

A man wearing a blue cap, glasses, and a patterned shirt is sitting on a printing press. He is looking to the right. The background is a dark, industrial setting with various mechanical parts and lights.

CANADA
TODAY / D'AUJOURD'HUI

**THE
AMERICAN
MEDIA
LOOKS AT
CANADA**

Canadians have often complained that the American press ignores them.

In truth it has, for decades, given considerable attention to Canada's hockey teams and hockey players (and, more recently, baseball teams and baseball players) but has sometimes paid little heed to the rise and fall of governments and to major shifts in government policy. We are pleased to say that the coverage has improved in recent years.

In this special issue of CANADA TODAY/D'AUJOURD'HUI we examine the way the American media reported last spring's referendum in Quebec. A majority of Quebecers voted against a plan offered by Premier René Lévesque and his Parti Québécois which would have given the Quebec government a mandate to negotiate political sovereignty for Quebec combined with economic association with the rest of Canada.

The coverage was not flawless—one TV commentator in Washington, D.C., said that Quebecers were voting to see if they should end 200 years of British rule—but it was, by and large, very good.

Most papers (and other members of the media) covered the events completely and fairly. The commercial TV networks confined themselves to one or two minute summaries, and a few journals missed or exaggerated nuances.

The New York Times

The **New York Times** has traditionally had complete and perceptive reports on Canada. It did another good job on the Quebec referendum.

On April 4 (a month and a half before the event), James Reston rephrased a point raised by Canada's Governor General Edward Schreyer:

Will Canada still exist as a country at the end of the decade? Mr. Reston asked, and he wondered if Americans, and the American press in particular, were paying too much attention to the happenings in Iran and Afghanistan and not enough to our own neighbors.

The same day, **Times** correspondent Henry Giniger was reporting the latest poll in Quebec: 41.2 per cent of those questioned said they intended to vote Yes—in favour of sovereignty-association—and 40.9 per cent said they would vote No. He noted that there had been slippage among the Yes group and suggested that the eighteen per cent who were undecided were the key to the outcome.

Mr. Giniger watched the Quebec skies during the following weeks for tell-tale signs. In

early April he noted that *several prominent federalists have said they will vote yes as the only way to shock English-speaking Canada into agreeing to give Quebec more power to protect its culture.*

On the 28th of April Mr. Giniger reported a dead heat in the polls, forty-four per cent Yes, forty-four per cent No, and he described an anguished exchange Mr. Lévesque had with a Jewish group in Montreal. The audience were among those Quebecers who are primarily English-speaking, and the logical assumption was that almost all of them would vote No. Quebec's Premier was walking a difficult line. Lévesque referred to the "handicap" that the French-speakers had to overcome (surveys indicated that four-fifths of the English-speakers would vote No); and he added, "If the result is only forty-eight or forty-nine per cent for the yes side it will require very steady nerves on both sides."

In the next few weeks the undecided block dropped from eighteen to twelve per cent but remained significant. Many citizens were telling pollsters that they had not made up their minds, but Giniger reported, *Some of the optimism of the negative side is based on the belief that those*

who are hesitating are in fact fearful of where a yes vote will lead Quebec.

Meanwhile, there were new forces at play.

As the **Times** reported, Premier William Davis of Ontario, Quebec's neighbour and Canada's most populous province, had said that while he would certainly not tell Quebec voters how to vote, he felt obliged to say, "In no way, shape or form will Sovereignty-Association be negotiated by the government which I lead because to do so would be to negotiate the break-up of Canada."

On May 16, after Prime Minister Trudeau made what Giniger described as *one of the most impassioned speeches of his career* to a crowd of 9,000 Quebecers, the reporter noted, *In the last few days . . . Mr. Lévesque has appeared less certain that a majority of yes votes will be forthcoming next Tuesday; and he quoted him as saying, "It's going to be close, we can win, we must win, we shall win."* Giniger added that the strong possibility that a majority of French-speaking voters will vote yes only to see their votes negated by a solid bloc of no votes by the English-speaking minority is causing tension and unease.

