

§ 7d) Reciprocity fears during the elections of the fall of 1911

The climate between Canada and the U.S. was quite friendly. President Taft had been very moderate towards Canadians, and was even open for negotiations about reciprocity. This was also because the Americans needed Canadian natural resources such as timber for their growing newspaper industries. President Taft had written Theodore Roosevelt a letter in which he implied that Canada had to choose between the British protected way and the more North-American way.¹

Stewart Borden, leader of the Conservatives, stopped the plan of ‘freer trade’ that prime-minister Laurier had liked to pass through Parliament. The reciprocity deal that Taft had offered would have meant free trade on national products, but not on Canadian manufactured products. This way, the main effects of the tariff wall of the National Policy would still be remained. The deal would have given advantages to Canadian economy.

However, Borden used Laurier’s plan to raise suspicion about the Liberals, just like the Conservatives did before in 1891. The matter was presented as a ‘now or never’ deal: it meant voting in favour of the U.S. or for Canada, which distinguished itself from the U.S. through its British-Canadian history. Canadian voters seemed to have wanted to protect their own identity again, which can be seen as a sign of nationalism. Concerns raised as Tafts letter to Roosevelt was published in Canadian media, saying that reciprocity would make Canada into a satellite of the U.S. Furthermore, Champ Clark, who would be the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the U.S., had made a speech in which became clear that he hoped to see the day when Canada would be united with the U.S.²

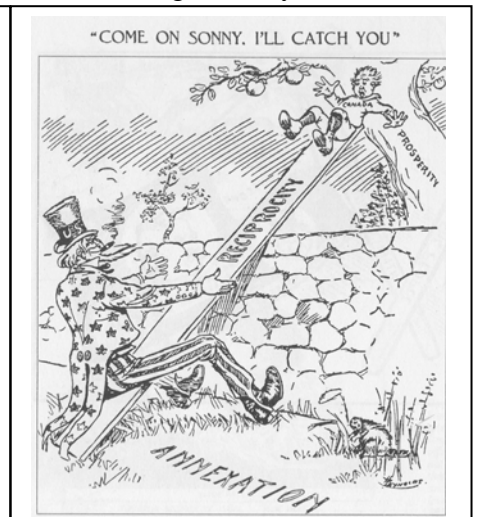
Like we saw in the last chapter, the elections of 1911 stirred a lot of and cartoons depicting Uncle Sam chasing Miss Canada popped up in many newspapers. The fears were also shown through several cartoons in which Canada was portrayed as a helpless little boy, who should stay out of the hands of the U.S./Uncle Sam: however, reciprocity seems to throw Canada right into annexation. This theme is illustrated in the following three cartoons, all drawn by A. Reynolds for the *Vancouver Daily Province*, which was probably politically leaning towards the Conservatives. Reynoulds’ cartoons can be recognized by a



7.22. *A death-defying leap.* A Conservative cartoon. The *Vancouver Daily Province*, Vancouver, August 1911.



7.23. *The leak in the dyke.* Young Canada: Let me see. What was it against that little Dutch boy did? A Conservative cartoon. The *Vancouver Daily Province*, Vancouver, September 1911.



7.24. *'Come on sonny. I'll catch you.'* A Conservative cartoon. The *Vancouver Daily Province*, Vancouver, September 1911.

¹ Hillmer, & Granatstein, op. cit., 67.

little chubby beaver in the corner, usually observing what is happening in the cartoon. These three cartoons show a bias towards Laurier and his suggestions for reciprocity.

The next cartoon, nr. 7.25, was published by the *Vancouver World*, a more liberal periodical and more in favour of trade with the Americans. President Taft is shown as a friendly chubby man, offering Canada good opportunities.

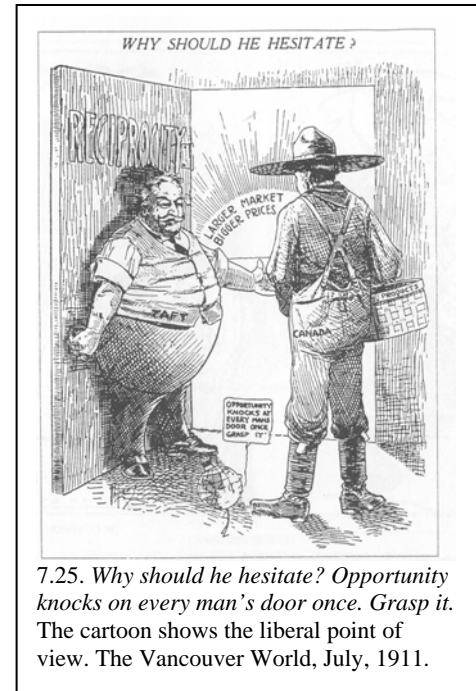
Although this is a Liberal leaning cartoon, Canada is drawn here as a boy, not a man. One could argue that the elections of 1911 and the American speeches about one day owning Canada had made Canadians a bit nervous. This decrease of self-confidence is shown by illustrating Canada as a young boy. He does not look like the confident mature man we saw before in Jack Canuck.

Thus, the concerns that were raised in Canada were not merely based on 'anti-American' feelings: it seemed more like a movement of emotions to protect the country. In cartoon nr. 6.10 we saw the elections of 1911 as a fight between (two roosters) Conservatives and Liberals. Miss Canada and Uncle Sam are shown as friendly neighbours, looking at the fight. Using fears of a national threat (fears of annexation) seemed useful for the Conservatives in order to get Canadian voters on their side.

Apart from that, Laurier had already been fifteen long years in the government, his party seemed old. The rejection of the reciprocity deal does not necessarily show that Canadians hated Americans; but they were seen as a threat and it is probably mainly self-preservation that had made many Canadians rally against the reciprocity deal.

After Borden had won the elections he remained a very good friend of the American government. Culturally and economically, Americans and Canadians did in fact grow towards each other, but Canada made sure it kept strong relations with Britain as well.

As professor Granatstein has pointed out: 'anti-American' feelings can be used as a strategy. It is an act of policy –sometimes- and is used for building up Canadian unity and nationalism. During the elections of 1911, and 1891, the Conservatives have used this method in order to get votes and to discredit the Liberals. However, the accusation that Laurier was an 'American' and a sell-out was generalized: American culture was never the point. Laurier talked about a reciprocity deal to help the Canadian economy. The Conservatives were able to blow the issue out of proportion to make it look as if a huge threat was hanging over Canada. (At the same time, some Conservatives might have truly felt this way.) Thus, having a national enemy, some 'other' to be afraid of, can allow for stronger nationalistic feelings. It seems that the use of these national fears can deform reality to the advantage of politicians.



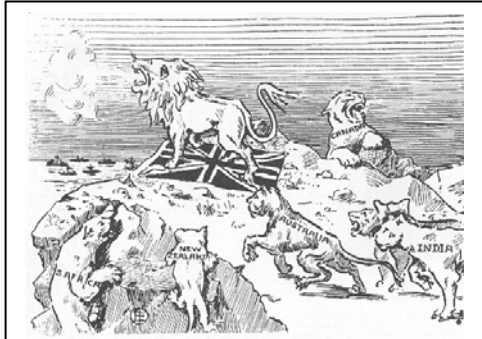
² Ibidem, 71.

§ 7e) WOI: Canada, strong and loyal



THOSE COLONIAL CUBS
Canada scores the first catch.

7.26. *Those colonial cubs. Canada scores the first catch.* The first catch represents the seizure of Paardesberg in the Boer War. Minneapolis Tribune, Minneapolis, US, reprinted in American Monthly Review of Reviews New York, US, April 1900.



ANSWERING THE CALL
"The whelps of the lion are joining their sire."

7.27. *Answering the call. 'The whelps of the lion are joining their sire.'* This drawing was published in several newspapers in the British Empire. The Vancouver Daily Province, Vancouver, August 1914.



7.28. *All for the empire's defense. The Lion's cub bares his teeth.* Canada not only sent soldiers, but also fundings, natural resources and manufactured products. The British Colombian, N. McConnell, New Westminster, 30th August 1915

The Canadians came to Britain's help during the First World War. They sent about thirty thousand troops to England in October 1914.³ Furthermore they sent food, products and money. At first, Canadians did not mind as much that the

U.S. refused to participate in the war.⁴ In general, there were a lot of optimistic feelings, also among intellectuals, that the war would end quickly: in fact, there were even propaganda films suggesting that the war would be sort of 'healthy' for European countries and their nationalistic spirits.⁵ When the war lasted much longer than expected and as thousands of people died, the U.S. was expected to join and help in the war, which they did in 1917.

Cartoons nr. 7.26 - 7.28 show a maturing military force: from baby lion in the Boer War to an adolescent and eventually a mature lion in the First World War. (The first cartoon was made in the U.S.)

Cartoon nr. 7.29 shows little confidence about Canada's military capabilities. But cartoons nr. 7.30 – 7.32 give Canada a different image. They show Jack Canuck as a stronger man, helping John Bull or mother Britannia (who looks very fragile) by giving flour. In cartoon nr. 7.32, Canuck and all icons from British dominions are shown as equals to John Bull.

Canada is shown as more manly in the war, but remains a friendly person with obvious good morals, helping his father or mother. The increase or decrease of Canada's confidence seems constantly related to how it felt towards Britain and the U.S. The First

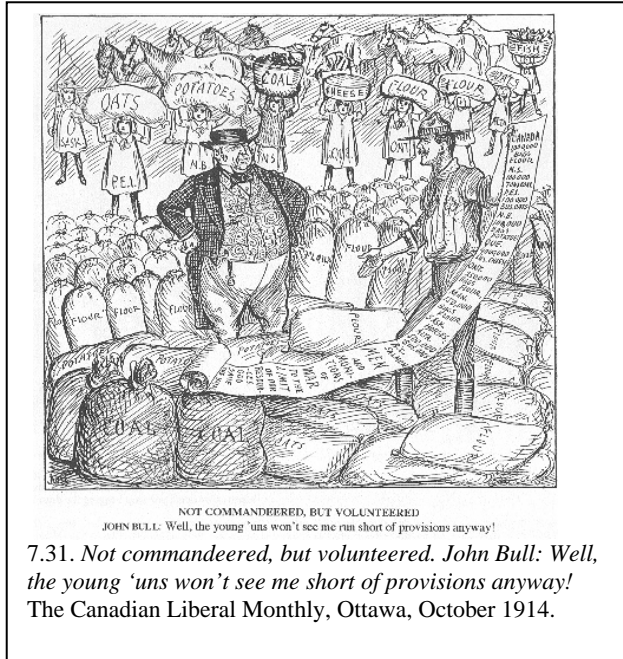


Duff, 1914
DON'T BE SCARED: I'M HERE!

7.29. *Don't be scared: i'm here!* C. Duff, The Welland Telegraph, Welland, 1914.

³ Hou, 2002. op. cit., 225.
⁴ Hillmer & Granatstein, op. cit., 77.
⁵ Altena, Bert & Lente, Dick van. 2003. *Vrijheid en Rede. Geschiedenis van Westerse samenlevingen. 1750-1989.* Hilversum, Netherlands: Verloren, 200.

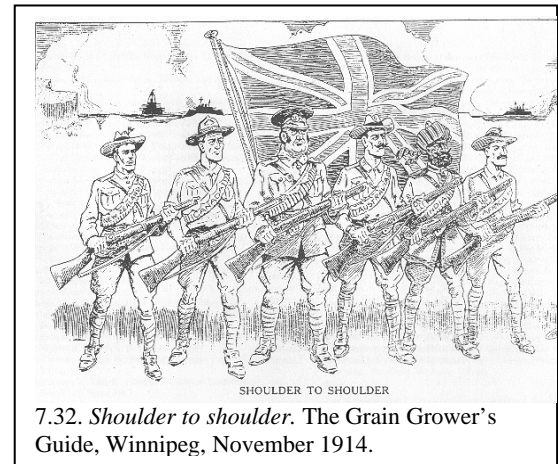
World War has given more national confidence to Canada. A stronger cultural division between the old and the new world would arise. Canada would more and more lose its ties to Britain under Mackenzie King in the search of more independence. That also meant growing economical and cultural ties towards the U.S.



7.31. *Not commandeered, but volunteered. John Bull: Well, the young 'uns won't see me short of provisions anyway!* The Canadian Liberal Monthly, Ottawa, October 1914.



7.30. *Bless the boy.* The Welland Telegraph, Welland, 1914.



7.32. *Shoulder to shoulder.* The Grain Grower's Guide, Winnipeg, November 1914.

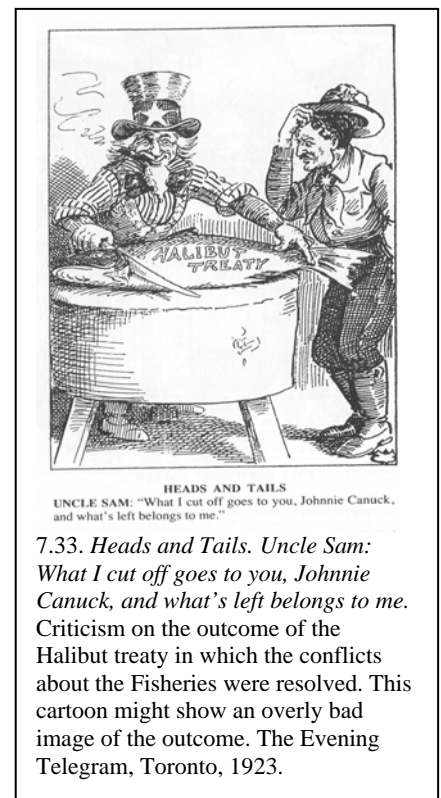
§ 7f) Interbellum, moving away from Britain

Conservative Prime Ministers Borden and Meighen were very loyal to the British crown. After them, the Liberal Mackenzie King came to power. Under King's government, Canada more and more became less controlled by Britain's influence.

However, King was often accused of having lead Canada into the control and influence of the U.S. But in order to become more independent, it seemed necessary to get closer to the U.S. The first treaty that Canada signed without Britain's interference was the Halibut Treaty of 1923, which generally was seen as a very good accomplishment.

King also reduced the Canadian army and fleet, to avoid having to go to war again. However, the small Canadian forces inspired cartoonists to show Canada as a small boy again, as in cartoons nr. 7.34 – 7.35, both from the *Montreal Daily Star*.

