRAMMES SPECIAL WORLD WAR 1 DOCUMENTARY,” RG 41, LAC. See also documents from vol. 249, file 11-38-1, “FLANDERS FIELDS,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Powley to Jim Guthro, “World War I,” 20 June 1966; memo, Bruce Raymond to Powley, “World War I – Television,” 23 November 1965.

¹¹⁸ See, for example, *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 1 October 1962 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Alan Maitland, ISN: 176005, LAC; *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 9 July 1963 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Bruce Rogers, ISN: 176555, LAC; *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 3 September 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Bill Lawrence, ISN: 177384, LAC; *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 11 August 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, report by Ed Cosgrove, ISN: 177314, LAC.

decommissioning.¹¹⁹ Some of these shows, like 20/20's "Diary of Lanky" about the life story of the Lancaster bomber ("an aircraft that will never be supplanted in the affections of the men who flew her") were sentimental.¹²⁰ Others were dramatic and entertaining, like Joseph Schull's¹²¹ *Convoy*, about the skipper of a Canadian corvette who faced the impossible choice between sub-killing and saving sailors of a ship wrecked by a German U-boat.¹²²

The content of some of these programs provided evidence of an emerging current of more critical treatment of the past. For example, in November 1963, co-host John David Hamilton rejected the idea of Remembrance Day on *Across Canada: The Observer*.¹²³ He insisted that, rather than honour the sacrifices of servicemen, it would be "more sensible to have Remembrance Day dedicated to the millions of DPs [displaced persons]..., the dead Jews, and the women and kids killed by both sides in the bombing

¹¹⁹ That phrase was used in, *Mobile*, episode titled, "MOBILE on H.M.C.S. HAIDA, 'THE FIGHTINGEST SHIP IN THE NAVY'," first broadcast 20 November 1963 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, hosted by Collin Parker, narrated by Bill Kehoe, and produced by Cameron Graham, ISN: 230518, LAC. See also, *Across Canada, The Observer*, first broadcast 15 October 1964 by CBC, a CBC television production, hosted by Sandi Fruman, Alain Stanké, and George Feyer, written by Jean Pouliot, Tim Kotcheff and Patrick Gossage, and produced by Jim Reed and Harry J. Boyle, ISN: 39659, LAC. The news reported on efforts to save the ship in the years that followed. See for example, *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 21 April 1969 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 178927, LAC.

¹²⁰ See for example, "DIARY OF A LANKY," *CBC Times* 16, no. 51 (20-26 June 1964): 7; *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 11 August 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, report by Ed Cosgrove, ISN: 177314, LAC.

¹²¹ He authored *Far Distant Ships*, a history of the RCN in the Second World War. See, Tim Cook, *Clio's Warriors: Canadian Historians and the Writing of the World Wars* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 166-67.

¹²² Ronald Weyman – a veteran of the RCN in the Second World War – was its producer. Because of his wartime experiences, the *CBC Times* suggested that "*Convoy* is close to Weyman's heart." See, "Convoy," *CBC Times* 17, no. 13 (26 September – 2 October 1964): 3.

¹²³ Robertson, *The Kind of Life It's Been*, 77; Craig Oliver, *Oliver's Twist: The Life and Times of an Unapologetic Newshound* (Toronto: Viking, 2011), 53.

raids.”¹²⁴ Others questioned the value of continuing to dredge up the events of the Second World War. For instance, in December, *Take Thirty*¹²⁵ host Paul Soles interviewed Lt.-Cmdr. Alan Easton about his history of the Battle of the Atlantic. Soles asked, “do you think it’s a good idea to keep reminding people ... in the state of the world at the present time about ... the war? I always wonder when war movies are run and books come out and tell a certain story about the war that this isn’t running counter to what we would all like to see in peace?” Easton struggled to answer the question, saying only that “war is something that we should be familiar with.”¹²⁶

At the time, anti-war feeling was growing, fostered by protests against nuclear arms,¹²⁷ the general faith in peacekeeping, and the Vietnam War. The Vietnam War had already galvanized many in the United States by 1963. That year, peace activists staged protests and held demonstrations in New York, Philadelphia and Washington.¹²⁸ Canadian television viewers would have seen graphic depictions of the brutality of the war as early as 1964. In November, for instance, CBC-TV news reported that the United States committed 1,200 more troops to the war, which “continues to be a series

¹²⁴ *Observer*, first broadcast 7 November 1963 by CBC, a CBC television production, written by Kerry Feltham, researched by Jean Pouliot, Noel Moore, Starr Cote, and Patrick Gossage, and produced by Don MacPherson and Harry J. Boyle, ISN: 287827, LAC.

¹²⁵ The title was also spelt, *Take 30*. A CBC producer once described the program as an “afternoon ladies’ interest show.” However, that was not the CBC’s intention. When the show debuted in 1962, the *CBC Times* advised readers that it was “directed toward a general audience, not just the ladies.” To that end, it combined musical performances, interviews about topics that ranged from the ballet to sociology, cooking segments, and “discussions of controversial subjects.” See, Stewart, *Here’s Looking at Us*, 137; “‘TAKE THIRTY’ DEBUTS ON CBC TV NETWORK,” *CBC Times* 15, no. 11 (15-21 September 1962): 31; “TAKE THIRTY FEATURES,” *CBC Times* 16, no. 22 (30 November – 6 December 1963): 8xvi; “WEEK’S LINE-UP FOR ‘TAKE 30,’” *CBC Times* 16, no. 24 (14-20 December 1963): 8xvi.

¹²⁶ *Take Thirty*, first broadcast 30 December 1963 by CBC, a CBC light entertainment program, produced by Leo Rampen, ISN: 98037, LAC.

¹²⁷ There was a growing movement against nuclear arms in Canada, influenced by British and American peace campaigns, and embodied in the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. See, Michael Maurice Dufresne, “‘Let’s Not Be Cremated Equal’: The Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament 1959-1967,” in *The Sixties in Canada: A Turbulent And Creative Decade*, ed. M. Athena Palaeologu, 9-64 (Montreal: Black Rose, 2009).

¹²⁸ James J. Farrell, *The Spirit of the Sixties* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 172.

of small-scale battles ... where no holds are barred.” Film followed of a Vietnamese prisoner of war – defenceless, with wrists and ankles tied – being beaten by an American soldier.¹²⁹

The changing temper of the times informed Ralph Allen’s monologue about the meaning of Remembrance on *The Observer* in 1964. Leaning on a military jeep parked on a studio soundstage, he said,

I wonder how many of tomorrow’s college newspapers will be pointing out what fools all those dead men really were. I have nothing original to contribute to the debate, but there’s one chilling truth that is almost never acknowledged on Armistice Day: the people who fight and survive our wars almost always look back on them with considerable fondness.... We will not solve the problem of peace until we learn to observe our Remembrance Days – not as days for rejoicing or days for sorrow – but as days on which to face one of the darkest truths of man’s very nature. Nuclear weapons or no nuclear weapons, man is still a very long way from extinguishing his timeless habit of making war, repenting war, swearing off war, and making war again.¹³⁰

A similar anti-war ethic underwrote *The Public Eye*’s two-part history of the Allied bombing of Dresden, broadcast in November-December 1965. The second part concluded with host Philip Deane explaining,

The point we have tried to make by showing you the destruction of Dresden is not that we the Allies were as evil as the Nazis. We weren’t. But the world would be a simple place if evil acts were only perpetrated by evil men. Much of the unnecessary suffering of the world past and present results from the capacity of men to obscure their scruples in the service of the righteous cause.¹³¹

¹²⁹ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 19 November 1964 by CBC, a CBC television news production, ISN: 178029, LAC. For more about the presentation of the Vietnam War on CBC-TV news programs, see, Mallory Schwartz, “Like ‘Us’ or ‘Them’?: Perceptions of the United States on the CBC-TV National News Service in the 1960s,” *Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue d’études canadiennes* 44, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 136-44. DOI: 10.1353/jcs.2010.0032

¹³⁰ *Across Canada, The Observer*, first broadcast 10 November 1964 by CBC, a CBC television production, hosted by Lloyd Robertson, Sandi Fruman, George Feyer, John David Hamilton, and Alain Stanké, written by Jean Pouliot, Tim Kotcheff and Patrick Gossage, produced by Don Macpherson, Gary Plaxton and Harry J. Boyle, ISN: 287710, LAC.

¹³¹ *The Public Eye*, episode titled, “DRESDEN Part II / THE MYSTERY,” first broadcast 7 December 1965 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, hosted by Philip Deane and produced by Robert Patchell and Richard Nielsen, ISN: 67873, LAC.

Despite the insistence that the program was not trying to equate the acts of the Allies with those of the enemy, viewers reached their own conclusions. One wrote to the CBC to express thanks for the production, saying, “The senseless brutality of Hitler’s SS gangsters in the concentration camps was surpassed by the butchers of Dresden....”¹³²

The production of military commemorations also suggests that their social significance was changing. CBC-TV struggled to mark Remembrance Day in 1964. In part, this resulted from a shortage of resources. Consider, for example, the experience of Jack McLaren, one of the famed Dumbells troupe that entertained servicemen during the First World War. He worked closely with Thom Benson and independent television producer Robert Barclay to create a program for Remembrance Day about the Dumbells, which included performances by its former members. Benson’s decision to hold the program back until the Christmas season left McLaren frustrated. He told Charles Jennings (Vice-President and General Manager, Regional Broadcasting) that he “did not undertake to do this stint for Barclay to have it treated lightly by some producer inside the CBC who quite evidently has no conception of the importance of this program.”¹³³ When Jennings looked into this, he found that the problem was a lack of funds for *Camera Canada* – the anthology on which the special was slated to air. He explained to McLaren that the “budgetary situation has necessitated curtailment [of the] *Camera Canada* period in this quarter and it will not be possible to schedule the

¹³² “To The Editor,” *CBC Times* 18, no. 29 (15-21 January 1966): 2.

¹³³ McLaren to Jennings, 1 October 1964, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC.

program until sometime in the next fiscal period.”¹³⁴ In the end, the Dumbells special, which sought to “remember with affection” the wartime troupe, aired in June 1965.¹³⁵

A lack of resources does not explain the CBC’s Eastern FM network decision to make “no observance” of Remembrance Day in 1964. Apathy seems a more ready explanation, though Regional Director of Programming Kenneth Caple did not share the sentiment. In an urgent Teletype message on 10 November, he advised Jennings that “this decision will cause serious public protest. We [are] changing schedule locally to make observance.”¹³⁶ By year’s end, in response to criticism from audiences, the Director for the Maritime Provinces started to consider ways to bolster the region’s coverage of Remembrance Day. He ensured that the live feed from Ottawa would be heard in the region in future years and attempted to improve local coverage. According to Frank Stalley (Jenning’s Executive Assistant), “Due to the fact that the national broadcast is seen in Halifax at 12:00 noon Atlantic time, it was felt that perhaps additional local coverage should be considered for 11:00 a.m. Atlantic time to avoid public criticism which has been apparent in past years.”¹³⁷

In the late 1960s, commemorative specials such as these were some of the only in-house productions about the military to deal with the past. The CBOT telecast from the Cenotaph on Remembrance Day was among the few television programs devoted to the

¹³⁴ Documents from vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC: Teletype message, A.K. Morrow to H.G. Walker, 6 November 1964; A.K. Morrow to Jack McLaren, 2 December 1964; Teletype message, H.G. Walker to A.K. Morrow, 10 November 1964.

¹³⁵ “The Dumbells – With Affection,” *CBC Times* 17, no. 50 (12-18 June 1965): 15; *Camera Canada*, episode titled, “The Dumbells ... with affection,” first broadcast 16 June 1965 by CBC, a CBC television production, featuring Jack Ayre, Alan Murray, Jack McLaren, and Jerry Brayford, ISN: 226126, LAC.

¹³⁶ Teletype message, K. Caple to C. Jennings, 10 November 1964, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC.

¹³⁷ Memo, Frank Stalley to Director, Program Policy, “Remembrance Day,” 11 December 1964, vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), 1942-68, “Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day.” RG 41, LAC.

world wars in 1966.¹³⁸ Military history was not a popular topic during the Centennial Year either.¹³⁹ Among the small number of productions was a CBC-TV broadcast of memorial services in France marking the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge, transmitted to Canada via satellite.¹⁴⁰ Viewers also saw Queen Elizabeth II present colours and guidon to the 1st and 2nd Battalion, Canadian Guards, the Ontario Regiment, the Sherbrooke Hussars, and the Cameron Highlanders.¹⁴¹

Several such events were imbued with the politics of the Centennial Year. In March 1965, Secretary of State Maurice Lamontagne and Associate Minister of National Defence Leo Cadieux announced the government's intention to stage a "large scale military tattoo" that would be "the major contribution by the Armed Forces in Canada's Centennial Celebrations in 1967."¹⁴² The production, which went on tour between March and September 1967,¹⁴³ had a cast of roughly 300 for 32 appearances nationwide and about 1,600 for performances in 6 major centres. Among the largest shows were

¹³⁸ It is noteworthy for another reason. Before the ceremony, there was a sound-on-film video insert of a Silver Cross Mother's visit to her son's grave in Holland. One viewer complained about the use of "discordant" music during that film, writing "I realize that I speak for only a small percentage of people with minds and who can create the 'mood' for themselves." See, *CBC-TV News Special*, first broadcast 11 November 1966 by CBC, a CBC special events feature, narrated by [J. Frank Willis], ISN: 13818, LAC; Edith Cosens, "To the Editor," *CBC Times* 19, no. 24 (10-16 December 1966): 2.

¹³⁹ For example, *Telescope*, episode titled, "All the Little Ships," first broadcast 18 June 1965 by CBC, a CBC television production, written by H. Pugsley and produced by George Ronald, Peter Kelly, and Thom Benson, ISN: 164360, LAC; *20/20*, episode titled, "Her Majesty's Messenger: The Black Rod," first broadcast 16 May 1967 by CBC, a CBC-TV features presentation, hosted by Harry Mannis, written by Tom Farley, and produced by Richard Knowles and Ron Hunka, ISN: 266911, LAC; *20/20*, episode titled, "Valiant Hearts," first broadcast 24 June 1967 by CBC, a CBC television production, narrated by Des Brown, hosted by Harry Mannis, and produced by David Gunn and Richard Knowles, ISN: 104411, LAC.

¹⁴⁰ "The Battle of Vimy Ridge," *CBC Times* 19, no. 41 (8-14 April 1967): 14.

¹⁴¹ *Royal Visit 1967*, first broadcast 5 July 1967 by CBC, a CBC special events feature, hosted by Lloyd Robertson, ISN: 11606, LAC.

¹⁴² Information Services, Canadian Forces Headquarters, "Statement by The Hon. Maurice Lamontagne, Secretary of State and The Hon. Leo Cadieux, Associate Minister of National Defence," 12 March 1965, series 1 "Canada Defence Policy," file 10, 85/304, DHH.

¹⁴³ Information Services, Canadian Forces Headquarters, "Department of National Defence, Statement by the Hon. Leo Cadieux, Associate Minister of National Defence," 21 May 1965, series 1 "Canada Defence Policy," file 10, 85/304, DHH.

those staged at Montreal's Expo '67, Toronto's CNE, and the Quebec Citadel.¹⁴⁴ This was done at a cost of roughly \$4.5 million (some \$33 million in 2013¹⁴⁵), of which they expected to recover only \$1.5 million through ticket sales.¹⁴⁶ The expense was remarkable, considering that the Canadian Armed Forces Tattoo was one of a series of projects undertaken by National Defence. There were also visits by naval vessels to Maritime and Great Lakes ports¹⁴⁷ in June 1967 (\$300,000), a touring show by the Canadian Armed Forces Aerobatic Display Team that marked the "jubilee of military aviation in Canada" (\$925,000), and performances by the Canadian Armed Forces Motorcycle Display Team (\$10,000).¹⁴⁸

Given its scale and expense, the tattoo received the most attention. Capt. Ian S. Fraser of New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, who was responsible for producing the Canadian Armed Forces Tattoo for the Seattle World's Fair in 1962, was the producer/director of the Centennial tattoo.¹⁴⁹ It covered three centuries of Canadian military history through "music, pageantry, colour sweeping spotlights, history, action, comedy, fantasy and

¹⁴⁴ Report, Prepared by Major D.W. Quinlivan-Hall and approved by Brigadier C.A. Peck, "Canadian Armed Forces – Centennial Programme," 29 December 1965, series 1 "Canada Defence Policy," file 10, 85/304, DHH.

¹⁴⁵ Figure determined using the tools on this site, Bank of Canada, "Inflation Calculator," *Bank of Canada*, <http://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/> (accessed 29 March 2013).

¹⁴⁶ Documents from series 1 "Canada Defence Policy," file 10, 85/304, DHH: report, Prepared by Major D.W. Quinlivan-Hall and approved by Brigadier C.A. Peck, "Canadian Armed Forces – Centennial Programme," 29 December 1965; memo, Commodore F.B. Caldwell to Parliamentary Returns, "The Canadian Armed Forces Tattoo Article in the Ottawa Citizen dated 24 Jan 66," 26 January 1966; memo, Commodore F.B. Caldwell to Parliamentary Returns, "The Canadian Armed Forces Tattoo," 19 September 1967.

¹⁴⁷ Mentioned on, *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 18 April 1967 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Leon Manoff, ISN: 178310, LAC.

¹⁴⁸ Report, Prepared by Major D.W. Quinlivan-Hall and approved by Brigadier C.A. Peck, "Canadian Armed Forces – Centennial Programme," 29 December 1965, series 1 "Canada Defence Policy," file 10, 85/304, DHH.

¹⁴⁹ Press release (DND Centennial Planning Staff), 24 August 1965, series 1 "Canada Defence Policy," file 10, 85/304, DHH.

variety....”¹⁵⁰ It dealt with Le Régiment de Carignan-Salières in 1665, the 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot in 1782, the Royal Navy in the War of 1812, the Canadian Army’s part in the South African War, and the role of the RCAF in the Second World War. It ended with a look at the Canadian Armed Forces in 1966, by which time the forces had become “a truly unified body” that was “highly mobile,” “efficient” and ready to “move anywhere in the world for the preservation of peace.”¹⁵¹



Figure 7. Canadian Armed Forces Tattoo, 1967.

Source: UA 600 C3651 p5, George Metcalf Archival Collection, © Canadian War Museum.

The CBC was intimately involved in the staging of the tattoo. Its Special Events Chief Commentator Byng Whittaker, Announcing Services Supervisor John Rae, and several staff announcers taught four officers “the art of voice commentary,” so that they might effectively host the tattoo. The CBC also videotaped the tattoo during its stops in

¹⁵⁰ Press release no. 1, Director General DND Centennial Planning Staff, “The Canadian Armed Forces Tattoo,” series 1 “Canada Defence Policy,” file 10, 85/304, DHH.

¹⁵¹ Brochure, The Centennial Commission, “Canadian Armed Forces Tattoo / Le Carrousel militaire des forces Canadiennes,” 1967, series 1 “Canada Defence Policy,” file 10, 85/304, DHH.

Vancouver, Edmonton, and Victoria (Figure 7) to create a colour television special (or “colorcast”), seen in September and again in December.¹⁵² An estimated 3.1 million Canadians viewed the first broadcast, which “achieved an enjoyment index of 90%, the highest rating of the season,” according to the CBC.¹⁵³

Not all of the special events telecasts in 1967 were celebratory. There was also a resurgence of interest in Dieppe on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the battle. The American Broadcasting Company working on a one-hour documentary it called *Rehearsal For D-Day* about the failed raid.¹⁵⁴ Likewise, CBC-TV aired a “one-hour film special”¹⁵⁵ entitled *Dieppe: An Answer for the Dead*. Like so many programs before it, it asked, “Was Dieppe worth the price? Did the Canadians walk into a well-prepared trap?”¹⁵⁶ Because of the anniversary, Remembrance Day in 1967¹⁵⁷ emphasized Dieppe, to the frustration of some viewers who complained that “there was much more to the story of Canada’s land forces than Dieppe. There were victories.”¹⁵⁸

At the time, there was a growing awareness that different people remembered the world wars differently. For instance, CBC-TV’s public affairs program *Something Else* marked Remembrance Day in 1967 by asking what its “real meaning” was. A woman whose husband succumbed to injuries he received at Passchendaele and whose son died in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp, said war was a “dreadful thing.” By contrast, a

¹⁵² “Tattoo Training,” *CBC Times* 19, no. 36 (4-10 March 1967): 15; “Armed Forces Tattoo Repeated on TV Dec. 2,” *CBC Times* 20, no. 23 (2-8 December 1967): 8i; “Tattoo,” *CBC Times* 20, no. 10 (2-8 September 1967): 6-7.

¹⁵³ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “Canadian Armed Forces Tattoo 1967” (album, 1967), 1.

¹⁵⁴ Documents from vol. 919, file PG 18-31 (pt. 1), “SPECIAL BROADCASTS DIEPPE,” RG 41, LAC: John. A. Secondari (Executive Producer, Special Projects, ABC News) to Edgar Ritchie, 26 April 1967; A.E. Ritchie to J.A. Secondari, 8 May 1967.

¹⁵⁵ Teletype message, W.H. Hogg to W.Y. Martin, 11 August 1967, vol. 907, file PG 10-17 (pt. 3), “CBC Sustaining Program. CBC News Magazine,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁵⁶ “Answer for the Dead,” *CBC Times* 20, no. 7 (12-18 August 1967): 15.

¹⁵⁷ Radio and television carried live coverage of the ceremony, beginning at 10:30 Eastern on 11 November. See, “Remembrance Day,” *CBC Times* 20, no. 20 (11-17 November 1967): n.p.

¹⁵⁸ Kenneth B. Smith, “The the Editor,” *CBC Times* 20, no. 25 (16-22 December 1967): 2.

young girl interviewed said war was “good” because “people can help people in the other places where they are and they can help them to get food and that.” Positive popular views of UN peacekeeping had clearly shaped her understanding of war. Sam Ajzenstat, then a lecturer at McMaster University, closed the program with these thoughts:

we have to decide what we want the society to be and part of doing this, I think, is deciding who we want to remember and honour publicly.... The older generation ... is going to have to justify what it did... But we have to be able to say... if necessary, we can find very little in the recent history of ... our country that is worth remembering positively as an example and ... we would be better citizens by wiping the slate clean and ... trying to build our own set of values than by tying ourselves down to ... an example which would simply lead us to more disaster.¹⁵⁹

The CBC – as a national forum for history and commemorations – had a part to play in that dialogue. Significantly, it continued to provide a platform for many different views on the past. In the months that followed, it was preparing yet another special about Dieppe.¹⁶⁰ It also broadcast a ceremony at the Vimy Memorial in France, in which Leo Cadieux called the battle of Vimy Ridge “the crucible, which brought forward and tempered the Canadian identity.”¹⁶¹ The CBC’s Remembrance Day telecast from Ottawa on the 50th anniversary of the Armistice that ended the First World War stressed “why we remember and we know we must not forget.”¹⁶² Significantly, the CBC deemed this live coverage to be of “national importance”¹⁶³ and, in so doing, made it available to competitors, including stations affiliated with the seven-year old private

¹⁵⁹ *Something Else*, episode titled, “Armistice Day Special,” first broadcast 11 November 1967 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, ISN: 60117, LAC.

¹⁶⁰ Memo, D.C. West to Vice-President, Planning and Acting Chief Operating Officer, “Special Programs – 1967-68,” 11 December 1967, vol. 1133, file “OPERATIONS SPECIAL PROGRAMS GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁶¹ *Vimy Ridge*, first broadcast 8 June 1968 by CBC, a CBC special events feature, ISN: 110785, LAC.

¹⁶² *National Remembrance Day*, first broadcast 11 November 1968 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa presentation, hosted by Lloyd Robertson, ISN: 231354, LAC.

¹⁶³ As defined in Program Policy No. 67-4, “Programming: Policy and Procedures, Broadcasts of National Importance,” 11 April 1967, vol. 165, file 11-2-3 (pt. 3), RG 41, LAC.

network, CTV.¹⁶⁴ The CBC also produced an original documentary special to mark the event. Its title, *And We Were Young*, was a nod to A.E. Housman's poem, "Here dead we lie," which informed its perspective.¹⁶⁵ The documentary ended with photographs of smiling soldiers superimposed over film of gravestones at a war cemetery, as actor and veteran Raymond Massey recited lines about an idealized veteran: "We'll never forget him and thank God we knew him, for he taught us true manhood, when we were young."¹⁶⁶

CBC-TV programs were contested terrain in 1963–8. They were the site of debates over unification and the memory of the world wars. Their content mirrored larger, evolving discussions about the nature of peacekeeping. The purpose of public affairs programs was the source of conflict between CBC management and producers. There was criticism of the continued intimacy between the media – CBC included – and the forces. Even the decision to (not) broadcast programs about the military was at times a matter of contention. There were quarrels over funding and disagreements over content. In other cases, television productions and content reflected the large-scale reforms – themselves a source of dispute – undertaken by National Defence. In the years that

¹⁶⁴ Documents from vol. 918, file PG 18-23 (pt. 1), "Special Broadcasts & Telecasts. Remembrance Day," RG 41, LAC: Teletype message, L. Remillard to B. Lafleur, J.N. Mogridge, and T. Valentine, 25 October 1968; Teletype message, Raymond David to D.L. Bennett, 25 October 1968; Teletype message, D.L. Bennett to E.S. Hallman, R. David, M. Ouimet, C. Jennings, and H.G. Walker, 23 October 1968; memo, D.L. Bennett to Vice-President Programming, "November 11th, Cenataph Ceremonies," 25 October 1968.

¹⁶⁵ For more about Housman's poetry, including the full text of "Here dead we lie," see Robert Brainard Pearsall, "The Vendible Values of Housman's Soldierly," *PMLA* 82, no. 1 (March 1967): 85-90.

¹⁶⁶ *And We Were Young*, first broadcast 11 November 1968 by CBC, a CBC-TV features presentation, narrated by Raymond Massey, written by David Harriman, and produced/directed by Peter Kelly, with Thom Benson as executive producer, ISN: 295145, LAC.

followed, CBC-TV would not only be the site of conflict, it would increasingly be the source.

Chapter 6: Austerity and the “brutalization of society,” 1968–1974¹

A series of seemingly contradictory impulses defined CBC-TV’s approach to the presentation of the military from 1968 to 1974. To begin with, there was increased criticism of the forces that went beyond concerns about the military’s efficiency and its ability to defend the country, to questioning its roles and the morality of its institutions and servicemen. In part, this grew from the federal government’s criticism of the military’s spending and priorities, its responsibilities and internal organization – all of which Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and his minister of defence discussed on CBC-TV information programs. In this way, CBC-TV continued to act as a mediator² and the site of defence policy debate. The type of criticism seen on television during this period was not restricted to policy, however. It also reflected the rising tide of anti-war feeling that had been growing in Canada, as in the United States and Britain, since the middle of the decade, in response to the seemingly futile war in Vietnam. As well, it hinted at a growing (if still fringe) anti-Establishment activism that was beginning to be reflected in CBC-TV programming. Moreover, the criticisms embodied wider social concerns that emerged in this period about the impact of violence on those who partook in, or witnessed, violent acts. All of this affected the presentation of current events, as well as several history and commemorative programs.

Significantly, however, this wave of criticism did not bring an end to praise for the forces. For example, when the federal government responded to the kidnappings of public officials in October 1970 by invoking the *War Measures Act* and posting troops

¹ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Bob Patchell, 21 October 1970, vol. 810, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs” (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

² For more about the role of television as mediator, see Fiske and Hartley, *Reading Television*, 64–77.

on the streets, CBC-TV information programs presented the military's involvement as not only uncontroversial, but as deserving of praise – albeit tempered by concerns about the state of civil society. Moreover, the majority of the history and commemorative programs produced during this period praised, if not glorified, servicemen. Principal among them were the works of Frank Williams – a producer at CBMT (the CBC's English-language Montreal station) who developed a reputation as a military “film historian”³ during this period. His many series honoured the service of those in the military. However, austerity measures restricted his efforts. In particular, extravagant spending on an international co-production about the Second World War – one that paid almost no attention to the role played by Canada's forces – meant few resources were available for other projects, like Williams' film histories or in-house productions to mark the 30th anniversary of D-Day. Reduced resources were matched by equally limited creativity on historical documentaries or dramas. Though information programs, like *CBC Weekend*, presented controversial opinions about Remembrance Day, only rarely did history programs attempt any similarly challenging, new approaches. Indeed, those at CBC-TV rejected or condemned the rare attempts to dispute comfortable, praise-laden, horror-filled narratives about the world wars. However, there was a sense that change was on the horizon, as the controversial French documentary *The Sorrow and the Pity* began to inspire rethinking of the genre.

National Defence reached out to the CBC when the time came to mark NATO's 20th anniversary. In February 1969, DND proposed a CBC concert party tour of NATO

³ Press release, “Frank Williams, Armed Services Film Documentary Maker for CBC,” 31 July 1972, file “Productions – THB – THE,” Program files, CBCRL.

bases in Europe to celebrate the event. Andrew Cowan was among those who saw its “importance,” though it was up to CBC President George F. Davidson to decide whether to agree to the proposal.⁴ In April, Davidson advised the Director of Information Division at the Department of External Affairs that

The CBC, somewhat reflecting the attitude of the government of Canada, has been in a bit of a quandary concerning the future of NATO. In fact, only yesterday, I saw that Cabinet had considered the question of the membership of Canada in the Alliance and that the issue remained unresolved. This explains why special broadcasts have been difficult to conceive while NATO itself did not seem inclined to mark the anniversary in a special way. However, the 20th year will not pass unnoticed. News has given considerable coverage to the visit of Canadian Parliamentarians to the NATO bases....⁵

For instance, the news service sent reporter Ron Chester to Portsmouth in May to record the “[p]omp and pageantry” of the 61 ships gathered to celebrate NATO’s “20 years afloat.”⁶

Three days after Davidson sent this letter, Prime Minister Trudeau announced that, although the military still had a role to play in NATO, it was a low priority and thus a reduction of the size of Canada’s NATO contingent in Europe was in order. The defence of the continent and sovereignty over the vast country were now the top priorities.⁷ In the months that followed, CBC-TV information programs were again a

⁴ Memo, Andrew Cowan to Vice President & General Manager, Regional Broadcasting, “CBC Concert Party: Invitation to Tour NATO Bases,” 13 February 1969, vol. 919, file PG 18-25 (pt. 3), “Special Events North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO),” RG 41, LAC.

⁵ Davidson to L.A.D. Stephens, 1 April 1969, vol. 919, file PG 18-25 (pt. 3), “Special Events North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO),” RG 41, LAC.

⁶ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 17 May 1969 by CBC, a CBC television news production, report by Ron Chester, ISN: 178936, LAC.

⁷ Granatstein, *Canada’s Army*, 363; Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 255. He also had considerable criticism for peacekeeping. On 17 May 1970, the newscast on *Weekend* showed a clip of Trudeau saying, “we moved a long way from, from Suez now and ... I’m afraid that perhaps beginning with the Congo operations of the United Nations we began to realize that peacekeeping was ... not as easy as it sounded. And ... certainly our experience in the International Control Commission in Vietnam has ... established that to us, regretfully, that ... you can’t act as useful observers in a ... truce line if ... parties on both sides of that line don’t want to observe it.” See, *Weekend*, first broadcast 17 May 1970 by CBC, a CBC television information production, hosted by Lloyd Robertson and Kay Sigurjonsson,

mediator and site of political debate over defence policy. However, unlike the last major debate over policy, this time the government was shrewdly inexact in the information it provided, resulting in less confrontational interviews than were seen in earlier years. Consider, for instance, Defence Minister Leo Cadieux's appearance on *Twenty Million Questions* in June. Of the proposed changes to Canada's forces with NATO, he would only say that the government envisioned creating a force that would be "mobile," "lightly armed" and have "great flexibility." Cadieux provided few details, saying that it still needed "to be discussed in detail ... at the military level...."⁸ The government later revealed that the plan required only half of the men already stationed with NATO. This was only one part of a larger scheme of cuts, which included decommissioning HMCS *Bonaventure*.⁹

Former Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson addressed the future of NATO in an interview on CBC-TV's new information program, *CBC Weekend*, in November. *CBC Weekend* was an exercise in the marriage of news and public affairs that aimed, as executive producer Richard Nielsen put it, not to "puncture the Establishment, but to accurately describe what's happening and to program significant opinion about what's happening."¹⁰ The two editions of the program (one on Saturday nights, the other on

directed by J. Edward Shaw, and produced by Robert E. Frye, Don Cumming and Richard Nielsen, ISN: 21328, LAC.

⁸ *Twenty Million Questions*, first broadcast 17 June 1969 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, produced by Cameron Graham, ISN: 230782, LAC.

⁹ Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 255; Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, 363.

¹⁰ Quoted in, "Richard Nielsen," *CBC Times* 22, no. 13 (20-26 September 1969): 7. Nielsen produced the Sunday edition. Neil Andrews, executive producer of the Saturday edition, explained their vision for the show, saying, "The keystone of the Saturday show will be its live capability, which allows the program to become a window on the country and a forum for its people. The West can talk to the East; the governed can talk to the government. Complementing this will be news segments as well as film reports, studio comments, videotape packages, hot-seats, and satire." Quoted in, "CBC Weekend," *CBC Times* 22, no. 16 (11-17 October 1969): 3;

Sundays¹¹) made a respectable showing in its first weeks, capturing between 7 and 10 percent of the viewing audience.¹² On 9 November, hosts Peter Reilly and Lloyd Robertson showed Pearson film of former US Secretary of State Dean Acheson commenting on Canada's plans to reduce its contributions to NATO. Acheson insisted that such efforts to "disintegrate" NATO had "to be stopped...." When asked for his response, Pearson said that, when NATO was formed in 1949, Acheson saw it as a

collective defence alliance, which would be collective security against the Communist conspiracy. I saw in NATO that, of course, but I also saw in NATO the beginning of the development of an Atlantic community for political and economic and social cooperation.... [W]e tried to get this in the NATO pact. You remember, Article 2. And I'm afraid he thought that we were just being a lot of moralizers in doing that. But we were right! And he was wrong, because a military alliance doesn't last beyond the emergency that gives birth to it. But here was a chance to make the Atlantic community into something more than a military alliance! And it wasn't our fault we didn't succeed – I mean, Canada's fault.¹³

Within a year, the American government proposed the Mansfield Resolution, calling for a similar reduction in the number of its troops stationed with NATO in Europe.¹⁴

The headlines in the summer of 1970 gave faithful CBC-TV viewers yet another reason to despair for NATO's future. George Finstad¹⁵ read the news on *CBC Weekend* on 24 May. Over video of a military parade that ended in a violent clash in West Berlin, he said

¹¹ "CBC Weekend," *CBC Times* 22, no. 16 (11-17 October 1969): 2.

¹² To put this in perspective, its closest competitor, CTV's *W5*, which aired before the Sunday edition, received only 6 percent, while the nightly *CBC National News* drew an average of 14 percent. See, CBC Research (Ottawa), "A CBC Research Report on Audience Reactions to English TV Network Programs, Week of October 31 – November 6, 1969," vol. 1, file 10 "C.B.C., Scripts, Memoranda, n.d., 1962-1977," MG 31 D 112, LAC.

¹³ *Weekend*, first broadcast 9 November 1969 by CBC, a CBC information program, directed by Ted Regan, and produced by Ian Murray, Don Cumming, Alf Norris, Don Attfeld, Peter Kappele, and Richard Nielsen, ISN: 9302, LAC.

¹⁴ Discussed on *Encounter*, first broadcast 10 December 1970 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, panel included Louis Saborin, Charles Lynch and Ron Collister, ISN: 231297, LAC.

¹⁵ Knowlton Nash, then Director of Information Programs, explained that Finstad was "the back-up man doing the National on Saturday and the news on Sunday." See, memo, Nash to Joe Schlesinger and Bob Patchell, 14 August 1970, vol. 831, file 192 (pt. 1), "National News," RG 41, LAC.

authorities have released all but one of the 300 people arrested during a six-hour battle with police during the annual parade of the Western occupying forces. 5,000 American, British and French troops from the West Berlin garrisons were met head-on by thousands of left-wing demonstrators. The radicals threw barricades and wire fences across the parade route, but fell back before 12,000 West Berlin police who used tear gas, which was often thrown back at them. The demonstrators took refuge in a nearby university, but the police – defying the university president’s wishes – swarmed into the dormitory and arrested everybody they could get their hands on.¹⁶

The report ended with film of a policeman dragging one of the protestors into the street. None of those involved received favourable treatment in this report, not the so-called “occupying forces” or the “radicals.” Though similarly critical language was not used to describe the police, the newsfilm showed an unflattering use of violence. These new images and rhetoric seemed to reflect a growing distaste for NATO’s work.

Violent protests were occurring in Canada, as well. Over the course of the 1960s, the streets of Quebec were the site violent acts, ranging from bombs in mailboxes to riots in the streets. Events reached their climax when the *Front de la libération de Québec* (FLQ) kidnapped the British Trade Commissioner, James Cross, and Quebec Labour Minister Pierre Laporte in October 1970. The federal government responded by calling on the army to protect government officials in Ottawa.¹⁷ On October 16, it also invoked the *War Measures Act*. CBC-TV provided a platform for the prime minister when he announced this decision. Speaking directly to the camera, Trudeau said that his government did this to “permit the full weight of government to be brought quickly to bear on all those persons advocating or practicing violence as a means of achieving

¹⁶ *Summer Weekend*, first broadcast 24 May 1970 by CBC, a CBC television information production, hosted by Kay Sigurjonsson and George Finstad, directed by J. Edward Shaw, and produced by Robert E. Frye, Andrew Simon, Don Cumming and Richard Nielsen, ISN: 20789, LAC.

¹⁷ Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 256; Granatstein, *Canada’s Army*, 365.

political ends.” As for the military, he said, “To guard against the very real possibility of bombings directed at public buildings or utilities in the immediate future, the Government of Quebec has requested the assistance of the Canadian Armed Forces to support the police in several places in the province of Quebec. These forces took up their positions yesterday.”¹⁸ The CBC building in Montreal was among those guarded. Deputy News Editor of CBC Montreal’s English News Service, Ray Chaisson, recalled finding their presence “comforting.”¹⁹

In response to the growing crisis, Knowlton Nash – then Director of Information Programs for the English Services Division²⁰ (hereafter, ESD) – and his deputy, John Kerr,²¹ instructed everyone involved in the production of news and current affairs programs to exercise “special restraint.” They wrote, “If we have reservations about any story or commentary or analysis or discussion we must be prepared to kill it.”²² This was echoed by George Davidson, who shared Trudeau’s belief that the media ought not to give the FLQ the publicity it sought. As Trudeau said, “the more recognition you give them, the greater the victory is, and I’m not interested in giving them a victory.”²³

¹⁸ *Prime Minister Trudeau Announces the War Measures Act*, first broadcast 16 October 1970 by CBC, a CBC special events broadcast, ISN: 294659, LAC. The speech is discussed in Rutherford, *When Television Was Young*, 433.

¹⁹ Ray Chaisson, “Media Forum: Canadian Media Response to the October Crisis / Discussion sur les nouveaux médias : Le traitement de la Crise d’octobre par les médias canadiens,” in *Beyond the Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada’s Broadcast News Heritage / Au-delà de l’écrit: La patrimoine de la radio-télédiffusion des nouvelles au Canada*, ed. Richard Lohead, 263-89 (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1991), 269.

²⁰ The English Services Division and French Services Divisions were created in 1969-71 to replace English networks, French networks, and regional broadcasting. See, “Major change in CBC organization,” *CBC Times* 21, no. 51 (14-20 June 1969): 14.

²¹ In March 1969, Kerr left his position as Supervisor of Current Affairs Programs in the Public Affairs Department to assume this position. See, memo, 31 January 1969, vol. 50, file 2-3-6-1 (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

²² Teletype message, E.S. Hallman to George Davidson, 16 October 1970, vol. 831, file 192 (pt. 2), “National News,” RG 41, LAC; Directive from C.K. Nash and J. Kerr, n.d., vol. 832, file 197 (pt. 1), “News – F.L.Q. Specials,” RG 41, LAC.

²³ Quoted in “Restrain coverage, Davidson orders CBC,” *Globe and Mail*, 16 Oct. 1970, vol. 237, file 11-18, RG 41, LAC.

Reflective of this position, the government passed regulations making it an offence to “communicat[e] statements” from the FLQ.²⁴ Eugene Hallman (Vice-President and General Manager, ESD) explained what this meant for the CBC: “No statement, interview or broadcast of a demonstration should be carried on radio or television which could be construed as furthering the interests of the FLQ.”²⁵ Discussion of the FLQ “in the course of ordinary news or public affairs coverage” was exempted.²⁶ “Responsible” journalism was the keyword.

To a certain extent, this meant self-censorship. CBC Paris correspondent, David Halton²⁷ recalled that the October Crisis “was the only time in my 40 years with the CBC where there was some censorship because of the War Measures Act. For a period one couldn’t interview FLQ members o[r] sympathizers. The CBC was probably more rigorous about censoring itself than it had to be.”²⁸ Censorship was a divisive issue. An Omnifacts survey from November 1970 found that roughly 56 percent of the 1,650 people questioned favoured censored news in Quebec. Roy Shields of the *Toronto Telegram* interpreted these statistics to mean that “the public believes the news media coverage of the crisis in Quebec made a difficult situation worse.”²⁹ Laurier LaPierre shared this view, criticizing the media for “contribut[ing] immensely to the state of panic, insecurity, and inertia that has accompanied this event.”³⁰

²⁴ *War Measures Act, Public Order Regulations, 1970, SOR/70-444.*

²⁵ Teletype message, E.S. Hallman to all regional news and public affairs supervisors and regional directors, 16 October 1970, vol. 896, file PG 8-4 (pt. 2), “Programming – Public Affairs, FLQ Crisis Fall of 1970,” (1970-76), RG 41, LAC.

²⁶ Gerald A. Flaherty to D.H. Christie, 19 October 1970, vol. 896, file PG 8-4 (pt. 2), “Programming – Public Affairs, FLQ Crisis Fall of 1970,” (1970-76), RG 41, LAC.

²⁷ “toronto,” *Closed Circuit* (15 June 1970): n.p., file “Halton, David C.,” Biography files, CBCRL.

²⁸ David Halton, letter to author, 11 January 2012.

²⁹ Quoted in “Canadians welcome censorship,” *Broadcaster* 29, no. 11 (November 1970): 3.

³⁰ Laurier LaPierre, “A Plea From the Academy,” *Content for Canadian Journalists* no. 2 (November 1970): 11.



Figure 8. War Measures Act - Troops, Nov. 1970.

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Source: Library and Archives Canada/Credit: Duncan Cameron/Duncan Cameron fonds/e010858583.

It was within this context of scrutiny and heightened sensitivity that CBC-TV's new weekly, half-hour newsmagazine program, *Update*, reported on the military's role in the crisis.³¹ On 17 October, host John O'Leary³² explained that 5,000 men from the

³¹ The program debuted in early October, airing Saturdays at 6:00-6:30 p.m. According to its mandate, it dealt only with "the major news of the week" in considerably more "detail and 'in depth'"

Royal 22e Régiment were working “to help the tired police.”³³ The following week, Tom Leach³⁴ reported for *Update* about the politicians’ homes in Ottawa “under heavy guard by the Armed Forces.” Film of soldiers on the streets of Rockcliffe played as Leach explained that, “Around the clock, soldiers patrol the grounds, check passersby with the safety catches off their automatic rifles and machine guns, and constantly pull over suspicious-looking traffic. Mostly, they’re polite.” A report by Ken Mason followed, wherein he explained that there were armoured vehicles and tanks on the outskirts of Ottawa, prepared to enter the city if needed.³⁵ Though the news was alarming, it was not critical of the soldiers.

In the weeks that followed, most of the people who debated the consequences of the October Crisis for civil society on CBC-TV focused on the *War Measures Act* and did not even mention the role played by the military.³⁶ On the rare occasions it was

treatment then [*sic*] is possible on the daily news programs.” See documents from vol. 843, file 341, “Update,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Knowlton Nash to John Kerr, “Update,” 5 October 1970; Teletype message, “Update,” n.d.

³² His appointment discussed in memo, Joseph Schlesinger to Knowlton Nash, 18 August 1970, vol. 843, file 341, “Update,” RG 41, LAC.

³³ The only criticism on the program had to do with the impact of the *War Measures Act* on civil society. *Update*, first broadcast 17 October 1970 by CBC, a CBC television production, hosted by John O’Leary, directed by Barry McLean, and produced by Peter Trueman, ISN: 21952, LAC.

³⁴ In December, Leach followed members of the FLQ to Cuba. Despite being arrested and having his film “confiscated,” he managed to prepare at least one report for CBC-TV. See, memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “Tom Leach – Cuba,” 8 December 1970, vol. 832, file 197 (pt. 1), “News – F.L.Q. Specials,” RG 41, LAC; memo, Ken Black to R.L. Warner, 11 December 1970, vol. 831, file 192 (pt. 2), “National News,” RG 41, LAC; “Cuban Police Held CBC Reporter,” *The Journal*, 9 Dec. 1970, vol. 237, file 11-28, RG 41, LAC.

³⁵ *Update*, first broadcast 24 October 1970 by CBC, a CBC television production, hosted by John O’Leary, directed by Barry McLean, and produced by Peter Trueman, ISN: 21983, LAC.

³⁶ See, for example, *Weekend*, first broadcast 25 October 1970 by CBC, a CBC television information production, hosted by Lloyd Robertson and Kay Sigurjonsson, directed by Barry Galvin, and produced by Peter Kappelle, Alf Norris, Don Cumming and Richard Nielsen, ISN: 19098, LAC; *Weekend*, first broadcast 8 November 1970 by CBC, a CBC television information production, hosted by Lloyd Robertson and Kay Sigurjonsson, directed by Alan Erlich and Robert Clarke, and produced by Peter Kappelle, Andrew Simon, Don Cumming and Richard Nielsen, ISN: 17841, LAC; *Encounter*, first broadcast 19 November 1970 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, panel included Bruce Hodgins, Doug Collins and John Gray, and produced by Cameron Graham, ISN: 231294, LAC; *Encounter*, first broadcast 26 November 1970 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, panel included Lucien Millet, John Gray and Ron Collister, and produced by Cameron Graham, ISN: 231295, LAC; *Encounter*, first

discussed, however, the decision to send in the army was accepted as both uncontroversial and correct. For instance, on the 5 November episode of the CBOT program, *Encounter*,³⁷ co-host Charles Lynch asked Trudeau if the crisis proved the value of the military and convinced him to “stop the cutbacks....”³⁸ Consider, also, this exchange between regular contributor Pierre Nadeau and Trudeau on *CBC Weekend* in May 1971:

Nadeau: Couldn't the army ... have been sent to Quebec without the federal government implementing the *War Measures Act* – ... without throwing people ... into prisons for times up to two weeks and released afterwards with no charge?

Trudeau: It was. Yeah, yeah. It was, in fact. The army was called in by the Attorney-General of Quebec and was sent in by the federal authorities, at the request of Quebec, before the *War Measures Act* was invoked. Therefore, the answer is yes.