On Sunday the 18th Mr. Giniger had a prescient feature

Cover photo: This **Baltimore Sun** pressman is checking newspapers as they come off the press. The paper is now converting from the letterpress method pictured to more efficient offset presses.



James Reston
The New York Times



Henry Giniger
The New York Times

story about a particular family who are nationalists as are most French-speaking Quebecers but who are lining up three to one against.

On May 20 eighty-five per cent of Quebec's 4.3 million voters went to the polls in an outwardly calm atmosphere and 58.2 per cent of them voted No. The Nos carried almost every region of the province, and it

appeared that the French-speaking voters alone had given them a majority.

The next day Giniger reported: *The nationalists' dream of independence [was] shattered by a cautious population. He added: If federalists were evidently happy with the results, they avoided gloating. One pointed out that the forty-one per cent supporting Lévesque was a large segment of the Quebec*

population.

On May 22 the Times summed up in an editorial:

The first impulse was to cheer. Six of ten Quebecers turned down even a tentative plan to negotiate a vaguely defined sovereignty. And there can be no plausible claim of foul. On reflection Quebec has given its votes but not its heart to the cause of federalism.

Safire's Scenarios or In Between Biafra and A Big Business Boom

Satire is a difficult art, particularly when the subject is complex and consequential.

On May 15 **New York Times** columnist William Safire wrote a piece on the referendum entitled *Le Cuba du Nord*, in which he sketched a few scenarios that demonstrate the danger on our doorstep.

There were a total of eight and some might find all of them a shade farfetched. The first three established the general flavour: 1) A major No vote by French Canadians. *The separatist movement collapses, the central*

Government in Ottawa gratefully extends more self-rule to all provinces, business investment booms in Montreal. 2) Mr. Lévesque loses in a squeaker, blames the defeat of separatism on a monolithic 'Anglo' vote, rallies the French-speaking majority to a cultural and economic freeze-out of English-speaking Quebecers. From this flows much bitterness, economic flight, rising unemployment. 3) Mr. Lévesque wins. A stunned Canada, under Pierre Trudeau, has to decide how to handle its West Bank, its Biafra, its Confederacy.



William Safire
The New York Times



Andrew Malcolm
The New York Times



John Urquhart
The Wall Street Journal



Malcolm K. Hughes
United Press

The Far-Flung Correspondents

You may be mildly surprised to know that of all American newspapers, **The Wall Street Journal** has the greatest number of correspondents based in Canada, with two in Ottawa, one in Montreal, five in Toronto and one in Vancouver.

The New York Times has a man in Ottawa and another in Toronto. The **Los Angeles Times** has a man in Toronto and the **Detroit Free Press** has a man in the same city.

Time magazine has one each in Ottawa and Vancouver. **Business Week** keeps two in Toronto.

Twenty-three reporters across Canada file stories for United Press International. Malcolm K. Hughes in Toronto is United Press Canada's Editor-in-Chief. Other correspondents in Canada are listed below:

The Wall Street Journal: Ottawa—John Urquhart and Fred Rose. Montreal—

Leonard Anderson. Toronto—Patrick Wallace (Managing Editor for Canada), Leonard Zehr, Norman Peagam, Jan Boucek and Jack Britton. Vancouver—Alan Bayless.

The New York Times: Ottawa—Henry Giniger. Toronto—Andrew Malcolm.

Time: Ottawa—John Scott. Vancouver—Ed Ogle.

Business Week: Toronto—Frank Comes and Thane Peterson.

Los Angeles Times: Toronto—Stanley Meisler.

Detroit Free Press: Toronto—Jim Neubacher.

Some papers without a correspondent in Canada do, nevertheless, carry a substantial amount of Canadian news. These include **The Baltimore Sun** (which has particularly perceptive editorials on Canadian events), **The Memphis Commercial Appeal**, and **The Washington Post**.