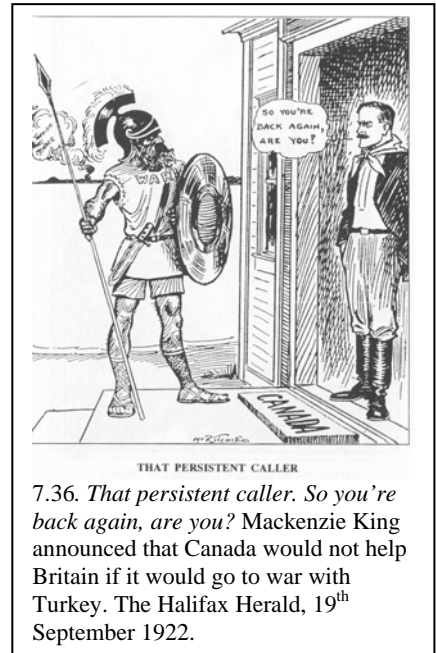
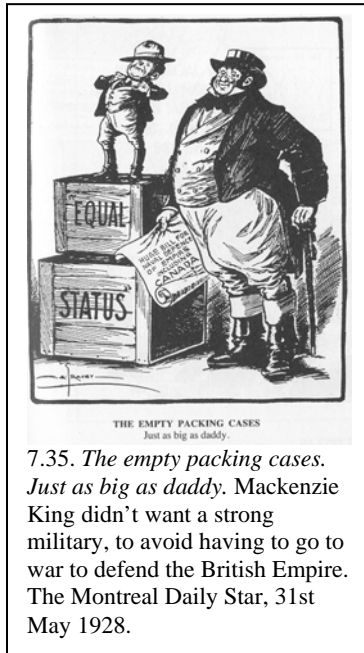
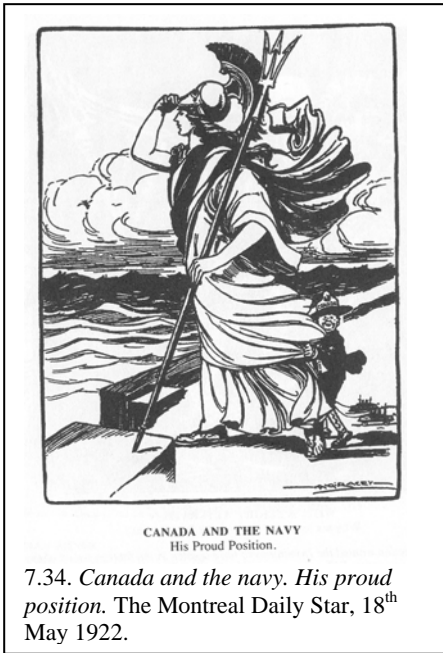
Probably a more Liberal leaning cartoonist made cartoon nr. 7.36, showing Canada as mature, but against war. This cartoon was printed in the *Halifax Herald*. Canuck is even manly *because* he opposes war. The 'persistent caller', a representation of war, is drawn as a rough man, with a rough beard. Jack Canuck on the other hand looks intelligent and



7.33. *Heads and Tails. Uncle Sam: What I cut off goes to you, Johnnie Canuck, and what's left belongs to me.* Criticism on the outcome of the Halibut treaty in which the conflicts about the Fisheries were resolved. This cartoon might show an overly bad image of the outcome. The Evening Telegram, Toronto, 1923.

civilised, with a proper moustache and his hair short and neatly to the back. King did not want to be caught up in European conflicts ever again.

The *Montreal Daily Star* was probably a more Conservative leaning newspaper whereas the *Halifax Herald* was likely more Liberal. When cartoons show a message, they often make several implications by the way Canada is represented. The *Montreal Daily Star*'s cartoons seem to argue that Canada can not be a mature country (a man) without having a big army. (Which still today is a relevant issue in current political debates) Here, I would like to draw a link with the representations of Canada during the elections of 1891 and 1911. Whether Canada was a confident nation throughout different periods of time, drawn as a boy or a man, sometimes depends on whether one goes by the views of the Conservatives or the Liberals.



As Canadians started to realize that they grew further from Britain and closer to the U.S., more concerns about 'Americanization' were expressed. This time, the focus was not only set on questions of trade. Concerns were raised about the increasing American ownership, investment, American imported films and magazines, dollars and American culture in Canada. In the 1920's, U.S. investment in Canada grew and exceeded British investments.⁶ In 1926, 50 million American magazines were imported in Canada.⁷ Furthermore, many Canadians emigrated to the U.S. to work there to make money, often with intentions to later return to their homeland.



⁶ Hou, 2002. op. cit., 76.

⁷ Hillmer & Granatstein, op. cit., 102-104.

As Canada's identity seemed in danger of being overshadowed by the American culture, the government did try to act on it. They gave more protection to Canadian magazines and later set up institutions like the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (in 1942) to stimulate the production of Canadian cultural products.

§ 7g) WOII: strong and more independent

Canada became a more important intermediary between Britain and the U.S. in the years towards the Second World War. As Britain started to be in trouble because of Hitler's troops, the Canadians started to desire that Canada, together with the U.S., would help Britain. Because the U.S. remained neutral in the early years of the Second World War, some Canadian felt they felt that their neighbours were failing their duty to democracy, like they did in the First World War. At that time, the U.S. also kept out of the League of Nations. This scepticism was mostly kept from the Americans, as relations had to be kept as smooth as possible.

Canada's Prime Minister Mackenzie King was put in a difficult position when he had to negotiate between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Also, King had to make sure that Canada could be strong enough to defend itself, in case the Nazi's would manage to take Britain. The Americans wanted more influence in the defence of Canada since argued that Canada's weak defence system could bring the U.S. in danger. An agreement was made: the Americans could 'lease' northern territories, including New Found Land, (which was a Dominion and not part of Canada until 1949) to place American troops. Canada allowed it, and with the American dollars it made during the war, it later bought back it's northern lands. At first, the U.S. mainly helped in economical terms. After the Americans were attacked at Pearl Harbor by the Japanese in December 1941, they entered the war.

Because of the attack at Pearl Harbor, Japanese citizens living near the coast of the U.S. and Canada were seen as a big threat. Cartoon nr. 7.38 shows a Mountie, taking thousands of small Japanese citizens from the coast area of British Columbia away to detention camps. Similar camps were set up in the U.S. During this same time, Canada was losing many soldiers in the battle against the Japanese in Hong Kong.

The declarations of Ogdensburg and Hydepark ensured mutual cooperation in defence, and a trade agreement to protect and enhance the economy of Canada by trading weapons. The Second World War changed public opinion towards the Americans. To help Britain, it was necessary to keep closer relations with the U.S. This would not mean breaking ties with Britain, as was argued before. Instead, with Canada as an intermediary, the U.S. and Britain could come closer: a lucrative prospect for Canada. It was most most important that Britain would not fall into the hands of the Nazi's. If not, Canada would totally have to rely on the U.S. for economical support and defence.



7.38. "Strategic withdrawal to prepared positions" Thousands of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia were sent to work/detention camps after the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941. No one had been charged for crimes of sabotage. The prisoners were released after the Second World War but did not receive their possessions back. The Toronto Daily Star, 21 January 1942.

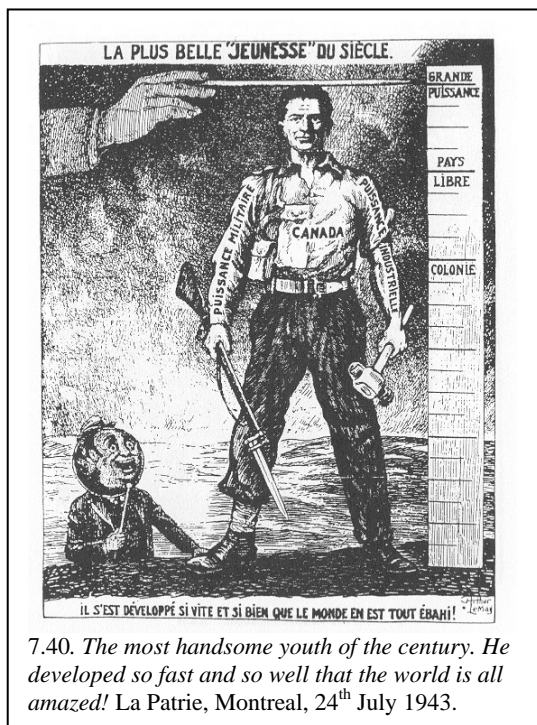
Cartoon nr. 7.39 shows Canada represented by a man with a Mountie suit. He is not being called Canuck but he looks almost the same, except for the missing moustache. His typical hat and trousers make it easy to recognise him. Jack Canuck became a general Mountie representing Canada, still used today.

There was a lot of criticism in Canada about Prime Minister King, who did not participate in the military strategies that were made. Also, he did not send representatives to the Supreme War Council.⁸ In cartoon nr. 7.39, Uncle Sam is dancing with Britannia. He is drawn as a proper gentleman, with his hair nicely combed to the back, friendly: not sneaky at all. Britannia looks like a big happy woman carrying a helmet and a big sword: she will not easily fall down. Canada however is very young but he seems unafraid to ask to disturb the dancing couple as he wants to be part of negotiations. But the cartoonist did not draw Canada with much confidence that the decision making powers would let Canada cut in.



7.39. Grassick, The Winnipeg Tribune, 6 September 1943.

The following cartoons nr. 7.40 and 7.41 are both from *La Patrie* and show that Canada had become a man during the Second World War. The many losses that Canada had made allowed for stronger nationalistic feelings as the heroism of Canadian soldiers became a history to celebrate and to be proud of. Furthermore, Canada's production had quickly increased and influences Canada's international status. More than a million male and female Canadians had fought in the armed forces, from which 42.000 Canadians had lost their lives.⁹



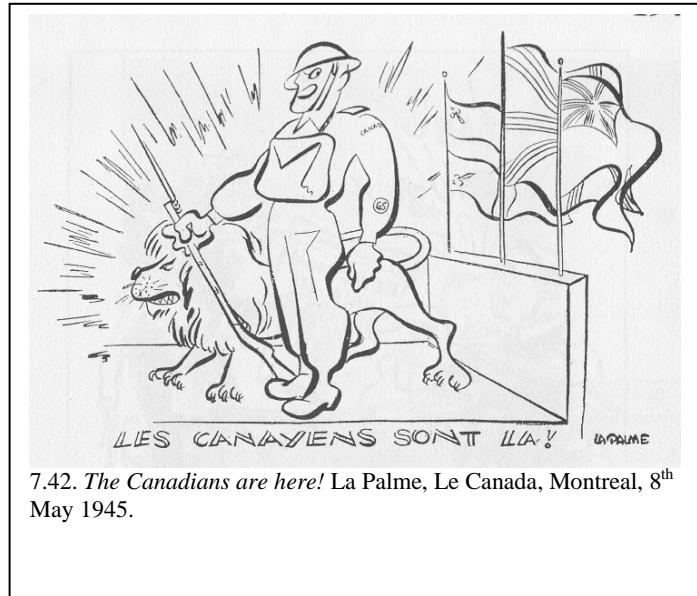
7.40. The most handsome youth of the century. He developed so fast and so well that the world is all amazed! *La Patrie*, Montreal, 24th July 1943.



7.41. The young wonder. Yesterday, a child...today, a colossus! *La Patrie*, Montreal, 19th April 1943.

⁸ Hou, 2002. op. cit., 198.

Cartoon nr. 7.42 is drawn by LaPalme and illustrates a Canadian soldier next to a fierce lion. In relation to their victories, it would have been unthinkable to now illustrate Canada as a little boy; Canada had just saved Europe and did not seem to need Britain anymore like it did before. These cartoons show how military achievements play a very important role in a country's nationalism. The many Canadian soldiers who helped to defeat the Axis powers gave the country reasons to be proud of who they were, and to celebrate their strong national identity.



7.42. *The Canadians are here!* La Palme, *Le Canada*, Montreal, 8th May 1945.

⁹ Ibidem, 217.

Chapter 8. Towards the Canadian beaver, 1945-2006

We will now take a look at political cartoons that were made after the Second World War until the present. It was easy to find useful cartoons from 1985 to the present, I mainly took them from the yearly editions of *Portfolio*.¹ Every year, around 40 or more cartoonists send in some of their best cartoons to this annual book, coming to a total of about 2000 cartoons. The editors of *Portfolio* then select some around at least 130 cartoons and group these in categories.

It was a bit more difficult to find useful cartoons from between 1945 and 1984. Cartoon 8.1 – 8.17 come from the online *Globe and Mail* Heritage Archive. It contains electronic versions of all issues of the *Globe and Mail* since 1844 until the present. The *Globe and Mail* was a Liberal newspaper. One of its more renowned cartoonists was John Reidford. I have searched through the editorial pages of all issues that came out in the months January and July, in the years between 1945 and 1985, while constantly skipping four years.² Apart from that, I have searched unsystematically in the years of important events.

The drawings became more simplistic throughout the years, with fewer details. The first years after the Second World War, Canada enjoyed a close friendship with the U.S. and it makes sense that Uncle Sam was drawn more respectfully during these years. Also it is logical that he appeared much less in cartoons, since there were not many conflicts. Canuck (or the Mountie) was replaced by the beaver in the 1970s. Furthermore, John Bull was drawn considerably more like a poor man than before the Second World War. Eventually, he almost disappeared. Uncle Sam remained very popular, drawn as a foe as well as a friend.

This chapter is divided in five parts. In the following part, I will first talk about the period between 1945 and 1956.

§ 8a) 1945-1955 Canadian self-confidence and a good U.S. friend

After the Second World War, Canadian nationalistic feelings started to grow more and more. Canada was drawn in cartoons as a Mountie, looking like Jack Canuck. Usually, 'Canada' was written on his hat. Like we saw in Chapter 7, Canada had become a mature strong man.

Cartoon nr. 8.1 shows a mountie, saluting the Canadian Merchant Marine flag. It has the Union Jack in one corner and the simple Coat of Arms (of the four original provinces) on the fly of the flag. Culturally, Canada started to grow more towards the U.S., as the Old World seemed always involved in wars.

Britain's pull on Canada started to become less strong after the war. The U.S. and Canada helped Europe to reconstruct itself as quickly as possible.



8.1. *Globe and Mail*, Monday 2 July, 1945.

¹ Badeaux, op. cit.

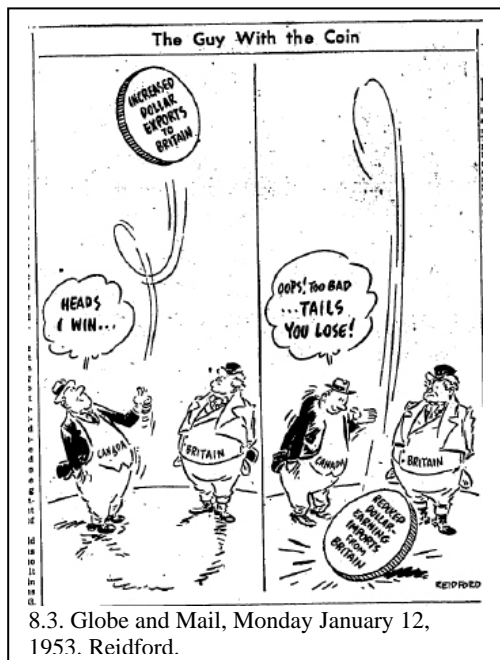
² Thus, the years from which I examined January and July are: 1945, 1949, 1953, 1957, 1961, 1965, 1969, 1973, 1977, 1981 and 1985.