Nadeau: Yeah, well then, it could have been enough.³⁹

A nationwide poll about the government's handling of the crisis, commissioned by the CBC, confirmed the seemingly uncontroversial nature of the military's involvement.⁴⁰ There was apparently no policy governing public polling at the CBC at the time. In March 1971, Marce Munro (Assistant General Manager, ESD) complained,

As you know, the Corporation has been in hot water on more than one occasion because Information Programs people, completely uninformed and unskilled in the methods and requirements of gathering information through polls, have blundered ahead and later provided to the nation at large utterly erroneous and improperly

broadcast 7 January 1971 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, panel included Charles Humphries, John Gray and Charles Lynch, and produced by Cameron Graham, ISN: 231300, LAC; “Trurorians give views for CBC ‘Weekend’ show,” *The Truro Daily News*, 25 Nov. 1970, vol. 237, file 11-28, RG 41, LAC.

³⁷ According to John Kerr, it was an “experimental series with a view to developing a press conference format from Ottawa which, using a panel including at least one questioner drawn from outside of the Ottawa area, one staff correspondent from the Gallery, and one of the Gallery correspondents, will question men in the news.” See, memo, Kerr to Knowlton Nash, “Program Purpose,” 30 December 1969, vol. 806, file “Information Programming TI 3-1-6 Program Evaluation,” RG 41, LAC.

³⁸ *Encounter*, first broadcast 5 November 1970 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, panel included Pierre O’Neil, Charles Lynch and Ron Collister, and produced by Cameron Graham, ISN: 231292, LAC.

³⁹ *Weekend*, first broadcast 6 May 1971 by CBC, a CBC television information production, hosted by Lloyd Robertson, directed by Alan Erlich, and produced by Richard Nielsen, ISN: 186013, LAC.

⁴⁰ Report, Research Department to E. Hallman, 12 October 1971, vol. 832, file 197 (pt. 2), “News. F.L.Q. Specials,” RG 41, LAC.

compiled data. There ought to be some direction on how this is done, and the requirement to involve the Bureau of Audience Research.⁴¹

These requirements were met in October 1971, when Adcom Research Ltd. conducted the poll about the October Crisis nationwide in English and French, under the supervision of the research department.⁴² *CBC Weekend* revealed the results on 17 October. Host Pierre Nadeau⁴³ said that 77 percent of the English-speakers polled agreed with the “government’s decision to send the army into Quebec.” The figure was 69 percent among French-speakers. Significantly, 74 percent of anglophones and 64 percent of francophones thought the government should do the same if a similar crisis should arise in the future.⁴⁴

However well-received, the military’s involvement in the crisis did not alter Trudeau’s program of reform. The cuts continued, as did attempts to change the culture of the military, among them revisions to the *National Defence Act* that would make the French language equal to English within the Canadian Forces. By 1971, 28 percent of

⁴¹ Memo, M.L. Munro to General Supervisor, Program Policy and Planning, “Policy Revision – Information Programming,” 4 March 1971, vol. 806, file “Information Programming TI 3-1-2 Policy” (pt. 3), RG 41, LAC. In 1978, the French Services Division established a committee to investigate the matter of polling by the CBC and to recommend policy to Management. See, report, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “A Policy for Conducting and Broadcasting Public Opinion Polls and Surveys: Study Committee on Public Opinion Polls and Surveys,” Montreal, December 1978.

⁴² Report, Research Department to E. Hallman, 12 October 1971, vol. 832, file 197 (pt. 2), “News. F.L.Q. Specials,” RG 41, LAC.

⁴³ His co-host, Peter Desbarats, was the subject of some criticism in late 1971. One viewer, for instance, went so far as to call his work on the CBC “pro-separatist” and his writing in *The Toronto Star* an effort to “manipulate our opinions....” Eric Koch, the Director of English Services, Montreal, replied that the CBC did not agree with his opinion. That was not to say that the views of separatists did not have a place on CBC-TV, however. Koch explained, “[w]e firmly believe that we would be doing a grave disservice to our public if, for fear of being misunderstood, we began to play down those tendencies in our society which threaten the integrity of Canada.” See documents from vol. 832, file 197 (pt. 2), “News. F.L.Q. Specials,” RG 41, LAC: P.J. Kingwell to the Editor of *The Toronto Star*, 2 December 1971; Eric Koch to Paul J. Kingwell, 12 November 1971; Kingwell to Koch, 19 November 1971; Kingwell to Koch, 3 November 1971.

⁴⁴ *Weekend*, first broadcast 17 October 1971 by CBC, a CBC television information production, hosted by Peter Desbarats and Pierre Nadeau, directed by Christopher Braden, and produced by Peter Kappele, Andy Gaichuk, Andrew Simon and Richard Nielsen, ISN: 181535, LAC.

the positions within the forces were reserved for French-speakers.⁴⁵ Keith Spicer, the Commissioner of Official Languages, spoke about what this meant for the military on CBC-TV's *Something Else* in November 1972. In producer Brian O'Leary's words, the program examined "the breakdown in the Armed Forces merit system that allowed 9 members to be overlooked because they couldn't speak French and why Spicer can do little about it."⁴⁶ There seemed to be no end to the challenges facing the forces.

Nor indeed did there appear to be any end to the challenges facing society. Days after the FLQ killed Pierre Laporte, Knowlton Nash wrote, "With all the FLQ tragedy, the terrors of the minutemen, black panthers, the Arab hi-jacking, the South American kidnapping of diplomats, the Charles Manson sadism and now the new inexplicable California murder spree, I wonder if there are not the germs of a program on simply what seems to be a brutalization of society."⁴⁷

Television was implicated in the growth of the feelings of "brutalization" he described. First, television amplified the sensation through regular, graphic depictions of violence, much of it tied to the war in Vietnam. The news showed violent clashes between police and anti-war protestors across the western world.⁴⁸ CBC Far East correspondent Bill Cunningham prepared colour reports for *Newsmagazine* about

⁴⁵ Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, 371.

⁴⁶ Teletype message, Brian O'Leary to Bill Morgan, R. Taylor, Len Lauk, H. Garmsen, Ron Bashford, K. Nash, R. Vanderkiet, P. Reynolds, Geo. Robertson, John Kerr, Tim Kotcheff, R. Chester, and C. Gunning, 17 November 1972, vol. 838, file 275 (pt. 1), "Something Else," RG 41, LAC.

⁴⁷ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Bob Patchell, 21 October 1970, vol. 810, file "Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs" (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

⁴⁸ For example, *CBC National News*, first broadcast 18 March 1968 by CBC, a CBC television news production, report by Michael Maclear, ISN: 44793, LAC.

guerrilla warfare in Saigon.⁴⁹ Documentaries, too, gave viewers more access to the frontlines, exposing in ever more detail the gruesome realities of war. Among the grimmest was the award-winning cinéma vérité documentary, “The Mills of the Gods” (1965), directed/produced by Beryl Fox and broadcast on *This Hour Has Seven Days* and *Document*.⁵⁰ The film stressed the suffering of Vietnamese civilians and contained shocking scenes of violence, including footage of American troops waterboarding a Vietnamese man and posing for photographs with a mangled corpse. Some of the servicemen interviewed questioned the purpose of the war. “As a soldier,” one young American said to the camera, “we have to be here, but as an individual, I really don’t like it... I feel as though we should be at home....”⁵¹ Fox continued her argument in *Last Reflections on a War* (1968). It was the more startling of the two, if only because it was in colour, and as James Minifie said of presenting the news in colour, “Blood is red, you know.”⁵²

⁴⁹ Press release, “CBC’s Fear East Correspondent Cunningham Reports Siege of Saigon for Newsmagazine,” 14 June 1968, file “Cunningham, Bill,” Biography files, CBCRL. The emphasis on the violence of the war was not only seen on colour television news reports. Cunningham’s radio reports, like that heard on CBC radio’s *Sunday Morning Magazine* in November 1969, used the sounds of war (“machine gun chatter, heavy artillery, air bombardment etc.”) in the background as he spoke. Finlay Payne questioned the move, writing, “Since Cunningham obviously did not record it under fire I wonder whether it was really necessary to underline his already grim pronouncements with the sounds of war. Arent [*sic*] we leaving ourselves open to charges of ‘doctoring’....?” See, Teletype message, Finlay Payne to P. Campbell and B. McCorquodale, 1 December 1969, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 6), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁰ Documents from file “Fox, Beryl,” Biography files, CBCRL: press release, “Award-Winning Film Director Presents Report on Vietnam,” 26 November 1965; press release, “CBC’s The Mills of the Gods Wins Top Documentary Award,” 3 March 1966. See also, “An angel in Canadian film,” *Maclean’s* 115, no. 12 (25 March 2002): n.p.

⁵¹ *Document*, episode titled, “The Mills of the Gods,” rebroadcast in 2002 by CBOT, a CBC television production, produced/directed by Beryl Fox, with Douglas Leiterman as executive producer, recorded from television by author.

⁵² Quoted in Nash, *History on the Run*, 232; “The Way It Is,” *CBC Times* 20, no. 37 (9-15 March 1968): 3; press release, “Last Reflections on a War Is Beryl Fox Vietnam Film,” 29 February 1968, file “Fox, Beryl,” Biography files, CBCRL; Leslie Millin, “In glorious color – horror of the Vietnam war,” *The Globe and Mail*, 4 March 1968, vol. 249, file 11-38 (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

Anti-war feeling and associated anti-Americanism were reflected in the presentation of military current affairs in 1968, as was the practice of showing evermore graphic violence. For instance, in November, CBC-TV's *The Public Eye* aired a BBC documentary about chemical and biological warfare, called "A Plague on Your Children." The film was so shocking that co-host Norman DePoe warned, "If you're a bit squeamish, perhaps you would rather not watch." Viewers saw, among other things, a rabbit die in considerable pain after being exposed to nerve gas.⁵³ After the documentary, host Jeanne Sauvé interviewed former RAF pilot Archie Pennie,⁵⁴ who was Deputy Chairman of the Defence Research Board. She questioned him about Canada's readiness to face a chemical or biological attack and the country's involvement in developing these weapons, leading Pennie to reveal Canada's role in researching the transmission of "live and virulent agents" in aerosol form. Sauvé asked, "you think you have no responsibility or that if you don't want to know that the United States is developing this for using [*sic*] on the actual battlefield...then you don't...." Pennie interrupted, saying, "You don't ask it."⁵⁵ Programs such as this one both criticized and partook in the propagation of violence in society.

Second, the role of television in disseminating violent images, be they on newscasts, documentaries, or dramas, caused great concern. As Barbara Moon asked in her review of *Last Reflections on a War*, "What does it do to the people who watch

⁵³ *The Public Eye*, first broadcast 27 November 1968 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, hosted by Norman DePoe and Jeanne Sauvé, ISN: 83811, LAC.

⁵⁴ See, Jason S. Ridler, "Emergence: Towards a Historiography of Canadian Defence Research during the Second World War," *International Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue internationale d'études canadiennes* 37 (2008): 156.

⁵⁵ *The Public Eye*, first broadcast 27 November 1968 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, hosted by Norman DePoe and Jeanne Sauvé, ISN: 83811, LAC.

it?”⁵⁶ Governments soon responded with studies on the subject. In its 1969 report, for instance, the US National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence implicated television in the spate of violence in American society. It argued that “a constant diet of violent behavior on television has an adverse effect on human character and attitudes.”⁵⁷ The CBC responded to growing concern with policy No. 69–1, which stressed that its programs have not “unduly exploited violence” for entertainment purposes and that when the news showed violent acts, it was not “for their sensational effect.”⁵⁸ Nash was among those who insisted that the news must show violence in order to accurately reflect what was happening in the world. There was a caveat, however. He insisted that reporters should be “unobtrusive” during the filming of events like riots, fearing their presence might incite violent acts, performed for the audience of the evening news.⁵⁹

Reflective of these new views of war, violence and society, the presentation of the fighting man began to change in the 1960s and early 1970s. Although there were still programs that stressed the heroism of servicemen,⁶⁰ there was also attention paid to the ways war affected those who fought. There were programs that explored the emotional impact of war. For instance, veterans spoke to reporters about feeling “bitterness” when

⁵⁶ Barbara Moon, “What does it do to the people who watch it?” *Star Weekly Magazine* (30 March 1968), vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 5), “News Programs. General Correspondence,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁷ Quoted in report issued by CBC Head Office, “Press Reaction to the U.S. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence,” 9 September 1969, vol. 237, file 11-30, RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁸ Program Policy No. 69-1, “Violence in Television Programming,” 7 July 1969, vol. 805, file “Information Programming TI 3-1-2 Policy” (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁹ Quoted in “Television Violence – a Canadian view,” *Canadian Broadcaster* (November 1969): 24. This idea was echoed in the “Code of Broadcast News Ethics” adopted by the Radio Television News Directors Association of Canada in September 1970. See, Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, *Symposium on television violence* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1976): 242.

⁶⁰ For example, *Weekend*, first broadcast 26 October 1969 by CBC, a CBC information program, hosted by Lloyd Robertson, Julie Amato and Larry Zolf, directed by J. Edward Shaw, and produced by Neil Andrews and Joan Soloviov, ISN: 9288, LAC.

their friends and brothers-in-arms were “shot for no reason at all....”⁶¹ Likewise, Canadian filmmaker Don Shebib’s documentary, *Good Times, Bad Times* (1969),⁶² explored the tension between veterans’ warm memories of the “love” that was comradeship and nightmares of the “torture” of war.⁶³ Some programs developed this dichotomy further to explore the impact of war on psychology. In May 1969, for instance, a First World War veteran spoke on *Something Else* about the aspect of a man’s mind that “had to be broken, even to shoot at another airplane.”⁶⁴ Other programs stressed the ways in which the physical scars of war held veterans back in their attempts to reintegrate into society. Among them was the *Something Else* series from 11 to 13 November 1969, entitled “Lost In Error: The Canadian Participation in the Defence of Hong Kong 1941.”⁶⁵ On episode three, men described the agony and disease they suffered during their years in Japanese prisoner-of-war camps after their defeat in Hong Kong. Dr. H.J. Richardson of Veterans Affairs explained that “[i]n almost every type of medical disability we studied, the Hong Kong veterans as a group were somewhat

⁶¹ *CBC News Filmpack*, first broadcast 25 March 1969 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Leon Manfoff, ISN: 178909, LAC.

⁶² See, June Graham, “Good Times...Bad Times,” *CBC Times* 21, no. 45 (3-9 May 1969): 2. See, *The Way It Is*, film called, “GOOD TIMES, BAD TIMES,” first broadcast 4 May 1969 by CBC, a CBC information program, hosted by Patrick Watson, ISN: 223156, LAC.

⁶³ *Such Is Life* repeated the film. See, *Such Is Life*, episode titled, “GOOD TIMES BAD TIMES,” first broadcast 15 November 1974 by CBC, a CBLT presentation, produced and directed by Robert Gibbons, ISN: 291781, LAC.

⁶⁴ *Something Else*, first broadcast 14 May 1969 by CBC, a CBC public affairs production, ISN: 60148, LAC.

⁶⁵ The series combined oral history, wartime footage shot by Canadians, the Japanese and the British. Canadian Army Historical Section, Veterans Affairs, DND Information Services, and the Hong Kong Veterans’ Association were among those who acted as “project consultants” on the series. See, report, “‘Something Else’ Remembrance Day Special (The Canadian Participation in the Defence of Hong Kong 1941) To be Shown in Three Parts From November 11 to 13,” vol. 838, file 275 (pt. 1), “Something Else,” RG 41, LAC; *Something Else*, episode three of series “LOST IN ERROR” titled, “Let Sleeping Dogs Lie,” first broadcast November 1969 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa Information Program, narrated by John Drewery, and produced by Robert Clark and George Robertson, ISN: 60330, LAC; memo, issued by the Program Exchange Office, Regional Broadcasting, Head Office – Ottawa, “Programs for Television,” 11 June 1971, vol. 805, file “Information Programming TI 3-1-1, General” (pt. 5), RG 41, LAC.

worse off than their brothers.” He went on to argue that these disabilities had resulted in poorer jobs and lower incomes than other veterans. Host and narrator John Drewery concluded the series by asking, “Can there ever be recompense for the nightmares and the pain?”⁶⁶

Revelations about the conduct of American soldiers in Vietnam prompted new discussion about the impact of war. In 1971, American Lieut. William Calley was sentenced to life imprisonment for his part in the 1968 massacre of hundreds of unarmed Vietnamese civilians at a village called My Lai. According to a 1974 report by Lt.-Gen. William R. Peers, the soldiers committed “individual and group acts of murder, rape, sodomy, maiming and assault on noncombatants and the mistreatment and killing of detainees.”⁶⁷ Of the roughly 17 charged, only Calley was found guilty.⁶⁸ The case caused a sensation in the United States, seen for instance in “Free Calley” rallies and a macabre hit song about him, set to the tune of the “Battle Hymn of the Republic.”⁶⁹ While American television news tended to focus on the details of the legal case rather than what it termed an “alleged massacre,”⁷⁰ *CBC Weekend* used the case as a starting point for a conversation about morality in war. Larry Zolf interviewed Canadian veterans at a Legion Hall in Arnprior, Ontario, seen sitting around a table, drinking, smoking and debating. Zolf asked one man, “if someone told you to do the same thing in My Lai, you would have done the same thing?” The veteran replied that

⁶⁶ *Something Else*, episode three of series “LOST IN ERROR” titled, “Let Sleeping Dogs Lie,” first broadcast November 1969 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa Information Program, narrated by John Drewery, and produced by Robert Clark and George Robertson, ISN: 60330, LAC.

⁶⁷ Quoted in “Closing the My Lai Case,” *Time* 104, no. 22 (25 November 1974): 33.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*; “The My Lai Trials Begin,” *Time* 96, no. 18 (2 November 1970): 19; “My Lai: The Case Against Calley,” *Time* 96, no. 24 (14 December 1970): 30.

⁶⁹ *Weekend*, first broadcast 11 April 1971 by CBC, a CBC television information production, hosted by Lloyd Robertson and Kay Sigurjonsson, directed by Peter Kappel, directed by Alan Erlich, and produced by Andrew Simon, Don Cumming and Richard Nielsen, ISN: 9354, LAC.

⁷⁰ Hallin, *The “Uncensored War,”* 180.

they “were taught in the army to obey orders regardless of what it is.” Another added that he experienced something similar while in France, saying,

Veteran: Two days after we landed in D-Day, we were fired upon. Two guys – two of my chums [were] killed. And we rounded up this farmhouse. We had ... two Germans, two Italians, and one woman.

Zolf: What happened?

Veteran: I don’t know what happened. They killed two of my friends, a woman, two Germans, and two Italians in this farmhouse in France. I know that for a fact. I was there. I know.

Zolf: So you think, in other words, that ... because the Americans in Vietnam had been provoked, because their buddies and friends had been killed by....

Veteran: No. It’s a matter of kill or be killed.⁷¹

A short pantomime followed the filmed interviews, in which one mime took off a military uniform, gave it to another and then showed him how to use a gun. The student then turned the gun on his teacher, killing him.⁷² The anti-war message was anything but subtle.

The ways war impacted men was also the subject of drama. In September 1971, CBC-TV remade the short story “The Firing Squad” by Colin McDougall, DSO, for television. McDougall, who saw action with the PPCLI during the Italian campaign in the Second World War, drew on his experiences to write the story. It appeared in *Maclean’s* in 1953 and later formed the basis for the award-winning novel, *Execution*.⁷³ The teleplay, like the short story and the book, focused on the impact of killing on

⁷¹ *Weekend*, first broadcast 11 April 1971 by CBC, a CBC television information production, hosted by Lloyd Robertson and Kay Sigurjonsson, directed by Peter Kappelé, directed by Alan Erlich, and produced by Andrew Simon, Don Cumming and Richard Nielsen, ISN: 9354, LAC.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Documents from vol. 816, file “Entertainment Programming TE 3-2-2 Television Drama,” RG 41, LAC: Ron Weyman to Colonel L.C. Morrison, 21 April 1971; memo, Ron Weyman to Fletcher Markle, “Firing Squad – Sunday at Nine,” 15 September 1971. See also, “Colin McDougall,” in *Great Canadian War Stories*, ed. Muriel Whitaker, 175 (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2001), 175.

soldiers.⁷⁴ For instance, in one passage, a character called Capt. John Adam was struck by a disturbing realization: “what was he doing that was so awful? He was simply commanding a firing-squad to execute a soldier who had committed a murder. That’s all – he was commanding a firing squad; he was, he was – an executioner!”⁷⁵

Though McDougall’s story was not new,⁷⁶ it was still controversial. Thom Benson (Director of Entertainment Programs, ESD) had few kind words to say about the television adaptation. He served with the RCN during the Second World War, reaching the rank of lieutenant commander.⁷⁷ After viewing the drama, he shared his concerns with producer Ron Weyman:

The implied criticism of Army command procedure was distasteful and surely served to infuriate the Army hierarchy to a point that I expect protests to the President and/or the Secretary of State. The Captain was blackmailed and the Sergeant was bribed to carry out their duty. Am I to understand that at that stage of the war or its immediate aftermath Army discipline had deteriorated to the extent that an order from the Brigadier to the Colonel to the Captain to the Sergeant was not to be immediately obeyed [?] I can assure you it was not the case in the Navy, nor was it in any of the Army groups I was in close contact with.⁷⁸

In his response, Weyman defended the accuracy of the piece, citing examples from his experiences of “discipline in the Navy” during the Second World War. He wrote of “incidents” that included “an unpopular officer being ‘lost at sea’ by being pushed over

⁷⁴ Discussed in more depth here, Ronald Sutherland, “The Vital Pretense: McDougall’s Execution,” *Canadian Literature* 27 (Winter 1966): 21.

⁷⁵ Colin McDougall, “The Firing-Squad,” in *Great Canadian War Stories*, ed. Muriel Whitaker, 176-91 (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2001), 185.

⁷⁶ Indeed, McDougall’s story had been on the CBC before. With the help of Joseph Schull, he turned “The Firing Squad” into a radio drama for *Stage 53* in March 1953. See, *Stage 53*, play titled “The Firing Squad,” first broadcast 8 March 1953 by CBC radio, a CBC production, directed and produced by Andrew Allan, written by Colin McDougall, and adapted for radio by Joseph Schull, ISN: 202255.

⁷⁷ He worked for CKY in Winnipeg before the war and returned to his position upon war’s end. He moved to Toronto in 1950, where he held various posts in Outside Broadcasts and TV Features and Special Events. On 8 January 1970, he was appointed Director of Entertainment Programs for English television. See documents from file “Benson, Thom,” Biography files, CBCRL: “In Passing: Benson, Thomas Frederick,” *National Post*, 16 Oct. 2002; biography, 8 January 1970.

⁷⁸ Memo, Thom Benson to Fletcher Markle, “Firing Squad – Sunday at Nine,” 13 September 1971, vol. 816, file “Entertainment Programming TE 3-2-2 Television Drama” (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

the side on Northern Patrol....” He also offered assurances that “certain of ‘the Army heirarchy’ [*sic*] saw the script last October...” and did not voice any protest.⁷⁹ He even reached out to the army for help with the production, requesting allowance to film in a barracks and to borrow uniforms, trucks and personnel. While the army might not have protested the production, at least one officer did express concern that the drama would “make fools” of the forces.⁸⁰

The presentation of the military was not Benson’s only concern. He also complained about the way the work was interpreted for the small screen. He insisted, for instance, that showing a “man urinating face-on to camera” was both “un[n]ecessary and childishly impudent.”⁸¹ This feedback surprised Weyman, who cited the case of *The Manipulators* (1970) in his defence. After one actress appeared topless on that program,⁸² reviewer Patrick Scott of *The Toronto Star* remarked that it “broke new ground in permissiveness in North American television.” Despite complaints from more than 720 viewers, Benson authorized the production of seven more episodes.⁸³ Benson objected to the comparison, insisting that nudity was “essential” to *The Manipulators*, whereas the “urinating scene in FIRING SQUAD was not.”⁸⁴ The growing permissiveness for scenes once (still, by some) considered obscene signalled, in one sense, that the brutalization of society described by Nash went deeper than just the

⁷⁹ Memo, Ron Weyman to Fletcher Markle, “Firing Squad – Sunday at Nine,” 15 September 1971, vol. 816, file “Entertainment Programming TE 3-2-2 Television Drama” (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

⁸⁰ Ron Weyman to Colonel L.C. Morrison, 21 April 1971, vol. 816, file “Entertainment Programming TE 3-2-2 Television Drama,” RG 41, LAC.

⁸¹ Memo, Thom Benson to Fletcher Markle, “Firing Squad – Sunday at Nine,” 13 September 1971, vol. 816, file “Entertainment Programming TE 3-2-2 Television Drama” (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

⁸² Memo, Ron Weyman to Fletcher Markle, “Firing Squad – Sunday at Nine,” 15 September 1971, vol. 816, file “Entertainment Programming TE 3-2-2 Television Drama” (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

⁸³ Patrick Scott, “Revolting, disgusting or great?” *The Toronto Star*, 2 Oct. 1970, file “Benson, Thom,” Biography files, CBCRL.

⁸⁴ Memo, Thom Benson to Fletcher Markle, “Firing Squad – Sunday at Nine,” 20 September 1971, vol. 816, file “Entertainment Programming TE 3-2-2 Television Drama” (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

violence in the streets, some of which made it on to the news. It also seemed to involve a fundamental rethinking of the previous generation's understanding of decency, which affected television production and the handling of military subjects.

The CBC's relationship with the forces remained strong during these years, in spite of changing views about the military in Trudeau's cabinet and on television. For its part, Maritime Command continued to abide what Director of Naval Information Cmdr. R.C. Hayden once called an "Active Press Policy," by involving the media in training exercises.⁸⁵ For instance, Charles Reynolds and Keith Barry of CBHT joined the navy as it practiced anti-submarine warfare off the coast of Puerto Rico in 1969.⁸⁶ The CBC and the military also continued to share resources. Indeed, the CBC was keen to help the 48th Highlanders stage a tattoo in 1971. As Fletcher Markle, head of TV drama, explained,

Major R.G. Darling, of the 48th Highlanders Of Canada, has been extremely useful to the Corporation. During the filming of "God's Sparrows" Major Darling not only provided the soldiers, but accompanied them on location where he supervised them and kept them cheerful and enthusiastic under very trying conditions. Currently, Major Darling is providing the soldiers for the World War I sequences of the JALNA pilot. Undoubtedly he will prove an invaluable contact in the future.⁸⁷

Markle thus proposed to lend them World War I uniforms, rifles and various bits and pieces for their sets. P.T. Garstang (Design and Staging Director) agreed, adding, "We have been loaning them costumes, props, and scenery for their annual Ball and their

⁸⁵ Memo, Director of Naval Information R.C. Hayden to VCNS, 25 February 1964, series 2 "Correspondence Regarding the Release of Military Information to the Press," file 47, 85/304, DHH.

⁸⁶ "CBC Television Joins Exercise Maplespring," *CBC Times* 21, no. 40 (29 March – 4 April 1969): 8i.

⁸⁷ Memo, Fletcher Markle to Peter Garstang, "Quid Pro Quo," 30 April 1971, vol. 816, file "Entertainment Programming, TE 3-2-2, Television Drama," RG 41, LAC.

Tattoos for a number of years now.”⁸⁸ Journalists also continued to work closely with the military. When William Herbert visited the troubled island of Cyprus in 1970, he approached the Canadian Chief of Staff, Brig.-Gen. Ted Leslie, for an interview. While keen, Brigadier-General Leslie declined, fearing that by commenting on the “impossible political situation” he might damage his integrity as a mediator. Luckily, however, Herbert was able to arrange an interview with the Canadian High Commissioner in Cyprus, who happened to be an “old friend.” McGaighey offered to allow CBC-TV cameras to follow his tour of Canadian military outposts in Cyprus.⁸⁹

Servicemen also continued to rely on the CBC for information and entertainment. In 1972, for instance, Andrew Cowan (Director, Armed Forces Service) informed Nash and his counterpart in the French Services Division that “[t]he Canadian Armed Forces radio station in Lahr, West Germany, is very interested in receiving brief telephone reports of the events which CBC correspondents, may be covering in Europe.” Such reports would supplement the regular supply of CBC programs received on tapes from Montreal and via shortwave from Sackville.⁹⁰ However, the relationship was somewhat complicated when, by 1973, the Northern and Armed Forces Services were “no longer part of the English Services Division” and no longer represented on its committees. This made even the simple “exchange of information” challenging.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Memo, Garstang to Markle, “Quid Pro Quo,” 4 May 1971, vol. 816, file “Entertainment Programming, TE 3-2-2, Television Drama,” RG 41, LAC.

⁸⁹ C.E. McGaighey was a diplomat in Japan during the Korean War, which Herbert covered for CBC radio. See, memo, W.J. Herbert to L.B. McIlhagga, “Show on Brigadier General Ted Leslie,” 17 December 1970, vol. 817, file “Entertainment Programming TE 3-2-6 Features,” RG 41, LAC.

⁹⁰ Memo, Andrew Cowan to Director, Information Programs, ESD Toronto and Director, Information Programs, FSD Montreal, “News Reports to CFN Radio RFC, Lahr Germany by CBC Correspondents Abroad,” 13 December 1972, vol. 965, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-9-14, Correspondents – General” (pt. 2), RG 41, LAC.

⁹¹ Memo, Harry W. Walker to F. Payne, “Joint Program Planning Group,” 24 April 1973, vol. 850, file PG 1-7 (pt. 5), “Programming – General, Joint Program Planning Group,” RG 41, LAC.

Indeed, the mid-1970s was a time of change for the CBC-military relationship. On the one hand, the military continued to help the CBC with its productions. The army even made arrangements with the West German government for CBC-TV to film a current affairs production called *Coup d'Etat* in its national parks.⁹² On the other hand, the Armed Forces Service stopped supplying tapes of CBC radio programs and prints of CBC-TV shows to remote bases in Canada, to ships at sea, and to troops in the Middle East by 1974. In the years that followed, the CBC also stopped sending concert party tours to bases in Canada and overseas.⁹³

Most history programs were slow to reflect the changing views of war and relations with the forces. This was particularly true of the documentary films produced by Frank Williams. He began his career with the CBC as an announcer in Vancouver, eventually making his way to Montreal as the CBC prepared to enter the television age.⁹⁴ Once there, he soon earned a reputation as a “film historian.” He developed a fascination with military history in the late 1950s, after working on a television documentary about Victoria Cross recipients.⁹⁵ Although his films did not glorify war, they did glorify the men who fought. In the summer of 1969, he produced, directed and narrated a three-part history of the RCAF, called *The Young, The Quick, and the Lucky*.⁹⁶ It combined interviews with some 50 veterans with archival film and photographs from the likes of

⁹² Memo, Martyn Burke to John Kerr, “Coup D’Etat,” 17 January 1974, vol. 811, file TI 3-2-7 (pt. 6), “Current Affairs,” RG 41, LAC.

⁹³ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *CBC: A Brief History*, 12.

⁹⁴ Biographical Information, “Frank C. Williams, CBC Announcer and Commentator,” 5 September 1957, file “Williams, Frank C.,” Biography files, CBCRL.

⁹⁵ Press release, “Frank Williams, Armed Services Film Documentary Maker for CBC,” 31 July 1972, file “Productions – THB – THE,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁹⁶ “The RCAF story,” *CBC Times* 22, no. 1 (28 June – 4 July 1969): 7.

National Defence and the Imperial War Museum.⁹⁷ One of the most dramatic segments involved Flying Officer Pat Brophy, who described how Andrew Charles Mynarski, who was part of his crew, won the RCAF its first Victoria Cross during the Second World War. On 21 June 1944, their Lancaster bomber was hit. With the aircraft on fire, the pilot ordered the crew to bail out. Brophy was trapped under the turret. Mynarski tried to use an axe to cut him free, but Brophy explained that it

was useless. He couldn't swing it properly and ... I tried to tell him to get out and save himself. Whether the flames were actually working at that time or not, I don't know. I do know that when he stood up, that there was flames [*sic*] all around him. Whether this was from the hydraulic fluid in the belly of the aircraft near the escape door, or whether it was his clothing – his aircraft flying suit – that was on fire or not, I don't know. But I know that he stood there, came to rigid attention, smartly saluted, turned around and jumped.⁹⁸

Mynarski did not survive. Speaking to the camera at the end of the episode, Williams explained that his goal was to teach of the “the enormous debt owed by all of us to Canada's fighting airmen.”⁹⁹ The series earned Williams a Wilderness Award from CBC-TV, upon which was inscribed: “For painstaking achievement in researching, evaluating and placing in historical perspective a half century of development in Canadian military aviation.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ “The RCAF story,” *CBC Times* 22, no. 1 (28 June – 4 July 1969): 7; *The Young, the Quick, and the Lucky*, first broadcast 21 June 1969 by CBC, a CBC Montreal film production, written, produced, and directed by Frank Williams, ISN: 302960, LAC.

⁹⁸ *The Young, the Quick, and the Lucky*, first broadcast 1 July 1969 by CBC, a CBC Montreal film production, written, produced, and directed by Frank Williams, ISN: 302962, LAC.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* See also, *The Young, the Quick, and the Lucky*, first broadcast 21 June 1969 by CBC, a CBC Montreal film production, written, produced, and directed by Frank Williams, ISN: 302960, LAC; *The Young, the Quick, and the Lucky*, first broadcast 28 June 1969 by CBC, a CBC Montreal film production, written, produced, and directed by Frank Williams, ISN: 302961, LAC.

¹⁰⁰ The award was named after a CBC documentary, during the production of which three filmmakers died in a plane crash. See, press release, “Four Win Wilderness Award Medals This Year,” 15 April 1970, file “Williams, Frank C.,” Biography files, CBCRL.

In the summer of 1970, Williams released a comparable series about the RCN, called *The Restless Wave*,¹⁰¹ and *Return to Falaise*, in which Capt. Gérard Leroux, veteran of the Régiment de la Chaudière, retraced his movements during the ten weeks after D-Day.¹⁰² As these programs aired, Williams was working on yet another film history, this one about the Canadian army, from the Boer War to the present day. He envisioned a nine or ten-part series built around interviews with veterans and service personnel, including those stationed with NATO in Lahr (“using these men as story tellers,” as he put it). National Defence even promised him free travel to Germany for that purpose. In part, he wanted to do oral history because he believed the use of narration was “ancient.” The proposal also reflected his sense of history. He told Ken Davey (Program Director at CBMT),

I know austerity is the key word in the Corporation at the moment but I am suggesting that the Corporation seriously consider filming the memories of key army personnel before natural attrition removes them from our cameras for all time. In short, despite General MacArthur’s favorite quote, old soldiers do indeed die. If we get these men now we will be able to hold their comments and statements until the Corporation finds the necessary funds to complete the series.¹⁰³

Marce Munro (Assistant General Manager, ESD) responded with enthusiasm, insisting that “all of us here recognize the importance of Mr. Williams’ project, both for programming and for future archival use.”¹⁰⁴ At a Senior Planning Meeting, Davey pitched a smaller version of Williams’ proposal, suggesting a five-episode series. However, the length and the cost still caused concern. Davey said CBMT was willing to

¹⁰¹ *The Restless Wave*, first broadcast 2 August 1970 by CBC, a CBC production, ISN: 295138, LAC.

¹⁰² *Return to Falaise*, first broadcast June 1970 by CBC, a CBC Montreal production, hosted by Norman Kihl and produced by Frank Williams, ISN: 48693, LAC.

¹⁰³ Memo, Frank Williams to Ken Davey, “History of the Royal Canadian Army (Proposed),” n.d., vol. 817, file “Entertainment Programming TE 3-2-6 Features,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁰⁴ Memo, M.L. Munro to Ken Davey, “History of the Royal Canadian Army (proposed),” 29 June 1970, vol. 817, file “Entertainment Programming TE 3-2-6 Features,” RG 41, LAC.

devote \$10,000 to the project if the English network provided roughly \$55,000. Knowlton Nash rejected the proposal, suggesting that three episodes “were enough” and that the network would only contribute \$7,000 (roughly \$42,500 in 2013 dollars¹⁰⁵). The contribution appeared quite modest when compared to the \$175,000 (\$1.06 million presently) they were preparing to spend on yet another British television series about the Second World War.¹⁰⁶

The project – then called *World War 2* – began as a “joint venture” between the BBC, the Australian Broadcasting Commission and the CBC in 1969.¹⁰⁷ A newly-drafted internal policy on co-productions guided the CBC’s involvement. In April 1970, CBC Business Affairs Manager John Kennedy reported the recommendations of a meeting convened to determine best practices for such projects. It decided:

- a) There should be Canadian initiative in causing a program or series to occur;
- b) There should be Canadian editorial control ...;
- c) There should be sufficient Canadian production supervision to ensure that artistic and technical standards are at least equal to the established standards of this country;
- d) There should be a recognizable Canadian presence in the end production to distinguish the program or series from another which has been simply purchased or procured from a production source outside Canada;
- e) There should be in the end ... participation by ... Canadian performing, production or technical personnel in studio or on location, or in the lab and editing stages of its completion.¹⁰⁸

By following these guidelines, the group anticipated that *World War 2* might be considered to be at least 50 percent Canadian.¹⁰⁹ According to the regulations imposed

¹⁰⁵ Figure determined using the tools on this site, Bank of Canada, “Inflation Calculator,” *Bank of Canada*, <http://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/> (accessed 7 April 2013).

¹⁰⁶ Minutes, “45th Senior Planning Meeting held Thursday 2nd July 1970,” vol. 816, file “Entertainment Programming TE 1-25, Meetings – General,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁰⁷ Documents from vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC: John Grist to E.S. Hallman, 7 July 1969; E.S. Hallman to John Grist, 28 July 1969; memo, Norn Garriock to Marce Munro, “World War II series Co-production,” 15 June 1970.

¹⁰⁸ Memo, John Kennedy to Director of Network Planning, “Co-Productions – Canadian Content,” 23 April 1970, vol. 963, file TI 3-1-12 (pt. 1), “Information Programming TI 3-1-12 Canadian Content,” RG 41, LAC.

by the Canadian Radio-Television Commission (CRTC), established by the *Broadcasting Act* of 1968 to replace the BBG,¹¹⁰ 60 percent of television programming in 1970 had to be “Canadian.”¹¹¹ At the time, the CBC was not reaching that standard, with many of its stations barely reaching the 55 percent mark.¹¹²

To satisfy CRTC regulations, Nash asked the BBC to consider using Canadian archival footage and employ CBC or NFB film crews to film interviews in Canada for the series. Such collaboration also brought down the price of the series; the cost to the CBC was now under \$175,000 instead of \$190,000.¹¹³ For that sum, the CBC got 26 one-hour episodes that they could run three times over the course of five years.¹¹⁴ The CBC agreed to the deal in July 1970, on the condition that they have a place on an “‘editorial board’ to discuss the approach to the series and shape guidelines....,” Kennedy informed his counterpart at the BBC.¹¹⁵ For his part, Nash had no doubt that these requirements would be met, saying that he expected “there would be extensive consultation and discussion on content during the planning and production period.”¹¹⁶ Then in the spring of 1971, the BBC pulled out of the project. John Grist (Head of the Current Affairs Group for the BBC Television Service) expressed his regret, saying he believed “this is an error by the BBC Television Service, but we are not in a position to

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Roger Bird, ed., *Documents of Canadian Broadcasting* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988), 373.

¹¹¹ “JUNEAU STANDS PAT – with some sugar-coating,” *Broadcaster* 29, no. 5 (May 1970): 7. Increased Canadian content requirements were controversial. See, “Re-actions to the CRTC Proposals,” *Broadcaster* 29, no. 3 (March 1970): 38-39.

¹¹² Reports, “Canadian Content and Program Balance,” July 1970, vol. 816, file “Entertainment Programming TE 3-1-2 Policy,” (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

¹¹³ Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “World War Two – BBC,” 30 June 1970, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.; John Kennedy to John Stringer, 10 July 1970, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

¹¹⁵ John Kennedy to John Stringer, 10 July 1970, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

¹¹⁶ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “Future Program Planning,” 2 December 1970, vol. 805, file “Information Programming TI 3-1-1 Programming – General” (pt. 9), RG 41, LAC.

change the decision.” At the time, Thames Television was beginning work on a project, Grist said, that was “based on our formula.”¹¹⁷ CBC-TV Current Affairs soon entered into negotiations with the independent producer¹¹⁸ on terms similar to those agreed to by the BBC, though at a considerably lower cost.¹¹⁹

In September 1971, as CBC-TV made a “firm offer” of \$169,000 for the series, it also began talks with the CRTC to determine whether the series would constitute Canadian content.¹²⁰ In the meantime, the CBC ensured that its new contract reflected its co-production policies and concern over the presentation of the war. As George Desmond (Manager of Production Contracting) explained, “The sensitive nature of the series, as well as the need for a favourable Canadian content rating, makes it imperative that the contract emphatically reflect CBC’s involvement and influence on the content, treatment and presentation of the completed series, particularly as and when it affects Canada’s involvement in World War II.”¹²¹ Months later, it became clear that the amount Canadian content was not going to be a concern. Assuming the CRTC interpreted the series as non-Canadian, the schedule for 1973–4 (when it would air) would still be 69 percent Canadian.¹²² Thus, the CBC did not need the series to be

¹¹⁷ John Grist to Eugene Hallman, 14 April 1971, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

¹¹⁸ The CBC was fostering a strong relationship with Thames at the time. In February 1972, Thames purchased CBC-TV’s 13-episode series, *Whiteoaks of Jalna* for broadcast on Britain’s Independent Television (ITV) for an estimated \$ 1 million. See, “CBC \$Million Sale to U.K. TV,” *Broadcaster* 31, no. 3 (March 1972): 6.

¹¹⁹ Documents from vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “World War II,” 17 August 1971; memo, Charles Gunning to Knowlton Nash, “The World At War (or ‘World War II’ As Thames TV calls the series),” 8 August 1973.

¹²⁰ Documents from vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “World War Two,” 24 September 1971; memo, Merv Stone to George Desmond, “World War II,” 14 October 1971; memo, George Desmond to Knowlton Nash, “World War II,” 29 October 1971.

¹²¹ George Desmond to Bruce Raymond, 1 November 1971, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

¹²² Memo, Norn Garriock to E.S. Hallman, “World War II,” 28 April 1972, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

considered “Canadian” to meet CRTC regulations. In the end, the CRTC deemed the series to be 90 percent British and 10 percent Canadian, in recognition of the “partial co-production work” done by the CBC.¹²³

The episode about the Battle of the Atlantic was one of only two complete episodes that qualified as Canadian content.¹²⁴ Jeremy Isaacs, the program’s executive producer with Thames, sent producer Ted Childs to Toronto to work with the CBC on that episode in October 1971.¹²⁵ During his visit, they arranged interviews and selected archived film material “in pursuit of Canadian content....”¹²⁶ Childs even screened Frank Williams’ series about the RCN and RCAF.¹²⁷ However, Nash cautioned against high expectations, insisting that Canada would “form a relatively small part” of the series.¹²⁸ Indeed, there were only two references to Canada’s wartime efforts in the Battle of the Atlantic episode. In one instance, a British veteran of the Royal Navy commented that two of his officers were Canadian sub-lieutenants (they had “come from Canada as passengers and that was their seagoing experience”).¹²⁹

¹²³ Documents from vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “World War II,” 17 October 1972; memo, Hugh Gauntlett to Norn Garriock, “World War II,” 13 October 1972.

¹²⁴ The designation of these episodes as “Canadian” was assigned special recognition number 6001. See documents from vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC: Joe Doyle to Bruce Raymond, 19 April 1973; memo, S.A. Westlake to N. McKinstry, “World at War,” 28 May 1973.

¹²⁵ Documents from vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Ken Black to Knowlton Nash, “Second World War – Co-production with Thames TV,” 30 September 1971; Jeremy Isaacs to Knowlton Nash, 4 January 1972.

¹²⁶ Documents from vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Ken Black to Knowlton Nash, “Second World War – Co-production with Thames TV,” 30 September 1971; Teletype message, Jeremy Isaacs to Knowlton Nash, 25 October 1972.

¹²⁷ Memo, Ken Black to Knowlton Nash, “Second World War – Co-production with Thames TV,” 30 September 1971, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

¹²⁸ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Merv Stone, “World War Two,” 29 September 1971, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

¹²⁹ *The World At War*, episode titled, “Wolf Pack: U-Boats in the Atlantic 1939-1944,” produced and directed by Ted Childs and written by J.P.W. Mallalieu, with executive producer Jeremy Isaacs. 1973-74; Thames, Fremantle Media, and A & E, 2004. DVD.

The quality, not quantity, of the material was a concern for Eugene Hallman. He insisted that “a great many Canadians” would be “profoundly disappointed and critical if it is not handled in an appropriate way.”¹³⁰ He was disappointed when he previewed the series in April 1972, not long after the CBC publicly announced that it had purchased the rights.¹³¹ He thought it was “conventional” and “unoriginal.”¹³² Nash reacted to the criticism with sarcasm, saying he was “delighted that the ... series has been approved by the Vice President with such enthusiasm and exuberance.”¹³³ Nash felt very strongly that the series was far from “the usual sort of bang-bang programming about war.” Indeed, he argued that it had “some quite astonishing revelations, not dissimilar to the myth-destroying approach of ‘The Sorrow and the Pity.’”¹³⁴ Marcel Ophuls’ *Le Chagrin et la Pitié* was released in 1969 to much acclaim, including an Oscar nomination.¹³⁵ It aimed at “debunking” commonly-held ideas about the collaboration and heroic resistance of the French during the Nazi occupation. Ophuls claimed that the government of the time was “deliberately suppress[ing] ... the truth” so that the country could move beyond its “shame.”¹³⁶ The CBC broadcast the documentary commercial-free in 1972 and again in 1973.¹³⁷ Though some viewers

¹³⁰ Memo, E.S. Hallman to Norn Garriock, “Contract: ‘World War II,’” 15 March 1972, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

¹³¹ Gordon Pape, “CBC buys unfinished war series,” *The Gazette*, 25 March 1972, vol. 249, file 11-38 (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

¹³² Memo, E.S. Hallman to Norn Garriock, and Asst. General Manager, ESD, “World War II,” 24 April 1972, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

¹³³ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “World War Two,” 26 April 1972, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

¹³⁴ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “World War II,” 17 October 1972, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

¹³⁵ *The Sorrow and The Pity: chronicle of a French city under the occupation*, a film by Marcel Ophuls. 1969; Milestone film and video, 2011, DVD.

¹³⁶ Quoted in, The Alicia Patterson Foundation, “Marcel Ophuls and the ORTF: The Sorrow and the Pity, by Jack Nessel,” 31 July 1972, vol. 839, file 278, “Sorrow and the Pity,” RG 41, LAC.