Daniel Berger
Editorial Columnist
The Baltimore Sun



Ed Ogle
Time Magazine



John Scott
Time Magazine

It's Closer Than You Think

Early in 1977 **The Memphis Commercial Appeal** sent E.W. Kieckhefer to Canada. Mr. Kieckhefer wrote a series of stories on life and politics there and was pleasantly surprised at the reaction. One response came from the May-in-Memphis festival, which made life in Canada its theme that year.

Since then **The Commercial Appeal** has given Canada considerable attention, and last spring Mr. Kieckhefer went back to write about the Quebec referendum. On this trip he ran into an old friend, the editor of **The Boston Globe's** editorial page, who asked why Memphis was so interested in Canada. Mr. Kieckhefer replied, *Because it is so close.* As he pointed out, Memphis is barely 700 miles from the Canadian border at Windsor. It is closer to Canada than it is to Mexico or, for that matter, to Boston.

The Eyes of Texas

The **Houston Chronicle** devoted substantial coverage to the referendum, and it put together a clear and concise summation of the results.

It said in part:

The No triumph showed, of course, that many French Quebecers had not yet lost patience with Canada's troubled federal system.

... it is uncertain how the other nine Canadian provinces, each with its own personality and economic objectives, will react. . . . The mainstream of Quebecer opinion . . . has been in favor of more power for the provincial government while keeping the federal government in Ottawa at arm's length.

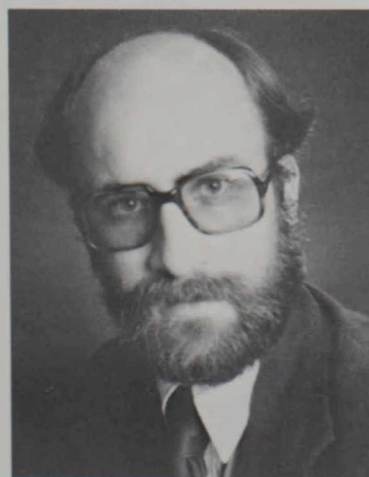
The Houston Post devoted a "Post/Commentary" column to the state of the Canadian nation:



E.W. Kieckhefer
The Memphis Commercial Appeal



Michael Berryhill
Fort Worth Star-Telegram



Paul De Groot

To an American governor, Canada's ten provincial first ministers look powerful, its provincial governments have a healthy sovereignty.

Michael Berryhill of the **Fort Worth Star-Telegram** said in a post-referendum piece: *Writing a new constitution will not be easy. Americans nearly failed to ratify theirs almost 200 years ago, when the original thirteen colonies were banded loosely together under the Articles of Confederation.*

Way Out West

The Seattle Times' coverage of the referendum emphasized the turmoil before and after the event. A wire story on May 15 commented on *mounting bitterness*, and the same day, Paul De Groot, identified as a Canadian journalist writing from Victoria, B.C. (he is actually a former American, now a Canadian citizen), phrased the basic question to be decided as, *Are French Canadians in Quebec so distinct that their best interests will be served by an independent nation?*

On referendum evening, the **Times** focused attention on hundreds of [Lévesque's] young supporters [who] marched through the English-speaking Montreal suburb of Westmount, and on a single incident in which some of them apparently roughed up a TV technician.

On Sunday Paul De Groot wrote approvingly that *Levesque made no attempt to wrest a moral victory of some kind from the result by fiddling with the figures*, and added that both sides were moderate in their post-referendum statements. *If such conciliatory rhetoric, all too absent during the sometimes bitter Referendum campaign, can last beyond the voting night statements, Canada will be in a good position to capitalize on this latest exercise in democracy.*

An Alarm is Sounded

Of the hundreds of articles considering the possible results of the referendum, none sounded a louder alarm than that of Don Nuechterlein in **The Washington Post**.

In the piece, which appeared the Sunday before the Tuesday vote, Mr. Nuechterlein, author of **National Interest and Presidential Leadership** and a professor at the Federal Executive Institute in Charlottesville, Virginia, began with the observation that the decision in Quebec might be as ominous as was South Carolina's decision in 1960 to withdraw from the United States.