However, Canada was starting to lose a lot of money on foreign loans, and needed American dollars, like all other western countries did. U.S. dollars were almost the only hard currency. The U.S. did not want Canada to cut down on its import and helped Canada with a loan of 300 million dollars.³ This way, the U.S. achieved closer ties to Canada, which used to be tied up with tariffs and treaties to Britain.⁴ Afterwards, Canada went into years of prosperity.

During this period, John Bull was shown as a rather poor struggling man. Cartoons nr. 8.2 – nr. 8.4 show how Britain was enduring its bad economy. John Bull faces the rain of economical difficulties in cartoon nr. 8.2. Canada's economy was doing very well.⁵ Britain's loan to Canada was roughly 1.25 billion dollar after the Second World War.⁶ It would be hard to see Canada as the dependent of Britain. In cartoons nr. 8.3 and nr. 8.4, John Bull accepts the unequal trade conditions between Canada and Britain. Eventually, he would be drawn less and less in Canadian political cartoons.



8.2. Globe and Mail, Tuesday July 12, 1949. Another deluge.



8.3. Globe and Mail, Monday January 12, 1953. Reidford.



8.4. Globe and Mail, January 27, 1953. Reidford.

³ Hillmer, & Granatstein, op. cit. 172.

⁴ Ibidem, 172.

⁵ Ibidem, 168.

⁶ Ibidem.

The U.S. was gaining influence in the world, and took a prominent role in the new United Nations. The Cold War broke out, but initially, Canada was not very worried. After all, they did not have the atom bomb, the U.S. did. Canada started to decrease its military force under Prime Minister Mackenzie King, who feared that Canada would be expected to always go to war in Britain's defense.

Eventually, the Soviet Union became more and more a superpower and created more fear, especially when China turned communist in 1949. The growing fears lead to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), signed in April 1949. This meant, contrary to the past, that the U.S. and Canada would be more involved in Europe's defense from threatening communist regimes. The United Nations was originally designed to prevent wars in the future, but soon the communist countries went out of the council. Like the League of Nations, the United Nations could not remain politically neutral.

In cartoon nr. 8.5, Uncle Sam is shown as a man, taller than the poor John Bull and a man representing France. He does not look dangerous or mean, rather innocent. Cartoon nr. 8.6 shows criticism towards fireman Uncle Sam, as the U.S. is supposed to be the defender of human rights in the world. Sam seems to be ignoring problems in the Middle East. Despite the criticism, Uncle Sam was not drawn extra mean or ugly. This is probably because Canada had good ties with the U.S. during the 1940s and early 1950s. I found less cartoons from during these years depicting Uncle Sam, compared to other periods of time.

The U.S. during these years was Canada's best friend in the international world, but slowly, more and more concerns started to touch the horizons. There were worrying voices about the Americanization of culture and ownership, and about the changing Canadian identity. What distinguished Canadians from Americans without being prominently part of the British Empire? In 1957, criticism towards the U.S. would become stronger because of events in the Cold War.

§ 8b) 1956-1968 Growing criticism towards the U.S.

During this period, Canada wanted to feel independent from the U.S. In 1956, Canada did not choose the side of the British when Israeli's, French and British laid claims on the



8.5. Globe and Mail, Friday May 27, 1949.



8.6. Globe and Mail, Tuesday January 11, 1949.

Suez Canal, using military force. Canada was especially disappointed because Britain had not consulted Canada well enough about the situation in Egypt, while assuming they could count on Canada's military support.⁷ President Nasser of Egypt argued that the profitable Canal was on Egypt soil and therefore his to claim. Canada's Minister of External Affairs, Lester Pearson, created the United Nations Emergency Force, sending soldiers to Egypt to keep the peace. This initiative won him the Nobel Peace Prize, but there was criticism that Pearson was just following policies of the U.S., at the cost of angering the British.

Apart from that, in 1956, there was a project to build a pipeline from Alberta across Canada, to carry Canadian gas. Minister Howe of Trade and Commerce was soon accused of having let the project go to American ownership. Walter Gordon, who was appointed leader of a Royal Commission to investigate ownership in Canada, came to the conclusion that Canada was losing its industries to the U.S. Finally, in a time of McCarthy's witch hunts on communists, the Canadian ambassador in Egypt Herbert Norman committed suicide after publicly having been accused of being a communist spy. Canadian people were utterly shocked.

The *Globe and Mail* published cartoon nr. 8.7. Here, the statue of Liberty bows her head in shame and sadness. The role of the U.S. in the world as international arbitrator became more and more debated.

In 1957, the Conservative John G. Diefenbaker won the elections from the Liberals by promising (among other things) that he would take a strong stand against the Americans. He got along well with the older President Eisenhower but found the following younger President John F. Kennedy an arrogant man, unworthy of his political position. Kennedy 'messed up' the attack at Pigs Bay in Cuba in 1961. The U.S. became frustrated that Canada did not want to cancel their friendships with Fidel Castro. When Stalin started to place missiles on Cuba in 1962, Kennedy wanted Diefenbaker to arm itself more heavily against the Soviet Union. Diefenbaker was willing to place the Bomarc missiles, according to the signed North American Air Defense Command agreement (NORAD) agreement, which was part of NATO, but was hesitating to add the necessary nuclear tips. However, the missiles were useless without the controversial tips.

Whereas Canada preferred an international debate to stop the Cold War, the U.S. flexed its muscle, which frightened many Canadians. To have any real influence on the U.S., Canada realized that they had to be more diplomatic. Still, Canadians in general did prefer a strong support towards Kennedy when necessary. When Diefenbaker still hesitated during the Cuban Missile Crisis, Canadians felt embarrassed. The young U.S. President was very popular among Canadians.⁸



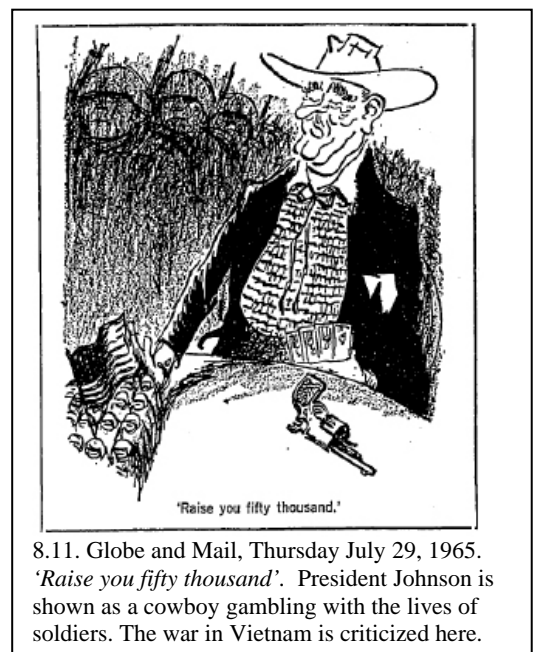
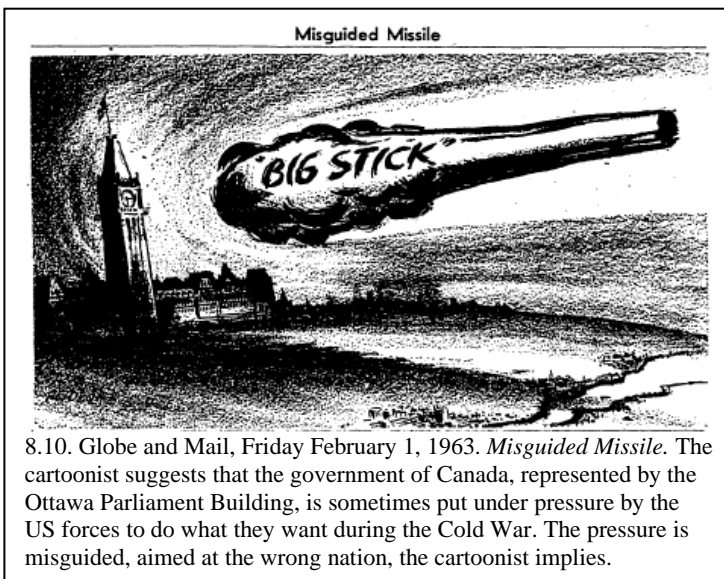
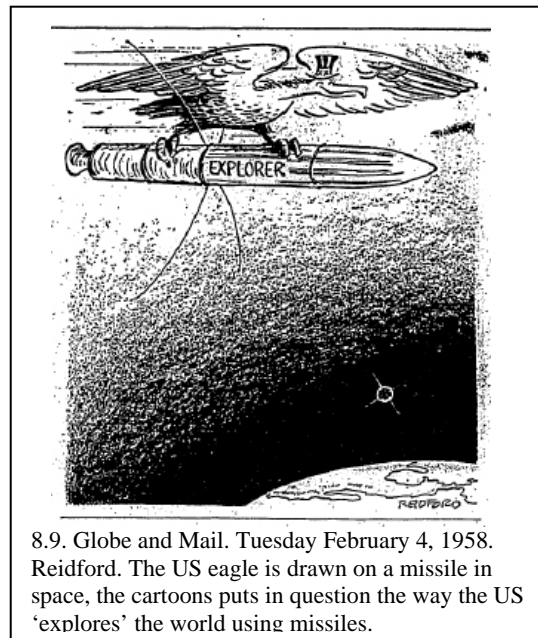
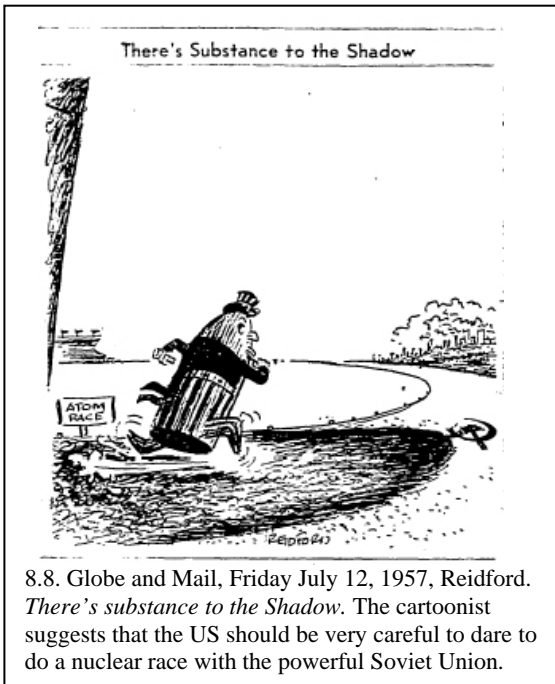
8.7. *Globe and Mail*, Friday April 5, 1957, Reidford.

⁷ Hilliker, John & Donaghy, Greg. 2005. Canadian relations with the UK at the End of Empire, 1956-73. In: Buckner, Phillip. (edit) *Canada and the end of empire*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 30.

⁸ Hillmer & Granatstein, op. cit., 202 & 204.

In 1962, the Liberals won the elections and the more diplomatic Pearson became Prime Minister. He quickly accepted the nuclear tips and quickly tried to restore the friendship with the U.S. government. The Cold War had become a real serious issue in the daily lives of Canadians, but the fears towards the U.S. grew as well. Canada felt that the Americans were too aggressive and had too much influence on Canada. This is shown in cartoons nr. 8.8 – nr. 8.10. After President Kennedy, President Johnson more and more pushed the Soviet Union. The Americans went to war in Vietnam in 1965, which became well covered on televisions at people's home.

In 1965, Pearson held a modest speech at Temple University in the U.S., showing his reservations about the policies in Vietnam. The U.S. officials were very annoyed about this and it was clear that Pearson could hardly change the attitude of President Johnson. Canada had felt quite confident next to the U.S. after the Second World War but in the late 50s and 60s it became clear that they were quite small in regards of international political power compared to the U.S.

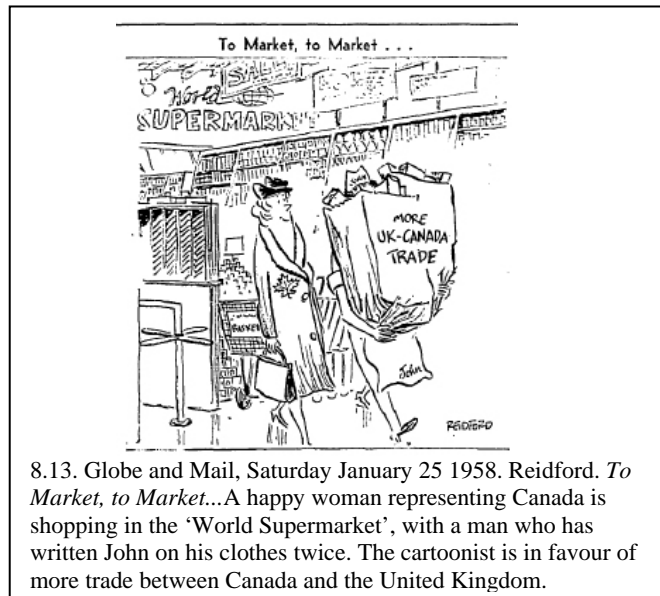


During these years, Canada was mostly shown as a simple man or woman. (One cartoon that I found, showed Canada as a marmot) Incidentally, there were already some references to beavers, like in cartoons nr. 8.12. Here, 'beavers' is used as a metaphor to refer to the Canadian people. The cartoon is about the baby boom that took place in post war Canada. Cartoon nr. 8.13 from 1958 shows us that there were optimistic feelings about the benefits of trade with the United Kingdom. However, the main trading partner was the U.S.

In 1965 the Auto Pact was signed. In the U.S. it was cheaper to manufacture automobile parts. Duties on import of automobile parts were lifted to enhance the trade. It boosted up Canadian vehicle industry and employment when much of the new vehicles were exported to the U.S. Generally, the Auto Pact was very profitable for Canada.



8.12. *Globe and Mail*, Monday February 10, 1958. Reidford. *Who Said Beavers Were Busy?* Post-war Canada experienced a baby boom as the country and industry grew fast.



8.13. *Globe and Mail*, Saturday January 25 1958. Reidford. *To Market, to Market...* A happy woman representing Canada is shopping in the 'World Supermarket', with a man who has written John on his clothes twice. The cartoonist is in favour of more trade between Canada and the United Kingdom.

