Our ‘Canada’: National Narratives and the Dangers of Bourgeois Mythologies and Hegemonic Canadian Propaganda

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ABSTRACT: "Our 'Canada': National Narratives and the Dangers of Bourgeois Mythologies and Hegemonic Canadian Propaganda"

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This thesis argues that Canada, as it is regarded by Canadian citizenry, exists as a collection of public-facing narratives within a collectively imagined national mythos. This mythos, as it stands in 2022, is an accumulation of layers of narratives built on the foundation of former British imperial myths honed by bourgeois ideologies and ideals into a uniquely 'Canadian' nationalism through the propaganda of the Great War, the Second World War, the Cold War, and the 'War on Terror.' In attempting to deconstruct this collection of narratives, this thesis employs a historical materialist approach and uses the theories of Marx, Lenin, Gramsci, and Althusser to argue for the importance of an internationalist perspective which has been neglected in the insistence on an inward domestic approach to the identity of Canada as a nation.

KEYWORDS:

Althusser, Canada, Canadian, capitalism, Cold War, media, journalism, bourgeois ideology, geopolitics, Gramsci, Great War, historical materialism, ideological state apparatuses, imperialism, internationalism, liberalism, Marxism, neoliberal, neoimperialism, propaganda, public and private language, public text, War on Terror, World War Two

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Introduction

Sedimentary Foundations: The Accumulation of National Myths

The public text that is this modern imagined Canada comprises a series of compounding mythologies, each myth having settled atop the fossilized remains of its predecessor. Thus, the contemporary Canadian mythology of any given moment does not function as a revision written atop a palimpsest of incomplete past narratives; rather it stands only because it is supported by the remains of what came before, only its particularities tweaked to serve its moment.

The analysis carried out in this research and thesis is of the conscious, dominant composition of 'Canada' as an imagined mythical narrative, a communally written set of stories drawn from the ideologies of the domestic bourgeoisie and the governing elite at the advent of the Great War via their monopoly on the social means of production. It should be made clear that the development of this Canadian mythology—though capitalized upon and steered by the domestic bourgeoisie—has not been wholly devious and generated according to the designs of a specific cabal of the powerful. Its evolution necessarily involves instances of randomness and numerous elements of chance—as has the mythology of any nation. The Canadian bourgeoisie are not monolithic or static, though their class solidarity enables them to—in serving their own financial interests—serve the wider financial, political, and power interests of their class. This thesis stands as a critique of the dominant mainstream communal consciousness, which serves the ultimate interest of the domestic bourgeoisie—that, necessarily, being the enduring extraction and concentration of wealth from the working classes both domestically and abroad. This mythos, in its most colloquial definition, may be reduced to the labeling of

Canada on the global stage as a force for 'good'—a *just, welcoming, kind, democratic, liberatory* nation which champions human rights, equality, multiculturalism, and decency. As befits an examination of the construction of an imagined Canada, I will focus my analysis through a relative framing—'relative' here referring to the contrast of Canada with other similar nation-states. By using anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-capitalist, and anti-fascist theoretical perspectives and ways of knowing, I seek to define these tangled and fraying narratives of what 'Canada' is and has been by reading what it is purported to be, yet is not. In the same vein, it should be noted that I myself am a white settler and a member of the working-class; this identity positions me within a privileged section of the Canadian population and in carrying out this reading of public-facing Canadian myths I am attempting to manage any biases or assumptions engrained within my own understandings as a symptom of my social station.

Canada remains a settler colonial state engaged in imperial projects both within and beyond its borders. The focus of my work here is on the latter, though it must be acknowledged that Canada's global imperial forays are directly supported by, and inseparable from, a legacy of domestic colonial exploitation, extraction, and genocide. Rather than focus on these domestic issues, I examine the contradictions inherent in the dominant outward-facing imaginings of this nation via a lens which prioritizes an analysis of foreign policy, aid, industry, military intervention, and international relations. This internationalist sense of awareness, I posit, colours my analysis by positioning Canada—from the period of the Great War to the present—as an imperial derivative enmeshed in a global community of nation-states. This approach, which is based on the reinforcement and evolution of domestic national myths through

international activity undertaken by the bourgeois Canadian state and its private allies, provides a means of reevaluating the hegemonic Canadian story within a global, materialist context.

As much of the theoretical basis for my reading is rooted in in the Marxist-Leninist tradition and prioritizes a class-based analysis, it is crucial that I outline my use of the term 'bourgeoisie.' I must also define the related terms, 'capitalist class,' and 'ruling class.' Though not entirely interchangeable in their most orthodox definitions, these three terms, as applied to this specific Canadian context (1914-2022), are largely fluid within my work. This fluidity results from Canada's ascent from a semi-peripheral status to the imperial core. As a result of this transition, its financial dependency on American finance, markets, and manufacturing has dwindled over the past decades (Drache 16). In using the term 'bourgeoisie,' I seek to invoke its original definition in the Marxist sense—that being the class within a bourgeois (capitalist) society which controls the social means of production through their ownership of these means of production as private property (Marx and Engels). The 'ruling class' in Canada has—throughout the entirety of my explored timeframe—remained a 'capitalist class' whose capital, either foreign (initially British, later American, and now international) or domestic, has afforded its members a great degree of sway over the public and governmental systems in this country via their ownership of key industries. Thus Canada remains an oligarchy or a functioning 'bourgeois democracy,' in the Leninist sense (Lenin "Working-Class and Bourgeois Democracy"). To apply the term 'bourgeoisie' to a more specifically Canadian context I employ the framing of John Weissenberger's "The Laurentian 'Elite': Canada's ruling class" (2019) in which he

makes use of John Ibbitson's definition of "the 'Laurentians' as 'the political, academic, cultural, media and business elites' of central Canada." Weissenberger expands upon this definition, arguing that

> the Laurentian elite is a definable class, dominating the upper strata of politics, the larger corporate sector (particularly banking/finance and manufacturing), the bureaucracy, Crown corporations and other semi-independent agencies, academia, the news media, philanthropy and society at large. The private-sector membership tends toward large legacy industries, often dominated by multi-generational families and Bay Street (formerly St. James Street in Montreal).
>
> The media, particularly the CBC, project the 'consensus' across the country.

The Laurentian elite can be viewed as the 'old guard' of the modern Canadian bourgeoisie, their power and capital having its roots in the earlier eras present in my analysis. The Laurentians do not, however, continue today to encompass the bulk of their class.

An analysis of the composition of the Canadian bourgeoisie throughout the immediate post-war period and the Cold War is included in Jorge Niosi's 1983 article "The Canadian Bourgeoisie: Towards a Synthetical Approach." Niosi is extremely thorough in his attempts to articulate the composition of the Canadian bourgeoisie and in carrying out his analysis he borrows from several schools of thought, including world systems theory. The conclusion that he draws is that as a consequence of Canada's intermediary role within the global community—the country no longer entirely ruled by the immediate descendants of a monied European settler class, yet neither wholly Americanized—"the Canadian bourgeoisie is a fragmented class. First of all there are

two major fractions, one linked to foreign capital (the comparator bourgeoisie), the other to domestic capital (the national or autochthonous bourgeoisie)" (141-42). To demonstrate the fact that this is less of an established divide and more of an ongoing transition from former to latter (Carrol *Corporate Power*), he writes that since "the seventies the domestic capitalist class has been solidly strengthening its hold on the Canadian economy. This domestic bourgeoisie is mainly (but not solely) interested in finance, commerce, resource extraction, transportation and services" (142). This primacy of the domestic capitalists endures today, as Canada's economy has shaken the bulk of its over-dependency on America—aside from their remaining Canada's largest trade partner—and shifted to focus more on neocolonial financial exploits of its own (Niosi, "Continental Nationalism"). This point is clearly articulated by Jerome Klassen in his 2009 article "Canada and the New Imperialism: The Economics of a Secondary Power." He states that the corporate structure of the bourgeoisie exists,

> in Canada as a national bloc of finance capital, which controls the majority of assets in the home market and draws upon a worldwide base of accumulation for growth and expansion. For these reasons, the national bourgeoisie in Canada has an independent interest in the new imperialism and cannot be seen as a 'hollowed-out' or 'comprador' class." (184-85)

Thus, an analysis of the Canadian capitalist class must be predicated upon its agency, rather than its existence as an outgrowth of the American or European bourgeoisie (Kellog).

It should also be noted here that the term 'middle class' is absent from this work. In the Marxist sense, my use of 'working class' encompasses all those who must

sell their labour to earn a wage, from a sanitation worker to a surgeon—thus challenging liberal notions of a definable 'middle-class' and Western illusions of meritocracy. The bourgeoisie and the working class are, thus, wholly defined via their relation to capital and the means of production.

Returning now to the composition of the Canadian mythos, I should note that Canada, a nation—according to its central national myths—'forged' by war (Everett-Green), did not necessarily see its dominant ideological birth occur on domestic soil. As a settler-colonial nation-state, Canada was initially a state created on paper through protracted bureaucracy and genocide[1] with little concern for national identity beyond the prioritization of extracting wealth, labour, and resources—most notably fur and timber (Crevier, Wien). This construction of the nation and its resulting aftermath[2] forced Canada to rapidly define its national identity in response to tumultuous material conditions in the realms of politics, labour, economy, and conflict—both foreign and domestic—during the European Industrial Age. Geography and history complicated this process, for Canada—as a narrative construction—would need to be defined in opposition to its former imperial head and its powerful southern neighbour, even though

[1] "The Canadian Museum for Human Rights recognizes that the colonial experience in Canada, from first contact to the present, constitutes genocide against Indigenous peoples. The Indian residential school system was one key component of this genocide. Methods of perpetuating genocide include physical, biological and cultural means—all of which can be used to destroy a group of people. Canada's policies aimed at assimilating Indigenous people included outlawing languages, cultural practices and political traditions and forcibly removing children from families. These were deliberate attempts to erase a distinct group of people by destroying the essential foundations of their way of life" ("Confronting genocide in Canada").

[2] This includes countless and continuous waves of mass-immigration. This ceaseless import of settlers reinforces the colonial nature of the nation while also addressing the capitalist need to access cheap labour and sew divisions among the working class. A thorough analysis of the ethnic, religious, and cultural composition of the Canadian working class is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis as I am largely focused on the dominant systems within Canadian government, industry, and society.

the young Commonwealth nation retained the militant paternalism and righteousness of British imperialism.

The infamous claim, attributed by British theorist Mark Fisher in his 2009 work *Capitalist Realism: Is There No Alternative?* to both Fredric Jameson and Slavoj Žižek, that "it is easier to imagine the end of the world than the end of capitalism" (2) is, though hyperbolic, an efficient means of articulating the source of the barriers imposed upon the futurative imagination[3] of the Canadian working classes by the bourgeoisie and the resulting failures in the imagining of a national body within an equitable global community. The neoliberal capitalist economy of modern Canada, having originated during the mid to late 1980s, is in the tradition of the Western political order supported through wealth extraction predicated upon imperial forays into the developing world.[4] Canada, unlike most of its European allies, is in the unusual position of having emerged on the world stage during the Great War and having seen its standing in the global order cemented only decades later during and after the Second World War. These global conflicts, reduced as they have been in popular communal hindsight to righteous struggles of good against evil—the 'righteous' Western empires against the 'militaristic' Prussian oligarchy and decades later the same 'righteous' Western empires against the fascist Nazis and Italians—positioned within the global geopolitical consciousness an imagined Canada which served—first and foremost—as a liberating force and a stalwart ally of Europe and its colonies. The subsequent attempts by the Canadian bourgeoisie to

[3] 'Futurative imagination' is the term I will use to reference the scope of imagined futures readily accessible to the general public.

[4] "Although neoliberalism has had little effectiveness as an engine for economic growth, it has succeeded in channeling wealth from subordinate classes to dominant ones and from poorer to richer countries" (Harvey 22).

reify these public narratives through their control over the social and cultural means of production and via the control they exert over government messaging and policy were widely successful and, as a consequence, centralized the 'benevolent' violence of liberation within the nucleus of the liberal narrative of Canadian nationalism.[5] The default stance of the citizenry toward violence ordered by their state in theatres beyond the country's borders remains one of support (Fitzsimmons). This monopoly on language—which the domestic bourgeoisie has accumulated through its ownership of the means of the public dissemination of media—dovetails effectively with the state's monopoly on violence, in the sense that while the state, as a political entity, maintains its legitimacy through the ever present threat of force, the powerful shield their station via their managing of public consciousness through the manipulation and generation of language and narratives.

My research uses an analytical approach based in the Marxist tradition of historical materialism.[6] This approach demonstrates how Canadian myths are the result

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[5] Ringsmose and Børgesen, in their 2011 article "Shaping public attitudes towards the deployment of military power: NATO, Afghanistan and the use of strategic narratives," which focuses specifically on Canada, The Netherlands, Denmark, and the UK, argue that in bourgeois liberal democracies "public attitudes towards military operations are greatly shaped by the cohesiveness and content of the strategic narratives employed by national policy-makers when rationalising a given mission. How the use of military force is framed and embedded in narratives by leaders significantly affects the public's stamina for human and economic costs. Compelling strategic narratives – including a consistent and clear set of objectives, convincing cause – effect chains, as well as a credible promise of success – make for the sustainment of protracted and costly campaigns, and vice versa. A persuasive framing of the use of military power can thus, to some extent, immunise or shield public opinion against the conventional effects of a rising number of casualties. In fact, effective strategic narratives do, so we argue, provide for a surprisingly high degree of casualty tolerance."

[6] Central to Marx's thought is his theory of historical materialism, first articulated as follows: "In the social production which men [sic] carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on

of particular confluences of material conditions—such as shifts in global power structures, war, emerging and evolving markets, and the extraction of labour or resources—to which the domestic bourgeoisie have responded. It is, necessarily, de rigueur for any particular class of bourgeoisie to generate and propagandize a manufactured set of ideologies which facilitates the endurance and expansion of their respective imperialism. The dramatic shift in global material conditions between the advent of the Great War and our present day has allowed the bourgeois writers of these Canadian national narratives to attempt to subvert historical materialism via hastily constructed idealism through their ownership and control over the co-opting and manufacture of culture, and the social means of production. The lofty and noble ideals woven through their national myths distract—and have distracted from the moment of the nation's inception both on paper and in reality—the Canadian citizenry from the barbarism of Canada's international actions and its relationship to imperial history with a volume that inhibits dissent. A practical application of the theoretical approach of historical materialism serves to dismantle bourgeois propaganda and facilitates an examination, anchored in history rather than idealism, of the brutality of the capitalism and nationalism which has fueled Canada as a national project from the early twentieth-century until today. The ideals entwined in national myths distract from the violence and exploitation in which Canada engages overseas in an effort to support its consumption, economy, and markets. By subverting these ideals through a historical materialist

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which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness" (*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* 11-12).

approach, I expose the hypocrisies inherent in the hegemonic, anglophone imagined Canada. It should be noted that the domestic bourgeoisie, via their controlling interest over government and their ownership of mass media and other cultural outlets, still maintain the means to distract and deflect attempts to critique the dominant narrative. Relativism and spectaclism[7] serve as a compound bulwark impeding skepticism or criticism levied against the hegemonic narrative project of an imagined Canada. By focusing on a reductive global perspective which prioritizes actions carried out by state actors with little or no regard for the international working classes and no attempt at proletarian internationalism, those at the helm of the bourgeois media and cultural production industries find at their disposal numerous examples with which Canadian successes or failures[8] within the global community may be contrasted, vindicated, or nullified (Alger, Blidook, Taras). The insidiousness of the ideologies being constructed by the Canadian corporate news media today lies in their ability to be passively absorbed by the wider public and reiterated as if the convictions and ideals being espoused had come from their own independent faculties. Even discounting a Marxist analysis, the current state of the media landscape within Canada has garnered concern across the mainstream political spectrum. Concentration and monopolization—a core tenet of market capitalism—is the focus of mainstream critiques of the industry, as the

[7] According to Guy Debord, the "modern spectacle" in 1967 was "the autocratic reign of the market economy which had acceded to an irresponsible sovereignty, and the totality of new techniques of government which accompanied this reign" (2).
[8] Recent examples of Canadian scandals which could be rendered inert through relative comparisons to similar US or European scandals include the SNC-Lavalin affair (Centre for the Advancement of Public Integrity), the Canadian Afghan detainee issue (Sabry and Mason), and the Heritage Front scandal involving Grant Bristow of CSIS (Mitrovika).

following excerpt from the 2006 Senate *Final Report on the Canadian News Media* makes clear:

> Public debate based on differing views is the cornerstone of democracy, and the news media provide a vital space where that debate is carried out. The right of proprietors to voice their opinions on their editorial pages has long been considered fundamental to freedom of the press. Difficulty arises, however, if one proprietor owns so many media outlets that his or her opinions crowd out others. (13)

What this Senate report fails to interrogate, however, is how the media—the 'cornerstone' of Canadian democracy—has never truly been a democratic space, in an equitable sense. Simply by nature of the news media in this country being an industry, its central purpose remains the impetus to generate a profit for its owners, whether the industry is monopolized or 'competitive.' At its core, the Canadian media being viewed by the government and the wider population as *the* arena for political discourse represents a casual acceptance of the fact that Canadian democracy remains a democracy of the bourgeoisie. For, if proprietors of media conglomerates are the only individuals able to engage in political discourse within the public media landscape by exercising their will through the language and narratives of their employees, then the ability to influence the Canadian mythos—and, in turn, the public consciousness—remains largely reserved for those wielding immense capital. In the simplest of terms, the news media within Canada has served since the turn of the twentieth-century, and continues to serve today, in a well-practiced fashion, to legitimize a system which remains fundamentally undemocratic while positioning itself as fundamental to

Canadian democracy. This affords the corporate media the trust of the masses and the support of government while it consistently generates a manufactured consent among the population for policies which favour the corporate elite (Winter *Democracy's Oxygen*). If news media is permitted to retain its monolithic status as the arbiter of political fact and 'objectivity' despite its profit motives and private ownership, it will remain the central generative force of the Canadian imagination. The danger of the ideologies forwarded by this nationalist narrative-building project lies, thus, in its ability to be inducted into the very fabric of the working classes 'common sense,'[9] in the Gramscian sense.

Peter Ives, in his article "Global English, Hegemony and Education: Lessons from Gramsci," offers a particular interpretation of Gramsci's work which prioritizes the role played by language and texts themselves in the manufacturing of hegemonic ideals in response to wider shifts in material reality, such as shifting climates—both political and natural—or revolutionary advances in technology. Ives's article works with the issue of English's role as the global lingua franca of the twenty-first century. Obviously, Canada is not primarily responsible for this global coerced adoption, yet as a member of

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[9] According to Guido Liguori, Gramsci's concept of 'common sense,' as translated and defined by the Dizionario gramsciano (Gramsci Dictionary), "is a 'disorderly aggregate of philosophical conceptions' in which 'whatever one likes' may be found. It must be subjected to critique, since it is often connotated by the various forms of conservatism. It is a social group s most widespread and often implicit ideology, and dialectically related to philosophy, meaning that a social group that aligns itself with the subalterns must enter into a dialectical relation with common sense in a mutually transformative way. Differently from Bukharin s approach, the critique of common sense, Gramsci states, must be one of the starting points for a compendium of Marxism: forcing the introduction of new truths into common sense is proof of its capacity for expansion. At stake is the transformation of the subaltern's conception of the world, by and through launching a struggle for hegemony involving a new common sense, culture and philosophy which, together, form a mass ideology which rendering politically possible the intellectual progress of the mass" (Liguori).

the Anglosphere it continues to benefit from it. Ives argues that "the most publicized information on the spread of English throughout the world tends to isolate the phenomenon from changes in power and economic relationships, de-politicizing it and treating it as an inevitable or quasi-natural trend over which humans have little or no control" (662). He later elaborates, stating "of course, there are many who disagree, arguing that the spread of English itself is inextricable from imperialism and domination whether economic, cultural or political" (662). This centring of the English language as a vessel for neoimperialism leads into his central thesis: "that from a Gramscian perspective, the spread of English is a problem to the extent that its role within particular hegemonic blocs prevents subaltern social group consciousness from developing and creating critical and counter-hegemonic responses" (663). Obviously, as a major member of the Anglosphere, Canada is both complicit in and a beneficiary of this foundational tenet of modern neoimperialism. I draw on one of Ives's earlier works on the role of the English language in the endurance of Western dominance. In *Gramsci's Politics of Language: Engaging the Bakhtin Circle and the Frankfurt School*, Ives locates "in Gramsci's writings the tenets of a historical materialist approach to language and a linguistically concerned theory of politics and society" (3). The manner in which Ives seeks to read Gramsci in these texts leads to his minting the theory of "vernacular materialism," which he draws from "Gramsci's insights into the conflict between bourgeois popular views of the world as expressed in the vernacular and the aristocratic feudal world view of Latin" (*Gramsci's Politics* 3-4). Though context-dependent in Gramsci's original writings, this point of friction between the language of the masses as prescribed by the news media—in Gramsci's case, the tightly monopolized and

government-supporting corporate media of fascist Italy—and the language reserved for use by the governing and capitalist classes remains a crucial thread within my analysis of Canada as a construct of bourgeois ideology.[10] The issue of friction between terms runs deep within Ives's arguments. He states, when further outlining his concept of 'vernacular materialism,' that "the relationship, dichotomy, and dialectic between language and materialist analysis is a variation of the long history of tension between idealism and materialism" (*Gramsci's Politics* 9). Negotiating the tension between idealism and materialism within the Canadian context benefits from this development of Gramsci's original ideas surrounding the use of language within a state and its potential as a tool of mass manipulation and exclusion. Ives succinctly outlines the value of this analysis as follows:

> Ultimately, this excursion into the topic of language allows a more intricate explanation of Gramsci's political understanding of coercion and consent. As many commentators on Gramsci have pointed out, one of the senses of 'hegemony' is that in modern societies, states do not maintain control solely through raw coercion. Rather, governing requires a combination of coercion and consent. Joseph Femia has gone further than this, interrogating Gramsci's notion of consent in its various forms and contending that the line separating coercion from consent is often very fine. I follow this lead, illustrating

[10] I should make note here of the absence of the French language from my analysis. Though French remains a complex and integral component of domestic political, social, and economic issues within Canada, the nation's role as a member of the Anglosphere renders French secondary within Canada's imperial endeavours, though not entirely absent. In an effort to limit the scope of this analysis, however, I will not be analyzing the use of the French language within Canada's foreign exploits in Africa, the Caribbean, or Southeast Asia.