¹³⁷ It cost the CBC \$20,000 to purchase the rights from Norddeutscher Rundfunk Hamburg. CBC-TV aired the whole documentary on one evening. As a press release explained, “CBC television has wiped out regular evening programming on Wednesday, Nov. 8, to show the widely acclaimed

“commended” the CBC for airing the series,¹³⁸ the Corporation received nearly 400 complaints, some saying it was simply “horrible.”¹³⁹ *The World At War*, as the Thames series came to be known, attempted a more modest rethinking of the war. In the episode about the Battle of the Atlantic, for instance, narrator Sir Laurence Olivier said, “To Allied seamen, the U-boat crews were heartless killers, but the Germans were brave men too.”¹⁴⁰ John Kerr (then Area Head, TV, Current Affairs) agreed that *The Sorrow and the Pity* was “extraordinarily powerful ... and could serve as a lesson in documentary making to all of us.”¹⁴¹ He had no such enthusiasm for *The World At War*. In particular, he was “alarm[ed]” to find the episode about Dieppe only discussed the experiences of Englishmen.¹⁴² Despite his reservations, the CBC and 12 affiliate stations debuted *The World At War* in the fall of 1973.¹⁴³

documentary *The Sorrow and the Pity*. It will be telecast from 7:30 p.m. to midnight, with a 10-minute break for a CBC news report at 9:15. A regular 20-minute edition of *The National* will be seen at 12 midnight.” There was considerable debate within TV Current Affairs about whether it was appropriate to include commercial breaks or any sponsorship at all. See documents from vol. 839, file 278, “Sorrow and the Pity,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Knowlton Nash to Hugh Gauntlett, “The Sorrow and the Pity,” 16 May 1972; memo, John Kerr to Knowlton Nash, “The Sorrow and the Pity,” 28 April 1972; Teletype message, Dr. Gerhard to Knowlton Nash and Mervyn Stone, 29 May 1972; memo, John Kerr to Knowlton Nash, “The Sorrow and the Pity,” 8 August 1972; memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “The Sorrow and the Pity,” 11 August 1972; press release, “North American Premiere on CBC-TV: Documentary, *The Sorrow and the Pity* runs from 7:30 till midnight, Nov. 8,” 20 October 1972.

¹³⁸ Letter to editor from Ed Moser, “The Sorrow and the Pity,” *Globe and Mail* (11 November 1972), vol. 249, file 11-38 (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

¹³⁹ Report, Robert G. Stagg to Knowlton Nash, “SORROW & THE PITY, telecast Nov. 8/72, National phone reaction,” vol. 839, file 278, “Sorrow and the Pity,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁴⁰ *The World At War*, episode titled, “Wolf Pack: U-Boats in the Atlantic 1939-1944,” produced and directed by Ted Childs and written by J.P.W. Mallalieu, with executive producer Jeremy Isaacs. 1973-74; Thames, Fremantle Media, and A & E, 2004. DVD.

¹⁴¹ Memo, John Kerr to Knowlton Nash, “The Sorrow and the Pity,” 28 April 1972, vol. 839, file 278, “Sorrow and the Pity,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁴² Memo, John Kerr to Knowlton Nash, “World at War,” 13 July 1973, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁴³ See documents from vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Joe Doyle to C.K. Nash, “World at War,” 28 September 1973; memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “The World at War,” 2 October 1973. For its part, CBC-TV aired the series on Friday nights at 10:00 p.m. – in spite of Knowlton Nash’s protests. He told Garriock that, “I still think that the judgement made has got to be black comedy because there is no other rational explanation. I still find it some kind of fascinating loaves and fishes concept that we are going to wind up with as large or larger audiences being available to this series ... carrying it and at 10 o’clock on a Friday night, as against all of our affiliates carrying it at 8:30 on a Wednesday night.” See, memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “The World At War,” 30 April

Perhaps Nash and his colleagues felt they could devote their resources to a British production because small-scale, in-house programs regularly presented Canadian military history. Between 1969 and 1974, CBC-TV news, commemorative specials and public affairs programs marked anniversaries,¹⁴⁴ discussed topics like Canada's part in the liberation of Holland,¹⁴⁵ broadcast interviews with veterans,¹⁴⁶ and retraced the movement of Canada's troops through Normandy and Italy.¹⁴⁷ Frank Williams also continued to produce his military histories. He released a half-hour program using "the outs" from *The Young, The Quick, and the Lucky*. Called *Sir Boffin*, it focused on "a

1973, vol. 846, file 368, "World War II," RG 41, LAC. See also, press release, "The World At War, TV Epic Made by International Team," August 1973, file "World At War – 1973-79," Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁴⁴ For examples, see, "The 25th anniversary of D-Day," *CBC Times* 21, no. 29 (31 May – 6 June 1969): 15; *Commemoration Ceremony 25th Anniversary VE Day*, first broadcast 8 March 1970 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, ISN: 220157, LAC; *Remembrance Day Ceremonies*, first broadcast 1 December 1971 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, produced and directed by Pierre Normandin, ISN: 231361, LAC. For more, see documents from vol. 817, file "Entertainment Programming TE 3-2-6 Features," RG 41, LAC: Teletype message, Harry Hackney to D. Townsend, 6 May 1970; memo, D.E. Gregg to Knowlton Nash and Norn Garriock, "Black Watch Ceremony," 4 February 1970. See also, documents from vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 7), "News Programs. General Correspondence," RG 41, LAC: Teletype message, Norn Garriock to J. Belleau, 21 August 1972; Teletype message, Norn Garriock to J. Belleau, 17 August 1972.

¹⁴⁵ *Weekend*, first broadcast 17 May 1970 by CBC, a CBC television information production, hosted by Lloyd Robertson and Kay Sigurjonsson, directed by J. Edward Shaw, and produced by Robert E. Frye, Don Cumming and Richard Nielsen, ISN: 21328, LAC. See also, *Take Thirty*, first broadcast 2 January 1970 by CBC, a CBC television information program, hosted by Adrienne Clarkson and Paul Soles, and produced by Glenn Sarty, ISN: 99886, LAC. See also documents from vol. 840, file 300, "Telescope," RG 41, LAC: memo, Sam Levene to Dill Hatton, 14 February 1972; Bob Blackburn, column, *Toronto Sun* (February 1972): n.p.

¹⁴⁶ *Telescope*, episode titled, "THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN 25 + 1," first broadcast 10 November 1974 by CBC, a CBC television production, written and directed by Stan Jacobson, and produced by George Ronald, Peter Kelly and Thom Benson, ISN: 196385, LAC; *Four For The Road*, first broadcast 24 April 1972 by CBC, a CBC television production, ISN: 59982, LAC.

¹⁴⁷ *Two Roads to Ravenna*, first broadcast 7 November 1973 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, hosted by David Halton, written by Hugh Kemp and Robert Gardiner, and produced by Pierre Normandin, ISN: 97045, LAC; *Take Thirty*, episode titled "KEN BELL'S NORMANDY," first broadcast 11 November 1973 by CBC, a CBC television information program, hosted by Paul Soles, directed by Lester Machan, and produced by Lester Machan and Glenn Sarty, ISN: 196127, LAC; *Take Thirty*, first broadcast 11 November 1976 by CBC, a CBC television information program, hosted by Mary Lou Finlay and Paul Soles, directed by Peter McLean, and produced by WM. Cobban, Don Cumming, Colin King, Myles White and Ain Soodor, ISN: 196266, LAC.

crusty old man” who was involved in military aircraft design in his younger years.¹⁴⁸ Williams also released a series about the Canadian army in the world wars. *Their Springtime of Life* (1972), as it was known, took four parts, was based on archival film and interviews with 70 veterans, and was narrated by CBLT staff announcer Bill Hawes, who was a veteran of the Second World War.¹⁴⁹ Its overall message was well summarized by Williams at the end of the fourth episode. Speaking directly to the camera, he said that veterans were “ignored by a society they helped to keep free. But their contribution is and always will be an integral part of our history and our heritage. We would do well to remember more often.”¹⁵⁰ Two years later, Williams released a similar program, called *As Eagles Fly*, to mark the 50th anniversary of the RCAF’s founding.¹⁵¹

Significantly, when Williams first proposed *As Eagles Fly*, Ken Black (Assistant to Director, TV Information Programs) deemed it to be a “low priority program

¹⁴⁸ Memo, Ross McLean to Knowlton Nash, 21 January 1971, vol. 805, file “Information Programming TI 3-1-1 General,” (Nov. 10/70 to April 1971), RG 41, LAC.

¹⁴⁹ Memo, Ken Black and Knowlton Nash, “Canadian Army – Second World War Series,” 19 November 1971, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC. See also, documents from file “Productions – THB – THE,” Program files, CBCRL: memo, Knowlton Nash to Ken Davey, “Canadian Army,” 17 January 1972; press release, “Frank Williams, Armed Services Film Documentary Maker for CBC,” 31 July 1972; information log, “Their Springtime of Life (mono);” press release, “CBC-TV Documentary Series on Canadians in War,” 27 July 1972; press release, “CBC’s Bill Hawes is Narrator on Springtime of Life Series,” 28 August 1972.

¹⁵⁰ *Their Springtime of Life*, first broadcast 12 September 1972 by CBC, a CBC television production, produced and directed by Frank Williams, ISN: 181547, LAC. See also, *Their Springtime of Life*, first broadcast 22 August 1972 by CBC, a CBC television production, produced and directed by Frank Williams, ISN: 181548, LAC; *Their Springtime of Life*, first broadcast 29 August 1972 by CBC, a CBC television production, produced and directed by Frank Williams, ISN: 181549, LAC; *Their Springtime of Life*, first broadcast 5 September 1972 by CBC, a CBC television production, produced and directed by Frank Williams, ISN: 286664, LAC.

¹⁵¹ *As Eagles Fly: The History of the R.C.A.F.*, first broadcast 1974 by CBC, a CBC Montreal production, directed, researched, and produced by Frank Williams, ISN: 278181, LAC; press release, “RCAF 50th Anniversary Commemorated on CBC-TV’s *As Eagles Fly* Oct. 5,” 23 September 1974, file “AS,” Program files, CBCRL.

objective.”¹⁵² Similarly, although some at the CBC experienced a surge of enthusiasm for nostalgic battlefield tours in the early 1970s, that feeling was not shared by all. For instance, Norman DePoe organized a three-week reunion and tour of Italian battlefields for Canadian veterans of the Second World War in July 1973, to mark 30 years since they began the Italian campaign. He even reached out to British singers Vera Lynn and Gracie Fields, in the hopes that they would perform as part of a nostalgic “army show.” DePoe and Pierre Normandin hoped create a Remembrance Day special through film of such events, produced at a cost of nearly \$16,000.¹⁵³ However, Nash was quick to explain that, as of August 1972, it was still “just a possibility, with some not inconsiderable apprehension on the part of Hackney and others.” He did not explain the reasons for concern.¹⁵⁴

There was little hope for new subjects or approaches in the program proposals received by the CBC in 1972-3. There was a proposal to do yet another program about Sir William Stephenson, a veteran and spy, who was previously the subject of a radio documentary in September 1968.¹⁵⁵ There were also indications of continuity in the decisions to reject certain program proposals. For instance, Martyn Burke (Producer,

¹⁵² Ken Black to Knowlton Nash, 29 October 1973, vol. 810, file “TI 3-2-6 Information Programs, Entertainment Pgms., Feb./73 – June 30/74,” (pt. 2), RG 41, LAC.

¹⁵³ Documents from vol. 2, file 21 “Tour of Italian Battlefields 1972 – Memoranda and Correspondence,” Norman DePoe fonds, MG 31 D 112, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, MG 31 D 112, LAC]; Allan G. Waddell to Franco Di Castro, 10 July 1972; Allan G. Waddell to David Reid, 17 July 1972; Arthur L. Nagols to Gracie Fields, 9 August 1972; “Cost Estimate.” See also, memo, Knowlton Nash to Thom Benson, “Program Overlap,” 24 August 1972, vol. 810, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-6 Entertainment Programs” (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC; memo, Knowlton Nash to Ken Black, “DePoe – Italy,” 28 August 1972, vol. 965, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-9-14 Correspondents – General” (pt. 2), RG 41, LAC.

¹⁵⁴ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Ken Black, “DePoe – Italy,” 28 August 1972, vol. 965, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-9-14 Correspondents – General” (pt. 2), RG 41, LAC.

¹⁵⁵ “The Great Canadian Spy,” *CBC Times* 21, no. 11 (7-13 September 1968): 10. See also documents from vol. 811, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs” (pt. 4), RG 41, LAC: memo, John Kerr to E. Hallman, “Sir William Stephenson Documentary Plans,” 21 February 1973; memo, Bill Stevenson to John Kerr, “One-Hour Documentary, Sir Wm Stephenson,” 8 February 1973. See also, report, “TV Information Programs Summary 1973/74 – 1974/75,” 6 September 1974, vol. 805, file “TI 3-1-1 Programming – General,” (pt. 10), RG 41, LAC.

CBC Tuesday Night) pitched a television drama about Sir Sam Hughes, which the drama department killed after reviewing the first draft. Incensed, Burke told Thom Benson, “The script was killed – I was told, because Sam Hughes came off as an unrelenting bastard. This is precisely the reason why it should have been continued. Our history is littered with historical characters made into bland idiots by even blander writers and directors – as a result, boring the ass off anyone who comes within a mile of Canadian history.”¹⁵⁶

Given the volume of material about Canadian military history on CBC-TV, however conventional, Nash and his colleagues could certainly justify devoting precious resources to a series that presented a more international perspective. However, there was more to the decision to broadcast *The World At War*. Nash also hoped that the Thames co-production would tap into popular demand for British programming, like *Somerset Maugham* which attracted 1.8 million viewers to CBC-TV in 1970.¹⁵⁷ By contrast, in-house primetime information programs averaged audiences of roughly 200,000 in 1971. Nash responded to these low figures by calling for more “relevant” programs and the addition of “a bit of pizzazz to otherwise heavy subjects.”¹⁵⁸ Indeed, CBC-TV had great hopes for *The World At War*. While audience figures were strong, they were not as high as anticipated. By November 1973, the series held only a 5

¹⁵⁶ Memo, Martyn Burke to Thom Benson, 4 July 1973, vol. 811, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs” (pt. 5), RG 41, LAC.

¹⁵⁷ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Norm Garriock, “Thames – World War 2,” 6 September 1972, vol. 846, file 368, “World War II,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁵⁸ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Robert Patchell, John Kerr, Dan McCarthy, Frank Nicholson, and Bill Cunningham, “Program Ratings,” 10 December 1971, vol. 810, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs” (pt. 2), RG 41, LAC.

percent share of the audience (roughly 540,000 viewers), whereas they had expected at least 6 percent (770,000).¹⁵⁹

These figures were all the more disappointing, given the hefty cost for the production, which limited the production of other film histories, like those proposed by Frank Williams. It also impacted commemorative programming. Although there were television specials marking events like the 25th anniversary of NATO,¹⁶⁰ there was no such effort to mark the 30th anniversary of D-Day. In February 1974, Knowlton Nash explained that, not only was it “a bit late in the day” to plan for 6 June, “we of course have been running ‘The World at War’ and I would wonder whether it would be wise for us to go into another venture on the same subject given our heavy commitments on resources, air time and money.”¹⁶¹

Over the period from 1968 to 1974, there was a growing sense that the military was losing some of its earlier esteem. Anti-war, anti-Establishment sensibilities, widespread worries about the social and psychological impacts of violence, and the austerity measures imposed on the forces by the federal government to dramatically reduce its size and commitments, all contributed to this impression on CBC-TV information programs, be they news, history programs or commemorations. There were also hints that the documentaries produced by the likes of Frank Williams were becoming unfashionable, perhaps even undesirable. There were questions about devoting valuable resources to his programs or marking military anniversaries, as well as growing desires

¹⁵⁹ Memo, Charles Gunning to Knowlton Nash, “Performance Review 1973-74,” 21 November 1973, vol. 811, file TI 3-2-7 (pt. 6), “Current Affairs,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁶⁰ Teletype message, F. Peladeau to K. Black, 1 February 1974, vol. 811, file “TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs, Nov. 1/73 – April 30/74,” RG 41, LAC.

¹⁶¹ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Thom Benson, “30th Anniversary of D-Day,” vol. 810, file “TI 3-2-6 Information Programs, Entertainment Pgms., Feb./73 – June 30/74,” RG 41, LAC.

to produce documentaries akin to the controversial French production, *The Sorrow and the Pity*. While no single perspective held a monopoly in the years that followed, just as none did during this period, criticism of the forces intensified and quickly became a dominant view.

Chapter 7: Revolutions, Revitalization and Revisionism, 1973–1984

The CBC's handling of military subjects underwent a period of significant change from 1973 to 1984. Technological revolutions, including the increased use of satellites and the adoption of electronic newsgathering systems, made it easier to cover breaking news of Canadian peacekeeping efforts worldwide. The subjects in the news also changed. As détente gave way to an arms race after 1979, journalists, reflecting the changing priorities, turned their attention once again to defence, especially preparedness for war. Current Affairs experienced a revolution of its own during these years. Beginning late in 1972, the Current Affairs Area underwent a major revitalization that resulted in the creation of a series of new, more critical programs, *Up Canada!*, *Ombudsman* and *the fifth estate* among them. Though there were some features that praised the skill of service personnel, many lambasted the forces, several prodded National Defence or Veterans Affairs for socially-prudent changes, and a few ridiculed the small contributions made by Canadian peacekeepers abroad. History programs also changed, reflecting: shifts in historiography; the influence of second-wave feminism; new ways of thinking about the impact of war on fighting men; the economic downturn in the 1970s; iconoclastic, new approaches to the past; and the increased use of drama and personal journalism on current affairs programs. The results were, for example, dramas about war brides that challenged romantic ideas about veterans, a séance-style interview with Billy Bishop that made allegations of alcoholism, and a series of programs that argued the Second World War was a “good war.”¹ The diversity of programs on CBC-TV could accommodate all of these, seemingly contradictory interpretations of the past.

¹ For example, *Take Thirty*, first broadcast 23 April 1975, a CBC information program, hosted by Paul Soles and Ed Reid, directed by Lester Machan, and produced by Lester Machan and Glenn Sarty, ISN: 196665, LAC.

When considered as a whole, 1973 to 1984 was a period of revolutions, revitalization and revisionism that changed the way the CBC gathered, distributed and presented stories about the military on its programs.

Several technological revolutions had, by the early 1970s, greatly changed access to, and the distribution of, news about the military. In 1971, CBC/Radio-Canada tested the “news gathering potential” of a “domestic newswire service” it created, connecting all of its newsrooms (the International Service, foreign bureaus, French and English, radio and television) using teleprinters, so that they could share information.² After the first test of the service, Ken Black was “euphoric” about its success, writing, “We have only missed one or two stories during the past 6 days and have come up with a large number which have not appeared on CP.”³ Even more significant was the launch of Canada’s first domestic communications satellite, Anik-1, in late 1972. When it became operational early the following year,⁴ the CBC was among its first clients. The Corporation leased three of its channels for five years at a cost of over \$3 million per year⁵ (\$16.9 million in 2013⁶). Before long, the CBC was receiving news material and transmitting programs to the country’s most remote northern residents via satellite.⁷

² All documents can be found in various parts of vol. 963, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-9-1 TV. Info. News Dept. General,” RG 41, LAC: report, CBC Toronto, “CBC Radio-Canada Newswire Service,” 26 October 1971, (pt. 5); Ken Black to Knowlton Nash, “CBC News Wire Service Test,” 19 November 1971, (pt. 6).

³ Memo, Ken Black to Knowlton Nash, “CBC Newswire Progress Report,” 15 December 1971, vol. 963, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-9-1 TV. Info. News Dept. General,” (pt. 6), RG 41, LAC.

⁴ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *CBC: A Brief History*, 17, 36; “Telesat Canada,” *Broadcaster* 30, no. 12 (December 1971): 17.

⁵ “CBC Signs with Telesat,” *Broadcaster* 31, no. 9 (September 1972): 8.

⁶ All figures in this chapter converted using the tools on this site, Bank of Canada, “Inflation Calculator,” *Bank of Canada*, <http://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/> (accessed 7 April 2013).

⁷ Barbara Byers, “ANIK I scores another first: CBC plans more use of satellites,” *Broadcaster* 43, no. 11 (November 1975): 26.

CBC-TV had some prior experience in this, having used material transmitted across the globe via satellite since the early 1960s. By the 1970s, however, satellites were becoming essential to the gathering of foreign news. For instance, during the Indo-Pakistan War (1970–1), reporter Tom Leach struggled to ship material out of Dhaka, Bangladesh. His soundman eventually took several of the undelivered reports to the CBC bureau in Hong Kong, where they were transmitted to Canada via satellite. The use of satellites accounted for \$1,800 of the \$55,725 it cost to cover the war for two months. By contrast, the CBC spent only \$650 on the shipping of film.⁸ Likewise, during the Yom Kippur War (6–24 October 1973) between Israel and its Arab neighbours, *The National* relied on film transmitted from Tel Aviv by satellite,⁹ which came at a hefty price. The cost of covering the war for two weeks was \$61,220 (over \$325,000 presently), at a time when the annual news budget was roughly \$1.6 million. That cost included \$1,400 a day for two television crews (eight people), roughly \$1,500 for each use of the satellite link between Tel Aviv and Toronto, plus additional expenses for travel, studio expenses and the help of a local fixer.¹⁰ The conflict remained in the news after the guns fell silent, as CBC reporters travelled to the region with Canadian peacekeepers who were joining the Second United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II) to supervise the ceasefire.¹¹ Despite the cost, the reliance on satellites

⁸ Memo, Bill Cunningham to Knowlton Nash, "India/Pakistan War Coverage," 21 December 1971, vol. 963, file "Information Programming TI 3-2-9-1 TV. Info. News Dept. General," (pt. 6), RG 41, LAC.

⁹ Teletype message, Robbins to M. Thibeault, P.M. Lapointe, L. Cote, F. Peladeau, J.P. Pepin, L. Caron, M. Cardinal, N. Gagne, R. Bourbonnais, Michel Masse, Bruno Gauron, C. Asselin, Gerard Fecteau, and Lloyd Converse, 12 October 1973, vol. 964, file "TI 3-2-9-9 TV Info, News Dept., National News," (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

¹⁰ Documents from vol. 964, file "TI 3-2-9-9 TV Info, News Dept., National News," (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC: memo, Ron Johnson to D. Summerfeldt, "National TV News – Revised Budget Forecast at March 31, 1974"; report, "National TV News – 1973/74," 31 March 1974.

¹¹ Teletype message, Robbins to M. Thibeault, P.M. Lapointe, L. Cote, F. Peladeau, J.P. Pepin, L. Caron, M. Cardinal, N. Gagne, R. Bourbonnais, Michel Masse, Bruno Gauron, C. Asselin, Gerard

only grew. When fighting broke out in Cyprus over the summer of 1974, the CBC assigned London correspondent David Halton, Paris correspondent Joseph Schlesinger, and reporter Tom Leach, along with film crews, to cover the crisis from Athens, Ankara, Tel Aviv and Cyprus.¹² They regularly used satellite feeds to transmit material back to the national newsroom in Toronto.¹³

The use of satellites was only one part of the effort to get news quickly to air, however. In 1974, a major concern at the national television newsroom in Toronto was the need for film editing facilities.¹⁴ The adoption of electronic newsgathering (ENG) systems, the RCA TK-76 colour camera and the Sony U-Matic player improved matters considerably.¹⁵ CBOT was the first to make the transition in 1977. Within a year, most CBC-TV newsrooms had followed suit.¹⁶ Dane Lanken explained the benefits of the system in *Broadcaster*: “Editing, done by running the cassette back on one U-Matic and transferring the appropriate takes on to the second U-Matic, is often done with the reporter and cameraman present – and done immediately.” The system did not completely replace film cameras, which were lighter and cheaper than the videocassette

Fecteau, and Lloyd Converse, 5 November 1973, vol. 964, file “TI 3-2-9-9 TV Info, News Dept., National News,” (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC; United Nations, *Blue Helmets*, 694.

¹² Documents from vol. 964, file “TI 3-2-9-9 TV Info, News Dept., National News,” (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC: Teletype message, Robbins to M. Thibeault, P.M. Lapointe, A. Thorgersen, F. Peladeau, J.P. Pepin, L. Caron, M. Cardinal, Frank Ward, N. Gagne, R. Bourbonnais, Michel Masse, Bruno Gauron, C. Asselin, and Gerard Fecteau, 14 August 1974; Teletype message, Robbins to M. Thibeault, P.M. Lapointe, A. Thorgersen, F. Peladeau, Frank Ward, J.P. Pepin, L. Caron, M. Cardinal, N. Gagne, R. Bourbonnais, Michel Masse, Bruno Gauron, C. Asselin and Gerard Fecteau, 19 August 1974.

¹³ Documents from vol. 964, file “TI 3-2-9-9 TV Info, News Dept., National News,” (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC: Teletype message, Robbins to M. Thibeault et al., 21 August 1974; Teletype message, Robbins to M. Thibeault et al., 22 August 1974; Teletype message, Robbins to M. Thibeault et al., 20 August 1974.

¹⁴ Report, “Area: News and Information,” vol. 964, file “TI 3-2-9-9 TV Info, News Dept., National News,” (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

¹⁵ Dane Lanken, “The CBC’s experiment with ENG,” *Broadcaster* 37, no. 3 (March 1978): 28.

¹⁶ Knowlton Nash, “Information Programming on the English networks of the CBC,” in *CBC Information Programming: Oral presentations to the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, at its Ottawa hearings for the renewal of CBC network licences* (Ottawa: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1979); Lorraine C. Blashill, “‘Where are all the women?’: One is doing a ‘man’s work’ on an ENG crew at CBC,” *Broadcaster* 38, no. 8 (August 1979): 38.

equipment and thus continued to be used by freelancers and by staff cameramen reporting in far-off locations.¹⁷ Nonetheless, the combination of ENG, satellites and the attempts to develop to improve communication between CBC newsrooms amounted to a revolution in the gathering and distribution of the news, including reports about the military. In David Halton's words, such changes helped to make "war coverage faster and more efficient."¹⁸

The content of the news also changed, reflecting new worries about the defence of Canada. By 1978, there had been nearly a decade of détente and two rounds of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) between the Soviet Union and the United States.¹⁹ Prime Minister Trudeau's vocal support of the disarmament movement influenced his approach to defence. When asked about the possibility of expanding NATO's armouries, Trudeau told *News magazine* in 1978 that "there is no disposition on the part of Canada to say blindly to the military, 'Well anything you ask for you can have.'"²⁰ Within a year, this viewpoint fell out of fashion, as détente seemed all but dead. The presence of Soviet troops in Cuba stalled the ratification of the SALT II treaty in the US Senate. At the same time, the arms race re-intensified as NATO moved its Pershing II and Cruise missiles to Europe in response to the Soviet decision to ready its SS-20 missiles.²¹

Because of these new tensions, defence was a major issue of the 1979 federal election, with all sides promising increased spending. Once in power, the new

¹⁷ Dane Lanken, "The CBC's experiment with ENG," *Broadcaster* 37, no. 3 (March 1978): 28.

¹⁸ David Halton, letter to author, 11 January 2012.

¹⁹ Gaddis, *The Cold War*, 199-203.

²⁰ *News magazine*, episode titled, "NATO: THE NEXT 10 YEARS," first broadcast 29 May 1978 by CBC, a CBC television news production, produced by Rudi Carter, Tony Hillman and George James, ISN: 182647, LAC.

²¹ Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 264; Gaddis, *The Cold War*, 203.

Progressive Conservative government led by Joe Clark (1979–1980) even commissioned a study of the state of the military in the wake of unification.²² The results became public in March 1980.²³ Correspondent Brian Stewart explained on *The National* that the Task Force “interviewed 900 personnel and many of them clearly do not believe it [the armed forces] can handle big tasks properly.”²⁴ The state of Canada’s defences²⁵ and the resurgence of the peace movement²⁶ continued to be a popular subject for current affairs and news programs until the late 1980s. By that time, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was implementing his dual policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring), signalling the beginning of the end of the Cold War.²⁷

According to Stewart, the Task Force also found that, in the armed forces, “there was a strong feeling of lack of support from the government and the Canadian people.”²⁸ The new breed of current affairs programs created in 1972–4 did little to help matters. Such programs were the result of the “revitalizing of program form” spearheaded by John

²² Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 264; Granatstein, *Canada’s Army*, 377.

²³ See, Canada, *Task Force on Review of Unification of the Canadian Forces, Final Report* (15 March 1980).

²⁴ *The National*, first broadcast 2 May 1980 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Knowlton Nash, ISN: 242609, LAC.

²⁵ For example, *The Nature of Things*, first broadcast 21 December 1983 by CBC, a CBC television science program, hosted by David Suzuki, and produced by Diederick d’Ailly and James Murray, ISN: 32805, LAC; *Brian Mulroney Interview*, first broadcast 24 December 1983 by CBC, a CBC news specials production, interviewers were Peter Mansbridge and David Halton, ISN: 224539, LAC.

²⁶ For example, *D-Day Revisited*, first broadcast 6 June 1984 by CBC, a CBC news special, hosted by Peter Mansbridge, ISN: 224554, LAC; *The National*, first broadcast 14 January 1985 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Knowlton Nash, ISN: 10664, LAC; Lynda Ashley, “Ideologies and realities: Gwynne Dyer scrutinizes Canada’s military readiness,” *Broadcaster* 45, no. 3 (March 1986): 31–33.

²⁷ Granatstein, *Canada’s Army*, 379; Gaddis, *The Cold War*, 231.

²⁸ *The National*, first broadcast 2 May 1980 by CBC, a CBC television news production, news read by Knowlton Nash, ISN: 242609, LAC.

Kerr (Area Head, Current Affairs – TV) between December 1972 and January 1973.²⁹

Kerr insisted that “television is not longer novel [and] most of the forms we use have lost appeal and impact....” Among the proposals for new, more innovative programming were a “satirical revue” called *Did I Say That?*, another that would take the role of ombudsman, and a hard-hitting magazine produced jointly by Current Affairs and News.³⁰ Together, they would have added at least two more hours of current affairs programming in primetime each week.³¹

The need for more information programming was a major concern for Knowlton Nash. In February 1973, he complained that entertainment dominated primetime, writing,

Information programming has been screwed, blewed [*sic*] and tattooed for so goddam long now that it is time to begin to rectify the damage that has been done to this programming which is so basic and so essential to the CBC public service mandate and yet which is given such short shrift in our prime time schedule both in terms of quantity of time and of the ghetto time period allocations.³²

Nash also insisted that primetime programming needed an overhaul if it were to be more than recycled ideas and American imports that, in his view, had more style than substance. He grumbled that “our television schedules too often look like a gravy-stained menu at a hamburger joint on the verge of bankruptcy.”³³ The revitalization of

²⁹ Documents from vol. 811, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs Sept. 1972 to July ’73,” (pt. 4), RG 41, LAC: memo, John Kerr to Knowlton Nash, 12 January 1973; memo, John Kerr to Knowlton Nash, 13 December 1972.

³⁰ Memo, John Kerr to Knowlton Nash, 12 January 1973, vol. 811, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs Sept. 1972 to July ’73,” (pt. 4), RG 41, LAC.

³¹ Memo, John Kerr to Knowlton Nash, “New Current Affairs Programming,” 29 January 1973, vol. 811, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs Sept. 1972 to July ’73,” (pt. 4), RG 41, LAC.

³² Memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “Change – Network Information Period to Local Information Period,” 5 February 1973, vol. 810, file “TI 3-2-6 Information Programs, Entertainment Pgms., Feb./73-June 30/74,” (pt. 2), RG 41, LAC.

³³ Memo, Knowlton Nash to E.S. Hallman, “English Service Planning for 1974-75,” 28 May 1973, vol. 814, file “Information Programming TI 3-1-1 General, Sept. 1972 to June ’73,” (pt. 8), RG 41, LAC.

Current Affairs suggested by Kerr promised to help rectify the imbalance, while improving the substance and style of primetime.

The first program pursued was *Did I Say That?* It experienced a name change before it debuted on 4 July 1973. Executive producer George Robertson defined the objectives of *Up Canada!*, as it became known, in this way: it is “a program of social criticism, and it uses every conceivable means of entertainment to achieve that, from song and sketch to documentary film and interview.”³⁴ The first episode of *Up Canada!* flopped, drawing only a six percent audience share, which was half the target, and scoring a dismal 57 Enjoyment Index.³⁵ After viewing the debut, Nash worried that the criticism and humour would only be understood by a minority. He advised John Kerr that “if we ... are very sensitive as to the audience, as distinct from programming for a small ‘in’ group, *Up Canada* can become a very valuable series for us.”³⁶

The military was the butt of jokes and the subject of criticism on several of the earliest episodes of *Up Canada!* In the fall of 1973, the forces were preparing to join UNEF II, upon the end of the Yom Kippur War.³⁷ Egyptian President Anwar Sadat nearly turned this local conflict into a war between the superpowers when he solicited military aid from both the United States and the Soviet Union, which only the latter agreed to provide. It took the promise of an increased United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO, est. 1948) presence in the region and the creation of UNEF II on 24 October to deescalate the situation. According to the UN, this was “probably the

³⁴ Report, George Robertson, “UP CANADA! A Prospectus,” 12 September 1973, vol. 843, file 340 “Up Canada!” RG 41, LAC.

³⁵ Memo, Charles Gunning to Knowlton Nash, “Performance Review 1973/74,” vol. 811, file “TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs,” (pt. 6), RG 41, LAC.

³⁶ Memo, Knowlton Nash to John Kerr, “Up Canada,” 25 October 1973, vol. 843, file 340 “Up Canada!” RG 41, LAC.

³⁷ United Nations, *Blue Helmets*, 694.

most dangerous situation confronting the world since the Cuban missile crisis....”³⁸

There was no sense of this on *Up Canada!*, which mocked Canada’s peacekeepers. During the overview of the week’s headlines on 30 October 1973, host Rob Parker said, “This was a week in which Canadians discovered that our usual contingent of neutral, pro-American troops would not be required to help supervise the Mid-East ceasefire, but we were asked to provide logistics, which is not the same thing as logic.”³⁹

Similarly, in the review of the week’s news, Parker said on 20 November that “Canadian troops arrived in Egypt to be billeted at a race track and share facilities with the horses.”⁴⁰ Later in the episode, there was a report about the history of Canadian peacekeeping,⁴¹ presented within the context of “the game of international politics.” Its outlook was deeply cynical. For example, American political scientist Lawrence Fabian said that, during the Vietnam War, the Canadian peacekeeper acted as a “surrogate for American policy....” At the end of the report, singer John Allan Cameron, who was a regular contributor to the program, spoke directly to the camera. He said, with considerable sarcasm, “It was reported this past week that one of the boys on our peacekeeping force to the Middle East killed 267 flies.”⁴² Despite concerns about elitist and perhaps even “insulting” humour, the series attracted nearly 1.2 million viewers in

³⁸ Ibid., 59.

³⁹ *Up Canada!* first broadcast 30 October 1973 by CBC, a CBC television production, hosted by Rob Parker, directed by J. Edward Shaw, and produced by Alf Norris and George Robertson, ISN: 216043, LAC.

⁴⁰ *Up Canada!* first broadcast 20 November 1973 by CBC, a CBC television production, hosted by Rob Parker, Valri Bromfield, Patrick McFadden, Rex Murphy and John Allan Cameron, directed by J. Edward Shaw, and produced by Michael Callaghan, Alf Norris and George Robertson, ISN: 216047, LAC.

⁴¹ Teletype message, Pat Smith to Frank Stalley, Mario Cardinal, John Kerr, Knowlton Nash, and P. Kapele, 23 November 1973, vol. 813, file “TI 3-2-9-1 TV Info News Dept. – General,” (pt. 11), RG 41, LAC.

⁴² *Up Canada!* first broadcast 20 November 1973 by CBC, a CBC television production, hosted by Rob Parker, Valri Bromfield, Patrick McFadden, Rex Murphy and John Allan Cameron, directed by J. Edward Shaw, and produced by Michael Callaghan, Alf Norris and George Robertson, ISN: 216047, LAC.

November⁴³ and maintained figures above the one million mark by the end of 1974.⁴⁴ However, strong figures and Nash's defence of the program's "creative aggression"⁴⁵ were not enough to sustain the contentious show: the CBC cancelled it after its second season.⁴⁶

Though it received Nash's "enthusiastic support,"⁴⁷ the ombudsman-type project Kerr proposed in December 1972 took longer to develop into a feasible program. Kerr imagined it would derive its content from viewers' letters about "matters of personal injustice" committed by governments or "national organizations."⁴⁸ In the words of one prospective producer, it had all the ingredients for "political dynamite."⁴⁹ However, the CBC's lawyers assured Kerr that the program posed no more "difficulties" ("libel and the like") than any "controversial" Current Affairs production.⁵⁰ So they went ahead with their plans, making preparations to hire a large secretarial pool to wade through the thousands of letters they expected to receive from viewers looking to see their complaints handled by the program.⁵¹ They also sent executive producer William

⁴³ Report, "BBM – CBC," vol. 806, file "TI 3-1-6 Program Evaluation Incl. Research Dept. Audience Ratings, Jan./73 – April 30/74," (pt. 2), RG 41, LAC; memo, Joe Doyle to Knowlton Nash, "Up Canada," 26 November 1973, vol. 843, file 340 "Up Canada!," RG 41, LAC.

⁴⁴ See for example documents from vol. 843, file 340 "Up Canada!," RG 41, LAC: James M. Campbell to Knowlton Nash, 11 December 1974; D.A. Fleming to Knowlton Nash, 18 December 1974; memo, Knowlton Nash to P. Herrndorf, "UP CANADA – BBM," 23 December 1974.

⁴⁵ Knowlton Nash to James M. Campbell, 2 January 1975, vol. 843, file 340 "Up Canada!" RG 41, LAC.

⁴⁶ Barbara Byers, "A new spark in CBC-TV current affairs," *Broadcaster* 36, no. 9 (September 1977): 13.

⁴⁷ Memo, Knowlton Nash to John Kerr, "Current Affairs Projects," 14 December 1972, vol. 811, file "Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs Sept. 1972 to July '73," (pt. 4), RG 41, LAC.

⁴⁸ Memo, John Kerr to Knowlton Nash, "Ombudsman Proposal," 10 January 1973, vol. 811, file "Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs Sept. 1972 to July '73," (pt. 4), RG 41, LAC.

⁴⁹ Brian Nolan to John Kerr, 25 January 1973, vol. 811, file "Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs Sept. 1972 to July '73," (pt. 4), RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁰ Memo, John Kerr to Knowlton Nash, "Ombudsman," 2 February 1973, vol. 811, file "Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs Sept. 1972 to July '73," (pt. 4), RG 41, LAC.

⁵¹ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, "Current Affairs Programming – 1974-75," 14 February 1973, vol. 811, file "Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs Sept. 1972 to July '73," (pt. 4), RG 41, LAC. See also documents from vol. 833, file "The Ombudsman," RG 41, LAC: memo,

Harcourt⁵² to Amsterdam to meet with his Dutch counterparts working on a similar ombudsman television program, which had been on the air since November 1969.⁵³ The experience was instructive. For one thing, Harcourt realized that the amount of research required for the program would make a weekly, one-hour program impossible. Thus, Kerr proposed “a half hour single subject program to be scheduled on the alternate weeks....”⁵⁴ It would be hosted by Robert Cooper,⁵⁵ who at the age of 29 had degrees in sociology and law, was a director of *La Ligue des Droits de l’Homme* (Quebec), and a member of the National Civil Liberties Union.⁵⁶

The program debuted on Sunday, 6 January 1974 at 10:30 p.m.⁵⁷ Nash was pleased with the first episode, saying he “felt Cooper’s style which was judiciously aggressive and concerned, was precisely the right touch.”⁵⁸ Hugh Palmer (Director of Television,

Knowlton Nash to John Kerr, “Ombudsman,” 18 September 1973; memo, Jeanne Johnson to Knowlton Nash, “Ombudsman,” 22 November 1973.

⁵² Michael Maclear remembers Harcourt as “perhaps the most likeable program executive in the entire network. His style was to ensure you got what you needed while staying out until the final cut.” See, Michael Maclear, *Guerilla Nation: My Wars In and Out of Vietnam* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2013), 92.

⁵³ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “Current Affairs Programming – 1974-75,” 14 February 1973, vol. 811, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs Sept. 1972 to July ’73,” (pt. 4), RG 41, LAC; memo, William Harcourt to John Kerr, “Dutch TV Ombudsman Program,” 26 April 1973, vol. 833, file “The Ombudsman,” RG 41, LAC.

⁵⁴ Documents from vol. 833, file “The Ombudsman,” RG 41, LAC: memo, John Kerr to Knowlton Nash, “Ombudsman Schedule,” 29 October 1973; Knowlton Nash to John Kerr, “Ombudsman Schedule,” 31 October 1973; Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “Ombudsman,” 31 October 1973.

⁵⁵ Documents from vol. 833, file “The Ombudsman,” RG 41, LAC: memo, John Kerr to Knowlton Nash, “The Ombudsman,” 1 October 1973; memo, Norn Garriock to Eugene Hallman and Marce Munro, “Ombudsman,” 11 October 1973; memo, M.L. Munro to Norn Garriock, “Ombudsman,” 22 October 1973. See also documents from file “Ombudsman,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, “CBC-TV Names Ombudsman For New Network Series,” 20 November 1973; Jack Miller, “CBC-TV finds its ombudsman,” *The Toronto Star*, 20 Nov. 1973. See also, Jack Miller, “CBC ombudsman doesn’t fit image of a white knight,” *The Toronto Star*, 24 Nov. 1973, p. F3.

⁵⁶ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “Ombudsman,” 9 October 1973, vol. 833, file “The Ombudsman,” RG 41, LAC. See also, See also documents from file “Cooper, Robert,” Biography files, CBCRL: “Biography of Robert Cooper”; “Robert Cooper”; curriculum vitae; press release, “CBC-TV Names Ombudsman For New Network Series,” 20 November 1973; press release, “Biography – Robert Cooper.”

⁵⁷ Documents from vol. 833, file “The Ombudsman,” RG 41, LAC: memo, Knowlton Nash to John Kerr, “Ombudsman and Alternate Programming,” 5 November 1973; memo, Margaret Lyons to William Harcourt, “Ombudsman,” 7 January 1974.

⁵⁸ Memo, Knowlton Nash to John Kerr, “Ombudsman First Show,” 7 January 1974, vol. 833, file “The Ombudsman,” RG 41, LAC.

Vancouver) was so enamoured with Cooper's on-screen problem solving that he said "we must put him to work to solve the CBC's internal problems!"⁵⁹ Reviewer Joan Irwin shared their enthusiasm, saying she was "very impressed by every aspect of the show."⁶⁰ A rare bit of criticism came from the *Toronto Sun* reviewer, Bob Blackburn, who complained that the program, though "worthy," lacked "showmanship."⁶¹ Viewers did not seem to mind. It regularly drew over one million viewers⁶² and received an Enjoyment Index of 82 in April 1974.⁶³ More significantly, between September and October 1974, *Ombudsman* received over 1,200 letters and 436 "cases" from viewers, of which they handled roughly 40 on-air each season.⁶⁴ A staff of 15 researchers, overseen by lawyer Peter Gilchrist, handled the correspondence, searching for grievances that could be presented on television.⁶⁵ As one staff member explained, they tried to "resolve grievances" off-air "through direct mediation and moral suasion." If they were unable to do so and if the problem was of "sufficient general importance," they considered dealing with it on the show.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Memo, Hugh Palmer to C. Knowlton Nash, 21 January 1974, vol. 833, file "The Ombudsman," RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁰ Documents from vol. 833, file "The Ombudsman," RG 41, LAC: Joan Irwin, "The Ombudsman makes his mark," *The Montreal Star*, 7 Jan. 1974; memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, "Ombudsman," 14 January 1974.

⁶¹ Bob Blackburn, column, *The Toronto Sun*, 10 Jan. 1974, file "Ombudsman," Program files, CBCRL.

⁶² Knowlton Nash to Bob Blackburn, 12 March 1974, vol. 814, file "TI 3-1-10 Press Comments Nov./73 – July 3/74," (pt. 4), RG 41, LAC; memo, Knowlton Nash to John Kerr, "Ombudsman – Audience," 22 January 1974, vol. 833, file "The Ombudsman," RG 41, LAC.

⁶³ Knowlton Nash to Bob Blackburn, 12 March 1974, vol. 814, file "TI 3-1-10 Press Comments Nov./73 – July 3/74," (pt. 4), RG 41, LAC; memo, Knowlton Nash to Area Heads and Executive Producers, "Audience Flash Report – April 5-11," 15 May 1974, vol. 962, file "TI 3-1-6," (pt. 3), RG 41, LAC.

⁶⁴ Report, "Ombudsman – 2nd Season," vol. 833, file "The Ombudsman," RG 41, LAC; Sid Adilman, "Justice prevails for ombudsman," *The Toronto Star*, 1 March 1979, file "Ombudsman," Program files, CBCRL.

⁶⁵ Press release, "Ombudsman Returns to Battle Against Bureaucracy," August 1975, file "Cooper, Robert," Biography files, CBCRL.

⁶⁶ Pamela Berton to Norman W.H. Cox, 24 January 1975, vol. 833, file "The Ombudsman," RG 41, LAC.

Veterans were among those who wrote into the program with complaints about the treatment they received from government, particularly Veterans Affairs.⁶⁷ For instance, in October 1977, viewers heard the case of Sam Watson, who spent two years of the First World War as a prisoner of war. He sought an amendment to the *Prisoner of War Compensation Act* that would provide him with compensation comparable to that received by veterans of the Second World War and Korea. When Robert Cooper interviewed Minister of Veterans Affairs Daniel MacDonald in studio about the case, MacDonald said he was “hopeful” about the possibility of an amendment.⁶⁸ In a follow-up on 13 November, he hinted that he might “have an announcement around the first of the year.” Significantly, he also said that he received a lot of mail about Watson’s case. (He joked, “there [were] a few people in Canada that didn’t write to me, but most of them did.”)⁶⁹

There were also grievances from veterans’ spouses. In November 1978, *Ombudsman* presented the case of Renita Duval, whose estranged husband sold the land and home where she was living without her knowledge or consent. He had purchased the property using a loan from the federal government, provided for by the *Veterans’ Land Act*. In accordance with the Act, the government transferred ownership to Mr.

⁶⁷ For example, *Ombudsman*, first broadcast 13 November 1977 by CBC, a CBC information program, hosted by Robert Cooper, directed by Murray Hunter, and produced by Alf Norris, Allen Kates, Les Kottler, Derek Best and William Harcourt, ISN: 17184, LAC.

⁶⁸ *Ombudsman*, first broadcast 9 October 1977 by CBC, a CBC information program, hosted by Robert Cooper, directed by Murray Hunter, and produced by Allen Kates, Les Kottler, Derek Best and William Harcourt, ISN: 215047, LAC. For the correspondence of another veteran with a similar complaint, see documents from vol. 833, file “The Ombudsman,” RG 41, LAC: Norman W.H. Cox to Knowlton Nash, 12 August 1974; Knowlton Nash to Norman W.H. Cox, 16 August 1974; Knowlton Nash to Bill Harcourt, “Ombudsman Program,” 16 August 1974; William Harcourt to Knowlton Nash, “Ombudsman Program,” 20 August 1974; Norman W.H. Cox to the Honourable William Davis, 22 July 1974.

⁶⁹ *Ombudsman*, first broadcast 13 November 1977 by CBC, a CBC information program, hosted by Robert Cooper, directed by Murray Hunter, and produced by Alf Norris, Allen Kates, Les Kottler, Derek Best and William Harcourt, ISN: 17184, LAC.

