THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND TORONTO NEWSPAPERS

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INTRODUCTION: The Issues

Par une analyse de contenu de deux quotidiens torontois, l'auteur examine
d'une part les représentations du movement pour la paix et d'autre part,
l'ideologie de la guerre froide.

The contemporary peace movement in Canada is extremely diverse and is growing.
The vitality of this movement, however, is obscured in the mainstream media's presentation of news and opinions.

Despite journalists' claims of objectivity in reporting the news, it is well established that the news is both ideological and partial knowledge (Gans, 1979; Gitlin, 1980; Tuchman, 1978). As Ericson et al. (1987: 8) point out, news "gives preferred readings to the ideological messages of particular source organizations, either by omitting altogether the ideological messages of other organizations that have something to say on the matter or by relegating them a less significant status."

This "ideological work" of the media, according to Hall (1979), is accomplished in three ways. First, the media provide and construct the social imagery which allows us to understand the world beyond our immediate experience. With this social knowledge, we "construct an 'image' of the lives, meanings, practices and values of other groups and classes" (Hall, 1979: 340). The world becomes an apparent plurality. Second, by classifying, ranking and ordering this plurality, the media encourages us to adopt preferred meanings and interpretations. Here, the line is drawn "between preferred and excluded explanations and rationales, between permitted and deviant behaviours, between the 'meaningless' and the 'meaningful', between the incorporated practices, meanings and values and the oppositional ones" (Hall, 1979: 341). Third, the media "organize, orchestrate and bring together that which it has selectively represented and selectively classified ... What has been made visible and classified begins to shake into an acknowledged order" (Hall, 1979: 342). From this, a consensus begins to emerge: "some voices and opinions exhibit greater weight, resonance, defining and limiting power ... This forms the great unifying and consolidating level of the media's ideological work" (Hall, 1979: 342). Or, as Angus and Cook (1984: 6) have succinctly summarized, the media set "the limits of the legitimate diversity of opinion."

Building upon Hall's analysis, Angus and Cook (1984) argue that in the media's discussion of the nuclear debate, the limits of political alternatives are defined by the logic of Cold War ideology. Cold War ideology divides the world into "we" (the free world) and "they" (the U.S.S.R.), whereby we are good and only want peace, but they
are evil and waiting for a chance to attack us and destroy all we believe in. Consequently, deterrence is the watchword of the Cold War. Meanwhile, the peace movement—which does not on the whole subscribe to this dualistic thinking—finds itself defined by the media as outside the boundaries of common sense and must struggle for legitimacy.

Newspapers are an important part of the mass media. As such, they have considerable influence in defining Canada's political agenda (see Lorimer and McNulty, 1987). This remains true despite the growing popularity of television for information relevant to the daily lives of Canadians. *The Kent Royal Commission on Newspapers* (Canada, 1981: 34-36) found that 89% of all adults read a newspaper at least once a week, 59% considered newspapers the best source of information for local news, and 49% said newspapers were the best source of information for things they were personally interested in. Further, as Lorimer and McNulty (1987: 81) point out, "whatever the role of the press with regard to the general public, it plays a key role in communication between elites in society." Thus, what is or is not printed in newspapers has implications for those who wish to have an impact on society, as peace activists wish to do.

Within this framework, I examine recent newspaper coverage of the peace movement and issues with which this movement is concerned. I read each issue of the Toronto *Star* and the *Globe and Mail* between February 7 and June 7, 1987, clipping relevant articles. I decided which articles were relevant according to my own understanding of what the peace movement is concerned with (based on personal involvement in the peace movement, conversations with activists, and reading peace movement publications). I covered all sections of the papers except the sports and classified sections, and occasional special sections such as those on homes, cars or travel. I did not include editorial cartoons in the analysis. Nor did I include articles about wars in Central America or the Middle East.

The issues discussed in this paper, Arms Control Talks, Canadian Defence, Peace Movement in General, Cruise Missile, Star Wars, Nuclear Power, and Miscellaneous, were not pre-selected but emerged as I studied the clippings searching for a way to organize them. For example, I did not set out to look for articles about Star Wars, but once I had collected all clippings, I saw that Star Wars was a relatively popular topic for articles. Conceivably, tritium transportation—an issue of grave concern for many peace movement activists—could have been discussed in this paper. However, I found no articles on this topic. Thus, the issues discussed here reflect what the papers chose to discuss, rather than what peace activists might wish to see discussed. Once all clippings were sorted according to topics and sub-topics, I examined them for themes, framing and overall tone.