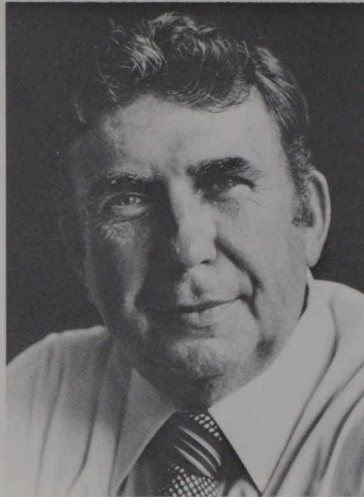
He also concluded that Quebec militants are not likely to accept an unfavorable outcome, regardless of how close the vote. They would no longer be satisfied with Parti Quebecois leader Rene Levesque's moderate, constitutional approach, demanding instead that he declare Quebec independent or give way for a new leader. . . .

If the referendum does fail, then, there is a serious possibility that violence will break out in Montreal and perhaps other cities, and that Trudeau would again send in troops. In that case, the specter of civil war would hang over Canada.

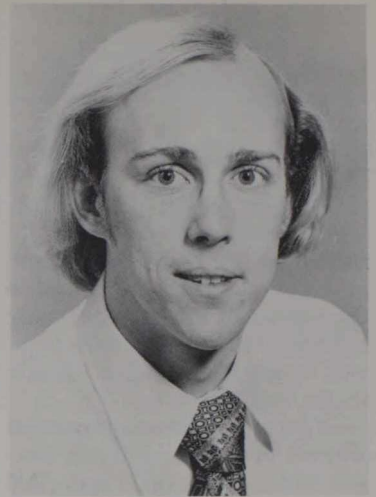
Return of the Native

Joseph E. Bouchard of **The Washington Post**, who was born in Quebec and is now a naturalized American citizen, wrote on June 22 about his pre-referendum tour of the province. He found feelings intense on both sides, with people complaining about threats and intimidation.

He recounted one personal experience: *My closest brush with violence came at a restaurant in St. Simeon, another ferry port. As I talked with the waitress a group of*



Joseph E. Bouchard
The Washington Post



Jim Neubacher
Detroit Free Press

youths formed a circle around my counter stool to listen. Finally the oldest, about 18, challenged me: Who was I? What was I doing in St. Simeon? Why was I asking so many questions? Did I plan to vote

oui or non?

I explained that I worked for a newspaper . . . the tension eased and the group began to tell me how strongly they believed in Levesque's position.



LePelley in **The Christian Science Monitor** ©1980 TCSPS.

Yvette

Jim Neubacher writes a column from Toronto for the **Detroit Free Press**.

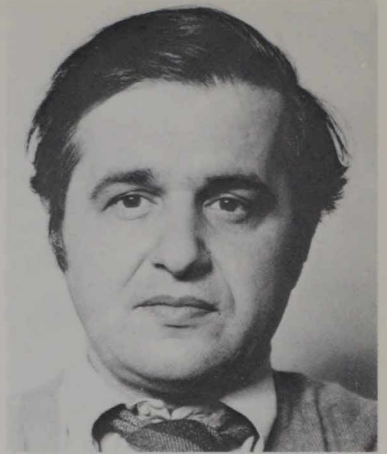
On May 19 he speculated that if the No voters prevailed, the reason might be a girl named Yvette.

Yvette is a character in Quebec grade-school readers, somewhat akin to Dick and Jane in the U.S. of the fifties. She is timid and submissive and leaves adventures to her brother.