Duval upon repayment of the loan. In an interview with Cooper, MacDonald said that the matter was being “studied by the Department of Justice” and “if we can better the situation, we’ll be more than glad to do it.”⁷⁰ *Ombudsman* provided an update on Duval’s case in October 1979. By that time, Cooper had left the program to pursue a career as a film producer.⁷¹ Kathleen Ruff – formerly Director of Human Rights for the government of British Columbia – took over as host.⁷² Speaking directly to the camera, Ruff expressed the staff’s regret for failing to “help” Duval. She added, “We will be contacting the new Minister of Veterans Affairs, the Honourable Allan McKinnon, to persuade him to take action so that what happened to Mrs. Duval won’t happen to any other person in Canada.”⁷³ That interview took place on 18 November. McKinnon promised that remedial legislation would be tabled in the spring, but was vague about what it might offer.⁷⁴

The question of compensation for veterans arose again in January 1980. Standing at a dockyard, Ruff began by saying, “Canada is quick to ask you to subject yourself to all sorts of hazards, to pay a price when it comes to serving the country. But see how long it takes the country to pay if you’re hurt in its service.” She was referring to the case of Chief Petty Officer (Ret) Andrew Jack, who was exposed to asbestos during his years working in the engine rooms of RCN and then civilian ships. He alleged that this

⁷⁰ *Ombudsman*, first broadcast 5 November 1978 by CBC, a CBC information program, hosted by Robert Cooper, directed by Alf Norris, and produced by Allen Kates, Les Kottler, Eva Innes and William Harcourt, ISN: 215219, LAC.

⁷¹ Martin Mehr, “Changing investment picture,” *The Financial Post*, 15 Nov. 1980, p. 12.

⁷² “Kathleen Ruff to be CBC Ombudsman,” *The Globe and Mail*, 14 Aug. 1979, file “Ombudsman,” Program Files, CBCRL.

⁷³ *Ombudsman*, first broadcast 28 October 1979 by CBC, a CBC information program, hosted by Kathleen Ruff, directed by Alf Norris, and produced by Allen Kates, Les Kottler, Eva Innes, Diana Mossman, Susan Teskey and William Harcourt, ISN: 215310, LAC.

⁷⁴ *Ombudsman*, first broadcast 18 November 1979 by CBC, a CBC information program, hosted by Kathleen Ruff, directed by Alf Norris, and produced by Allen Kates, Les Kottler, Eva Innes, Diana Mossman, Susan Teskey and William Harcourt, ISN: 215328, LAC.

exposure caused his lung disease and wanted a full medical disability pension. The Workers' Compensation Board of British Columbia refused and would not speak to *Ombudsman*.⁷⁵ Representatives of the board had participated in previous programs, to their regret. After granting an interview in 1974, Chairman T.G. Ison complained that the show used "all sorts of quotations out of context" and declared this evidence that "the ethical standards in the production were appalling."⁷⁶ As for Andrew Jack's complaints, Ruff – in studio and speaking directly to camera – explained that "he's lost over \$150,000 because of his illness. Canada, whether through the Workers' Compensation Board or the Department of Veterans Affairs, should compensate Andrew Jack. We intend to pursue his case."⁷⁷

In April, the CBC announced that it was cancelling *Ombudsman*. Among the reasons were the decision to air *The National* in primetime, the program's dwindling audience figures (down 20 percent since 1979), and the appointment of ombudsmen in provinces where there previously were none.⁷⁸ There was some audience protest, revealing the popularity, if not the social significance, of the program. In a letter to *The Globe and Mail*, two viewers questioned if anything could "replace this outstanding human-rights program."⁷⁹

The third new current affairs series that had its origins in John Kerr's 1972–3 plan of revitalization was *the fifth estate*. In his outline, he described a "Current Affairs'

⁷⁵ *Ombudsman*, first broadcast 27 January 1980 by CBC, a CBC information program, hosted by Kathleen Ruff, ISN: 215348, LAC.

⁷⁶ T.G. Ison to Robert McGall, 14 November 1974, vol. 833, file "The Ombudsman," RG 41, LAC.

⁷⁷ *Ombudsman*, first broadcast 27 January 1980 by CBC, a CBC information program, hosted by Kathleen Ruff, ISN: 215348, LAC.

⁷⁸ "CBC Moves The National To Ten O'Clock," *Broadcaster* 39, no. 4 (April 1980): 10; Mike Daigneault, "Ombudsman show not 'murdered,'" *The Toronto Star*, 26 April 1980, file "Ombudsman," Program files, CBCRL.

⁷⁹ Documents from file "Ombudsman," Program files, CBCRL: "Viewers defend Ombudsman," *The Globe and Mail*, 18 April 1980; "Ombudsman gets the axe," *The Globe and Mail*, 12 April 1980.

Magazine which will be journalistic, hard edged, analytical and fast. A one hour program and the successor to Weekend.”⁸⁰ The program began to take shape early in 1975. By that time, its objective was to produce “original,” “hard-hitting personal journalism” and “tough investigative reporting....”⁸¹ CBC-TV was making a considerable effort to strengthen its investigative journalism in the early 1970s. In June 1973, for instance, Chief News Editor Denis Harvey named Brian Stewart “national investigative reporter” and was looking to hire others.⁸² One reason for the new emphasis on investigative reporting was the acclaim received by American journalists Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of the *Washington Post* for revealing the sordid details of a failed attempt by Republicans to plant electronic surveillance devices in the Democratic National Committee’s head office during the 1972 election. The ensuing “Watergate scandal” shook and eventually helped to topple Republican President Richard Nixon’s administration.⁸³ According to Cecil Rosner, the perceived role of the press in exposing the scandal caused an “explosion of investigative journalism” in Canada, as in the United States.⁸⁴

Glenn Sarty left *Take Thirty* to become the executive producer of *the fifth estate*⁸⁵ and, by August, had assembled his team of producers, researchers and investigative

⁸⁰ Memo, John Kerr to Knowlton Nash, 12 January 1973, vol. 811, file “Information Programming TI 3-2-7 Current Affairs Sept. 1972 to July ’73,” (pt. 4), RG 41, LAC.

⁸¹ Press release, “CBC-TV Current Affairs Launches New Weekly Magazine Series,” August 1975, file “Sarty, Glenn,” Biography files, CBCRL; press release, “Peter Reilly Joins New CBC-TV Current Affairs Series,” 20 August 1975, vol. 50, file “2-3-6-1 (pt. 2),” RG 41, LAC.

⁸² L. Ian MacDonald, “Capital stuff for Brian Stewart,” *The Gazette*, 6 June 1973, vol. 50, file “2-3-6-1 (pt. 2),” RG 41, LAC; memo, Knowlton Nash to Denis Harvey, 30 October 1973, vol. 813, file “TI 3-2-9-1, TV Info News Dept – General, Jan. 4/73 – Nov. 31/73,” (pt. 11), RG 41, LAC.

⁸³ Mark Feldstein, “Media Coverage and a Federal Grand Jury: Publication of the Secret Watergate Transcripts (1973),” *American Journalism* 24, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 7-8 and 11.

⁸⁴ Cecil Rosner, *Behind the Headlines: A History of Investigative Journalism in Canada* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2008), 81.

⁸⁵ English Services Division Memorandum issued by Peter Herrndorf, 15 April 1975, file “Sarty, Glenn,” Biography files, CBCRL.

reporters.⁸⁶ Three veteran broadcasters were to be the program's "on-air journalists"⁸⁷: Warner Troyer (replaced by Eric Malling in 1976),⁸⁸ Adrienne Clarkson, and former foreign correspondent Peter Reilly. Their reports formed the basis for the program.⁸⁹ The series proved to be a huge success. In its first season, *the fifth estate* attracted nearly 2 million viewers and won two awards from the Association of Canadian Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA).⁹⁰ By March 1977, it achieved a record 2.11 million viewers and a landmark 84 Enjoyment Index.⁹¹ Reflective of its success, Sarty received a \$2.1 million budget (worth \$7.8 million in 2013), which amounted to roughly \$80,000 per episode.⁹²

the fifth estate frequently turned its attention to the military. Some of its reports pushed for change. For instance, in March 1977, Adrienne Clarkson presented a report, entitled "War Toy," about the sale of CF86 fighter aircraft by Crown Assets to private firms for research purposes and to civilians. Before their sale, the jets were supposed to be "rendered unflyable [*sic*]," but Clarkson explained, "those regulations were never enforced." Among the evidence against the sale of such aircraft was a horrific crash in Sacramento, California, that killed 22 people. Viewers saw actuality footage of the jet failing to takeoff, veering off the runway and then crashing into the side of an ice cream

⁸⁶ Documents from file "Sarty, Glenn," Biography files, CBCRL; Press release, "CBC-TV Current Affairs Launches New Weekly Magazine Series," August 1975; English Services Division Memorandum issued by Peter Herrndorf, 15 April 1975.

⁸⁷ Press release, "CBC-TV Current Affairs Launches New Weekly Magazine Series," August 1975, file "Sarty, Glenn," Biography files, CBCRL; Nash, *Prime Time at Ten*, 78.

⁸⁸ W.A. Szemberg, "The ugly truth," *Saturday Night* 109, no. 10 (December 1994): 65.

⁸⁹ Press release, "CBC-TV Current Affairs Launches New Weekly Magazine Series," August 1975, file "Sarty, Glenn," Biography files, CBCRL; press release, "Peter Reilly Joins New CBC-TV Current Affairs Series," 20 August 1975, vol. 50, file "2-3-6-1 (pt. 2)," RG 41, LAC.

⁹⁰ Press release, "The CBC-TV Current Affairs Season," 17 September 1976, file "Ombudsman," Program files, CBCRL; "CBC tops ACTRA awards," *Broadcaster* 35, no. 5 (May 1976): 126.

⁹¹ Press release, "CBC-TV's 'the fifth estate' Gets Over 2 Million Audience," 10 May 1977, file "Sarty, Glenn," Biography files, CBCRL.

⁹² Barbara Byers, "A new spark in CBC-TV current affairs," *Broadcaster* 36, no. 9 (September 1977): 12.

parlour filled with children. As first responders set about their work freeing people from the crash site, Clarkson said in voiceover that the pilot “climbed out of the cockpit with only a broken arm.” From the anchor desk in studio, she told co-host Malling that Defence Minister Barnett Danson “assured” *the fifth estate* that he would investigate the matter and “give us a report in a couple of weeks.”⁹³

Other reports pushed for change more subtly. A year after joining the program as a host-reporter,⁹⁴ Ian Parker presented a report called “Charge of the Lace Brigade,” about the military’s “five-year experimental program” to give women access to combat-support roles. Maj.-Gen. Art St-Aubin, who oversaw the attempt at integration, spoke on camera about the need to carefully think through the transition. Among other things, they needed to consider “whether we’ll be richer or poorer for ... injecting women into what is essentially a very brutal experience for men and does not ennoble men necessarily or enrich them.” As a counter argument, Parker presented the case of the Canadian Coast Guard, which had successfully integrated the sexes. He explained that “many of the old male traditions and even superstitions have fallen by the wayside.” It was a gentle criticism of the military’s apparent intransigence.⁹⁵

Some reports about the forces were light and entertaining. Among them, Clarkson’s April 1977 story about novelist Brig.-Gen. Richard Rohmer, whom she described as “possibly the most successful military author since Julius Caesar.”⁹⁶ Another example

⁹³ *the fifth estate*, episode no. 23, first broadcast 22 March 1977 by CBC, a CBC television current affairs production, hosted by Adrienne Clarkson, Eric Malling and Peter Reilly, and produced by Ron Haggart, Robin Taylor and Glenn Sarty, ISN: 6453, LAC.

⁹⁴ Ian Parker, letter to author, 22 June 2012; *Broadcaster* 37, no. 6 (June 1978): 21.

⁹⁵ *the fifth estate*, first broadcast 23 October 1979 by CBC, a CBC television current affairs production, hosted by Adrienne Clarkson, Ian Parker and Eric Malling, and produced by Ron Haggart, Brian Denike, Jerry Thompson and Glenn Sarty. ISN: 15323, LAC.

⁹⁶ *the fifth estate*, episode no. 27, first broadcast 20 April 1977 by CBC, a CBC television current affairs production, produced by Ron Haggart, Robin Taylor, and Glenn Sarty, ISN: 6457, LAC.

was Parker's "Operation Maple Flag" report from March 1980. For this feature, Parker visited Cold Lake, Alberta, where American, British and Canadian fighter pilots were engaged in an air combat training exercise. Parker remembers it as a "rather frothy feature..." that was "clearly designed as a fun item. Great and up-close visuals. I do not think that from a fifth estate perspective it was any deeper than that."⁹⁷ It was nonetheless revealing of the arms race context. For instance, over footage of pilots preparing to scramble, Parker said, "During Operation Maple Flag, the pilots are encouraged to throw away the rule book, improvise and experiment. It is hoped that this will give them an edge against Soviet fighters who are allowed far less independence."⁹⁸

However, *the fifth estate*'s reputation was primarily based on its hard-hitting journalism. It received several international Emmy Awards in the 1970s and 1980s.⁹⁹ At a convention held by the Centre for Investigative Journalism in Montreal in 1980, author Wade Rowland cited the program when describing the ideal in television investigative journalism. He said, "Unfortunately there's very little first-rate talent outside of the *fifth estate*."¹⁰⁰ One explanation for the program's success was the support it had from management. Brian McKenna, one of *the fifth estate*'s founding producers,¹⁰¹ explained that "all the CBC staff are right behind us, right to the top and all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary. You need to have that sort of tremendous support because many people could sue us. The CBC can afford to take those

⁹⁷ Ian Parker, letter to author, 22 June 2012.

⁹⁸ *the fifth estate*, first broadcast 4 March 1980 by CBC, a CBC television current affairs production, hosted by Eric Malling, Adrienne Clarkson and Ian Parker, and produced by Ron Haggart, Brian Denike and Glenn Sarty, ISN: 15343, LAC.

⁹⁹ *Broadcaster* 37, no. 12 (December 1978): 12; "CBC takes two Emmy awards," *Broadcaster* 40, no. 2 (February 1981): 38.

¹⁰⁰ Quoted in Don Sedgwick, "The importance of Investigative journalism," *Broadcaster* 39, no. 6 (June 1980): 35.

¹⁰¹ Brian McKenna, e-mail to author, 1 February 2012.

chances.”¹⁰² However, there were some at the CBC who were weary of investigative journalism, including radio producer Marc Starowicz.¹⁰³ He insisted that reporters needed to think carefully “about *why* someone is talking to us. Otherwise we’re being used as surrogate prosecutors [emphasis in original].”¹⁰⁴

Such investigations also created new challenges for the military. Philip Anido, who served as a Canadian Forces Public Affairs Officer for more than thirty years before his retirement, explained that the forces saw television as a means “to provide accurate information about the CF [Canadian Forces] role to our audiences about an issue or event, and ... to present professional, capable, well-trained and dedicated spokespeople, be they a commanding general or a Sergeant SAR [Search and Rescue] technician.” He also insisted that “[o]penness is a fundamental principle of military Public Affairs.” When asked if the military’s objectives were ever in conflict with those of CBC-TV, Anido replied,

When dealing with the daily news broadcasts, I would say no, with the proviso that the timing of the release of accurate information may not match the journalist’s deadlines. The communications principle in this case is to maintain control of the timing of a news story, for example, not releasing names of victims until next of kin have been notified, or, passing response to the correct source, say Public Safety or the RCMP, for response. Specifics – I have handled several Search and Rescue (SAR) stories where there has been a fatal crash. The journalist wants to know as much as possible: for the next news broadcast – names of the victims, reasons for the crash, known or speculative, how long did it take for SAR to arrive, how much did the operation cost etc. I handled the crash of a CF SAR helicopter over the Gaspé when all lives were lost. [The] CBC followed the story from the outset and was always anxious to obtain more information than was available for their timing. Notably it took many months before we were confident we could comment on the cause of the crash.

For investigative programs such as CBC 5th Estate [*sic*] I would say yes. Such programs generate stories that are by their nature ‘challenging and controversial.’

¹⁰² Quoted in Don Sedgwick, “The importance of Investigative journalism,” 36.

¹⁰³ He is perhaps best known as the executive producer of *Canada: A People’s History*. See, Mark Starowicz, *Making History: The Remarkable Story Behind Canada: A People’s History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2003).

¹⁰⁴ Quoted in Don Sedgwick, “The importance of Investigative journalism,” 36.

The same SAR story above became the target for the 5th Estate. The on-camera interview with the CF Director of Flight Safety, quickly went beyond the agreed story of the crash and targeted the safety and capability of the aging Labrador helicopter, which was not in the purview of the spokesperson to respond.¹⁰⁵

The sense that *the fifth estate* was at odds with the military came through clearly in content, but did not necessarily impact the behind-the-scenes relationship with the forces. For instance, Brian McKenna began work early in 1981 on a feature that promised an “in depth look at the situation in Cyprus, focusing on the continuing role of the Canadian Armed Forces as well as the political situation on the island as seen by the two sides.” He contacted the military to make arrangements for a trip to Cyprus, asking if the team might “hitch a ride” with the air force.¹⁰⁶ The report on the “Sunshine Soldiers,” which aired on 3 November, was critical of the ongoing role of Canadian peacekeepers. Viewers saw the Canadian barracks, briefings, patrols, and a military ceremony in which the Canadians received medals. Malling’s narration of that ceremony best conveyed the tone of the report. He said, “Medals for just being in Cyprus will be handed out like Cracker Jack prizes. It’s part of the appeal of duty in Cyprus: they get to behave like real soldiers without having to fight a real war.” The men were portrayed as tourists, not soldiers. Malling’s interview with Sgt.-Maj. Al Stephens of the Canadian Airborne Regiment seemed to confirm this impression. Malling said that “you can’t ask people to join the army and see only Petawawa and Cold Lake!” Stephens replied emphatically, “You oughta believe it!”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Philip Anido, e-mail to author, 1 December 2011.

¹⁰⁶ Teletype message, Brian McKenna to Colonel J.G. Boulet, 1 May 1981, vol. HA 1348, file “fifth estate, Sunshine Soldiers ‘Cyprus Peacekeepers,’” P112, Concordia.

¹⁰⁷ *the fifth estate*, first broadcast 3 November 1981 by CBC, a CBC television current affairs production, hosted by Adrienne Clarkson, Eric Malling and Bob McKeown, and produced by Robin Taylor, Ron Haggart, Robert Fripp, Brian McKenna and Murray Hunter, ISN: 24474, LAC.

Hana Gartner was more scathing in her report on “what happens to homosexuals” in the military, which aired in January 1983. From the anchor desk, she explained that the report, entitled “Out of Step,” found that neither the *Human Rights Act* nor the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* “protect military personnel against discrimination based on sexual orientation. So homosexuals are spied on, harassed, and then kicked out.” The report featured interviews with individuals who were dismissed from the forces because of discrimination they characterized as a “witch hunt.” When asked by Gartner what homosexuals in the forces who had “not been found out”¹⁰⁸ ought to do, Rohmer (who had been the Chief of Reserves before he retired in 1981)¹⁰⁹ insisted that they should just “forget it. They don’t want you.” Gartner explained that they had reached out to National Defence for comment, but “it isn’t something they want to discuss.”¹¹⁰

Another way the Current Affairs Area revitalized its programming was through the increased use of drama.¹¹¹ This created much friction within the CBC, as Director of Entertainment Programs Thom Benson protested any such uses of entertainment on information programs. In 1971, for instance, he complained when folk music was heard on *This Land* and part of a play was seen on *Man Alive*.¹¹² Nash responded by advising Area Heads to “be very careful about this and while there can be exceptions, they have

¹⁰⁸ *the fifth estate*, first broadcast 11 January 1983 by CBC, a CBC television current affairs production, hosted by Eric Mallng, Bob McKeown and Hana Gartner, and produced by Robin Taylor, Ron Haggart, Robert Fripp and Murray Hunter, ISN: 32739, LAC.

¹⁰⁹ Bercuson and Granatstein, “Rohmer, Richard,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Military History*, 181.

¹¹⁰ *the fifth estate*, first broadcast 11 January 1983 by CBC, a CBC television current affairs production, hosted by Eric Mallng, Bob McKeown and Hana Gartner, and produced by Robin Taylor, Ron Haggart, Robert Fripp and Murray Hunter, ISN: 32739, LAC.

¹¹¹ For more on the docudrama form on CBC-TV, see Miller, *Turn Up the Contrast*, 256-60.

¹¹² Memo, Thom Benson to Norn Garriock and Knowlton Nash, “Information vs. Entertainment,” 13 January 1971, vol. 805, file “Information Programming TI 3-1-1 Programming – General, Nov. 1/70 – to Jan. 3,” (pt. 9), RG 41, LAC.

to be quite rare.” He was not only worried about internal friction. He was also concerned that the relaxation of the boundaries between entertainment and information might result in similar encroachments into his domain.¹¹³ He complained when the Entertainment Area produced histories of the Second World War and informative programs, like *Front Page Challenge*. “I would have thought...,” he wrote in 1973, “there was need for more drama and more variety and more comedy and more music.”¹¹⁴ Added to this was Kerr’s fear that “the use of an Information Program budget and time for an Entertainment program can deprive the Corporation of the needed opportunity to carry out the Information and Enlightenment portion of its mandate.”¹¹⁵ Regardless of such concerns, information programs made frequent use of the “drama-documentary” form in the early 1970s. *The National Dream*, based on Pierre Berton’s history of the Canadian Pacific Railway, was one of the most successful examples.¹¹⁶ Though not a formal collaboration, it drew on the talents of Eric Till from the Drama Area, who directed the dramatizations used in the series.¹¹⁷ The eight-part series was a huge success, attracting an “unprecedented” 3.5 million viewers at its peak.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Murray Creed, Bob Patchell, Dan McCarthy, Eric Koch, Peter Trueman and Rev. B. Freeland, 14 January 1971, vol. 805, file “Information Programming TI 3-1-1 Programming – General, Nov. 1/70 – to Jan. 3,” (pt. 9), RG 41, LAC.

¹¹⁴ Memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock, “Change – Network Information Period to Local Information Period,” 5 February 1973, vol. 810, file “TI 3-2-6 Information Programs, Entertainment Pgms., Feb./73-June 30/74,” (pt. 2), RG 41, LAC.

¹¹⁵ Memo, John Kerr to Dan McCarthy, “Information and Entertainment Programs,” 12 February 1971, vol. 805, file “Information Programming TI 3-1-1 General,” (Nov. 10/70 to April 1971), RG 41, LAC. According to Section 3 (g) (i) of the *Broadcasting Act*, the CBC had to “be a balanced service of information, enlightenment and entertainment for people of different ages, interests and tastes covering the whole of programming in fair proportion...” See, report, secretariat, “The Mandate: Comments on CBC Interpretation,” 28 October 1975, vol. 980, file “22/CBC Mandate,” RG 41, LAC.

¹¹⁶ Nash, *Prime Time at Ten*, 65.

¹¹⁷ Miller, *Rewind and Search*, 31, 551-51.

¹¹⁸ Report, “TV Information Programs Summary 1973/74 – 1974/75,” 6 September 1974, vol. 805, file “TI 3-1-1 Programming – General,” (pt. 10), RG 41, LAC.

Not surprisingly, the use of the docudrama form drew protests. In August 1973, Harry Hackney (Assistant Director of TV Entertainment Programs, ESD) was incensed when he heard about the Current Affairs docudrama *Coup D'Etat*. He wrote, "I object – strenuously! Thom Benson, along with two other senior officials, has been killing himself with the drama reorganization. A reorganization designed at considerable cost to improve our drama image across the country. This can only be done by concentrating our talent in one department."¹¹⁹ To ease tensions, formal collaboration was necessary. When Nash and John Hirsch (Head of Drama, TV) started discussing the possibilities of a docudrama about "contemporary issues," they decided that the project should be funded "on a 50–50 basis by Information and Entertainment" and produced by a "separate project group" made up of personnel from both, but responsible to Drama.¹²⁰ While Benson did not oppose the project, neither was he particularly keen. He insisted that "the Drama area is so under-manned" that collaboration on these terms was simply impossible in the 1974–5 season.¹²¹ Nash replied that "we will of course have to proceed on our own."¹²²

The result was a \$250,000¹²³ docudrama, entitled *The October Crisis*, which aired in 1975. According to Peter Herrndorf, the crisis in 1970 was "such an important event

¹¹⁹ Memo, Harry Hackney to Norn Garriock, "Coup D'Etat," 31 August 1973, vol. 810, file "TI 3-2-6 Information Programs, Entertainment Pgms. Feb./73-June 30/74," (pt. 2), RG 41, LAC.

¹²⁰ Documents from vol. 810, "TI 3-2-6 Information Programs, Entertainment Pgms. Feb./73-June 30/74," (pt. 2), RG 41, LAC: aide memoir, "Drama – Public Affairs Project Possibilities," 27 March 1974; memo, Knowlton Nash to Norn Garriock and Thom Benson, "Drama-Public Affairs Project Possibilities," 5 April 1974.

¹²¹ Memo, Thom Benson to Knowlton Nash, "Drama – Current Affairs," 22 April 1974, vol. 810, "TI 3-2-6 Information Programs, Entertainment Pgms. Feb./73-June 30/74," (pt. 2), RG 41, LAC.

¹²² Memo, Knowlton Nash to Thom Benson, "Current Affairs – Drama," 23 April 1974, vol. 810, "TI 3-2-6 Information Programs, Entertainment Pgms. Feb./73-June 30/74," (pt. 2), RG 41, LAC.

¹²³ That figure would be roughly \$1.09 million in 2013. See, Joan Irwin, "CBC's The October Crisis," *The Gazette*, 25 October 1975, vol. 237, file 11-28, RG 41, LAC; Bank of Canada, "Inflation Calculator," *Bank of Canada*, <http://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/> (accessed 7 April 2013).

in Canadian history that we decided we should try to sort out what took place and why.”¹²⁴ While the credits listed the program as a “CBC News & Public Affairs Production,” several people from the Drama Area were also intimately involved. According to Jack Miller of *The Toronto Star*, this was “the first time the three sections of the network have joined forces for one production.”¹²⁵ The producer, director and writer for the documentary segments, Mark Blandford, was then executive producer of CBMT’s documentary unit. Alvin Rakoff, who directed the dramatic sequences written by dramatist Tony Sheer, had previously directed a *Performance* special and worked on BBC and ITV dramas. Ron Haggart, senior producer of *the fifth estate*, and National Investigative Reporter Brian Stewart were on the eight-person research team. The host-interviewer was CBC-TV’s London correspondent David Halton.¹²⁶ Because of this collaboration, the program borrowed from the traditions of news, documentary and drama. The two-and-a-half hour special contained dramatic sequences, interviews with such persons as James Cross and Robert Bourassa, stock footage and narration by Halton, and was divided into four acts with an intermission.¹²⁷ For Blandford, this marriage of techniques and personnel was necessary because of the nature of the crisis they were attempting to depict. He explained, “During the October Crisis, we were involved in a propaganda war waged electronically on the battlegrounds of radio and

¹²⁴ Documents from vol. 237, file 11-28, RG 41, LAC: quoted in Joan Irwin, “CBC plans evening on 1970 FLQ crisis,” *Montreal Star*, 21 April 1975; echoed by Blaik Kirby, “CBC starts FLQ crisis study – 5 years later,” *The Globe and Mail*, 21 April 1975.

¹²⁵ Jack Miller, “CBC joins forces for dramatic look at October crisis,” *The Toronto Star*, 21 April 1975, vol. 237, file 11-28, RG 41, LAC.

¹²⁶ Press release, “The October Crisis: A CBC-TV Documentary-Drama Special, Sunday, October 26, 8:30 – 11 p.m.,” 10 October 1975, file “Productions – OC – OD,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹²⁷ *The October Crisis*, first broadcast 26 October 1975 by CBC, a CBC news and public affairs production, produced and directed by Mark Blandford, ISN: 291870, LAC.

television. In making this documentary, we have used every machinery available in television and every device television has to offer to examine the events.”¹²⁸

Its content was also noteworthy: the special presented views on the role the military played during the FLQ crisis that were new to CBC-TV. In a dramatic sequence from Act Two, an actor assumed the character of a radio chat-show host talking to callers about the presence of troops on the streets. Among the callers was an anglophone Montrealer, played by an actor on a dramatic, if minimal, set (just an armchair, a side table and telephone, shot using limbo staging¹²⁹). He told the host, “I for one do not want a bunch of bloody terrorists swarming around my house! That’s why I’m 100 percent in favour of bringing in the army to clean up the mess.” News footage of troops patrolling city streets, weapons in hand, then played, accompanied by the sound of an ominous, steady drumbeat. The next caller was a francophone construction worker, also shot in limbo, with only a few blueprints as set dressing. He said, “every time Ottawa thinks the ‘frogs’ are acting up, they send the fucking troops in!” He continued,

You wanna know about the army? ... I can tell you about real war! Dieppe. You remember Dieppe? They gave the orders in English, but the cannon fodder they sent in was us! So you tell your guy from Westmount: I live in the east end and maybe I once thought the FLQ was out of line, but now the army’s come again, so the FLQ can count on me, that’s for goddamn sure!¹³⁰

The reviews were mixed. A few were positive, like Frank Penn’s comments in the *Ottawa Citizen* that “whatever sins the CBC may be held to account for in its handling

¹²⁸ Press release, “The October Crisis: A CBC-TV Documentary-Drama Special, Sunday, October 26, 8:30 – 11 p.m.,” 15 October 1975, file “Productions – OC – OD,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹²⁹ The term “limbo staging” described “a certain set of conditions in television staging, where means are employed to obtain a jet black background, devoid of character or detail, which leaves full emphasis on the centre of interest.” See, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Engineering and Operations, *Television Studio Practices Manual* (Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1962), section 9.9.6, “Limbo” (p. 20), vol. 86, file 3-12-1 (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

¹³⁰ *The October Crisis*, first broadcast 26 October 1975 by CBC, a CBC news and public affairs production, produced and directed by Mark Blandford, ISN: 291870, LAC.

of the FLQ's short reign of terrorism, *The October Crisis* goes a long way towards setting the records straight."¹³¹ Others were more lukewarm, like *The Globe and Mail's* reviewer, who said it was "far from shoddy, usually absorbing and occasionally very shrewd."¹³²

The revitalization of Current Affairs not only resulted in new program forms, but also affected the content of military commemorations. The work of Peter Reilly is a good example. Reilly began his career as a "rewrite man" at a subsidiary of the Canadian Press when he was only 19 years old.¹³³ Within a year, he made the move to the CBC, where he worked on radio and then television news. He left after four years to become an organizer for the American Newspaper Guild, only to return not long thereafter, first as the CBC's Ontario Legislature reporter and by 1964 as its UN Correspondent.¹³⁴ By 1966, he was gone again, this time to be the executive producer of news and public affairs at CTV and host of *W5*. He soon quit, citing "interference" from the management. He had an equally short stay on CBC-TV's *Sunday*, which he criticized for failing to meet its potential. "It could be the best TV in the world," he insisted.¹³⁵ He went on to be a news anchor for CJOH (Ottawa) and then a Progressive Conservative

¹³¹ Frank Penn, "October memories," *The Ottawa Citizen*, 27 Oct. 1975, vol. 237, file 11-28, RG 41, LAC. For another positive review, see Joan Irwin, "CBC October Crisis brilliant," *The Gazette*, 27 Oct. 1975, vol. 237, file 11-28, RG 41, LAC.

¹³² William MacVicar, "October Crisis study an honourable disappointment," *The Globe and Mail*, 27 Oct. 1975, file "Productions – OC – OD," Program files, CBCRL. For another example, see Clarence Metcalfe, "A few wet fuses in 'October Crisis,'" *The Ottawa Journal*, 27 Oct. 1975, vol. 237, file 11-28, RG 41, LAC; Richard Gwyn, "A reason for pride in the October crisis," *The Toronto Star*, 28 Oct. 1975, file "Productions – OC – OD," Program files, CBCRL.

¹³³ Press release, "Peter Reilly Joins New CBC-TV Current Affairs Series," 20 August 1975, vol. 50, file "2-3-6-1 (pt. 2)," RG 41, LAC.

¹³⁴ "Peter Reilly New UN Correspondent," *CBC Times* 17, no. 9 (29 August – 4 September 1964): 8-xvi.

¹³⁵ Bruce Lawson, "Reilly quits CBC TV's Sunday," *The Globe and Mail*, 30 Jan. 1967, vol. 50, file 2-3-6-4 (pt. 1), RG 41, LAC.

MP. He joined *the fifth estate* soon after leaving politics. “I think it was part of that lack of subtly, part of that face the issue right up front, that made him unique,” Bill Cunningham remembered.¹³⁶ In Nash’s view, Reilly’s character could best be defined as a unique combination of “Irish charm” and a “talent for puncturing stuffed shirts with his honest, polished journalistic craftsmanship.”¹³⁷

Peter Reilly’s unique style of journalism shaped *the fifth estate*’s presentation of Remembrance Day in 1976. On 9 November, Reilly presented a report, entitled “no hangovers, no regrets,” about an Aboriginal veteran named Thomas Prince. Seated at the anchor desk in studio, Reilly introduced the piece by saying that the world wars had lost some of their earlier relevance for Canadians who no longer thought of veterans as “heroes” and for youth who “sneer at them and ... wear their badges and their medals and even the hated symbols of their one-time enemies as pop jewellery.” The report was a response to that apathy. Reilly travelled to Thunder Bay to visit Prince, whose wartime service earned him the Military Medal, the Silver Star, the Bronze Star, and two presidential citations. Prince remembered his time in the army with fondness, saying the military “treated me wonderful – right from the start....” In the years since the war, however, he struggled with alcoholism. By the time Reilly met up with him, he was working as a day labourer and living at a Salvation Army shelter. Reilly’s closing comments captured the essence of the report. Over footage of Prince smoking on his balcony, Reilly said

Not only did he survive, he travelled around the world, became a hero to people of three nations, he won some of the highest honours that men award to other men –

¹³⁶ *the fifth estate*, episode no. 23, first broadcast 22 March 1977 by CBC, a CBC television current affairs production, hosted by Adrienne Clarkson, Eric Mallory and Peter Reilly, and produced by Ron Haggart, Robin Taylor and Glenn Sarty, ISN: 6453, LAC.

¹³⁷ Nash, *Prime Time at Ten*, 281.

he even got to meet the King. And if his strivings today are somewhat more prosaic – paying the rent, keeping The Man off his back, finding the action, going out to work every day on worn-out legs – they are surely nonetheless heroic for somebody who’s lived so hard. In fact, you could say of Tommy Prince’s lifestyle, that it’s the perfect expression of his personal philosophy: “no hangovers, no regrets.”¹³⁸

Peter Reilly died a few months after this report aired. In a tribute on *the fifth estate*, Eric Malling said the report about Prince “was pure Reilly.”¹³⁹

The unique journalistic styles practiced on the new current affairs programs were not the only change to the content of military histories and commemorations. Over the period from 1975 to 1984, there were also several new themes, topics and approaches. Among them was a new emphasis on the idea that the Second World War was a “good war.” When interviewed on *Take Thirty* in 1975 about his history of the war, Barry Broadfoot said that “Canada had a good war” and that most veterans would say, “I wouldn’t want to do it again, but I wouldn’t have missed it for the world.”¹⁴⁰ That view was echoed on CBC-TV’s *Performance*, which used Broadfoot’s book of first-person accounts, *Six War Years*, as the basis for a play in November. It concluded with the ghostly spectre of an actor playing a veteran superimposed over footage of a set made to look like a military cemetery. As pipers played, the actor said,

It browns me off that our kids don’t know what went on and they don’t realize that they’re living today like they do because of what you and I and my sister and my old man and my mother and yours did in the war. It was a good war. If going out and killing millions of krauts to get Hitler off his damn pedestal is a high moral

¹³⁸ *the fifth estate*, first broadcast 9 November 1976 by CBC, a CBC television current affairs production, hosted by Adrienne Clarkson, Eric Malling and Peter Reilly, and produced by Ron Haggart, Robin Taylor, John Zaritsky, and Glenn Sarty, ISN: 25840, LAC.

¹³⁹ *the fifth estate*, episode no. 23, first broadcast 22 March 1977 by CBC, a CBC television current affairs production, hosted by Adrienne Clarkson, Eric Malling and Peter Reilly, and produced by Ron Haggart, Robin Taylor and Glenn Sarty, ISN: 6453, LAC.

¹⁴⁰ *Take Thirty*, first broadcast 23 April 1975, a CBC information program, hosted by Paul Soles and Ed Reid, directed by Lester Machan, and produced by Lester Machan and Glenn Sarty, ISN: 196665, LAC.

purpose, then I'm all for it. But it was a good war for Canada too, because it made us a great nation – a big and strong and great nation. If you take the terror and the horror and the death and destruction out of it, it was a good war. It was a party. I've never had so much fun again in my life. I mean it. Ask anybody. It was a good war.¹⁴¹

Similar pride in military achievement and fondness for the war years was expressed on several other productions during these years, which ranged from documentaries about Canadian Admirals, a play about the Dumbells, and the presentation of the Queen's colour to Maritime Command by the Queen Mother in 1979.¹⁴²

Such productions were part of the CBC's efforts to use television as a means of encouraging greater understanding of the past. In a remarkable letter from June 1979, CBC President A.W. Johnson explained his view that "the CBC has an extremely important role to play in stimulating Canadians to become more interested in their own history." He went on to outline the "three main approaches to a historical story," as he understood them. The first were documentaries, which in his view, were "often perceived as dull fare by the audience, and do not command wide viewing attention."¹⁴³ There were many examples in the late 1970s and early 1980s, like *Normandy Dream* about one veteran's experience of D-Day,¹⁴⁴ *The Last Corvette* (1980) about the Battle

¹⁴¹ *Performance*, episode titled, "Six War Years: Memories of Canadians at Home and Abroad 1939-1945," first broadcast 30 November 1975 by CBC, a CBC television production, directed by Allan King, dramatized by Norman Klenman, and produced by Robert Sherrin and Robert Allen, ISN: 107620, LAC.

¹⁴² *20/20*, episode titled, "On Hundred Years of Admirals," first broadcast 17 June 1976 by CBC, a CBC television features presentation, narrated by Gerry Birt, written by Doug Fraser, and produced by John McKay, ISN: 104410, LAC; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *The Dumbells*, script written by George Salverson and produced by Robert Allen for the series *Performance*, April-May 1976; *International Gathering of the Clans Military Tattoo*, first broadcast 30 June 1979 by CBC, a CBC Halifax production, narrated by Don Tremaine, and produced and directed by Cy True, ISN: 28174, LAC; *Presentation of the Queen's Colours to Maritime Command by Queen Mother*, first broadcast 28 June 1979 by CBC, a CBC Halifax production, ISN: 24638, LAC.

¹⁴³ A.W. Johnson to Marcel Lambert, 26 June 1979, vol. 40, file 40/5, "CBC, 1977-1979," MG 32 B27, LAC.

¹⁴⁴ Press release, "Normandy Dream – A Canadian Veteran Looks Back," 31 October 1979, file "Productions – NOC-NORS," Program files, CBCRL.

of the Atlantic,¹⁴⁵ and *Spitfire Pilot* (1981), in which veteran Jerry Billing recounted “what it was like to be a pilot in the midst of war.”¹⁴⁶ (Of Billing, one reviewer wrote that the “[l]iving, breathing, Canadian hero even looks the part.”¹⁴⁷) None were particularly innovative in subject or approach.

That changed in the 1980s. Reflecting the strength of feminism, as well as growing academic interest in social history and women’s history, there was new attention paid to the role of women during the Second World War on documentaries.¹⁴⁸ *Liberation!*, released to mark 35 years since the Netherlands was freed from Nazi occupation, focused on Dutch and Belgian war brides.¹⁴⁹ On *Women At War* (1982), female Second World War veterans recounted their experiences in an effort to explain “just how much was contributed by women to peace and freedom.”¹⁵⁰ Reviewer Jeremy Ferguson of the *Star Weekly* was not particularly keen on the production, insisting that it was “worthy if only because it hasn’t been done before.”¹⁵¹ Some of the efforts to record women’s

¹⁴⁵ *The Last Corvette*, first broadcast 6 July 1980 by CBC, co-produced by NFB Atlantic and CBC Halifax, narrated by Bill Fulton, directed and written by Cy True, and produced by Rex Tasker, ISN: 54634, LAC.

¹⁴⁶ Documents from file “Spitfire,” Program files, CBCRL: Program notes, “Spitfire Pilot, 7 June 1981 – 10:30 pm”; “Spitfire Pilot to Air Sunday, June 7/81 on CBC-TV.” See also, *Spitfire Pilot*, first broadcast 7 June 1981 by CBC, produced by Artistic Productions Limited in association with CBC, narrated and written by Bruce West, and directed by Bill Dunn and Tom Taylor, ISN: 55757, LAC.

¹⁴⁷ Vicky Sanderson, “Living, breathing, Canadian hero even looks the part,” *The Globe and Mail* (6 June 1981): n.p., file “Productions – SPI-SPOO,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁴⁸ See, Diana Pedersen, *Changing Women, Changing History: A Bibliography of the History of Women in Canada*, 2nd edition (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1996), 151-56; Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900*, 2nd edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 312. Among the most significant works to emerge from this period was, Ruth Roach Pierson, *“They’re Still Women After All”: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986).

¹⁴⁹ Documents from file “Productions – LF-LIE,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, ““Liberation!” ... The war was over and all we did was kiss and dance, it was a wonderful feeling,” 16 April 1980; Rick Groen, “Survivors’ stories blurred by TV’s formula treatment,” *The Globe and Mail*, 3 May 1980.

¹⁵⁰ Press release, “Women At War, Current Affairs Special,” August 1982, file “Women At War,” Program files, CBCRL; *Women At War*, first broadcast 28 November 1982 by CBC, a CBC television production, narrated by Pat Patterson, and written, directed and produced by George Robertson, ISN: 56480, LAC.

¹⁵¹ Jeremy Ferguson, “Oh, what a lovely war for womenfolk!” *Star Weekly*, 6-13 Nov. 1982, p. 8.

experiences of war, on documentaries and in current affairs reports, depicted servicemen poorly. Consider, for instance, Hana Gartner's 1984 report for *the fifth estate* about illegitimate Dutch children fathered by Canadian soldiers. From the anchor desk, she spoke directly to the camera as she said,

The Canadian role in that liberation was so great that today, Canada has a special place in the hearts of the Dutch. But for one group of Dutch men and women, Canada conjures up a different image, of abandonment, even betrayal. That group is the thousands of children fathered by Canadian servicemen and born out of wedlock. They are the children of the liberation and now, grown up, many are driven by an obsession: to trace and be acknowledged by their Canadian fathers.¹⁵²

The second way television could present history, according to A.W. Johnson, was through the "re-creation" of events. He cited the example of the CBC Film production, *Dieppe 1942*, which made use of wartime footage, photographs, paintings of the raid, and interviews with veterans.¹⁵³ Brereton Greenhous,¹⁵⁴ Senior Historian with the Directorate of History at DND, acted as the "special advisor" on the program.¹⁵⁵ Producer/director Terence Macartney-Filgate told *The Toronto Star* that he struggled to get support for the project, saying the CBC was "not very keen about the idea – especially Dieppe," since it was the story of defeat. But produce it they did, at a cost of over \$200,000 (more than \$624,000 in 2013) during a period of austerity at the CBC.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² *the fifth estate*, first broadcast in 1984 by CBC, a CBC television current affairs production, hosted by Hana Gartner, Bob McKeown, and Eric Malling, ISN: 20544, LAC.

¹⁵³ Documents from vol. 40, file 40/5, "CBC, 1977-1979," MG 32 B27, LAC: A.W. Johnson to Marcel Lambert, 26 June 1979; memo, Terence Macartney-Filgate to veterans interviewed, "CBC Special – Dieppe 1942," 20 December 1978. See also, press release, "Painter of Action Scenes for 'Dieppe' Film – Young Artist Discovered Through Coincidence," 11 October 1979, file "Productions – Dieppe," Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁵⁴ In 1977, he co-published *Out of the Shadows* with W.A.B. Douglas. According to Cook, it was "the most important Second World War contribution of the 1970s...." See, Cook, *Clio's Warriors*, 219.

¹⁵⁵ *Dieppe 1942*, episode no. 1, first broadcast November 1979 by CBC, a CBC film production, written by William Whitehead and Timothy Findley, and produced and directed by Terence Macartney-Filgate, ISN: 63257, LAC.

¹⁵⁶ Roy Shields, "That bloodiest of beaches," *Star Weekly*, 10 Nov. 1979, p. 12.

Canadian veterans, along with others from Britain, the United States, Poland, and Germany were at the centre of the project.¹⁵⁷ It was, in part, an effort to record another oral history of the raid before the veterans passed away.¹⁵⁸ Unexpectedly, it also became a means for the veterans to reconnect with former comrades and to meet former foes. To that end, Macartney-Filgate compiled and distributed a list with the names of addresses of all the participants.¹⁵⁹ CBC Press Relations stressed the efforts made by some Canadians to befriend German veterans, men whom they met for the first time during the filming of *Dieppe 1942*. News releases explained that men like Ed Bennett (a veteran of No. 10 Troop, Calgary Tank Regiment) now “correspond regularly” with their former enemies.¹⁶⁰

The two-part program aired on 11 and 12 November 1979.¹⁶¹ In the simplest terms, *Dieppe 1942* was about the “[m]en who gave their very best and who deserve to be our heroes. Men who survived the battle and who learned to hate war.”¹⁶² It made a respectable showing, drawing nearly two million viewers and receiving an Enjoyment Index in the low 70s.¹⁶³ More significant than these figures were the reactions of veterans and politicians. Quebec M.P. Marcel Lambert, himself a veteran of Dieppe,

¹⁵⁷ *Dieppe 1942*, episode no. 1, first broadcast November 1979 by CBC, a CBC film production, written by William Whitehead and Timothy Findley, and produced and directed by Terence Macartney-Filgate, ISN: 63257, LAC.

¹⁵⁸ Roy Shields, “That bloodiest of beaches,” *Star Weekly*, 10 Nov. 1979, p. 12.

¹⁵⁹ Memo, Terence Macartney-Filgate to veterans interviewed, “CBC Special – Dieppe 1942,” 20 December 1978, vol. 40, file 40/5, “CBC, 1977-1979,” MG 32 B27, LAC.

¹⁶⁰ Press release, “Dieppe Revisited: veteran Ed Bennett relives war experience for CBC-TV film,” 2 November 1979, file “Productions – Dieppe,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁶¹ Brochure, “Dieppe 1942,” vol. 40, file 40/5, “CBC, 1977-1979,” MG 32 B27, LAC;

¹⁶² Ibid. See also, William Whitehead, *Dieppe 1942*, edited by Terence Macartney-Filgate (Toronto: Personal Library, 1979), 188.

¹⁶³ Press release, “Part 2 of ‘Dieppe 1942’ Maintains Audience Appeal of First Episode,” 7 December 1979, file “Productions – Dieppe,” Program files, CBCRL.

was among those interviewed for the film.¹⁶⁴ After attending an advance screening of the program at a branch of the Royal Canadian Legion in Edmonton, he praised the film, telling Macartney-Filgate that it “carries with it a very powerful message.”¹⁶⁵ The House of Commons also responded with unusual praise, passing a motion requesting that the CBC rebroadcast the program, which it did on 16 December in the mid-afternoon and then again in 1982, to mark 40 years since the raid took place.¹⁶⁶

The third means of representing history on television, according to Johnson, was through drama. For him, drama was

the form which is by far the most effective in interesting Canadians in their own history and their own folk figures. Moreover, [it] is the only possible approach where the historical records are incomplete or in conflict. In cases where the issues are complex or numerous, or where events are drawn out over prolonged periods of time or involve large numbers of principals, dramas can be much more effective in presenting the core issues and perspectives than attempts to string together incidents drawn directly from whatever records may be available.¹⁶⁷

The form did present some concerns, however. Principal among them, Johnson insisted, was ensuring “historical accuracy within the limits of the dramatic form – a form which demands a certain dramatic licence.”¹⁶⁸ Indeed, drama – particularly works of fiction – presented not only a means to challenge or confirm received interpretations of military history, but also an opportunity to re-imagine it in a way not possible on fact-based documentaries or docudramas.

