

2010



The Dalton
Camp *Award*



The Dalton Camp Award

Presentation of the 2010 DALTON CAMP AWARD
Congress 2010
Canadian Federation of the Humanities
and Social Sciences

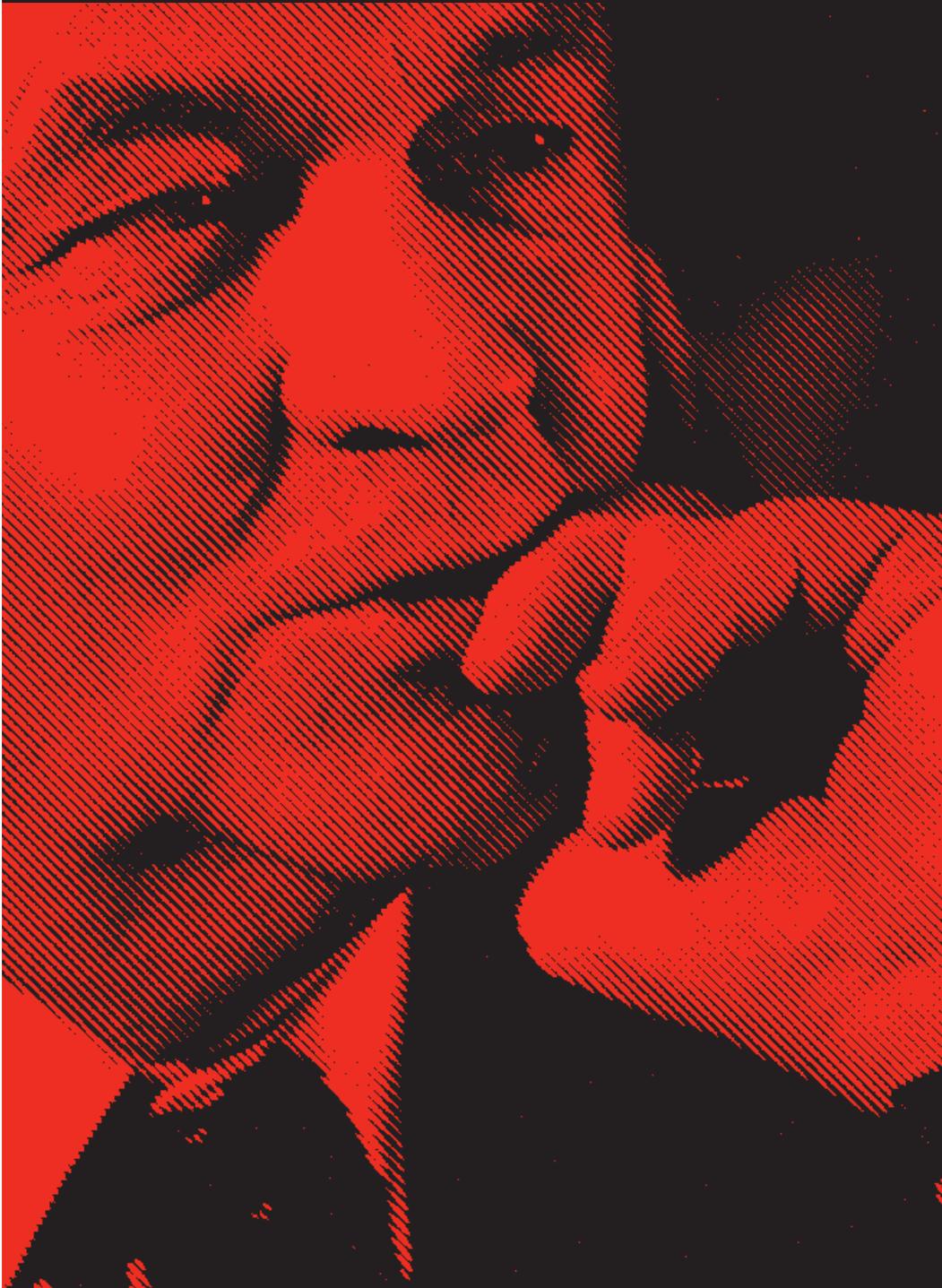
Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal
June 3, 2010

Presented by Friends of Canadian Broadcasting



www.friends.ca

THE DALTON CAMP AWARD



FRIENDS OF CANADIAN BROADCASTING announced the creation of The Dalton Camp Award in December 2002 to honour the memory of the late Dalton Camp, a distinguished commentator on Canadian public affairs, who passed away earlier that year.