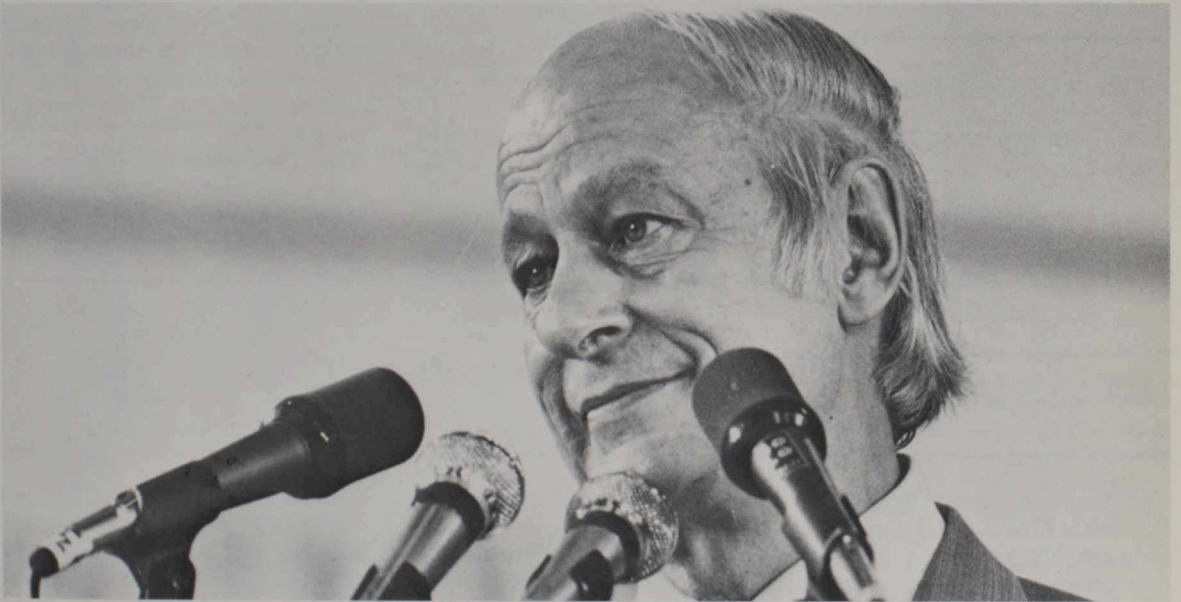
In April Lise Payette, a member of René Lévesque's cabinet, referred scornfully to women who intended to vote No in the referendum as *Yvettes*.

As Mr. Neubacher noted, *The women in Quebec City decided*

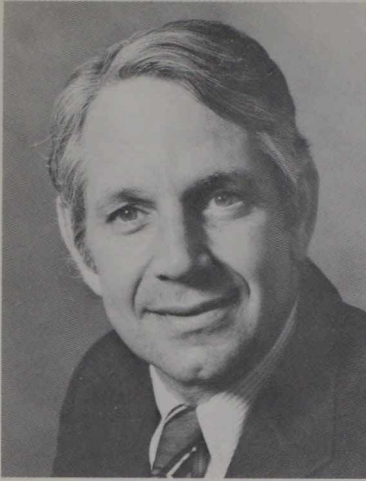
to organize a breakfast at the Chateau Frontenac as a morale booster for several hundred no supporters. But word spread and hundreds more showed up. . . . The women wore their no buttons and . . . proudly called themselves Yvettes. There were soon similar rallies being held all over the province.



Dusko Doder is an assistant foreign editor of **The Washington Post** who frequently writes about Canada. In a long Sunday piece before the referendum, he quoted a Vancouver humorist, Eric Nicol, who used to say that the Canadian federation was like a mail-order bra—"intended to contain and uplift, but instead draws attention to the cleavage."



Premier René Lévesque concedes defeat on referendum night, while Quebec Liberal leader Claude Ryan celebrates the victory of the No forces.



Joseph Sterne
Editorial Page Editor
The Baltimore Sun

Editorials

Scores of American newspapers had editorials on the referendum, both before and after the event.

Although almost all expressed a diplomatic hope that

the majority of Quebecers would reject the PQ government's proposal, only one, **The Wall Street Journal**, regarded the substantial No victory as a sign that the separation issue [had been laid] to rest for a good, long time. Below are excerpts from the **Journal** editorial and contrasting post-referendum editorials from other major papers.

The Wall Street Journal: *If this greatly watered down initiative toward Quebec separation couldn't even come close to passage, there now can be little doubt about what the large majority of Quebecers want. They want to remain Canadians. . . .*

While Canada has passed an important milestone, the nation as a whole still has many important problems to resolve. . . . There is . . . the urgent problem of the Canadian federal budget, which is heavily in deficit, with no immediate prospect of relief. . . .