In the following analysis, I pay particular attention to representations of the peace movement on the one hand, and Cold War ideology on the other.
Large segments of the peace movement articulate an alternative to Cold War ideology, but this rarely interests Toronto's leading newspapers, the Star and the Globe and Mail (the Globe). The table below summarizes these papers' coverage of the peace movement and issues. Neither the table nor the following discussion differentiates between articles in the Star and Globe. Instead the table differentiates between types of article, as well as four other criteria which affect the ways in which audiences evaluate this content. Among these are: 1) News and feature articles which are commonly assumed to be reports of fact and therefore more believable. Although journalists and perhaps some readers distinguish between news and features (i.e., "hard" versus "soft" news), the average reader recognizes both as reportage of fact rather than opinion. 2) Editorials are second in authoritativeness. Although they represent the opinion of the newspaper, it is generally assumed to be an informed opinion. It is also an opinion which the paper is willing to support. 3) As with editorials, columns and reviews are usually recognized as opinions, but are not usually considered quite as authoritative. Columnists, it could be argued, specialize in certain areas and therefore may not be able to see "the whole picture" which editors are presumed to know. 4) The letters to the editor section is the least authoritative, as most letters may be seen as the uninformed opinions of ordinary people who are biased. Also, each letter takes up relatively little space in the paper, which makes it difficult

### Table 1

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF PEACE MOVEMENT ISSUES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Article*</th>
<th>News/Feature</th>
<th>Editorial</th>
<th>Column/Review</th>
<th>Letter to Editor</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arms Control Talks</td>
<td>87 (2)</td>
<td>6 (2)</td>
<td>13 (1)</td>
<td>8 (1)</td>
<td>114 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Defence</td>
<td>28 (4)</td>
<td>7 (1)</td>
<td>13 (6)</td>
<td>8 (2)</td>
<td>56 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Peace Movement in General</td>
<td>25 (25)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>3 (3)</td>
<td>3 (3)</td>
<td>31 (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruise Missile</td>
<td>20 (11)</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
<td>4 (4)</td>
<td>29 (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star Wars</td>
<td>19 (1)</td>
<td>1 (0)</td>
<td>5 (0)</td>
<td>2 (0)</td>
<td>27 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear Power</td>
<td>17 (3)</td>
<td>2 (0)</td>
<td>2 (0)</td>
<td>4 (0)</td>
<td>25 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>13 (0)</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
<td>7 (0)</td>
<td>2 (0)</td>
<td>24 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL ALL ARTICLES</td>
<td>209 (46)</td>
<td>21 (6)</td>
<td>45 (12)</td>
<td>31 (10)</td>
<td>306 (74)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Numbers refer to number of articles appearing in papers. Number in brackets refer to the number of articles mentioning specific peace organizations or the peace movement in general.
to address all aspects or sides of an issue. Sometimes, of course, letters written by people with official titles or who hold positions of authority are printed. Depending upon the reader's opinion of the author, such letters might be seen as more credible than others. In general, however, other sections of the newspaper are taken as more authoritative.

**Who's In Charge Here?**

Table 1 indicates that of all peace movement issues, by far the most coverage was given to arms control talks (114 out of 306). Included here are stories about U.S. and U.S.S.R. arms proposals, responses of European allies, and Canada's role in disarmament.

Almost half of these articles (55 of 114) were about Soviet leader Gorbachev's offer to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. Gorbachev was the hero of the day, while U.S. President Reagan's enthusiasm about the offer was occasionally explained as an attempt to "salvage his presidency" (*Star*, March 7) in the wake of scandal. Editorials and columns applauded Gorbachev and his proposed treaty.

Here, the frame of Cold War ideology was used, but with a new twist. Reagan and Gorbachev were still the main characters on the world stage, and the unexpectedness of Gorbachev's constructive proposal gave him the limelight. Reagan, of course, still represented good, but since things were going so well, the public could afford to be somewhat critical.

Many news items gave background information on arms control talks, and the military strength of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Twice, a map of missile locations was reproduced with a news story, while once there was a similar map without a story. These stories, and the maps in particular, reminded readers of the harsh reality of the Cold War. A focus on military-technical aspects of East-West relations reinforced the assumed need for deterrence. In case readers are too impressed by Gorbachev, "the spectre of the world revolution is evoked" (Mandel 1986: 68).

