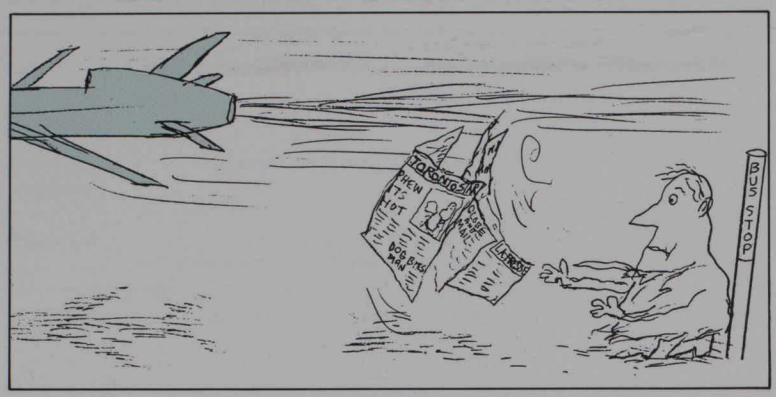
other *Globe* items in November drew brief attention to Soviet criticisms of the decision. And on December 7 from Brussels there was a half-page feature on NATO's urgent need for new missiles to meet the Soviet build-up, by former publisher Richard Malone. There was not one editorial or op-ed piece all fall. But it might be added that the *Globe*'s business page, back on April 3, had the first major item about Litton Systems of Toronto negotiating a contract to build cruise missile guidance systems.

The *Toronto Star* did little better. It printed the October 5 item, four days later. On October 20 there was a half-page backgrounder by freelancer Tad Szulc on European concerns about Carter's foreign policy gaffes and about a continuing arms race if the cruise and Pershing II deployment was pursued. On November 14 there was a four-paragraph piece from a NATO nuclear planning group meeting in The Hague that said NATO would face "one of the toughest decisions in its history" introducing 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles into Europe to counter the Soviet SS-20s.

Nicholas Hills, reporting from London for Southams, had a lengthy piece on Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's arms reduction offer in late October that was contingent on NATO not deploying its new missiles. His story contained the only reference to the danger of cruise missile deployment. He quoted US arms control expert, Herbert Scoville, as saying the new deployment involved "a new era of weaponry that was nearly impossible to control," while the forward basing of Pershing II missiles was "a provocative step" since they could very rapidly hit military targets near Moscow.

A thorough combing of the clippings file for 26 major papers across Canada during the fall of 1979 turned up a fairly sparse coverage in both the English and French papers, and most of it repeated the standard NATO line about "simple modernization." Two feature articles raised other points. The *Ottawa Journal* (October 22) ran an *Economist* item, arguing that deployment of these missiles was a "reasonable course" to get the Russians to the arms control table. The *Toronto Star* (November 29) ran a Gwynne Dyer piece arguing that Brezhnev's concern about the Pershing II might lead to a major "peace offensive" by the Russians in Europe.



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When the final decision was approved on December 12, very few editorial comments raised questions about it. Jean Pellerin on the editorial page of *La Presse* (December 19) focussed on the Dutch decision to postpone its acceptance of the missiles. The *Ottawa Citizen* (December 17) said it does "not augur well for lessening cold war tensions" but that there might be no alternative. The *Winnipeg Tribune* (December 15) said "East and West Europe have become a vast chess-board with the Mad Hatter and the Queen of Hearts playing a nightmarish game of nuclear legerdemain."

One reason that there was so little comment in Canada, according to a Canadian Press story (October 27) from Ottawa, was that Canada was taking a "hands-off" attitude to this key NATO debate. McKinnon told the press that he would not make up his mind before going to the December meeting. There was no parliamentary interest and only one question was asked in the House during that entire session, and that was the week before the final Brussels meeting. And, of course, the Clark government was defeated while that NATO meeting was still going on; External Affairs Minister Flora MacDonald never even made her speech because she was trying to catch a plane home for the fatal House vote. The NATO decision was lost in election fever.

All this seems to suggest that in the late seventies, Canadian newspapers largely took their lead in this issue from government and parliament; if Ottawa ignored or played down the issues, the press did too. Much more informed and even critical coverage was to be found in European and some American papers in 1979.

In 1980, the Canadian press was initially focusing internationally on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and domestically on a new Trudeau government. The American press was into an election year at home. The focus abroad was on the continuing Iranian hostage crisis, and later by the crisis of Solidarity in Poland.

In the fall of 1981, the European peace movements began to make Canadian news pages, with various articles explaining the background for Europe's concern over the nuclear build-up there. This time the *Globe* had an excellent and lengthy series of articles by editorial writer, Stan McDowell, on the nuclear arms race and where it might be leading.

What really seemed to bring it home to Canadians was the revelation, on 10 March 1982 in a Southam News story from Washington by Don Sellar that Canada was preparing to accept the testing of cruise missiles in this country.

It came out as the Commons External Affairs Committee was concluding its study of arms control and disarmament issues for an upcoming special UN session on disarmament. The Ministers of External Affairs and Defence had to be recalled to the hearings, MPs suddenly became more interested in arms control and NATO issues, peace groups became more active, and the Canadian press began to take a continuing interest in these issues. The *Toronto Star* devoted its entire front page on April 10 to the nuclear arms race and the growing peace movement.

The public debate grew as the time for signing an umbrella agreement on American military testing arrived early in 1983. This public concern and the resulting press coverage helped to encourage Prime Minister Trudeau to develop his own peace initiative in 1984, after the arms control negotiations had collapsed and the first cruise and Pershing II missiles were deployed in Europe.

Compared to the fitful and sketchy coverage of arms control and security matters in the Canadian newspapers of 1979, the press now appears to be trying a lot harder to cover these difficult subjects more thoroughly. It is beginning to raise some of the issues, rather than just taking NATO and government handouts, and in the process it is encouraging the informed public debate these subjects badly need. □