> Gramsci's understanding of the dynamic processes that occur across the distinction between coercion. (*Gramsci's Politics* 11)

This notion of a dependency on consent includes questions of the state's ability to manufacture consent. I draw from Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's 1988 work *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* as a means for providing ground for an exploration of the oligopolized corporate media landscape of North America during the latter years of the twentieth-century.

Herman and Chomsky, in this text, argue that

> the mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society. In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, to fulfil this role requires systematic propaganda. […] A propaganda model focuses on this inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public. (61)

Herman and Chomsky's text represents an invaluable continuation of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Marxist critiques by theorists such as Gramsci and Marx of the capitalist nation-writing projects being undertaken by the West. In the same breath, their work provides a comfortable staging ground to probe the digital age's impact on these projects.

The French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser's 1970 essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)" is a second work within the Gramscian tradition which examines the centrality of language in the manufacturing of an imagined or idealized nation. This essay attempts to better substantiate the theory, first forwarded by Marx and Engels, that ideology represents a sort of 'false consciousness.' To this end, Althusser rigorously outlines the machinations and systems through which the bourgeoisie[11]—wielding the mechanisms of the liberal democratic state—are able to render and produce ideologies as integral substructures of an overarching national mythos. Of particular relevance is his generation of the concept of Ideological State Apparatuses. This central tenet of his essay is developed through the reorganization and elaboration of Marx's concept of State Apparatuses. Althusser complicates the concept as follows:

> Remember that in Marxist theory, the State Apparatus (SA) contains: the Government, the Administration, the Army, the Police, the Courts, the Prisons,

[11] In this essay, Althusser defines the bourgeoisie as the ruling class within a post-feudal European nation-state. He explains his use of the term as follows: "the State is a 'machine' of repression, which enables the ruling classes (in the nineteenth century the bourgeois class and the 'class' of big landowners) to ensure their domination over the working class, thus enabling the former to subject the latter to the process of surplus-value extortion (i.e. to capitalist exploitation)" (137). He further tethers the ruling class to the liberal democratic state specifically, stating that his deconstruction of the latter "casts light on that subtle everyday domination beneath which can be glimpsed, in the forms of political democracy, for example, what Lenin, following Marx, called the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" (139). Finally, cementing his conviction that it is through the control of language and knowledge that the bourgeoisie maintain their sway over the public consciousness, he writes, "I believe I have good reasons for thinking that behind the scenes of its political Ideological State Apparatus, which occupies the front of the stage, what the bourgeoisie has installed as its number-one, i.e. as its dominant Ideological State Apparatus, is the educational apparatus, which has in fact replaced in its functions the previously dominant Ideological State Apparatus, the Church" (153). I should note that in a modern context, with our immediate and constant access to news media, many of the values Althusser ascribes to the 'educational' and 'communications' ideological state apparatuses overlap.

> etc., which constitute what I shall in future call the Repressive State Apparatus. Repressive suggests that the State Apparatus in question 'functions by violence '—at least ultimately (since repression, e.g. administrative repression, may take non-physical forms).
>
> I shall call Ideological State Apparatuses a certain number of realities which present themselves to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions. I propose an empirical list of these which will obviously have to be examined in detail, tested, corrected and re-organized. With all the reservations implied by this requirement, we can for the moment regard the following institutions as Ideological State Apparatuses (the order in which I have listed them has no particular significance):
>
> - the religious ISA (the system of the different churches),
> - the educational ISA (the system of the different public and private 'schools'),
> - the family ISA,
> - the legal ISA,
> - the political ISA (the political system, including the different parties),
> - the trade-union ISA,
> - the communications ISA (press, radio and television, etc.),
> - the cultural ISA (literature, the arts, sports, etc.). (142, 143)

It is Althusser's second to last ideological state apparatus which is most pertinent to my analysis of the means by which the national mythology of an imagined 'Canada' is disseminated, as these communications apparatuses are the most limber and wide-

reaching arms of the modern propaganda apparatuses in Canada. However, the remaining examples outline the breadth of the tools at the disposal of those occupying the most concentrated positions of power. Althusser, ever conscious of dialectics, elaborates by fielding a proactive response to anticipated knee-jerk critiques of his elaboration:

> Someone is bound to question the [categorization of ISAs], asking me by what right I regard as Ideological *State* Apparatuses, institutions which for the most part do not possess public status, but are quite simply *private* institutions. As a conscious Marxist, Gramsci already forestalled this objection in one sentence. The distinction between the public and the private is a distinction internal to bourgeois law, and valid in the (subordinate) domains in which bourgeois law exercises its 'authority'. (144)

This dismantling of demands for distinctions between state and private interests in Western 'democracies' is succinct and effective.

What follows is a similarly concise declaration by Althusser on the need to elaborate on Marx's original conceptualization of State Apparatuses. Althusser argues that "what distinguishes the ISAs from the (Repressive) State Apparatus is the following basic difference: the Repressive State Apparatus functions 'by violence', whereas the ideological State Apparatuses *function 'by ideology'*" (145). I would like to complicate this exploration further by arguing that rather than violence being absent from the function of ideological state apparatuses, it is relocated. The violence caused by these systems of dominance is found in the injustices inflicted upon the Global South through the venues for extraction wielded by the imperial core and reinforced through popular

complacency via the manufactured consent generated by the floriform ideological state apparatuses at a capitalist state's disposal (Dorninger et al.). Althusser, in seeking to outline precisely what he means by 'function by ideology,' argues that "if the ISAs 'function' massively and predominantly by ideology, what unifies their diversity is precisely this functioning, insofar as the ideology by which they function is always in fact unified, despite its diversity and its contradictions, *beneath the ruling ideology*, which is the ideology of 'the ruling class'" (146). Thus, the will of the ruling class, as exercised more subtly through the tendrils of their ideological state apparatuses, is preserved and even reinforced by the working classes over which it is being exerted. By migrating the more overt violence of the Repressive State Apparatus overseas—via military and intelligence operations, NGOs, and industry—the quieter everyday violence of life under a capitalist regime is rendered palatable—enviable, even—through relativism. In this manner, the trajectory of the ruling class is permitted to remain fixed along its course toward infinite growth, its needs addressed by the labour and material wealth stolen from the Developing World while its own population is made placid through consumption and the comfort of national myths. The ruling class seek to splinter—through these ideological state apparatuses—the discontent which erupts among the working class as a result of the exploitation inherent in capitalist systems and to redirect its fragments inwards. In doing so they ensure that the working class is divided based on cultural and ideological issues. The historical residue of former narratives of division are thus perpetuated within, rather than across, class boundaries.

I also draw on Mark Rupert's 2003 article "Globalizing Common Sense: A Marxian-Gramscian (Re-)vision of the Politics of Governance/Resistance" to guide my

analysis. Rupert begins his brief article with a scathing remark regarding the position of the academy in the West as a medium through which capitalism's faults, false promises, and flagrant hypocrisies are sterilized and reshaped before the system's general thrust is then reified and validated. This is significant to my analysis as it demonstrates how—as one of Althusser's ideological state apparatuses—the university, as a system, both public and private, functions as an extension of the ruling class's ideological factories.[12] Rupert begins by focusing on the field of International Relations scholarship specifically, chastising its impoverishment and arguing that its failures "can be registered in terms of its willful continuing conceptual blindness" (181). Beyond outlining his relationship to the academy and advocating for a "dialectical understanding of class-based powers" as a prerequisite for a thorough analysis of global issues pertaining to governance and industry through a social lens (181), Rupert sets out to examine the often paradoxical links between social power and class relations under a capitalist state. "One of the enduring insights of Marxian theory," he writes, "is that the seemingly apolitical economic spaces generated by capitalism—within and across juridical states—are permeated by structured relations of social power deeply consequential for political life and, indeed, for the (re)production of social life as a whole" (182). The significance of this trend lies in the inevitability—due to the pressures of the market—of these powers becoming "ideologically depoliticised—and thus rendered democratically unaccountable—in liberal representations separating a naturalised and privatised economy from the formal political sphere" (182). Here is

[12] Here I am referring to the wider system of Western academia and the individual Canadian university as a capitalist entity driven by profit, and of their ties to culture. Obviously certain disciplines and schools of thought are further removed from the cycle of bourgeois ideological reproduction than others—mathematics and certain sciences, for example.

demonstrated the true heft of Althusser's ideological state apparatuses. For, as politically detached from the state as many of their avenues may be in an official capacity, each apparatus is, in effect, intimately linked to the state through the ideological and economic unity of the bourgeoisie, enabling these apparatuses to function as undemocratic extensions of capitalist will within the social sphere, without having to profess this allegiance—and even, at times, without a labour force being aware of the wider consequences of their respective industry's continued production. At this point I should be explicit in stating that there is obviously, among the ruling class, no articulated 'divine plan.' The actions which constitute the inherent mutualism that exists between the bourgeoisie and the systems that comprise the government of Canada need not be planned. It is in each party's best interest to further the other's agenda, for neoimperialism and capitalism only survive within a system of infinite growth (Binswanger, Strauss); they are, in effect, mutually constituting projects.

As a means of identifying and probing the specific mechanisms by which the project of imagining a nation of Canada is carried out, I will expand upon this core Marxist-Gramscian substrate and deploy the theories outlined by Benedict Anderson in his work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983). Anderson's text is aligned with the historical materialist tradition insofar as it identifies capitalism and in turn the "development of print-as-commodity" (37) as the driving factors behind the primacy of nation-states and the resulting nationalism. Like Gramsci, Anderson lays heavy emphasis on the importance of language, text, and narratives in his exploration of the rise of imagined communities and saturated nationalist sentiments. "The revolutionary vernacularizing thrust of capitalism," he says,

is largely responsible for the dismantling of Latin's hegemony and the resulting fragmentation of the European continent into distinct nation-states (39). I point out here the echoes of my earlier use of Peter Ives's reading of Gramsci in his work *Gramsci's Politics of Language: Engaging the Bakhtin Circle and the Frankfurt School*. Again, Ives too draws a contrast between the "bourgeois popular views of the world as expressed in the vernacular and the aristocratic feudal world view of Latin" (4). This distinction is worth reinforcing, for, in the early nineteenth-century, nascent forms of nationalism were popular movements. Following Anderson's analysis in *Imagined Communities*, however, it becomes clear that the 'grass roots' aspects of nationalist movements would not remain unmolested. "The key to situating 'official nationalism'—willed merger of nation and dynastic empire—is," he argues, "to remember that it developed *after*, and *in reaction to*, the popular national movements proliferating in Europe since the 1820s" (86). He continues, "it was only that a certain inventive legerdemain was required to permit empire to appear attractive in national drag" (86). This transition from feudal lords to their bourgeois analogues and the continued exploitation of their respective working classes, through language, text, and narratives, in the West is central to my core analysis of how the hegemonic imagined 'Canada' is maintained.

Canada and Canadians are not monoliths, nor are their histories fixed and unchanging. Canada is also, it should be noted, a victim of ongoing cultural imperialism from its south. However, the adaptability of the domestic ruling class's narratives enabled Canada's nationalism to survive the transition away from British imperialism to Anglo-neoimperialism in such a manner that the liberalism of Anglo-European culture is

held at the fore while relativism shields Canada from the bulk of the grievous negatives inherent in modern empire.

To facilitate my analysis of the means by which a consensus of bourgeois ideologies is so effectively able to permeate all aspects of Canadian society—most notably those most often felt to be individualistic and free from the constraints of class politics such as cultural and media production—I will rely on an understanding of Marx's original concept of the superstructure/base relationship. This relationship, its elements, and their intersection first defined and explored by Marx in his 1859 work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, provides a sturdy foundation upon which I will erect an analysis further complicated and contextualized by Gramsci and Althusser. Marx defines the relationship between base and superstructure as follows:

> In the social production which men [sic] carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the

> same thing—with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must rather be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production. (11-12)

Thus, without robbing individuals of their agency, Marx provides a means by which the actions of those individuals within Canadian society who take part in cultural productions or compose and disseminate media which contain bourgeois ideologies may be understood. The relationship of the individual to the social means of production determines their engagement with it. The ‘base’ then comprises both the means of production and the relations to production, while the ‘superstructure’ represents those aspects of society not directly involved in production. Marx sees the base as the driving force behind the superstructure. This relationship ensures that under a capitalist economy such as Canada’s, movements, texts, or ideas which at their inception

represent a revolutionary or anti-establishment concept are likely to become co-opted and dismantled through their eventual commodification.[13]

I will draw from Gramsci to further complicate this relationship by dividing Marx's superstructure into two distinct spheres: civil society and political society—or 'the State.' Gramsci understood the modern liberal nation-state, under a capitalist organization of the economy, to comprise a set of distinct, though overlapping institutions and ideologies. This division, drawn from *Selections from Prison Notebooks* is initially outlined as follows:

> These situations of conflict between 'represented and representatives' reverberate out from the terrain of the parties (the party organizations properly speaking, the parliamentary-electoral field, newspaper organization) throughout the State organism, reinforcing the relative power of the bureaucracy (civil and military), of high finance, of the Church, and generally of all bodies relatively independent of the fluctuations of public opinion. (210)

Gramsci puts forth an understanding of political society as that which begins on the borderlands of the public sphere. The machinations of liberal governance and mass media comprise the overlap point between civil and political society, while the less publicly accessible institutions of a liberal democracy remain beyond the reach of the citizenry. These spheres, the political positioned astride its civil counterpart (necessarily comprising those practices and institutions more readily engaged with by the working classe such as art, education, labour organizations, cultural practices, and so forth) serve as a more nuanced superstructure which complements Althusser's distinction between

[13] Take, for example, the corporatization and whitewashing of queer identity politics, feminist struggles, and modern 'grassroots' anti-racist movements such as Black Lives Matter.

ideological and repressive state apparatus. The ideological mirrors the civil aspects of society which find themselves saturated by bourgeois ideology and operate in a coercive capacity, while the repressive aligns with the political via the state's monopoly on violence and its ability to more overtly defend the interests of the bourgeoisie via the police or military.

Definitions of terms will obviously be crucial to my ensuring that my work here is clear. As political terms are frequently twisted, appropriated, and reworked I will explicitly state below my specific usage of a variety of terms and theories. Vladimir Lenin, in his work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, provides a clear and relatively succinct definition of 'imperialism.' It is this definition, distilled by Lenin into the following five points, that forms my basis for the term's operational use within this thesis:

> (1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital", of a financial oligarchy; (3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and (5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the

> international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed. (92)

Tracing an outgrowth of Lenin's exploration of imperialism and the wider work of the Marxist tradition on imperialism I make use of Immanuel Wallerstein's 'world systems theory' as a means of deconstructing the modern language and narratives of corporate media. This interdisciplinary theory most comfortably situated on the border between sociology and economics is a means by which the nation-states of the modern world may be categorized into a set of groups based on their economic circumstances. These groups are defined via their relation to the Marxist-Leninist definition of imperialism as follows: the imperial core, periphery, semi-periphery, and the external (Wallerstein 400-01). The theory was first proposed by Wallerstein in his 1974 paper titled "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis" in which he outlines a 'world-system' which supersedes national boundaries. He writes "that capital has never allowed its aspirations to be determined by national boundaries in a capitalist world-economy, and that the creation of 'national' barriers—generically, mercantilism—has historically been a defensive mechanism of capitalists which are located one level below the high point of strength in the system" (402). This understanding provides a means of more accurately engaging in a historical materialist reading of world history and Canada's—or any modern nation-state's—place within it. Speaking specifically on the utility of the above divisions of the world-system, Wallerstein writes, "the strength of the state-machinery in core states is a function of the weakness of other state machineries. Hence interventions of outsiders via war, subversion, and diplomacy is the lot of peripheral states" (403). Canada's station in this

divided world system can, thus, be read through Wallerstein's theory as follows, "one cannot reasonably explain the strength of various state-machineries at specific moments of the history of the modern world-system primarily in terms of a genetic-cultural line of argumentation, but rather in terms of the structural role a country plays in the world-economy" (403). He then justifies his further divisions of the world-system as a means of explaining how countries such as Canada, a recent member of the core, are able to retain their station without facing widespread revolution on the part of those necessarily discontented by the system itself. His explanation aligns with Althusser's complication of the Marxist concept of state apparatuses into the distinct groups of repressive state apparatus and ideological state apparatuses. Wallerstein cites, "the concentration of military strength in the hands of the dominant forces" and "the pervasiveness of an ideological commitment to the system as a whole" (404) as the means by which the world-system's future is secured. This building upon the relatively straightforward definition of 'imperialism' first penned by Lenin is imperative to my reading of an imagined Canada's position in the global community.

To better define and probe the precise interactions between the imperial core and the periphery in the latter eras analyzed in this thesis—those being the Cold War period and the modern era of the 'War on terror'—I will make use of the term 'neocolonialism' as defined by Kwame Nkrumah in his 1965 work *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*. He defines the term as follows: "the essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and

thus its political policy is directed from outside" (ix). Nkrumah builds upon this distillation:

> The methods and form of this direction can take various shapes. For example, in an extreme case the troops of the imperial power may garrison the territory of the neo-colonial State and control the government of it. More often, however, neo-colonialist control is exercised through economic or monetary means. The neo-colonial State may be obliged to take the manufactured products of the imperialist power to the exclusion of competing products from elsewhere. Control over government policy in the neo-colonial State may be secured by payments towards the cost of running the State, by the provision of civil servants in positions where they can dictate policy, and by monetary control over foreign exchange through the imposition of a banking system controlled by the imperial power. (ix-x)

This wider definition encompasses the current state of affairs between the imperial core and the imperial periphery where finance capital enables coercive trade and diplomacy to occur between the core and the periphery via channels such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. Under the auspices of aid or relief, Western institutions such as these are, within a neocolonial relationship with their target state, able to secure favourable conditions for themselves. "The result of neo-colonialism," Nkrumah explains, "is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world" (x). This understanding, which I apply throughout this thesis, affords my reading

of the Canadian mythos the theoretical foundation with which the material realities of international relations may be rendered stark against a backdrop of bourgeois idealism, rather than a more nuanced canvas of realpolitik (Albo "Neoliberalism and the Discontented").

To elaborate once more on the particularities of neoimperialism, the concept of 'soft power'—as opposed to the 'hard power' most readily associated with imperial acts of aggression or the exertion of influence—is necessary. Joseph S. Nye, Jr. coined the term in his 1990 article "Soft Power." He outlines his concepts as follows:

> The trends [looming multipolarity, the need for the West to better invest in the developing world] suggest a second, more attractive way of exercising power than traditional means. [...] This second aspect of power—which occurs when one country gets other countries to *want* what it wants—might be called co-optive or soft power in contrast with the hard or command power of *ordering* others to do what it wants. (166)

This concept of soft power is instrumental in forming an understanding of how Canada continues to play a crucial role in the neoimperialist endeavours of the West.

One recent example which has helped to establish Canadian capitalists as distinct in action and equal in capacity to their Western peers can be found in the 2019 military coup and ousting of Bolivian president Evo Morales.[14] The Marxist historian

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[14] This recent coup obviously harkens back to the 2004 coup in Haiti, which Canada played an instrumental role in orchestrating (both by generating its ideological pretext through the creation of the 'Responsibility-to-Protect' doctrine developed by Canada's federal government, and via active military participation) and which led to the UN military dictatorship—United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti—under which the country's citizenry was forced to live between 2004-2017 (Barry-Shaw and Jay, Dezorzi, MINUSTAH Fact Sheet, Sanders). Richard Sanders, in his 2010 article "A Very Canadian Coup," "Canada sent 'a team of JTF2 [Joint Task Force 2]

Vijay Prashad, in his 2019 article "Bolivia's lithium and the urgency of a coup," outlines the political situation in the country immediately preceding the coup as follows:

> Before he left office, Morales had been involved in a long project to bring economic and social democracy to his long-exploited country. It is important to recall that Bolivia has suffered a series of coups, often conducted by the military and the oligarchy on behalf of trans-national mining companies. […] Morales' government seized several of the mining operations of the most powerful firms, such as Glencore, Jindal Steel, Anglo-Argentinian Pan American Energy, and South American Silver (now TriMetals Mining). It sent a message that business as usual was not going to continue.

Considering the historical treatment of leftist movements in Latin America and the Caribbean, it was significant that Morales even considered taking direct action against Western Capital. However, in following with a tradition of neoimperialist intolerance for a disruption of the flow of wealth northward from Latin America, Western Capitalists acting in lockstep to their respective governments, intervened. Prashad outlines the response to Morales's socialization efforts, writing

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commandos to Haiti four days before the coup' (American Forces Press Service, March 14, 2004). They 'took control of the Port-au-Prince airport on... February 29, 2004... About 30 Canadian special forces soldiers secured the airport and two sharpshooters [were] positioned on top of the control tower.' (AFP, March 2, 2004.) Canadian Forces (CF) also 'secured key locations' in the capital. (Anthony Fenton, The Dominion, April 22, 2006). According to a government video, CF 'provided extensive support' during the preceding week: 'More than 100 CF personnel and four CC-130 Hercules aircraft... assist[ed] with emergency contingency plans and security measures.' ("Operation PRINCIPAL," February 28, 2004.) Immediately after the coup, 500 Canadian troops joined U.S. and French forces in protecting Haiti's newly-empowered, illegal regime and suppressing Aristide supporters."