¹⁶⁴ Terence Macartney-Filgate to Marcel Lambert, 24 October 1979, vol. 40, file 40/5, “CBC, 1977-1979,” MG 32 B27, LAC.

¹⁶⁵ Marcel Lambert to Terence Macartney-Filgate, 9 November 1979, vol. 40, file 40/5, “CBC, 1977-1979,” MG 32 B27, LAC.

¹⁶⁶ Documents from file “Productions – Dieppe,” Program files, CBCRL: advertisement, “Dieppe 1942,” *The Globe and Mail*, 15 Dec. 1979; press release, “CBC-TV marks 40th anniversary of Dieppe raid with repeat of Dieppe 1942,” 20 July 1982.

¹⁶⁷ A.W. Johnson to Marcel Lambert, 26 June 1979, vol. 40, file 40/5, “CBC, 1977-1979,” MG 32 B27, LAC.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

CBC-TV presented several dramas with military history subjects between 1978 and 1982. Among them were two episodes of the NFB-CBC collaboration, *Adventures in History* (1978–1982). The eight-part anthology offered “dramatizations of significant events in Canada’s history told from [a] human-interest point of view.”¹⁶⁹ The subjects of the dramas ranged from the Underground Railway to the “Machine Age,” as experienced in Quebec.¹⁷⁰ Significantly, the CBC understood this to be a “Children’s Series” and included the films in its “Canadian Schools” broadcasts, despite foul language, drug use and some violence.¹⁷¹

The first of the *Adventures in History* dramas with a military subject, entitled *The War is Over* (1978), stressed the impact of war on men, while ridiculing the disjunction between realities of war and the customs, costumes and traditions of the military. Set in 1919, aboard a troop ship bound for Canada, it followed soldiers returning from the trenches of the First World War, struggling to cope with their wartime experiences. Some of the characters suffered shellshock, while others, haunted by memories of the war, turned to drink. The senior officer was untouched by their suffering. He made empty speeches about “the ultimate sacrifice” and made clear that his priority was not the welfare of his men, whom he called “hooligans,” but rather to make a splendid display on their return to Halifax. In outrage, a subordinate lashed out at him, saying,

¹⁶⁹ Program notes, “Sun., Sept. 10, 9:00-9:30 p.m., Adventures in History,” file “Adventures in History, 1978-80,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁷⁰ Documents from file “Adventures in History, 1978-80,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, “Adventures in History – NFB drama special,” 6 December 1978; press release, “The Slave Train: Drama about Underground Railway on CBC-TV, Sunday, March 25,” 13 March 1979; press release, “Rural Quebec is Setting for Gentle Love Story in the Machine Age,” 20 September 1979; press release, “‘Revolution’s Orphans’ A Story of Personal Tragedy and Political Strife, Telecasts on CBC,” 16 April 1980.

¹⁷¹ Memo, Barry Tenhouse to Jean Jemison, “‘Canadian Schools’ Broadcast – 1000-1030, May 28,” 28 May 1980, file “Adventures in History, 1978-80,” Program files, CBCRL.

“It’s those ‘hooligans’ out there that have won this war! And in case you haven’t heard, it is over, Major. The war is over!”¹⁷²

The second, called *Bravery in the Field* (1979),¹⁷³ drew parallels between the struggles faced by impoverished seniors and youths during the hard economic times of the 1970s. The title, taken from an inscription on military medals, had several meanings in the drama. On one level, it related to the war service of Second World War veteran Tommy Bennett (played by Les Rubie), who was one of the lead characters. When the audience first encountered him, he was living in poverty so dire that he had to pawn his most precious belongings – his military medals. He received a pittance, which signified the lost esteem for military history among younger generations. Bennett’s perseverance suggested another form of bravery. Lennie (played by Matt Craven) had to be brave, as well. He was young, a drug user during the height of drug culture in Canada and, like so many, was unemployed.¹⁷⁴ After he and his friends beat and robbed Bennett, a crisis of conscience prompted Lennie to return what they took. The confrontation that followed exposed both the gulf between them and their similarities:

Bennett: Wait a minute, punk! You guys beat me up, steal my money and my medals, then you come here and say you’re sorry and you expect me to forget the whole damn thing?!

Lennie: Look, you think it’s easy for me living in this goddamn hole?! I mean, I ain’t got a job, no money or anything. [Crying] I don’t even have a family.

¹⁷² *Adventures in History: The War Is Over*, directed by René Bonnière, written by Jamie Brown and Douglas Bowie, and produced by Malca Gillson, John Howe and Roman Kroitor. 1978; the National Film Board of Canada, in collaboration with the CBC and ATEC, 2012. DVD.

¹⁷³ Press release, “NFB’s Bravery In The Field to be Telecast,” 28 September 1979, file “Adventures in History, 1978-80,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁷⁴ Bothwell, Drummand and English, *Canada since 1945*, 351 and 408; *Adventures in History: Bravery In The Field*, directed by Giles Walker, written by Alexander Bremner, Giles Walker, Ian McNeill and John Kent Harrison, and produced by Roman Kroitor and Stefan Wodolawsky. 1979; the National Film Board of Canada, in collaboration with the CBC, ATEC, the National Museum of Man, the National Museums of Canada and the Government of New Brunswick, 2007. DVD.

Bennett: You think you're somethin' special, do yah?! Just take a look around you. Wake up, kid.¹⁷⁵

Though it did not come easily for either of them, there were seeds of mutual understanding in this conflict. Perhaps there was bravery in that effort, as well. This film, which the CBC promoted as a “drama of human dignity,”¹⁷⁶ received a nomination for an Academy Award in 1980.¹⁷⁷

The reintegration of the veteran into society after the Second World War was again the subject for drama in the fall of 1980. *War Brides* (originally, *After the War*) was the CBC's first “two-hour, movie-made-for-television.”¹⁷⁸ It followed four women as they settled in Canada to begin their lives with the servicemen they had married during the Second World War.¹⁷⁹ It provided a critical view of veterans: one of the war brides discovered that the man she followed to Canada was already married; the husband of another became a bootlegger; yet another of the veterans cheated on his wife with a former girlfriend, whom he also mistreated.¹⁸⁰ Reviewer Roy Shields wrote that “frankly, it hurts” to see the veterans portrayed in this manner. “They are not the nice

¹⁷⁵ *Adventures in History: Bravery In The Field*, directed by Giles Walker, written by Alexander Bremner, Giles Walker, Ian McNeill and John Kent Harrison, and produced by Roman Kroitor and Stefan Wodoslawsky. 1979; the National Film Board of Canada, in collaboration with the CBC, ATEC, the National Museum of Man, the National Museums of Canada and the Government of New Brunswick, 2007. DVD.

¹⁷⁶ Press release, “Bravery In The Field, A Drama of Human Dignity, on CBC,” 15 April 1980, file “Adventures in History, 1978-80,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁷⁷ Press release, “Adventures in History,” August 1981, file “Adventures in History, 1981-82,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁷⁸ Program notes, “WAR BRIDES – Drama Special,” 19 May 1981, file “Productions – War Brides,” Program files, CBCRL; “A preview of the fall TV season,” *Broadcaster* 39, no. 8 (August 1980): 39.

¹⁷⁹ Press release, “CBC-TV Special War Brides Airs September 20,” 14 August 1980, file “Productions – War Brides,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁸⁰ *War Brides*, first broadcast 20 September 1980 by CBC, a CBC film production, written by Grahame Woods, directed by Martin Lavut, and produced by Bill Gough and Janet Kranz, ISN: 56125, LAC.

guys we would like to think they are. They are crude and, at times, violent.”¹⁸¹ For others, that the film “deliberately side-steps patriotic nostalgia,” was cause for praise.¹⁸² The film won several Anik Awards and its writer, Grahame Woods, received an ACTRA. The CBC was pleased enough with the movie to repeat it in June 1981.¹⁸³ A few months later, WNBC (New York City) purchased broadcast rights.¹⁸⁴

For those who found *War Brides* challenging, the CBC also debuted a “nostalgic”¹⁸⁵ drama series in the autumn of 1980, entitled *Home Fires*. It followed the Lowe family in Toronto during the Second World War.¹⁸⁶ The CBC hoped that it would replicate the success of the British series *A Family At War* and the Australian program *The Sullivans*.¹⁸⁷ However, reviewers were initially unkind to *Home Fires*, which one called “as original as a K-Mart frock.”¹⁸⁸ However, they began to come around by the end of the first season, which left off in 1941.¹⁸⁹ Indeed, actresses Kim Yaroshevskaya and Wendy Crewson even received nominations for ACTRA Awards.¹⁹⁰ The second

¹⁸¹ Roy Shields, “Forsaking all for love across the Atlantic,” *Star Weekly*, 20-27 Sept. 1980, file “Productions – War Brides,” Program files, Canadian CBCRL.

¹⁸² Documents from file “Productions – War Brides,” Program files, Canadian CBCRL: Randal McIlroy, “CBC War Brides film superb,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 19 Sept. 1980; Rick Groen, “War Brides ties poignant dramatic knot,” *The Globe and Mail*, 20 Sept. 1980.

¹⁸³ Documents from file “Productions – War Brides,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, “Award-Winning CBC Television Movie War Brides to be Repeated June 6,” 19 May 1981; press release, “An Evening of Anik Award Winners on CBC-TV, June 6,” 21 May 1981; “Correction to TV Release No. 169,” 9 June 1981.

¹⁸⁴ Press release, “CBC-TV Sells Five Major Specials to NBC Flagship Station in New York City,” 22 September 1981, file “Productions – War Brides,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁸⁵ Short takes, “Internment Camp Set Built,” 22 April 1981, file “Productions – Home Fires,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁸⁶ Press release, “Home Fires Premieres Sunday, November 9,” 16 October 1980, file “Productions – Home Fires,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁸⁷ Jim Bawden, “Home Fires relit, long may it burn,” *The Toronto Star*, 20 Nov. 1981, file “Productions – Home Fires,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁸⁸ Rick Groen, “TV Fires require energetic stoking,” *The Globe and Mail*, 8 Nov. 1980, file “Productions – Home Fires,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁸⁹ Randal McIlroy, “Home Fires develops into compelling drama,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 29 Dec. 1980, p. 36.

¹⁹⁰ Press release, “Popular New Series Home Fires Back in Production,” 24 March 1981, file “Productions – Home Fires,” Program files, CBCRL.

season, cut short by a strike at the CBC, ended in 1942.¹⁹¹ Dieppe was at the centre of the plot for season three.¹⁹² For a sense of how it depicted the war, consider for example this scene from episode 16. War correspondent Bruce McLeod (Booth Savage), who still held a flame for Terry Lowe, visited the family on his return from the frontlines. In an effort to convince Terry (played by Wendy Crewson) that her husband might have died during the raid on Dieppe, McLeod got her alone in the yard of the factory where she worked to tell her about the horrors he witnessed at Puys. Like the chorus in a Greek tragedy, he described the action that had been happening off stage:

Not many men made it even off the boat. Few of those got to the beach. I caught a glimpse past the ramp and the bodies. Just a glimpse, but I'll never forget it. The whole shoreline was red – bodies bobbing into one another in the waves and more bodies strewn all along the beach.... No one on that beach could still be alive.... Graeme fought and was killed. And he did so with a valour and a bravery that was awesome. Now, you have to be brave. You have to give him up. Let him die.¹⁹³

Terry walked away in stunned silence. She later removed her wedding ring. In this series, the tragedy and horror of war was exploited for its emotional impact and at the same time reduced to a mere background plot in what was essentially “a kind of wartime soap opera,” in the words of one of the actors.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Documents from file “Productions – Home Fires,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, “Popular New Series Home Fires Back in Production,” 24 March 1981; press release, “Home Fires Returns September 27; New Episodes Debut November 22,” 17 September 1981; press release, “Home Fires Back Into Production for Fall '82 Airdates, Eric Till Directing First Produced Episode,” 2 February 1982.

¹⁹² Documents from file “Productions – Home Fires,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, “New Season of Home Fires Premieres September 26,” September 1982; press release, “October 3rd Episode of Home Fires Brings Tragedy of Dieppe Home to Canadian Viewers,” 23 September 1982. See also, *Home Fires*, episode no. 15, titled “The Home Coming,” first broadcast 3 October 1982 by CBC, a CBC television production, written by Jim Purdy, directed by Ronald Weyman, and produced by Bonnie Siegel and Robert Sherrin, ISN: 28508, LAC; *Home Fires*, episode no. 25, titled “Wages of War,” first broadcast 29 September 1983 by CBC, a CBC television production, written by Lyal Brown, directed by Eric Till, and produced by Jim Swan and Robert Sherrin, ISN: 19326, LAC.

¹⁹³ *Home Fires*, episode no. 16, titled “This War is Yours,” first broadcast 10 October 1982 by CBC, a CBC television production, written by Jim Purdy, directed by Ronald Weyman, and produced by Bonnie Siegel and Robert Sherrin, ISN: 28509, LAC.

¹⁹⁴ Miller, *Rewind and Search*, 135.

Of all the productions in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the two that arguably made the most creative use of drama to rethink military history focused on the legendary First World War flyer, Billy Bishop. The first was *Titans*, produced by Moses Znaimer at ChumCity¹⁹⁵ in association with the CBC. In this series, Patrick Watson interviewed major historical figures, like Napoleon and Albert Einstein, whom actors brought to life.¹⁹⁶ The premise was the same as an earlier series starring Watson, *Witness To Yesterday* on Global TV.¹⁹⁷ The imagined conversations were as hard-hitting, personal and revealing as anything on the new breed of current affairs programs.¹⁹⁸ In September 1981, actor Cedric Smith took on the role of Billy Bishop. The interview that resulted was not especially flattering. Among other things, it alleged that Bishop had a drinking problem. Seated across from Bishop on a lush mid-20th century chesterfield in a decadent Toronto home, Watson asked, “Don’t you think you would’ve flown a helluva lot better if you’d gone out sober, or at least not hung over?”¹⁹⁹ Other interviews on the series were much the same. As reviewer Rick Groen put it, the series was “part history lesson, part revisionist biography, and part unabashed gossip, with the famous and

¹⁹⁵ CITY-TV began operations in 1972 as a local Toronto station, committed to broadcasts about “community affairs....” See, Dick Lewis, “CITY-TV SAYS ‘Be Happy, Go Local!’” *Broadcaster* 31, no. 10 (October 1972): 30.

¹⁹⁶ Press release, “Ghosts From the Past With Titans,” 18 March 1982, file “Titans,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁹⁷ Jeremy Ferguson, “Ghosts of titans past,” *Star Weekly*, 27 June – 4 July 1981, p. 58. The CRTC authorized the creation of Canada’s “third television network,” run by Global Communications Ltd., in 1972. It began operations in 1974. See, “Global Network Approved,” *Broadcaster* 31, no. 8 (August 1972): 5.

¹⁹⁸ Press release, “Titans With Patrick Watson on CBC Television,” 18 June 1981, file “Titans,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁹⁹ *Titans*, first broadcast 11 September 1981 by CBC, a CBC television and Titans Television Limited production, hosted by Patrick Watson, with Cedric Smith as Billy Bishop, written by Patrick Withrow, and produced by Moses Znaimer, ISN: 55881, LAC.

infamous acting much like their contemporary counterparts – plugging triumphs and excusing failures.”²⁰⁰

The dramatic ingenuity of this séance of sorts was matched only by John Gray and Eric Peterson’s musical *Billy Bishop Goes to War*. BBC Television, in association with Primedia Productions Limited of Toronto and the CBC, produced a television adaptation of this 1978 theatre production, which aired on CBC-TV in September 1982.²⁰¹ While the piece did not ignore Bishop’s flaws (he was described as the “worst student” at the Royal Military College, for example), it was not hard-hitting realism. Rather, the heightened reality of the musical form turned Bishop’s experiences into poetry and, in doing so, seemed to add to the legend around the man. For instance, viewers saw Bishop sing a slow, spiritual ballad, reflecting on trench warfare:

the bloody earth is littered with the fighters and the quitters. Oh, what could be more bitter than a nameless death below? ... Up above the sun is burning. Up above the clouds are turning. You can hear those soldiers yearning, “Oh, if only I could fly.” ... In the burning sun, I’ll fight you. Oh, oh, let us dance together in the sky.²⁰²

The special won an ACTRA Award for the “Best Television Program of the Year” and a Canadian Film and Television Association Award.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Rick Groen, “Titans recycles a good TV idea,” *The Globe and Mail*, 3 July 1981, file “Productions – Titans,” Program files, CBCRL.

²⁰¹ Documents from file “Billy Bishop Goes to War,” Program files, CBCRL: briefing note # 66, “Billy Bishop,” 17 December 1985; press release, “Hit Musical Billy Bishop Goes to War Returns to CBC Television on July 2,” 14 June 1983; press release, “Hit Musical Billy Bishop Goes to War Comes to CBC September 12,” 24 August 1982; Rick Groen, “The magic of television adds to the play’s magic,” *The Globe and Mail*, 11 Sept. 1982.

²⁰² *Billy Bishop Goes to War*, first broadcast 12 September 1982 by CBC, a BBC television production in association with Primedia Productions Limited and CBC, starring Eric Peterson and John Gray, and produced by Norman McCandlish, ISN: 55401, LAC.

²⁰³ Documents from file “Billy Bishop Goes to War,” Program files, CBCRL: newsletter, Peter Herrndorf and Margaret Lyons to staff, 20 April 1983; “Independent Productions Seen on CBC-TV Win Top Awards in Recent CFTA Competition,” 16 November 1982.

The period from 1973 to 1984 changed the way the CBC gathered, distributed and presented material pertaining to the military on its programs. There were technological revolutions in newsgathering, editing and distribution of the news. Content changed, too, as détente ended and a new arms race began, prompting concerns about Canada's defences and attention to the growing peace movement. Current Affairs also underwent a period of revival during these years, which affected the presentation of military subjects. Programs, like *the fifth estate*, *Up Canada!* and *Ombudsman*, provided a few light and entertaining items, but more often satirized the forces, pushed for reforms, and in the process strained previously close relations between the military and the media. The increased use of drama and the growth of personal journalism on Current Affairs programs also influenced the presentation of military history, seen in the production *The October Crisis* and the reports of Peter Reilly. There was great awareness at the CBC about the program forms at its disposal for the telling of history on television, principal among them documentaries, dramas and "re-creations." On such histories during these years – reflective of historiographical and broader social changes – there was: new attention to the women's experiences of the Second World War; emphasis on the Second World War as the "good war"; efforts to use television as a forum for reconciliation between allies and enemies; stress on the impact of war on the fighting men and society in general; and iconoclasm, seen in séances and a musical starring a singing, dancing Billy Bishop. Little was sacred in the years that followed, as iconoclasm gave way to even more hard-hitting criticism of military history on the much-used docudrama form, unleashing a storm of protest from government, viewers and veterans alike.

Chapter 8: “[R]elations between the media and the armed forces are not what they should be,”¹ 1985–1992

Transformations in program form and content begun in earlier decades reached their climax in the 1980s and 1990s. Commemorations changed, as previously neglected groups – peacekeepers principal among them – began to receive attention on CBC-TV Remembrance Day programs. While such programs presented these changes in positive terms, there was also a sense that Remembrance Day was fragile, that it might lose its original meaning as the numbers of world war veterans declined. At the heart of these worries was growing obsession about the apparent generation gap between Second World War veterans and their children, the result of which was mutual misunderstanding. CBC-TV explored this idea through drama and participated in efforts to bridge the gap by fostering empathy and understanding of the veterans’ experiences on its news and current affairs programs. At the same time, the network, like the NFB, continued to partake in the fashion for historical drama and docudrama, as both subgenres came into their own in the 1980s and 1990s. While some productions presented military figures as visionaries and nationalists, others questioned the feats of vaunted heroes, criticized military leaders, and brought to light allegedly suppressed information about what really happened during the world wars. Several of these critical programs benefitted from close collaboration with veterans and the military. However, after seeing the negative interpretations on the small screen, many reacted with anger. So too did some viewers, although others enjoyed the programs. Worries that military history was in the process of being forgotten and fears that television was teaching

¹ Brian McKenna to General John de Chastelain, 30 July 1990, vol. HA 1152, file “DND – Co-op,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, Brian McKenna Fonds, Concordia University Records Management and Archives [hereafter, McKenna fonds, Concordia].

apparently ignorant young viewers history in an inaccurate and unfavourable manner, along with concerns about government spending on the CBC and the NFB during the austere 1980s and 1990s, fuelled disputes over the standards and substance of television histories produced with public funds.

Over this same period, the CBC experienced a revolution in the way it delivered the news with the creation of Newsworld. This cable channel devoted to 24-hour news and current affairs programming made it possible for the CBC to broadcast more live, breaking news and full news conferences, which added to the drama, and the scrutiny of the military, during events like the Oka crisis and the Gulf War. Perhaps more significantly, underwriting coverage of the Gulf War, in particular, was simmering conflict between the media and the military, as the forces involved in the US-led coalition actively worked to restrict the release of information. For the scrutiny the media placed on the military, conflicts over news of war, and the history wars of this period – despite some positive programming and continued close collaboration between the CBC, the forces and its veterans – it seemed that the CBC and the military were increasingly at odds by 1992.

Between 1985 and 1990, military commemorations changed. More attention was paid to previously-neglected groups, including women, Aboriginals, Korean War veterans,² and

² *National Remembrance Day Ceremony*, first broadcast 11 November 1985 by CBC, a CBC news specials production. Hosted by Brian Smith and Larry Stout, ISN: 224661, LAC; *Remembrance Day Ceremony*, first broadcast 11 November 1987 by CBC, a CBC news specials production, hosted by Don Newman and Brian Smith, ISN: 74902, LAC. See also, documents from file “Productions – RB-REC,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, “Ready Aye Ready,” 12 November 1985; press release, “Ready Aye Ready Celebrates The Navy’s 75th Anniversary,” 24 November 1986.

Canada's peacekeepers.³ In 1988, the United Nations won the Nobel Peace Prize for its peacekeeping forces and, for the first time, Canadian service personnel wearing blue berets participated in the Remembrance Day Ceremonies at the Cenotaph in Ottawa. CBC-TV commentator Brian Smith suggested, "This is perhaps the changing of the guard from those who fought to win peace to those who fought to maintain peace."⁴ The pride in peacekeeping grew from a feeling, shared by many Canadians, that the Nobel Prize belonged to them.⁵ Few programs better captured this sentiment than *Calgary's Gift of Peace*, produced by CBC Calgary for television on Christmas Eve in 1988. The program ended with footage of Jack Macleod, President of Shell Canada (the program's sponsor), expressing thanks for "the contributions of Canada's Nobel Prize-winning peacekeepers...."⁶

There was great concern about the ease with which the meaning of Remembrance Day could change. If the day was so responsive to social changes, the declining numbers of veterans from the world wars might mean that, as Brian Smith said in 1986, "Remembrance Day could gradually lose its significance."⁷ There had long been worries that the younger generation did not understand military history and that there was consequently a generation gap. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, this became something of an obsession on CBC-TV programs. It was the subject of a Duncan Productions Inc. Remembrance Day special called *Yesterday's Heroes*, broadcast on

³ For example, *National Remembrance Day Ceremony*, first broadcast 11 November 1985 by CBC, a CBC news specials production, hosted by Brian Smith and Larry Stout, ISN: 224661, LAC.

⁴ *National Remembrance Day Ceremony*, first broadcast 11 November 1988 by CBC, a CBC news specials production, hosted by Don Newman, Brian Smith and Major George Pearce (Ret), ISN: 224723, LAC.

⁵ Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, 397.

⁶ *Calgary's Gift of Peace*, first broadcast 24 December 1988 by CBC, a CBC Calgary production, hosted by Carol Anne Meehan, written by Christine Sinclair, and produced by Shirley Cole, ISN: 183692, LAC.

⁷ *National Remembrance Day Ceremony*, first broadcast 11 November 1986 by CBC, a CBC news specials production, hosted by Brian Smith and Larry Stout, ISN: 224680, LAC.

CBC-TV in 1987. It depicted children and young adults as uninterested in military history and so desensitized to violence that they played at war with paint guns in the woods. When asked if she found it “fun to simulate killing,” one young woman replied, “It’s not the killing... it’s the sport, it’s the game, you know.” It concluded with footage of wreaths strewn across a war memorial and narrator Robert Duncan saying, “Next year, there’ll be even fewer people in the square to honour the war dead.”⁸

The Best Years made an effort to foster better understanding of the “silver streak,” in the words of one producer. That series debuted on CBC in western Canada in 1985, was picked up by CBLT in October 1987, and started airing on the national network in January 1988.⁹ The CBC described it as “a lively half-hour magazine show that examines the successes, struggles and passions of the over 50 audience.”¹⁰ Executive producer Ken Coach hoped young people watched, so as to “bridge the generation gap....”¹¹ Reflective of this, *The Best Years* tended to mark Remembrance Day with personal stories that made war real and old soldiers human for those who had no first-hand experience. For instance, in 1987 it presented the personal stories of veterans who lost limbs during the Second World War. H. Clifford Chadderton, CEO of the War Amps, was among those to describe the experience of adapting to life after the war. He recounted getting “on a streetcar in the city of Ottawa with my son and I had my shorts

⁸ *Yesterday’s Heroes*, first broadcast 11 November 1987 by CBC, a Duncan Productions Inc., program, written, directed, narrated and produced by Robert Duncan, ISN: 77732, LAC.

⁹ Documents from file “Productions – Best of Years,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, “Best Years,” 7 October 1987; press release, “The Best Years Comes to the CBC Television Network,” 21 December 1987; Bob Blakey, “CBC’s shot at seniors proved to be right,” *The Calgary Herald*, 11 January 1988.

¹⁰ Press release, “Best Years,” 7 October 1987, file “Productions – Best of Years,” Program Files, CBCRL, Toronto.

¹¹ Quoted in press release, “The Best Years Returns on September 30,” 25 September 1990, file “Productions – Best of Years,” Program files, CBCRL.

on, and the conductor asked me to get off.”¹² There were also stories that dealt more directly with the generation gap. On Remembrance Day in 1991, for instance, the program showed a story about a young man who was seeking a buyer for his deceased uncle’s Victoria Cross and Distinguished Service Cross.¹³ In part, these efforts to foster empathy for, and understanding of, the “silver streak” grew from the series’ perceived role as an advocate for seniors. *TV Week Magazine* explained that co-host Joyce Resin believed the program “act[ed] as a kind of ‘ombudsman’ on behalf of an older population that is becoming progressively more politicized. She and [correspondent Cam] Cathcart both feel the political turning point for Canadian seniors was when the federal government attempted to de-index pensions and the seniors fought back and won.”¹⁴ Serving this audience did not make for successful primetime television, however. Viewership was small: around 379,000 per week in 1989 and falling to an average of 280,000 per week by 1990.¹⁵

The Royal Canadian Legion also made a considerable effort to both maintain interest in Remembrance Day and define its meaning in such a way that it remained relevant, amidst social change and new defence priorities. On CBC Newsworld’s *The Week Starts Here* in November 1989, Dominion Secretary Fred Hannington explained

¹² *The Best Years*, first broadcast 22 November 1987 by CBC, a CBC British Columbia production, produced in association with the Military Community and Social Services, Government of Ontario, produced by Digby Cook, Gary Johnson, Heather Matheson, Shery Shragge and René Genereux, ISN: 77684, LAC. For similar examples, see documents from file “Productions – Best of Years,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, “Forgotten Heroes and Heroines on The Best Years Remembrance Day Special, November 11,” 23 October 1990; press release, “Remembrance Day Special on The Best Years, November 10,” 29 October 1991.

¹³ Press release, “Remembrance Day Special on The Best Years, November 10,” 29 October 1991, file “Productions – Best of Years,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁴ Mark Leiren-Young, “The Best Years Is On the Cutting Edge,” *TV Week Magazine* (12-18 May 1990): n.p., file “Productions – Best of Years,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁵ Ned powers, “CBC program host finds age ‘really a state of mind,’” *TV Times (Star-Phoenix)* (26 January 1990): 14; Hester Riches, “A little life left in seniors’ TV program,” *The Vancouver Sun*, 30 May 1989, p. C6.

the importance of the day. Speaking directly to the camera from a studio in Ottawa, he said:

We often see gaps in the education system ... and frequent misunderstandings of the part that Canada played in various wars ... We therefore can't become lax in conducting our remembrance activities ... [Remembrance Day is] a day on which we should be remembering the supreme sacrifice of 114,000 Canadian men and women ... [W]e are also obliged to think of the awful consequences of war. This can hardly be considered glorification. Indeed, the Legion constantly works for peace and we do not want for one minute to see Canada in a situation where we would create more veterans.¹⁶

The Legion spread its message to children through its annual contest for the best poem, work of art, and essay on subjects related to Remembrance Day. The winners presented their work during the CBC-TV telecast, either live or in a filmed insert. In 1989, the young woman who won in the poetry category explained the meaning of the day, as taught to her, in these terms: "there's a lot of men who fought for our freedom and who died for us and it's important that we remember it so we can make sure that it never has to happen again, because what ... they gave us is a sacrifice that can't be compared to anything, really."¹⁷

Reverential and sometimes nostalgic documentaries were also often framed as efforts to explain war to young audiences. Consider for example the response to Cameron Graham's "*We Shall Fight on the Beaches!*", which marked the 50th anniversary of the "miracle of Dunkirk."¹⁸ While reviewer John Haslett Cuff of *The*

¹⁶ *The Week Starts Here – In Politics*, episode no. 14, first broadcast 5 November 1989 by CBC Newsworld, a CBC Newsworld production, hosted by Kathryn Wright, directed by Bob Hiland, and produced by Danny Malanchuk and Lionel Lumb, ISN: 154623, LAC.

¹⁷ *CBC-TV News Special*, first broadcast 11 November 1989 by CBC, a CBC news specials production, hosted by Don Newman, ISN: 151448, LAC.

¹⁸ Press release, "'We Shall Fight on the Beaches' Is the Story of a Crucial Moment in an Extraordinary Year," 1 May 1990, file "Productions – WB-WED," Program files, CBCRL; *We Shall Fight on the Beaches!* first broadcast 3 June 1990 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, narrated by Lister Sinclair, written and produced by Brian Jeffrey Street, and produced by Cameron Graham, ISN: 159421, LAC.

Globe and Mail was not particularly impressed with the program, he conceded that it “will help to inform some younger viewers about a piece of modern history....”¹⁹ The response was similar to Graham’s 90-minute documentary, *Brothers in Arms*, commemorating the 75th anniversaries of the PPCLI and the Royal 22e Régiment. It conveyed their histories through newsreel footage, photographs, and interviews with veterans. The final moments of the film captured its message. Narrator Jon Granik said, “Civilians can’t really understand. They are outside the family, outside the regiment. Only those who have lived its history, its hardships, its deaths, its comradeships know. Only those who have been brothers in arms can understand.” The program then cutaway to footage of an elderly veteran who cried as a trumpeter played the rouse during a military ceremony.²⁰ Reviewer Stephen Nicholls of the *Canadian Press* wrote: “If you’re one of those who cold-shoulders their way past silver-haired veterans dispensing Remembrance Day poppies this time of year, you might benefit from a good dose of *Brothers in Arms*.”²¹

This focus on the generation gap not only shaped information programs, but was also the subject for dramas like “Meet Me Half Way” (1988), which aired on the anthology, *The Way We Are*. The gulf between veterans and their children was a suitable subject for the anthology, given its purpose. Host Michael Kramer, seated at a desk in studio, explained that *The Way We Are* provided a forum for “comedies, adventures, love stories, and other entertainments, all reflecting the way we are.” In “Meet Me Half Way,” the lead character, Jim Stokes (played by Murray McCune), was

¹⁹ John Haslett Cuff, “Recalling a wartime miracle,” *The Globe and Mail*, 2 June 1990, p. C5.

²⁰ *Brothers in Arms*, first broadcast 8 November 1989 by CBC, a CBC Ottawa production, narrated by Jon Granik, written by Ted Remerowski, and produced by Nicole Latreille and Cameron Graham, ISN: 147737, LAC. For more about cutaways, see Beadle, “Visual Evidence,” 86.

²¹ Stephen Nicholls, “Documentary pays tribute to veterans,” *Montreal Daily News*, 8 Nov. 1989, p. 23.

struggling to come to grips with the death of his estranged father, who was a veteran of the RAF. A chance encounter led Jim to form a friendship of sorts with a homeless man named Bill (Orest Kinaswich), who was also a veteran. The short time they spent together helped Jim start to work through some of his lingering issues with his father. In one of the more revealing scenes, Jim returned to Bill's campsite next to a broken down wreck of a car. There, they discussed the war, Jim mentioning his father's involvement in Bomber Command. He said, "for what it's worth, I don't think he ever liked the fact that he was part of that – the bombing, I mean. Wasn't one of his favourite topics of conversation – not that we had many topics of conversation."²² In this drama, neither veteran – not Jim's father nor Bill – were able to function fully in society after the war, as evidenced by their failed relationships with their sons, as well as Harrison's homelessness and alcoholism. It thusly reconceived the generation gap as more than mere mutual misunderstanding.

Military history was a popular subject for drama in the 1980s and 1990s, reflective of a larger fashion for historical drama, to which viewers seemed to be responding favourably. As a 1988 study by CBC Research in Toronto found, "there is an audience for historical dramas about Canadians."²³ Among them was CBC-TV's drama anthology, *Some Honourable Gentlemen*, which explored "colorful events" in political history.²⁴ According to series producer Martin Kinch, the title was ironic, "because the

²² *The Way We Are*, episode titled, "Meet Me Half Way," first broadcast 24 March 1988 by CBC, a CBC Edmonton production, written by Scot Morison, and produced and directed by Jack Emack, ISN: 79310, LAC.

²³ CBC Research Toronto, "A CBC Research Report: The King Chronicle," 13 June 1988, file "King Chronicle. Publicity. 1988," vol. 14, MG 31 D 222, LAC.

²⁴ Press release, "Some Honourable Gentlemen," August 1983, file "Some Honourable Gentlemen," Program files, CBCRL.

people we're doing were not honourable and not gentlemen."²⁵ The first 90-minute episode in this 10-part series aired in March 1984 to praise from reviewer Rick Groen, who called it "a well-crafted, well-acted exercise in the dramatic power of revisionist history."²⁶ The second episode, which aired in November, was "Sam Hughes's War." It focused on Hughes's pathological determination and nationalism, suggesting that he was an eccentric, flawed visionary.²⁷ The credits following the program cited Ronald Haycock, A.M.J. Hyatt, and Desmond Morton as historical consultants and Capt. (Ret) G.W.R. Bowman as "military advisor."²⁸ Having their names attached to the program gave it credibility.

Such television biographies were particularly fashionable at the time. The NFB produced several,²⁹ among them a biography of Billy Bishop, called *The Kid Who Couldn't Miss*, which was released in theatres across Canada in 1982 and broadcast on First Choice/Superchannel in 1984.³⁰ The production used a mix of archival film, dramatic recreations, interviews and excerpts from the musical *Billy Bishop Goes to War*. Its conclusion captured its tone and approach. Over footage of a ceremony at Billy

²⁵ Quoted in "CBC series 'not potted history,'" *The Toronto Star*, 4 March 1984, file "Some Honourable Gentlemen," Program files, CBCRL.

²⁶ Rick Groen, "CBC scores well in history," *The Globe and Mail*, 14 March 1984, file "Some Honourable Gentlemen," Program files, CBCRL.

²⁷ Press release, "Some Honourable Gentlemen," August 1984, file "Some Honourable Gentlemen," Program files, CBCRL. In later years, Kinch had doubts about the characterization, saying Hughes was "a kind of warmongering Tory businessman with few virtues; yet if you take three hours and study anybody, he becomes quite interesting and sympathetic." This was cause for concern because "we're not talking about old rascals, we're talking about really dangerous people. This is one of the problems of doing historical plays." See, Miller, *Rewind and Search*, 284.

²⁸ *Some Honourable Gentlemen*, episode titled "Sir Sam Hughes's War," first broadcast 21 November 1984 by CBC, a CBC television production, written by Jim Burt, directed by Ronald Wilson, and produced by Martin Kinch, Peter Kelly and Sharon Keogh, ISN: 55242, LAC.

²⁹ For another example, see "The King Chronicle," *The Robinson-Blackmore's Weekender* (26 March – 1 April 1988): 2; NFB news release, "Donald Brittain's Epic Series 'The King Chronicle' Premieres on CBC-TV," 9 March 1988, file "King Chronicle. Publicity. 1988," vol. 14, MG 31 D 222, LAC.

³⁰ Briefing note, "Billy Bishop," 17 December 1985, file "Billy Bishop Goes to War," Program files, CBCRL.

Bishop's grave, narrator William Hutt said, "Every year on November the 11th, Billy Bishop is remembered once again. And with the passing of years it becomes harder to know what part of his legend is myth and what part truth. But one thing is clear, heroism – like war itself – is neither as simple nor as glorious as we would like."³¹

Given the growing sense that a large segment of the population was ignorant of the world wars, televised military histories were of increased social significance, as they represented a means to educate a mass audience. Projects produced by the NFB and the CBC received additional scrutiny because government spending on these institutions was being studied and slashed at the time. Years of austerity finally gave way to what President A.W. Johnson called "savage" cuts in 1978–9, when the CBC faced a \$45 million shortfall.³² The situation only worsened in the years that followed. When the government cut its funding for the CBC by \$70.9 million in 1979–1980, the Corporation reduced its staff through attrition.³³ A few years later, it cut short the seasons of programs like *Marketplace* and *the fifth estate*,³⁴ while laying off 1,150 in an effort to save \$75 million.³⁵ The cuts, which grew out of austerity measures imposed by

³¹ *The Kid Who Couldn't Miss*, first broadcast 1984 by First Choice/Superchannel, a National Film Board production, narrated by William Hutt, and produced by Paul Cowan and Adam Symansky, <http://www.nfb.ca/film/the-kid-who-couldnt-miss/> (accessed January 2012).

³² Quoted in Art Cuthbert, "CBC News \$ Situation in No-Man's Land," *Content* no. 89 (September – October 1978): 6; memo, Frank Williams to Ken Davey, "History of the Royal Canadian Army (Proposed)," n.d., vol. 817, file "Entertainment Programming TE 3-2-6 Features," RG 41, LAC.

³³ "Budget Cuts Force CBC To Make Changes," *Broadcaster* 38, no. 9 (September 1979): 11; Randy Burton, "Budget cuts blamed for CBC failings," *Content* (January 1980): 6.

³⁴ Robert Fulford, "Can Pierre Juneau Save the CBC?" *Saturday Night*, Jan. 1983, p. 15; Jim Bawden, "CBC still suffering from cuts 2 years ago," *The Toronto Star*, 14 Dec. 1984, p. F3.

³⁵ To put that into context, the CBC's operating costs in 1986–87 were \$1,049 million. See, Hugh Winsor, "CBC brass favoured program cuts over trims to administrative staff," *The Globe and Mail*, 18 Dec. 1984, p. 1; "Unions say CBC cuts hit 2,000," *The Globe and Mail*, 14 Dec. 1984, p. 4; Roy MacGregor, "1,150 jobs to vanish as CBC cuts budget by \$75 million," *The Toronto Star*, 12 Dec. 1984, p. A1; Jane Taber, "1,150 CBC jobs cut, 120 in Ottawa," *The Ottawa Citizen*, 12 Dec. 1984, p. A1; memo, President to all Montreal Staff, "Budget Cuts," 9 November 1984, vol. 17, file "Canada – CBC Budget Cuts, 1984-1985," R 8082, Herbert Steinhouse fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa [hereafter, R 8082, LAC]; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, "Annual Report, 1986-1987" (March 1987), 69.

the new Progressive Conservative government of Brian Mulroney, prompted Charles Lynch to exclaim that the “Tories would like CBC to dry up and blow away.”³⁶ It also shaped the CBC’s relationship with government and the public, prompting serious questions about the future of the Corporation, even giving former CBC correspondent Stanley Burke’s cause to comment with exasperation: “Let’s give the CBC a decent burial.”³⁷ Added to this were the reports of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (1982) and the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy (1986), which increased the public scrutiny of the CBC and the NFB, heightening the sense that the both were under siege.³⁸

It was within this context that *The Kid Who Couldn’t Miss* received unprecedented attention. The Senate Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs evaluated its faults and questioned the spending of public funds on this project. Sen. Henry Hicks, for instance, insisted that the errors of fact in the film served to damage Bishop’s reputation, saying, “if this does not show a prejudice on the part of the National Film Board ... then I do not know what, indeed, would show that.”³⁹ The matter was handed over to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology in October 1985, which reviewed “the production and distribution” of this film. In its 1986 report, the Committee recommended that the NFB add this disclaimer to the film:

³⁶ Charles Lynch, “Tories would like CBC to dry up and blow away,” *Ottawa Citizen*, 13 Dec. 1984, p. A3.

³⁷ Stanley Burke, “Let’s give the CBC a decent burial,” *The Globe and Mail*, 18 April 1991, vol. 16, file “Canada – CBC, 1986-1996,” (pt. 2), R 8082, LAC. For another example, see Richard Nielsen, “Why CBC can’t give us better Canadian shows,” *The Toronto Star*, 27 May 1985, p. C4.

³⁸ “Meddling with CBC,” *The Toronto Star*, 26 May 1985, p. H2; Richard Nielsen, “Task force will zero in on CBC’s future,” *The Toronto Star*, 30 May 1985, p. B4.

³⁹ “Excerpts from the Proceedings of the Sub-Committee on Veterans Affairs, October 17, 1985 – December 10, 1985,” in *Hanging a Legend: The National Film Board’s shameful attempt to discredit Billy Bishop, VC*, 185-215 (Ottawa: A special publication by the War Amputations of Canada, 1986), 214.

This film is a docu-drama and combines elements of both reality and fiction. It does not pretend to be an even-handed or chronological biography of Billy Bishop.

Although a Walter Bourne did serve as Bishop's mechanic, the film director has used this character to express his own doubts and reservations about Bishop's exploits. There is no evidence that these were shared by the real Walter Bourne.⁴⁰

The NFB acquiesced, although opting for a shorter, less detailed version of this statement.⁴¹ There were some who criticized the Senate's intervention, saying it bore the marks of "censorship."⁴² Patrick Watson, who was a member of the NFB's Board of Trustees, called the Committee hearings "an extraordinary precedent for the Senate. It certainly looks like a rupture of the arm's-length relationship."⁴³ However, Chadderton thought the disclaimer was not enough and called for the film to be "withdrawn and destroyed." He insisted, "Anything less is an unforgiveable attempt to destroy the well-deserved legend of Billy Bishop and an insult to all war veterans."⁴⁴ Watching these events unfold, filmmaker Brian McKenna believed that the film's producer, Paul Cowan, had been "thrown to the wolves."⁴⁵

The controversy around this NFB production did not cause any significant hesitation about producing military histories at the CBC. The First World War was central to the plot of the fictional drama series, *Chasing Rainbows* (1988). CBC-TV

⁴⁰ The Senate of Canada, *Production and Distribution of the National Film Board Production "The Kid Who Couldn't Miss": Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1986), 20.

⁴¹ It read, "This film is a docu-drama and combines elements of both reality and fiction. It does not pretend to be a biography of Billy Bishop. Certain characters have been used to express certain doubts and reservations about Bishop's exploits. There is no evidence that these were shared by the actual characters." *The Kid Who Couldn't Miss*, first broadcast 1984 by First Choice/Superchannel, a National Film Board production, narrated by William Hutt, and produced by Paul Cowan and Adam Symansky, <http://www.nfb.ca/film/the-kid-who-couldnt-miss/> (accessed January 2012).

⁴² Canadian Press, "Senate votes to re-examine NFB film about Billy Bishop," *The Globe and Mail*, 29 May 1986, "Productions – Billy Bishop Goes to War," Program files, CBCRL.

⁴³ Quoted in Sid Adilman, "Senate's probing of Bishop film comes under fire," *The Toronto Star*, 22 Oct. 1985, p. F1.

⁴⁴ H. Clifford Chadderton, "Hanging A Legend: Billy Bishop's Continuing Battle," *The Fragment* (Fall 1986): 52.

⁴⁵ Brian McKenna, e-mail to author, 1 February 2012.

advertised it as a story where “[t]wo war heroes – an ambitious hustler and a high-society rebel – compete for success and the love of a beautiful debutante in 14 hour-long episodes set in the glamorous, wicked Montreal of the 1920s.”⁴⁶ Head of CBC-TV drama, John Kennedy, had high hopes that the \$11-million miniseries would “generate world-wide interest,” if only for its use of new broadcast technologies.⁴⁷ The CBC boasted that it was “the first commercial production in the world to use high definition television (HDTV)...”⁴⁸ It used the Sony Corporation’s system, which combined the picture quality of 35 mm film with the benefits of electronic editing. In order to make the best use of this technology, CBC-TV partnered with Northernlight and Picture Corporation (NL&P) for the project, because its personnel were more familiar with the equipment and techniques, including Ultimatte.⁴⁹ The use of mattes and blue screens proved to be particularly useful. Production designer David Moe explained that they “used 75 soldiers but with mattes we were able to make it appear that we had a full battalion of 360. If you consider the cost of costumes alone (\$175 each), there was a considerable saving.”⁵⁰ Although Canadians did not see the program in full HD, because neither transmitters nor televisions were equipped for it, John Galt, head of

⁴⁶ CBC Enterprises brochure, “Chasing Rainbows,” file “Chasing Rainbows,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁴⁷ Quoted in press release, “Chasing Rainbows Begins Production,” 22 April 1986, file “Chasing Rainbows,” Program files, CBCRL. The miniseries had three corporate sponsors: Chrysler Canada Ltd., Del Monte, and The Regina Company. See documents from file “Chasing Rainbows,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, “Chasing Rainbows,” n.d., file “Chasing Rainbows”; John Haslett Cuff, “A Pot of Fool’s Gold,” *The Globe and Mail*, 5 March 1988.

⁴⁸ Advertisement, “High-D TV gives series a richer look,” file “Chasing Rainbows,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁴⁹ Documents from file “Chasing Rainbows,” Program files, CBCRL: press release, “Chasing Rainbows Begins Production,” 22 April 1986; press release, “Canadian Hero Spotlights in Chasing Rainbows,” 10 June 1986. See also, Gerald Hannon, “Dream Machine,” *Scan* (March/April 1988): 4.

⁵⁰ Press release for *Chasing Rainbows*, “Production Notes: Set Design/Decoration,” n.d., file “Chasing Rainbows,” Program files, CBCRL. See also, Gerald Hannon, “Dream Machine,” *Scan* (March/April 1988): 4.