But Canadians have every right to cheer the removal of an unwanted distraction.

The Baltimore Sun: *By itself, however, this vote settled nothing. What it did do was turn the momentum around, creating the opportunity for*

Canada's ten provinces to sort out their relationships in a new constitution. . . . Canadians of good will were given more time to settle their differences, perhaps five years.

The Washington Star: *The Prime Minister now suggests a more generous area of negotiations with the provinces. Beyond the retention of the federation with its national parliament, and a charter of freedoms and human rights, "everything else is negotiable." But taking the generosity at face value, the creation of a "new federalism" will still be a difficult and uncertain undertaking, to judge from past failures to obtain agreement among the provinces on constitutional questions.*

The Washington Post: *The American interest in Quebec is in its economic growth and stability. Neither seemed likely to be served well by Quebec's departure from the Canadian federation. But growth and stability now depend on those political leaders who urged Quebec to vote "non." On their response . . . depends whether the issue of separatism has now finally been put to rest.*

The Des Moines Register: *It would be foolish to pretend that Quebec nationalism is a puny force.*

The MacNeil/Lehrer Report

The **MacNeil/Lehrer Report** on the Public Broadcasting System's network TV has often focused on Canada.

On May 21 it gave a half-hour interpretive roundup of the referendum results.

Robert MacNeil was in Montreal and Jim Lehrer in Ottawa, and between them they interviewed Reed Scowen, a Liberal member of the Quebec National Assembly; Lise Bissonnette, editor of the editorial page of **Le Devoir**, and a supporter of René Lévesque's Yes forces; Francis Fox, a minister in Prime Minister Trudeau's cabinet; and Harvie André, a Progressive Conservative member of the federal Parliament from Calgary, Alberta.

The four expressed opinions reflecting their different orientations, but they had some points of agreement. No one believed that the independence movement was dead in Quebec.

Reed Scowen put it this way: *There is a small percentage of indépendantiste in every Quebecer, and there's a small percentage of Quebecers who are principally, basically, indépendantistes.*

Miss Bissonnette felt that the movement would not only continue but that perhaps it had gained a bit in the last few years:

In '76 [the Parti Québécois] got exactly the same amount of votes that they got yesterday. . . . But [in '76] the people voted to get rid of the [Liberal provincial] government

for a lot of reasons but [all of them] didn't agree with sovereignty-association . . . still the Parti Québécois managed to get the same amount of votes yesterday, so I think it's small progress for them.

All four of the interviewees believe that the federal government now has the responsibility to reform itself.

Mr. Fox thinks that it can do so and still remain strong:

We [the Liberal government members] feel there has to be a strong national government in Canada, but we don't feel that that is incompatible with having strong provincial governments at the same time. . . . The provinces and the municipalities now spend approximately twice as much as the federal level of government. . . . Let's sit



Jim Lehrer
Public Broadcasting System



Robert MacNeil
Public Broadcasting System

down, let's have a look at the type of constitution we've had . . . and let's see if we can come up with something better.

Mr. André of Calgary felt the adjustment of powers might move in both directions, but he had some specific ideas for the flow west.

I believe it would be acceptable . . . in my part of the country for . . . some powers to transfer from the provincial back to the federal government. . . . But on some pretty important issues right now—energy, the resources issues, [which are] the most important to my province—very definitely, the provinces will be seeking more authority, more power.

The four participants each ventured an estimation of the chances that a constitution could be written that would satisfy all Canadians.

Ms. Bissonnette guessed twenty-five per cent while Mr. André said sixty-five per cent. Mr. Scowen and Mr. Fox were very positive, both guessing one hundred per cent.

National Public Radio

On the National Public Radio network, Josh Darsa gave a well-rounded report on Quebec and the rest of Canada in an hour-long program entitled *L'Identité Canadienne*.

He spent three weeks in Quebec and Ontario just before the referendum and talked to scores of people.