> Nonetheless, these large firms continued their operations—based on older contracts—in some areas of the country. For example, the Canadian transnational firm South American Silver had created a company in 2003—before Morales came to power—to mine the Malku Khota for silver and indium (a rare earth metal used in flat screen televisions). South American Silver then began to extend its reach into its concessions. The land which it claimed was inhabited by indigenous Bolivians, who argued that the company was destroying its sacred spaces as well as promoting an atmosphere of violence. On 1 August 2012, the Morales government—by Supreme Decree no. 1308—annulled the contract with South American Silver (TriMetals Mining), which then sought international arbitration and compensation. Canada's government of Justin Trudeau—as part of a broader push on behalf of Canadian mining companies in South America—put an immense amount of pressure on Bolivia. In August 2019, TriMetals struck a deal with the Bolivian government for $25.8 million.

This is one overt example of the Canadian state acting in tandem with allied states to serve the interests of their respective capitalist classes, cementing the imperial core/imperial periphery relationship which exists between Canada and the nations of the Global South.[15] Latin America especially has suffered for decades at the hand of the

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[15] This is a relationship made possible only through Canada's subordinate status to the American empire. The relationship between the two states, according to Greg Albo's article "Empire's Ally: Canadian Foreign Policy," "must be understood in the dynamics of global power relations. First, capitalism is a social order in which a basic contradiction resides in the separation of sovereign states alongside the global accumulation of capital that systematically traverses international borders. The relations between states manage this contradiction through particular institutions like the WTO and NATO. For Canada, this is foremost the bilateral relationship with

Canadian capitalist class through rampant neoliberal foreign policies on the part of the federal government and the actions of Canadian multinational corporations operating in the target countries.[16]

A second example of Canadian capitalists benefitting from neocolonialist practices can be found in Canada's robust domestic arms manufacturing industry. General Dynamics Land Systems Canada, based in London, Ontario, is—according to a recently declassified 2016 Memorandum for Action approved by the Minister of Foreign Affairs —"the largest Canadian defence company, producing wheeled light armoured vehicles (LAVs) for defence markets" (*Memorandum for Action* 9). This Memorandum on the question of continuing to sell these weapons platforms to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia cites atrocities and potential war crimes committed by Saudi-led coalition forces in Yemen. Yet the document ultimately determines that—although "Canada, like others in the international community, is concerned about human rights issues in the Kingdom, including the reported high number of executions, suppression of political opposition,

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the U.S. maintained through the institutions of NAFTA and the North American security complex. These institutions sustain Canada as a subordinate ally of U.S. imperialism, but with Canada's own imperial interests also being advanced within them."

[16] "In recent years, the Canadian state has lent its support to a repressive post-coup regime in Honduras; it has provided military and ideological backing for a repressive regime in Colombia, one which boasts the hemisphere's worst record on human rights; it has aggressively interfered in the domestic affairs of left-of-centre Latin American governments, such as that of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela and Rafael Correa in Ecuador; it has supported ecological destruction and the dislocation of vulnerable populations in the region through its support for Canadian natural resource companies; it has provided cover for exploitative working conditions in the factories of Canadian companies operating in the export processing zones of Central America; it has sought to delegitimize, coopt, or coerce popular movements that have directly challenged the economic interests of Canadian capital—this is the reality with which any honest study of Canada's growing political and economic engagement with Latin America must start. These are not extreme or isolated examples, unrepresentative of the broader character of Canada s foreign policies in the Americas. As we argue in this book, the trends mentioned above are at the core of Canadian foreign policy in Latin America, animating the dialectic of Canadian capitalist expansion and popular resistance in the region" (Gordon and Webber).

the application of corporal punishment, suppression of freedom of expression, arbitrary arrest, ill-treatment of detainees" (*Memorandum for Action* 7) and other violations of human rights and liberal values which Canada champions—the sale of these LAVs ought to proceed. The justification for this continued trade relationship is as follows:

> DND [Department of National Defence] views the export of these world-class products as a key part of ensuring a strong and viable defence industrial base in Canada. The sale also enlarges the number of countries averaging GDLS-C's armoured vehicles, which benefits the entire user-group. These exports also represent a major success in Canada's efforts to assist in opening markets for Canadian defence suppliers. (*Memorandum for Action* 7)

Despite this document explicitly referencing the "UN Panel of Experts on Yemen report released February 23, 2016," which states that the Saudi forces had committed crimes against humanity (*Memorandum for Action* 4-5), its final verdict is to proceed with future sales. This document is representative of the wider attitude and influence of Canadian capitalists involved in the arms trade within Canadian politics.[17] The sanitized language it uses—'defence industry' as opposed to 'arms trade'—is also significant as it demonstrates the pervasiveness of liberalized language as a tool of the Canadian ruling class both within and beyond official government messaging.[18] Additional examples of

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[17] "CDIA figures show that Canadian 'defence' industry revenues grew 35% between 1998 and 2000, far outpacing growth of the rest of the economy, which grew at approximately 3%. Canada's 'defence' market grew from $3.7 billion in 1998 to $4.08 billion in 2000, up 22.6%. Exports to the USA grew by 17% from just under a billion to $1.25 billion. And our arms exports to the rest of the world grew a staggering 75% in the same period from $798 million to $1.5 billion" (James-Kerr).

[18] The pervasiveness of liberalized language surrounding issues of war, conflict, and the military in Canadian governance and media should also be noted as this represents a shift in bourgeois ideologies in the post-war/Cold War era (Deans).

Canadian arms manufactures benefiting from the enforced instability of the Global South are: CAE Inc.,[19] Bombardier Inc. (now under the MDA Ltd. Umbrella),[20] SNC Lavalin,[21] Pratt & Whitney Canada,[22] Magellan Aerospace,[23] Bell Helicopter Canada,[24] and Northstar Aerospace,[25] among others.

To summarize my use of these above terms and definitions, I draw from Owen Schalk's 2022 article "Understanding Canadian Imperialism." In this article, the author outlines the modern world-system and the role of Canada, as a neoimperialist power, within it. Schalk defines the imbalance in core/periphery relations as follows:

> unequal exchange is the defining feature of modern imperialism, and it is not only maintained through military force and coercion, although these measures remain central to the imperialist playbook. In many cases, imperialism is maintained through a much more quotidian system of North-South value appropriation of the sort epitomized by the International Monetary Fund's structural adjustment programs (SAPs), of which Canada is a stolid champion.

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[19] "CAE s Defense & Security business unit is a globally recognized training and mission systems integrator" ("Defence & Security").

[20] "MDA Ltd. received permission from the Canadian government to use its satellites to track the movement of troops and equipment in Ukraine, putting the space-technology firm into the military intelligence operation that's fighting Russia's invasion" (Decloet).

[21] "We act as an independent, objective advisor and trusted delivery partner to clients across the security, aerospace, defence industries" ("Security, aerospace & defence").

[22] "Today, over 7,000 Pratt & Whitney military engines are in service with 34 armed forces worldwide" ("Military Engines").

[23] "Magellan designs, engineers and manufactures aeroengine and aerostructure assemblies and components for aerospace markets, advanced products for military and space markets, industrial power generation, and specialty products" ("Global Solutions for the Aerospace Market").

[24] "The CH-146 Griffon fleet comprises 85 militarized, multi-role Bell 412 CF helicopters used for a variety of missions across Canada and deployed abroad in support to high-tempo NATO/UN operations" ("Celebrating 35 Years of Building Helicopters in Canada").

[25] "Headquartered in Bedford Park, IL, Northstar Aerospace, Inc. (Northstar) is a leading manufacturer of flight-critical and non-flight-critical parts for military and commercial aircraft applications" ("Aerospace & Defence: Northstar Aerospace").

> Neocolonial debt traps ensnare decolonizing states that attempt to create a strong domestic industrial base, and the high priests of "responsible" economic policy at the IMF and the World Bank (Canada was a founding member of both) respond by offering debt relief only if these countries open their resource wealth and infrastructure to Western investment. Gunships are replaced by economic advisory teams, and the quest for imperial domination perpetuates itself.

This brief outline parallels the general approach I take in my application of the above theories and definitions throughout this thesis.

A definition of one final term is needed. 'Liberalism' is a term deployed frequently in my work. It is also a guiding and central tenet of Canadian-ness and the core of bourgeois ideologies as they are deployed by ideological state apparatuses within Canada. The working definition I prefer is from the *Marxist Internet Archive Encyclopedia*:

> Having its origins in the assertion of bourgeois right against conservative forces, liberalism of all its different varieties is generally an ideology of the urban bourgeoisie. Very broadly, liberalism asserts individual autonomy against the intrusion of the community into that. The main source of ambiguity in liberalism is the divergence between "economic liberalism" and "civic liberalism". "*Economic liberalism*", sometimes called Neo-liberalism or "big-L Liberalism," advocates a *laissez faire* economic regime, i.e., the right of property-owners to exercise the power of money unhindered by regulations, redistributive taxes and so on. […] Neo-liberalism ("Economic rationalism" in

> Australia) favours reliance on market forces to resolve social problems, rather than methods of state regulation. "*Civic liberalism*" on the other hand, emphasises the importance of individual autonomy against determination by traditional norms, racial prejudice, entrenched power relations and economic disadvantage. Under the banner of "equality of opportunity", civic liberalism can come close to forms of communitarianism in emphasising the responsibility of the community to secure the basic conditions of life of members of the community, or, under the banner of "freedom of the individual" on the other hand, to libertarianism, in emphasising the rights of individuals to make "life-style" choices free from interference by the community, provided they do no harm to others. (Glossary of Terms: 'Li')

To enhance my use of the term, from a Marxist critique I argue that liberalism dons the language of universalism and human progress while perpetuating acts of brutality and subjugation in an effort to maintain its wielders' power. Colonialism, chattel slavery, genocide, the World Wars, the War on Terror, and the manufactured consent for these anti-human practices generated on behalf of citizenry is rooted in the ideological thinking—rather than critical thinking—prescribed by the liberal bourgeoisie. The individualism championed by liberalism is thus another hypocrisy of the ideology, true agency being reserved for those few at the helm of power. However, it is not only my markedly Marxist critique of liberalism which shades its deployment within this thesis.

To levy a weathered yet sturdy critique of liberalism I draw from the work of a controversial right-wing thinker of the early to mid-twentieth century, Carl Schmitt, a highly influential German political and legal theorist and eventual member of the Nazi

party. Through his 1932 work *The Concept of the Political*, Schmitt presents a scathing condemnation of liberalism and its inherent hypocrisy from a perspective far removed from the largely Marxist sources from which I otherwise draw. He states that

> an imperialism based on pure economic power will naturally attempt to sustain a worldwide condition which enables it to apply and manage, unmolested, its economic means, e.g., terminating credit, embargoing raw materials, destroying the currencies of others, and so on. Every attempt of a people to withdraw itself from the effects of such "peaceful" methods is considered by this imperialism as extra-economic power. (78)

Despite his later prominent role within Nazi thought Schmitt's work has, over the last century, maintained a profound impact on mainstream political philosophy in the West. The enduring prominence of his ideas in Western politics has positioned analyses of his texts as prerequisite to engaging with more recent productions of continental philosophy and Western political theory (Kurlyo, Lewis).[26] Thus, attempting to engage with the concrete theoretical elements of his texts—such as his ostensibly nonideological conception of the political—especially those formulated prior to his opportunistic embrace of Nazi political thought, remains a valuable intellectual exercise. With caution

[26] "Over the last decade, there has been a veritable explosion of Anglo-American interest in the works of Weimar constitutional and political theorist, Carl Schmitt. [1] […] Perhaps surprisingly, it has been scholars on the Left who have been the most active in promoting Schmitt in the English-speaking world. The journal Telos devoted a whole issue to Schmitt (no. 72, summer 1987) and regularly publishes translations of, and commentaries on, his work by G. L. Ulmen" (McCormick, 1N1).

and constant consideration for the author's eventual alignment with Nazism, this text can be fruitfully engaged with from stances across the political spectrum.[27]

Canada's short history, combined with its geopolitical circumstances as a geographically isolated settler colonial state at the northern border of the American Empire and its zealous commitment to neoliberal capitalism, has encouraged a crust of new national narratives to accrete like coral about the old imperial mythos. These coralloid growths of modern Canadian mythology have ossified upon the ideological credence that Canada is inherently and uniquely *good*. Canada, as this elemental ideal purports, is *just*, *kind*, and a 'responsible' force for decency on the world stage. By employing a modern Marxist reading necessarily complicated through Gramsci, Althusser, and a selection of more modern thinkers, while retaining a lens of historical materialism and an inherently internationalist outlook, I challenge and analyze the composition of this ideologically prescribed imagined Canada. At its core, this work is a reading of Canada as an inescapable public mythos with which each citizen is forced to engage every day. I examine Canada as a mythical entity, a narrative structure written by those reiterating the bourgeois language and values engendered in the very fabric of their society if not unconsciously then uncritically. The insubstantive ideologies which guide the protean projections of this imagined nation are informed by—and in many

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[27] It cannot be overstated how profound Schmitt's ties to fascism, and later Nazism, were. Though he adopted fascism as a flawed means of responding through realpolitik measures to the capitalist crisis wracking the Weimar Republic—inflation and economic destruction brought about by post-Great War reparations and the Treaty of Versailles—it aligned him with one of the most vile and genocidal political philosophies in human history. Fascism remains a prevalent ideology in the West today, and its narrative framing of defending the member group against the 'other' through myths of supremacy and universalism—paired with its militant anti-communism and innate compatibility with capitalist ideologies—ensures that it retains its ability to draw liberalism, and thus the 'default' political stance of citizens within the imperial core experiencing alienation as a result of their material circumstances, ever further to the right.

ways exist in spite of—its actions abroad in the realms of politics, intelligence, military action, and industry from the advent of the Great War until our modern day. It is this projection against which working-class Canadians are forced to gauge their worth via a negotiation of their perceived adherence to or deviation from its ideological tenets. Through language, rhetoric, and propaganda—each composed and disseminated via various tightly controlled ideological state apparatuses—this conceptualization of an imagined Canada is given credence, its validity dependent on the perpetual indoctrination of the working masses by the bourgeoisie through their ownership of the social means of production. My approach prioritizes a modern Marxist analysis in an effort to re-centre issues of class and to reintegrate the notion of class into intersectional examinations of Canada and Canadians. Without applying a principled understanding of class-based politics to analyses of modern Canada, one is left with an inadequate examination that can only regard parts of a whole independently of one another. This thesis is not an analysis of a particular set of texts; rather it is my attempt to examine the composition of the inescapable public narrative that is the imagined 'Canada' with which ordinary citizens must contend each day of their lives and whose myths furnish the culture, systems, and institutions which comprise our modern Canadian nation-state and society.

Chapter 1

The Private and Public Languages of Class Politics: The Great War as the Bedrock of the Canadian Mythos

If Canada—as one of its central national myths would have us believe—truly found its identity as a nation-state buried in the blackened mud of Vimy[28] then, I ask, what did Canada then find in Europe and the Pacific during the Second World War; what did it come across in the bush and cities of Rwanda between 1993 and 1996; what is Canada searching for during armed forays across blue water and ice; and what is it hoping to haul from the mountains and valleys of Afghanistan even today? Canada's military actions have endured over the past century as a substructure or skeleton around which the initially thin and ever-evolving substance of an ill-defined national identity is draped. Canada's early twentieth-century stance on military action, so succinctly stated in 1910 by then Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that "when Britain is at war, Canada

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[28] The Vimy Foundation (a registered Canadian charity funded wholly by donations which does, obviously, maintain a bias which heavily favours Canada and Canadian actions) argues that aside from being a major strategic success for the Allied forces, "it was also important that the Canadian Corps, this small colonial unit, had managed to do what both its former colonial powers could not do in retaking the ridge" (The Vimy Foundation).
In the foreword to *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment*, a collection of comprehensive articles on the battle, A.M.J. Hyatt describes the public perception of the battle as follows. "It has also been said again and again that Vimy was a great strategic victory, the most important Canadian battle of the war and an experience which awakened a sense of Canadian nationalism" (xi). He frames this canonization of the battle, writing, "an epic, the Oxford English Dictionary reminds us, "embodies a nation's conception of its own past or of the events in history which it finds most worthy of rememberance" (Hayes, Geoffrey, et al. xii).
The official Veteran's Affairs Canada website's subsection "The Battle of Vimy Ridge" reads as follows: "The decades since the Battle of Vimy Ridge have slipped by, but the legacy of the Canadians who accomplished so much in that important First World War battle lives on. Some say that Canada came of age as a country on those harsh April days in 1917. […] At Vimy Ridge, regiments from coast to coast saw action together in a distinctly Canadian triumph, helping create a new and stronger sense of national identity in our country. Canada's military achievements during the war raised our international stature and helped earn us a separate signature on the Treaty of Versailles that formally ended the war."

is at war. There is no distinction" ("Canada and the First World War: Canada at War") is, perhaps, indicative of the twilight moment of a dominion; for, eight years and 233 000 casualties on from the mud and horror of the Great War, Canada would emerge as a nation with a spine formed in Ypres, tempered across the shoulder of a shattered France and finally hardened at Passchendaele and Vimy. Canada, through its broad military action, individual acts of bravery, and episodes of innovative strategic brilliance established itself as a true peer nation with a distinct martial identity. It established itself as an equal—if not materially or economically then ideologically and militarily—to its imperial cousins and its southern neighbour.

Canada answered the call during the Great War. Looking forward, briefly, along the trajectory of this thesis, I explore how as a result of this military decision its future was cemented. Canada, decades later, served in defence of its imperial allies and was present to witness the bloody nativity of a new Europe. The Second World War saw an increasingly independent Canada flex the nascent musculature of its more confidently independent government. Dictating its own foreign policy during this delayed epilogue of The Great War, Canada carried out what it still saw as its duty: the defence of its European allies against fascism and German expansionism. Though unanimous support from the citizenry and the press would have been impossible, their opinions did come to shape government and military policies and actions during the period of 1939 to 1945. A retrospective report on the matter, carried out by the Army Headquarters' Directorate of History in late 1949, examines how the general bend of public opinion—as it was expressed and shaped through the bourgeois-controlled press—grew from heavy-handed flirtations with isolationism to a more robust support for military intervention. The

report plainly states that as "Hitler pursued his programme of aggression, Canadian opinion passed through a gradual process of hardening parallel to that which took place in the United Kingdom" (Oglesby 2). Healthy political discourse between the provincial and federal governments and their citizens endured as a constant throughout the Second World War. Though public opinion remained in favour of Canada's military support for its allies overseas, topics such as conscription were deliberated on at length in an effort to ensure that the cost of this war would not threaten 'national unity.'

The post-war period and the duration of the Cold War saw Canada's Armed Forces undergo a period of sustained evolution in terms of doctrine, technologies, and structure while their outward-facing image was curated to become one of a 'peacekeeping' force working in tandem with the United Nations.[29] This image, put to the test across Africa, the Balkans, and the Middle East—during the Cold War and up until today—saw its numerous fractures garner enduring scrutiny from both domestic and international audiences over the decades, coming to a head on 16 March, 1993 when two commando of the Canadian Airborne Regiment—serving as an integral force within the United States-run 'humanitarian' 'peace enforcement mission' UNITAF in Somalia—tortured and killed 16-year-old Shidane Abukar Arone, a Somali citizen. (See chapter 4.)

As Canada's century as a budding independent military power gave way to the new millennium and the fleeting decades of the 'peacekeeper' role began to crumble, the

[29] The official website for the government of Canada's subsection titled "Peace support operations (1954-present)" outlines in detail the official, non-classified military actions undertaken by the DND which they refer to as "peacekeeping missions that the Canadian military has participated in since 1954 to support peace and stability around the world" (Peace support operations [1954-present]).

American-led 'War on Terror' saw Canada's military once again swept up in a torrent of international conflicts which renewed and justified its evolution in terms of materiel and strategy, as well as doctrine. Regardless of the validity of the 'mediating' role the Canadian Armed Forces sought to play during the previous decades, the guise was invariably discarded as an interventionist doctrine unseen since the World Wars was once again adopted, this time in the name of 'global security.'

Most pertinent to my analysis, however, is the question of how these military actions and policies—beginning with, and ultimately shaped by, the outbreak of the Great War—are recorded and presented by the federal government and defence officials, codified by the corporate media, and engrained by the public into a dominant imagined conceptualization of Canadian identity. Is Canada's citizenry conditioned to uncritically accept the press's point of view? Is the Canadian bourgeoisie—so enmeshed in all levels of government, industry, and enterprise—engaged in a large-scale project of manufacturing consent and generating assent for the sitting government's military and international actions through their control of the press? How can a citizen today, who is interested in exploring a geopolitical issue from multiple points of view, access alternative reporting? Can they at all?

By centring this chapter on the Great War,[30] I am able to explore these current and pressing questions in a more sparsely populated media environment, in a waning age of empire and the relative political and ideological hegemony the British continued to enforce over their former colonies. As a self-governing dominion, Canada was

[30] The 'Great War' as a label is, in and of itself, an interesting artifact of language which centres a Eurocentric view of the world dependent on established and enduring bourgeois ideologies.

afforded a fair amount of legislative latitude. However, a dominion still,[31] its foreign policy decisions were handled by London. On 4 August, 1914 after Germany rejected an ultimatum from the British government to withdraw its troops from neutral Belgium and halt its invasion of mainland France, the British empire declared war on Germany. Canada too was now at war.

To probe the immediate effects of this outbreak of war an understanding of the ideological political landscape of Europe at the time is necessary. Decades prior to the outbreak of war, in 1863, then serving as the minister president of Prussia and future chancellor of the consolidated German empire, Otto Von Bismarck concluded a speech before the Prussian House of Representatives' budget committee in defence of military preparedness with the following statement: "since the treaties of Vienna, our frontiers have been ill-designed for a healthy body politic. Not through speeches and majority decisions will the great questions of the day be decided—that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by iron and blood" (Von Bismarck).