No articles mentioned specific peace organizations. With the spotlight on arms control talks, anything peace activists might say would be meaningless (according to the logic of the Cold War). Nevertheless, the peace movement in general was mentioned occasionally as having been against the deployment of Euromissiles all along. Thus, readers were subtly encouraged to think the peace movement had always been on the Soviet side. At the same time, it was presented as a homogeneous entity, making it easier to dismiss.

The response of European allies received much attention (36 articles). This is consistent with the logic of Cold War ideology, especially since Gorbachev’s proposal directly concerned their defence. On the whole, European leaders were not pleased
with the proposal. They wanted U.S. missiles to remain, as they believed that their presence kept them safe from Soviet attack. A French official wrote that if the deal went ahead, France and Britain "would be the target of pacifist movements manipulated as in the past by the Soviet Union" (Star, April 9). Again, this suggested that the peace movement had never been on our side.

Editorials criticized the hesitation of European leaders. One approvingly referred to a Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament (CCACD) analysis to argue that European fears were not altogether valid (Star, April 4). This was the only time that a peace organization was referred to in connection with arms control. The reference, however, did not indicate what kind of organization CCACD was, so readers could not be sure that it was not an official government agency.

There were ten articles about Canada's role in disarmament, centering mostly on Canada's official endorsement of Gorbachev's offer. Except for a short letter arguing that Canada should be actively involved in disarmament issues, the views of peace activists were absent. Here, a deviant opinion was allowed expression, but not highlighted.

Other articles concerned topics such as disarmament proposals from other Warsaw Pact countries, new nuclear weapons in the U.S., and nuclear testing. One news item was a brief report on American actor Martin Sheen's arrest in a Mother's Day protest at the Nevada Test Site. It noted that Sheen had been arrested in previous demonstrations there. Nuclear testing, the reason for the protest, was obscured, so Sheen appeared to be merely a trouble-maker.

Of the overwhelming number of articles about arms control, only three, all columns, discussed the implications of a U.S.-U.S.S.R. arms treaty. One challenged the logic of Cold War dualism, while the other two did not. None of the three mentioned the peace movement, or indicated in any way that peace activists might agree with the analysis offered. This lack of attention to peace movement views effectively defined the peace movement as irrelevant to the debate.

Our Combatant Canadians

After arms control, the topic capturing the most press attention was Canadian defence. There were 56 articles on this topic, including stories about Canada's role in NATO, NATO in general, and Defence Minister Beatty's white paper on defence.

Most of the 35 articles about Beatty's White Paper (released on June 5, 1987) focused on plans to purchase nuclear submarines and controversy over the expense. Cabinet ministers and other "defence officials" were often quoted on the rationale for purchasing the subs, while CCACD represented the other side of the debate, giving reasons why the subs were not a wise investment. As with the arms control issue, it
was not clear who CCACD represented, although it was noted once that CCACD receives federal funds, so one could easily assume that it was part of the government.

The question of whether Canada should buy nuclear submarines was presented according to the dualism of Cold War logic, with two sides only. A key concern was the best way to achieve Arctic sovereignty. The pre-eminence of Arctic sovereignty was never questioned. As Hall explains the situation:

there are fundamental agreements which bind the opposing positions into a complex unity: all the presuppositions, the limits to the argument, the terms of reference, etc., which those elements within the system must share in order to ‘disagree’. It is this underlying ‘unity’ which the media underwrite and reproduce (1979: 346).

Less prominent was the peace movement’s concern about the use of nuclear technology for military purposes. Peace activists had two letters published, while Star columnist Goar wrote two columns mentioning the opinion of various activists. In Goar’s second column (June 6), she said that although the activists’ "zeal" in responding to the White Paper "was commendable ... it was a haphazard and uncoordinated effort." Goar thus minimized the validity of their activities and reinforced their marginal status.

Indeed, it became clear once the White Paper was released that despite the earlier controversy, Beatty was the real authority and deserved credit for a job well done. The Globe conveyed this by printing Beatty’s explanation of why Canada needs nuclear submarines. The Star’s columnist on Military Affairs lavished praise on Beatty for his ability to stand up to criticism, and do what others were unable to do.