The Dalton Camp Award is available to up to two Canadians each year, the winners of an essay competition on how the media influence Canadian democracy. Each Award consists of a cash prize of \$5,000 as well as a bronze cast medal by the late Canadian sculptress Dora de Pédery-Hunt.

Friends' goal is to encourage young Canadians to reflect and express themselves through original essays on the link between democracy and the media.

The Selection Committee is chaired by Jim Byrd; the other members are Pauline Couture and Maggie Siggins.

The winners of the 2010 Dalton Camp Award will be announced at the Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal. They are Ethan Rabidoux and Rosalyn Yake. Friends of Canadian Broadcasting is pleased to publish their essays herein and on Friends' web site: "www.friends.ca", where details on the 2011 Dalton Camp Award will be available.

Friends of Canadian Broadcasting wishes to thank the Canadian Federation of the Humanities and Social Sciences and *The Toronto Star* for their cooperation regarding the Dalton Camp Award.

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THE WINNERS

THE MEDAL

The late DORA DE PÉDÉRY-HUNT was Canada's foremost medal designer and sculptress. Among her designs are the dollar coin and a cast medal of Norman Bethune presented by Prime Minister Trudeau to Mao Tse-tung in 1973. In 2003, she was awarded the J. Sanford Saltus Award Medal, the American Numismatic Society's prestigious medal for signal achievement in the art of the medal.



Ethan Rabidoux

Stratford, Ontario native Ethan Rabidoux is a graduate of Political Studies from Queen's University and Journalism from the University of Western Ontario. He is a former debt collector, sailor and student leader turned radio journalist for 1240 CJCS in his hometown. Ethan's blogs can be seen at <http://intheopen.wordpress.com/> and <http://rabidoux.tumblr.com/>.



Rosalyn Yake

Rosalyn Yake is a graduate of Ryerson's Journalism program, and is currently completing a Masters degree in Canadian and Indigenous Studies at Trent University. She has worked as a researcher and commentator at CBC radio in Quebec City, and is the founder of Starfish Scholarships India, a charity based in Toronto.

Street Gospels: Political Cartoons and Their Role in Canadian Democracy¹

“Stop them damn pictures! I don’t care so much what the papers write about me. My constituents can’t read. But, damn it, they can see pictures.”²

William Magear Tweed understood the power of a cartoonist’s pen. Tweed was a wealthy New York politician during the 1870s and a character in the 2002 movie *Gangs of New York*. He was also the target of vociferous attacks by Bavarian-born cartoonist Thomas Nast when he made this statement.

Tweed and his acolytes at Tammany Hall stole between \$40 million and \$200 million tax dollars in their day (between \$1.5 billion and \$8 billion today when adjusted for inflation).³ The New York Times ran a story detailing their graft. The public never caught on until Thomas Nast’s political cartoons brought the information to the commoners in a language they understood. Tweed was convicted of larceny and spent the rest of his days in prison. It could not have been done without Nast’s work. The powerful were brought to their knees when their corruption was exposed through cartoons.

Canada’s first original political cartoonist, John Wilson Bengough was heavily influenced by Nast.⁴ In his day, Bengough savaged Canadian leaders with political drawings and started a tradition of satiric artistic commentary that continues to this day.

Political cartoons in Canada have served as the outlet for the working folk of our country to strike back at the elite and to extract a pound of flesh from the judges, politicians and industrialists who held the power. The nineteenth century French art critic Jules François Felix Fleury-Husson, under the pen name Champfleury, described caricature as “le cri des citoyens.”⁵ He was right. Canadian political cartoons gave and continue to give a voice to regular citizens against the powerful.