This expansionist militarism is what Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, sought to contrast with his own speech before the Canadian House of Commons on 19 August, 1914.

> It is not fitting that I should prolong this debate. In the awful dawn of the greatest war the world has ever known, in the hour when peril confronts us such as this Empire has not faced for a hundred years, every vain or unnecessary word seems a discord. As to our duty, all are agreed: we stand shoulder to

[31] Although Canada remains the 'Dominion of Canada' to this day, its colloquial and official status as a dominion began to fade after the Great War, falling almost completely out of use by the 1960s.

> shoulder with Britain and the other British dominions in this quarrel. And that duty we shall not fail to fulfil as the honour of Canada demands. Not for love of battle, not for lust of conquest, not for greed of possessions, but for the cause of honour, to maintain solemn pledges, to uphold principles of liberty, to withstand forces that would convert the world into an armed camp; yea, in the very name of the peace that we sought at any cost save that of dishonour, we have entered into this war; and, while gravely conscious of the tremendous issues involved and of all the sacrifices that they may entail, we do not shrink from them, but with firm hearts we abide the event. (Borden, "Canada at War")

The luxury of 'splendid isolation' which had, for centuries, allowed the British empire to honour its treaty obligations and the territorial claims of its peer nations in mainland Europe without committing gross hypocrisies was not afforded to the budding German empire. The Germans did not have a globe's worth of non-European wealth a stone's throw from their naval and merchant fleets. To the German government expansion was always going to entail violence, as it would have to carve out more space for itself on a well-settled and diverse continent; yet to the Kaiser expansion was inevitable (Charmley). Honour, liberty, and duty were ideals harboured by the British dominions because the exclusionary nature of these ideals did not directly affect the bulk of their settler citizenry. To Sir Robert Borden these were ideals worth going to war over, and it would become his duty to ensure that the young soldiers dying for them would fight effectively and conduct themselves in accordance with these chivalrous concepts until their death.

To this end, he made clear his intention to distance himself and his government from the zealous militaristic expansionism of the German Empire. In a speech delivered before the Canadian and Empire Clubs in Toronto on 5 December, 1914, Prime Minister Borden worked to cement this positioning of Canada as a dutiful and proud dominion fighting righteously for the good of the Empire, and in turn—according to the logical framework he has adopted—the world. His speech begins with the declaration that "Today there is but one thought in our hearts […] the appalling struggle which has been forced upon our Empire" ("Canada at War" 3). Sir Borden works to carefully enshrine the history he feels most fits his moment and his Canadian audience, continuing "I say forced upon us: because I am convinced that no nation ever desired peace more sincerely than the nations which compose the British Empire" (3). He is explicit in his intention to render a stark contrast between his Empire and that of the Germans, citing Chancellor Bismarck's infamous and aforementioned speech directly, declaring "Bismarck foreshadowed in a famous phrase the policy of the future" (3). Taking care to avoid outlining how and why this truth came to be, Sir Borden admits his subscription to the notion of British naval superiority and the resulting global dominance. In gesturing to this time-tested myth, he explains to his audience how he believes the German folk and their government too are aware of this 'truth,' and that they are all too ready and willing to challenge his Empire's dominance of the seas. "The military autocracy of Germany have taught their people for more than twenty years that the British Empire stood chiefly in the path of German expansion and that war was inevitable" (4), he says, painting the militarism of the German folk as prescribed by their ruling bourgeoisie, yet unyielding nonetheless. The dichotomous framework Sir Borden constructed here is

carefully worded to assign the blame for German aggression to the Empire's Prussian elite while not entirely excusing or humanizing the German citizenry. In the same breath, he praises the standing military and naval might of the British Empire and renders its cause of defending its European allies and their colonial territories as just and honourable; and, by extension, he shades the honouring of standing treaties and alliances as the pursuit of some universal moral justice. Sir Borden cements optics—bourgeois and imperial ideals aestheticized—as a clear priority of his office in both its and his dealings with the upper echelons of the Canadian citizenry. There is no internal integrity to Sir Borden's construction of this imagined Canada. It is not a freestanding structure, nor does he particularly need it to be. Without the relation to the stated militarism inherent in the contemporary German Empire his imagined Canada would collapse under the internal weight of its interwoven ideals and their internal contradictions. However, under the circumstances surrounding Sir Borden's delivery of this speech, his construction seems to hold against the weight of contemporary scrutiny without its particulars beginning to bow.

After generating this defensive patriotic fervour, Prime Minister Borden pivots to praising the work his government and the Canadian military had accomplished up to the date of his delivering this speech, and the pride he feels for the spirit of the Canadian population. "The call of duty has not fallen upon unheeding ears in this country. East and West, every province and practically every community has responded with an ardour and a spirit which emphasize the ties that bind together the Dominions of this Empire" ("Canada at War" 7), he states—once again leaning on the amorphous ideals of superiority and righteousness he has worked to enshrine in the shared imagination he is

attempting to foment—before offering his audience specifics. "When the first contingent sailed from Canada, we immediately announced that another would follow" (7), Borden reminds his listeners, providing official figures totalling 100,000 uniformed men with additional uniformed personnel and auxiliary supports soon to be war-ready and merely in need of hardware provided by the rapidly expanding Canadian industrial sector and the scarce silent factories of the British Isles (7-8). As he works toward his concluding points, Prime Minister Borden draws again from the patriotic spring he has plumbed throughout his speech. He states, proudly, "four months of war have elapsed and Canada emerges triumphant from this great test of her unity, her patriotism and her national spirit" (8). He praises, again, the cities and towns, the citizenry's generosity in providing aid, the farmers associations and labour interests for their tireless support of the swelling material needs of a nation in a state of total war (8). Finally, Sir Robert moves to end his speech on a curious note, arguing that "this war has demonstrated the essential unity of the Empire. When the book is closed and the story has been told, we shall at least owe that to the Kaiser" (8). While declaring with a degree of finality that the war itself is a crucible within which his young dominion's steel will see itself hardened, Borden chooses to touch again on the role played in the conflict by the Germans. "In the bitterness of this struggle," he says, "let us not forget that the world owes much to German thought, endeavour and achievement in science, literature, the arts and every other sphere of useful human activity" (9). "I do not doubt," Borden continues, moving to humanize the citizens of the German Empire by once again carefully articulating the precise location where he believes blame ought to be piled, "that the German people, misled as to the supposed designs of Great Britain, impressed for the time being by the

Prussian military spirit, and not truly comprehending the real causes of the conflict, are behind their government in this war" (9). He does not alleviate the German folk of any culpability in the bloodshed unfolding across the European continent, but he begins to construct the framework within which a victorious and sympathetic British Empire might do so in the future—a future in which it remains the sole Western hegemon. Again, crucial to my analysis of future conflicts, the degree to which the perceived enemy is permitted to be humanized is an important touchstone. Here Prime Minister Borden dutifully plays his part in ensuring that two congruent, Western imperial powers' twin systems of governance and mirrored capitalist organizations of their respective economies are not only permitted to weather their conflict, but to in fact emerge all the stronger from it. "Nevertheless," he continues, zeroing in with the utmost concern for precise language, "it is in truth a war waged against the military oligarchy which controls the government of Germany. The defeat of that militarist autocracy means much for the world, but it means even more for Germany herself. Freed from its domination and inspired by truer ideals, the German people will attain a higher national greatness than before" (9). Here he makes clear the line which he toes for the British Empire. The German empire, though temporarily misled by a cabal of zealous militant oligarchs, is a crucial counterweight for the British in Europe—not an ally, necessarily, but a stabilizing force, a bulwark set comfortingly between the Russian sprawl and Western Europe. A staunchly capitalist superpower set to intercept and neutralize any continental communist advancements before they were able to gain enough momentum to threaten the British sat comfortably across their Channel.

Interesting, and pertinent—central even—to my analysis moving forward through more recent conflicts, is Prime Minister Borden's need to glance briefly southward to the burgeoning imperial power of the United States of America during his speech. "The justice of the Allies' cause is generally understood and recognized among our kinsmen in the great neighbouring nation," he assures his audience, ideologically aligning his government and its constituents with the slumbering industrial behemoth to their south, "and we are proud of their sympathy" ("Canada at War" 8). This fledgling sociopolitical alignment will serve as an origin point for the trajectory of Canadian foreign policy in the spheres of imperial intervention and kinetic overseas action over the decades explored in my later analyses.

Prime Minister Borden delivered three similar speeches during the month of December, 1914 to the Canadian and Empire Clubs in Montreal, Halifax, and Winnipeg. Though the central patriotic thrust of his speeches remains the same, several discrepancies are present. In Halifax, on 18 December, Sir Borden declares "under the laws of Canada, our citizens may be called out to defend our own territory, but cannot be required to go beyond the seas except for the defence of Canada itself. There has not been, there will not be, compulsion or conscription" ("Canada at War" 17). This assurance is significant for its inability to weather the latter years of the Great War, as Borden's government itself would introduce and pass the Military Service Act only three years later, causing a domestic crisis and exacerbating fissures between French and English Canada ("Canada and the First World War: Conscription, 1917"). On a more historical note, Prime Minister Borden reiterates the point he first made before his crowd in Toronto weeks prior, stating "the German people have been taught that war is a

national duty and indeed a necessity of national development" ("Canada at War" 20). He draws his point out further during this later speech, however. Leaning on a canted interpretation of European history Sir Borden makes the assertion that "according to their view, other nations had been spreading their power and influence throughout the world while the German people were engrossed in the higher considerations of philosophy and religion, so that now the German Empire must win by the sword" (21). Despite the flawed qualitative judgements, this logical framework which Sir Borden sets forth maintains the argumentative propagandistic priorities set forth in this set of speeches. He continues to lay the blame for this conflict on the lap of the militaristic Prussian oligarchs at the helm of the recently consolidated empire. He preemptively shields the British Empire against any claims of hypocrisy by denoting theirs as an empire enshrined in tradition and positioned in their various holdings across the globe, not as an aggressor or an empire seeking to 'spread its power,' but as a force for peace and an agent of stability. Sir Borden draws on the white supremacist myth of the Pax Britannica and reminds his audience of capitalists and career politicians of the line they have all been taught to toe, saying "our Empire has been trained in the path of peace and the best safeguard of its existence has been found in our Navy" (18). This myth of a hegemonic power projecting stability through the threat of total annihilation will endure in the West until the present day, with the torch being passed from the ailing British to the rising Americans, with Canada remaining intimately tethered to the standing power. Drawing his speech in Halifax to a close, Sir Borden again adds to his previous patriotic posturing, positioning the nature of the Canadian spirit as one not bound in material or industrial development, but one rooted in idealism. "When the day came which searched

their spirit," Sir Borden says, "Canadians did not fail to remember that there is something greater […] than even life itself. The wonderful and beautiful spirit of mutual helpfulness, of desire to aid, the spirit of self-sacrifice, of patriotism, of devotion" (23). Once more, he reiterates his rendering of this imagined Canada, grafting it to the expanding mechanism of war in an effort to lend it stability in place of substance.

Drawing his circuit of speeches before the Canadian and Empire Clubs to a close in Winnipeg on 29 December, 1914, Prime Minister Borden iterates a tired and timeless creed of a warring state:

> There is but one way to deal effectively with the Prussian gospel of force and violence and the Prussian ideal of absolutism. It must be smashed utterly and completely. The sooner that it is accomplished the better for the German people and for all the nations. Canada joins whole-heartedly in that great task. What has been done is known to all. What remains to be done shall be limited only by the need. ("Canada at War" 31)

In using this justification for war, Sir Borden sets Canada on a course aligned with the contemporary and future hegemons of the West. The Canadian nation has used, and continues to use to this day, the fallacy of 'liberation' to justify its Armed Forces' power projection operations, conventional military operations, and, most recently, modern precision incursions and kinetic actions. This positioning of Canada as a liberator is not always false, and is made all the more insidious for it. However, in this instance Sir Borden uses the term in bad faith, intentionally or blindly. The insidiousness of centralizing the 'benevolent' violence of liberation within the nucleus of this imagined Canada ensures that the default stance of the citizenry toward violence ordered by the

state in theatres beyond the country's borders will be one of support. 'Liberator' is, however, only one term among a number offered to the citizenry in accordance with official government policy via the press—terms whose new or slanted definitions are then allowed to be rearranged and reinvigorated by the propagandized masses into an evolving language of myth.

The linguistic and thematic bedrock developed by Prime Minister Borden during this December speaking circuit can be contextualized and examined through the lens of Frank Louis Rusciano's "The Construction of National Identity: A 23-Nation Study," published in *Political Research Quarterly* in 2003. The theoretical apparatus known as "Global Opinion Theory" which Rusciano employs hinges on the notion of national identity being a negotiation between a nation's "*Selbstbild* (national consciousness, or the image its citizens have of their country) and a nation's *Fremdbild* (the nation's perceived or actual international image in world opinion)" (Rusciano 361). As Rusciano further explains, "one of the most crucial of external forces involved in this process is the reputation a nation enjoys in *world opinion*, as reflected in its more or less consensual perception by other countries" (361). Military conflict affords a unique opportunity for a young nation—such as Canada at the turn of the twentieth-century—to have an outsized effect on the construction of its *Fremdbild* in the global—or, at the very least, Western—consciousness. Through the large-scale deployment of a professional, initially non-conscripted military, and time-tested alliances with key global hegemons, Canada was able to play a direct role in the generation of a new *Fremdbild* in the countries within which its soldiers fought; this is further compounded by their being a 'liberating' force. This process was assisted by the bounty of cultural and religious

practices, as well as languages, shared between Canada and its allies. This new imagined Canada would shatter the calcified assumptions harboured toward what was, only decades earlier, a slowly industrializing and highly agrarian British colony. This disproportionate effect of the Canadian military on the burgeoning global reconceptualization of Canada is significant within my analysis for several reasons, chief among them being the citizenry's perception of their and other nations' armed forces playing a key role, as delineated in Rusciano's study, across the totality of the nations surveyed.

Rusciano explains the methodology behind his study by outlining the initial factor analysis used to generate a 'pride' value. He states, "the higher one's score on the scale, the greater one's pride in their nation. This index is taken as an initial measure of citizens' *Selbstbild*, or their perceptions of their nation" (362). This value is calculated based on the sum total of respondents' answers to the following series of questions:

> 'How proud are you of (R's country) in each of the following': 1. the way democracy works 2. its political influence in the world 3. its social security system 4. its armed forces 5. its fair and equal treatment of all groups in society. The analysis also included the following two questions: 1. There are some things about (R's country) that make me feel ashamed of (R's country) (Agree/Disagree). 2. For certain problems, like environmental pollution, international bodies should have the right to enforce solutions. (Agree/Disagree). (362)

The latter two questions are taken together as a separate factor; "interpreting this factor," according to Rusciano, "requires one to take a close look at global opinion theory,

especially as it relates to the world considered as a unit, and the nation's fear of international isolation" (362). Here is where the role of the press and other forms of media begins to take shape.

The rapidly ballooning accessibility of radio in the 1910s, paired with the ubiquity of print media, enshrined the role of the press in the West as a mesial force in the realm of international relations, a force with the power to sway governance and popular opinion on issues of both domestic and foreign policy (Bignon and Miscio, Hallin). In his study, Rusciano opts to define 'world opinion' as "the moral judgements of observers which actors must heed in the international arena, or risk isolation as a nation" (362). He further explains that "[his] research [reveals] a consistent terminology for world opinion across several international newspapers" (362). He goes on to list precisely what the basic components of this international vocabulary on 'world opinion' are. These through-lines are as follows:

- a *moral component*, which refers to *values* shared among nations;
- a *pragmatic component*, which refers to *interests* shared among nations;
- the *power* of world opinion, which refers to its apparent influence on world events and nations' behaviours;
- the *nation's image*, or reputation, in world opinion, as it is perceived by itself and other nations;
- the *world considered as a unit*, such as an international community, which may judge and respond to other nations' behaviours; and
- the *threat of international isolation*, which operates as a potential punishment for nations which do not heed the dictates of world opinion. (362)

These linguistic tethers form the basis of a register with which a nation's citizenry may begin to interpret or alter their position in an imagined 'global community.' The vocabulary which Rusciano outlines here—though drawn from and presented as that used by the international press—has necessarily been appropriated by those who consume the media through which it is disseminated. How the individual or the collective negotiates their station with this prescribed language is central to my analysis, stretching from 1914 to the present day.

During the buildup to the inevitable outbreak of armed conflict across the European theatre, the Canadian press adopted a measured approach to exploring how an eventual Canadian involvement in the fighting might take shape. The French Canadian press largely fell within an isolationist camp, however, harbouring—alongside their readership and ruling class—no real devotion or cultural attachment to their contemporary French or British Empires (Lazarenko, Richard). The role of the press within the sociopolitical imagination of Canadian citizens and their governments was fulfilled by a diverse group of presses; however, for the sake of simplicity I will here divide these organizations into two camps: the local newspaper (be it a small-town press or a small city's paper of record), and the older 'dailies' or national papers. Though the dominant forces in news publishing have always—and continue to—dictate the trade winds of content, diction, and vocabulary surrounding newsworthy events and movements in Western nations, the role played by the smaller entities of the media industry should not be underestimated. In examining the actions taken by these two groups of publishers I make thorough use of the term 'propaganda.' This term's recurrence should not take away from its inherent severity, nor is it a narrative attempt

or a qualitative judgment on my part. Propaganda[32] remains a vital tool and a most powerful weapon during periods of conflict or political upheaval and an invaluable tool for inspiring social and political change; and it is not necessarily reserved for use by a single class or group, though the media industries themselves may remain handily controlled by the capitalist classes in the West. So too has propaganda played a principal role in ensuring that the nation building project embarked upon by Canadian governments, the domestic bourgeoisie, and average citizens in the decades following the Great War has remained firmly linked to the hollow substructure of military action and tradition which they have opted to lash it to.

Since the advent of popularly disseminated news media, the industry has been dominated by Western hegemons whose early adoption of mass-printing and broadcasting technologies paired with rampant hyper-industrialization guaranteed their monopoly over a nascent industry (Ahmad et al., Ezeru). This situation has ensured that regardless of the direction news media takes in the future, its very anatomy—its underlying technologies, common systems of publishing and formatting, journalistic practices, its register and vocabulary—comprises exclusively Western techniques and ideas (or those appropriated and Westernized), with cornerstones first laid during the twilight of the British empire as the West's imperial core slunk westward across the Atlantic to roost in the New World. William Hachten, in his 1993 article "The Triumph of Western News Communication" published in *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs,* explores in detail how "the global news system has expanded its reach under

[32] I employ the term 'propaganda' in the most colloquial sense, that meaning material generated and published with the express purpose of promoting or agitating for a particular social or political ideology or cause.

predominantly American and British leadership" (17). Though his piece centres its focus on the impact of the collapse of the Soviet Union on the unipolarity and lack of balance of the modern international press, he does outline its roots in a unipolar system first established and dominated by the capitalist Western empires, before transitioning to the interwar and postwar system of opposed poles creating a sort of perverse and volatile balance between the socialist East and the capitalist West (Hachten 17). In outlining the beginnings of these monopolized information systems, I simply seek to make stark the anti-democratic, or at the very least anti-popular, nature of the earliest forms of widespread, sophisticated print media within Canada.

A mainstay of modern hyper-concentrated media environments within purportedly democratic nation-states organized under a capitalist economy is, obviously, a commodification of news media. A second easily identifiable trend, or an evolution of the industry's need to turn a profit, among these Western media environments is their willingness to toe the line when it comes to their respective governments' positioning regarding an execution of foreign policy, irrespective of their supposed independence from any official government organization (Robinson "Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics"). This trend is most obvious in the Anglosphere during periods in which conflict first arises or when the initial outbreak of war or military action is occurring or inevitable. Modern discussions surrounding this phenomenon make liberal use of the colloquial term 'the CNN effect'[33] to describe the rabid pro-war

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[33] Piers Robinson, in his 2002 work *The CNN Effect: The Myth of News, Foreign Policy and Intervention* states that, in the United States, as the 1980s drew to a close, "the question being asked was to what extent had this media 'pervasiveness' (Hoge 1994: 136-44) impacted upon government – particularly the process of foreign policy-making. New technologies appeared to reduce the scope for calm deliberation over policy, forcing policy-makers to respond to

stance adopted by Western news media and their staggering influence over public opinion. In the days and weeks prior to the outbreak of the Great War, and for much of its early years, the press in the British Empire and its allied nations would mirror, if not invent, the same trends currently followed by profit-turning media conglomerates in the West today. Though by the twentieth century Europe was already well versed in fabricating and framing pro-nation-state propaganda, the 'free,' bourgeois-owned presses of the 1910s provided an ever increasing ease of dissemination as techniques and technologies maintained their rapid pace of development. At the same time, this ease created an air gap between the press and their governments. By holding these 'independent' press bodies at arm's length, official stances could be prescribed to the citizenry by the oligarchs controlling the papers and their allies in government, without a reader having to question their being a free thinker; for, as the papers themselves worked so diligently to remind the public, objectivity and truth were the lifeblood of the press. The *Daily Mail*, for example, one of Britain's longest standing popular newspapers, "presented itself as the representative of the respectable and hard–working middle–classes" (Bingham). Though a projection as opposed to an honest reflection, the marketing of the independence and populist interest of the *Mail* and similar papers afforded—and continues to afford—the free press the ability to act both independently of and in tandem with their respective governments, choosing the option which best meets their financial and political needs at any given moment. Continuing to examine the *Mail*, Adrian Bingham states, "we can identify three main themes in the Mail's interventions in public life: a consistent opposition to socialist or left–wing politics;

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whatever issue journalists focused on. […] This perception was in turn reinforced by the end of the bipolar order" (7).

support for a strong and internationally respected Britain, Empire and Commonwealth; and a social and cultural defence of 'family values', decency, and community spirit." The hyper-conservative, pro-Empire stance of the paper reflects the values and personal politics of its owner, Alfred Harmsworth, 1st Viscount Northcliffe, while also reflecting the paper's goal to condition its readership to internalize and reiterate the same talking points. "The Daily Mail tended to defend the political status quo," Bingham explains, "standing for a strong nation, monarchy and empire, and resisting radical reforms that would threaten established institutions or undermine capitalism." This trend is not unique to this individual paper; rather, the *Daily Mail* is representative of the state of successful news media organizations under the capitalist economy of the British Empire at the dawn of the twentieth century.