NL&P, insisted that it was not a wasted effort, as the picture quality was still “far superior to anything he’s [the viewer] ever watched on TV before.”⁵¹

Beyond its technical achievements, the miniseries was noteworthy for its attempt to deal with a subject in military history rarely before broached on CBC-TV. The final episode focused on the execution of soldiers for cowardice during the First World War. Veterans Jake Kincaid (played by Paul Gross) and Christopher Blaine II (Michael Riley) spoke against the practice before a government committee. Shoving off a constable who was attempting to restrain him, Kincaid threw his war medals – the Victoria Cross, among them – at those presiding, telling them to “save them for the next 19-year-old you decide to shoot.” Politely and calmly, Blaine then stood up to make an emotional plea in support of his friend’s position, saying,

How can we send boys ... off to the other ends of the earth, to fight for a cause they scarcely understand, and then execute them because a British general thinks it would be good for discipline? How can we? That’s not discipline. That’s barbarism. We are a sovereign, civilized, humane nation and it’s up to you – it’s up to all of us to stand up and say “Never again.” We cannot and we will not do things that way. And no one is going to tell us to. No one. Never again. Never again.⁵²

The crowd responded with applause.

Despite CBC-TV’s best attempts to promote the miniseries, its debut episode on 6 March 1988 drew only 13 percent of viewers.⁵³ The numbers rarely exceeded 980,000 in the weeks that followed. By month’s end, Canadian Press reported that “the big event

⁵¹ Advertisement, “High-D TV gives series a richer look,” file “Chasing Rainbows,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁵² *Chasing Rainbows*, episode no. 7, first broadcast 15 March 1988 by CBC, a Northernlight & Picture Corp.-CBC co-production, created by Douglas Bowie and Mark Blandford, and produced by John Galt, Charles Pantuso and Brookes McGrath Field, ISN: 85533, LAC.

⁵³ “Chasing Rainbows low on TV ratings,” *The Toronto Star*, 24 March 1988, file “Chasing Rainbows,” Program files, CBCRL.

CBC was trying to generate didn't happen."⁵⁴ To make matters worse, *The Toronto Star* reported that CBC-TV had to "compensate" its sponsors, because the miniseries failed to draw an audience of 2 million, as "guaranteed."⁵⁵ Reviewers shared audiences' dislike of the series. John Haslett Cuff wrote in *The Globe and Mail* that "no amount of gimmickry alters the simple fact that bad television does not improve in direct proportion to the number of scan lines."⁵⁶ Nonetheless, CBC-TV repeated the series, insisting that it had produced "an unprecedented positive audience response."⁵⁷

The Killing Ground explored similar themes in November 1988. Brian McKenna produced and directed this point-of-view docudrama, which he co-wrote with his brother Terence McKenna, who also served as its reporter-host. It was their first collaboration.⁵⁸ The CBC described its format and purpose as "[c]ombining investigative reporting ... with first-person testimony spoken by actors ... to evoke a powerful and shattering experience in contemporary audiences."⁵⁹

The McKenna brothers were well-known for their journalism. Brian was a founding producer of *the fifth estate*, while Terence was a correspondent on *The Journal*. For the documentary portion of *The Killing Ground*, they used a combination of archival film

⁵⁴ Canadian Press, "Rainbows' ratings no pot of gold," *The Globe and Mail*, 31 March 1988, file "Chasing Rainbows," Program files, CBCRL.

⁵⁵ Jim Bawden, "No ratings jackpot at the end of Rainbow," *The Toronto Star*, 31 March 1988, p. B26.

⁵⁶ John Haslett Cuff, "A Pot of Fool's Gold," *The Globe and Mail*, 5 March 1988, file "Chasing Rainbows," Program files, CBCRL.

⁵⁷ Press release, "Chasing Rainbows Repeated in Weekly Instalments," 16 May 1989, file "Chasing Rainbows," Program files, CBCRL.

⁵⁸ The direct costs of the production for the CBC was approximately \$325,000. See, Brian McKenna to Trina McQueen, 8 May 1989, vol. HA 1152, file "Valour: CBC Correspondence," P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia. See also, Mike Boone, "Filming a real horror story: First World War made vivid in CBC docudrama," *The Gazette* (Montreal) (28 October 1988): C1.

⁵⁹ Program description, "The Killing Ground," file "The Killing Ground," Program files, CBCRL. See also, press release, "The Killing Ground," 1 November 1988, file "Productions – KIE-KIND," Program files, CBCRL.

and photographs, and footage of Terence McKenna visiting the First World War cemeteries, battlefields and archives of Europe to uncover and convey the story of Canada's part in the war. DND helped them to film in Europe. According to Brian McKenna, National Defence "tasked two helicopters from Lahr [Germany] to help us with aerial shots of euro battlefields."⁶⁰ Several army officers also agreed to participate in the filming (Figure 9). Among them were Reserve Lt.-Col. Ronald Yaramowitz and Staff Colonel Ian McNabb, who appeared on camera in a recreation of a cavalry charge near Amiens, and Major Michael Boire, who gave Terence a tour of Vimy Ridge on camera.⁶¹



Figure 9. Photograph taken during the filming of *The Killing Ground*.

Reproduced with the permission of Brian McKenna.

Source: "Photo. -'outs' -Killing Ground (Europe)," vol. HA 1149, P112/G4 – CBC Documentaries, Brian McKenna Fonds, Concordia University Records Management and Archives.

⁶⁰ Brian McKenna, e-mail to author, 1 February 2012.

⁶¹ *The Killing Ground*, first broadcast 8 November 1988 by CBC, a CBC film production, written by Terence and Brian McKenna, produced and directed by Brian McKenna, ISN: 107808, LAC.

The Killing Ground also gave the McKennas a chance to delve into drama, for which they were developing a reputation at the time. (Terence co-wrote *The Squamish Five*, while Brian had just produced *And Then You Die* about crime in Montreal. Both aired on the CBC.⁶²) Actors performed the dramatic portions of *The Killing Ground* in costumes, surrounded by few sets or props, filmed in limbo, and speaking directly to the camera.⁶³ This dramatic staging limited distractions by putting all of the emphasis on the actors' delivery of their monologues. To write the script for these scenes, the McKennas relied on "the historical record" and the words of the men who fought. The latter source material ranged from letters from the frontlines to veteran Charles Yale Harrison's novel *Generals Die in Bed*,⁶⁴ which one reviewer called a "shockingly frank, fictionalized portrayal of the horrors encountered by a gaggle of soldiers stuck in that meat grinder, World War One."⁶⁵

The documentary and dramatic segments were united by the film's overriding message, clearly stated by Terence McKenna at the outset: "In wartime, things happen that no nation is proud of." The film discussed the execution by firing squad of men suffering shell shock, criticized the conduct of Field Marshal Haig, investigated allegations of looting in Arras by the Royal Montreal Regiment, and detailed the horrors

⁶² Tony Atherton, "War: CBC production puts human face on Canadian effort," *The Ottawa Citizen* (5 November 1988): C1.

⁶³ *The Killing Ground*, first broadcast 8 November 1988 by CBC, a CBC film production, written by Terence and Brian McKenna, produced and directed by Brian McKenna, ISN: 107808, LAC.

⁶⁴ Mike Boone, "Filming a real horror story: First World War made vivid in CBC docudrama," *The Gazette*, 28 Oct. 1988, p. C1; Ned Powers, "CBC film on Great War eye-opener for Canadians," *TV Times* (4-11 November 1988): 12, file "The Killing Ground," Program files, CBCRL.

⁶⁵ Robert Nielsen, "Introduction," *Generals Die in Bed*, by Charles Yale Harrison, i-vii (Buffalo: Annick Press, 2007), ii.

of the battlefield. Brian McKenna explained, “We showed that Canadian soldiers were not immune from conducting wartime atrocities.”⁶⁶

Before it aired and without having seen the film, Chadderton spoke out against it on the grounds that it might not be accurate.⁶⁷ He had reason to be concerned, as many of the reviewers who had seen advance copies proclaimed it to be at once a disturbing anti-war film and one that redefined Remembrance Day.⁶⁸ For instance, John Bemrose of *Maclean's* wrote that “the film should do more than all the plastic poppies of Remembrance Day to help Canadians understand why that war was perhaps the most tragic and meaningless conflict in history.”⁶⁹ Mike Boone similarly called this “anti-war film, a thought-provoking analysis of what we ought to be remembering on Friday [Remembrance Day].”⁷⁰

Not all viewers shared the early enthusiasm some critics had for the production. Some said it slandered Sir Arthur Currie and was an “insult [to] the memory of our war heroes’ bravery and gallantry....”⁷¹ Fred Cleverley wrote in the *Winnipeg Free Press* that the filmmakers imposed “today’s values” on the past, saying it was “produced, understandably, by individuals born into a period in the world’s history free from major conflict. Removed from the reality by time, and encapsuled [*sic*] by a society in which

⁶⁶ Brian McKenna, e-mail to author, 1 February 2012.

⁶⁷ Newswire, “Killing Ground,” 8 November 1988, file “The Killing Ground,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁶⁸ For example, Ned Powers, “CBC film on Great War eye-opener for Canadians,” *TV Times* (4-11 November 1988): 13; John Haslett Cuff, “A passionate tribute to courage,” *The Globe and Mail*, 8 Nov. 1988, p. A23.

⁶⁹ John Bemrose, “Carnage and heroism: A Canadian look at the First World War,” *Maclean's* [November 1988], file “The Killing Ground,” Program files, CBCRL. For other examples, see Jerry Gladman, “Puttin’ on the Ritz,” *Toronto Sun*, 8 Nov. 1988, file “The Killing Ground,” Program files, CBCRL; Jim Bawden, “Film brings World War I into living rooms,” *The Toronto Star*, 7 Nov. 1988, p. C8.

⁷⁰ Mike Boone, “First World War slaughter laid bare in tonight’s CBC special,” *The Gazette*, 8 Nov. 1988, p. B6.

⁷¹ S. Dalgliesh, “Slander,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 21 Nov. 1988, file “The Killing Ground,” Program files, CBCRL.

values are more a subject for debate than a requirement for action, it is understandable that they consider war abominable, and place blame for its brutality equally.”⁷² *The Killing Ground*, which in Brian McKenna’s words was “controversial,” received a nomination for an Anik Award in April 1989.⁷³

CBC-TV was in the market for more military histories between 1988 and 1990. It optioned Pierre Berton’s book about the Battle of Vimy Ridge in 1989 in the hopes of producing “a ‘small’ movie” about the battle. As Ivan Fecan (Director of Programming, TV Network) explained, “interest in Vimy still burns bright.”⁷⁴ If faithful to Berton’s work, the project would have been critical of the battle: Berton questioned whether the losses incurred were “worth it” and concluded that “[t]he answer, of course, is *no*.”⁷⁵ However, after extending the option several times in 1990,⁷⁶ CBC-TV pulled out. According to Berton, they “dropped the project in favour of a similar one about Dieppe. How Canadian, I thought, to prefer the story of defeat to that of a victory.”⁷⁷

In the meantime, the McKenna brothers started working on another military history miniseries that married the docudrama format with the techniques of investigative journalism. This time, the focus was to be on Canada in the Second World War.⁷⁸ Trina McQueen (Director, TV News and Current Affairs) agreed to collaborate with Brian

⁷² Fred Cleverley, “CBC’s special an act of cruelty to Canada’s vets,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 10 Nov. 1988, file “The Killing Ground,” Program files, CBCRL.

⁷³ Brian McKenna, e-mail to author, 1 February 2012; Anik Awards Committee to Brian McKenna, 22 April 1989, vol. HA 1149, file “The Killing Ground – Award,” P112/G4 – CBC Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

⁷⁴ Documents from vol. 347, file 21, Pierre Berton fonds, McMaster University Archives, Hamilton, ON [hereafter, Pierre Berton fonds, McMaster]: Ivan Fecan to Pierre Berton, 30 March 1989; Dwight Gallinger to Elsa Franklin, 15 May 1989; Dwight Gallinger to Elsa Franklin, 9 May 1989; Dwight Gallinger to Elsa Franklin, 21 April 1989.

⁷⁵ Pierre Berton, *My Times: Living with history, 1947-1995* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1995), 407-8.

⁷⁶ Documents from vol. 347, file 21, Pierre Berton fonds, McMaster: Martin von Mirbach to Elsa Franklin, 12 June 1990; Vivian Moens to Elsa Franklin, 21 September 1990; contract, 16 October 1990.

⁷⁷ Berton, *My Times*, 408.

⁷⁸ History of the project, vol. HA 1346, file “Valour – Hist. of Project,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

McKenna⁷⁹ and Galafilm Inc. in May 1989, offering \$460,000 in cash and \$500,000 in services from the CBC.⁸⁰ McQueen explained that “this is an important project for [the] CBC and you will have full support from us throughout the production.”⁸¹ Société Radio-Canada also committed \$200,000.⁸² By October 1989, research and planning were well underway. As Brian McKenna informed Roman Melnyk (Deputy Director, CBC-TV Programming), “Our research and development has turned up some extraordinary material and the series promises to be even stronger than *The Killing Ground*....”⁸³ The following month, the NFB formally agreed to collaborate on the project, promising roughly \$150,000 in cash and \$350,000 in services.⁸⁴ Because the combined contributions of the NFB and the CBC were not enough to fund the three-part miniseries, the producers sought roughly \$1.1 million from Telefilm Canada’s Broadcast Program Development Fund.⁸⁵ The federal government established the fund in 1983 to encourage ‘independent television program production.’⁸⁶ It functioned, in effect, as a measure of “cost-sharing” which, according to the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy’s 1986 report, “double[d] the number of broadcast hours devoted to

⁷⁹ He provided his services through his companies, McKenna Purcell Productions Inc. and Wartime Productions Inc. For more, see “P112 – Brian McKenna fonds,” *Concordia University Records Management and Archives*, <http://archives.concordia.ca/P112> (accessed 20 June 2013).

⁸⁰ Documents from vol. HA 1152, file “Valour: CBC Correspondence,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia: Trina McQueen to Brian McKenna, 10 May 1989; Trina McQueen to Brian McKenna, 8 March 1990.

⁸¹ Trina McQueen to Brian McKenna, 10 May 1989, vol. HA 1152, file “Valour: CBC Correspondence,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

⁸² The Senate of Canada, *The Valour and the Horror: Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology* (January 1993), 42.

⁸³ Brian McKenna to Roman Melnyk, 26 October 1989, vol. HA 1152, file “Valour: CBC Correspondence,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

⁸⁴ Barbara Emo to Brian McKenna, 17 November 1989, vol. HA 1147, file “NFB Contracts, Legal V&H,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

⁸⁵ Trina McQueen to Brian McKenna, 8 March 1990, vol. HA 1152, file “Valour: CBC Correspondence,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

⁸⁶ Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, 143.

independent production” on CBC-TV in 1984–5.⁸⁷ In the end, Telefilm Canada contributed roughly \$900,000 to the Galafilm-CBC-NFB co-production.⁸⁸ André Lamy and Arnie Gelbart of Galafilm signed on as producers in the spring of 1990, joining Adam Symansky of the NFB and CBC-TV’s Darce Fardy (Area Head, TV Current Affairs).⁸⁹ By that time, the project was known as *The Valour and the Horror*.⁹⁰

The military was intimately involved in the project. It agreed to recreate for the cameras the failed attempt to capture Verrières Ridge during the battle for Normandy.⁹¹ Operation Spring, as it was known, ended in 1,550 casualties, which included the loss of 324 men from the Black Watch.⁹² For the recreation, associate producer Roman Johann Jarymowycz (himself, a lieutenant colonel in the Reserves⁹³) and Brian McKenna sought period uniforms and weapons from groups like the Museum of Applied Military History in King City, Ontario.⁹⁴ In a letter to one prospective supplier, Jarymowycz offered assurances that they had “the enthusiastic support of the Black Watch and the

⁸⁷ Canada, *Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1986), 277-78 and 298.

⁸⁸ The Senate of Canada, *The Valour and the Horror: Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology* (January 1993), 42.

⁸⁹ Documents from vol. HA 1152, file “Valour: CBC Correspondence,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia: Trina McQueen to Brian McKenna, 10 May 1989; Brian McKenna to Don Richardson, 23 April 1990. See also, *The Valour and the Horror*, episode titled “Savage Christmas,” narrated by Terence McKenna, written by Terence and Brian McKenna, directed by Brian McKenna, and produced by Arnie Gelbart, André Lamy, Adam Symansky, and Darce Fardy. 1992; CBC, NFB and SRC, with Telefilm, Paradox, 2007. DVD.

⁹⁰ Trina McQueen to Brian McKenna, 8 March 1990, vol. HA 1152, file “Valour: CBC Correspondence,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

⁹¹ Brian McKenna to Roman Melnyk, 26 October 1989, vol. HA 1152, file “Valour: CBC Correspondence,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

⁹² Granatstein, *Canada’s Army*, 266-69.

⁹³ He taught summer courses at the Staff College of National Defence College in Kingston. See, Roman Jarymowycz to Oberst Hubert Meyer, 31 January 1990, vol. HA 1147, file “Valour: Correspondence with Military,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

⁹⁴ Gavin K. Watt to Brian McKenna and Roman Jarymowycz, n.d., vol. HA 1147, file “Valour: Correspondence with Military,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia; Roman Jarymowycz to G. Tibbetts, 18 February 1990, vol. HA 1152, file “Valour: Costumes, Weapons,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

Department of National Defence.”⁹⁵ The production team also received permission from DND to “liaise directly and work with the Canadian Forces units, both Regular and Militia,” according to Brian McKenna. Brig.-Gen. M-A. Belanger, *Secteur de l’Est (Milice)*, allowed service personnel under his command to participate in the re-enactment.⁹⁶ Among the additional forms of “support”⁹⁷ the production team sought were the use of military helicopters to film Normandy battlefields from above,⁹⁸ as well as permissions to film training exercises in Germany and a “fire power demonstration” at Canadian Forces Base (CFB) Gagetown.⁹⁹ In a letter to Gen. John de Chastelain explaining the desired collaboration, Brian McKenna insisted that the series would “give all Canadians a sense of the grandeur of the sacrifice lying behind every Remembrance Day ceremony.”¹⁰⁰

Veterans were also involved in the production, responding to questionnaires, participating in telephone interviews, and providing photographs to help cast actors with their likenesses.¹⁰¹ Canadian Generals Jacques A. Dextraze,¹⁰² Sydney Radley-Walters,

⁹⁵ Roman Jarymowycz to G. Tibbetts, 18 February 1990, vol. HA 1152, file “Valour: Costumes, Weapons,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

⁹⁶ Documents from vol. HA 1147, file “Valour: Correspondence with Military,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia: letter to Gavin K. Watt, 8 February 1990; Roman Jarymowycz to Col. M. Caines, 5 February 1990; Brian McKenna to Brig.-Gen. A.R. Roy, 2 March 1990; Brian McKenna to Brigadier-General M-A. Belanger, CD, n.d.

⁹⁷ Fax sent to Commodore David Cogdon, 12 August 1990, vol. HA 1147, file “Valour: Correspondence with Military,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

⁹⁸ Fax sent to Maj. W.H. Stuart, 10 April 1990, vol. HA 1147, file “Valour: Correspondence with Military,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

⁹⁹ Fax sent to Commodore David Cogdon, 12 August 1990, vol. HA 1147, file “Valour: Correspondence with Military,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹⁰⁰ Brian McKenna to General John de Chastelain, 30 July 1990, vol. HA 1152, file “DND – Co-op,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹⁰¹ For example, transcription by Diana Czertok, “Ken Brown – Dambusters Pilot, White Rock, B.C., Telephone Interview – Sept. 3, 1990,” 4 September 1990, HA 1154, file “Ken Brown,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia. See also documents from vol. HA 1147, file “Valour: Correspondence with Military,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries,

and George Kitching¹⁰³ were among those who travelled to France to partake in the filming of the Normandy episode.¹⁰⁴ During an interview with Jarymowycz, General Radley-Walters suggested that they also speak to German veterans and provided the names of a few men he had befriended since the war.¹⁰⁵ Jarymowycz took his advice and soon had replies from the likes of Oberst Helmut Ritgen, who agreed to be interviewed.¹⁰⁶ Historian Lt.-Col. John English of the Staff College of National Defence in Kingston also allowed Brian McKenna to participate in a battlefield tour with his students and veterans, including Ritgen. English later remarked that McKenna's interactions with the veterans were "heavy-handed," citing a letter from Ritgen as evidence. Ritgen said that he agreed to be interviewed because he believed they were producing a documentary: "Now I have learnt that this will become an entertain[ment]

McKenna fonds, Concordia: letter to Col. J.W. Powell, 21 April 1990; Roman Jarymowycz to Captain Douglas Noade, 8 February 1990.

¹⁰² He commanded the Fusiliers Mont-Royal in Normandy. He was also a veteran of the Korean War and the UN peacekeeping mission in the Congo, and served from 1972 to 1977 as Chief of the Defence Staff. See, Bercuson and Granatstein, "Dextraze, Jacques Alfred," in *Dictionary of Canadian Military History*, 65.

¹⁰³ He commanded the 4th Canadian Armoured Division in Normandy, until relieved by Simmonds in August 1944. See, Bercuson and Granatstein, "Kitching, George," in *Dictionary of Canadian Military History*, 110.

¹⁰⁴ Documents from vol. HA 1147, file "Valour: Correspondence with Military," P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia: letter to Gen. J.A. Dextraze, 7 April 1990; fax to Maj. W.H. Stuart, 10 April 1990.

¹⁰⁵ Roman Jarymowycz to Oberst Hubert Meyer, 31 January 1990, vol. HA 1147, file "Valour: Correspondence with Military," P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹⁰⁶ Documents in vol. HA 1147, file "Valour: Correspondence with Military," P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia: letters to Oberst Helmut Ritgen dated 21 February 1990 and 7 April 1990.

film ... I am furious....”¹⁰⁷ General Radley-Walters was also surprised when he saw the final product, complaining about its “slanted negative approach....”¹⁰⁸

The strong point of view of the docudrama was also a cause of concern at the CBC. After viewing the episode about Bomber Command, Darce Fardy sent a memo to Nancy DiNunzio (Production Manager, CBC), saying: “Air Marshal Harris appears to be an S.O.B. who enjoyed Bomber Command’s policy to destroy civilian property as well as civilians. I presume that is all supported by the evidence?”¹⁰⁹ DiNunzio forwarded these concerns to Brian McKenna, who replied with promises that “all of the quotes and material is carefully documented, including the words Bomber Harris speaks.” He went on to say that, “To answer Darce’s concerns, we intend to start the film with the following text. ‘This film is based on the testimony and memoirs of those who fought. Every character is real, every conversation documented....’”¹¹⁰ Fardy retired in August 1991 and thus did not oversee the production of the final version.¹¹¹

The three *The Valour and the Horror* films aired in January 1992 as a CBC-TV Current Affairs special. The CBC advertised the series as an attempt to “tell the unvarnished story of three Second World War campaigns.” The title was meant to suggest its overall interpretation of the Second World War: it “celebrates the valour of

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in, The Senate of Canada, *Proceedings of the Standing Senate Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs* (3, 10, 23 and 25 June 1992), 3:74, file “Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992,” Program files, CBCRL. See also, Roman Jarymowycz to Oberst Hubert Meyer, 31 January 1990, vol. HA 1147, file “Valour: Correspondence with Military,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted in H. Clifford Chadderton, “Submission to: The Senate Sub-Committee, Science, Technology and Veterans Affairs” (15 July 1992), 85.

¹⁰⁹ Memo, Darce Fardy to Nancy DiNunzio, 9 July 1991, vol. HA 1152, file “V&H: CBC ‘Vetting’,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹¹⁰ Brian McKenna to Nancy DiNunzio, 9 July 1991, vol. HA 1152, file “Valour: CBC Correspondence,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹¹¹ Darce Fardy, “Official retired before controversy,” *The Toronto Star* (20 November 1992): n.p., file “Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992,” Program files, CBCRL.

those who fought, while condemning the horror of war.”¹¹² However, articles publicizing the series seemed to have missed this message. Laszlo Buhasz wrote in *Broadcast Week* that “it is the telling of those lies and the exposure of official deception surrounding Canada’s participation in the Second World War that are the most powerful ingredients....” of the series.¹¹³ Alan Marshall similarly wrote in *Starweek Magazine* that “[m]any Canadians will be hearing the real story for the first time.”¹¹⁴

The first of the films aired on 12 January. Entitled “Savage Christmas,” it examined the battle for Hong Kong in 1941. Its introduction captured the tone and purpose of the film. As video played of veterans, Bob Manchester and Bob Clayton, walking in a military cemetery, Terence McKenna said, “The details of what happened to these soldiers were for a long time suppressed by the Canadian government. The terrible story is known to very few Canadians. Many Japanese would also prefer that it be forgotten.”¹¹⁵ According to CBC Research, the film received a high Enjoyment Index of 81 and 1.792 million viewers, which was “the highest audience for a CBC current affairs documentary in four seasons.”¹¹⁶ Significantly, CBC Research also found that viewers passively accepted the conclusions of the film. For instance, 84 percent of those polled concluded that “the Canadian government was largely to blame for the massacre

¹¹² Press release, “The Valour and the Horror: Canada and the Second World War,” file “Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹¹³ Laszlo Buhasz, “The Valour and the Horror,” *Broadcast Week* (11-17 January 1992): 7, vol. HA 1152, file “Valour – Pre-Publicity,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹¹⁴ Alan Marshall, “Valiant Efforts,” *Starweek Magazine* (11-18 January 1992): 4, vol. HA 1152, file “Valour – Pre-Publicity,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹¹⁵ *The Valour and the Horror*, film titled “Savage Christmas: Hong Kong 1941,” narrated by Terence McKenna, written by Terence and Brian McKenna, directed by Brian McKenna, and produced by Arnie Gelbart, André Lamy, Adam Symansky, and Darce Fardy. 1992; CBC, NFB and SRC, with Telefilm, Paradox, 2007. DVD.

¹¹⁶ CBC Research report, prepared by Ivar Kangur, “A CBC Research Report, The Valour and the Horror: CBC-TV Audience Panel results for January 1992,” April 1992, HA 1155, file “CBC Audience Research,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

because it sent ill-equipped soldiers on a hopeless mission.” Not all viewers enjoyed the film, however. The CBC heard from several who objected to the use of offensive language, found factual errors, or thought there was too much “Brit-bashing.”¹¹⁷

CBC-TV broadcast the second film, entitled “Death by Moonlight,” on 19 January. It dealt with Bomber Command. Footage of a Second World War-era plane played, as Terence McKenna explained the central theme of the film:

The British High Command knew how few bomber crews would survive, but deliberately hid the truth. That’s not all that was concealed. The crews and the public were told that the bombing targets were German factories and military installations. In fact, in 1942 a secret plan was adopted. Germany would be crushed through the deliberate annihilation of its civilians. Few airmen would ever learn of that plan. They had joined to save democracy.¹¹⁸

Roughly 1.677 million people (an 18 percent share) watched the film, which received an 83 Enjoyment Index.¹¹⁹

The final film aired a week later. “In Desperate Battle” focused on the battle for Normandy. Over a montage of war paintings and the sounds of an artillery barrage, Terence McKenna said the battle for Verrières Ridge was “only one of the cataclysms that befell the Canadian army in Normandy in the summer of 1944. The true story of those battles has never really been told.”¹²⁰ The film received an 86 Enjoyment Index and roughly 1.455 million viewers (a 16 percent share). Significantly, 94 percent of those surveyed by CBC Research said that they “learned a lot” from the film. Among

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ *The Valour and the Horror*, film titled “Death By Moonlight: Bomber Command,” narrated by Terence McKenna, written by Terence and Brian McKenna, directed by Brian McKenna, and produced by Arnie Gelbart, André Lamy, Adam Symansky, and Darce Fardy. 1992; CBC, NFB and SRC, with Telefilm, Paradox, 2007. DVD.

¹¹⁹ CBC Research report, prepared by Ivar Kangur, “A CBC Research Report, The Valour and the Horror: CBC-TV Audience Panel results for January 1992,” April 1992, HA 1155, file “CBC Audience Research,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹²⁰ *The Valour and the Horror*, film titled “In Desperate Battle: Normandy 1944,” narrated by Terence McKenna, written by Terence and Brian McKenna, directed by Brian McKenna, and produced by Arnie Gelbart, André Lamy, Adam Symansky, and Darce Fardy. 1992; CBC, NFB and SRC, with Telefilm, Paradox, 2007. DVD.

them, 88 percent now believed that the “command decisions of General Guy Simmonds were largely to blame for the huge Canadian losses at Normandy.”¹²¹

While many viewers enjoyed the films, a large number did not. CBC Audience Relations in Toronto received complaints that the series “completely distorted the bomber squadron,” that it “painted us as a bunch of butchers,” that it contained “inaccuracies, very negative, biased,” and that it was an “insult to those who joined the army.”¹²² Chadderton was among those to take offense to the second and third films, in particular. In February 1992, he began to formulate a means to not “simply register our criticisms,” but rather to “turn the Government in on itself...” He thought that through appeals to National Defence and Parliament, veterans groups stood a chance of “prevent[ing] this type of thing from happening in the future.”¹²³ There was reason to be concerned. Galafilm submitted a proposal to the CBC for *The Valour and the Horror II* in March 1992. Brian McKenna’s preliminary outline proposed three films about the RCN, Fighter Command, and the wartime roles of women.¹²⁴ In the meantime, CBC-TV rebroadcast *The Valour and the Horror* on Newsworld between 21 March and 4

¹²¹ CBC Research report, prepared by Ivar Kangur, “A CBC Research Report, The Valour and the Horror: CBC-TV Audience Panel results for January 1992,” April 1992, HA 1155, file “CBC Audience Research,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹²² Report produced by Toronto Audience Relations (CBC), “Audience Reaction Report for Television – Jan. 20 – Jan. 24/92,” 27 January 1992, vol. HA 1154, file “V&H: CBC Audience Reaction,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia. For another example, see Dan Riley to Arnie Gelbart, Brian and Terence McKenna, and D’Arcy O’Connor, 30 April 1992, vol. HA 1147, file “V&H – letters for and against,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹²³ Memo, H.C. Chadderton to Executive Officers, Representatives: Member Associations, “CBC Series – The Valour and the Horror,” 10 February 1992, vol. HA 1154, file “Part II Valour War Amps Propaganda,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹²⁴ Galafilm Inc., “The Valour and the Horror II: Planning Document, from research/development to production through broadcast, prepared for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation,” 16 March 1992, vol. HA 1154, file “The Valour and the Horror – Proposal,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

April.¹²⁵ Responding to the “nearly 800 complaints” about the series he reported receiving,¹²⁶ Chadderton called on the Directorate of History and Heritage at National Defence to examine the films and inform the public about its errors.¹²⁷ He also insisted that the series’ companion book should be removed from public libraries.¹²⁸

After several public attacks on their work, Brian McKenna and Arnie Gelbart contacted the lawyer representing the National Council of Veterans and the War Amps. They requested that Chadderton and these organizations “cease and desist from its campaign to libel, with false accusations, the television series, and the book.”¹²⁹ In a confidential report, Jarymowycz confessed considerable concern over Chadderton’s complaints for two reasons. First, his was “the most vicious attack,” which aimed at “censorship.” Second, he represented a “recognized national body that officially speaks on behalf of all the veterans.” Jarymowycz was not, however, concerned that Chadderton’s complaints had any real merit, insisting that “[t]he director’s guilt appears to be that of not agreeing with Mr. Chadderton rather than of historical inaccuracy.”¹³⁰ Assurances from veterans that the series was accurate¹³¹ and letters of support from

¹²⁵ CBC Research report, prepared by Ivar Kangur, “A CBC Research Report, The Valour and the Horror: CBC-TV Audience Panel results for January 1992,” April 1992, HA 1155, file “CBC Audience Research,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹²⁶ H. Clifford Chadderton to T.W. Dench, 7 May 1992, vol. HA 1154, file “V&H: War Amps Attack,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹²⁷ Peter Worthington, “The valor and the distorted,” *The Ottawa Sun* (9 April 1992): 11.

¹²⁸ Philip Marchand, “Librarians caught in middle of World War II controversy,” *The Toronto Star* (15 May 1992): C11.

¹²⁹ Brian McKenna and Arnie Gelbart to W. Bill Neil, 26 May 1992, vol. HA 1154, file “V&H: War Amps Attack,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹³⁰ Confidential memo, Roman Jarymowycz to Arnie Gelbart, 2 June 1992, “Response to War Amps Submission to CRTC dated 1 May 92,” vol. HA 1154, file “Part II Valour War Amps Propaganda,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹³¹ For example, Ben Cunningham to Brian McKenna and Arnie Gelbart, 22 June 1992, vol. HA 1147, file “Valour – Cunningham Letter on His Death Bed,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia; George H. Laing to Patrick Watson, 15 April 1992, vol. HA 1152, file “Letters of Support,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia; Bob Clayton to Brian McKenna, n.d., HA 1155, file “Bob Clayton,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

historians bolstered the production team in their public battle over the films. Historian Brian Villa, for instance, told Patrick Watson (Chairman of the Board of the CBC since 1989) that “[h]onesty is often controversial but I applaud [the] CBC for the courage shown in the searing series.”¹³² Michael Bliss was one of several to feel “distressed by the political campaign being launched to censor...” the series.¹³³

Before long, the government involved itself in the debate. The Deputy Minister of National Defence Robert R. Fowler told CBC President Gérard Veilleux that, by broadcasting the series, “a medium as powerful as television has been used to denigrate the efforts of those who surely deserve better treatment from a grateful nation.”¹³⁴ Several Members of Parliament similarly complained about the films, calling them “revisionist portrayals” and the “poisoned view of revisionist journalists and pseudo-historians.”¹³⁵ The Senate Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs decided to review the series in light of the widespread criticism. Hearings began in June 1992.¹³⁶ Historian Lt.-Col. John English was among those who testified, calling the series “yellow

¹³² Brian Villa to Patrick Watson, 5 May 1992, HA 1155, file “V&H: Historian Brian Villa,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia; Murray Goldblatt, “Editor’s Notebook,” *Content* (November-December 1989): 2.

¹³³ Michael Bliss to Terence McKenna, 13 June 1992, vol. HA 1147, file “V&H – letters for and against,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia. For another example, see M. Graeme Decarie to Arnie Gelbart, 23 June 1992, HA 1155, file “Historians: D’Este, Decarie, Bliss, Granatstein, Suthren, Harris,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia. He was well aware of the challenges of translating history to film, having served as a consultant on *Chasing Rainbows* in 1988 and *Glory Enough for All*, which was based on his book, *The Discovery of Insulin*. See, *Chasing Rainbows*, episode no. 7, first broadcast 15 March 1988 by CBC, a Northernlight & Picture Corp.-CBC co-production, created by Douglas Bowie and Mark Blandford, and produced by John Galt, Charles Pantuso and Brookes McGrath Field, ISN: 85533, LAC; *Glory Enough for All*, first broadcast 16 October 1988 by CBC, a Gemstone, Primedia, CBC and Thames Television co-production, directed by Eric Till and produced by Gordon Hinch, ISN: 106532, LAC; Michael Bliss, *Writing History: A Professor’s Life* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2011), 272-74.

¹³⁴ Robert R. Fowler to Gérard Veilleux, 23 April 1992, HA 1155, file “Letters to CBC Pres from DND Dep. Min.” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹³⁵ Canada, *House of Commons Debates* (2 June 1992), n.p. (Mr. Lee Clark, MP), vol. HA 1155, file “V&H: Commons,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia; Canada, *House of Commons Debates* (15 June 1992), p. 12010 (Mr. Ross Belsher, MP).

¹³⁶ The Senate of Canada, *Proceedings of the Standing Senate Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs* (3, 10, 23 and 25 June 1992), issue no. 3, first proceedings on “The CBC series: The Valour and the Horror,” file “Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992,” Program files, CBCRL.

journalism,” Brian McKenna a “petulant flower child,” and insisting that many veterans who worked on the project felt “duped or compromised.”¹³⁷ The Subcommittee also received submissions from veterans, including a 90-page report from Chadderton that sought “not necessarily to register a complaint about parts II and III of the series,” but instead to point out their “flaws” and “promote public debate....”¹³⁸

From the beginning, there were questions about the validity of the hearings. Brian McKenna was convinced the series would not receive a fair hearing because the Subcommittee’s chair, Senator Jack Marshall (a veteran of the battle for Normandy), was “on the record both in the Senate and in a letter to us as expressing extreme antipathy toward these programs. He’s made up his mind.”¹³⁹ Veilleux also complained that supporters of the series were not allowed to testify.¹⁴⁰ Newspapers joined the debate, with arguments that the hearings were “a complete waste of public money,”¹⁴¹ a “Witch-Hunt,” and a “farcical charade” (Figure 10).¹⁴² The debate raged unabated throughout the summer and into the fall of 1992, when the Senate hearings resumed.¹⁴³ While Brian McKenna was dismayed by the list of 40 witnesses for the new session, of

¹³⁷ Documents from file “Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992,” Program files, CBCRL: quoted in Geoffrey York, “Battle lines drawn,” *The Globe and Mail*, 26 June 1992; The Senate of Canada, *Proceedings of the Standing Senate Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs* (3, 10, 23 and 25 June 1992), 3:74 and 3:75.

¹³⁸ H. Clifford Chadderton, “Submission to: The Senate Sub-Committee, Science, Technology and Veterans Affairs” (15 July 1992), 82.

¹³⁹ Quoted in Mike Boone, “CBC film-maker on Senate hot seat,” *The Gazette*, 10 June 1992, p. C10; Chris Cobb, “Senators begin hearings on controversial war documentary,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, 26 June 1992, p. H4.

¹⁴⁰ Press release, 25 June 1992, file “Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁴¹ Chris Cobb, “Senators begin hearings on controversial war documentary,” *The Ottawa Citizen* (26 June 1992): H4.

¹⁴² Bob Remington, “Senate witch-hunt sets a frightening precedent,” *The Edmonton Journal*, 27 June 1992, p. C4.

¹⁴³ For example, “CBC finds factual errors in documentary, veteran says,” *The Globe and Mail*, 17 Oct. 1992, p. C17; Michael Bliss, “Senate censors threaten freedoms won in war,” *The Toronto Star*, 6 Aug. 1992, p. A21.

which he said “36 are hostile and four basically are on our side,”¹⁴⁴ he did have the opportunity to testify.¹⁴⁵ So, too, did the Chair of the NFB, Joan Pennefather, who said *The Valour and the Horror* did “great honour to the many individuals who fought during the war years.”¹⁴⁶

Around that time, CBC Ombudsman William Morgan – whose job it was to review/investigate complaints about CBC journalism¹⁴⁷ – released his report about the series.¹⁴⁸ Among other complaints, he pointed to serious allegations made in the films that were not proven and that dramatic elements were not clearly “identified.” As a result, he concluded that “the series as it stands is flawed and fails to measure up to CBC’s demanding policies and standards.”¹⁴⁹ The CBC responded by announcing that, unless the series was revised to meet the standards set forth in the CBC’s “Journalistic Policy” (est. 1982), it would not be rebroadcast.¹⁵⁰ *The Toronto Star* called Morgan’s report a condemnation of the series, while the Writers Guild of Canada chastised CBC

¹⁴⁴ Quoted in “Senate battle to resume on truth of CBC war film,” *The Toronto Star*, 1 Nov. 1992, p. B8.

¹⁴⁵ Excerpts published here, “How officials covered up a Canadian military tragedy,” *The Gazette*, 12 Nov. 1992, p. B3; Brian McKenna, “Horrors of unveiling some truths about Canada’s war role,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, 11 Nov. 1992, p. A11.

¹⁴⁶ John Ward, “NFB head defends controversial series,” *The Globe and Mail*, 3 Nov. 1992, file “Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992,” Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁴⁷ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “CBC OMBUDSMAN: Office of Journalistic Policy and Practices – Your opinion is important to us!” (1991).

¹⁴⁸ Excerpts were published in national newspapers. See, “Another look at *The Valour and the Horror*,” *The Globe and Mail*, 12 Nov. 1992, p. A21.

¹⁴⁹ Report, William Morgan, Ombudsman, November 1992, file “Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992,” Program files, CBCRL. Two historians whom the CBC Ombudsman consulted in the preparation of his report published a collection of their letters, their assessments of the series, along with critiques from three other historians, the Morgan’s report and the Galafilm response. See, David Bercuson and S.F. Wise, ed., *The Valour and the Horror Revisited* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994).

¹⁵⁰ Press release, “CBC’s Ombudsman Reports on *The Valour and the Horror* Series,” 10 November 1992, file “Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992,” Program files, CBCRL; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *Journalistic Policy* (Ottawa: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1982), 30.

management's "morally bankrupt and professionally inexcusable" decisions.¹⁵¹ Galafilm responded by calling the report "unfair," citing its reliance on historians known to be critics of the series, and claiming its judgements were "entirely unsubstantiated in fact."¹⁵² McKenna was even blunter, calling the report a "miscarriage of justice."¹⁵³

Chadderton declared "victory."¹⁵⁴ Indeed, the report so closely echoed his views that Marilyn Simonds Mohr (co-author of the companion book to *The Valour and the Horror*) alleged that Chadderton had somehow influenced Morgan. Chadderton did submit two reports to Morgan, the first in May 1992 and the second in July.¹⁵⁵ However, Morgan denied any suggestion of undue influence.¹⁵⁶ Regardless, Paul Cowan thought Chadderton was right to declare victory, telling Michael Enright on CBC radio's *As It Happens*, "I think that ... [veterans] will control what is said about

¹⁵¹ Documents from file "Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992," Program files, CBCRL: William Walker, "CBC official condemns controversial war series," *The Toronto Star*, 11 Nov. 1992; Christopher Harris, "CBC officials condemned for handling of program," *The Globe and Mail*, 13 Nov. 1992. See also, Norman Webster, "Cowardly Broadcasting Corporation," *The Gazette*, 14 Nov. 1992, p. B5.

¹⁵² Galafilm report, "Response to the CBC Ombudsman Report of November 10, 1992," 10 November 1992, vol. HA 1155, file "Response to Ombudsman," P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia; "Another look at The Valour and the Horror," *The Globe and Mail*, 12 Nov. 1992, file "Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992," Program files, CBCRL.

¹⁵³ Quoted in Canadian Press newswire, 10 November 1992, file "Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992," Program files, CBCRL; Stephen Godfrey, "CBC tried for ways to mollify veterans," *The Globe and Mail*, 11 Nov. 1992, p. A1.

¹⁵⁴ Documents from file "Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992," Program files, CBCRL: Canada NewsWire, "Statement by Cliff Chadderton: CBC Ombudsman's Report has been Accepted by the CBC Board of Directors," 10 November 1992; Mediascan transcript of *As It Happens*, "'The Valour and the Horror' Slammed by the CBC Network," 10 November 1992.

¹⁵⁵ H. Clifford Chadderton, "Submission to: Ombudsman, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation" (22 May 1992); H. Clifford Chadderton, "Final Submission to: Ombudsman, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation" (20 July 1992), 1.

¹⁵⁶ William Morgan, "No friendly persuasion here," *The Toronto Star*, 5 Dec. 1992, file "Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992," Program files, CBCRL.

the war from now to the foreseeable future. They will control whatever is said about Canada's efforts in all wars."¹⁵⁷

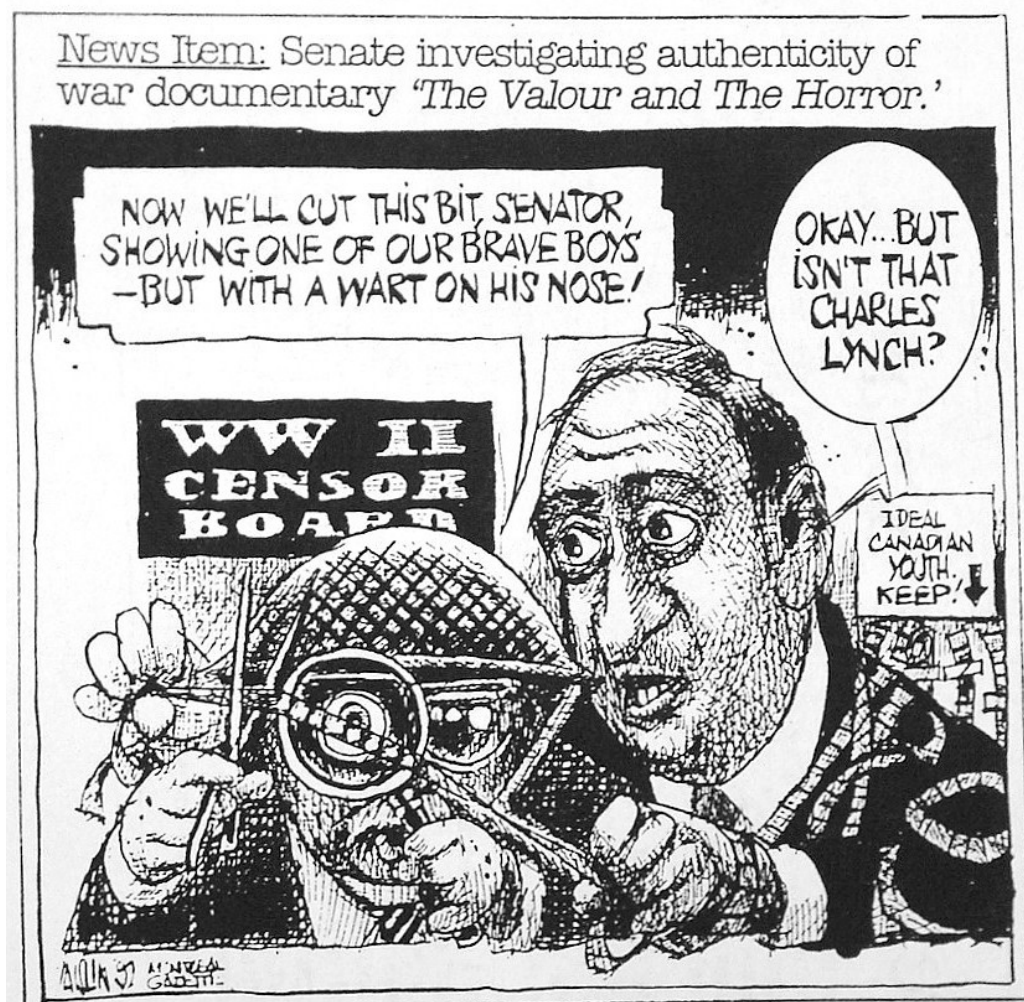


Figure 10. An editorial cartoon commenting on the response to *The Valour and the Horror*.

Source: *The Ottawa Citizen* (28 June 1992).

Reproduced with the permission of Terry Mosher (Aislin).