Criticism towards the U.S. was mostly political and related to military and defense issues. However, the worsening relations had also hurt the feelings of common Americans. A letter on the editorial page of the *Globe and Mail* in 1961 shows the sentiments of Mrs. George Ross from the U.S. side of Niagara Falls. She expressed her concerns towards 'animosity towards the United States.'⁹ She urged for better relations between Canada and the U.S. and added: 'Better to consider, before you people think like Communists about your Southern neighbour. We are troubled these days.'¹⁰

Whereas political criticism is aimed at governments, it touches all citizens. Cold War fears towards a possible nuclear war created a lot of tensions among North Americans. In 1968, a new and more eccentric Prime Minister came to power, which would make many Canadians very proud.

Canada and the U.S.

We were riding on a Canadian railway a few weeks ago and purchased your newspaper to read en route.

We were quite amazed at the editorials and letters which seemed to demonstrate so much animosity toward the United States. You may think this warranted, but we are in the motel business here and so often encourage tourists from various States to visit the Canadian side. You also advertise extensively, even on billboards approaching this city. I think if many persons were aware, as we became, of the hostility shown, they could find resort places on this side, but they hurry to Canada and we build bridges to take them there easily. We've always considered Canada a friendly neighbor; there are enough unfriendly ones! We seem to make the same mistakes continuously, not realizing the antagonisms. Better to consider, before your people think like Communists about your Southern neighbor. We are troubled these days.

Niagara Falls, New York.
(Mrs.) George Ross.

Globe and Mail Online Archive, Thursday May 4, 1961.

⁹ Canada's Heritage from 1844- The *Globe and Mail* (Online Archive), *Globe and Mail*, Thursday May 4, 1961, 6.

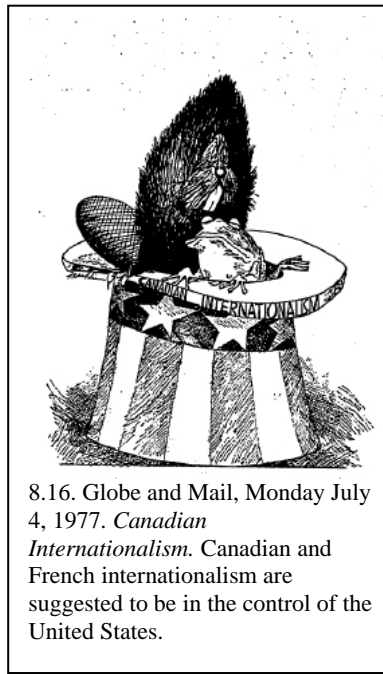
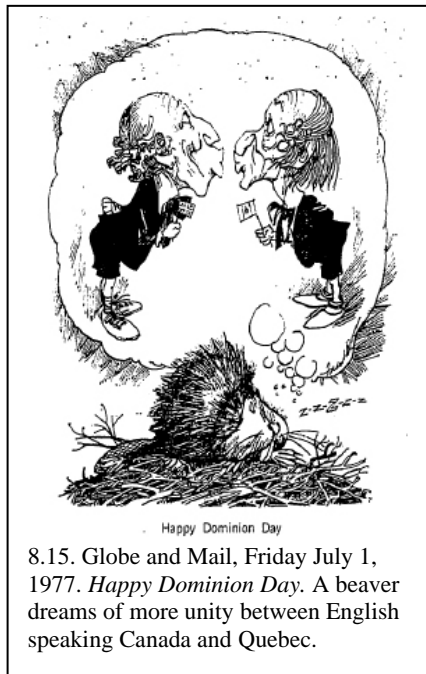
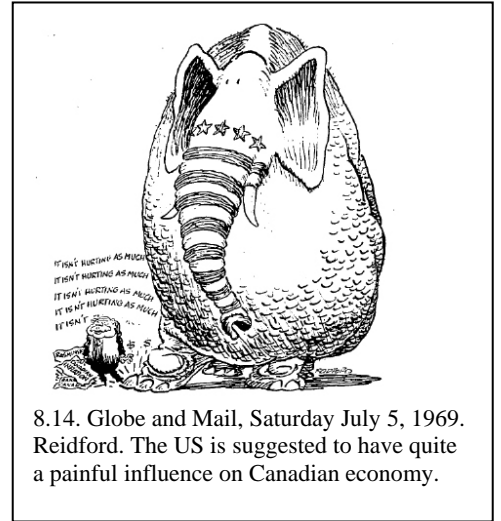
¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

§ 8c) 1968-1984 New Canadian nationalism

During this period a new Canadian nationalism took of. The charismatic Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, former Minister of Justice, appealed to the younger Canadian citizens (he himself was in his 40s when he was elected) and he promised a different, new, refreshing ‘Canadianism’, according to the spirit of the 60s and 70s.

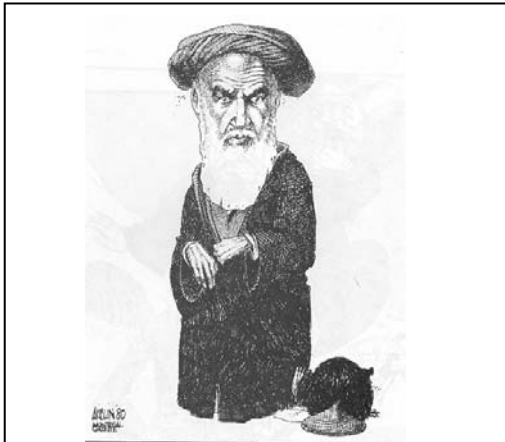
The British seemed further and further away. In 1965, Canada had been allowed to have their own national flag, and in 1980, the Canadian anthem song was made official. (However, this song was already known in 1880.)

But criticism towards the U.S. grew. In 1967, a survey showed that about 66% of Canadians believed that Canada should take action to reduce foreign control in Canadian industries.¹¹ Perhaps as a result of searching for a new pure Canadian national identity, beavers became more drawn in political cartoons roughly around the later 1970s. This small animal is quite harmless and even quite helpless compared to the American eagle. Gerald M. Craig wrote in 1968: ‘For a country like Canada, anything like real independence is obviously impossible.’¹² Canada wanted to keep ties with the U.S. but also with all other countries to be distinguished from the U.S. The beaver looks cute, is likeable and smart: this fitted exactly how Canada wanted to see itself.



¹¹ Hillmer & Granatstein, op. cit., 232.

¹² Craig, op. cit., 310.



8.18. The Gazette, Montreal, The Art of Political Cartooning in Canada, 1980, Aislin (Terry Mosher). In this cartoon the Iranian politician and ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini is shown with a beaver, peeing against his leg. In 1979 until 1981, Iranian students held US diplomats hostage for 444 days at the US embassy in Iran. Khomeini publicly supported the hostage.

There were both signs that Canada tried to stay away as much as possible from the U.S., but also on many fronts needed them, for example in 1967, when separatist movements in Quebec formed a danger to Canadian unity. The U.S. helped to shift public opinion in Quebec by making speeches against separatism.

Cartoons nr. 8.18 – nr. 8.20 were made in 1980.¹³ The beaver is an underdog that makes fun of Khomeini but is quite small compared to the American elephant. Uncle Sam is shown as smaller than the Russian aggressive bear.

Trudeau's efforts to enhance trade with Asian and European countries as a counterweight to American trade never really worked. Other countries had their own neighbours to trade with and language problems formed a barrier. Trudeau's National Energy Program worked, much to Reagan's

discontent, but would be canceled in the later 1980s after the Conservative Brian Mulroney would be elected in 1984. He would have a very different approach towards the U.S., much to the anger of Liberals. These emotions also became visible in Canadian political cartoons.



8.19. Toronto Star, The Art of Political Cartooning in Canada / 1980, Vic Roschkov. The Canadian beaver is stuck in the belt of the American elephant.



8.20. The Citizen, Ottawa, The Art of Political Cartooning in Canada / 1980, Alan King. The Soviet Union was taking over Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan and seemed to go into Iran. The cartoonist criticizes Uncle Sam for not taking action, while daring the big dangerous bear. Furthermore, Uncle Sam is drawn defenseless compared to the big Russian bear.

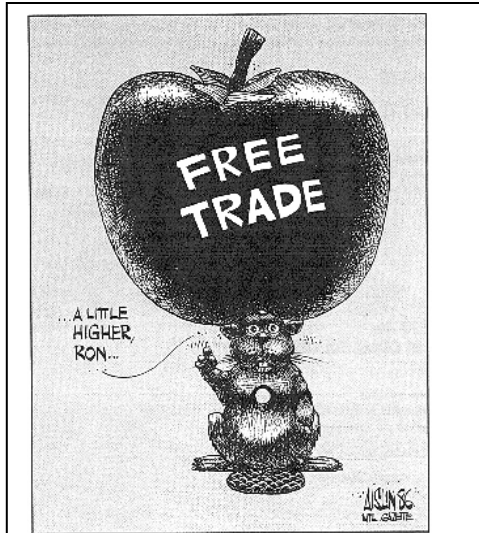
¹³ Bradley, Steve (edit.) & LaPalme, Robert (foreword). 1980. *The art of political cartooning, 1980*. Toronto: Virgo Press.

§ 8d) 1984-2001 Closer ties to the U.S.

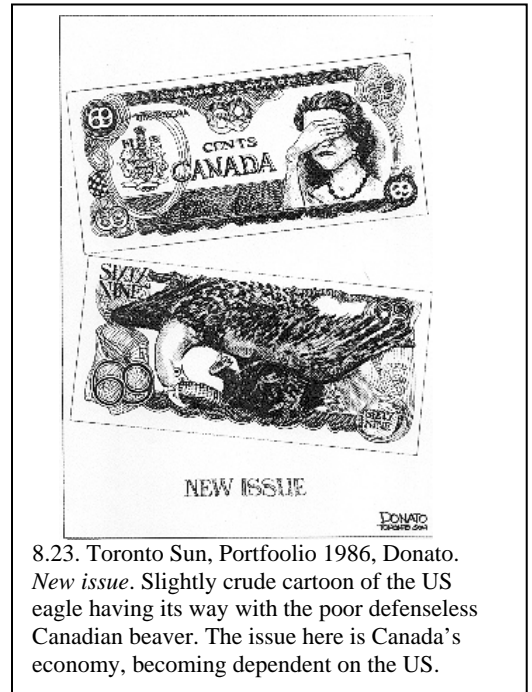
As Canada became closer to the U.S. under Prime Minister Mulroney, many Canadians felt that Canada became less 'Canadian' and more dependent. Especially when in 1988 free trade between the U.S. and Canada was negotiated, Canadian cartoonists expressed their frustrations and criticism, often by drawing U.S. symbols as a menace to the little helpless Canadian beaver. Mulroney came to office as a popular man but for many left as a symbol of 'un-Canadianism'. But Canada can also be found drawn differently, such as a lumberjack in cartoons about taxes on soft woods, or as a loon, Canada's national bird. In more rare occasions Miss Canada was drawn, usually related to either free trade or Prime Minister Chrétien. (In between Kim Campbell had shortly been Prime Minister for a few months) Like Miss Canada before, the Canadian beaver became a popular way to show differences with the U.S.



8.21. Globe and Mail, Friday January 4, 1985. *Do me a favor, eh?..-What now? -...avoid getting a cold this year...my nose is still sore from last year!* The beaver, wearing a jacket saying 'economy', is obviously caged and dependent on Uncle Sam.



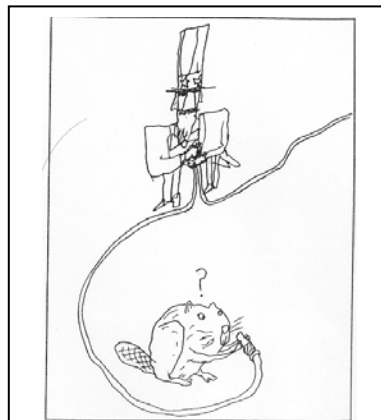
8.22. Montreal Gazette, 1986, Portfolio 1986. Aislin. (Terry Mosher) *A little higher, Ron...* It is suggested that free trade will not be very desirable for Canada as Reagan shoots right through the Canadian beaver.



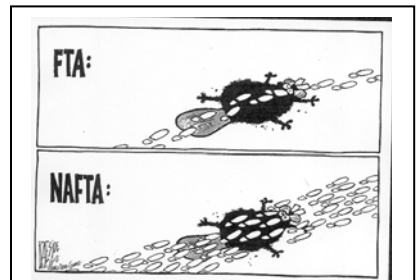
8.23. Toronto Sun, Portfolio 1986, Donato. *New issue.* Slightly crude cartoon of the US eagle having its way with the poor defenseless Canadian beaver. The issue here is Canada's economy, becoming dependent on the US.



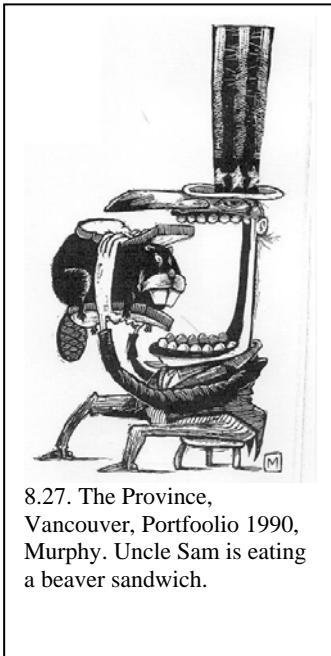
8.24. The Calgary Herald, 1988, Rodewalt, Portfolio 1989. The US eagle is illustrated as a neighbour that throws its pollution in the Canadian beaver's clean garden. The cartoonist criticizes the US stand on the Acid Rain agreement.