The question posed at the start of the program was, *Why is Canada having difficulties after more than a century of trying to establish its nationhood and identity?*

Darsa's conclusion was that *the key to understanding the situation [lies with] another society, another people.*

After a suitably dramatic pause, he revealed the other people to be Americans.

His thesis was that modern Canada (both French- and



Josh Darsa
National Public Radio

English-speaking) evolved to a great degree in response to what was going on south of the 49th parallel.

This view was developed somewhat (Confederation is seen as engendered by a fear of Yankee invasions)—but the major and most successful portion of the program was devoted to recent events in Quebec. There were a dozen lively interviews with a variety of Quebecers and other Canadians.

The first person quoted was the late British historian Arnold Toynbee, who once said, *Whatever the future of mankind in North America, I feel pretty confident that these French-speaking Canadians will be there at the end of the story.*

Some of the persons interviewed seemed to have a similar certainty, but others, both French-speakers and English-speakers, felt that the survival, intact, of the traditional culture cannot be taken for granted.

Most interviewees focused on the emergence of the French speakers as the dominant group.

Quebec historian Michel Brunet said that before the Quiet Revolution of the 1960's, they were a majority by numbers but a minority by thinking. He recounted that when a reporter for an English-language newspaper asked him in 1961 how the English speakers in Quebec could contribute to the new Quebec, he replied, *By learning*

to become a minority.

Joan Dougherty of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal told Mr. Darsa: *We now know very well that we're a minority, and we're beginning to act like it. We're beginning to stick up for our rights and to behave in ways we never did before. We never had to assert ourselves and we had a kind of majority habit.*

Several people discussed the effects of Bill 101, the Quebec law that makes French the official language of the province, provides for its use in business, and limits access to English language schools.

It was pointed out that immigrants from other countries have been significantly affected by one provision of the language law. At one time, almost all chose to have their children educated in English, but they no longer have that option. The prevailing assumption was that immigrants will be assimilated into the French-speaking majority.

View of Another Province

The **Los Angeles Times** has had consistently good coverage of Canada. Its focus, however, differs from that of many other papers. Stanley Meisler, the Toronto-based correspondent who provides most of the coverage, deals almost exclusively in interpretive and analytical "features." He recently had, for example, a thoughtful piece about the prevailing state of mind in British Columbia. British Columbia, like Quebec, frequently feels singular.

The headline, *British Columbia Nurses Alienation from Canada*, was a shade stronger than the article itself. Below are excerpts:

"The people out here," provincial Premier William Bennett said in his office in the stately legislative building facing Victoria harbor, "feel a hundred years of resentment that they were a colony within a country."

"We don't matter," said Jack Webster, Vancouver's popular tele-



Stanley Meisler
Los Angeles Times

vision newsmen. "We just don't matter." Webster, who came to British Columbia from Scotland in 1947, says, "The political alienation here is total and complete."

"The fever has always been there," said Iona Campagnolo, a former member of the Trudeau cabinet. . . . "But the [recent] election [when the Liberals failed to win a single seat in the three westernmost provinces] acted like a switch setting it off."

Some British Columbians find all this talk exaggerated. David Barrett, the socialist leader of the opposition in the provincial legislature, . . . described the talk as nonsense . . . irresponsible."

"Anyone who talks about western alienation," he said, "is a fruitcake, a nut-ball, a tinkertoy, a jerk, you name it. Alienation is a typical media fascination. . . . Sure B.C. is different. Every part of the country is different."

The Canadian Identity

In a June issue of the **New York Review of Books**, J.M. Cameron noted that the [Quebec] referendum of May 20 has directed the world's attention to Canada and has prompted questions about its political integrity.

He then reviewed two books about Canada, one written by an



Anthony Westell, Professor of Journalism at Carleton University and editorial columnist for **The Toronto Star**, has a year's fellowship at the Carnegie Endowment to write on Canada-U.S. relations.