William Tweed’s observation about the power of political cartoons is supported by Professor David Spencer at the University of Western Ontario. According to Spencer, good artists in Tweed’s era were invaluable because they could “communicate messages to even the partially literate... that would be missed in the columns of wordy dialogue that shared the pages.”⁶

This was especially important in early Victorian Canada when literacy rates were low. It was in this environment that Canadian cartooning developed its form. Four recurring themes emerged: Canada/US relations, French/English relations, federal/provincial relations and corruption among the powerful. Through it all, cartoonists provided scathing and relentless criticism of those involved at the highest levels of these disputes. While historians and academics wrote volumes of in-depth, erudite and often boring analysis of the issues, cartoonists portrayed “the situation as it appeared to a gifted and irreverent man in the street.”⁷

Spencer notes that “Victorians used their cartoons to synthesize otherwise complex issues into a visual interpretation.”⁸ This tradition continues in Canada today. Unique to Canada is the transcendent nature of the issues lampooned by our cartoonists. Usually, a political cartoon must either be viewed in the era to be understood or viewed by someone knowledgeable of that era. In Canada, the work of early cartoonists remains timely and important to understanding ongoing issues like Quebec nationalism and Canadian autonomy. For this reason, Canadian political cartoons have achieved a level of timelessness unequalled in the United States, Great Britain and elsewhere. They have also enriched our democratic heritage through the creation of an independent, non-partisan media.

John Henry Walker pioneered political cartooning in Canada in 1849 with his magazine *Punch in Canada*. The magazine emerged at a time when newspapers were mere organs of the various political parties. *Punch in Canada* refused to adopt any partisan allegiance and it provided savage commentary on Canada/US relations. The magazine did not last long but its legacy was huge:

"THE EIGHTEEN-YEAR-OLD WALKER TOOK THE FIRST OF MANY STEPS BY HIMSELF AND OTHERS THROUGHOUT THE VICTORIAN AGE TO SEPARATE JOURNALISM FROM THE RABID POLITICAL PARTY PARTISANSHIP THAT AFFLICTED MUCH OF THE PRESS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CANADA. IN EFFECT, CANADA'S VICTORIAN POLITICAL CARTOONISTS WERE THE NATION'S FIRST INDEPENDENT EDITORIALISTS." ⁹

Walker was not a fan of the United States. His drawings reflect the early fears amongst Victorian Canada of American annexation. Before *Punch in Canada*, journalists were obligated to choose a political allegiance. Cartoonists focused on Canada/US relations because it transcended partisan lines.

Walker was the first to depict the United States as Uncle Sam (otherwise known as Brother/Cousin Jonathan) in Canadian political cartoons. The portrayal was never flattering. Uncle Sam was drawn as a slippery, greedy, conniving egomaniac hell bent on deflowering (annexing) a young, virginal Miss Canada. Walker, as editor of *Diogenes*, published one such cartoon in 1869 showing Mrs. Britannia chastising Miss Canada for giving her cousin encouragement that they could ever be united. Miss Canada vehemently denies the charge while a shady Cousin Jonathan, leaning against a post behind her, picks his teeth with a knife.¹⁰

This portrayal of the United States lingers on. The history of Canadian political cartoons is littered with examples of the symbiotic relationship between the pure Miss Canada and the dirty Uncle Sam.

During the free trade debate in 1987, Aislin (Terry Mosher) published a cartoon in the *Montreal Gazette*. It had three panels. The first two showed Sir John A. Macdonald and John Diefenbaker standing protectively in front of two prim, proper young ladies each dressed immaculately for the different periods both men held office. Both Prime Ministers declared defiantly, "Canada is not for sale!" The third panel

showed Brian Mulroney dressed like a pimp behind a young female prostitute ordering her to "get busy." The caption reads, "Two Great Canadians...Macdonald, Diefenbaker ... and Mulroney."¹¹

Two cartoons, separated by 118 years, tackling the same issue with the same attitude. Canada was sweet and innocent while the USA was some kind of dirty fornicator; the implication being that political or economic cooperation with America would defile Canada.

Neither cartoon provides a thorough examination of Canada/US relations or the merits and drawbacks of free trade. However, both provide a humorous, simple critique of the establishment that could be immediately understood by every citizen.