It was not a complete victory, however. In April 1992, the CRTC agreed to review *The Valour and the Horror*, in response to the roughly 100 viewer complaints it

¹⁵⁷ Mediascan transcript of *As It Happens*, "The Valour and the Horror," 11 November 1992, file "Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992," Program files, CBCRL. Similar quote in Shlomo Schwartzberg, "Producers feel threatened by docudrama controversy," *The Financial Post*, 28 Nov. 1992, p. S10.

received.¹⁵⁸ While it contained inaccuracies, CRTC Secretary-General Allan Darling insisted that “the filmmakers ... appear to have reasonable grounds for the assertions made in the series....”¹⁵⁹ Moreover, although there was much talk about a “chill” at the CBC in the wake of the controversy, Tim Kotcheff (Vice-President, News and Current Affairs) insisted that “we’ll continue to be controversial.... If we offend no one, we’re not doing our job.”¹⁶⁰ He made that statement when he announced the CBC’s intention to rebroadcast *The Valour and the Horror* early in 1993.¹⁶¹ Pennefather similarly said that the NFB would continue to sell copies of the series on videotape.¹⁶²

Around that time, the Senate released its report about the series. Among its recommendations were requests that a disclaimer precede the films, stating that they were “only partly based on fact,” and that the series not be rebroadcast.¹⁶³ For its part, the board of education in East York ensured that it would not be shown in its schools, except as a tool to teach older students about bias.¹⁶⁴ The most vehement condemnation of the series, however, came from the Bomber Harris Trust, which took the filmmakers to court. At the heart of its grievance were 41 “statements, dramatizations, inferences, innuendos, depictions and distortions” made in the episode about Bomber Command

¹⁵⁸ Canadian Press, “CRTC to probe war series,” *The Globe and Mail* (25 April 1992): n.p., file “Productions – The Valour & the Horror – 1992,” Program files, CBCRL; Stephen Godfrey, “CRTC report defends Valour and Horror,” *The Globe and Mail* (19 December 1992): A1. Like the Ombudsman, the CRTC also received a submission from Chadderton, detailing errors in the films about Bomber Command and Normandy. H. Clifford Chadderton, “Submission to: Mr. Keith Spicer, Chairman, Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission” (4 May 1992), i-ii.

¹⁵⁹ Quoted in Stephen Godfrey, “CRTC report defends Valour and Horror,” *The Globe and Mail*, 19 Dec. 1992, p. A1-A2.

¹⁶⁰ John Haslett Cuff, “CBC to rerun Valour and Horror,” *The Globe and Mail*, 17 Dec. 1992, p. C5; Karen Mazurkewich, “Furor over The Valour casts ‘chill,’” *Playback*, 23 Nov. 1992, 1 and 37.

¹⁶¹ Alan Hustak, “CBC to rerun Valour and Horror docudrama,” *The Gazette*, 20 Dec. 1992, p. A1.

¹⁶² Christopher Guly, “Debate rages on over CBC war series,” *Today’s Senior* (January 1993): 7.

¹⁶³ The Senate of Canada, *The Valour and the Horror: Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology* (January 1993), 60-61.

¹⁶⁴ Canadian Press newswire, 10 September 1993, HA 1154, file “Part III Valour War Amps Propaganda,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

that it argued were “not true.”¹⁶⁵ The Trust sought either \$500 million in damages or \$50 million and that “every showing of the film be preceded by a disclaimer....”¹⁶⁶ It read:

The following programme portrays only the opinions of the producers and contains statements of fact which are untrue, alterations of documents, distortions and misrepresentations of fact.

The dramatizations are fictional and bear very little resemblance to anyone living or dead and do not represent the official view of the Government of Canada or any Crown Corporation or Agency representing the Government of Canada.¹⁶⁷

The Trust published their Statement of Claim in 1994 so that it might reach “a wider audience.”¹⁶⁸ Two years later, the veterans lost in the Ontario Court of Appeal.¹⁶⁹

Undaunted by their critics, the filmmakers continued to stand by their work. Publicist Lorraine Jamison even proposed responding to the ongoing criticism with a “public relations campaign” in defence of the series.¹⁷⁰ Perhaps the strongest statement they could make in support of their work, however, was to ensure it was rebroadcast on television. That chance came in October 1993, when Channel 4 purchased the rights to broadcast *The Valour and the Horror* on British television.¹⁷¹ Before it aired in August 1994, Channel 4 received complaints from the likes of the Queen Mother, who was

¹⁶⁵ The Bomber Harris Trust, *A Battle For Truth: Canadian Aircrews sue the CBC over Death By Moonlight: Bomber Command* (Agincourt, ON: Ramsay Business, 1994), xv and 10.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., xv.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 19.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., xiii.

¹⁶⁹ Canadian Press newswire, 7 March 1996, HA 1147, file “Valour & Horror – Lawsuit,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹⁷⁰ Lorraine Jamieson to Arnie Gelbart, 23 November 1993, vol. HA 1346, file “Valour CBC Politics,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹⁷¹ Arnie Gelbart to Peter Bernotas and Ed Carson, 6 October 1993, vol. HA 1346, file “Valour CBC Politics,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia. They also purchased the rights to the BBC drama *Boys of St. Vincent*. They decided to air these CBC programs during the summer months “because the opposition is weaker.” See, John Willis to Arnie Gelbart, 25 April 1994, vol. HA 1147, file “V&H – Channel 4 Broadcast,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia; John Willis to Arnie Gelbart, 3 May 1994, vol. HA 1155, file “V&H Channel 4,” P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

patron of the Bomber Command Association.¹⁷² In its wake, the Independent Television Commission¹⁷³ (the British equivalent of the CRTC) conducted a review of the series, for which it requested a copy of the CBC Ombudsman's report and the "official CBC response" from the CBC's London bureau. Its director, Jack Craine,¹⁷⁴ advised Bob Culbert (Head, TV Current Affairs) that his "ITC informant ... mentioned that the Chairman of the ITC, George Russell 'has taken a personal interest in the affair.'"¹⁷⁵ There was little hope of seeing the series again on CBC-TV after President Perrin Beatty personally assured Chadderton in 1996 that it would not be repeated.¹⁷⁶

The military faced scrutiny, not only on history programs like *The Valour and the Horror*, but also on the news during these years. In 1990, Mohawks staged a large-scale protest against the expansion of a golf course on disputed ground in Oka, Quebec. After the Mohawks replied to injunctions with steadfast refusals to remove the barricades they erected, the Quebec provincial police moved in on 11 July. The resulting confrontation ended with the death of a policeman and a standoff.¹⁷⁷ On 6 August, the province asked the army to serve in aid of the civil power. According to J.L. Granatstein, "[w]ith

¹⁷² "Royal concern over bomber Harris film," *The Times*, 27 June 1994, vol. HA 1155, file "V&H Channel 4," P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹⁷³ It derived its authority from the British *Broadcasting Act* of 1990. It ceased to exist in 2003, when replaced by Ofcom. See, Ofcom, "Foreword," *Ofcom: Independent regulator and competition authority for the UK communications industries*, <http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/broadcasting/broadcast-codes/legacy/itc-programme-code/foreward> (accessed 13 June 2013); United Kingdom, *Broadcasting Act*, 1990, c. 1.

¹⁷⁴ He took up the position in 1989. See, news release, 20 June 1989, file "Craine, Jack," Biography files, CBCRL.

¹⁷⁵ Jack Craine to Bob Culbert, "Subject: The Valour and the Horror," 26 August 1994, vol. HA 1155, file "V&H Channel 4," P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹⁷⁶ Canada NewsWire, 3 April 1996, vol. HA 1147, file "Valour – 96 Politics," P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹⁷⁷ J.R. Miller, "Oka crisis," in *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History*, ed. Gerald Hallowell, 460 (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2004), 460; Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, 379.

television crews on the scene each and every day, the army had to do its task in the full glare of publicity.”¹⁷⁸

That glare was brighter than it had been in the past because of the establishment of Canada’s first all-news channel. Its creation was recommended by the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy (1986) and made possible by the CRTC decision to invite applications for licences for “specialty television services” in 1986.¹⁷⁹ The growing influence of the American Cable News Network (CNN) was also a significant stimulus. By the late 1980s, CNN reached roughly 1.3 million Canadian homes.¹⁸⁰ Surveys suggested that there was demand for a Canadian alternative: the CRTC found that 79 percent would tune in to a “Canadian all-news channel.”¹⁸¹ It was within this context that the CBC submitted its application to the CRTC in April 1987 for what Gordon Noble (Director of Corporate Affairs) described as “a CBC owned-and-operated, 24-hour-a-day English-language national and information service.”¹⁸² The CRTC consented and Newsworld, as it became known, began operations on 31 July 1989.¹⁸³

What made the channel unique was its ability to broadcast 24-hours a day, live as news broke,¹⁸⁴ and its freedom to broadcast full-length news conferences,¹⁸⁵ like the

¹⁷⁸ Granatstein, *Canada’s Army*, 380.

¹⁷⁹ Gordon Noble to Fernand Bélisle, 30 April 1987, in “A proposal for an all-Canadian News Channel by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation,” by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (30 April 1987), n.p.; Canada, *Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy*, 304.

¹⁸⁰ Diane Turbide and William Lowther, “Newsworld’s U.S. Model,” *Maclean’s* (7 August 1989): 42. See also, “Issues and Events,” *Broadcaster* 49, no. 1 (January 1990): 12.

¹⁸¹ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “English-language News and Information Channel” (1987).

¹⁸² Gordon Noble to Fernand Bélisle, 30 April 1987, in “A proposal for an all-Canadian News Channel by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation,” by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (30 April 1987), n.p.

¹⁸³ Hugh Winsor, “The Enemy Within,” *Scan* 2, no. 6 (July/August 1989): 7; Lynda Ashley, “CBC Deserves Better,” *Broadcaster* 48, no. 2 (February 1989): 5; Gene Allen, John Howse and Ian Mather, “News Around the Clock,” *Maclean’s* (7 August 1989): 40.

¹⁸⁴ Tony Atherton, “The all-news channel: Broadcasters speculate on long-term effects,” *Content* (March-April 1989): 9.

¹⁸⁵ For more about this, see Peter Desbarats, “Filling a void: Newsworld covers stories that have been ignored on conventional newscasts,” *Content* (September-October 1989): 8.

update on the Oka standoff provided by General de Chastelain on 27 August 1990. After talks between the Mohawks and the federal and provincial negotiators broke down, Premier Robert Bourassa instructed the military to remove the barricades.¹⁸⁶ Addressing this development, General de Chastelain stressed that “[t]his is not a military situation. This is Canada. We’re at peace.”¹⁸⁷ The language was significantly different at a National Defence news conference the following day, broadcast on Newsworld. It evoked the language of war to stress the strength of the Mohawks, referring to their “paramilitary” trenches, “bunker-like” installations, the construction of an “extensive anti-tank ditch,” and the “military and paramilitary training” of the Warriors. Over aerial surveillance photographs, narrator Col. Bob Elrick explained that “the warrior positions in fact constitute military strong points.” He went on to show and discuss the “modern weapons” the Mohawks had, among them AK-47 rifles, UZI submachine guns, M-16 rifles, and RPK-74 light machine guns.¹⁸⁸ That same day, Lt.-Gen. Kent Foster told the press that “[w]e are now starting on a military operation.”¹⁸⁹

Newsworld covered the army’s efforts to dismantle the barricades live, to dramatic effect. On 29 August, *This Day* reported that “army trucks pulling Howitzers” had moved within range of the blockaded Mercier Bridge, before stopping to await instructions. On a news program from Montreal that followed, Joyce Napier was reporting on joint Mohawk-military efforts to dismantle a barricade on one of the area highways, when anchor Dennis Trudeau interrupted with breaking news. “Let me just

¹⁸⁶ *This Day*, first broadcast 27 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Deborah Lamb, ISN: 176015, LAC.

¹⁸⁷ *This Country, Hour One*, first broadcast 27 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Don Newman and Wei Chen, ISN: 176016, LAC.

¹⁸⁸ *Department of National Defence: News Conference*, first broadcast 28 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld, a CBC Newsworld production, hosted by Bill Casey, ISN: 184218, LAC.

¹⁸⁹ [CBC Newsworld], first broadcast 28 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld, a CBC Newsworld production, news read by Lorne Saxberg, ISN: 184219, LAC.

break in..." he began, "because we now have confirmation from the Canadian Forces. They confirm that they have reached an agreement with the Mohawk for the dismantling of the Mercier Bridge barricade. Now ... whether that means all the barricades around the ... Kahnawake, I'm not clear on that right now, but that's just been handed to me."¹⁹⁰ The urgency and uncertainty of such updates added to the drama of the situation.



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Figure 11. Mohawks watching Oka crisis news on barricades, Kanehsatake, Quebec, 28 August 1990.

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Source: Library and Archives Canada/Credit: Benoît Aquin/Fonds Benoît Aquin/R9330-0-2-F Item 7-7A.

In its coverage of the efforts to dismantle the barricades, reporters stressed the military's restraint. For example, on 30 August, Napier reported on *Newswatch* that "there seems to be ... a division in the Mohawk community between those who want

¹⁹⁰ *This Day*, first broadcast 29 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Deborah Lamb, ISN: 176014, LAC.

the barricades dismantled peacefully and those who don't.”¹⁹¹ Few events better conveyed this impression than the image of the self-restrained Canadian Forces soldier standing nose-to-nose with a frustrated, angry Mohawk Warrior. That moment, which has become synonymous with the Oka crisis,¹⁹² occurred on 1 September. It was recorded by CBC camera people and then shown as “raw, unedited footage...” on a *Newswatch Special Report*. Footage of the pair facing off played twice during that special¹⁹³ and several more times the following day. On 2 September, Patricia White narrated the footage on a newscast, explaining that after the Canadian Forces took control of the barricade at Oka, “Warriors one by one walked to the army lines and confronted the soldiers. They moved within inches of troopers and stared eyeball to eyeball.”¹⁹⁴ A clip followed, wherein the Mohawk Warrior whooped in the face of the soldier. When asked about his actions by a reporter for *Newswatch*, the Warrior explained that “I just wanna look at their face before I kill them.”¹⁹⁵

In the next days, Mohawk representatives and CBC reporters followed the military's lead, using the language of war to describe the standoff. On *Newswatch*, Mohawk spokesperson Ellen Gabriel criticized the provincial government's “idea of a peaceful resolution, by sending in the troops and invading our territory.”¹⁹⁶ For Eric

¹⁹¹ *This Country, Hour One*, first broadcast 30 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Don Newman and Wei Chen, ISN: 176159, LAC. Also discussed by reporter Paul Adams, see *This Day*, first broadcast 30 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Deborah Lamb, ISN: 176146, LAC.

¹⁹² Catherine Saouter, *Images et société: Le progrès, les médias, la guerre* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2003), 150.

¹⁹³ *Newswatch Special*, first broadcast 1 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Dennis Trudeau, ISN: 167512, LAC.

¹⁹⁴ [CBC Newsworld], first broadcast 2 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld, a CBC Newsworld production, hosted by Patricia White, ISN: 175984, LAC.

¹⁹⁵ *Newswatch Special*, first broadcast 2 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Dennis Trudeau, ISN: 175985, LAC. Also played on *Newswatch Special*, 2 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Dennis Trudeau, ISN: 175985, LAC.

¹⁹⁶ [CBC Newsworld], first broadcast 1 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld, a CBC Newsworld production, hosted by Noel Richardson, ISN: 167514, LAC.

Rankin (a correspondent for *The Journal*), the situation was “like a scene out of the Battle of the Bulge....”¹⁹⁷ Reporter John Curtain called it a “war of attrition, a war of nerves...” during a *Newswatch Special*.¹⁹⁸ On 4 September, Ron Charles reported on the events at the Mercier Bridge, saying that “it was a routine military operation to secure the entire bridge.”¹⁹⁹ When the crisis ended on 29 September, news anchor Kirk Lapointe said, “After 77 days of standoff, surrender by the Mohawks, the battle [was] now to be conducted across the table.”²⁰⁰

There was some criticism of the press in the wake of the crisis. There were, for instance, concerns that the media’s obsession with violence was self-fulfilling. As Professor of Broadcast Journalism Ross Perigoe argued, whenever Mohawks from Oka

called the local television news rooms to tell them about a planned protest, the question always came back, “Will there be any guns?” The media, in other words, were saying, “We’ll only cover you if there is the possibility of violence.” In some ways one might even conclude that the media were, by inference, counselling the Mohawks that violence or the threat of violence gets attention.²⁰¹

Others used the Oka crisis as an opportunity to talk about best practices for war reporting. Among them was Geoffrey York of *The Globe and Mail*, who characterized the barricades as a “war zone.”²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ *Newswatch Special*, first broadcast 1 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Dennis Trudeau, ISN: 167512, LAC.

¹⁹⁹ *Newswatch*, first broadcast 4 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Dennis Trudeau, ISN: 176018, LAC. See also, [CBC Newsworld], first broadcast 2 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld, a CBC Newsworld production, hosted by Patricia White, ISN: 175984, LAC.

²⁰⁰ *Week’s End*, first broadcast 29 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Kirk Lapointe, ISN: 175901, LAC.

²⁰¹ Ross Perigoe, “The media and minorities: Native concerns ignored unless there’s a conflict,” *Content* (September-October 1990): 12.

²⁰² Geoffrey York, “In defence of the truth: Reporters behind Oka barricades ‘weren’t agents of propaganda,’” *Content* (November-December 1990): 18. See also, Randy Boswell, “Oka: Crisis in journalism,” *Content* (January-February 1991): 17.

The quality of war reporting was a particularly pressing concern, as Canada at the time was bracing for war. In August 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait, taking control of oil-rich territory upon which the West depended.²⁰³ Canada responded by sending a squadron of fighter aircraft and a small naval Task Force, composed of HMCS *Athabaskan* and *Terra Nova*, along with the supply ship *Protecteur*, to join a US-led coalition.²⁰⁴ In November, the UN Security Council authorized the coalition to forcibly remove Iraq from Kuwait if it did not withdraw voluntarily before 15 January 1991.²⁰⁵ In the meantime, reporters faced new challenges in the reporting on war. The experience of journalist John Scully²⁰⁶ was particularly revealing. He was in Iraq, near the Iranian border, when he and his crew

stumbled upon a convoy of rocket-bearing missile carriers. We were not supposed to film any Iraqi military but I took a chance. A couple of nights later, the Canadian Ambassador invited us to dinner. This is not an uncommon practice to this day. But the diplomats have a very different agenda. I think it was a guy with the title of Third Secretary [who] wanted to know an awful lot about that convoy, and he asked me to report to him any further troop movements I saw. Oh, sure. So gentle arm-twisting had no effect, I'm confident to say. The only person I reported to was thousands of miles away in Toronto.²⁰⁷

Additionally, media-military relations in the west were becoming ever more strained in the 1980s and 1990s. During the Falklands conflict, for instance, the British Ministry of Defence tightly controlled the release of information. In *Content*, Lee Lester suggested that this was evidence the British had learned the lessons of Vietnam and were

²⁰³ United Nations, *Blue Helmets*, 672-73 and 675; Major Jean Morin and Lieutenant Commander Richard H. Gimblett, *Operation Friction, 1990-1991: The Canadian Forces in the Persian Gulf* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997), 13.

²⁰⁴ Morin and Gimblett, *Operation Friction*, 30, 65 97 and 99.

²⁰⁵ United Nations, *Blue Helmets*, 677; Morin and Gimblett, *Operation Friction*, 15-17.

²⁰⁶ Scully worked at the BBC and CTV before joining the CBC in the 1980s, working first at *the fifth estate* and later at *CBC At Six*. In 1991, journalist Lionel Lumb described him as "one of the world's finest television field producers." See, "Talk," *Scan* 3, no. 2 (November-December 1989): 15; John Scully, e-mail to author, 12 February 2012; Lionel Lumb, "Provincializing the CBC," *Content* (November-December 1991): 7.

²⁰⁷ John Scully, e-mail to author, 12 February 2012.

determined not to lose the war on television, as many believed US President Lyndon Johnson had.²⁰⁸ According to Scully, during the conflict in the Gulf, the US was similarly “determined not to allow a backlash against their troops, as happened in the waning days of the Vietnam War by a very critical and unfettered media.”²⁰⁹

Two other broad trends defined the coverage of the forces in the Persian Gulf leading up to the 15 January deadline. First, National Defence actively worked to foster positive public image by humanizing the forces. For example, it was responsible for a sentimental program of “Christmas greetings” from troops serving in the Persian Gulf, broadcast by CBC-TV on Christmas Day.²¹⁰ Second, CBC news coverage stressed the significance of the military’s activities in the Persian Gulf for Canada’s international relations. For instance, David Halton reported on Newsworld’s *Canada Live* that, while the United States would be “calling the shots,” National Defence and politicians were providing assurances that “when it comes to ... committing Canadian forces, it will be a Canadian decision, that those forces will be under Canadian command.”²¹¹ There was also a great deal of discussion about what new combat roles might mean for Canada’s peacekeeping image, which even impacted the Remembrance Day telecast of the ceremonies in Ottawa in 1990. In a report for that broadcast, Susan Ormistan said over film of the naval Task Force at sea, “these are the images many Canadians will reflect on – normally, keepers of peace....” As her voice trailed off, viewers saw a sailor fire a

²⁰⁸ Lee Lester, “Meddling by the British Ministry of Defence,” *Content* H5 (November-December 1982): 6.

²⁰⁹ John Scully, e-mail to author, 12 February 2012. These ideas are echoed in Ryan Telford, “The Military-Media Dynamic: Challenges for Canada,” *The Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, Strategic Datalink # 107* (September 2002): 1-4.

²¹⁰ *Christmas in the Gulf*, first broadcast 25 December 1990 by CBC Newsworld, a CBC Newsworld production, tape courtesy of the Department of National Defence, ISN: 174133, LAC.

²¹¹ *Canada Live*, first broadcast 14 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld, a CBC Newsworld production, hosted by Anne Petrie and news read by Sheldon Turcotte, ISN: 179619, LAC.

machine gun from the deck of one of the ships into the water.²¹² Politicians also debated the possible consequences of participation. During Newsworld's live coverage of the House of Commons on 15 January, Prime Minister Mulroney gave a speech in which he insisted that

Over the decades Canada has made contributions to the cause of peace that have been substantial and effective, but we have always known as Canadians that peace comes to those who are willing to defend it. Indeed, it is because our parents ... courageously resisted aggression in the past, in places far away that we today are members of this democratic parliament in a free and an independent country. [Applause] ... I believe that we honour that heritage and we respect noble Canadian traditions today by standing firm in support of the only international institution that can guarantee a durable peace in the world. If anything can, it is the United Nations, and we must stand today in helping the United Nations suppress aggression against an innocent member state. That has been Canada's tradition over decades and I believe, Mr. Speaker, that remains Canada's obligation today.²¹³

As the UN's deadline passed without Iraq's withdrawal, Newsworld's *This Country* stressed the military's preparedness for war. Martin Seemungal reported from the CF18 base in Qatar that "the soldiers and airmen all agree: they'll continue to do the jobs they've been doing for weeks now and be ready if fighting begins." Co-host Whit Fraser spoke to Cpl. Bob Mackenzie on the phone from the Operations Centre in Qatar, who offered similar assurances that the CF18s were "shipshape and ready to go if they're required." Capt. Rod Gray, a public affairs officer stationed at CFB Bahrain, said much the same: "we're confident in our training, confident in the equipment that we have ... and confident in ... the role that we're playing."²¹⁴

²¹² *CBC-TV News Special*, first broadcast 11 November 1990 by CBC, a CBC news specials production, hosted by Don Newman and Major George Pearce (Ret), ISN: 175893, LAC.

²¹³ *Gulf Crisis*, first broadcast 15 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld, a CBC Newsworld production, hosted by Jane Gilbert, ISN: 184292, LAC. See also, *Newscentre*, first broadcast 15 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Lorne Saxberg, ISN: 179820, LAC.

²¹⁴ *This Country*, first broadcast 16 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Whit Fraser and Wei Chen, ISN: 179816, LAC.

In their efforts to cover the war that followed, Canadian reporters faced considerable constraints. They could not gain access to American press pools and, thus, had to rely on briefings in Ottawa, Washington and telecast from Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. As a result, according to Rear Admiral Larry Murray, the ratio of reporters to pilots in places like Qatar was at times 30:36.²¹⁵ The news reflected these conditions and the small role played by the Canadian Forces. Seemungal was among those reporting from Qatar on 18 January. In a report for *This Country*, over footage of jets on the tarmac, he said that the fighter pilots had not “taken part in any offensive operations so far, because they’ve been busy patrolling over the Gulf, filling in for other fighters, called off to fly missions to Iraq and Kuwait, but the base commander says their call could come at any time.”²¹⁶ The following day, Keith Boag reported on a DND briefing in Ottawa, saying that the CF18s would soon “head out on their first sweep and escort missions and that could bring them into their closest contact yet with enemy fire.”²¹⁷ There was still no combat to report on 21 January, as Denise Harrington explained that because of bad weather, “eight Canadian fighters took off to clear the skies for a bombing mission in Iraq and, for the second time, they couldn’t complete their mission.” Like others before her, she relied on a military press conference in Ottawa, as well as footage from the Qatar air base.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Christopher Young, “The role of the media in international conflict: a report on a two-day seminar held in Ottawa 12-13 September 1991,” Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, Working Paper no. 38, 7.

²¹⁶ *Gulf War*, first broadcast 18 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Whit Fraser and Wei Chen, ISN: 184294, LAC.

²¹⁷ *Evening News*, first broadcast 19 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld, a CBC Newsworld production, hosted by Noel Richardson, ISN: 184295, LAC.

²¹⁸ *This Day*, first broadcast 21 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld, hosted by Susan Ormistan, ISN: 183952, LAC.

The war ended with a ceasefire on 28 February.²¹⁹ When *Athabaskan*, *Terra Nova* and *Protecteur* returned to Halifax in April, Newsworld brought its national audience CBHT's live coverage of the event. Cameras aboard *Athabaskan* captured the arrival from the vantage of service personnel, while reporters on the jetties spoke with the emotional families awaiting the arrival of loved ones. They also spoke with the dignitaries in attendance, including Prime Minister Mulroney. Reporter Jim Nun told him that some "have argued that ... Canada has a peacekeeping reputation over some 35 years which we have forfeited in our involvement in this exercise." Mulroney dismissed the idea as the "[s]illiest thing I've ever heard."²²⁰ The military apparently agreed. When National Defence advertised careers in the forces on a television commercial in 1992, it did not mention war. Over a montage that included images of service personnel in blue berets smiling, shaking hands with civilians and helping children, a narrator said: "our peacekeepers have come to be recognized for many qualities, but one in particular: their dedication in working through problems and bringing people together... It is part of what it means to be a Canadian. It's in all of us."²²¹

During the war and immediately after, there was also some discussion among journalists about whether the news was handled well. While Lynda Ashley, editor of *Broadcaster*, "applauded" the television news,²²² Klaus Pohle of *Content* felt the reporting was no better than that produced by the CBC during the Second World War "[a]nd therein lies the problem." He argued that journalism ought to have "evolved

²¹⁹ Christopher Young, "The role of the media in international conflict," 7; United Nations, *Blue Helmets*, 681.

²²⁰ *Halifax Homecoming*, first broadcast 7 April 1991 by CBC Newsworld, a CBC Newsworld production, hosted by Norma Lee MacLeod, Joanne Stefanyk and Jim Nun, ISN: 184316, LAC.

²²¹ [CBC Newsworld], first broadcast 5 October 1992 by CBC Newsworld, a commercial advertising military service, produced by the Department of National Defence production, ISN: 284480, LAC.

²²² Lynda Ashley, "Editorial: Kudos For Gulf Coverage," *Broadcaster* 50, no. 1 (February 1991): 3.

beyond the simple role of a military adjunct.”²²³ Mike Trickey of Southam News similarly complained about correspondents asking American officers during briefs “how ‘we’ were doing and what ‘our’ next step would be against Saddam” and others who “turned wannabee and enjoyed walking around in military fatigues....”²²⁴

In September 1991, the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security held a two-day seminar in Ottawa about “The Role of the Media in International Conflict.” Christopher Young, a foreign correspondent with Southam News, recorded some of the results of this exercise in “self-criticism” in a Working Paper.²²⁵ Editor and general manager of Southam News, Jim Travers, complained that during the Gulf War, Canadian journalists “could quite easily be conned, partially because of our reliance on US sources, which ... proved to be surprisingly jingoistic...” He also criticized consumers of Canadian news, saying that they were “quite happy to see the constraints put on the press, and I think that’s something that should concern us very, very deeply.”²²⁶ However, awareness and criticism did not bring any significant resolution to these problems in the short term. As freelancer Kenton Vaughan noted, coverage of the Persian Gulf was still “lacking” more than a year after Canada became involved in the conflict, at the time when much of this public, self-flagellation was occurring.²²⁷

The period from 1985 to 1992 thus saw the culmination of several trends that had been developing over the course of the preceding decades. Concerns that military history was

²²³ Klaus Pohle, “Editor’s Notebook,” *Content* (March-April 1991): 1.

²²⁴ Mike Trickey, “Covering a war: Reporters operate much as they do at home,” *Content* (March-April 1991): 9.

²²⁵ Christopher Young, “The role of the media in international conflict,” 2.

²²⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, 20.

²²⁷ Kenton Vaughan, “Media self-flagellation waste of time?” *Content* (September-October 1991): 18.

losing social significance, which had been growing since the 1960s, reached their height on CBC-TV programs that bemoaned, explored and tried to bridge the generation gap. As the historical drama and docudrama forms both reached the height of their popularity during these years, both were repeatedly used to explore increasingly controversial military subjects. While some productions explored the eccentric nationalism of figures from Canada's military history, many more questioned the feats of vaunted heroes, criticized military leaders, and brought to light allegedly suppressed information about what really happened during the wars. In light of growing fears concerning the younger generation's supposed ignorance of military history and television's power in shaping their views of the past, as well as increasing alarm over government spending on the CBC and the NFB during the austere 1980s and 1990s, several of the most critical military history programs produced with public funds faced unprecedented scrutiny. The CBC, CRTC, Ontario courts, and the Senate all took turns reviewing complaints about the docudrama series *The Valour and the Horror*, for instance.

At the same time, the CBC news experienced a dramatic transformation that affected the presentation of the military. The creation of Newsworld made possible increased coverage of live, breaking news and the broadcasting of full news conferences, the latter allowing the military unprecedented control of its message and increased access to the viewing audience. Both breaking news updates and press conferences on the 24-hour news cable channel were put to dramatic effect during the Oka crisis, increasing public scrutiny of the military as it worked in support of the civil power. The coverage was also noteworthy because journalists and news anchors alike evoked the language of war to describe the standoff, while emphasizing the restraint

exercised by the troops. This was all the more significant because of frequent emphasis on the inherent peacekeeping nature of the forces, particularly during the Gulf War. However, it was strained media-military relations that defined the coverage from the Gulf, contributing to the pervasive sense that the CBC and the military, and its veterans, were at odds by 1992.

Conclusion: War on the Air

It is remarkable that the significant and complex matter of presenting war on CBC-TV (wars the Canadian military was training to fight, trying to prevent abroad, or had fought in the past) has received so little attention. The neglect of these subjects defies prevailing trends. In the United States and Britain, for example, there have been countless efforts to study the media at war. Recent calls for further research have emphasized the need for more “broad-scale” studies that were sensitive to production context, particularly the roles of government, ideology, “media-state relations,” and technology.¹ Broadcasters and scholars have laid the necessary methodological groundwork for such a study over the past 60 years. Much ink has been spilled, for example, on the idea that television programs ought to be studied as artifacts, with due sensitivity to production contexts, reception (audience response) and form (content).² There has also been important work in other countries about the ways in which television during the period of “broadcasting”³ was constructed by social groups, including the military.⁴ The role played by television in marking significant events has received more limited attention by scholars influenced by Durkheim’s views on memory.⁵ History on television, by contrast, has been the subject of much discussion around the world. One of the more significant arguments was Rosenstone’s contention that “visual narratives” were “not mirrors of the past but representations of it.”⁶

¹ Robinson et al., “War and media,” 958.

² For example, O’Connor, ed., *Image as Artifact*.

³ Rutherford, *When Television Was Young*, 482; Nash, *The Microphone Wars*, 511.

⁴ Fiske and Hartley, *Reading Television*, 5; Carey, “Reconceiving ‘Mass’ and ‘Media,’” 66; Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*; Hackett, *News and Dissent*, 158-60.

⁵ Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*.

⁶ Rosenstone, “History in Images/History in Words,” 1181.

With these methods as a guide, this dissertation offered a study of 245 programs/series about the military, veterans and defence issues as artifacts of material culture. It argued that the conditions surrounding the production of such programs affected each other in unpredictable ways and, in the process, shaped content. The most significant of these conditions were: (1) technology; (2) the impact of foreign broadcasters; (3) foreign sources of news; (4) the influence of the military and its veterans; (5) audience response; (6) the role played by personalities involved in the production of CBC-TV programs; (7) policies/objectives/regulations set by the CBC, the BBG and the CRTC; (8) ambitions for program development and the changing objectives of departments within the CBC; (9) economic constraints at the CBC; (10) CBC-TV's relations with the other producers of Canadian television programming, like the NFB; and finally, (11) broader changes to the Canadian social, economic, political and cultural scenes, along with shifts in historiography.

At any time, certain of these conditions were more important than others, the unique combination of which shaped programming in unexpected ways. Between 1952 and 1956, for example, programs seen on CBC-TV were largely uncritical and often supportive of the military. The views reflected the conformism and consensus of the early Cold War years, as well as censorship during the Korean War. The military and the Royal Canadian Legion encouraged a positive view of the forces on CBC-TV by staging events for the cameras that showcased the best of the forces and by sometimes providing films for broadcast. While the newly-formed television news service contracted freelance "camera-reporters" and hired its first staff cameraman during these years, it also relied on newsfilm from foreign sources. The result was newscasts that reflected the defence issues concerning countries other than Canada. Similarly, several

of the military history documentaries seen on the network were NBC or BBC productions that, if they paid attention to Canada at all, were unflattering. Indeed, they were a rare source of criticism during this period. Moreover, poor relations between NATO public relations and the press which, when added to CBC-TV's decision to use 16 mm film as its standard (a standard not shared by many other broadcasters and newsreel services), meant that the CBC struggled to obtain newsfilm of that organization.

The year 1956 marked a turning point, particularly for news about the military. During the Suez crisis of that year, CBC-TV struggled to keep pace with the rapidly-changing situation in the Middle East. In the time it took to ship film from the region back to Canada, the story would be old news. Thus, CBC-TV relied on the resources of radio and its foreign correspondents, whose reports were far more analytical and critical than those filmed by freelance cameramen and written in CBC newsrooms in earlier years. The marrying of the resources of the television and radio news services also resulted in the further development of a "relatively new" production style, which saw new voice reports paired with old film.⁷ Other new perils, like the threatened use of the intercontinental ballistic missile and nuclear missile-launching submarines, prompted more changes to the presentation of the military in the late 1950s. There were, for instance, new worries about civil defences and questioning of the military's ability to defend Canada on CBC-TV programs. Reflecting these concerns, as well as new thinking about the Second World War among viewers and scholars alike, history programs moved away from nostalgia and began to obsess about the horrors of war.

⁷ Report, Craig Armstrong, "LIAISON – RADIO AND T.V. NEWS," 9 November 1956, vol. 900, file PG 10-1 (pt. 3), "News Programs. General Correspondence," RG 41, LAC.

Criticism of the military's efforts, past and present, was not made recklessly. CBC-TV and the military were partners in civil defence, and worked closely on history programming and documentaries, like *Challenge From the Sea*. As a result of this intimacy, CBC-TV faced special scrutiny whenever it questioned the country's preparedness for war.

There was less of this sort of criticism in 1960–1, as concern turned from whether Canada could defend itself against missiles to whether entering this new age of warfare would bring about an end to conventional forces. Increasingly, CBC-TV programs stressed the value of the men who fought. On history programs, audiences heard veterans insist that pilots were “certainly ... the most important part of the aircraft.”⁸ Likewise, on the news Norman DePoe proclaimed that “there remains a place for the strength and skill and stamina of the fighting infantryman.”⁹ There was also a new emphasis that peacekeeping – rather than combat – was the ideal role for Canada's fighting men. This reflected growing criticism of NATO, the popularity of peacekeeping and the views of several prominent CBC correspondents. The content of the news about Canada's contributions to the UN mission in the Congo was also shaped by policies governing broadcasting, the CBC's relationships, and changing technology. For instance, the decision to stress the importance of the military's work in the Congo not only reflected popular opinion, but also BBG Canadian content regulations, as well as public scrutiny of the balance of foreign and domestic stories in the news, since this approach provided a Canadian angle to an otherwise international story. The Canadian

⁸ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 11 September 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Harry Mannis, hosted by James Minifie, edited by Keith Davidson, Jean Pouliot, and Don Cameron, and produced by Richard Ballentine, ISN: 25575, LAC.

⁹ *Newsmagazine*, first broadcast 24 January 1960 by CBC, a CBC television news production, narrated by Harry Mannis, hosted by Norman DePoe, edited by Walter Brode, George Domnas, Charles Fullman and Morley Safer, and produced by John Lant, ISN: 25543, LAC.

military provided newsmen with access to the troops serving in the Congo, while more portable sound-on-film cameras made it easier to film in the interior. The CBC relied on the UN and American broadcasters, which provided newsfilm and made live broadcasting from New York City possible. The UN also provided programming, including a documentary about the history of peacekeeping which, significantly, did not mirror the praise for Canada the peacemaker expressed in CBC-TV productions.

The peacemaker ideal received less attention between 1961 and 1963, as US-USSR brinkmanship became the main concern. As the superpowers faced off, a nuclear holocaust seemed a real possibility. In response, the news service prepared for war by setting up a foreign correspondent in the Soviet Union and establishing policies for the release of breaking news of an attack. CBC-TV programs fretted about the country's preparedness and the procurement of weaponry that could help its chances of survival, while the Corporation as a whole strengthened its commitment to civil defence. For instance, it broadcast programs for the Emergency Measures Organization and partook in civil defence exercises, with serious consequences for the public image of the independence of the CBC.

While intimacy of this sort drew complaints from viewers, there was no such protest over collaboration on history programs, as historians at National Defence vetted scripts based on official histories and servicemen's memoirs, and paired with films shot, censored or recovered by the forces from the enemy. While there was an audience for this material, the content of Remembrance Day telecasts seemed to suggest that the social significance of the world wars was changing. The ceremonies were fast becoming acts of thanksgiving, rather than moments to remember and grieve. Moreover, the Legion's decision to hold the ceremony in the afternoon, rather than at the eleventh

hour, seemed to diminish some of the sanctity of the occasion. The dignity of the day was further lessened by the decision to follow the live telecast of the ceremony on CBC-TV and Radio-Canada with the live feed of a NFL game in progress. However, it took the Cuban Missile Crisis to effect a significant change in the way CBC-TV presented the military. Increasingly, there was criticism both of the idea of nuclear warfare and the government's unwillingness to equip the Canadian military with nuclear arms. By the early spring of 1963, the crisis over nuclear arms had passed and the threat of a nuclear holocaust had much diminished, so the CBC transitioned back to normal operating conditions.

Over the next five years, CBC-TV programs were increasingly contested terrain. News and public affairs programs mediated heated debates about proposals to unify the three services, which often emphasized the threat posed by such proposals to the identity of the forces and morale. The narratives on the news about Cyprus evolved from emphasizing the good done by Canadian peacekeepers to questioning if peacekeeping could really bring a lasting resolution to such conflicts. News coverage resulted from close collaboration with the forces. Not only did the CBC receive newsfilm from the military, CBC reporters also travelled to Cyprus aboard HMCS *Bonaventure*, received assistance from the army upon arrival, and then were flown back to Canada by the RCAF once their work was done. There was some debate at the time as to whether collaboration of this sort was proper. It drew criticism from the likes of *The Globe and Mail* and caused the Director of Public Relations at National Defence to offer assurances that “[c]orrespondents are under no obligation to the department or the

armed forces just because we provide transport facilities.”¹⁰ Commemorative and history programs were also the site of an extended debate about the national memory of the world wars. There were continued efforts to mark significant anniversaries with reverence and new attempts to link military history with the nation-building exercise of the Centennial Year, for example. Others, affected by the student protest movements against nuclear proliferation and the Vietnam War, used Remembrance Day as an opportunity to speak against war.

Although criticism of combat grew in the years that followed, praise for service personnel continued. CBC-TV continued to act as a mediator and site of defence policy debate after 1968, as Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau took to the airwaves to express his discontent with military spending and priorities. There was also critical treatment of military history during these years. International concerns about the social impact of exposure to violence on news programs, dramas and documentaries impacted the presentation of the forces. There were, for example, documentaries about the lasting psychological, emotional and physical consequences of service on veterans. The presentation of the military was not wholly negative, however. During the October Crisis of 1970, CBC-TV information programs reflected popular opinion – and perhaps some self-censorship too – when they presented the military’s involvement as not only uncontroversial, but as deserving of praise. Moreover, most history and commemorative programs praised, if not glorified, servicemen. There would have been even more such programs, were it not for austerity measures at the CBC. However, reduced resources were matched by equally limited creativity on historical documentaries or dramas, as

¹⁰ Memo, Dumsday to the Minister and Associate Minister of National Defence, 3 April 1964, series 1 “HMCS Bonaventure,” file “Cyprus – Public Relations,” 5 May 1964, series 1 “HMCS Bonaventure,” file “Cyprus – HMCS Bonaventure,” (pt. 2) 73/1135, DHH.

departments rejected the few proposals for productions that would break with comfortable, praise-laden, horror-filled narratives.

The following decade was one of revolution, revitalization and revisionism. The increased use of satellites, for instance, revolutionized newsgathering at CBC-TV, making it easier (although more expensive) to cover military efforts across the globe. At the same time, the Current Affairs Area experienced a period of revitalization, which led to the creation of critical, investigative programs like *Up Canada!*, *Ombudsman* and *the fifth estate*. Although they sometimes praised the forces, these programs more often satirized, criticized and acted as an advocate for change within the military, at DND and Veterans Affairs. In the process, they made CBC-TV a player in the events reported and strained relations between the military and the media. In addition, the personal journalism practiced on such programs and the increased use of the docudrama form by the Current Affairs Area resulted in new subjects, methods and interpretations in the presentation of military history. The dramatic sequences on *The October Crisis*, for example, were among the first to present criticism of the military's efforts in aid of the civil power in 1970. Histories produced during these years were also influenced by second-wave feminism, the economic downturn, concern about the lasting impact of violence on fighting men, and a new fashion for iconoclasm. The latter, for instance, resulted in a musical starring a singing, dancing Billy Bishop and a series that offered dramatized, séance-like interviews with long-dead historical figures, including esteemed military heroes, which served as an exercise in myth-busting.

The changing presentation of military history proved to be a flashpoint in the 1980s and 1990s. Longstanding concerns that military history was losing its social significance reached their height on CBC-TV programs that bemoaned, explored and

tried to bridge the gap between the generation of men that fought in the Second World War and their children. The widespread fears that the younger generations were ignorant, and perhaps apathetic, about military history fuelled worries about the role television played in shaping their views. It was within this context that a few hard-hitting, critical and sometimes iconoclastic historical dramas and docudramas presented highly-contentious reinterpretations of the past, questioning the feats of vaunted heroes and even making allegations of war crimes. Several of these productions, including one aired by CBC-TV, faced unprecedented scrutiny from veterans, the CRTC and even the Senate. The strength of the veterans' groups at the time and the public scrutiny of the CBC's spending during the austere 1980s and 1990s helped to attract extraordinary attention to the likes of *The Valour and the Horror*. At the same time as relations with veterans became strained, the relationship of the CBC news with the military was changing. The creation of CBC Newsworld, which could broadcast full news conferences live, provided the military with a forum to communicate directly with Canadians, while also increasing public scrutiny of the forces as it worked to support the civil power during the Oka crisis. Although journalists used the language of war to describe the military's work, they stressed the troops' restraint and peacefulness. Later that same year, their inherent peacekeeping nature became a prominent argument against the possible participation of Canadian troops in the Gulf War. However, it was strained media-military relations that best defined the coverage of that conflict, contributing to the general feeling that, while close cooperation and some positive programming continued, relations between the media and the military were, in Brian McKenna words, "not what they should be."¹¹

¹¹ Brian McKenna to General John de Chastelain, 30 July 1990, vol. HA 1152, file "DND – Co-op,"

The transition from largely positive programs about the military to controversy and iconoclasm in the 1990s was thusly the result of a complex interplay of evolving production contexts. Was the evolution similar at other television and radio networks, and in the newspapers of the period? How were these changes experienced by the military? What was the media-military relationship like after 1992? For instance, what treatment did CBC-TV give to the 50th anniversary of VE Day? How did the media and the military handle the revelations of the improper conduct of some Canadian peacekeepers in Somalia in the mid-1990s? How did they deal with reports of hazing in the forces, mistreatment of female recruits and racism during the same period? At the time, political scientist Denis Stairs argued that “[t]he media and the military in Canada are at loggerheads.”¹² He blamed the impasse on “the media’s habit of relentlessly oversimplifying the issues, together with their constant emphasis on the personal and the dramatic....”¹³ However, he also insisted that the military needed to rethink its public relations efforts, saying “the truth will almost always out....”¹⁴ The situation was more complex than these solutions suggest. Changing technology and, particularly, what the use of personal video recording equipment by service personnel in the 1990s¹⁵ meant for the media and the military are among the subjects that also need attention.

Work also needs to be done about more recent developments. For instance, what does the coverage of the recent war in Afghanistan reveal about the changing production contexts at the CBC? John Scully hinted at some of the issues that deserve further exploration when he explained that

P112/G6 – Independently Produced Documentaries, McKenna fonds, Concordia.

¹² Stairs, “The media and the military in Canada,” 544.

¹³ Ibid., 552.

¹⁴ Ibid., 553.

¹⁵ Granatstein, *Canada’s Army*, 407.

War coverage on the CBC and other networks is at the mercy of budgets and conservatism. Both in coverage of conflicts and unrelated peacetime stories, it depends on the bottom line if a story gets covered by the CBC which often resorts to what it calls “melts” – a grab-bag of video from various, not-necessarily-identified sources – and perhaps a reporter’s voice. So the coverage of Afghanistan and Iraq today gives the impression that the reporter really knows what he or she is talking about, whereas in reality, the journalist is tens of thousands of miles away. This duplicity is not the purview of the CBC alone. Most news outlets now employ this method of “covering” war as the bottom line affects not only what we consume but also what our political and military masters want us to know.¹⁶

To what extent were these effects the result of technological constraints, limited budgets, the decisions of CBC staff, military regulations, or inter-broadcaster relations? What impact did all of these changing contexts have on the presentation of the military? These questions have yet to be answered. Indeed, there is still much to learn about the longstanding and ongoing efforts to present war on the air.

¹⁶ John Scully, e-mail to author, 12 February 2012.

Appendices

Appendix A. Contributors

As a complement to the research conducted at archives and libraries, people who worked in any capacity on the CBC-TV programming under investigation were invited to answer questions about their experiences. What follows are brief biographies of the participants, based on the information they provided.

Anido, Philip. Anido had more than thirty years of experience working as a Canadian Forces Public Affairs Officer before his retirement in 2008. His service with the CF took him across Canada and to Germany (1984–7). He also served in Belgium with NATO’s Supreme Allied Powers Europe (2002–5), with United Nations peacekeeping missions in Haiti and Bosnia, and as the NATO spokesperson in Kosovo.

Halton, David. Halton was a CBC correspondent for forty years. He began his long career at the CBC in 1966, when he was hired as a summer relief editor. In the years that followed, he came to prominence, first as a foreign correspondent and later as the CBC’s Chief Political Correspondent in Ottawa – a position he held until 1991. In the former capacity, he held postings in Paris, Moscow, London, and Washington, and covered wars in Israel, Lebanon, Vietnam, Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, and Cyprus.