American, the other by two Canadians. The first deals with English-speaking Canada, the second with the English living in Quebec and the referendum. **Deference to Authority; The Case of Canada** is by Edgar Z. Friedenberg, an American who has lived in Canada for many years. He contends that the basic difference between Americans and Canadians is that English-speaking Canadians are more reserved, more cautious and, as the title suggests, more deferential to authority.

Mr. Cameron clearly agrees, and he writes, *In their public manners the English-speaking Canadians strike one as decent people, rather cold and repressed, fair minded, unadventurous, a bit glum. The spirit of free enterprise, willingness to take a chance, don't characterize the young professionals. They are more concerned with getting or preserving a certain style of life. One even comes across young men in their early twenties who are concerned about their pension rights.*

The conclusions have a certain glib appeal, but they are built on shaky foundations: English-speaking Canadians should not be described in this very specific way unless most of them fit the description.

Mr. Cameron found the

second book, **The English Fact in Quebec**, by Sheila McLeod Arnopoulous and Dominique Clift, *essential*. He has one well-taken criticism: he does not believe, as the authors suggest, that the historical position of French Canadians is similar to that of the blacks, women and Puerto Ricans in the United States.

He commends the book for its insights into the origins and development of the separatist movement and offers his own opinion of the nature of Canada's post-referendum problems.

It may soon become clear what the other provinces are prepared to do for Quebec, what Quebec will settle for, what the Federal Government will concede and where it will feel compelled to stand and not to yield. But while there has been much talk during the Referendum campaign about a 'renewed federalism', it isn't at all evident what this means. The No voters of Quebec have accepted a blank cheque upon which they hope a handsome figure will be written.

Après Québec, Canada Looks South

Canada in general (Ontario in particular) has had two persistent political concerns. One is the relationship of the rest of Canada to Quebec, the other is Canada's relations with the United States.

In a post-referendum article in **The Christian Science Monitor** (which had high quality coverage throughout the campaign) Anthony Westell suggested that a shift in emphasis is now taking place:

In the 1960s, the growth of US investment in Canada and the popularity of US TV . . . gave rise to what was called "the new nationalism." But with the growth of the separatist movement in Quebec in the 1970s, attention turned to the problem of preserving national unity.

This [preoccupation] probably peaked with the May referendum in

Quebec. . . . This is not to say that the problem of unity has been solved, but merely that the heat is off for a few years.

Thus national attention will [now] focus on economic problems, which automatically involve relations with the United States. Like the United States, Canada is suffering from inflation, unemployment, slow growth, serious deficits in the balance of payments, a confused and divisive debate on energy policy, and a manufacturing sector which finds it hard to compete in world markets.

The short-lived Conservative government—elected in May last year, defeated in February—thought the answer . . . was to place more reliance on the free market, including the possibility of free trade with the United States. In this, it reflected its power base in the western provinces which have always been inclined toward free trade.

[Now] in opposition, the [Conservatives are] likely to develop these ideas. [Their] national president is already talking about the desirability of a North American Common Market, and a former policy adviser to the party leader is promoting the concept of a "Treaty of North America" to formalize the extraordinary network of relations which already link the U.S. and Canada and, to a lesser extent, Mexico. . . .

However, Prime Minister Trudeau's born-again Liberal government is adopting a mildly nationalistic stance. It proposes to increase Canadian participation in the oil and gas industry, which is now dominated by foreign-controlled multinationals, and to scrutinize more closely the operations of foreign (mainly U.S.)-controlled corporations. . . .

On the U.S. side of the border, the new factor in the relationship is the widespread but as yet little noticed interest in continental trade, development, and economic integration. A North American Trade Caucus has been formed in the Senate with influential membership. The Commerce Department has a task force studying continental trade possibilities. The National Governors' Association has urged the President to seek to establish a North American forum in which the U.S., Canada, and Mexico can meet on terms of equality to consider more cooperation.



As in many newspapers, computer terminals have replaced typewriters in the newsroom of **The Baltimore Sun**.

Cover and back cover: Dave Harp, **The Baltimore Sun**. Page 7: Michael Dugas, **Montreal Gazette**; CP photo. Other photos were provided by the reporters and their papers.

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