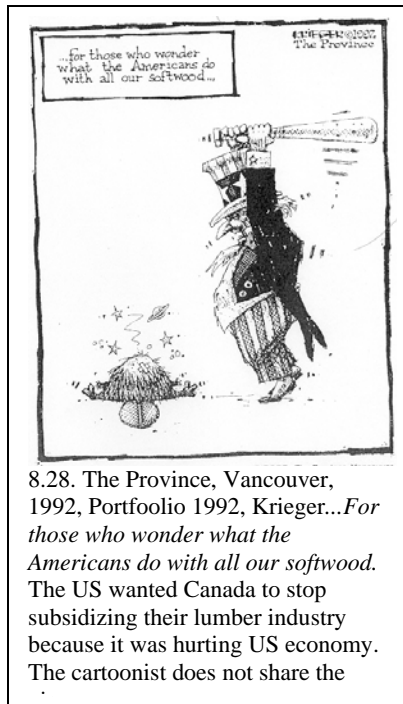
8.25. Union Art Services, Portfolio 1989, Constable. Uncle Sam plays an unfriendly trick on the Canadian beaver with a water



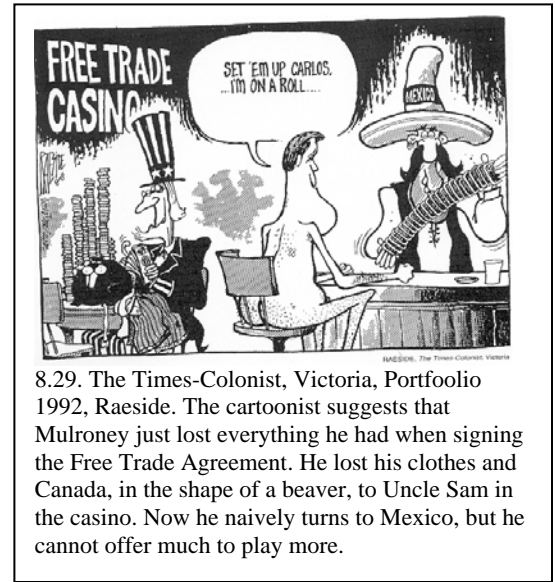
8.26. The Times-Colonist, Victoria, Portfolio 1993, Raeside. It is suggested that the Free Trade Agreement was bad, but that including Mexico in the NAFTA agreement of 1993 has made the matters even worse for Canada. Now more countries step over the Canadian beaver.



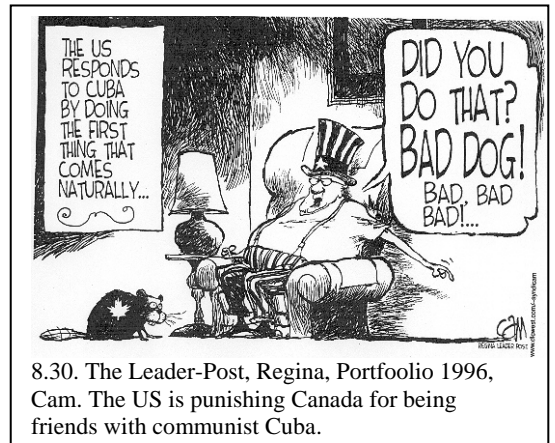
8.27. The Province, Vancouver, Portfolio 1990, Murphy. Uncle Sam is eating a beaver sandwich.



8.28. The Province, Vancouver, Portfolio 1992, Krieger...*For those who wonder what the Americans do with all our softwood.* The US wanted Canada to stop subsidizing their lumber industry because it was hurting US economy. The cartoonist does not share the



8.29. The Times-Colonist, Victoria, Portfolio 1992, Raeside. The cartoonist suggests that Mulroney just lost everything he had when signing the Free Trade Agreement. He lost his clothes and Canada, in the shape of a beaver, to Uncle Sam in the casino. Now he naively turns to Mexico, but he cannot offer much to play more.



8.30. The Leader-Post, Regina, Portfolio 1996, Cam. The US is punishing Canada for being friends with communist Cuba.

Again, I point out that it is in the nature of political cartoons to illustrate criticism and the issues that were seen as a problem. It is not in the cartoonist's interest to draw on which issues the U.S. and Canada did get along well, these did exist though. Furthermore, the *Globe and Mail* is a Liberal newspaper, whereas Mulroney and Reagan were Conservative leaders. The positive outcomes of Mulroney's years as a prime minister are almost not to be found in Canadian political cartoons, such as his successes in the struggle against the apartheid in South Africa and achieving a more solid agreement on Acid Rain with the U.S. in 1990.

Furthermore, polls had shown that many Canadians felt positive about a Free Trade Agreement with the U.S before it was made.¹⁴ Mulroney was often accused of not being 'Canadian' enough, and emotions ran up high between Conservatives and Liberals, much like during the elections long ago in 1891 and 1911. In the 1988 election debate between Liberal leader Turner and Prime Minister Mulroney, Turner at one point let out to him: 'I happen to believe you have sold us out'¹⁵ referring to the Free Trade Agreement. Mulroney replied emotionally as well, saying: 'You do not have a monopoly on patriotism. I resent the fact of your implication that only you are a Canadian. I want to tell you that I come from a Canadian family and I love Canada and that's why I did it, to promote prosperity, and don't you impugn my motives.'¹⁶

¹⁴ Hillmer & Granatstein, op. cit., 278.

¹⁵ Ibidem, 273.

¹⁶ Ibidem, 274.

Richard Gwyn talks about this in *The 49th Paradox. Canada in North-America* (1985), explaining that Mulroney was more like a product of the 1950s when Canada still looked up to the Americans. Mulroney never felt threatened by Americans, in his opinion, Canada and the U.S. were best friends.¹⁷

The amount of criticizing cartoons show us, especially compared to the period between 1945 and 1957, that Canada and the U.S. had been drifting apart on certain issues, such as the Kyoto Agreement, the high duties on U.S. softwood, the Free Trade Agreement and Canada's stand on communist Cuba. Apart from that, some more vague general cartoons have been drawn of Uncle Sam eating a beaver sandwich, or pestering a beaver with the water hose. These cartoons more seem directed at showing a more general discontent attitude towards the U.S.

The Liberals went back to power in 1993 lead by Jean-Paul Chrétien. He got along well with the American Democrat President Bill Clinton. (They went golfing together¹⁸) Liberal cartoonists always preferred the American Democrats over the Republicans but in 1993 the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement made cartoonists again draw how small Canada is compared to the U.S. (Cartoon nr. 8.34) Other issues related to the U.S. were the issue around Élian Gonzales, failings of the UN, shootings in American schools, Clinton's Monica Lewinsky-scandal, the U.S. buying up professional Canadian ice hockey players and America's search for oil in the Middle East. Then, in 1989, the Cold War suddenly seemed to have mysteriously blown over.

Prime Minister Paul Chrétien and Lucien Bouchard were popular targets for Canadian cartoonists. Bouchard was the Prime Minister of Quebec who wanted Quebec separated. (In a referendum, 60% rejected sovereignty) After he lost his leg to a meat-eating virus, cartoonists left him alone for a little while but later on attacked him just as hard as before.

The period between 1984 and 2001 can be



—Is it true that I'll be brainwashed in Cuba?

8.31. Le Soleil, Quebec, Portfolio 2000 page 111, Côté. *Is it true that I'll be brainwashed in Cuba?* Élian Gonzales was six when he, his mother and some others tried to cross from Cuba to Florida to find a better life. His mother drowned and his uncle in the US wanted to keep him there. However, the father wanted him back. It became a big deal in the media, as Elian also met US politicians and was taken to Disney World. Eventually it was ruled that he should be given back to the father, as was also the opinion of around 2/3rd of the American people.



8.32. The Edmonton Journal, Portfolio 1996 page 135, Mayes. The bias here is against the prime minister of Quebec at the time, Lucien Bouchard. It is more rare that the beaver is drawn as an active character. Bouchard lost his leg because of a disease. Canadian cartoonists often make fun of him as they see him as undermining Canadian unity.

¹⁷ Gwyn, Richard, *The 49th Paradox. Canada in North America*. 1985. Toronto: McLelland & Steward Ltd.

¹⁸ Hillmer & Granatstein, op. cit., 301.

seen as two periods, the first of 1984 until 1993, when Tories enhanced political ties with the U.S., and the Liberal period between 1993 and 2001 where the political ties to the U.S. remained friendly, although with some more distance. Whereas Trudeau in the 1970s centralized Canadian power and tried to push off American relations, Mulroney instead gave more power to the Canadian Provinces and kept close ties with the U.S. As much as Trudeau had been popular, Mulroney became a black sheep. Coming too close to the U.S. seemed to go against how Canada longed to see itself: independent and distinguished from Americans. The tiny beaver next to the big Uncle Sam immediately explains why Canada cannot be independent, but at least, he looks fundamentally different.

After the attacks of 9/11 2001, Canadians did empathize with the U.S. This was also visible in many Canadian cartoons that came out that year. It was mainly the war in Iraq, the Patriot Act and the treatment of war prisoners that would create more criticism towards U.S. policies.



8.33. The Ottawa Citizen, Portfolio 1987 page 147, Cam. In this cartoon Khomeini, who criticizes the US for its influence in Iraq, is shown as a weak little man. Much like in the cartoons during the Second World War, Uncle Sam is drawn here with a certain tone of admiration for its (military) strength.



8.34. The Chronicle Herald, Halifax, Portfolio 1994 page 128, MacKinnon. The cartoonist is against NAFTA. It shot the Canadian beaver and Clinton made it his Davy Crocket style furry hat.

§ 8e) After 9/11

When Al-Qaeda attacked several prominent buildings on the 11th of September 2001 using hijacked airplanes, nearly three thousand Americans got killed. Canadians, much like many other nations, were shocked. Many Canadian cartoonists showed their empathy through their cartoons the following days. Cartoon nr. 8.35 shows Uncle Sam with his head in his hand, grieving for the victims of the terrorist attacks. Uncle Sam is drawn more realistic and more serious than usually. The cartoonist clearly has put empathy in his drawing: Uncle Sam is a friend that now desperately needed Canada's support, as the cartoonist illustrated his face from up close, inviting the reader to understand how he felt.

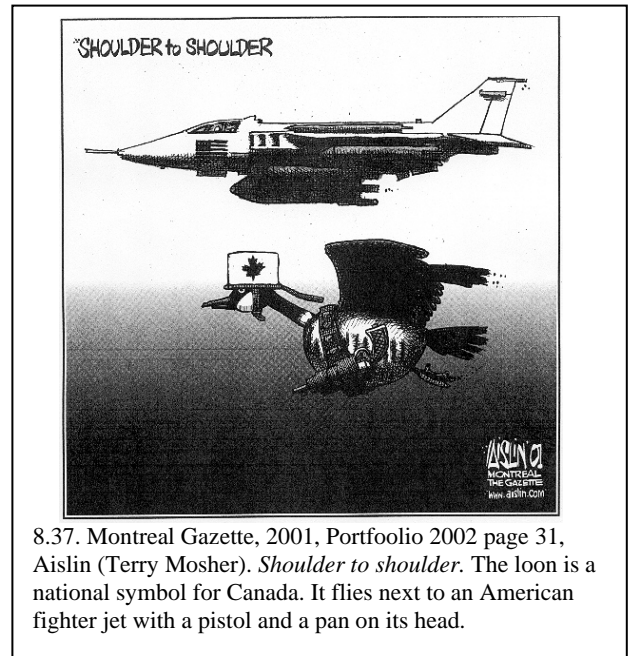


8.35. The Citizen, Ottawa, September 12, 2001, Portfolio 2002 page 4, Cam. Canada was shocked and deeply felt sympathy for the US after the unexpected attacks of al-Qaeda on September 11, 2001. Almost three thousand people got killed.

Very shortly after the attacks, the U.S. government announced war and invaded Afghanistan and later Iraq. The U.S. received help of several nations, including Canada. Most Canadians initially supported the war in Afghanistan, but they never joined the war in Iraq. The cartoons that popped up in newspapers and websites shortly after the war started, often joked about the size of Canada's military compared to that of the U.S. This is also visible in the cartoons below in which the cartoonists compare the Canadian military to a beaver with a toy canon and catapult, and with an armed loon with a pan on its head. Uncle Sam asks the beaver for a coffee in cartoon nr. 8.36. This is a typically feminine task: Canada is shown as a weak chubby beaver, obviously not a fighter. The message was clear: Canada could not really help the US.



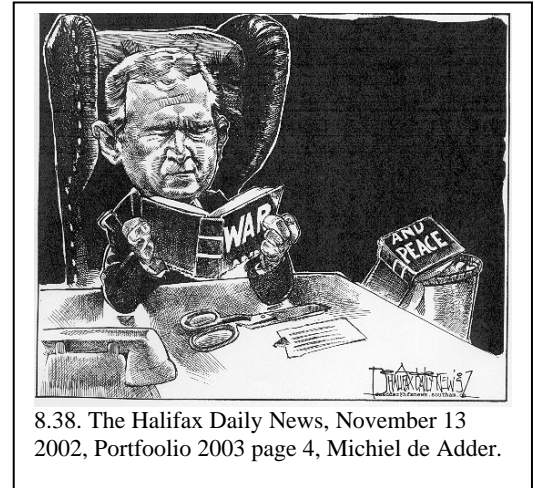
8.36. Portfolio 2002 page 98, Dolighan. *You're in, great...I'll have a large, one cream two sugars.* The beaver has brought a catapult and a small toy canon. 'Canadian military' is written on the little canon.



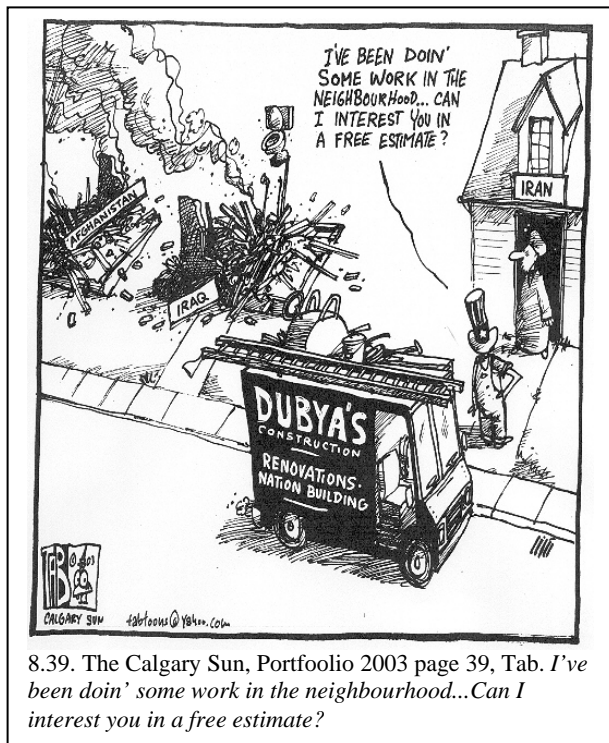
8.37. Montreal Gazette, 2001, Portfolio 2002 page 31, Aislin (Terry Mosher). *Shoulder to shoulder.* The loon is a national symbol for Canada. It flies next to an American fighter jet with a pistol and a pan on its head.

In October 2001, the Patriot Act was adopted and it allowed the U.S. government to arrest non-Americans based on their beliefs and (sometimes unclear) ties to associations, rather than based on solid evidence. It was the group identity that would become a major factor during these arrests.