John Wilson Bengough is considered Canada's first distinctly Canadian political cartoonist. Bengough built his entire career by attacking Sir John A. Macdonald with his satirical magazine *Grip*. This established the master pattern of Canadian politics. Every Prime Minister since Macdonald has had a chief antagonist amongst the country's cartoonists.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier endured Henri Julien, Mackenzie King faced Arch Dale, John Diefenbaker contended with Duncan Macpherson, Pierre Trudeau with Jean-Pierre Girerd, Terry Mosher savaged Brian Mulroney, and Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin were the target of Serge Chapleau's wrath.¹²

One of Bengough's most famous political cartoons shows Macdonald standing on two horses moving in opposite directions. One has "French" written on it, the other, "English." Sitting on Macdonald's shoulders is a brooding Louis Riel. The caption reads, "A Riel Ugly Position." It is dated August 29th, 1885.

This cartoon has proven immortal in the annals of Canadian history. Every Prime Minister since Macdonald has had to keep the French and the English happy while simultaneously dealing with aboriginal issues. This cartoon captures the ongoing balancing act required of Canadian leaders. If any citizens today were to be shown this cartoon, they might not know all the details or even all the characters, but they would understand the message it conveys.

Attacking corruption in high places has endured as another recurring theme in Canadian political cartoons. Bengough was a relentless thorn in Macdonald's side over corruption. Macdonald's most extravagant scandal

was the Pacific Railway scandal of 1873. He was caught lining the pockets of Tory supporters with lucrative contracts to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. Bengough published another famous cartoon of then Liberal leader Sir Alexander Mackenzie in an aggressive, accusatory pose while the Prime Minister shrugged with indifference.¹³

Some things never change. In 2004, the Martin government called an inquiry into the sponsorship scandal after it was revealed the Chrétien government lined the pockets of Liberal supporters with tax dollars; they then donated money back to the Liberal Party of Canada. Same basic scandal, different political party, separated by 130 years. The investigation cost taxpayers another \$80 million in addition to what was lost by the actual scandal.¹⁴ Graham Harrop's cartoon in the Vancouver Sun on February 24, 2005 depicted an inquiry into the Gomery Commission due to its hefty costs.¹⁵ When politicians showed apathy to revelations of corruption, cartoonists attacked them. When they investigated revelations of corruption, cartoonists attacked them. It was the corruption that mattered because regular citizens had to pay for it all through their taxes.

After Macdonald's death and the rise of Laurier to power, Bengough lost his relevance. He printed flattering images of Laurier charming Brother Jonathan¹⁶ and creating harmony between Catholics and Protestants.¹⁷ Bengough's career suggests that cartoonists cannot do propaganda. They are antagonistic by nature. Cartoonists are attackers, not defenders. They thrive during chaos and crisis but they do not advance solutions. The cartoonist's role is to expose political differences and social conflicts, not to fix them.¹⁸

Federal/provincial relations represent the final perennial issue for Canadian cartoonists. This predates Confederation. Jean-Baptiste Côté depicted Confederation as a seven-headed snake in 1864 in Quebec's first comic journal *La Scie-The Saw*.¹⁹ Duncan Macpherson mocked Pierre Elliott Trudeau 104 years later in the Toronto Star. He drew Trudeau playing the cello while ten orchestra conductors (the ten provincial Premiers) each tried to lead from their own music book.²⁰

Macpherson, widely regarded as Canada's all-time finest political cartoonist, lampooned everything from Dalton Camp's insurrection against John Diefenbaker²¹ to René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois' economic policy.²² He described his own role as that of a heckler:

"MACPHERSON'S INITIAL APPROACH TO A POLITICAL EVENT IS INSTINCTIVE RATHER THAN INTELLECTUAL, AND AGGRESSIVELY CRITICAL. "YOU'RE A HECKLER, BASICALLY," HE HAS SAID. "IT'S THE SAME AS THE OLD POLITICAL MEETINGS WHEN YOU'D HIRE A COUPLE OF FELLOWS TO GO INTO THE HALL AND RAISE HELL." 23

Raising hell is a good summary of the role Canadian cartoonists have played in our democracy. As Mark Twain has written, "a discriminating irreverence is the creator and protector of human liberty."²⁴ In that sense, political cartoonists have expanded the boundaries of freedom by attacking orthodoxy, elitism and corruption in a way easily understood by the commoners of society. They satirized issues specific to Canadians like Canada/US relations, French/English relations and the ever acrimonious tensions between Ottawa and the provinces.