To ensure that a paper remains profitable under a capitalist organization of the economy which is accustomed to a trend of infinite growth, its editors must ever strive to increase their readership. War sells, and it draws an audience, while victory ensures a future—for nation, and profit margins. This is the hinge of the 'CNN Effect.' A militant, ravenous press is thus inevitable under capitalism, as the financial incentive to commodify and push for conflict is too great to ignore, and the nature of the 'free' market ensures that should a paper opt to take a more ethical, measured stance on armed conflict, one of their peers will step in to fill the void.

Again focusing on the period of the Great War—where news media's propagandistic potential was still in its infancy—I outline three facets of the Canadian print media industry through which the project to construct a Canadian identity from a patchwork canvas of wartime propaganda began. The first of these areas is the

relationship between the Canadian government and their nation's free press. This I follow with an analysis of the structure of the fledgling print media industry and its early monopolistic architects. Finally, as an analogue for the modern effect of social media and 'creator-driven' news media, I scrutinize the role played by local papers throughout the duration of the Great War. I should note that this is not a condemnation of an industry adapting to a war with which many, if not all, of its labourers would have had a personal connection. Though profiteering—in the sense that profit was generated directly from reporting on the war[34]—most certainly took place, this extracted value was narrowly distributed among the upper echelons of the media oligarchy. I also acknowledge the very real roles which propaganda and psychological warfare have always played in armed conflicts. I am in no position to castigate a young nation's population or its industries for the use of an invaluable tool of war from the safe distance afforded to me by a century. I lean here on the old, enduringly relevant, adage of war's predacious impact on truth, first coined by Samuel Johnson in *The Ilder*, no. 30, in 1758. Dr Johnson states, "among the calamities of war may be jointly numbered the diminution of the love of truth, by the falsehoods which interest dictates and credulity encourages." The 'credulity' harboured by any citizen body fighting a war—either defensive or offensive—cannot be judged in isolation, and after all it is only the survivors of any given conflict who are ever provided a chance, along with the requisite space and time, to reexamine the malleability of truth to which they clung during the fighting. If there is judgment to be laid here, I would lay it at the feet of those industry

[34] I should note that this was an instance of the system working as intended. The impetus to profiteer within a for-profit media industry needn't run deep, for the very nature of the industry demands it of its labourers, with their surplus value being distributed among the owners.

leaders and political actors who, within this conflict, felt it acceptable or necessary to wield their propagandistic enterprises, not as a tool to manufacture hope from despair, but to turn a profit or to dehumanize their enemies beyond what history has dictated to be a waterline acceptable to preserve the combat efficacy of their nation's fighters and the spirit of its population. Propaganda grows ever subtler and more insidious, while remaining integral to the furthering or endurance of any national, political, or economic project. Here, I argue, the Great War—a period in which the propagandist's tool belt was less populated, their language less precise, less proven—represents a space in which I can trace the seams of Canada's over-stretched and fraying identity to its inception.

A retrospective written by Ira Basen for CBC in 2014 explores the relationship between the Canadian press, its readers, and Sir Robert Borden's wartime government. Basen's analysis begins with his assertion that "from the moment Canada entered the war alongside Britain on 4 August, 1914, public opinion overwhelmingly favoured the war effort. But that consensus made it difficult for anyone to present a version of reality that ran counter to the accepted wisdom." Here he outlines the effect of centuries worth of colonial and imperial propaganda and the sense of righteousness harboured by the Canadian citizenry for their imperial cause. He does not, however, explicitly state where this 'accepted wisdom' of the masses originated in the sense of by whom, or via which channels it was manufactured and disseminated. He then states that "this was especially true of the press. Publishers weren't prepared to risk the wrath of their readers and the government by publishing stories critical of how or why the war was being waged." Chelsea Barringer, in her 2017 paper "Shifting Attitudes: Torontonians and Their Response to the Great War," offers a blunt means of filling the gap left in Basen's

analysis. She argues that "organizations such as the Canadian government, churches, and newspapers created the perception that Canadians of a British-Protestant background were at war with anyone who challenged their loyalty to Britain" (2). Here the heft of ancient and yet unbent imperial propaganda—propaganda often tethering dedication to Empire and one's own history together—demonstrates its endurance and the way in which it set the stage for the 'accepted wisdom' of the Canadian masses at the outbreak of the Great War. What Barringer's analysis fails to immediately convey is the lack of adaptability central to this weathered narrative still lashed to the age of sail. For citizens of the dominion in 1914 there was not, in living memory, an instance in which they had seen British military might tested against a peer nation. Victory was practically assured when the might of the British military was levelled against an insurgency, a colonial rebellion, or an indigenous uprising, for no guerrilla force could weather the might of the imperial navy or the endless supply of troops or weapons teeming from the empire's colonies—most notably India.[35] Aside from the failed invasion of Afghanistan carried out by the British East India Company and the disastrous First Boer War, the well-oiled British war machine had had no taste of defeat in over a century, certainly not at the hands of an equally industrialized peer. This would change during the course of the Great War, and the Canadian press would see its relationship with Sir Robert Borden's government grow closer and more powerful for it, while the public's perception of and trust in the industry would remain largely

[35] According to a 2015 article published by the BBC, "approximately 1.3 million Indian soldiers served in World War One, and over 74,000 of them lost their lives" ("Why the Indian soldiers of WW1 were forgotten"). The Times of India writes, "Britain's World War I army included Indian children as young as 10-years-old fighting against the Germans on the western front" ("British enlisted Indian children during World War I, new book reveals").

unchanged. According to Basen's analysis, the Canadian Government's motivation for expanding this relationship is made clear, its drive being largely fuelled by anxieties. Basen writes, "while Canadian troops were overseas standing up to the Germans, the government of Robert Borden was reluctant to fight the war on the home front without some significant ammunition at its disposal." The expanding of the federal government's wartime propaganda operations required direct intervention in the supposedly independent media industry. The emergency powers would be enacted "on Aug. 22, 1914, less than three weeks after the war began." At this time, according to Basen, "parliament passed the War Measures Act. It provided for 'censorship and control and suppression of publications, writings, maps, plans, photographs, communication and means of communication' whenever the government determined that 'the security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada' was under threat.'" Initially, Basen explains, the Act saw little use beyond giving the government the tools to enforce the shutdown of various anti-British presses. However, a year into the War, "news from the front became increasingly grim. More than 6,500 Canadians were killed or wounded in the country's first major battle of the war at Ypres in April and May of 1915. The government began to worry about the impact such bad news might have on recruitment and fundraising, and so it began to take a closer look at how the war was being reported" (Basen). For the first time, the world was witnessing the blossoming of a new form of warfare—an iron fruit of the Western industrial revolution—and having to contend with the brutal reality of what an all-out armed conflict between two equally industrialized European empires entailed. To this point, only disease had been capable of causing such mass casualties during war. Finally, human technology had made strides

toward a level of lethal efficiency previously reserved for nature. This harsh truth had to be blunted before it reached Canadian shores, and softened still more before it was delivered to the wider population. A second motivation to employ wider censorship arose as Basen explains: “newspapers still eagerly supported the war effort, but they were also highly competitive, leading some to publish stories and pictures of troop movements that government officials considered inappropriate.” Here we begin to see for the first time market-induced friction between the profit-driven presses and the Canadian government. In an effort to quell this discord without alienating any members of the capitalist class, Sir Borden’s government, in June 1915, “established the office of the Chief Press Censor, which was responsible for ensuring that stories which were critical of military policy did not appear in the press. It would also ban stories that, in the opinion of the censor, were “assisting or encouraging the enemy, or preventing, embarrassing, or hindering the successful prosecution of the war” (Basen). Curiously, though not surprisingly, the Canadian government selected “former editor of the *Calgary Herald*, Lieutenant-Colonel Ernest J. Chambers” to fill the position. This move, likely aimed to abate any frustrations emerging among the presses’ owners, was successful in ensuring that “most publishers, reporters and editors welcomed the establishment of a chief press censor’s office, and the appointment of one of their own to the job” (Basen). This action taken by the government ensured that the market was given firm and universal parameters within which they were allowed to operate, and, as with any industry under a capitalist organization of the economy, these rules would be immediately wielded by those with the greatest concentration of power and wealth to cement their place at the top of the industry while creating an intra-industry policing

project with which any threats to their hegemony could be dismantled through guaranteed support from the Canadian Government. Basen, in his analysis, takes the position that the industry leaders “weren’t overly concerned about the potential infringement on the freedom of the press.” He argues that “they shared Chambers’s passionate commitment to the Empire and to victory, and were prepared to accept the paradox of curtailing free expression in order to protect democracy.” Although a fair assessment, Basen fails to condemn or even scrutinize the relationships between reader, writer, owner, and government.

These relationships, and the wider hierarchy of consumption upon which the newspaper industry in Canada was founded, are best examined in cross-sections determined by reach and capital. Though each segment of the industry follows the same general strategies and procedures, and makes use of the same prescribed vocabulary, the upper echelons of the industry are where these terms and operating strategies are conceived—or received from government—and from where they are disseminated. The daily newspaper represents the area of the industry which commanded the greatest degree of power in Canada during this time period. Robert Prince, in his 1998 dissertation *The Mythology of War: How the Canadian Daily Newspaper Depicted the Great War*, explores, through an “intensive analysis of a wide array of texts sampled from a group of ten representative daily newspapers” (ii), precisely how these ideological state apparatuses were able to sculpt and colour the public imagination during the Great War. An underlying assumption of Prince’s study is that joining the war effort on the side of the British Empire was a just cause. I do not seek to disagree with the author, here, but I do wish to acknowledge that this bias does shade his

vocabulary—as my biases shade my own writing. This presumptive framing arises early on in his work when he states:

> Despite facing severe wartime economic challenges, the business elite which controlled these dailies remained determined to use this influence for patriotic ends. Most daily publishers and editors saw their newspapers as key instruments in the maintenance of the national will to fight. (ii)

'Patriotism,' as used by Prince here, operates within the specific historical moment of Canada during the Great War, and in the specific context of a nation in a state of *total* war. However, varied notions of 'patriotism' will continue to be prevalent in Canadian media up to the present day as a means to justify foreign wars—or, in peacetime, nondescript military action—and to provide a motivation for the population to support foreign policy decisions made by the federal government in tandem with its industrial partners. Exploring the term's deployment within this specific context, Prince explains "dailies advanced a series of traditional myths to explain the purpose of the war, the nature of military combat and death, the place of modern technology in battle, and the construction of class and gender in a society at war" (ii). What is intriguing here is that these traditional myths, though their specifics and dressing would change over time, endure in their entirety in modern Canadian media. Prince also acknowledges the fact that this narrative of the 'business class,' though dominant and ironclad in the long-term, was not without its dissenters. He points to the daily paper *Le Devoir*, founded by French Canadian nationalist and anti-conscription politician Henri Bourassa in Montréal in 1910, as the lone daily willing to print articles which ran counter to the dominant mythology enshrined in the public imagination through the majority of the dailies.

However, according to Prince, “even *Le Devoir's* split from the standard interpretations of War and Canadian society was far from complete. Such was the enduring power of the conventional mythology that even some would-be critics were unable to avoid accepting aspects of the very myths they sought to attack” (iii). The pervasiveness of this constructed mythology led to a media environment adept in reiterative and recycled ideal-laundering, where by counterpoints and dissenters could be easily discounted or condemned by the sheer volume of hegemonic narrative. As Prince argues, the Canadian dailies of the time “were more than simply effective propagandists on behalf of the allied cause; they also ensured the continuing cultural hegemony of the dominant pre-war myths about warfare and Canada itself” (iii). Here the imperial roots of modern Canadian myths and propaganda techniques are clearly rendered in their nascent state, at a time when the language and vocabulary was only beginning to see its power demonstrated by the elites of Canadian government, industry, and society.

What may be characterized as chicanery inherent in this narrative building project is not, necessarily, a natural mutation in the lifespan of a journalistic or media enterprise, though perhaps such manipulative maneuvering is inevitable within the socioeconomic parameters of a capitalist, settler-colonial nation-state. The field of journalism itself is enshrined in the public consciousness of Western nations as one beholden to integrity and truth. The reality is, however, that this good faith is often deployed by the industry as a smokescreen. Patric Raemy and Tim P Vos, in their article “A Negotiative Theory of Journalistic Roles,” “[probe] how journalists negotiate the perceived discrepancy between their social role orientation and role performance” (107). The subjects of their analysis were asked “to interpret the perceived gap—found in

previous studies—between journalism ideals and journalism practice" (107), leading to an analysis which is largely centred on language and vocabulary as tools and institutional weapons. Raemy and Vos state that "journalists are institutional actors who use and adapt institutional scripts to perform institutional, social roles. Scripts, then, are largely discursive artifacts that express agreed upon obligations and guide journalists in their daily work" (1). The keystone of the prior research upon which Raemy and Vos have founded their work is explained as such:

> The legitimacy of an institution depends on its performance relative to established norms. Early literature presumed that journalists' ideal roles would be manifested in their work (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Empirical studies since then have found only limited support for that presumption and a number of studies indicate a gap between journalists' ideal roles and the roles they actually practice. (1)

In Canada, and the West more generally, the pressures imposed upon journalists have, historically, been of a financial nature. In the context of the Great War this pressure was exerted through the authoritarian hierarchy of the workplace, where the ideals, scripts, and outlooks of a paper's reporters were prescribed from the top down. As such, the operational parameters within which 'journalistic freedoms' are permitted to exist are enforced largely through financial means, forcing individual journalists to adopt the politics of their institution in their writing. The authors argue that, in the West, "Sociologists (e.g., Swidler, 1986) have long identified a process of loose coupling or decoupling between normative ideals and practices. Here, institutional or social values lose their guiding normative force, and while still invoked 'ceremonially' (Meyer &

Rowan, 1991, p. 41), no longer result in action" (1). This 'ceremonial' invocation of ideals, despite a lack of widespread practice, is representative of more than the media industries in Canada—both during the early years of the twentieth century and, now, a century later—and functions well as an analogue for the larger and ongoing nation-writing process.

Maintaining a focus on the Canadian press of the Great War period, the negotiative process of journalistic publishing can be seen more clearly among the smaller presses. Without the overhead and bloated administrative nature of the massive dailies of the time, local presses and their journalists were able to operate with limited interference from within, so long as they subscribed to the 'script' prescribed by the industry leaders and enforced by the Canadian government through the office of the chief press censor. Firsthand accounts of the fighting taking place in Europe were a favourite propagandistic tool of the local papers, as they provided to the public a glimpse into the 'reality' of the war. Here, however, curation and censorship obviously have an outsized influence on the editing process. Journalists and editors having to negotiate their own biases, the biases of their employers, their industry, and the government would obviously have been unable to provide a broadly truthful representation of the conflict. However, the use of firsthand accounts does inspire in the wider readership a renewed or enduring sense of trust in the industry. Eyewitness accounts, in the West, were and continue to be afforded a degree of import and reliability unparalleled in the realm of the written word.[36] The value of soldiers' letters

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[36] Cara Laney and Elizabeth F. Lotus, in their work "Eyewitness Testimony and Memory Biases" for Reed College, UC Irvine, plainly state that "eyewitnesses can provide very compelling legal testimony, but rather than recording experiences flawlessly, their memories are susceptible to a variety of errors and biases."

then, to the national war effort and the propagandistic endeavours of the presses, was unrivalled. The Canadian Letters & Images Project of Vancouver Island University, safeguarding an archive of original and published letters from the period, writes that "newspapers across Canada regularly printed letters home from overseas, either letters written directly to the newspaper by the soldiers, or first written to the family and then contributed to the paper by the family" ("Nanaimo Daily Free Press"). These letters, published by local newspapers such as "*The Nanaimo Daily Free Press* provide a fascinating look at the relationship of community and war as played out in the pages of the local newspaper" ("Nanaimo Daily Free Press"). Though numerous and varied in subject matter, each letter approved for publication may be seen as individually representative of an adherence to the prescribed script of acceptable reporting from the front. For example, a letter written by one Donald Clarke of South Wellington to his mother describes his being wounded during a gas attack in France on 4 November, 1917. The letter was published by the *Nanaimo Daily Free Press* on 5 December, that same year. Donald writes:

> Well mother, it took the Hun a long time to do me any damage, so I have no kick coming. Even now he hasn't placed me out of the war for long, for I don't doubt that by the time this reaches you I will once more be my same old self again. With me being here and Charlie in the hospital too it is the first time in nearly three years that our family is not represented at the front line. In a way it is very nice here, a fine bed and nothing to worry one, but I have to hurry back, as I expect Charlie will be going to the company any day and he will be disappointed if he doesn't find me there.

Of note here is the general tone of the letter—one of perseverance, innocent naïveté, and an unyielding will to rejoin the fight—along with the use of prescribed language[37] adhering to bourgeois ideals and a generally positive outlook on the war effort and the medical support systems. Obviously there are many concerns that might influence a soldier's tone and content when writing from a military hospital to concerned mother. Donald's positive register could be interpreted as nothing more than a son not wanting to worry his mother. There is also the issue of his not wanting his letter to be censored or confiscated before delivery to contend with. However, here I seek simply to examine the final published text, to focus on what it might convey at face value rather than speculate as to how it came to be written in such a way. The use of the term 'Hun' is an immediately apparent case of prescribed language being used in personal correspondence. First used by Kaiser Wilhelm II in a speech to German soldiers departing for China on 27 July, 1900, the term was quickly appropriated by the British and Empire press, being transformed from a courageous term harkening back to a proud military history to a barbarous label.[38] This relatively subtle reworking of language provided the Empire's presses and propagandists with a means of mass dehumanization which would, leading up to and throughout the war, be carried out on an industrial scale as the language became ingrained in the public register. A second point of note in

[37] 'Prescribed' here referring to specific language disseminated to the wider public via propagandistic efforts, though not limited to derogatory or dehumanizing language.
[38] Marc DeSantis, writing for the June/July 2022 edition of the *Military History Matters* magazine, recalls how "On 27 July 1900, Wilhelm gave a speech to his troops going to China to grapple with the Boxer Rebellion. 'No quarter will be given, no prisoners will be taken,' Wilhelm declared. 'Just as the Huns a thousand years ago, under the leadership of Etzel [Attila] gained a reputation in virtue of which they still live in historical tradition,' he continued, 'so may the name of Germany become known in such a manner in China that no Chinaman will ever again dare to look askance at a German.'"

Donald's letter is the revelation that the war, for him and his mother, is a family affair. In mentioning 'Charlie' —a sibling or cousin one might presume—readers are shown a young man, wounded yet determined, eager to heal in time to rejoin the fight for his Empire at his family's side. This serves to reinforce the agenda of total war forwarded by the Canadian government at the time. The Clarke family is shown to be doing its part in sacrificing life and limb for the greater good. Regardless of the veracity of this letter, the 'truth' it offers readers is there to be taken at face value. For who can presume to question the words of a wounded soldier? The publication of this text is a simple and unassuming piece of propaganda where no one—from editor to reader—is ever forced to confront the potential consequences of its publication or consumption.

From here it is useful to examine a pre-war voice as a means of demonstrating how the presses of Europe and its nations' colonial possessions had long been enshrining their trustworthiness by dressing their publishing with a veneer of journalistic integrity. Hanno Hardt, in his article "Communication is Freedom: Karl Marx on Press Freedom and Censorship" published in *Javost - The Public* in January, 2000, argues that Marx, "during his brief career as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* and *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne, Germany between 1843 and 1849" (85), publicly addressed what he regarded as systemic issues of freedom of communication. Hardt states that Marx's "quest for freedom and the disclosure of truth are cornerstones of resistance to official attempts to manipulate the understanding of freedom as license to act and to suggest that truth is relative and determinable by public authorities" (85), demonstrating the enduring relevance of his work as editor during the period of the Great War and beyond. Initially

Hardt designates, through Marx's work, two major areas of erosion within the media environment. Hardt writes:

> Marx identifies editorial practices with freedom of expression that belongs to working journalists as an individual or collective right that governs the relations between journalists and public and private authorities, including the owners of the press itself; freedom of the press, on the other hand, as an economic consideration is a professional prerequisite for intellectual labour. (85)

The conclusion which Hardt then draws from this is as follows: "to sustain democracy requires freedom of expression and the protection of the public sphere, including the media, particularly from forms of censorship that arise with the control of intellectual labour by those who own or influence the means of public communication" (85). This conclusion is significant for several reasons, chief among them being the assertion that regardless of the prevalence of state propaganda, propaganda levied on the part of the capitalist classes is of chief concern to Marx for the insidiousness inherent in the manipulation of a publicly trusted medium by its owners. The theories, ideas, and interpretations outlined by Hardt in this article will continue to serve as a precisely rendered means of critique throughout the remainder of my analysis. For now, within the context of the Canadian news media landscape during the Great War, they function largely as a bulwark against attempts to sterilize the actions taken by the capitalist classes in the theatre of propaganda and the manipulation of popular sentiment. Though official censorship and media oversight were employed by Sir Robert Borden's government throughout the conflict, the willingness of the owners of the presses to adopt, adapt, and advance these techniques to further their own political agendas was

just as significant at the time, and remains a crucial aspect of analyzing news media and propaganda in Canada today.