Starting from January 2002, Guantánamo Bay received its first detainees. Later, in 2003, the 'War on Terrorism' of President Bush started to raise more and more questions, both inside and outside the U.S. Cartoons nr. 8.38 – nr. 8.41 are good examples. Criticism towards the U.S. government involved the motives for the war, the use of the media, the way that war prisoners were treated behind closed doors, the fact that the wars kept on longer than was promised, and the amount of money that it had cost.



8.38. The Halifax Daily News, November 13 2002, Portfolio 2003 page 4, Michiel de Adder.



8.39. The Calgary Sun, Portfolio 2003 page 39, Tab. I've been doin' some work in the neighbourhood... Can I interest you in a free estimate?



8.40. The Vancouver Sun, Portfolio 2003 page 37, Peterson. And did you pack the DEMOCRACY package?



8.41. Portfolio 2003 page 32, Shahid.

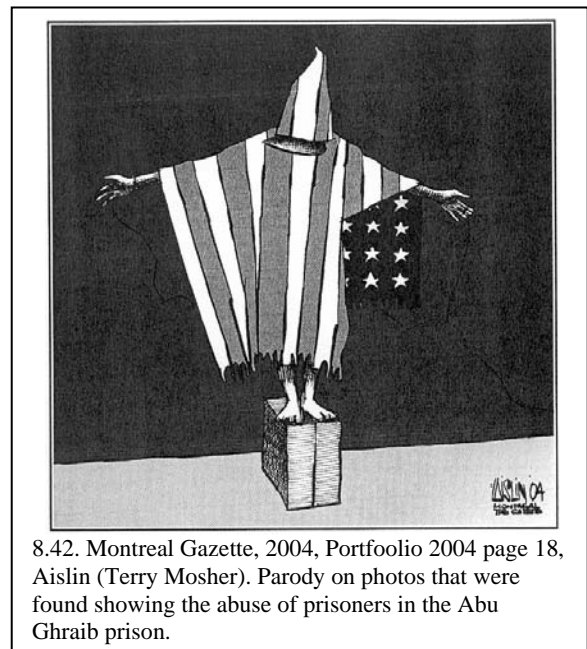
In cartoon nr. 8.39, we see Uncle Sam going from house to house with his Renovations Nation Building van. He has obviously destroyed Afghanistan and Iraq, and now knocks on Iran's house. The cartoonist criticizes how the U.S. promised to bring democracy to countries. However, Sam did not succeed to make Afghanistan and Iraq a 'renovated' nation. In cartoon nr. 8.40, we see President Bush asking an American soldier if he packed the 'democracy' package. On his back, the soldier carries all kinds of aspects of American culture, such as

the Simpsons, Elvis, war missiles, the statue of Liberty and McDonalds. The cartoonist implies that the Americans brought a lot of American culture to the Middle East, but left out the promised democracy. Cartoon nr. 8.41 shows Uncle Sam running away with a barrel of oil. Iraqi people were looting when Baghdad was under fire. The cartoonist suggests that it was the U.S. who was stealing the oil from Iraq.

Then, in 2004, scandals about rapes, abuses and torture in U.S. prisons in Abu Ghraib, Guantánamo Bay, Kabul and other secret locations started to make the headlines. Only the International Red Cross Committee has been allowed limited access to Guantánamo Bay on the condition that all the information they gathered would be kept from the public. Furthermore, the Red Cross in some cases was allowed to bring letters (censured by the U.S. army) between the prisoners and their family. The Red Cross is only allowed to suggest recommendations to the U.S. government, which were largely been ignored. ‘There was no improvement in any of the four major areas of concern’, a Red Cross memo of October 9, 2003 states, two years after the Red Cross started visiting the prison of Guantánamo Bay.¹⁹ The day after, Christophe Girod (Chief of the Red Cross of North-America) publicly criticized the U.S. policies in Guantánamo Bay. This was a very unusual act for the Red Cross.

It became clear that the prisoners who were arrested in the war on terrorism were not treated as ‘prisoners of war’. Instead, the Bush government had used the Patriot act to name them ‘enemy combatants’ to avoid the Geneva Conventions. In practicality, what happened is that large amounts of people, mostly Muslims, were arrested and sent to different secret U.S. prisons across the world where they are kept indefinitely, without seeing family or lawyers, without knowing the charges held against them, with frequent reports of having been tortured, physically and mentally.²⁰ An unknown group of juveniles had been arrested, such as the Canadian born Omar Khadr, who is still held at Guantánamo Bay today.

It is estimated that about 5000 people were arrested in different countries in relation to the war on terrorism.²¹ Several ‘dark spots’ where they were brought to are located in countries as Morocco, Saudi-Arabia and Zimbabwe, but it is not clear how many locations there are. Many arrested Afghani people were



8.42. Montreal Gazette, 2004, Portfolio 2004 page 18, Aislin (Terry Mosher). Parody on photos that were found showing the abuse of prisoners in the Abu Ghraib prison.

¹⁹ <http://www.washingtonpost/wp-dyn/articles/A37364-2004Jun12.html> ‘A Look Behind the ‘Wire’ At Guantánamo. Defense Memos Raised Questions About Detainee Treatment as Red Cross Sought Changes’, Scott Higham, Washington Post Staff Writer. Sunday, June 13, 2004. (Read: March 6, 2008).

²⁰ Rapley, Robert. 2007. *Witch hunts: from Salem to Guantánamo Bay*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 241 &

<http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/feature-stories/amnesty-international-reprieve-conference-summaries-20051130> ‘Conference report’, 30 November 2005. Amnesty International / Reprieve Conference. The Global Struggle Against Torture: Guantánamo Bay, Bagram and Beyond, 19-21 November 2005. (Read: March 18, 2008).

²¹ Cole, David & Dempsey, James X. 2006. *Terrorism and the constitution: sacrificing civil liberties in the name of national security*. New York: The New Press, 178.

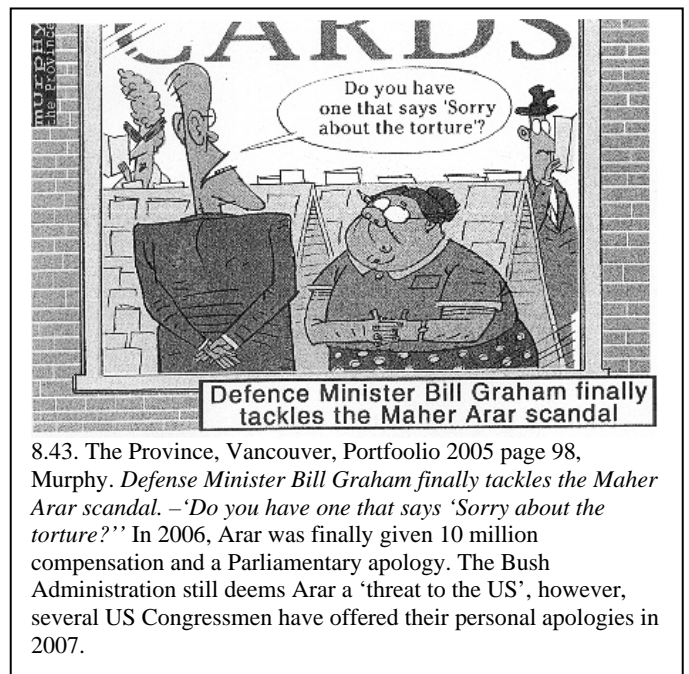
brought to the Americans by bounty seekers, such as the 22 year old taxi driver Afghan Dilawar. He died in 2002 because of beatings at a prison at Bagram, despite any evidence that he was involved in any terrorist activities. Strange enough, even U.S. soldiers that had kept him at Bagram had been convinced of his innocence.²² His death was wrongly filed as an accident. ‘Furthermore, high U.S. Major General Michael E. Dunleavy had been quoted by an article in the Los Angeles Times, complaining that too many ‘Mickey Mouse’ detainees that were sent to Guantánamo Bay.’²³

Publicly, the U.S. argued that there was no real torture conducted, however, survivors claimed the opposite. The way the Patriot Act was implemented was against the American Law and against several international Geneva Conventions. The U.S. quickly lost its image as a peacekeeper, which was also notable in Canadian political cartoons. They do have an ‘anti-American’ tone, but similar sounds also came from inside the U.S. itself. The cartoons criticized the war, not American culture on the whole.

In Canada, the war lead to more controversy when the story of Canadian Maher Arar became known. Robert Rapley quotes Arar in his book on Witch Hunts: ‘*The kept beating me so I had to falsely confess and told them I did go to Afghanistan. I was ready to confess to anything if it would stop the torture.*’²⁴ Arar was a Canadian technology consultant who was born in Syria. He traveled a lot for his work and was arrested in transit in New York, then taken to Syria and held there from October 2002 until August 2003 where he was severely tortured. It is mainly because of his Canadian wife that he was finally released. She had tried to get as much attention from the media, and she argued that by Canadian law, a Canadian citizen could not have been taken to a foreign country to be kept or trialled there. If the U.S. had substantial evidence to arrest him, by law, Arar should have been taken to court in Canada.

Arar’s arrest had been based on a conversation with another Muslim in the rain, Abdullah Almalki. The name Almalki was suspicious to U.S. investigators because there were clues that there was an Almalki doing terrorist activities, and Arar became a suspect as well. The rain had made it more difficult to listen in on the conversation between the two men.

The U.S. never pressed any official charges against Arar. After his release, he tried to clear his name. He could not find a new job, despite a Master degree in Telecommunication Technology. Backed up by humanitarian agencies and supporters, the Canadian government issued a Commission of Inquiry. Commissioner Dennis O’Connor announced in September 2006 that Maher Arar was cleared of all terrorism



8.43. The Province, Vancouver, Portfoolio 2005 page 98, Murphy. *Defence Minister Bill Graham finally tackles the Maher Arar scandal.* –‘Do you have one that says ‘Sorry about the torture?’’ In 2006, Arar was finally given 10 million compensation and a Parliamentary apology. The Bush Administration still deems Arar a ‘threat to the US’, however, several US Congressmen have offered their personal apologies in 2007.

²² Gibney, Alex. (2007) *Taxi to the dark side*. [film] Broadcasted on the BBC.

²³ <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2003/jan2003/guan-j03.shtml> ‘New revelations about Guantánamo Bay prisoners’ ,Philips, Richard. January 3, 2003. (Read: March 18, 2008).

²⁴ Rapley, op. cit., 255-256.

allegations.²⁵ The man that Arar had been talking to in the rain, Abdullah Almalki, also was suggested to have been innocent in this report.²⁶

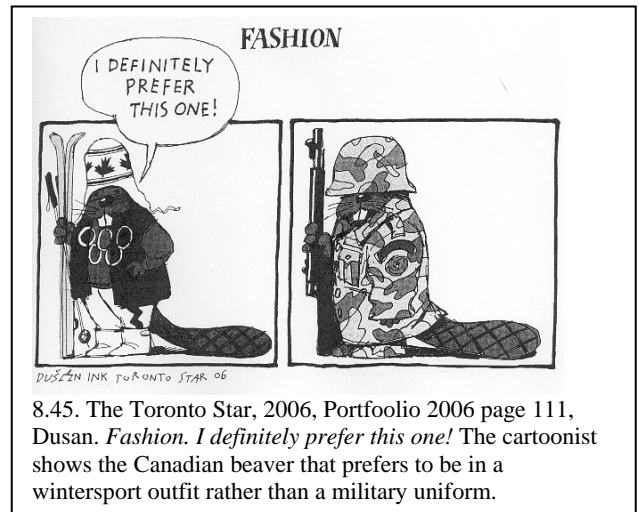
In January 2004, reporter Juliet O'Neill was working on an article about Al-Qaeda and the Maher Arar case for the Ottawa Citizen. Ten Canadian Royal Mounties raided her home and office in search of secret documents. In Canada, it was seen as an attack on the free press. Cartoon nr. 8.44 shows an evil unshaven Mountie on a mean looking black horse, stamping on letters that symbolize the free press, and a roll of paper, which has written 'Arar case' on it. The phrase 'Oh Canada, we stand on guard for thee!' is part of the Canadian national anthem. The cartoonist is obviously sending out criticism towards the Royal police, trampling over the free press instead of protecting civilians.

With everything that had happened to Maher Arar, more criticism grew towards the war on terrorism. How had the U.S. been able to just take a Canadian to a third world country? Canada felt less like participating in the war, which is also reflected in cartoon nr. 8.45. The beaver on the left says he definitely prefers his winter outfit to the military outfit on the right. The coat has the symbol of the Olympics on it, and the winter hat shows the Maple Leaf. It is implied that real Canadian pride comes from winning at the Olympics and from being famous for its winter sports. The friendly beaver does not look well as soldier; it is just not 'Canadian'.

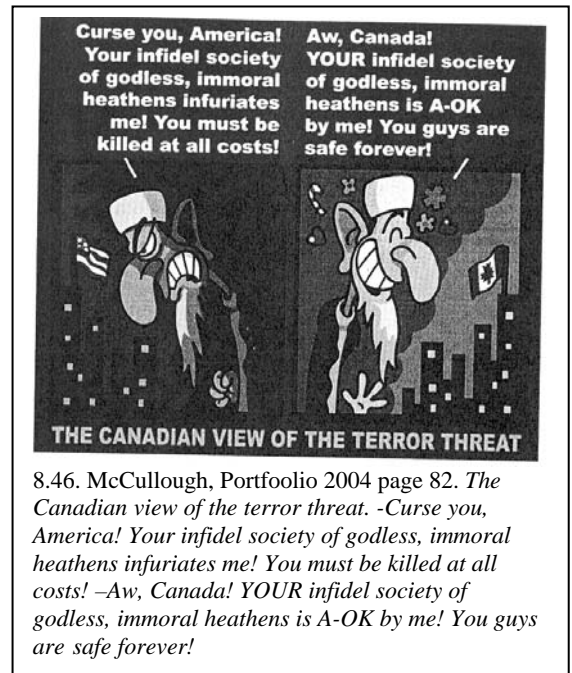
Cartoon nr. 8.46 was not published in any newspaper, but chosen for the Portfolio 2004 edition. It shows an evil Muslim, probably Osama bin Laden, looking angrily and vindictive towards the U.S., but acting very friendly towards Canada. The cartoonist raises the question why Canadians think that they are safer than the U.S. from terrorist attacks. This implies that there is a common view that Canada feels different than the U.S., that it feels like it is 'more friendly' or at least quite different than the U.S., even though their societies are similar in so many ways. But like in cartoons, 'politics' and 'culture' overlap. What exactly was the main motive of the attacks of September 11?



8.44. The Hamilton Spectator, Portfolio 2004, MacKay. *On Canada, we stand on guard for thee!*



8.45. The Toronto Star, 2006, Portfolio 2006 page 111, Dusan. *Fashion. I definitely prefer this one!* The cartoonist shows the Canadian beaver that prefers to be in a wintersport outfit rather than a military uniform.