Other articles were about Canada’s NATO troops in Norway (which was addressed in the white paper), and NATO in general. None of these mentioned the views of peace activists. There was, however, a brief mention in both papers that U.S. ships capable of carrying nuclear weapons increased their visits to Canadian ports in 1986. Neither paper explained why this was significant, but the news item is noteworthy because the source of information was the peace group Operation Dismantle. This could be interpreted as a concession to the peace movement: a recognition that bit players can sometimes say something interesting. On the other hand, with no clue to the meaning of the information, it could also be interpreted as proof that Operation Dismantle, and perhaps the entire peace movement, is concerned with meaningless details.

Of Passing Interest

Although the press gave the most attention to arms control talks and issues in Canadian defence, suggesting to readers that these subjects were of primary importance, other issues also appeared worthy of occasional discussion. The issue of testing the cruise missile in Canada inspired 29 articles. Articles were about thoughts on testing the
cruise (ten items), the tests themselves and demonstrations against them (eight items),
and Liberal Party policy on cruise missile testing (11 items).

A few weeks before testing dates were made public, the Globe ran an impassioned
and sizeable article on why Canada should not participate in cruise testing, written by
a director of Lawyers for Social Responsibility. It was a remarkable article lending
credibility to a voice from the peace movement. Nevertheless, since it did not question
the division of the world into two opposing camps and the corresponding need for
deterrence, it was part of the legitimate diversity of opinion.

The issue was not mentioned again until the day of the first test of the year. Both
papers highlighted John Lamb's (head of CCACD) position that tests should be halted
to underscore Canadian opposition to U.S. defence plans; the Star supported this in an
ditorial. It is important to note that Lamb was not against testing the cruise in prin-
ciple.

A few days later, an article explained that the cruise symbolized wider fears across
the world. Lamb was again quoted. Then Star columnist Sweet (whose column ap-
ppears in the former women's section) favorably presented the anti-cruise and apparently
pro-Soviet views of Thomas Perry, a member of Canadian Physicians For the
Prevention of Nuclear War. The papers were clearly sympathetic to arguments made
by some members of the peace movement. In fact, all ten articles discussing thoughts
on testing the cruise highlighted peace movement views. The only evidence of sup-
port for cruise testing was in letters written to both papers. One letter (Star, March 4)
called cruise protesters "looney-tune surrenderists" and "dupes of Moscow".

Greenpeace's attempt to disrupt the first test got considerable coverage. Demonstrations by peace groups in Alberta ("including spike-haired youths" according to the Star, February 25) and Toronto were also noted.

After the reported success of the first test, Ottawa announced the renewal of an
agreement with the U.S. to continue testing. No peace groups were asked to comment
on this. When the second and final test of the year took place, both papers reported
that, according to a Canadian Forces spokesman, it was successful. Press attention
then turned to dissent within the Liberal Party over cruise testing.

Coverage of the cruise missile appears to depart from what the logic of Cold War
ideology leads one to expect. Eighteen of the 29 articles recorded the actions and/or
views of peace movement groups, which suggests the press took them seriously. Upon
closer examination, however, it can be seen that the press was not inconsistent in over-
all direction. The peace movement was broken into two parts. On one hand, views
of doctors, lawyers, and John Lamb were accorded respect. On the other hand, the
rest of the movement was treated with disparagement. For example, there were the
spike-haired youths in Alberta. This is the "militant" element of the peace movement.
In contrast to the "moderates," they "can achieve media standing only as deviants" (Gitlin 1980: 286).

Overall consistency is also evident in the press's failure to ask peace groups to comment on the agreement to continue cruise testing. If peace groups were legitimate contenders in the debate, one would expect to hear from them. Instead, attention turns to the House of Commons, where there was a legitimate diversity of opinion.

There were 27 articles about Star Wars, and a large number of these discussed the opinions of scientists on the feasibility of Star Wars. The only time a peace group was mentioned was when the Globe quoted a physicist attending a series of briefings sponsored by CCACD. He called Star Wars "technological rubbish" (April 29). CCACD's opinion was not reported. The total absence of the views of peace groups on Star Wars was remarkable. Not even CCACD was asked for views. Instead, the issue appeared as outside the purview of the peace movement.

Sixteen of the 25 articles about nuclear power were on the Chernobyl accident a year earlier on April 26, 1986. There were stories on the effects of radiation leaks at Chernobyl, lessons to be learned, and demonstrations. Papers noted the large numbers of European protesters, highlighting violent confrontations. One story put a West German demonstration within the context of a report on nuclear power plant accidents in the U.S., which implicitly lent credibility to the argument that a major accident could happen here—thus making it dramatic and newsworthy.