Returning now to my analysis of Frank Louis Rusciano's "The Construction of National Identity: A 23-Nation Study," the significance of the effects of wartime propaganda consumption on the Canadian citizenry becomes clear. The author explains that "a fundamental question regarding expressions of national pride are whether they are directed toward a state, considered as a set of governmental institutions and arrangements, or a nation, considered as an ethnic or religious entity" (363). This line of questioning is well suited to the perceived 'birth' of the nation of Canada as an independent state which was—according to the presses and the government of the time—achieved through their forces' victories on the Western Front during the war. The Canadian victory during the four-day battle for Vimy Ridge culminating on 12 April, 1917 remains the preeminent flashpoint within which the Canadian zeitgeist locates the 'true' birth of Canada. The victory does—to its credit—withstand the scrutiny of history as an example of strategic brilliance, the effective deployment of combined arms in tandem with modern technology and techniques, and the application of cellular leadership. As the Vimy Foundation—again, an anonymously funded organization which promotes the language of establishment mythologies—writes, the victory "symbolically showed the strength of Canadians when they fought as one. It was also important that the Canadian Corps, this small colonial unit, had managed to do what both its former colonial powers could not do in retaking the ridge" (The Battle at Vimy Ridge"). This sentiment is not one applied in retrospect, for even at the time the Canadians succeeding where the British and the French had failed was immediately

recognized as significant for the Canadian armed forces and the Allied war effort and was also regarded as a transformative moment within the budding project of Canadian nationalism. Reproduced below is the front page of the 10 April, 1917 edition of the *Ottawa Citizen*.

THE WEATHER FINE; WARMER

THE OTTAWA EVENING CITIZEN

THE PAPER THAT'S READ IN THE HOME

OTTAWA, CANADA, TUESDAY, APRIL 10, 1917. —FOURTEEN PAGES. Home Edition. PRICE TWO CENTS

BRITISH BAG YESTERDAY EXCEEDED 9,000 PRISONERS AND 40 GUNS

VIMY RIDGE, TAKEN BY CANADIANS, GREAT BASTION OF ENEMY'S WESTERN FRONT

FURTHER GAINS IN LAST NIGHT'S FIGHTING.---LONDON IS STIRRED BY THE SUCCESS OF NEW OFFENSIVE

GREAT SPRING DRIVE WIDENS NORTHWARD AND HAIG'S TROOPS CONTINUE SMASHING ADVANCE

CANADIANS ARE IN COMPLETE CONTROL OF THE VIMY RIDGE AND AT SOME POINTS BEYOND

Enemy Hold on Great Industrial Regions of North Now Considered Precarious. Progress East of Arras and Toward St. Quentin Announced Today. All Counter Attacks Last Night Decisively Repulsed by Our Forces.

HUGE CAPTURES BY BRITISH

TODAY'S GAINS IMPORTANT

EVERY HOUR ADDS GLORY TO VICTORY

THE SITUATION TODAY

Overlook Douai Plain.

Extends to La Bassee.

CANADIANS COMMAND VIMY RIDGE; ARE BEYOND IT AT SOME POINTS

Earlier official statements and graphic eye-witness accounts of yesterday's great British onslaught, including the Canadians' capture of the famous Vimy Ridge, appear on page 7.

TODAY'S OFFICIAL REPORTS

FROM BRITISH HEADQUARTERS

FROM FRENCH HEADQUARTERS

KING CONGRATULATES HAIG AND THE CANADIAN TROOPS WHO CAPTURED VIMY RIDGE

LONDON, April 10.—King George today sent this message to Field Marshal Haig:

"The whole empire will rejoice at the news of yesterday's successful operations.

"Canada will be proud that the taking of the coveted Vimy ridge has fallen to the lot of her troops.

"I heartily congratulate you and all who have taken part in this splendid achievement."

CANADIANS ARE HOLDING ALL GROUND GAINED IN YESTERDAY'S DRIVE AND ARE READY FOR FURTHER ADVANCE

BRITISH CAPTURES MAY REACH 15,000 PRISONERS AND 100 GUNS BY NIGHT

How Berlin Tells It.

Asks City to Pay.

PROOF OF WANTON DESTRUCTION IN WAKE OF GERMAN RETREAT

RUINS OF BAPAUME—(FROM FIRST PHOTOGRAPH TO REACH AMERICA)

In the picture is seen a view of a street in Bapaume, France, ruined by the Germans before their retreat in front of the advancing British. This is made from one of the first photographs of the German retreat to reach Canada.

MUNITION PLANT EXPLOSIONS, COSTLY FIRES AND HUN PLOTS MARK THE U. S. ENTRY INTO WAR

GREAT EXPLOSION WRECKS SHRAPNEL PLANT NEAR PHILADELPHIA, CAUSING HEAVY LOSS OF LIFE IT IS FEARED

Whole District Around Eddystone, Where Factory Was Located, Severely Shaken and Many Buildings Wrecked. Fire Follows Explosion. Women, Boys and Girls Largely Employed in Wrecked Plant.

Plot to Blow Up Capitol Reported.

Elected by Acclamation.

Mr. A. Angel Enlists.

Record Hog Prices.

INCENDIARIES BURN GRAIN ELEVATORS AT MINNEAPOLIS

Three Mysterious Blazes Cause Damage Totalling $3,000,000 and the Loss of Huge Quantity Wheat.

MOST OF CASUALTIES ARE SLIGHT WOUNDS

Premier Borden's Message.

THE WEATHER.

TO SAVE FOODSTUFFS USED FOR LIQUORS

Gain in Mesopotamia.

Boy Killed by Train.

CAPTURE OF VIMY MAY DEMORALIZE ENEMY STRATEGY

Canadian Feat of Arms Has Thrilled the Press and People of London. Troops Warmly Praised.

"GAIN REWARD OF PRICELESS VALUE"

Great Pivot of German Defence a Veritable Fortress Held Since 1914.

CANADIAN LOSSES WILL BE LIGHTER THAN EXPECTED

Estimated Sacrifice a Third of Strength But Happily This Not Suffered. Premier Sends Congratulations.

Fig. 1. *Ottawa Citizen* front page, 10 Apr. 1917. From: *Newspapers.com*. https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/455694140/

This page provides several examples of fossilized imperial vocabulary and operates within the scripts and structure of British print propaganda, while at the same time demonstrating the nascent stages of a budding Canadian nationalism as descendant yet something unique. Most notable is the reproduction of the United Press Dispatch printing King George V's praise for Field Marshal Haig, commander of the British Expeditionary Force on the Western Front, and the combined forces of all four divisions of the Canadian Corps. "Canada will be proud that the taking of the coveted Vimy Ridge has fallen to the lot of her troops," the King's congratulatory message reads; and this pride was most certainly felt, fuelling the installation of the capturing of the Ridge as the first keystone of the burgeoning pavilion of Canada's nationalistic narrative building process.

To achieve recognition as an independent nation-state in the collective discourse of 'global opinion,' Canada would need to do more than further distance itself from the British empire through uniquely Canadian victories upon the field of battle. To even begin along this trajectory toward generating a fresh collective identity, Canada would have to make use of the security afforded to it by the great expanses of ocean fortifying its borders and the allied superpower shielding its cultural and industrial underbelly. Canada, its government, its bourgeois media, and its citizenry would—upon the solid ground of their successes won during the Great War—embark upon a project of frenzied efforts toward nation building, constructing an identity for Canada as more than simply one settler-colonial nation among many. Though, even today, this project

remains far from finished, efforts were already well underway by the time Prime Minister Borden set out to embolden his constituents on the eve of war.

Returning again to the original set of questions posed to the respondents of Rusciano's study (see p. 60 of this thesis), the final two longer questions begin to have their intended probing made clear as an effort to subtly gauge a respondent's position along the *Fremdbild* scale. Regarding the first of the final pair of questions, Rusciano explains, "shame about one's national characteristics or actions implies a sensitivity (or fear) of others' judgments; but shame also carries with it another dimension beyond sensitivity […] hence, the question regarding shame also speaks directly to the moral component of world opinion and the threat of isolation" (362). The latter of the final pair of questions then seeks to begin to give shape to the 'global community' within which any given nation-state exists, and from which it could find itself isolated. This second question, according to Rusciano, "tests whether respondents are willing to give up national autonomy to an international body to enforce solutions to global problems" (362). It follows, then, that it "tests whether respondents desire to be part of an international community, as indicated by their willingness to adhere to other nations' judgments in collective endeavours" (362). This pair of questions, when combined, is able to "indicate an awareness of *world opinion about the international reputation or image of the respondent's nation*. As such the two variables [are] combined into an index, referred to here as IMAGE, which serves as an initial measure of a nation's *Fremdbild*" (362). This provides the second half of the initial measures generated from a factor analysis of Rusciano's two sets of questions. The use cases of the data gathered and interpreted by Rusciano are obviously numerous and varied. The underlying

circumstances of the study itself are, however, much less nuanced. What the study fails to adequately probe in its efforts to quantify an as of yet unquantifiable sensation or shared imagining is how ideas of nationalism are created, disseminated, absorbed, and regurgitated. Language, news media, and other subtle forms of industry and government propaganda are so pervasive in the modern, digital social sphere of Western nations that the answers provided by Rusciano's respondents are not so much independent conclusions as reiterated amalgamations of prescribed narratives and scripts. Nearly a century on from the conclusion of the Great War, Rusciano—knowingly or unknowingly—continued to theorize within the confines placed upon his sociopolitical imagination by the first monopolists and oligarchs of a nascent system of globalizing capitalism.

Capitalism remains the primary factor in determining the trajectory of a nationally imagined Canada founded upon victories achieved along the Western Front during the Great War. Tim Cook and J.L. Granatstein—in their 2020 collection of essays *Canada 1919 A Nation Shaped by War*, published through the Canadian War museum—make the claim that, "despite their enormous pride in wartime accomplishments, Canadians remained an unmilitary people" (9). Though the War had provided a space within which the Canadian population, alongside the dominion's budding industrial might and immense resource wealth, could be mobilized effectively and military successes achieved, it did little to afford stability on the home front. Rampant attempts to maintain the concentration of wealth domestically by the bourgeoisie and the federal government had seen capitalism tighten its grip on working

Canadians and their society. According to Cook and Granatstein, in the immediate post-war era:

> Domestic issues were far more important than world affairs, it seemed. Canada's government stumbled along with Borden overseas. The coalition government […] tried to scale down the orders, rules, and regulations it had imposed in wartime, but once power was accrued in Ottawa, few politicians were willing to return to the laissez-faire tactics of the prewar period. Besides, ministers and officials believed that Bolsheviks and socialists posed serious and credible threats to the established order, as they sought a better deal for the working class in a solidly capitalist country. (9)

This preexisting class divide saw itself exacerbated by the widespread belief, on the part of veterans and their supporters, that the debt owed by the upper echelons of Canadian society to the working classes was not being repaid. In fact, the opposite was true. According to the authors:

> The government had fended off the wartime calls of organized labour to conscript wealth—a bridge too far for capitalist politicians who preferred to conscript bodies—and the same leaders reacted aggressively when Winnipeg was shut down by a general strike in May [1919]. Seeing reds in every shadow, Ottawa called out the Mounties and the militia to maintain order and smash heads. (9)

Alongside the rest of the British Empire and the remainder of the Western world, Canada's federal government was forced to contend with the very real possibility of a popular communist revolution fuelled by the modernist frustrations of the era. Here is

where the need for an effective imagined Canada arises, on the part of the domestic ruling class. This novel, distinct, imagined nation—rooted in the fertile mythic soil of victory—could serve to obfuscate communist and socialist endeavours through an emerging fog of nationalism. The economy needed to be protected from collectivization so as to ensure the endurance of wealth concentration. Alliances with the Old World and the United States were crucial to the continued economic prosperity of Canada, and capitalism the only economic system permitted. To this end, new myths and stories had to be generated from the material extracted from the lives and deaths of the working masses sent to fight. "Even Canadian culture changed," the authors write. "The nation's painters had begun to break free from some stultifying European traditions, and war service as official artists overseas and at home provided new opportunities" (10). The story of a young nation whose steel, still malleable, was tempered in the trenches of France yielded profound narrative potential; though "sorrow and pride were also on full display in postwar Canada […] in the memories of soldiers and citizens, with much of the horror [was] mitigated by memories of comradeship and great deeds done" (11). Nationalism was the opiate of choice for the bourgeoisie in treating the social unrest during the fallout of the Great War. For, "Canada truly was a country shaped by war, a nation that could never be the same as it had been before 1914" (11); because of this, the new truths being woven were rooted in the fertile soil of recent memory. The emotions the working classes were experiencing were being validated, while their frustrations and efforts were being redirected. Though far from novel, this technique of redirection is crucial in accessing the creation of an imagined Canada.

Canada, as a matter of circumstance, has always maintained a commensal relationship with the sitting hegemon of the West's imperial core. This commensalism has afforded Canada's national myth building project the space and material to weave a vocabulary from acts of military service and foreign interventions carried out under the supervision of its contemporary hegemon. Today, more than a century after the Great War, the modern linguistic crenellations which adorn the language of Canadian governance and its national media—directly evolved from the vocabulary and signifiers first expressed during the dominion's transition toward full nation-statehood during the Great War—serve, still, to render palatable to the contemporary citizenry the ancient Western supremacist and hyper-exploitative vocabulary of empire.

Chapter 2

From Liberation to ‘Liberation’: Canada as Peacemaker

The Second World War, like the Great War which preceded it, was a conflict stripped of all complexity and largely positioned, in hindsight, in the Global North’s common consciousness as a uniquely Western war despite its immediate effects on North Africa, the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent, the Pacific Theatre, the Asian mainland, and the wider world. The Second World War reinforced Canada’s hard-fought position as a liberating force in Europe, a label which was subsequently exploited by the press and the Canadian government in the aftermath of the conflict. Despite documented war crimes (though, admittedly, far fewer than were officially documented during the Great War) and a penchant for ursine ferocity (Mitcham and Von Stauffenberg, Stacey) consistent with the actions carried out by the Canadian Expeditionary Force during the Great War, the over one million Canadian service members and their respective branches of the armed forces emerged from the Second World War with a reputation for strategic and individual excellence and a battlefield record of successes to support it (Cook, “After Victory”; Dzuiban). While individuals within the Canadian forces did commit unconscionable acts of brutality, massacres and crimes against humanity were standard operating procedure for Himmler’s SS. Relativity—here meaning the comparison between actions taken by two warring states—and the perspective of a liberated and victorious Western European populace safeguarded Canada’s reputation on paper through little more than deferential reporting, tightly controlled flows of information, and a sympathetic, complicit press. Though not as immediately impressive as its actions during the Great War, Canada’s actions still

played a vital role in realizing an Allied victory, most notably in the European theatre. The role of the national mythology in fuelling this victory was immense—with victory then lending itself to a renewed enrichment of the national mythos. Figure 2, an excerpt from the 24 August, 1940 edition of the *Hamilton Spectator*, provides a glimpse into the direct maintenance of this narrative building project.

IMPORTANT TASK FACING WRITERS OF THE COUNTRY

Authors' Duty to Inform Soldiers of Ideals Behind Fight

GIVE GREAT HELP

Ste. Anne de Bellvue, Que., Aug. 24.—(CP)—Canadian writers have the "clear and definite duty" of keeping the democratic ideal constantly before the nation's eye, Madge MacBeth, of Ottawa, said to-day in her presidential address before the first war-time convention of the Canadian Authors' association.

"This is not a time to stop writing," she told the gathering of about 100 Canadian literary folk attending the association's 19th annual meeting at MacDonald college here. "Our duty is to keep telling our heroic youth—and those who stay at home—what they are fighting for."

There were thousands of boys in the front lines who didn't know, who were "giving themselves to this war with a sense of bewilderment and confusion," she said.

"We can help. We can show them that they're fighting for a proud and honourable past . . . for a mad fantastic present when we are thoughtlessly enjoying the fruits of the labour of those who built and dreamed for us . . . for a future chastened by the weight of this experience, a future of better balances."

Hamilton Man Speaks

Other speakers scheduled to address the opening session were Louise Sillcox, delegate of the Authors' League of America; Jean-Charles Harvey, of Montreal, editor of Le Jour, and Prof. W. Kirkconnell, of McMaster university, Hamilton, Ont.

Miss MacBeth said Canadian authors had a real part to play in "the drama of Canada" and "nationel service" called them as never before.

"We have our place in the battle front. We have a spiritual boundary to defend, and I know that, determined and united, we can be an important factor in winning this war. Our association ought to be listed at the head of the natural — or national — resources."

She described the organization as "almost the only link" stretching from coast to coast in Canada and uniting east with west.

Comparing the position of Canadian writers with those of certain other countries, she said they had everything in their favour. Elsewhere the "shadow of the censor" lay across the profession and prevented the production of great books, forcing creative impulses to "writhe within fixed limits."

Fig. 2. *Hamilton Spectator* excerpt, 24 Aug. 1940. From: *Democracy at War: Canadian Newspapers and the Second World War*.

https://www.warmuseum.ca/cwm/exhibitions/newspapers/information_e.html

MacBeth is calling here for the championing of the liberal "democratic ideal" by the nation's writers. She clearly articulates her perception of their duty to this ideal and the nation beneath it—that being to explain to the nation what its youth are signing on to fight and die for, what is at stake, and what is to be secured through victory. She draws on a romanticized and heavily whitewashed notion of Canada's past while promoting a naive view of its present which fails to interrogate the gross domestic injustices still plaguing the young nation, most notably those which fall along lines of class, gender, or racial identity. The narrow spectrum of her point of view betrays an adherence to the bourgeois ideologies present in the sphere of Canadian cultural and media production at the time, either unconscious or wielded in an attempt to support the war effort; intent here matters little in the face of outcome, when the lives of a nation's youth are on the line. What is perhaps most significant in this excerpt, however, is MacBeth's declaration that the writers in Canada, those within the industry who render ideas and ideals in print, have a "real part to play in the 'drama of Canada.'" Painting this as the duty of writers, as a call to serve, renders MacBeth and her peers servile to a larger project. What MacBeth fails to probe in this brief excerpt is precisely to whom or what specifically they are in service to, who directs the 'drama' with which she and other Canadian writes engage and with which the general population must interact on a daily basis. Significant to my line of inquiry specifically is MacBeth's assertion that, at the time of the Second World War, Canada's writers were "almost the only link" uniting

the heavily provincialised nation. This betrayed a belief of those occupying a significant post within the contemporary industry of cultural production that it was ideology rather than material conditions that tethered the disparate regions of the country and their respective populations to the imagined conceptualization of ‘Canada’ as a mythical entity. To shore up the validity of this ideological unification project and the industry tasked with much of its dissemination, MacBeth lauds the freedom of Canadian writers from the “shadow of the censor” which she feels plagues the writers of other nations—forcing their “creative impulses to ‘writhe within fixed limits.’” By forwarding this myth of the ‘free press’ and the freedom of expression supposedly enjoyed by Canadian writers, she fails to acknowledge both the very real history of official censorship within Canada (Purcell),[39] and the more subtle or unseen forms of censorship inherent in any cultural production industry existing under capitalism.[40] Overall, MacBeth’s idealism reflects a dedication to the maintenance of Canada as a mythical entity, distinct on the continent and separate from its colonial past.

The anxieties harboured by many Canadians and Canadian institutions surrounding the growing cultural congruencies—spurred on by America’s dominance in Anglophone media—between their young nation and the ascendant United States continued to swell during and in the decades immediately following the Second World

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[39] In Canada, censorship has been largely used “for the purpose of forestalling perceived challenges to the existing moral or political order. Ironically, these weaknesses are largely a product of the difficulties in liberal democratic theory and practice of regulating the content of publications openly” (Ryder).

[40] Forms of censorship under capitalism obviously vary widely, but to maintain my focus on those applicable to my thesis I gesture to the following three: the self-censorship which arises as a result of having been immersed in a market saturated with a particular set of dominant ideologies; the top-down censorship inherent in a publishing or media company which is not socialized; and the ‘censorship’ which stems from a readership being perceived to be opposed to certain subject matters and the need to generate a profit prohibiting risk taking in publishing.

War. These anxieties prove ironic, if not entirely hypocritical, as a uniquely Canadian culture or national identity—insofar as one existed—was little more than a thin membrane given form only via the iron skeleton about which it clung. As I have demonstrated in Chapter One of this thesis, prior to the Great War the differences between Canada and its southern neighbour were rooted in the dominion's Britishness, thus shoring up the former colony as a distinct entity on the North American continent. This relative form of nationalism, reliant on centuries of imperial pride, proved capable of providing Canada with a bountiful and potent cocktail of patriotism and righteousness. However, after the imperial core of the West was moved by America's sheer industrial and military might westward across the Atlantic at the turn of the twentieth century, the differences between Canadian and American cultures became more challenging to locate. The Americanization of Canadian myths increased as the new imperial power dominated the anglophone cultural and media spheres, but the central bourgeois ideologies at the core of the Canadian mythos persisted.

Suzann Buckley's article "Reflections on Canadian Imperialism" explores the anxieties of the capitalist class with regard to its continued dictation of the operations and ideologies of Canada's governance and population in the decades of the early to mid-twentieth century. Buckley examines various approaches and analyses of Canada's transition from colony to nation-state. In doing so, she articulates many of the concerns of the ruling classes of various eras—those being divided, for the purpose of my thesis, into the eras of the Great War, the Second World War, the Cold War, and the 'War on Terror.' Citing a study conducted by O. D. Skelton in his work *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, Buckley analyses how the political mainstay "felt that close involuntary

ties with Britain would impede Canada's progress towards self-governance." Buckley continues, outlining how "in the decades following the 1920s, as the United States gradually surpassed Britain as a world power, the fears of historians of Canada came to focus upon the potential American domination of Canada" (46). These anxieties are significant, for they demonstrate an enduring project of the domestic ruling class to cordon off their domain as a distinct entity within the West, and specifically within the Anglosphere. By laying a substrate of national ideals and ideologies which draw from but exist in relativity to those of their British and American peers, the Canadian bourgeoisie—through their ownership of the social means of production—could ensure the endurance of their status and independence from external imperial oversight. Despite this perceived separation, Canada's capitalists and its ruling elite had still to submit to the winds of hegemony, and in the post-war period these winds were generated in the wake of the American ascent to the mantle of neocolonialism.