8.46. McCullough, Portfolio 2004 page 82. *The Canadian view of the terror threat.* -Curse you, America! Your infidel society of godless, immoral heathens infuriates me! You must be killed at all costs! -Aw, Canada! YOUR infidel society of godless, immoral heathens is A-OK by me! You guys are safe forever!

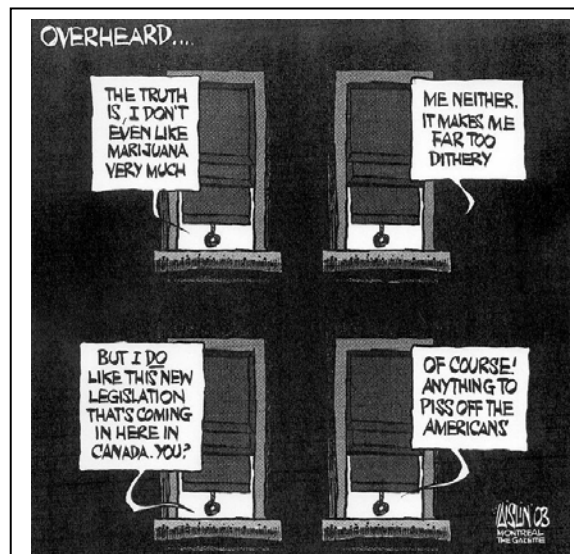
²⁵ http://www.ararcommission.ca/eng/AR_English.pdf. 'Report of the events relating to Maher Arar. Analysis and recommendations', High Commissioner Dennis O'Connor. (Read: June 24, 2008).

²⁶ Ibidem, 17.

Was the reason for the attacks political, or was it mainly the difference in beliefs, norms and values that divides them from the western world?

The thin line between 'politics' and 'culture' creates problems. This can be seen in the serious conflicts between the Islamic and the western world. On a smaller scale, it also causes confusion. The term 'anti-Americanism' can be found in Canadian political debates. It is unfortunate when concrete motives for conflicts are vaguely overlapping between the political and cultural fields. This makes it harder to identify and solve the exact problem.

Cartoon nr. 8.47 shows a dialogue between two Canadians, discussing the new marijuana legislation. This legislation in 2003 had annoyed Americans but found support among Canadians. The cartoonist makes fun of the attitude of Canadians, being in favour of the legislation rather for the sake of annoying the Americans, rather than because they actually really agree with it. The cartoon fits in the general view that Canadians would like to be seen as different, and more liberal than Americans. Indeed, there are differences, but like this cartoon points out, Canadians will search to be different for the sake of distinguishing themselves.

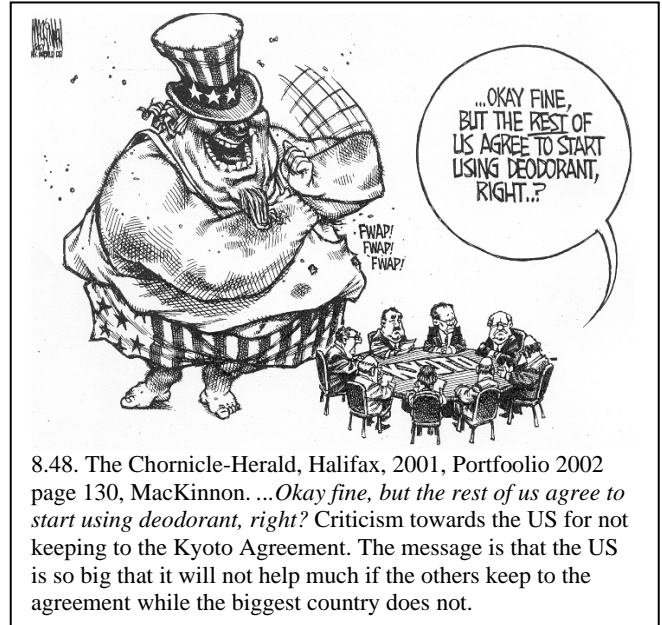


8.47. The Gazette, Montreal, 2003, Portfolio 2003 Aislin (Terry Mosher). *Overheard...The truth is, I don't even like marijuana very much. -Me neither. It makes me far too dithery. -But I do like this new legislation that's coming in here in Canada. You? -Of course! Anything to piss off the Americans.* The cartoonist suggests that Canadians are not really in favour of the new marijuana legislation, but that they rather support it to be different from the Americans.

Apart from the wars in the Middle East and marijuana there were more tensions between Canada and the U.S. after 2001. One other source of conflicts was the Kyoto Agreement. In 2001, President Bush argued to let go of the 1997 Kyoto Agreement, as he came up with a new plan, targeting a lower reduction of gas emissions.²⁷ The U.S. however was the largest producer of greenhouse emissions.

Cartoon nr. 8.49 depicts a very big and stinky looking Uncle Sam, flapping his armpit and making ‘flapping’ sounds. The others at the table look small. One of them says: ‘Okay fine, but the rest of us agree to start using deodorant, right?’ The cartoonist shows that if the U.S. does not keep to the Kyoto agreement, the whole deal would be pointless: the room in the cartoon will not smell fresh, even if everyone around the table would use deodorant.

The criticism is aimed at President Bush, but since it is the whole U.S. producing emissions, it is more logical that Uncle Sam is drawn to represent American emissions. Sometimes Uncle Sam symbolizes the American culture on the whole, other times he represents the U.S. government.



8.48. The Chornicle-Herald, Halifax, 2001, Portfolio 2002 page 130, MacKinnon. *...Okay fine, but the rest of us agree to start using deodorant, right?* Criticism towards the US for not keeping to the Kyoto Agreement. The message is that the US is so big that it will not help much if the others keep to the agreement while the biggest country does not.

²⁷ Website of CNN, <http://edition.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2001/globalwarming/>. (Posted: February 2002, Read: June 28, 2008).

Chapter 9. Conclusions

Finding a national sense of self

Canada became a more independent and confident nation, with noticeable peeks around 1903, during the two World Wars and in the 1950s and early 1960s. It constantly compared itself to Britain and the U.S., (Britain less after 1945) as these countries had most influence on Canada's image of itself. Despite the many similarities shared by North Americans, Canadians tend to highlight differences between them and the Americans. This is to distinguish the own national identity, according to Sir Francis Wise. One could argue that all neighbouring countries try to distinguish themselves from the others, as this is important to stimulate a sense of national identity and unity.

All this can be found in the way how Canadian icons developed: generally, we can see a rise in confidence from the soft Miss Canada to the Canadian beaver which plays the witty underdog. Furthermore, Canadian icons put emphasis on very different values than on American and British icons in Canadian cartoons. Canada's representation in political cartoons underwent many changes. It developed hand in hand with the Canadian growing sense of self: with constant ups and downs, it gradually became more secure throughout the years.

Development of Canada's national icons

Canada's national icons started out with the rather helpless and innocent Miss Canada, the naive Young Canada and the French Canadian Jean-Baptiste in his winter coat. Later on, the more serious and strong looking Jack Canuck was born: still very ethical in spirit, but usually less naive, looking more or less like a gentleman with moustache. There were several bilingual newspapers, in which Jack Canuck was translated with 'Jean-Baptiste'. Eventually, Canuck won out in popularity over the French less proper looking Baptiste.

During the First and Second World War, Canuck was drawn helping his father John Bull. As Britain's Empire lost power, John Bull was illustrated less often as an impressive man. By the 1970s, the Commonwealth had become rather symbolic than a political force. The earlier Canucks were drawn in a business suit, later he was given a Royal Mountie suit by cartoonists. Jack Canuck gradually became 'the Mountie', a representation of Canadian law. This icon became useful for both English and French Canadians, with and without a moustache. Already since the beginning at Confederation, Canada purposely chose a strong government. Therefore, Jack Canuck's Mountie outfit represents an important aspect of Canadian society which binds all Canadian citizens.

After the Second World War Canada's representation in cartoons changed again. He was then drawn as a simple civilian, without special attributes. He usually looked like a consumer with the word 'Canada' written on him. Other times, he was drawn reading the newspaper. When the Cold War became an increasing threat, Canada wanted to profile itself as a diplomatic peacekeeping country; an expert in international affairs. But Canada realized its economical and military dependence on the U.S. as well. This meant that a good friendship with the Americans was essential. The U.S. and Canada did argue on many issues, but at the same time they also grew closer towards each other.

During the 1980s, Canadian cartoonists began to use the little beaver to represent Canada. This animal is not a fighter, like the United States eagle, but it is clever, environmentally aware, it works hard and it is peaceful. Furthermore, the beaver is

generally seen as cute and likeable. This is how Canada still likes to see itself. The qualities of this friendly animal was very useful to bind English and French Canadians, Natives and new immigrants. (Just like the Maple Tree was useful for Natives and English and French Canadian colonists since the 17th century.) Canadian cartoons often show their small national icon with a sense of self-depreciating humour, as they are aware that Canada has less influence than the U.S. in world politics.

Discourse on anti-Americanism

Uncle Sam has often been illustrated as mean, rich and aggressive in Canadian cartoons. This was especially true during elections, debates concerning free trade, reciprocity deals and wars. Does this mean that Canadians are anti-Americans?

One difficulty when trying to answer this question is to assess what Uncle Sam represents exactly: the U.S. on the whole, or merely American politics? The same could be said about the term 'anti-Americanism': it implies the 'opposing of American culture on the whole', but often is used when referring to an attitude against a political policy. Opposing the American culture in general is something nearly impossible for Canadians to do, since they share so much with them. For example, the cartoons that criticize the war in Iraq are aimed at a specific policy. These cartoons, in my opinion, are not anti-American. Similar cartoons were made in the U.S. as well.

Jack Granatstein argues that Canadian political parties often used anti-American feelings as a political strategy. We saw this when exploring the elections of 1891. Prime Minister John A. MacDonalld had sought reciprocity deals with the Americans, but decided to accuse his Liberal opponent of conspiring with the Americans to establish 'evil' reciprocity deals. As we have seen in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, the U.S. was often portrayed as an evil threat to Canadian life in cartoons during those days. There were still realistic fears of annexation.

During the elections of 1891 and 1911, free trade became a debated dilemma. From these periods, I only found one cartoon that depicts Uncle Sam and Miss Canada as friends. (Cartoon 6.10) But it was not until 1988 that the Free Trade Agreement with the Americans was finally negotiated. Canadian cartoonists en masse attacked the deal. A lot of their cartoons illustrated a mean Uncle Sam while pestering the little beaver. The 'worst' that happened in cartoons after the Free Trade Agreement became a fact, was that Uncle Sam and Miss Canada had slept together: rather a moral problem. It was not something Canada should be proud of, but compared to the dangers shown in older cartoons, the country was reasonably well off. In earlier cartoons, Canada risked being 'eaten' and thus killed. In the 1980s, Canada had achieved more independence and did not fear annexation anymore. But American influence and Americanization remain big concerns today in Canada.

The tone of the sceptical cartoons were in contrast with the opinion polls. Researches showed that the majority of the Canadians, at first, wanted free trade with the United States. This is why they had chosen Brian Mulroney as Prime Minister. Later on, he became a black sheep of Canadian history (or at least an unpopular sheep), as Canadians do not want to see themselves as similar to the Americans.

The talks about Free Trade hurted Canadian pride at the turn of the 20th century and in the 1980s. Yes, one could argue that they were, to a certain extend, hypocrite: after all, Prime Minister Macdonalld wanted a free trade deal as well and the people had elected

Mulroney in 1986 themselves, knowing he had promised closer ties to the U.S. Still, some realistic concerns remain in the sceptical protesting voices. These are the concerns of Canadians whom fear that Canada is politically too weak to hold on to its own identity if Canadians and Americans would blend into one culture of North-Americans.

Cartoons nr. 8.25 and 8.27 are examples of a general bias, rather than criticism towards a specific political policy. It can be argued that these cartoons have an anti-American tone, showing an aggressive and mean Uncle Sam, harassing a poor beaver without clear reason. Still, most cartoons have a specific target. Like many neighbouring countries, it seems part of Canadian culture to make jokes of their neighbouring country. This tone seems to become harder each time when Canadians feel that their nationalism is in danger.

Still, I would like to repeat that Canada and the U.S. get along very well on many fields. In my opinion, and based on the many cartoons in this thesis, it would be unjust to say that Canadians are all naturally born anti-Americans. But these cartoons do suggest that anti-American feelings play a complex, important role in the national pride of Canadians. The Canadian beaver is seen as too different from Uncle Sam and Canadians still finds it as important as ever to remain that way.