On the lessons of Chernobyl, papers reported that the accident had led to increased awareness of the dangers of nuclear war. The connection has also been made by some peace groups, yet none was referred to on the issue. An editorial on safety at nuclear power plants referred in particular to Chernobyl. A book arguing that nuclear power was safe was unfavorably reviewed. Not all articles, however, voiced fears about nuclear power: there was a brief report that five Chernobyl victims gave birth to healthy children, and a column by a physicist argued that "the dangers of the Chernobyl fallout have been grossly exaggerated" (Star, April 24). With these articles, it became clear that the issue was defined as a question of safety; there was no reason to print the views of irrelevant peace groups.

Most of the other nine articles were on Atomic Energy Canada Ltd.'s request for additional funding. An editorial supporting the request argued that despite accidents elsewhere, Ontario's nuclear reactors had a good safety record. Within the legitimate diversity of opinion, readers were authoritatively shown the preferred opinion (i.e., there is nothing to worry about).

There were 24 articles on miscellaneous subjects such as the sighting of Soviet bombers off Alaska, the Toronto Board of Education's cancellation of peace studies, and evacuation plans in case of a nuclear accident at the Pickering nuclear power plant. Six articles were on Canada's participation in research and development of a U.S.
space station. The key issue was use of the space station for military activities, and Canadian government objections to such use. Both papers wrote editorials on the issue, quoting CCACD's John Lamb. No other peace organization had its views represented.

Those Crazy Peaceniks

When the press was not attending to one of the issues discussed above, the peace movement was rarely mentioned—there were only 31 articles covering various aspects of the peace movement. Less that half of these (13 items) were about demonstrations—most were about other peace movement activities. On the face of it, this attention to activities other than demonstrations might seem encouraging. However, 21, or two-thirds of the articles on the peace movement in general, accented problems with law officials, suggested that the movement was connected with Soviet Communism, and/or made other discrediting comments. Such treatment is consistent with the logic of the Cold War ideology: since the peace movement is not "for us," then it must be "against us" (there are no other alternatives). Accordingly, it becomes important to highlight its unsavoriness. In the process, the press can argue that reports on the peace movement indicate willingness to present a variety of opinions.

Of articles about demonstrations, there were two pictures of police/protester confrontations with no accompanying story. One featured a nun in England writing graffiti, the other showed a man being choked at an anti-NATO protest in Oslo. The old adage, "a picture is worth a thousand words," is particularly appropriate here. The question of why they were protesting was evaded in favour of emphasis on drama.

An anti-Reagan demonstration in Ottawa attracted people concerned about a variety of issues, of which peace was only one. This generated five articles, two of which reported on confrontations with police, while one noted the presence of "long-haired youths" (Star, April 6) drinking beer. Another news item, about peace activists in Ottawa, focused on their visits to the Soviet and Chinese Embassies, noting that they did not visit the U.S. Embassy. The Communist sympathies of the peace movement could hardly be spelled more clearly. A few days later, in case anyone wondered if the Soviets were series about wanting peace, a news item reported on the thwarted attempts of peace activists in Poland to hold an illegal seminar.

Other articles included a story on "idealistic" (Globe, February 7) students travelling to promote peace, and a full-page feature on the women's Peace Camp at Greenham Common in England which focused on confrontations and discomforts of the Camp. It did not explain why women were willing to live without conveniences such as running water, although it did explain that the women were "obsessed" (Star, February 8). A large story on the suicide of a former Greenpeace activist said "Greenpeace burns out people and then drops them by the wayside" and "others have been ruined by Greenpeace" (Star, March 15). A review of Ernie Regehr of Project
Ploughshares’ book said "his facts appear to be unarguable" but "Regehr could perhaps be considered unobjective because of his background as a professional peacenik" (Star, April 19). This put the believability of the entire peace movement in doubt.

Altogether, these articles create the impression of a peace movement peopled by drunken youths, trouble-makers, idealist (as opposed to realistic) students, obsessive (as opposed to rational) women who probably wash themselves infrequently if ever, and writers who are adept at twisting facts to suit their purposes. On top of all that, the movement appears to be a Communist plot, ruining the lives of those people who become involved. The peace movement does not sound like something a sane person would want to be mixed up with.

There were another ten articles which were mostly simple announcements of plans and events. Of these 31 items, the only unequivocally positive portrayals of the peace movement were in two letters written by activists.