Cartoonists were also average citizens. William Murrell wrote that of all the artists, the cartoonist is closest to the people. They were drawn from ordinary levels of society, rarely highly educated and earning salaries that would possibly grant them entrance to the middle class.²⁵ They could draw their pictures on behalf of regular citizens because Canadian cartoonists were drawn from these ranks.

Perhaps there is another reason why political cartoons have prospered in Canada, and will continue to do so in the digital age. George Munro Grant was the Principal of Queen's University from 1877 until 1902. In 1886, Grant wrote the preface for J.W. Bengough's *Caricature History of Canadian Politics*. He wrote; "Grip (Bengough's magazine) not only hits the nail on the head but sometimes hits like a blacksmith – and we belong to a race that loves to see a blow well struck."²⁶

We do love a blow well struck, especially when it is delivered by the little guy to his rulers. There have never been more than two dozen cartoonists employed in Canada at any given time.²⁷ This is already changing. The rise of the Internet and citizen journalism have empowered the rabble to circulate information beyond mainstream media conglomerates. Canadian political cartoons will continue to flourish as the doors open for greater involvement from the gifted and irreverent man in the street. Tomorrow's cartoonists will follow the example of their predecessors; they will critique the establishment with simple yet brilliant pictures – but there will be more of them.

ENDNOTES

- 1 My title was inspired by Bedouin Soundclash's 2007 album of the same name.
- 2 Bruce Jackson, "Lazio's Finger," *Artvoice*. November 2nd, 2000. <http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~bjackson/lazio.html>
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- 4 Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher. *The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and a Cartoonists' History of Canada*. (McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1979), 31.
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- 12 The Canadian Encyclopedia website: <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=a1ARTA0001442>
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- 16 Bengough/National Archives of Canada C-17201
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- 18 Desbarats and Mosher. *The Hecklers*, Pg 18.
- 19 Jean-Baptiste Côté/La Scie/December 2, 1864.
- 20 Duncan Macpherson. *The Toronto Star*. February 14th, 1978.
- 21 Ibid. November 17th, 1966.
- 22 Ibid. *The Toronto Star*. February 3, 1977.
- 23 Desbarats and Mosher. *The Hecklers*, 149.
- 24 <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1820144,00.html>
- 25 Ibid, 17.
- 26 J.W. Bengough. *Caricature History of Canadian Politics*. (The Grip Printing and Publishing Co. 1886), 7. http://www.archive.org/stream/cihm_07442#page/n9/mode/2up (accessed February 28, 2010).
- 27 The Canadian Encyclopedia Website: <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=a1ARTA0001442>

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No News is *Bad* News: The 2006 Norway House Elections

The Norway House Cree nation is one of the largest and most prosperous reserves in Manitoba.¹ Located north of Winnipeg, it sits beside the Eastern channel of the idyllic Nelson River. The Reserve boasts a population of about 4,000,² and an annual budget of approximately \$90 million.³ Its history is replete with tales of Canada's fur trade, and many of its cultural traditions still flourish within its borders.

But beneath this cultural prowess is a community some would describe as deeply troubled. The Reserve made national headlines in December 2009 after a local couple stole more than \$1 million from the Council in a fraudulent payroll scheme.⁴ This incident, however, is only the tip of

the iceberg. The Reserve has been plagued with election controversy.⁵ From a 2007 account of financial Band documents destroyed in a fire, to vandalism and violence directed at political leaders,⁶ Norway House is becoming a poster child for campaigns for increased transparency on Canadian reserves.