Though I will be brief here in my analysis of the narrative-working project of Canada's elites and media dogmatists during the Second World War—as I am locating the conflict largely as a fulcrum about which the general thrust of the nation's prescribed ideologies would pivot—I would like to make clear the extent of post-war efforts to cleanse the image of the nation's actions during the conflict. Again, Canada was, by military measures, rather successful during the war. The nation's failures—Dieppe, for instance—were largely attributed to poor British strategy and command (Granatstein), while the successes of its merchant marine, navy, pilots, and ground troops were instrumental in the Battle for the Atlantic, the Italian Campaign, and the invasion and liberation of Western and Northern Europe (Burt). The actions of the Canadian state, the

Liberal Party government of King, his Cabinet War Committee, and the actions of the Canadian Armed Forces themselves during this period are often at odds with the image which has been retroactively applied via this national narrative building project—the image of Canada as a benevolent liberator and a defender of liberal 'democracy.'

The establishment of this image—relying on the myths reified during the Great War and the inter-war decades—was first unveiled during a speech by then Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King in the House of Commons in September 1939. King's speech began as follows:

> Unhappily for the world, Herr Hitler and the Nazi regime in Germany have persisted in their attempt to extend their control over other peoples and countries, and to pursue their aggressive designs in wanton disregard of all treaty obligations, and peaceful methods of adjusting international disputes. They have had to resort increasingly to agencies of deception, terrorism and violence. It is this reliance upon force, this lust for conquest, this determination to dominate throughout the world, which is the real cause of the war that to-day threatens the freedom of mankind [sic].

Though 'true'—if imprecise—these vague platitudes are made all the more insidious by their blatant hypocrisy. King condemns the Nazi regime for committing acts which contain elements of the violent creation of the colonies which became Canada and the United States.[41] Canadian versions of the "agencies of deception, terrorism and violence" were instrumental in the protracted genocide of the Indigenous, Inuit, and

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[41] I am not, here, seeking to conflate the Holocaust of Europe's Jews at the hands of the Nazis to the genocide of North America's indigenous peoples. Rather, I seek to draw parity between the expansionist, colonial undercurrent which fueled the Nazi war machine—as opposed to its genocidal project—and the colonization of the North American continent.

Métis peoples by Canadian settlers. The final sentence of the above excerpt from King's speech is, perhaps, its most ironic aspect—in the sense that it is more 'true' than he likely intended. Wanton conquest and an insatiable lust for global domination on the part of European settler-colonialism was indeed the "real cause" of the Second World War, although Hitler's violent conquest in his search for *lebensraum* could not be wholly to blame. The imperialist aspirations of the entire continent—were King being less careful and more accurate with his speech—ought to have been examined and assigned blame in equitable measures. Alas, a key figurehead in the mid-century arm of the Canadian project, King kept pace with his British counterparts and once more leaned on the established mythos of Canada in an effort to align the nation's wartime trajectory and messaging with that of its European allies. That being said, King did make a point of reaffirming Canada's newfound independence from Britain, stating: "All I need to add at the moment is that Canada, as a free nation of the British Commonwealth, is bringing her cooperation voluntarily. Our effort will be voluntary." Here he centres the independence of the nation from overt oversight by the British, before making clear in the following few lines the position of Canada as a modern nation-state within a wider global community:

> The people of Canada will, I know, face the days of stress and strain which lie ahead with calm and resolute courage. There is no home in Canada, no family, and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle. I appeal to my fellow Canadians to unite in a national effort to save from destruction all that makes life itself worth living, and to preserve for

> future generations those liberties and institutions which others have bequeathed to us.

That the "present struggle" to which all Canadians' futures were bound was occurring half a world away on foreign soil is significant in that it demonstrates how the iteration of globalization which arose through European settler-colonialism was so crucial to Canada's self-image, conceptualization, security, and—in a very real sense—its future. In the same few lines King also makes clear his dedication to the status quo, to the "liberties and institutions" bequeathed to Canada by its former imperial masters. In doing so he ties not only the future of average Canadians to the outcome of the war, but the very systems which had afforded the young nation access to global markets and their own resource wealth—wealth which was, and remains, highly concentrated among the domestic bourgeoisie, and of which they and their peers in government were highly protective. Thus, the image of the future at risk which King articulated through this speech encompasses the working classes—which were tasked with providing the youth whose lives would be spent in service of victory, and the labour with which weapons of war would be produced—as well as the bourgeoisie and ruling class, whose way of life, according to King, was at equal risk before the Nazi threat. The ideals which King purported to defend here, however, are rather vague. It must be said that the "liberties and institutions" which he championed were, by their very nature, highly exclusionary. As a holdover from the colonial age and the means by which Canada was created, white supremacy and hereto-patriarchy were engrained in the very fabric of Canada's systems and institutions—both public and private. This fact is, obviously, at odds with the cries for liberal universalist freedoms which King espoused in his speech.

The most glaring of the hypocrisies or narrative contradictions forwarded by King or his government is, perhaps, the antisemitism and the disregard for the genocide of Europe's Jews at the hands of the Nazis and their puppet states harboured by the Canadian elite,[42] the media, and the wider populace preceding, during, and in the immediate aftermath of the War (Abella and Troper, Celemencki). According to the official website for the Canadian Government's subsection on "History of Canada and the Holocaust," "The Canadian experience of the Holocaust was also one of resilience and hope. In April 1945, Canadian forces liberated the Westerbork Transit Camp in the Netherlands, including 900 Dutch Jews who were still interned there." This brief yet official summary—last edited in 2022—obviously stands in stark contrast to the "none is too many" attitude upheld by the director of the Government of Canada's Immigration Branch during the Second World War, Frederick Blair, regarding the taking in of European Jews following the War.[43] Richard A. Jones, in his review of Irving Abella and Harold Troper's *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948*, offers a remarkable analysis of this expansive text by invoking the parallel crime of the period that was Canada's treatment of its citizens of Japanese descent. Jones's approach to this text is intriguing, as he speaks to his experience in using it in his courses at Duke

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[42] 'Elite' hear refers to the bourgeoisie or capitalist class, in the Marxist conceptualization. According to William K. Carrol in his 2008 article "The Corporate Elite and the Transformation of Finance Capital: A View From Canada," this class of Canadian elites arose due to the "enormous concentrations of industrial and financial capital that issued from the merger movements at the turn of the century." This, he explains, "created a community of interests between directors of the largest banks (who controlled much of the available money capital) and the directors of the largest corporations (who required great quantities of money-capital to finance the expansion of their industrial capital)" (44).

[43] "The phrase has become a terse summation of Canada's minimal efforts to save or provide haven to European Jews in the years leading to the Holocaust, and it encapsulates the anti-Semitism prevalent in the country at the time" ("None is too many").

University. As a professor disseminating and discussing Abella and Troper's text and its complex material, Jones has, in a sense, become an active participant in a sort of didactic opposition to the protracted project of national narrative-writing constantly being undertaken by the Canadian cultural production and media industries. While speaking to the Canadian habit of analyzing the nation's acts relative to those of their American neighbours, Jones states, "Canadians had been suffering from collective amnesia, for example, in regard to their treatment of the Japanese-Canadians who, during World War II, had been uprooted, despoiled of their property, and interned in camps" (84).[44] This shameful history—drawn directly from his parallel analysis of Ann Gomer Sunhara's book *The Politics of Racism*—is used by Jones as a contrast to Abella and Troper's *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948*, and as a means of discrediting colloquial Canadian righteousness and stripping the nation's excusers of their claims to moral superiority over the preeminent belligerents of the Second World War, most notably those on the Allied side. Jones saliently frames his approach to Sunhara's text as follows, stating that what he finds most interesting about the subject of lecturing on these periods of human history rendered grotesque by certain groups is that "as the events themselves [recede] in time," there is a prevalence of

[44] To contextualize Jones's use of "Canadians" here, in contrast to "Japanese-Canadians," and my use of his language, I would remind the reader of Canada's inception and ongoing existence as a settler-colonial nation-state dependent on white supremacy. Naturally, what follows is the need to, as Jones does, distinguish between those who are—at a particular moment in time—considered 'white,' or a member of the dominant cultural/ethnic group, and those who are not. This means that during the time period being discussed by Jones, recent European arrivals—new, white members of the Canadian labour aristocracy—potentially fleeing dispossession and repression in their home countries would fall closer to the general label of 'Canadian' than a recent arrival from Japan. 'White,' in this instance may function as a metaphor for Western—likely with Christian connotations—rather than a matter of physical colour (Hage 1998).

"changing attitudes toward these events among people who do not themselves remember, but who do interpret them in light of their own experiences" (85-86). This understanding is crucial to my analysis as Jones, in the clearest of terms, outlines precisely how the ideologies prescribed by the Canadian bourgeois systems of cultural and media production onto the wider citizenry are capable of shading not only the population's experience of their present and their expectations for their future, but also their understandings of their shared history. In this way a national amnesia is coaxed by the few—via ideological state apparatuses—to assert control over the trajectory of the many.

Having established this footing, Jones then takes steps toward carefully criticizing the approach and the conclusions of Sunhara. Although thorough in her identification and analysis of key individuals within the cabinet of Prime Minister King most directly responsible for the internment of Canada's Japanese citizenry, the author, according to Jones, fails to properly interrogate the role played by historical anti-Asian racism within Canada. This situates the "blame for government policy on a small group of racist politicians who moulded public opinion and smeared the Japanese, condemning them in the eyes of the Canadian public as security risks" (89). This Jones contrasts with *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948* by claiming that "although Abella and Troper also discover villains in government circles, public opinion does not get off so lightly" in their work (89). Jones praises the authors for their thoroughness in scrutinizing the pervasive racism which took root among the settler population of Canada in the earliest days of the colony's admittance of non-white labourers. A key example provided by Abella and Troper supporting a more nuanced

understanding of how and by whom this xenophobia of the masses was generated is given in their analysis of the practice of importing labour forces in an effort to maintain the swollen labour pool needed to sustain an industrializing nation prioritizing profit over social policies. Speaking to this argument, Jones writes, “the Canadian Pacific Railway and other railroads, as well as other industries, notably those linked to the exploitation of natural resources, could be expected to lobby vigorously for immigration” (92). Thus, the racism and bigotry which so effectively complements the boom and bust cycle of a capitalist organization of the economy is shown, through Jones’s interpretation of Abella and Troper’s text, to have been sewn amongst the Canadian working classes as early as the practice of importing extracted labour began—most notably in British Columbia through the import of Chinese labourers during the late nineteenth century and their subsequent mass unemployment following the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Dianne Oliver). The artificial sense of competition induced by the capital owners into the labour pool ensures there is no space for a wider adoption of class consciousness or collective bargaining. By pitting labourer against labourer through narratives of ethnic or cultural superiority paired with the looming threats of poverty and hunger, and by characterizing recent immigrants as threats to the very *identity* of Canadian society, the domestic bourgeoisie maintain their position as a parasitic class feeding off the material and human wealth of the young nation. This attitude was most certainly pruned and maintained up and through the Second World War. Anti-semitism, as entrenched in Canada at this point as any other form of xenophobia, most certainly played a role in Canada accepting the lowest number of Jewish refugees among all of the allied nations before, during, and after the conflict,

that number amounting to fewer than 5000 persons between 1933 and 1945 (Maron). Jones, in his review of *None is Too Many*, writes, "Gallup polls showed that 'most Canadians were indifferent to the suffering of the German Jews and hostile to their admission to Canada.' In a poll taken in October 1946, respondents were asked to list undesirable immigrant groups. Not surprisingly, the Japanese placed first; next came the Jews whom 49 percent of Canadians saw as undesirable" (93). This is the legacy—founded upon racist ideologies meticulously curated and prescribed via the ideological state apparatuses at the disposal of the capitalists and their allies or peers in government—from which the new image of Canada as a saviour figure, a 'peacekeeper,' would paradoxically emerge in the decades following this black chapter in global history.

The speed with which Canada saw its national image not only rehabilitated but glorified to untenable levels in the years immediately following the Second World War can be explained through the role played by the nation as a stalwart ally of the United States, their European allies and recipients of the funds deployed through the Marshal Plan, and the burgeoning forces of NATO. Of this remarkable chapter in history, that which is most significant to my analysis of the conscious construction of Canada's national mythos is the demonstration of how wartime alliances—however mutually beneficial they may be during a conflict—remain weaker than the values prescribed for Canada by its domestic bourgeoisie and those of the imperial core of the West. Canada's prosperous wartime alliances with The Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics buckled and collapsed in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, as the importance of peace was rendered tertiary to the need for continued

Western dominance in the colonized world and the endurance of industrialized capitalism as the sole economic system in the post-war world order. Despite the leading role played by the Soviets in defeating the spread of fascism in Europe, and the brutality faced by the Chinese at the hands of Imperial Japan, these allies of opportunity were poised then to threaten the hierarchal world order cemented under capitalism and, as a result, they were cast aside by the West. Canada's actions during the conflict would be mythologized, as the young nation's image as a figure of righteous liberation and a bastion of liberal Western 'democracy' was carefully and swiftly stabilized by those at the helm of power and capital. Through the moulding of public opinion via ideological state apparatuses, those who were only years before portrayed as firm allies were rendered as hostile 'others' poised to threaten the Canadian way of life.

Chapter 3

Force Projection: Canada as Patriarch

As the Second World War met its end, and the ossified propaganda of the British Empire proved too inflexible to survive the emergence of the bipolar global political sphere of the Cold War period, the gradual shift in bourgeois superscripts and ideologies which had rapidly accelerated throughout the War began to calcify into a reorganized and coherent mythos of 'Canada.' This new passage marring the fractal palimpsests of imagined Canadas, its ideals firmly aligned with the designs and desires of America's neocolonial elite, tethered itself to the momentum of schemes for an enduring capitalist world order.[45] Despite the ascent of America to the helm of the imperial core and the effects[46] felt by Canadian government and industries, this new era saw the central ideals of the crystallized British imperial myths refracted into the modern era via the same ideological state apparatuses configured for power projection and liberal propagandizing perfected during the World Wars and the interwar period—chief among those being the 'free' Canadian press in its various forms. The complex bipolar nature of geopolitical tensions between the opposed superpowers of the USSR and the United States of America at this time, however, necessitated a more limber application of ideological state apparatuses and new means of power projection—soft

[45] "Canada's undersecretary of state for external affairs, Lester Pearson, was focusing on 'Cementing a Cold War partnership with the United States' at virtually any cost" (Sayle). "Many influential Canadian officials already believed that an aggressive Soviet Union needed to be 'contained'" (Oliver, Dean).

[46] Such effects, to speak in general terms, included renewed foreign oversight—this time by the Americans as opposed to the British—in the industrial, economic, financial, and political spheres. Media and cultural production also had to contend with major American influence and cultural imperialism.

and hard—and, in turn, novel channels for wealth extraction as Canada's capitalists, following the current of Western capital, fixed their gaze beyond its borders (Eayrs). Once the USSR and China began regularly testing and stockpiling their proven nuclear weapons, in 1949 and 1964 respectively, it became impossible for the American-led imperial West to continue their probing acts of conventional aggression along the East-West axis. Faced with new peer nations, the United States and the rest of the Western hegemonic nations needed to adapt by adjusting their focus southward to the resource-rich and politically unstable decolonizing and developing world.

The Cold War, like other conflicts, was—in terms of motivations and state posturing—largely a war of stories—stories of pasts, presents, and prospective futures, imagined identities drawn from invented systems of denoting 'otherness' pitted against an 'other' imagined to be the enemy. 'Imagined' here of course describes the coerced ideological imagination of the Canadian masses prescribed via ideological state apparatuses. The war was, in this way, a protracted struggle fought between superpowers on the volatile plane of the global public consciousness as it was contradictorily constructed by opposed authors—the loudest two, necessarily, being the Americans and the Soviets, whose narratives were parroted by their allies—manipulating language, media, communication, and other forms of public texts (Barnhisel, Belmonte, Bernhard, Rawnsley, Schwalbe). Canada, existing in the military and economic shadow of the established global hegemon at the time, cast its fortune at the foot of American supremacy. This national direction—a realpolitik outgrowth of geography, history, and longstanding military and political alliances within the Anglosphere paired with a fervent support for capitalism among the Canadian ruling

class and the corporate media[47]—would cement the trajectory of the nation. This course positioned Canada as a key ally in the destruction of labour (Sangster), socialist, and anti-imperialist[48] movements, both domestically and abroad. To this end, the image of 'Canada as liberator' would become inseparable from the notion of 'liberation' adopting the rigid facade of capitalist liberalism and, later in the Cold War, the ever more tenacious *neoliberal* capitalism.[49] Thus, the role of the 'peacekeeper' was born, a role

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[47] Robert Teigrob, in his 2009 book *Warming up to the Cold War: Canada and the United States' coalition of the willing, from Hiroshima to Korea*, writes the following of Canada during the Cold War period: "politicians seeking public assent, therefore, are particularly beholden to the views expressed by dominant news organizations, and my study points to several instances where the press exerted considerable sway over the crafting of both domestic and foreign policy. Citizens, for their part, rely heavily on the media in order to comprehend conceptions of, and to formulate their own relationship toward, public and national attitudes" (6). He continues, stating, "Canada has a unique relationship with the communications industry: along with the nation s transportation infrastructure, communication has long been viewed as a core ingredient in binding together a sparsely populated and regionally disparate nation" (6). Finally, speaking in a specifically Canadian context, Teigrob reiterates the understanding that "corporate news media organizations constitute elite and interested parties that replicate dominant power structures and ideologies" (7).

[48] America's neoimperialist endeavours—military, economic, or clandestine— are "part of a very deliberate agenda that denies self-determination to the peoples of the world, keeps the world safe for the rights of investors, corporations, and militarists, and undermines democracy on behalf of elites in the rich countries (and their clients in the poor countries). In most of these ventures, Canada has been openly supportive; in others, its support has been behind-the-scenes" (Podur).

[49] Franca Iacovetta, in her article "Recipes for Democracy?: Gender, Family, and Making" (2000), frames the reality of liberal democratic ideals in Canada during the Cold War as follows: "During the past several decades, feminist and left scholars of immigrant and refugee women and women of colour have exposed—both through empirical documentation and careful rethinking of conventional categories of nation, immigrant, and citizen—the material and ideological processes central to the 'making' of nation-states and national identities. Many now acknowledge that nation-building is premised on the political and social organization of 'difference,' and that it creates both citizens (or potential citizens) and non-citizens denied rights. That First World nations in the EU and NAFTA champion globalization and free trade zones while at the same time 'police' their borders against 'others' (especially Third World migrant workers) speaks volumes on the topic. Studies of contemporary migration note the growing female presence among migrant workers around the world, while those focused on Canada show how racist, class-based, and heterosexist paradigms continue to define mainstream notions of Canada and Canadian. This situation prevails despite the long history and enduring impact of immigration to Canada, and its increasingly multiracial profile" (12).

Canada would come to inhabit with ferocious efficacy befitting its record of dedication to imperial campaigns (Ismi).[50]

Peacekeeping serves as a sound ingress point into an analysis of the ideological landscape of the Canadian mythos in a newly bipolar world. It serves as such for several reasons, but most pertinent to my particular reading of the hegemonic imagined Canada, it represents a mirrored egress point into the post 9/11 world and the modern 'War on Terror.' 'Peacekeeping,'[51] as it is colloquially understood in our modern, post-globalization[52] era, is a late twentieth-century phenomenon in the history of interventions by third parties into the affairs of belligerents. In 1956, after Egypt exercised its right to nationalize the Suez Canal and was subsequently invaded by Britain, France, and Israel, "Canadian Secretary of State Lester B. Pearson proposed at

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[50] The official Canadian stance on the American invasion of Vietnam after their successful revolution against their French colonizers is a sound example of Ottawa folding before Washington. "We cannot know how high the price would have been if we had […] refused to serve US interests in Vietnam. Nobody in Ottawa even considered the question seriously until the very end […] Nobody knows what the cost to Canada of serious dissent from US policy would be today, either, though the United States could clearly hurt us a lot if it chose to do so. But always behind the lines […] looms the vast misery and suffering that Canada s complicity helped to perpetuate in Vietnam, and that is a kind of cost too. In many cases Canada does have the ability to choose, and it has a duty to itself and to others to make the right choices"(Dyer). Victor Levant, quoting Paul Martin Sr speaking before the House of Commons in 1965, as External Affairs Secretary, writes Vietnam is a test case. I suggest that if the North Vietnamese aggression with Chinese connivance succeeds, it will only be a matter of time before the next victim is selected… If the US were to leave Vietnam at the present time, what would happen to that country? What would happen to Burma? What would happen to India, a commonwealth country?" (Levant, 30).

[51] the UN itself defines its peacekeeping as follows: "UN Peacekeeping helps countries navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace. We have unique strengths, including legitimacy, burden sharing, and an ability to deploy troops and police from around the world, integrating them with civilian peacekeepers to address a range of mandates set by the UN Security Council and General Assembly" ("What Peacekeeping Does"). The OED defines the term in the following way: "The action of keeping or maintaining peace; *spec.* the active maintenance of a truce between hostile states, communities, factions, etc., esp. by external military forces. *rare* before 20th cent" ("peacekeeping, *n.*").