The Peace Movement and the Press: Food for Thought

The contemporary peace movement is made up of a diversity of groups representing a diversity of opinions, and engaged in a variety of activities. Contrary to the view of many senior writers in the media (according to Angus and Cook, 1984: 5), the movement is not a passing fashion, but has been growing since the late 1950’s. Today, in the late 1980’s the social base of the peace movement is more diversified than ever, and it offers a variety of sophisticated analyses. Perhaps what unifies the movement is a belief peace will not come about unless ordinary people take up the cause themselves. In examining newspaper content, however, there is little evidence of this movement’s existence.

One way the press signals that something is important is through repetition. Conversely, something of minor import is down-played (if mentioned at all). In looking at coverage of issues of concern to the peace movement, immediately striking is the disproportionate amount of attention given to arms control talks between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. (114 out of 306 articles in total), and the almost total eclipse of the peace movement. The deluge of information suggested arms control as of paramount importance, while little reference to the movement on this issue (six times) suggested that it was irrelevant.

The selection of talks between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. as the most important issue, and corresponding definition of the peace movement as outside the debate, makes perfect sense according to the logic of Cold War ideology. Peace was defined as something only the superpower leaders can achieve: a complex issue ordinary people cannot take care of themselves. Furthermore, the fact that leaders were talking suggested they were concerned enough to do something. They were in charge of the situation.
When it came to discussing other issues, the peace movement was usually able to capture more attention in the press. More than half of the articles on the cruise missile, for example, mentioned the peace movement. The cruise missile, however, was not treated by the press as an issue worthy of extensive discussion—there were only 29 articles on this. Also once testing was over, Liberal Party members replaced peace activists as people with something to say worth printing.

The peace movement did not necessarily have to stage a demonstration to get press attention. Actually, it was more often mentioned in connection with something other than a demonstration. Nevertheless, when newspapers attended to the peace movement, it was generally presented in a less than flattering light.

It is debatable whether, from the point of view of peace activists, bad coverage is better than no coverage at all. On one hand, it is possible that the press creates interest in the peace movement simply by reporting it, regardless of how it is framed—what Gitlin (1980: 142) calls the "Barnum effect." As a former activist told Gitlin (1980: 922), readers might react to press frames by saying, "If they are calling you terrible then you must be good." Also, Cohen studied audience reaction to the press's negative framing of the Mods and Rockers in England in the early 60's. He (1972: 201) found that "the public coded these images in such a way as to tone down their more extreme implications." This suggests that even bad coverage is better than no coverage at all.

On the other hand, there is considerable research suggesting the more dependent readers are on the mass media for information, the more likely they are to be influenced by how issues are framed, and the more likely they are to agree with media interpretations of events (see Blumler and Gurevitch, 1982). If this is true, then press treatment of the peace movement can be considered harmful to the movement. Papers repeatedly belittled activities of activists, rarely gave their reasons for what they did, and never explained that they do not all think the same way. News or feature articles never portrayed the peace movement positively, while editorials either homogenized the movement or singled out CCACD without explaining that it is part of the peace movement. Positive messages about the peace movement and peace groups could occasionally be found in columns and letters, but these are not the authoritative sections of the newspaper.

In any case, the scarcity of such articles ensured they would not be taken as representing the preferred opinion.

In discussing the media and radical politics in Quebec, Raboy (1984) argues that traditional media should not be dismissed by activists as incorrigible. He says (1984: 120), "the media are not quite as monolithic and air-tight...as they might seem." Also journalists "represent a bridge between media and social movements and their activities can contribute to the opening of new spaces beneficial to opposition-movement
interests and useful for limiting the political influence of capital and the State on media enterprises" (Raboy, 1984: 122)

The peace movement, as this analysis has shown, is not well represented in the pages of Toronto newspapers. All told, only 74 of the 306 clippings made reference to it. Alternatives to Cold War ideology however, are not totally obliterated by the press. Peace movement messages do appear here and there, and even if only tokenistic concessions, they indicate that it is possible for peace movement activists to be heard—whether by writing letters, writing guest columns or gaining the ear of a sympathetic journalist. It is even possible for peace movement concerns to be translated into "hard" news, such as in the case of reporting on Operation Dismantle's statistics on warships. To succeed in political intervention, therefore, peace movement activists need to pay attention to the "cracks" which can be opened up and exploited. It would benefit the peace movement to devise a coherent communication strategy which included relations with the mainstream media.

REFERENCES