The incidents of March 2006 throw even more fuel on this fire. The Band's general elections took place that month, and led to a wave of allegations against the former Council. Ron Evans, the previous Chief, was accused of breaking Band law months earlier when, after resigning, he appointed an acting Chief (Fred Muskego) instead of holding an election.⁷ Allegations also arose that members of the Muskego-Evans administration even offered voters new homes and payouts from a special needs fund to maintain their stronghold in the March elections.⁸ The principal complainant was Muskego's competitor, Marcel Balfour, who eventually won the election and served as Chief until March 2010. He accused the incumbents of stripping him of his salary and Councillor duties⁹ in an effort to silence his criticisms and lessen his influence in the election.¹⁰ In the end, Balfour succeeded in applications to the Federal Court for a judicial review of the matter. The Judge ruled that the Evans administration engaged in usurpation of power, blackmail and influence peddling.¹¹ Ultimately, the Judge noted, "the [Norway House] Band Council have failed to respect the notion of representative democracy."¹²

The risk to democracy in the Norway House case doesn't stem solely from an unethical Band Council. It stems from the absence of one vital democratic tool: local journalism. The absence of an independent newspaper on this Reserve has created a vacuum where corruption and mismanagement can easily lurk. Although a few regional and national news sources covered the election controversy, the reporting was deficient in the public service elements that typify traditional local news. Without this reporting, many aboriginal communities do not have the tools they need to keep politicians accountable to the public, or citizens accountable for their democratic responsibilities. In short, they do not have the tools they need to make democracy work.

* * *

In the early 1700s, an Irish philosopher posed the question: If a tree falls in a forest and no one is around to hear it, did the tree really make a sound?¹³ Almost four centuries later, one can apply this riddle to the media conditions in Norway House:

**IF POLITICIANS MAKE PROMISES AND THE NEWSPAPER DOESN'T
REPORT THEM, WERE THE PROMISES REALLY MADE?**

This musing, of course, ties in to the hypothesis that the lack of a local newspaper is detracting from the Reserve's quality of governance. The only news outlet that has a chance of getting close to the beat of this community is its local radio station, CJNC 97.9 FM. The station, however, is controlled by the Band's leadership — a practice that has been criticized in the past. "In terms of providing a place where the decisions and the role of the Native governments are questioned or put into different perspectives, it won't be there," said Miles Morrisseau, a former President of the Native News Network.¹⁴

Other than the local radio station, the regional newspapers that occasionally cover the Reserve are the Winnipeg Free Press and the Thompson Citizen. Both, however, are far removed from Norway House, and seem to cast a spotlight on the Reserve only when it comes to crime and sports coverage. In a ten-month period, for example, the Thompson Citizen published only three articles about Band Council affairs, while coverage of crime and accidents on the Reserve generated seven.¹⁵ None mentioned information about the March 2010 Band elections. The dearth of local on-Reserve news is probably to blame. Without a local newspaper, reporters from larger news agencies have fewer resources to consult when digging for local stories. Police reports are always readily accessible, and seem to serve as a quick fix for news coverage of the Reserve.

Without the watchdog role of a strong local newspaper, politicians do not have to contend with the fear that their words will be splashed across the front page of the morning paper. What is also disquieting, however, is that the Norway House public is not benefitting from the public service element of a local paper. Without this, citizens are missing out on the democracy-inspired education that philosopher John Dewey once argued is a function of journalism.¹⁶ "Those in charge of both the government and the press," Dewey contended, have "a responsibility to

figure out how to engage the entire public in the decisions that would affect them all in the long run. If the public was confused, alienated, pessimistic or hostile to government, that was only partly the public's fault."¹⁷ The Norway House case reinforces these convictions. It gives impetus to the idea of supporting a form of public journalism that will wake up sleeping democracies.

The deficiency of this vein of journalism is evident in the coverage of the Court proceedings. The Winnipeg Free Press, for example, published two related articles and one opinion piece from an outside source over a thirty-month period following the elections. The articles, however, failed to connect the case to the values of citizenship by not indicating how Band members were implicated in the controversy: Did any citizens, for example, accept payouts or new homes in exchange for votes?¹⁸ What negative consequences could have arisen for the community as a result? What about the opinion of those who failed to be swayed by the incumbents' unethical tactics? Did they have something to say about politicians who adopted these measures, or their counterparts who supported them? On another note, one article indicates that the Council was to hold a meeting,¹⁹ but did not say where, or when, or enlist reasons why the public should attend. Similarly, the article states that "there are differing opinions as to what is going to happen next,"²⁰ but does not elaborate upon the various perspectives or solutions. This is not in line with the public journalism tenet that articles should reduce issues to clear alternatives and values to facilitate public participation.²¹ It does not encourage readers to take part in the solution, or frame them as active subjects with responsibilities to change what needs to be changed.²² While the information this coverage provides might succeed in holding politicians accountable, it fails to place responsibility in the hands of the citizens.