Hellyer, The Honourable Paul T. Hellyer is a former Liberal politician and Minister of Defence. He was first elected in 1949 and came to prominence within the Liberal government of Lester B. Pearson during the 1960s, when he served for a time as Minister of Defence. During his tenure in defence, he initiated and oversaw the unification of the forces. When Pearson left office, Hellyer ran for party leadership, but was defeated by Pierre E. Trudeau. Hellyer stayed on as a senior minister.

McKenna, Brian. McKenna is an award-winning documentary filmmaker. He joined the CBC as a story editor in the Current Affairs Area in 1971. When *the fifth estate* debuted four years later, he was among its producers. Over the years, he was a frequent contributor to the series, writing and directing on some fifty episodes. However, he is perhaps best known for his docudramas about the Canadian Forces, including *The Valour and the Horror* (1992).

Parker, Ian. Journalist and freelance documentarian, Ian Parker, has over 30 years of experience with the CBC. He got his start at the CBC in the early 1960s as a summer relief announcer at CBI Radio – the CBC station in his hometown of Sydney, Nova Scotia. In the years that followed: he worked at private radio stations; was News Director at CFCN Radio and TV in Calgary, Alberta (1972–5); Producer and then Executive Producer of News and Current Affairs for CBLT (1975–8); the west coast correspondent for CTV; a host-reporter with *the fifth estate* (1978–1981) and part-time correspondent for *The Journal*; and later accepted a position as news anchor/senior journalist at CBOT (1985–1990).

Scully, John. Scully is an award-winning journalist who covered 36 war zones for British and Canadian television over his long career. In recent years, he documented his views on the state of war coverage in his book, *Am I Dead Yet?* He is presently working towards the release of his second book, *Am I Sane Yet?*, which will explore the ways in which war reporting takes its toll on journalists.

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 Glenbow Archives, Calgary, AB:
 Douglas S. Harkness Fonds
 Harry Truman Presidential Library, Independence, Missouri:
 William Hillman Papers
 Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (LAC):
 A.E. Powley Fonds (MG 30 E 333)
 Andrew Cowan Fonds (MG 30 E298)
 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Fonds (RG41)
 Carleton University Fonds (R9336-0-6-E)
 Donald Brittain Fonds (MG 31 D 222)
 Gordon Churchill Fonds (MG 32 B-9)
 Marcel Lambert Fonds (MG 32 B 27)
 Norman DePoe Fonds (MG 31 D112)
 Peter Jones (MG 31 D 210)
 Peter Stursberg Fonds (MG 31 D78)
 Herbert Steinhouse Fonds (R 8082)
 McMaster University Archives, Hamilton, ON:
 Pierre Berton Fonds
 The National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom:
 Foreign Office; Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906–1966
 (FO 371)
 Dominions Office and Commonwealth Relations Office: Original Correspondence
 (DO 35)

Videos

A total of 245 programs/series about the military were viewed for this study. They are listed below, organized by decade and subject type. Unless otherwise indicated, the videotapes can be found in the CBC fonds (RG 41) at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa using the ISN numbers provided.

1952-9

Present Day

Address by Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent. First broadcast in 1956¹ by CBC. ISN: 294649, LAC.

CBC News Filmpack. First broadcast 19 November 1956 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Earl Cameron. ISN: 230049, LAC.

CBC Newsmagazine. First broadcast 23 May 1954 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 218659, LAC.

Challenge From The Sea. First broadcast 10 November 1958 by CBC. A “CBC SPECIAL FEATURE Produced in cooperation with the ROYAL CANADIAN NAVY.” Narrated by Stanley Burke, written by Antony Ferry, and produced by Hugh Kemp. ISN: 234322, LAC.

Defence Against Tomorrow. First broadcast 22 March 1959 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production in cooperation with CBC National Film Service. With James M. Minifie, Stanley Burke, Blair Fraser, and Charles Lynch. Written by Del MacKenzie and produced by Michael Hind-Smith. ISN: 9814, LAC.

Newsmagazine. First broadcast 2 March 1958 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Edited by Ronald Hallam. ISN: 244051, LAC.

Newsmagazine. First broadcast 5 June 1955 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 234776, LAC.

Newsmagazine. First broadcast 6 April 1958 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Rex Loring, and edited by Jean Pouliot, Ronald Hallam, and Dave Reynolds. ISN: 244054, LAC.

Newsmagazine. First broadcast 6 November 1955 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 224168, LAC.

Newsmagazine. First broadcast 7 February 1954 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 234476, LAC.

Newsmagazine. First broadcast 8 June 1958 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Bruce Marsh, edited by Walter Brode, Don Evraire, Michael Maclear, and Morley Safer, and produced by John Lant. ISN: 20915, LAC.

Newsmagazine. First broadcast 10 August 1958 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Frank Stalley, edited by Walter Brode, Don Evraire, Michael Maclear, and Morley Safer, and produced by Richard Ballentine. ISN: 20880, LAC.

Newsmagazine. First broadcast 11 November 1956 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Rex Loring, and edited by Jean Pouliot and Ronald Hallam. ISN: 224310, LAC.

Newsmagazine. First broadcast 12 April 1959 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Rex Loring, edited by Walter Brode, Don Evraire, and Morley Safer, and produced by John Lant. ISN: 23411, LAC.

¹ The LAC catalogued it under the year 1957, but the content makes it clear that it was broadcast on 4 November 1956.

- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 12 August 1956 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Rex Loring, and edited by Jean Pouliot and Ronald Hallam. ISN: 224297, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 12 September 1954 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 216352, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 14 September 1952 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Written by Harry Rasky and produced by Gunnar Rugheimer. ISN: 12089, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 20 July 1958 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Rex Loring, and edited by Michael Maclear, Ken Croft, Don Evraire, Dave Reynolds, and Ralph Winthrop. ISN: 20876, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 24 January 1954 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 234484, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 25 November 1956 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Rex Loring, and edited by Walter Brode, George Domnas, Ronald Hallam and Jean Pouliot. ISN: 224312, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 27 July 1958 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Frank Stalley, edited by Michael Maclear, Ken Croft, Don Evraire, Dave Reynolds, and Ralph Winthrop, and produced by Dave Reynolds. ISN: 244065, LAC.
- Tabloid*. First broadcast 31 March 1953 by CBC. A CBC television program. Hosted by Dick MacDougal, news read by Gil Christy, and produced by Ross McLean. ISN: 172802, LAC.
- Yuletide Europe*. First broadcast 25 December 1959 by CBC. A CBC production. Narrated by Rex Loring, written and directed by Gerald Richardson, produced by Edward Rollins. ISN: 29482, LAC.

Commemoration

- The Long Silence*. First Broadcast 11 November 1955 by CBC. Presented by the Canadian Legion in cooperation with the Department of Veterans Affairs. Produced by Crawley Films Canada. ISN: 231348, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 5 April 1959 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Rex Loring, edited by Walter Brode, Don Evraire, and Morley Safer, and produced by John Lant. ISN: 23410, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 6 June 1954 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 234500, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 8 May 1955 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 234593, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 13 April 1958 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Rex Loring, edited by Jean Pouliot and Ronald Hallam, and produced by Dave Reynolds. ISN: 244055, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 16 May 1954 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 234498, LAC.

Newsmagazine. First broadcast 30 December 1956 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Rex Loring and Bruce Marsh, edited by Walter Brode, George Domnas, Helga Faust, David Ellison, Jean Pouliot and Ronald Hallam. ISN: 224317, LAC.

Remembrance Day. First broadcast 11 November 1955 by CBC. A CBC special events feature. Narrated by Bruce Rogers and Lamont Tilden, and produced by Pierre Normandin. ISN: 295211, LAC.

Remembrance Day. First broadcast 1954 by CBC. A CBC production mobile television production. ISN: 2471B, LAC.

Seven Days of Victory. First broadcast 8 May 1955 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Hosted by Ralph Allen and Lorne Greene. ISN: 110770, LAC.

History

Close-Up. First broadcast 12 November 1958 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Hosted by Frank Willis, with guests Bruce Bairnsfather and Bill Mauldin, and produced by Daryl Duke and Pat Watson. ISN: 273722, LAC.

Close-Up. First broadcast 17 December 1958 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Directed by Daryl Duke, hosted by Frank Willis, and produced by Ross McLean and George Ronald. ISN: 285577, LAC.

Flight Into Danger. First broadcast 3 April 1956 by CBC. A General Motors Theatre presentation. Written by Arthur Hailey, starring James Doohan, produced by David Greene, with Sydney Newman as supervising producer. ISN: 287296, LAC.

Front Page Challenge. First broadcast 22 July 1957 by CBC. A CBC variety production. Moderated by Win Barron with panellists Gordon Sinclair, Toby Robbins, Frank Tumpane and Alex Barris. ISN: 75975, LAC.

Victory At Sea, produced by Henry Salomon and directed by M. Clay Adams. 1952; NBC and The History Channel, 2003. DVD.

The 1960s

Present Day

A Christmas Letter. First broadcast 25 December 1960 by CBC. Filmed by the Canadian Armed Forces and the National Film Board. ISN: 294310, LAC.

CBC News Filmpack. First broadcast 1 August 1966 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Bob Wilson. ISN: 174100, LAC.

CBC News Filmpack. First broadcast 1 July 1961 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Frank Herbert. ISN: 23232, LAC.

CBC News Filmpack. First broadcast 2 April 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Warren Davis. ISN: 177095, LAC.

CBC News Filmpack. First broadcast 2 January 1968 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Leon Manfoff. ISN: 178348, LAC.

- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 4 April 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by [Brandon Snare?]. ISN: 177076, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast [4 July 1964] by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Gordon Jones. ISN: 177237, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast [4 July 1964] by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Warren Davis. ISN: 177229, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 4 November 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Rex Loring. ISN: 245251, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 5 February 1963² by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 176259, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 7 January 1963 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Gordon Jones. ISN: 176216, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 9 April 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Frank Herbert. ISN: 177792, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 9 January 1961 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Bill Bessey. ISN: 174616, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 10 February 1963 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Don Simms. ISN: 176261, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 13 April 1962 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Earl Cameron. ISN: 175743, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 13 June 1961 by CBC. A television news production. News read by Elwood Glover. ISN: 174884, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 13 June 1964 by CBC. A television news production. News read by Bill Lawrence. ISN: 177142, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 13 March 1969 by CBC. A television news production. ISN: 178808, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 13 October 1960 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Ken Haslam. ISN: 174322, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 14 October 1960 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Del Mott. ISN: 174348, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 15 April 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Frank Herbert. ISN: 177102, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 15 March 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Bob Wilson. ISN: 176926, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 15 November 1961 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Rex Loring. ISN: 175580, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 15 October 1960 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Frank Stalley. ISN: 174371, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 16 March 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Lamont Tilden. ISN: 176908, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 16 September 1961 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by [David Scrivens?]. ISN: 175479, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 17 May 1969 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Report by Ron Chester. ISN: 178936, LAC.

² The LAC listed this item under the year 1962, but the content makes it clear that it was actually from 1963.

- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 18 April 1967 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Leon Manfoff. ISN: 178310, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 20 July 1961 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Bill Lawrence. ISN: 175199, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 22 April 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 177115, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 22 March 1961 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Bill Bessey. ISN: 174674, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 23 December 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Jim Chorley. ISN: 178065, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 23 March 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 177015, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 24 December 1963 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Lamont Tilden. ISN: 176670, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 27 May 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 177077, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 30 March 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 177098, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 31 March 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Warren Davis. ISN: 177097, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 31 May 1961 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Jim Chorley. ISN: 174864, LAC.
- Close-Up*. First broadcast 13 June 1961 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Hosted by J. Frank Willis. A CBC public affairs production. ISN: 4901, LAC.
- Inquir'y*. Episode titled, "Exercise Tocsin," first broadcast 22 May 1961 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Hosted by Davidson Dunton and produced by Patrick Watson. ISN: 230824, LAC.
- Inquir'y*. Episode titled, "Hamburg Show Germany," first broadcast 13 January 1964 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Hosted by Laurier LaPierre and produced by Patrick Watson. ISN: 230875, LAC.
- Inquir'y*. Episode titled, "The New Face of War," first broadcast 11 November 1963 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Hosted by Laurier LaPierre and produced by Patrick Watson. ISN: 180732, LAC.
- Inquir'y*. First broadcast 20 November 1962 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Hosted by Davidson Dunton and produced by Patrick Watson. ISN: 230851, LAC.
- Inquir'y*. First broadcast 23 April 1963 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Hosted by Davidson Dunton and produced by Patrick Watson. ISN: 180825, LAC.
- Inquir'y*. First broadcast 30 March 1964 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Hosted by Laurier LaPierre, and produced by Patrick Watson and Wilson Southam. ISN: 220275, LAC.
- Inquir'y*. Two episodes titled, "RCMP Security Checks," first broadcast 20-27 February 1961 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Hosted by Davidson Dunton, written by Munroe Scott, and produced by Patrick Watson. ISN: 231919, 230820, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 11 September 1960 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Harry Mannis, hosted by James Minifie, edited by Keith Davidson, Jean Pouliot, and Don Cameron, and produced by Richard Ballentine. ISN: 25575, LAC.

- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 14 August 1960 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Harry Mannis, edited by Don Evraire, Norman Warren Amedeo Gerngross, Keith Davidson and Jean Pouliot, and produced by David Marcus-Roland. ISN: 25572, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 14 May 1961 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Report by Norman DePoe and produced by David Marcus-Roland. ISN: 25611, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 18 September 1960 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Harry Mannis, hosted by Norman DePoe, edited by Keith Davidson, Jean Pouliot, Don Cameron and Amedeo Gerngross, and produced by David Marcus-Roland. ISN: 25576, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 24 January 1960 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Narrated by Harry Mannis, hosted by Norman DePoe, edited by Walter Brode, George Domnas, Charles Fullman and Morley Safer, and produced by John Lant. ISN: 25543, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. First broadcast 24 July 1960 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Hosted by Norman DePoe, narrated by Harry Mannis, edited by Keith Davidson, Don Evraire and George Domnas, and produced by David Marcus-Roland. ISN: 25570, LAC.
- The Public Eye*. First broadcast 15 May 1968 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Hosted by Warner Troyer and produced by Robert Patchell and Richard Nielsen. ISN: 76682, LAC.
- The Public Eye*. First broadcast 27 November 1968 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Hosted by Norman DePoe and Jeanne Sauvé. ISN: 83811, LAC.
- The Sixties*. First broadcast 28 February 1966 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Hosted by Charles Lynch and produced by Cameron Graham. ISN: 231692, LAC.
- Sunday*. First broadcast 6 November 1966 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Hosted by Larry Zolf and Peter Reilly. ISN: 98365, LAC.
- Target You*. First broadcast 1 November 1961 by CBC. Produced for the Emergency Measures Organization by CBC. Written by Warner Troyer and produced by Cameron Graham. ISN: 255999, LAC.
- Twenty Million Questions*. First broadcast 6 October 1966 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Produced by Moses Znaimer and Cameron Graham. ISN: 230784, LAC.
- Twenty Million Questions*. First broadcast 10 November 1966 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Produced by Cameron Graham. ISN: 230789, LAC.
- Twenty Million Questions*. First broadcast 17 June 1969 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Produced by Cameron Graham. ISN: 230782, LAC.
- Weekend*. First broadcast 9 November 1969 by CBC. A CBC information program. Directed by Ted Regan, and produced by Ian Murray, Don Cumming, Alf Norris, Don Attfield, Peter Kappele, and Richard Nielsen. ISN: 9302, LAC.
- Weekend*. First broadcast 26 October 1969 by CBC. A CBC information program. Hosted by Lloyd Robertson, Julie Amato and Larry Zolf, directed by J. Edward Shaw, and produced by Neil Andrews and Joan Soloviov. ISN: 9288, LAC.

Commemoration

- Across Canada, The Observer*. First broadcast 10 November 1964 by CBC. A CBC television production. Hosted by Lloyd Robertson, Sandi Fruman, George Feyer, John David Hamilton and Alain Stanké, written by Jean Pouliot, Tim Kotcheff and Patrick Gossage, produced by Don Macpherson, Gary Plaxton, and Harry J. Boyle. ISN: 287710, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 1 October 1962 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Alan Maitland. ISN: 176005, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 3 September 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Bill Lawrence. ISN: 177384, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 4 July 1961 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Jim Chorley. ISN: 23234, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 9 July 1963 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Bruce Rogers. ISN: 176555, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 16 October 1960 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Carl Hecknell. ISN: 174428, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 25 March 1969 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Leon Manfoff. ISN: 178909, LAC.
- CBC-TV News Special*. First broadcast 11 November 1966 by CBC. A CBC special events feature. Narrated by [J. Frank Willis]. ISN: 13818, LAC.
- National Remembrance Day*. First broadcast 11 November 1968 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa presentation. Hosted by Lloyd Robertson. ISN: 231354, LAC.
- Remembrance Day*. First broadcast 11 November 1961 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa presentation. Hosted by Lloyd Robertson. ISN: 231349, LAC.
- Royal Visit 1967*. First broadcast 5 July 1967 by CBC. A CBC special events feature. Hosted by Lloyd Robertson. ISN: 11606, LAC.
- Something Else*. Episode titled, "Armistice Day Special," first broadcast 11 November 1967 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. ISN: 60117, LAC.
- Sunset Ceremony*. First broadcast 31 August 1964 by CBC. A CBC special events feature. Hosted by Lloyd Robertson and Paddy Gregg. ISN: 230664, LAC.
- Twenty Million Questions*. Episode titled, "The Defence Crisis," first broadcast 10 November 1966 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Hosted by Charles Lynch and Donald Gordon. ISN: 230789, LAC.
- The Way It Is*. Film called, "GOOD TIMES, BAD TIMES," first broadcast 4 May 1969 by CBC. A CBC information program. Hosted by Patrick Watson. ISN: 223156, LAC.
- Vimy Ridge*. First broadcast 8 June 1968 by CBC. A CBC special events feature. ISN: 110785, LAC.

History

- 20/20*. Episode titled, "Her Majesty's Messenger: The Black Rod," first broadcast 16 May 1967 by CBC. A CBC-TV features presentation. Hosted by Harry Mannis,

- written by Tom Farley, and produced by Richard Knowles and Ron Hunka. ISN: 266911, LAC.
- 20/20*. Part 4, "Fields of Battle," first broadcast 2 June 1963 by CBC. A CBC television production. Narrated by Harry Mannis, written by Ian Thorne, and produced by Richard Knowles. ISN: 104361, LAC.
- 20/20*. Episode titled, "Valiant Hearts," first broadcast 24 June 1967 by CBC. A CBC television production. Narrated by Des Brown, hosted by Harry Mannis, and produced by David Gunn and Richard Knowles. ISN: 104411, LAC.
- Across Canada, The Observer*. First broadcast 15 October 1964 by CBC. A CBC television production. Hosted by Sandi Fruman, Alain Stanké and George Feyer, written by Jean Pouliot, Tim Kotcheff and Patrick Gossage, and produced by Jim Reed and Harry J. Boyle. ISN: 39659, LAC.
- And We Were Young*. First broadcast 11 November 1968 by CBC. A CBC-TV features presentation. Narrated by Raymond Massey, written by David Harriman, and produced/directed by Peter Kelly, with Thom Benson as executive producer. ISN: 295145, LAC.
- Background*. Episode titled, "The Man in the Blue Helmet," first broadcast 2 February 1961 by CBC. Hosted by Alistair Cooke and produced by Cliff Solway. ISN: 40828, LAC.
- Camera Canada*. Episode titled, "Boer War," first broadcast 26 May 1962 by CBC. A CBC television production. Narrated by Sebastian Shaw and J. Frank Willis, and written by Rayne Kruger and J. Frank Willis. ISN: 41437, LAC.
- Camera Canada*. Episode titled, "The Dumbells ... with affection," first broadcast 16 June 1965 by CBC. A CBC television production. Featuring Jack Ayre, Alan Murray, Jack McLaren, and Jerry Brayford. ISN: 226126, LAC.
- Canada At War*, written by Donald Brittain, produced by Donald Brittain, Stanley Clish, and Peter Jones. 1962; NFB and Imavision, 2005. DVD.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 11 August 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Report by Ed Cosgrove. ISN: 177314, LAC.
- CBC News Filmpack*. First broadcast 21 April 1969 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 178927, LAC.
- Close-Up*. Episode titled, "DIEPPE / AUGUST 19 1942," first broadcast 9 September 1962 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Written and produced by George Ronald, research by Raymond de Boer, directed by John Kennedy, and produced by George Ronald and Jim Guthro. ISN: 5711, LAC.
- Close-Up*. Episode titled, "THREE WARRIORS," first broadcast 7 October 1962 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Hosted by J. Frank Willis and produced by John Kennedy and Jim Guthro. ISN: 5693, LAC.
- Mobile*. Episode titled, "MOBILE on H.M.C.S. HAIDA, 'THE FIGHTINGEST SHIP IN THE NAVY'," first broadcast 20 November 1963 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Hosted by Collin Parker, narrated by Bill Kehoe, and produced by Cameron Graham. ISN: 230518, LAC.
- Observer*. First broadcast 7 November 1963 by CBC. A CBC television production. Written by Kerry Feltham, researched by Jean Pouliot, Noel Moore, Starr Cote and Patrick Gossage, and produced by Don MacPherson and Harry J. Boyle. ISN: 287827, LAC.

- The Public Eye*. Episode titled, "DRESDEN Part II / THE MYSTERY," first broadcast 7 December 1965 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. Hosted by Philip Deane and produced by Robert Patchell and Richard Nielsen. ISN: 67873, LAC.
- Something Else*. Episode three of series "LOST IN ERROR" titled, "Let Sleeping Dogs Lie," first broadcast November 1969 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa Information Program. Narrated by John Drewery, and produced by Robert Clark and George Robertson. ISN: 60330, LAC.
- Something Else*. First broadcast 14 May 1969 by CBC. A CBC public affairs production. ISN: 60148, LAC.
- Tabloid*. First broadcast 19 January 1960 by CBC. A CBC television production. Hosted by June Callwood, Max Ferguson, Percy Saltzman and John O'Leary, and edited and produced by Daryl Duke. ISN: 218810, LAC.
- Take Thirty*. First broadcast 30 December 1963 by CBC. A CBC light entertainment program. Produced by Leo Rampen. ISN: 98037, LAC.
- Telescope*. Episode titled, "All the Little Ships," first broadcast 18 June 1965 by CBC. A CBC television production. Written by William H. Pugsley and produced by George Ronald, Peter Kelly, and Thom Benson. ISN: 164360, LAC.
- The Young, the Quick, and the Lucky*. Three parts, first broadcast 21 June – 1 July, 1969 by CBC. A CBC Montreal film production. Written, produced, and directed by Frank Williams. ISN: 302960, 302961, and 302962, LAC.

The 1970s

Present Day

- Encounter*. First broadcast 5 November 1970 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Panel included Pierre O'Neil, Charles Lynch and Ron Collister, and produced by Cameron Graham. ISN: 231292, LAC.
- Encounter*. First broadcast 7 January 1971 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Panel included Charles Humphries, John Gray and Charles Lynch, and produced by Cameron Graham. ISN: 231300, LAC.
- Encounter*. First broadcast 10 December 1970 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Panel included Louis Saborin, Charles Lynch and Ron Collister. ISN: 231297, LAC.
- Encounter*. First broadcast 19 November 1970 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Panel included Bruce Hodgins, Doug Collins and John Gray, and produced by Cameron Graham. ISN: 231294, LAC.
- Encounter*. First broadcast 26 November 1970 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Panel included Lucien Millet, John Gray and Ron Collister, and produced by Cameron Graham. ISN: 231295, LAC.
- the fifth estate*. First broadcast 23 October 1979 by CBC. A CBC television current affairs production. Hosted by Adrienne Clarkson, Ian Parker and Eric Mallings, and produced by Ron Haggart, Brian Denike, Jerry Thompson and Glenn Sarty. ISN: 15323, LAC.

- the fifth estate*. Episode no. 23, first broadcast 22 March 1977 by CBC. A CBC television current affairs production. Hosted by Adrienne Clarkson, Eric Malling and Peter Reilly, and produced by Ron Haggart, Robin Taylor and Glenn Sarty. ISN: 6453, LAC.
- the fifth estate*. Episode no. 27, first broadcast 20 April 1977 by CBC. A CBC television current affairs production. Produced by Ron Haggart, Robin Taylor, and Glenn Sarty. ISN: 6457, LAC.
- Newsmagazine*. Episode titled, "NATO: THE NEXT 10 YEARS," first broadcast 29 May 1978 by CBC. A CBC television news production. Produced by Rudi Carter, Tony Hillman and George James. ISN: 182647, LAC.
- Ombudsman*. First broadcast 5 November 1978 by CBC. A CBC information program. Hosted by Robert Cooper, directed by Alf Norris, and produced by Allen Kates, Les Kottler, Eva Innes and William Harcourt. ISN: 215219, LAC.
- Ombudsman*. First broadcast 9 October 1977 by CBC. A CBC information program. Hosted by Robert Cooper, directed by Murray Hunter, and produced by Allen Kates, Les Kottler, Derek Best and William Harcourt. ISN: 215047, LAC.
- Ombudsman*. First broadcast 13 November 1977 by CBC. A CBC information program. Hosted by Robert Cooper, directed by Murray Hunter, and produced by Alf Norris, Allen Kates, Les Kottler, Derek Best and William Harcourt. ISN: 17184, LAC.
- Ombudsman*. First broadcast 18 November 1979 by CBC. A CBC information program. Hosted by Kathleen Ruff, directed by Alf Norris, and produced by Allen Kates, Les Kottler, Eva Innes, Diana Mossman, Susan Teskey and William Harcourt. ISN: 215328, LAC.
- Ombudsman*. First broadcast 28 October 1979 by CBC. A CBC information program. Hosted by Kathleen Ruff, directed by Alf Norris, and produced by Allen Kates, Les Kottler, Eva Innes, Diana Mossman, Susan Teskey and William Harcourt. ISN: 215310, LAC.
- Prime Minister Trudeau Announces the War Measures Act*. First broadcast 16 October 1970 by CBC. A CBC special events broadcast. ISN: 294659, LAC.
- Summer Weekend*. First broadcast 24 May 1970 by CBC. A CBC television information production. Hosted by Kay Sigurjonsson and George Finstad, directed by J. Edward Shaw, and produced by Robert E. Frye, Andrew Simon, Don Cumming and Richard Nielsen. ISN: 20789, LAC.
- Up Canada!* First broadcast 20 November 1973 by CBC. A CBC television production. Hosted by Rob Parker, Valri Bromfield, Patrick MacFadden, Rex Murphy and John Allan Cameron, directed by J. Edward Shaw, and produced by Michael Callaghan, Alf Norris and George Robertson. ISN: 216047, LAC.
- Up Canada!* First broadcast 30 October 1973 by CBC. A CBC television production. Hosted by Rob Parker, directed by J. Edward Shaw, and produced by Alf Norris and George Robertson. ISN: 216043, LAC.
- Update*. First broadcast 17 October 1970 by CBC. A CBC television production. Hosted by John O'Leary, directed by Barry McLean, and produced by Peter Trueman. ISN: 21952, LAC.
- Update*. First broadcast 24 October 1970 by CBC. A CBC television production. Hosted by John O'Leary, directed by Barry McLean, and produced by Peter Trueman. ISN: 21983, LAC.

Weekend. First broadcast 6 May 1971 by CBC. A CBC television information production. Hosted by Lloyd Robertson, directed by Alan Erlich, and produced by Richard Nielsen. ISN: 186013, LAC.

Weekend. First broadcast 8 November 1970 by CBC. A CBC television information production. Hosted by Lloyd Robertson and Kay Sigurjonsson, directed by Alan Erlich and Robert Clarke, and produced by Peter Kappeler, Andrew Simon, Don Cumming and Richard Nielsen. ISN: 17841, LAC.

Weekend. First broadcast 17 October 1971 by CBC. A CBC television information production. Hosted by Peter Desbarats and Pierre Nadeau, directed by Christopher Braden, and produced by Peter Kappeler, Andy Gaichuk, Andrew Simon and Richard Nielsen. ISN: 181535, LAC.

Weekend. First broadcast 25 October 1970 by CBC. A CBC television information production. Hosted by Lloyd Robertson and Kay Sigurjonsson, directed by Barry Galvin, and produced by Peter Kappeler, Alf Norris, Don Cumming and Richard Nielsen. ISN: 19098, LAC.

Commemoration

Commemoration Ceremony 25th Anniversary VE Day. First broadcast 8 March 1970 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. ISN: 220157, LAC.

the fifth estate. First broadcast 9 November 1976 by CBC. A CBC television current affairs production. Hosted by Adrienne Clarkson, Eric Mallin and Peter Reilly, and produced by Ron Haggart, Robin Taylor, John Zaritsky, and Glenn Sarty. ISN: 25840, LAC.

International Gathering of the Clans Military Tattoo. First broadcast 30 June 1979 by CBC. A CBC Halifax production. Narrated by Don Tremaine, and produced and directed by Cy True. ISN: 28174, LAC.

Presentation of the Queen's Colours to Maritime Command by Queen Mother. First broadcast 28 June 1979 by CBC. A CBC Halifax production. ISN: 34638, LAC.

Remembrance Day Ceremonies. First broadcast 1 December 1971 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Produced and directed by Pierre Normandin. ISN: 231361, LAC.

Such Is Life. Episode titled, "GOOD TIMES BAD TIMES," first broadcast 15 November 1974 by CBC. A CBLT presentation. Produced and directed by Robert Gibbons. ISN: 291781, LAC.

Take Thirty. Episode titled, "KEN BELL'S NORMANDY," first broadcast 11 November 1973 by CBC. A CBC television information program. Hosted by Paul Soles, directed by Lester Machan, and produced by Lester Machan and Glenn Sarty. ISN: 196127, LAC.

Take Thirty. First broadcast 2 January 1970 by CBC. A CBC television information program. Hosted Adrienne Clarkson and Paul Soles, and produced by Glenn Sarty. ISN: 99886, LAC.

Take Thirty. First broadcast 11 November 1976 by CBC. A CBC television information program. Hosted by Mary Lou Finlay and Paul Soles, directed by Peter McLean,

and produced by WM. Cobban, Don Cumming, Colin King, Myles White and Ain Soodor. ISN: 196266, LAC.

Telescope. Episode titled, "THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN 25 +1," first broadcast 10 November 1974 by CBC. A CBC television production. Written and directed by Stan Jacobson, and produced by George Ronald, Peter Kelly and Thom Benson. ISN: 196385, LAC.

Weekend. First broadcast 17 May 1970 by CBC. A CBC television information production. Hosted by Lloyd Robertson and Kay Sigurjonsson, directed by J. Edward Shaw, and produced by Robert E. Frye, Don Cumming and Richard Nielsen. ISN: 21328, LAC.

History

20/20. Episode titled, "One Hundred Years of Admirals," first broadcast 17 June 1976 by CBC. A CBC television features presentation. Narrated by Gerry Birt, written by Doug Fraser, and produced by John McKay. ISN: 104410, LAC.

Adventures in History: Bravery In The Field, directed by Giles Walker, written by Alexander Bremner, Giles Walker, Ian McNeill and John Kent Harrison, and produced by Roman Kroitor and Stefan Wodoslawsky. 1979; National Film Board of Canada, in collaboration with CBC, ATEC, the National Museum of Man, the National Museums of Canada and the Government of New Brunswick, 2007. DVD.

Adventures in History: The War Is Over, directed by René Bonnière, written by Jamie Brown and Douglas Bowie, and produced by Malca Gillson, John Howe and Roman Kroitor. 1978; National Film Board of Canada, in collaboration with CBC and ATEC, 2012. DVD.

As Eagles Fly: The History of the R.C.A.F. First broadcast 1974 by CBC. A CBC Montreal production. Directed, researched, and produced by Frank Williams. ISN: 278181, LAC.

Dieppe 1942. Episode no. 1, first broadcast November 1979 by CBC. A CBC film production. Written by William Whitehead and Timothy Findley, and produced and directed by Terence Macartney-Filgate. ISN: 63257, LAC.

Four For The Road. First broadcast 24 April 1972 by CBC. A CBC television production. ISN: 59982, LAC.

The October Crisis. First broadcast 26 October 1975 by CBC. A CBC news and public affairs production. Produced and directed by Mark Blandford. ISN: 291870, LAC.

Performance. Episode titled, "Six War Years: Memories of Canadians at Home and Abroad 1939-1945," first broadcast 30 November 1975 by CBC. A CBC television production. Directed by Allan King, dramatized by Norman Klenman, and produced by Robert Sherrin and Robert Allen. ISN: 107620, LAC.

Return To Falaise. First broadcast June 1970 by CBC. A CBC Montreal production. Hosted by Norman Kihl and produced by Frank Williams. ISN: 48693, LAC.

Take Thirty. First broadcast 24 March – 23 April 1975 by CBC. A CBC information program. Hosted by Paul Soles and Ed Reid, directed by Lester Machan, and produced by Lester Machan and Glenn Sarty. ISN: 196678, 196708, 196665, LAC.

Their Springtime of Life. Four parts, first broadcast 22 August – 12 September 1972 by CBC. A CBC television production. Produced and directed by Frank Williams. ISN: 181548, 181549, 286664, 181547, LAC.

Two Roads to Ravenna. First broadcast 7 November 1973 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Hosted by David Halton, written by Hugh Kemp and Robert Gardiner, and produced by Pierre Normandin. ISN: 97045, LAC.

Weekend. First broadcast 11 April 1971 by CBC. A CBC television information production. Hosted by Lloyd Robertson and Kay Sigurjonsson, directed by Peter Kappele, directed by Alan Erlich, and produced Andrew Simon, Don Cumming and Richard Nielsen. ISN: 9354, LAC.

The World At War, produced by Jeremy Isaacs. 1973-74; Thames, Fremantle Media, and A & E, 2004. DVD.

The 1980s

Present Day

Brian Mulroney Interview. First broadcast 24 December 1983 by CBC. A CBC news specials production. Interviewers were Peter Mansbridge and David Halton. ISN: 224539, LAC.

Calgary's Gift of Peace. First broadcast 24 December 1988 by CBC. A CBC Calgary production. Hosted by Carol Anne Meehan, written by Christine Sinclair, and produced by Shirley Cole. ISN: 183692, LAC.

the fifth estate. First broadcast 3 November 1981 by CBC. A CBC television current affairs production. Hosted by Adrienne Clarkson, Eric Mallings and Bob McKeown, and produced Robin Taylor, Ron Haggart, Robert Fripp, Brian McKenna and Murray Hunter. ISN: 24474, LAC.

the fifth estate. First broadcast 4 March 1980 by CBC. A CBC television current affairs production. Hosted by Eric Mallings, Adrienne Clarkson and Ian Parker, and produced by Ron Haggart, Brian Denike and Glenn Sarty. ISN: 15343, LAC.

the fifth estate. First broadcast 11 January 1983 by CBC. A CBC television current affairs production. Hosted by Eric Mallings, Bob McKeown and Hana Gartner, and produced by Robin Taylor, Ron Haggart, Robert Fripp and Murray Hunter. ISN: 32739, LAC.

The National. First broadcast 2 May 1980 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Knowlton Nash. ISN: 242609, LAC.

The National. First broadcast 14 January 1985 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Knowlton Nash. ISN: 10664, LAC.

The Nature of Things. First broadcast 21 December 1983 by CBC. A CBC television science program. Hosted by David Suzuki, and produced by Diederick d'Ailly and James Murray. ISN: 32805, LAC.

Ombudsman. First broadcast 27 January 1980 by CBC. A CBC information program. Hosted by Kathleen Ruff. ISN: 215348, LAC.

Commemoration

- The Best Years*. First broadcast 22 November 1987 by CBC. A CBC British Columbia production, produced in association with the Military Community and Social Services, Government of Ontario. Produced by Digby Cook, Gary Johnson, Heather Matheson, Sherv Shragge and René Genereux. ISN: 77684, LAC.
- Brothers in Arms*. First broadcast 8 November 1989 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Narrated by Jon Granik, written by Ted Remerowski, and produced by Nicole Latreille and Cameron Graham. ISN: 147737, LAC.
- CBC-TV News Special*. First broadcast 11 November 1989 by CBC. A CBC news specials production. Hosted by Don Newman. ISN: 151448, LAC.
- D-Day Revisited*. First broadcast 6 June 1984 by CBC. A CBC news special. Hosted by Peter Mansbridge. ISN: 224554, LAC.
- the fifth estate*. First broadcast in 1984 by CBC. A CBC television current affairs production. Hosted by Hana Gartner, Bob McKeown, and Eric Malling. ISN: 20544, LAC.
- National Remembrance Day Ceremony*. First broadcast 11 November 1985 by CBC. A CBC news specials production. Hosted by Brian Smith and Larry Stout. ISN: 224661, LAC.
- National Remembrance Day Ceremony*. First broadcast 11 November 1986 by CBC. A CBC news specials production. Hosted by Brian Smith and Larry Stout. ISN: 224680, LAC.
- Remembrance Day Ceremony*. First broadcast 11 November 1987 by CBC. A CBC news specials production. Hosted by Don Newman and Brian Smith. ISN: 74902, LAC.
- National Remembrance Day Ceremony*. First broadcast 11 November 1988 by CBC. A CBC news specials production. Hosted by Don Newman, Brian Smith and Major George Pearce (Ret). ISN: 224723, LAC.
- The Week Starts Here – In Politics*. Episode no. 14, first broadcast 5 November 1989 by CBC Newsworld. A CBC Newsworld production. Hosted by Kathryn Wright, directed by Bob Hiland, and produced by Danny Malanchuk and Lionel Lumb. ISN: 154623, LAC.
- Yesterday's Heroes*. First broadcast 11 November 1987 by CBC. A Duncan Productions, Inc., program. Written, directed, narrated and produced by Robert Duncan. ISN: 77732, LAC.

History

- Billy Bishop Goes to War*. First broadcast 12 September 1982 by CBC. A BBC television production in association with Primedia Productions Limited and CBC. Starring Eric Peterson and John Gray, written and composed by John Gray, and produced Norman McCandlish. ISN: 55401, LAC.
- Chasing Rainbows*. Episode no. 7, first broadcast 15 March 1988 by CBC. A Northernlight & Picture Corp. – CBC co-production. Created by Douglas Bowie

- and Mark Blandford, and produced by John Galt, Charles Pantuso and Brookes McGrath Field. ISN: 85533, LAC.
- Home Fires*. Episode no. 15, titled "The Home Coming," first broadcast 3 October 1982 by CBC. A CBC television production. Written by Jim Purdy, directed by Ronald Weyman, and produced by Bonnie Siegel and Robert Sherrin. ISN: 28508, LAC.
- Homes Fires*. Episode no. 16, titled "This War is Yours," first broadcast 10 October 1982 by CBC. A CBC television production. Written by Jim Purdy, directed by Ronald Weyman, and produced by Bonnie Siegel and Robert Sherrin. ISN: 28509, LAC.
- Home Fires*. Episode no. 25, titled "Wages of War," first broadcast 29 September 1983 by CBC. A CBC television production. Written by Lyal Brown, directed by Eric Till, and produced by Jim Swan and Robert Sherrin. ISN: 19326, LAC.
- The Killing Ground*. First broadcast 8 November 1988 by CBC. A CBC film production. Written by Terence and Brian McKenna, produced and directed by Brian McKenna. ISN: 107808, LAC.
- The Last Corvette*. First broadcast 6 July 1980 by CBC. Co-produced by NFB Atlantic and CBC Halifax. Narrated by Bill Fulton, directed and written by Cy True, and produced by Rex Tasker. ISN: 54634, LAC.
- Some Honourable Gentlemen*. Episode titled, "Sir Sam Hughes's War." Two parts, first broadcast 21-22 November 1984 by CBC. A CBC television production. Written by Jim Burt, directed by Ronald Wilson, and produced by Martin Kinch, Peter Kelly and Sharon Keogh. ISN: 55242-55247, LAC.
- Spitfire Pilot*. First broadcast 7 June 1981 by CBC. Produced by Artistic Productions Limited in association with CBC. Narrated and written by Bruce West, and directed by Bill Dunn and Tom Taylor. ISN: 55757, LAC.
- Titans*. First broadcast 11 September 1981 by CBC. A CBC television and Titans Television Limited production. Hosted by Patrick Watson, with Cedric Smith as Billy Bishop, written by Patrick Withrow, and produced by Moses Znaimer. ISN: 55881, LAC.
- The Way We Are*. Episode titled, "Meet Me Half Way," first broadcast 24 March 1988 by CBC. A CBC Edmonton production. Written by Scot Morison, and produced and directed by Jack Emack. ISN: 79310, LAC.
- War Brides*. First broadcast 20 September 1980 by CBC. A CBC film production. Written by Grahame Woods, directed by Martin Lavut, and produced by Bill Gough and Janet Kranz. ISN: 56125, LAC.
- Women At War*. First broadcast 28 November 1982 by CBC. A CBC television production. Narrated by Pat Patterson, and written, directed and produced by George Robertson. ISN: 56480, LAC.

1990–2

Present Day

- Canada Live*. First broadcast 14 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld. A CBC Newsworld production. Hosted by Anne Petrie and news read by Sheldon Turcotte. ISN: 179619, LAC.
- [CBC Newsworld.] First broadcast 2 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld. A CBC Newsworld production. Hosted by Patricia White. ISN: 175984, LAC.
- [CBC Newsworld.] First broadcast 5 October 1992 by CBC Newsworld. A commercial advertising military service, produced by the Department of National Defence production. ISN: 284480, LAC.
- [CBC Newsworld.] First broadcast 28 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld. A CBC Newsworld production. News read by Lorne Saxberg. ISN: 184219, LAC.
- Christmas in the Gulf*. First broadcast 25 December 1990 by CBC Newsworld. A CBC Newsworld production. Tape courtesy of the Department of National Defence. ISN: 174133, LAC.
- Department of National Defence: News Conference*. First broadcast 28 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld. A CBC Newsworld production. Hosted by Bill Casey. ISN: 184218, LAC.
- Evening News*. First broadcast 19 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld. A CBC Newsworld production. Hosted by Noel Richardson. ISN: 184295, LAC.
- Gulf Crisis*. First broadcast 15 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld. A CBC Newsworld production. Hosted by Jane Gilbert. ISN: 184292, LAC.
- Gulf War*. First broadcast 18 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld. A CBC Newsworld production. Hosted by Whit Fraser and Wei Chen. ISN: 184294, LAC.
- Halifax Homecoming*. First broadcast 7 April 1991 by CBC Newsworld. A CBC Newsworld production. Hosted by Norma Lee MacLeod, Joanne Stefanyk and Jim Nun. ISN: 184316, LAC.
- Newscentre*. First broadcast 15 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld. Hosted by Lorne Saxberg. ISN: 179820, LAC.
- Newswatch*. First broadcast 4 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld. Hosted by Dennis Trudeau. ISN: 176018, LAC.
- Newswatch Special*. First broadcast 1 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld. Hosted by Dennis Trudeau. ISN: 167512, LAC.
- Newswatch Special*. First broadcast 2 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld. Hosted by Dennis Trudeau. ISN: 175985, LAC.
- This Country*. First broadcast 16 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld. Hosted by Whit Fraser and Wei Chen. ISN: 179816, LAC.
- This Country, Hour One*. First broadcast 27 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld. Hosted by Don Newman and Wei Chen. ISN: 176016, LAC.
- This Country, Hour One*. First broadcast 30 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld. Hosted by Don Newman and Wei Chen. ISN: 176159, LAC.
- This Day*. First broadcast 21 January 1991 by CBC Newsworld. Hosted by Susan Ormistan. ISN: 183952, LAC.

This Day. First broadcast 27 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld. Hosted by Deborah Lamb. ISN: 176015, LAC.

This Day. First broadcast 29 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld. Hosted by Deborah Lamb. ISN: 176014, LAC.

This Day. First broadcast 30 August 1990 by CBC Newsworld. Hosted by Deborah Lamb. ISN: 176146, LAC.

Week's End. First broadcast 29 September 1990 by CBC Newsworld. Hosted by Kirk Lapointe. ISN: 175901, LAC.

Commemoration

CBC-TV News Special. First broadcast 11 November 1990 by CBC. A CBC news specials production. Hosted by Don Newman and Major George Pearce (Ret). ISN: 175893, LAC.

We Shall Fight on the Beaches! First broadcast 3 June 1990 by CBC. A CBC Ottawa production. Narrated by Lister Sinclair, written and produced by Brian Jeffrey Street, and produced by Cameron Graham. ISN: 159421, LAC.

History

The Valour and the Horror, narrated by Terence McKenna, written by Terence and Brian McKenna, directed by Brian McKenna, and produced by Arnie Gelbart, André Lamy, Adam Symansky and Darce Fardy. 1992; CBC, the National Film Board of Canada, with SRC and Telefilm Canada, and Paradox, 2007. DVD.

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CBC News Filmpack. First broadcast 19 November 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 178029, LAC.

CBC News Filmpack. First broadcast 21 December 1964 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Lamont Tilden. ISN: 178068, LAC.

CBC News Filmpack. First broadcast 23 November 1967 by CBC. A CBC television news production. ISN: 178376, LAC.

CBC News Filmpack. First broadcast 25 November 1967 by CBC. A CBC television news production. News read by Gordon Jones. ISN: 178370, LAC.

Course for Collision. First broadcast 21 April 1957 by CBC. A CBC Theatre presentation. Written by Arthur Hailey, starring Irwin Browns, and produced by Sydney Newman. ISN: 72385, LAC.

- Document*. Episode titled, "The Mills of the Gods." Rebroadcast in 2002 by CBOT. A CBC television production. Produced/directed by Beryl Fox with Douglas Leiterman as executive producer. Recorded from television by author.
- Flanders' Fields: Canadian Voices From WW I*, produced, narrated, written and directed by J. Frank Willis. 1964; CBC Audio, 2006. DVD.
- Glory Enough for All*. First broadcast 16 October 1988 by CBC. A Gemstone, Primedia, CBC and Thames Television co-production. Directed by Eric Till and produced by Gordon Hinch. ISN: 106532, LAC.
- The Kid Who Couldn't Miss*. First broadcast 1984 by First Choice/Superchannel. A National Film Board production. Narrated by William Hutt, and produced by Paul Cowan and Adam Symansky. <http://www.nfb.ca/film/the-kid-who-couldnt-miss/> (accessed January 2012).
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- The Sorrow and The Pity: chronicle of a French city under the occupation*, a film by Marcel Ophuls. 1969; Milestone film and video, 2011. DVD.

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| <i>Calgary Herald</i> | <i>The Ottawa Citizen</i> |
| <i>Canadian Broadcaster</i> | <i>The Ottawa Sun</i> |
| <i>Cape Breton Post</i> | <i>Playback</i> |
| <i>CBC Times</i> | <i>Radio-TV</i> |
| <i>Civil Defence Canada</i> | <i>The Robinson-Blackmore's Weekender</i> |
| <i>Closed Circuit</i> | <i>Saturday Night</i> |
| <i>Content</i> | <i>Scan</i> |
| <i>Content for Canadian Journalists</i> | <i>Star Phoenix</i> |
| <i>Current Affairs for the Canadian Armed Forces</i> | <i>Star Weekly</i> |
| | <i>Telegram</i> |
| <i>The Edmonton Journal</i> | <i>Time</i> |
| <i>The Financial Post</i> | <i>Today's Senior</i> |
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| <i>The Journal</i> | <i>TV Times [Star-Phoenix]</i> |
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