A combination of two Canadian national symbols in a plush souvenir: a beaver wearing a Mountie hat.
<http://www.ocanadagear.com/graphics/stuffed-beaver-rcmpl1.jpg> (Read: July 29, 2008)

APPENDIX A. The Prime Ministers of Canada

(blue: Conservatives, red: Liberals)

	Prime Minister	Period	Events in history
1	Sir John Alexander Macdonald (1st out of 2) Lawyer	July 1, 1867 November 5, 1873	Macdonald was born in Scotland. He created the National Policy : this meant high tariffs, to ensure Canadian agriculture and manufactured goods, the Canadian Railway and settlements in the West. In 1873 he resigned because of the Pacific Railway Scandal . From the start, there were reoccurring problems with the Americans about Fishery Boundaries .
2	Alexander Mackenzie Stone cutter, contractor, editor	November 7, 1873 October 9, 1878	
	Sir John Alexander Macdonald (2nd out of 2)	October 17, 1878 June 6, 1891	Macdonald won the elections in 1891 but died later that year. The Liberals were close to the Americans. During the campaigns, Laurier was accused of being a traitor, for trying to achieve Reciprocity Deals .
3	Sir John Joseph Caldwell Abbot Dean, lawyer	June 16, 1891 November 24, 1892	(Abbot became Prime Minister when John A. Macdonald died in office. Abbott said he was chosen because he was 'not particularly obnoxious to anyone'. ¹)
4	Sir John Sparrow David Thompson Lawyer, lecturer	December 5, 1892 December 12, 1894	
5	Sir Mackenzie Bowell Editor, printer	December 21, 1894 April 27, 1896	
6	Sir Charles Tupper Physician	May 1, 1896 July 8, 1896	
7	Sir Wilfrid Laurier Lawyer	July 11, 1896 October 6, 1911	The turn of the 20 th century went very prosperous for Canada. The Alaska Boundary Dispute of 1903 angered many Canadians. The negotiating of a Reciprocity deal in 1911 caused concerns. Liberal Laurier lost the elections.
8	Sir Robert Laird Borden Lawyer	October 10, 1911 July 10, 1920	Canada sent 30.000 men for the First World War . Borden hardly received information on their status from Britain and was shocked when he visited France himself in 1915. They needed more soldiers and he issued Conscription in Quebec despite a former agreement with Quebec. It caused much anger.
9	Arthur Meighen (1st out of 2) Lawyer	July 10, 1920 December 29, 1921	

¹ http://www.primeministers.ca/abbott/bio_2.php (read August 8, 2008)

10	William Lyon Mackenzie King (1st out of 3) Author, editor, journalist, labour expert, lawyer, senior public servant	December 29, 1921 June 29, 1926	1923: Halibut Treaty , first official agreement that was negotiated by Canada without Britain. The Treaty was made to stop the fishery boundaries conflicts. 1926: Balfour Declaration , giving Dominions of the Commonwealth autonomy and equality to Britain
	Arthur Meighen (2nd out of 2)	June 29, 1926 September 25, 1926	
	William Lyon Mackenzie King (2nd out of 3)	September 25, 1926 August 6, 1930	
11	Richard Bedford Bennett Barrister, lawyer, teacher	August 7, 1930 October 23, 1935	
	William Lyon Mackenzie King (3rd out of 3)	October 23 1935 November 15, 1948	After the Second World War , King reduced Canada's military force to avoid having to help Britain again in war.
12	Louis Stephen St. Laurent Lawyer, professor of law	November 15, 1948 June 21, 1957	1949: NATO 1950: Pearson (Foreign Affairs Minister) decides for Canada to go to war in Korea , Quebec is angry. April 4, 1957: Herbert Norman (Canadian ambassador to Egypt) commits suicide under stress of being accused of communist activities by the U.S., Canadians respond angry.
13	John George Diefenbaker Barrister, lawyer	June 21, 1957 April 22, 1963	Pearson won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957 for establishing a UN force to solve the Suez Crisis . 1957: Diefenbaker signed NORAD , allowing bomarc s in 2 Canadian provinces. Later, the missile nuclear tips would cause public concerns. Diefenbaker and John F. Kennedy got along badly. 1962: Cuban Missile Crisis : Russia was setting up missiles on Cuba.
14	Lester Bowles Pearson Author, diplomat, professor, senior public servant	April 22, 1963 April 20, 1968	Canada's role in NATO and the UN enlarged. 1965: Autopact , lucrative for Canada 1967: Charles de Gaulle shouts 'Vivre le Québec libre!' in Montreal
15	Pierre Elliot Trudeau (1st out of 2) Lawyer, professor of law, writer	April 20, 1968 June 4, 1979	1969: Official Languages Act , completing Pearsons efforts for official bilingualism in federal affairs. 1977: Trudeau does a pirouette behind Queen Elizabeth's back at Buckingham Palace.
16	Charles Joseph Clark Journalist, lecturer	June 4, 1979 March 3, 1980	
	Pierre Elliot Trudeau (2nd out of 2)	March 3, 1980 June 30, 1984	1980: National Energy Program , unpopular in the west. 1980: Quebec Referendum for

			sovereignty, 60% rejected 1982: Trudeau Repatriates Constitution (Quebec never agreed) to be able to include Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (which at that time was unpopular in Quebec) Before, human rights bills were not written officially in the Constitution, and could be altered each time a new governments came to power.
17	John Napier Turner Lawyer	June 30, 1984 September 17, 1984	
18	Martin Brian Mulroney Author, corporate executive, lawyer	September 17, 1984 June 25, 1993	1983: Mulroney rejects the StarWars scheme 1987: Meech Lake Accord was signed, but never enacted. It would have decentralized power to the provinces and there was controversy over the proposed 'distinct society clause' for Quebec. In 1991 the somewhat similar Charlottetown Accord was set up, but rejected in 1992. Mulroney resigned in 1993. 1988: Free Trade Agreement 1990: U.S. signs legislation to controll Acid Rain
19	Kim Campbell Lawyer, lecturer, school board trustee	June 25, 1993 November 4, 1993	First female Canadian Prime Minister. The elections of 1993 proved that Mulroney had left the Conservatives very unpopular: they went from 154 to only 2 seats.
20	Joseph Jacques Jean Chrétien Lawyer	November 4, 1993 December 12, 2003	January 1, 1994: NAFTA. 1995: 2nd Quebec Referendum, outcome: 50.58% to 49.42% not in favour of sovereignty September 11, 2001: Attack on twin towers in U.S. 2002: Canada joins war in Afghanistan
21	Paul Edgar Philippe Martin Businessman, lawyer	December 12, 2003 February 6, 2006	March 2003: War in Iraq. Canada declines to join. 2004: 'Adscam': corruption under the Liberal party. Money was spend on government advertisement in Quebec, to fight seperatism. The Liberals became unpopular.
22	Stephen Joseph Harper Economist, lecturer, writer	February 6, 2006 Present	2006: Canadian Maher Arar cleared of terrorist activities by Canadian commission. Currently much controversy over the law suit in Guantanamo Bay of Omar Khadr , who was born in Canada

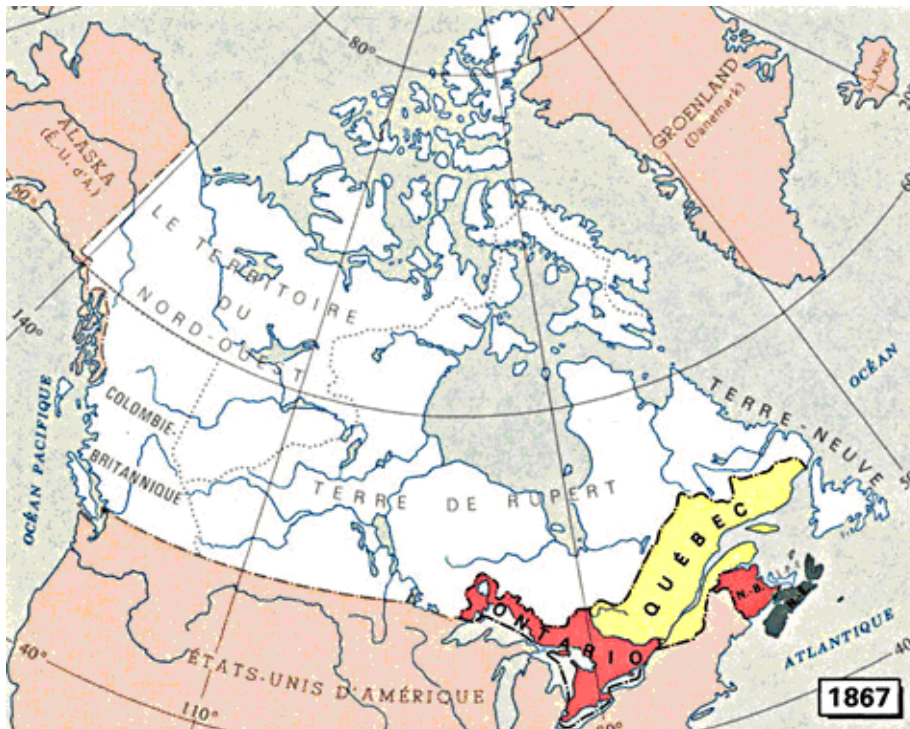
APPENDIX B. About the authors in Chapter 3

- Michael Adams (born September 29, 1946) is a Canadian sociologist who has written several books based on empirical research in Canada, mainly about social values and the Canadian national identity. He had won the Donner Prize for the best book on Canadian public policy in 2003 and is the President of Environics; a research communication company which he co-founded.
- Robert Bothwell (born August 17, 1944) lectures Canadian history at the University of Toronto and is a respected writer. He notably researches Canada-United States relations and international politics during the Cold War. Between 1972 and 1980, he worked as an editor for the *Canadian Historical Review*.
- Gerald M. Craig was a distinguished professor who had lectured history at the University of Toronto. He was educated at the University of Toronto and the University of Minnesota. He wrote several books on Canadian nationalism and Canada's relations with the United States.
- Allan Ezra Gotlieb (born February 28, 1928) is a Canadian public servant and has written several books. From 1981 to 1989, he was the Canadian ambassador to the United States. He had kept strong personal ties in foreign diplomacy with high U.S. officials such as President Ronald Reagan and Vice-President George H. Bush. He is a member of the Order of Canada and now works for law firm Bennett Jones L.L.P. as a senior adviser.
- Jack Lawrence Granatstein (born May 21, 1939) is one of Canada's most prominent writers. He is a research professor who has written over 60 books on topics such as Canadian nationalism, political history and defence. His later books reflect his support for the war in Iraq and his concerns towards policies relating to multiculturalism. Between 1998 and 2001, he was the director of the Canadian War Museum. Granatstein was given very many honorary degrees and awards, from which the latest the Organization for the History of Canada's National History Award in 2006. He is an Officer of the Order of Canada.
- Charlotte Gray (born 1948) is a political commentator and has won 6 awards for her novels. In 1998 she had won the Edna Staebler Award for her novel about the life of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's mother and the Pierre Berton Award for making Canadian history more accessible and popular. She is an adjunct research professor at Carleton University.
- Norman Hillmer is a leading historian and lectures History and International Affairs at Carleton University. He has written several books and does much editing work. Some of his main interests in Canadian history are nationalism, NATO, trade negotiations, security, peace operations and the relationship with Britain and the United States. His texts have been translated into Swedish, Russian, French, Japanese and Chinese. In the 1970s, Hillmer worked as an assistant for Lester Pearson, Prime Minister at the time. Hillmer has received many teaching awards and publishing prizes. In 2002, he received the Rideau River Residence Association Teaching Award at Carleton University.

- Michael Ignatieff (born in 1947) is a historian, writer and commentator for the BBC and CBC. His novels have won him several awards such as the Governor-General Award in 1988 and the Lion Gelber Prize in 1993. Some of the topics he writes about are ethnic minorities and nationalism. He was a candidate for leadership of the Liberal Party of Canada in 2006.
- George Jonas (born June 15, 1935) is a respected Canadian writer who was born in Hungary. He had worked as a reporter and dramaturge in Budapest and immigrated to Toronto in 1957, after the Hungarian Revolution. He has written 14 books, several theaterplays, poems and documentaries. From 1962 until 1985, he worked at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation where he was a scriptwriter and producer. From 1981 until 2001 he wrote columns for the Toronto Sun. Currently he writes weekly columns for the National Post and Can West News Service. He frequently writes about issues between the Islamic and western world.
- Seymour Martin Lipset (born March 18, 1922 – deceased December 31, 2006) was an internationally renowned sociologist and political scientist from the United States. He had lectured at the University of Toronto and wrote extensively about public opinion, comparative politics and democracy. He had been a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, furthermore he was the Hazel Professor of Public Policy at George Mason University.
- Martin Brian Mulroney (born March 20, 1939) was the 18th Prime Minister of Canada and between 1984 and 1993. He had been a lawyer before he went into politics. During his term of office, Mulroney decentralized federal power and give more liberties to the province of Quebec, he aimed to keep closer ties with the United States, reflected by the Free Trade Agreement of 1988, and took a firm stand against the apartheid in South-Africa. He now works as an international business consultant. He is a member of the Order of Canada.
- Peter C. Newman (born May 10, 1929) is one of Canada's most prominent writers who has more than 19 awards on his name for his books. He had come to Canada as a refugee in 1940. He then worked as a journalist and editor for several Canadian periodicals. Some of his main themes of interest are Canada's history, Prime Ministers and politics. His latest award was the Lifetime Achievement Award in 1998, granted by the Canadian Journalism Foundation. He holds the title of Officer in the Order of Canada. He writes columns for the *National Post* and is a senior contributing editor at *Maclean's*.
- Stephen James Randall is a professor of social sciences and American studies at Calgary University. In his books, he is mostly interested by the foreign policies of the United States and its relations to Canada. He recently won the Outstanding Internationalisation Leadership Award in 2005.
- Griffith Rudyard (born 1970) writes columns for the Toronto Star. He regularly commentates on CityTV about political issues. He has founded the Dominion Institute, which is a non-profit organization to promote Canadian history and unity. Furthermore he edits and contributes to books relating to Canadian politics.

- John Herd Thompson is a professor of North American history at Duke University, before that he had lectured at McGill University. He has written several books about the relations between Canada and the United States. In 1985 he was given the H. Noel Fieldhouse Award for Distinguished Teaching at McGill University.
- Joseph Philippe Pierre Yves Elliot Trudeau (born October 18, 1919 – deceased September 28, 2000) was the 15th Prime Minister of Canada between 1968 and 1984, with a short interval from June 1979 until March 1980. Trudeau's policies were politically left leaning. Some of his aims were to strengthen Canada's independence in foreign affairs, he established official bilingualism, and created the Charter of Rights and Freedoms for civilians and minorities, it made homosexuality and abortion more legalized. After his terms of office he spoke out sharply against the Meech Lake Accord. Trudeau was known as a very charismatic and eccentric personage. He once made a pirouette behind Queen Elizabeth's back. His motto was 'Reason before passion'. Trudeau was a member of the Order of Canada.
- Haroon Siddiqui (born June 1, 1942) has worked as a foreign affairs analyst, national and editorial page editor for the Toronto Star, for which he still writes columns. He was given the title of 'editor emeritus'. Siddiqui worked as a reporter in India and was supported to work in Canada by Roland Michener, Canada's High Commissioner to India at the time. Siddiqui is Muslim and often writes about conflicts between the western and Islamic world. He has won several awards, the latest being the World Press Free Award by the National Club in Ottawa in 2002.
- Reginald C. Stuart is a professor of history and lectures at Mount Saint Vincent University in Halifax. He specializes on North-American affairs and history of Nova Scotia and has written several books. Furthermore, he can be found regularly in the media as a commentator. In 1990 he won the Albert Corey Prize for best book in American and Canadian History of the past two years.
- Sydney Francis Wise (born 1924 - deceased 2007) was a respected professor of History and has worked as the Director of History at the Department of National Defence from 1966 to 1973. In 1989, he became a Member of the Order of Canada, in 2004 he was promoted to Officer of the Order. He furthermore received a Doctor of Laws *honoris causa* from Carleton University. He was co-founder and director of the Canadian Battlefields Foundation and specialized in military history in the Western world.

Appendix C. Maps of Canada from 1867 and 2001



Map of Canada in 1867. Source: <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/confederation/023001-2101.5-e.html>
 Reproduced with the permission of Natural Resources Canada 2008, courtesy of the Atlas of Canada.



Map of Canada in 1999. Source: <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/confederation/023001-2101.12-e.html>
 Reproduced with the permission of Natural Resources Canada 2008, courtesy of the Atlas of Canada.

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