The other flaw in the Free Press coverage is that it does not speak to citizens in their role as cultivators of democracy. Instead, the coverage seems to cater to a more elite, well-informed readership, perhaps endorsing Walter Lippmann's idea of journalism as an educational device primarily for community leaders.²³ The use of terms such as "influence peddling," "vote rigging," "acrimonious court battle," and "Band's Election Act,"²⁴ are undefined in the article, and don't bridge the public-expert gap the way civic journalism should.²⁵

Windspeaker, an aboriginal magazine, excelled in positioning the 2006 controversy as a departure from the values of Canadian democracy. It published two articles that drove home the severity of the transgressions by highlighting quotations from the Judge's ruling: "Such behavior is deplorable and has no place in democratic institutions, which the [Norway House Band Council] purports to be,"²⁶ and this "scenario is contrary to the notion of democracy and is in violation of the fiduciary obligation the Chief holds towards his Band members and the promotion of their interests."²⁷ Proponents of public service journalism would argue that this coverage educates its readership about the importance of democratic values,²⁸ and the role leaders should play in upholding these virtues.

Even with this coverage, however, Windspeaker is not adequately equipped to cover local news on individual reserves. As a national monthly magazine, it simply does not have the resources to give local issues the attention they require. As a result, its coverage is unintentionally *reactive* as opposed to *proactive*. This means that the magazine tends to cover political controversies *after* they have happened. Smaller local events or meetings do not get covered, because of competing national stories. Therefore, information that might counter ill practices in governance does not get published. This adds a twist to the adage that "no news is good news." Contrarily, the lack of local news is *bad* news for many Canadian reserves; citizens are not getting a consistent flow of proactive, public journalism, and are therefore treated as victims or spectators when cases of corruption or mismanagement arise.

The Norway House case points to the need — and perhaps desire — for a local newspaper. Throughout the 2006 elections, it is interesting to observe that both competing politicians devised their own strategies of communicating with the public. Balfour, for example, published a newsletter in which he criticized the ruling Council for its lack of transparency and accountability.²⁹ Muskego, on the other hand, circulated a pamphlet that labelled Balfour as a "self-promoter" who "failed to conduct his duties as a Councillor."³⁰ These details give birth to a new hypothesis — the idea that a local newspaper might have averted the entire debacle. Balfour, for example, would have had a venue to voice his grievances. The Evans administration, which stripped Balfour of his salary in hopes of silencing his newsletter criticisms,³¹ would have had an alternative way to rebut Balfour's objections. Any citizens who might

have collected handouts from the Band office,³² or free furniture from the Northern store,³³ might have thought twice before supporting political influence peddling. Had a local newspaper existed on the Reserve to keep citizens informed and politicians accountable, the Norway House elections of 2006 would not be remembered as a slap in the face to Canadian democracy.

Of course, one could propose myriad solutions. It would be easy to wave a financial wand and campaign for local newspapers on all reserves. But aboriginal newspapers already have a precarious financial history. In 1990, the Mulroney government cancelled funding for nine of the 11 federally-supported aboriginal publications in Canada.³⁴ While the media climate seems to have rebounded today, with about two national newspapers or magazines and five provincial ones, local or regional newspapers are close to non-existent.

The purpose of this debate, however, is not to unearth an all-encompassing solution. The objective is to put forth a clarion call for this conversation to at least begin. And for that to happen, it must come from within. It must come from within the grassroots movements that are spreading like wildfire in native communities, advocating a new age of accountable governance. As a Rabble columnist has pointed out: "It's worth keeping in mind that the most important journalism institution in Canada, the CBC, was born in the era of the Great Depression. In recounting his successful campaign to establish a national network of publicly owned, yet locally run, radio stations (CBC Radio), Graham Spry declared, 'our greatest ally was undoubtedly anxious, disturbed and alert Canadian public opinion.'"³⁵

The question is: are Aboriginal Canadians on reserves anxious, disturbed or alert enough to governance problems to give a form of local journalism a fighting chance?

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A small drop of ink...
makes thousands,
perhaps millions,
think.

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