[52] 'Globalization' here refers to the particular instance of globalization brought about by European settler-colonialism.

the United Nations that an armed, impartial peacekeeping force could be inserted between Israeli and Egyptian forces to enforce a ceasefire and stabilize the situation" ("Canada and Peacekeeping Operations"). This proposition led to the creation of the first United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) which was billed as an impartial, international military presence and which set the precedent for future UN peacekeeping forces and missions. According to the Canadian War Museum's[53] "Canada and Peacekeeping Operations," "following Canada's involvement in the Suez Crisis, many Canadians embraced peacekeeping as a potent symbol and a significant way for Canada to aid countries in conflict." Immediately it should be noted that, although framing the average Canadian's response to their country spearheading a 'neutral' intervention in response to the invasion as noble, the language the War Museum uses in this brief passage toes the line of Western imperialism. In this passage, by deploying the disingenuous moniker 'Suez Crisis,' rather than adopting the more honest label of 'Tripartite Aggression,'[54] the roots of this conflict in Western territorial expansion—realized via an apartheid ("Apartheid," "Israel's Apartheid Against Palestinians") state of their own engineering—are excised. This act of misnaming is significant. It retroactively prescribes modern, Western values onto a war of imperial aggression in an effort to maintain a sense of severity deserving of this benevolent intervention spurred on by Lester B. Pearson. It does so without forwardly admitting fault on behalf of

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[53] The Canadian War Museum is a Crown corporation ("About the Corporation").
[54] "On October 22, 1956, a secret meeting took place at the town of Sèvres in France between representatives of Britain, France, and Israel, who drew up political and military plans to overthrow Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who had nationalized the Suez Canal. Their military campaign was later known as the Tripartite Aggression against Egypt" ("The Tripartite Aggression, 1956").

Canada's allies. The War Museum's brief section, "Canada and Peacekeeping Operations," continues:

> By the late 1960s, the challenges of peacekeeping were revealed. Peacekeeping could place conflicts on pause but could not produce lasting peace unless the underlying conflict was resolved, leading to long and costly commitments, not without risk. In other conflicts, such as the wars in the former Yugoslavia (1992-1995, 1999), and during the genocide in Rwanda (1995), Canadian service members were confronted with no peace to keep and bore witness to atrocity and genocide. While domestic and political support for United Nations peacekeeping has changed since the Cold War, the Canadian Armed Forces were among the most respected peacekeepers in the world. Between 1948 and 1988, Canada contributed roughly 10 per cent of the total UN peacekeeping forces. In all, more than 125,000 Canadians have served in UN peace operations, and 130 Canadians have died during these operations.

The framing of this history of peacekeeping is thus canonized—by a prominent museum tasked with the preservation of history—as a generally noble, though problematic, aspect of Canadian history. It also betrays one of the most complex issues plaguing attempts by the West to engage in peacekeeping through the stark discrepancy between deployment and casualty figures provided. Many of the environments, especially later in the Cold War period, in which UN peacekeeping forces were deployed presented the blue helmets with a gross discrepancy in capability between themselves and the domestic forces leading to an outsider force capable of inflicting mass casualties at a very low human cost to their own. This asymmetry is a crucial component within

Canada's role in the subsequent 'War on Terror,' and is worth flagging here as a not so modern phenomenon.

Despite the attempt at a linguistically 'neutral' summary offered by the War Museum above, and the decades of general pro-peacekeeping proselytizing carried out at the behest of Canadian and UN institutions by corporate media (Martin and Fortmann, Moeller), the core issue regarding the validity of peacekeeping as a method remains.[55] Western mediation and intervention is predicated on assumptions of superiority, both militarily as well as economically and culturally. Canada, serving as an outgrowth of American hegemony, was equally as guilty of this paternalistic stance as its western allies during the Cold War (Neufeld; Warnock). However, if this intervening in domestic affairs half a world from the imperial core truly saves lives, then its validity is worth exploring. So then, the question of whether or not peacekeeping functions as intended—as Canadians were led by their government and their media throughout the duration of the Cold War to believe that it does—is due for consideration. Virginia Page Fortna purses this line of questioning in her 2004 article, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War." As an initial answer to her inquiry, Fortna states the following: "peacekeeping appears to make very little difference. Of the civil wars since 1944, there is another round of fighting between the same parties in about 42% when no peacekeepers were deployed, and in

[55] "Isn't our national identity based on the fact that we do peacekeeping while others fight wars? Are we not morally superior because Canada engages in peacekeeping? Will we lose that moral superiority if we engage in operations other than peacekeeping? There are inherent dangers in an unhealthy adherence to mythology. Mythology distorts. Mythology pigeon-holes. Mythology produces blinders, it limits action. In the 1990s, the mythology of Canadian peacekeeping produced unrealistic expectations that, when they could not be met, merely produced obfuscation and disillusionment" (Maloney, 41).

approximately 39% of those with peacekeeping" (271). However, Fortna complicates these findings immediately, stating that the data sets "treat peace that falls apart many years down the line the same as peace that fails in a matter of months" (271). This demonstrates that a 'cut and dry,' media-friendly approach to gauging and reporting on the relative successes or failures of any given peacekeeping mission is a flawed approach at best. The innumerable nuances inherent in the issue of negotiating and protecting a lasting peace are likely impossible to wholly quantify. Fortna does offer an attempt toward this end, however, drawing from her extensive research on the subject. Her article reads as follows:

> In sum, the existing literature on the duration of peace suggests that to assess accurately the effects of peacekeeping, we need take into account the military outcome of the war, whether a treaty was signed, whether it was an ethnic conflict, its cost and duration, how many factions were involved, levels of economic development, availability of easily "lootable" resources, and the country's level of democracy. (275)

Though I find this set of considerations to be generally fair, I do take issue with Fortna's framing, though perhaps it is not her bias but rather a trend drawn from the language of the research she was consulting. Either way, this article and its consulted research stand as a representation of the general stance of the Western academy—an instrumental ideological state apparatus within Canada—toward capitalist and Eurocentric orthodoxies. In my view, the primacy of economics and capital in these considerations is limiting, at the very least. Fortna's framing fails to analyze *why* 'lootable' resources might be plundered by a nation's own citizens and to whom they may be sold. It also

fails to analyze where and from whom the weapons used in these conflicts were procured and it fails to deconstruct how wartime 'costs' are calculated and justified. Furthermore, the gauging of 'economic levels of development' and 'levels of democracy' carried out by the UN and researchers from Western imperial nations too often depend on the neoliberal capitalist systems of global hegemons which rely on a high degree of technological integration as a benchmark and are therefore incongruent with many systems of government and economies present in the post-colonial world (Du).[56] Even Western academia and many of its foundational texts, which we laud as academically objective, still largely retain the bourgeois ideological biases prescribed via media and government within their very language. Fortna's above language, for example, can be shown to maintain parity with official government messaging on the modern crisis in Afghanistan which arose in the decade following the US-led invasion of the country and their subsequent withdrawal. The official government website on the subject reads as follows:

> The Taliban's take-over of Afghanistan has fundamentally changed conditions in the country. A severe humanitarian crisis has ensued, having an impact on a significant portion of the population. The human rights situation continues to deteriorate, with women, girls and ethnic and religious minorities particularly threatened. Furthermore, there is the threat of Afghanistan becoming, once again, a safe haven for trans-national terrorists. Canada remains committed to

[56] In Africa, "the World Bank has also, apart from its banking assistance programmes in the ICT sector, been active through its infoDev unit, doing work in the area of evaluating strategies, advising governments on policy frameworks, and generally promoting market reforms in this sector" (Ya'u, 115).

> doing its part to address these challenges. ("Canada and the Afghanistan crisis")

The official language, here, maintains the chauvinistic stance found in Fortna's text. The passivity in the language—particularly in the line "a severe humanitarian crisis has ensued, having an impact on a significant portion of the population"—paired with vague terms betrays an unwillingness to publicize the material causes of these humanitarian crises. While the government's declarations remain factual, they are neither fully transparent nor fully realized. To render them as such would require the Canadian government to commit gross hypocrisy and condemn America's unilateral seizure of the Afghan Central Bank's seven billion dollar (USD) foreign exchange reserve which remains the true reason for the current crisis (Byrd). Despite strides taken in the fields of gender studies, post-colonial studies, and other more recently accepted fields of study to critique the archaic hierarchical systems within which they are forced to operate, the university system—in Canada—remains inaccessible and harbours an undercurrent of conservatism. By upholding normative traditions and systems while maintaining a walled hierarchy of knowledge accumulation and access, the university as an institution remains culturally conservative—despite the values or actions of individuals who operate within it.[57] Fortna, in her article, does conclude with the claim—supported by meticulously considered data—that "the presence of international personnel is not a silver bullet, of course, it does not guarantee lasting peace in every case, but it does tend to make peace more likely to last, and to last longer" (288). This she follows with a final

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[57] I should also note that, within Canada, the lack of systemic change is directly tied to the capitalist nature of the university system, as the threat of being without work—with which precariously employed academics must contend—prohibits action.

assertion that "the efforts of the international community to help war-torn states avoid a slide back to civil war are well worth it" (288). This is a general, idealist sentiment with which I could not agree more. However, the systems pioneered by Lester B. Pearson and mythologized in the collective Canadian imagination can propagate an unfounded sense of righteousness in co-opted struggles for peace and further the sense of supremacy[58] harboured by the imperial core toward the imperial periphery.

Sherene Razack, in her 2004 work *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism*, casts Canadian/UN peacekeeping in the following light:

> An up-close look at peacekeeping reveals that we are drawn into the showdown between good and evil referred to in George W. Bush's speeches, or in peacekeeping and humanitarian encounters, because they offer us a sense of self and belonging—an identity that is profoundly racially structured. We are being hailed as civilized beings who inhabit ordered democracies, citizens who are called upon to look after, instruct or defend ourselves against, the uncivilized Other. In this fantasy, we enter a moral universe that limits the extent to which we can even begin to think about the humanity of Others; our

[58] Jonathan Adams, writing in 2008 on the issue of white supremacy's endurance in this modern, aesthetically-progressive era in the history of liberal democracies, argues that "the signature of the 'post-civil rights' period is precisely marked by such changes—compulsory and voluntary—in the comportment, culture, and workforce of white supremacist institutions: selective elements of police and military forces, global corporations, and major research universities are diversely colored, while their marching orders continue to mobilize the familiar labors of death-making (arrest and justifiable homicide, fatal peacekeeping, overfunded weapons research, etc.). While the phenotype of white supremacy changes–and change it must, if it is to remain viable under changed historical conditions–its internal coherence as a socialized logic of violence and dominance is sustained and redeemed." Thus, while peacekeeping, on paper, seems to be a measured and appropriate response to global unrest, it does nothing to address the root causes of that unrest, nor does it seek to disrupt or dismantle the Western systems of extraction and exploitation which ensure that such unrest endures for the sake of capital.

> very participation depends on consigning whole groups of people into the category of those awaiting assistance into modernity. (241)

This characterization is echoed in Heike Härting and Smaro Kamboureli's "Introduction: Discourses of Security, Peacekeeping Narratives, and the Cultural Imagination in Canada," where the authors challenge the positive image of Canadian peacekeeping. They write,

> this vision of Canada as an engineer and custodian of global civility reflects a politically comforting national imaginary domestically, but is nevertheless marred by its exclusionary and dichotomous rhetoric that pits disinterested justice—reminiscent of British 'colonial fair play' ideologies—against arbitrary violence and the absence of the rule of law. What's more, Canada's role as a global umpire or middle power has long since been embroiled in and compromised by a number of political scandals, of which the so-called Somalia Affair in 1991 and the failure to intervene efficiently in the 1994 Rwandan genocide count as the best-documented and known cases. (661)

I return to specific critiques of Canadian peacekeeping in the next chapter, focusing on the above-mentioned 'Somalia Affair.' For now, this recontextualization of Canada's relationship to peacekeeping as a system useful for furthering the paternalistic relationship between the imperial core and the imperial periphery from which our society directly benefits will stand.

Maintaining my focus now on the Canadian state's use of violence, I turn to the issue of NATO. The role Canada played within NATO in its early years is closely tied

to the issue of peacekeeping during the Cold War. According to an internal retrospective published by NATO on their website:

> Canada, a founding member of NATO, was one of the first countries to propose the idea of a transatlantic defensive alliance. Working closely with their American and European colleagues, Canadian negotiators helped write the 14 articles of the North Atlantic Treaty. From the beginning, Canada emphasised that NATO needed to be more than just a military pact — it needed to promote political, economic and cultural bonds between its members. (“Canada and NATO”)

This early presence of Canada within the Organization as a true peer nation of Britain and the United States is significant. Equally significant is the identity of the man instrumental to the creation and formation of NATO, Lester B. Pearson. Speaking at the signing of the Treaty in Washington D.C. in April, 1949, Pearson declared, “this treaty is not a pact for war, but a pledge to peace and progress” (“Canada and NATO”). Similar to the language he would use when designing the ‘impartial’ military arm of the UN peacekeeping forces years later, Pearson, here, makes his understanding of Canada’s position within the global community clear. There is a distance between Canada and the imperial periphery, to Pearson, one that goes beyond the wide oceans and its militaristic southern ally. Having emerged from the Second World War with an unharmed mainland and a rapidly expanding economy supported by growing industrial capabilities, Canada, at the signing of this treaty, found itself firmly within the heartland of the imperial core.

It was a nation perfectly positioned to continue to exploit[59] the developing world while upholding the global hegemonic order, having now found itself a founding member of an organization designed with the express intent of keeping a boot on communism's neck and maintaining capitalism's stranglehold on the post-war globalizing economy. The 'impartiality,' 'progress,' and 'peace' nobly envisioned and championed by Pearson reflect the air of superiority derived from his nation's material circumstances.[60] 'Progress' was defined—through the language and ideologies of the Western bourgeoisie—as a developing nation or culture's ability to carve a parallel trajectory to that of the white, Christian, capitalist nations of the West. The 'impartiality' of armed 'peacekeepers' venturing into the imperial periphery was underpinned by an ingrained sense of white supremacy.[61] 'Peace'—or the maintenance of the status quo—would be

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[59] Regardless of the intentions of its government or citizenry, exploitation of the developing world would remain inevitable as the need for limitless growth which is inherent in capitalist systems would force the Canadian economy to engage in exploitative extractive practices.

[60] Canada was and remains a nation harbouring immense wealth. Though the financial realization of much of that material wealth depends on extraction, and although for much of the early twentieth-century the life of the average Canadian was largely agrarian, the fact remains that since the outbreak of the Great War and Canada's following ascent to the halls of the imperial core the Canadian working class has been ensconced among the labour aristocracy.

[61] David Jefferess, in his article "Responsibility, Nostalgia, and the Mythology of Canada as a Peacekeeper," carries out an analysis of peacekeeping as a mythological sign in the Canadian national imagination. He focuses much of his critique on Lloyd Axworthy's 2003 political memoir *Navigating a New World*—from which he quotes the following: "'What was true in the fifteenth century holds equally true today. Culture, technology, attitude and governance endow certain groups or communities with the talent to be navigators in the age of globalization, just as they did in the age of wind and sail. My argument, often stated in this book, is that Canadians possess qualities suited to this role. We have the right stuff to be explorers, agents of change. Not because of any military muscle or economic might, though appropriate strength in these areas is desirable, but because of the distinctive characteristics of our political, social and economic system'" (378). Jefferess argues that "such an appeal to an essentialized identity naturalizes Canada's experience of privilege in the world as something innate to the nation's character and it reaffirms an imperial discourse of cultural supremacy that disavows the dislocation, exploitation, and murder that are a part of the project of exploration and settlement he narrates, and, hence, the history that constitutes Canada's distinct political, social, and economic system. Paradoxically, Axworthy's use of the phrase 'the right stuff,' invoking the image of (military) strength and (masculine) will, reinforces a specifically masculinist and

reserved for the imperial core at the expense of the periphery, the neocolonial violence[62] required to maintain it justified by a *noble* struggle against the 'scourge' of communism which stood as the 'sole threat' to this new global order. This ideological outlook is made evident by the final wording of Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty. NATO's own website introduces the clause as Pearson's carefully worded project, stating, "this clause — not immediately popular with Allies, but vociferously defended by Canada — came to be known as 'the Canadian Article.'" The clause is as follows:

> The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them. ("Canada and NATO")

The rich sense of Western paternalistic chauvinism which permeates this foundational document remains central to the core of NATO's political philosophy today. This goal to rebuild the 'third world' ravaged by the founding members' own colonial projects over the preceding centuries in the image of the hegemonic cultures set the groundwork

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violent rhetoric in the book, such as his recurrent use of football analogies and the assertion that Canada must 'punch above its weight'" (283). Axworthy's nostalgic invocation of the Age of (European) Exploration, as the basis for Canada's civility, and as justification for Canada's responsibility to enact change in the world, and his assumption of the ethical superiority of Canadian culture and politics constitute, but also reflect, a tradition of denial and exclusion marked by patriarchal white supremacy." Axworthy's opinion is representative of the wider internalization of bourgeois ideologies by the Canadian academy and the ruling class.

[62] I include Cold War proxy wars fought between the West and the Soviet Union under this particular umbrella of neocolonial violence.

for interactions between the West and the rising Communist Bloc—again, at the expense of those nations belonging to neither side.[63]

The decades following the formation of NATO saw Germany's national image rapidly rehabilitated as feeble attempts of denazification were buried under rampant Red Scare propaganda, in no small part thanks to Canadian normalization efforts (Goldberg). With European Fascism only narrowly avoided, the Western capitalist class could return its attention to the spectre of communism. Though support for NATO at times wavered within the Canadian government and, through the mass-reach of the corporate media, within the general populace as the threat of conventional warfare with the East dwindled, it generally remained steady (Jockel and Sokolsky; Sokolsky). Ever the self-styled isolationist, Pierre Trudeau was initially opposed to greater Canadian commitments to NATO, although—as Jockel and Sokolsky write—even "Trudeau

[63] Some of the nations directly ravaged by proxy conflicts or gross political or economic meddling by the main belligerents of the Cold War during its most internationally volatile years include—but are by no means limited to—China (Chinese Civil War 1944-1949), Greece (Greek Civil War 1944-1949), Iran (Iran Crisis of 1946 1945-1946), 'Indochina' (First Indochina War 1946-1954), Paraguay (Paraguayan Civil War 1947), 'Malaya' (Malayan Emergency 1948-1960), Korea (Korean War 1950-present), Kenya (Mau Mau Uprising 1952-1960), 'Indochina'/Vietnam (Second Indochina War/Vietnam War 1953-1975), China (First Taiwan Strait Crisis 1954-1955), Sudan (First Sudanese Civil War 1955-1972), Egypt (Suez Crisis 1956-1957), China (Second Taiwan Strait Crisis 1958), Lebanon (1958 Lebanon Crisis 1958), Tibet/China (1959 Tibetan Uprising 1959-1962), the bulk of Central America (Central American Crisis 1960-1996), Democratic Republic of the Congo (Congo Crisis 1960-1965), Angola/Guinea-Bissau/Mozambique (Portuguese Colonial War 1960-1974), Iraq (First Iraqi-Kurdish War 1961-1970), 'Eritrea'/Ethiopia (Eritrean War of Independence 1961-1991), Yemen (North Yemen Civil War 1962-1970), Oman (Dhofar Rebellion 1962-1976), Malaysia (Sarawak Communist Uprising 1962-1990), Yemen (Aden Emergency 1963-1967), 'Rhodesia'/Zimbabwe (Rhodesian Bush War 1964-1979), Dominican Republic (Dominican Civil War 1965), Chad (Chadian Civil War 1965-1979), Bolivia (Bolivian Campaign 1966-1967), Namibia/Zambia/Angola (South African Border War 1966-1990), Nigeria (Nigerian Civil War 1967-1970), Italy (Years of Lead 1968-1982), the majority of South America (Operation Condor 1968-1989), Saudi Arabia and Yemen (Al-Wadiah War 1969), Bangladesh Liberation War (1971), Yemen (Yemenite War of 1972), Angola (Angolan Civil War 1974-2002), Lebanon (Lebanese Civil War 1975-1990).

changed his mind on NATO, choosing to maintain Canada's contingent of heavy armoured tanks along the Iron Curtain rather than replacing them with light armoured vehicles as he had previously promised" ("Canada and NATO"). Again, according to NATO's own website, ties between Canada and the recently fascist West German state only strengthened under the existential threat Soviet state-communism posed to the enduring dominance of the capitalist global order. In the 1970s, "over the course of several years, Schmidt [first Minister of Defence and later Chancellor of West Germany] and Trudeau developed a personal friendship. In every meeting, Schmidt reinforced the symbolic importance of having Canadian troops along Germany's East-West border" ("Canada and NATO"). Thus, Canada—the scope of its aging military beginning to dwindle (Treddenick)—upheld its material commitment to the symbolic maintenance of the West's global dominance by posturing militarily on the doorstep to the communist East. The threat of military violence—the bedrock of the North Atlantic Treaty—served largely as a barricade behind which cultural imperialism could be enacted without fear of reprisal. The organization also assisted in positioning Western liberal democracy as the most 'evolved' form of civilization, while at the same time forwarding the notion that it was something in need of protecting, something under assault by the 'less evolved' nations of the semi-periphery and periphery[64] (Narine). At

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[64] A modern example of this positioning of Western liberal democracies as 'civilizing forces' as opposed to antagonistic warmongers can be found in "the present [2011] war against Libya being carried out by the transnational political and economic elite, certified through their UN office and implemented by the US and NATO militaries." This unified course of action "sends the message that the 'civilized' world will especially not tolerate a regime which does not do as ordered. The run-up to the aggression against Libya initiates the 'Obama doctrine' where America will no longer launch a war alone, but will lead the effort with its international partners to depose outdated friendly and unfriendly dictators. In fact, the Obama doctrine only recognizes formally the existence of a transnational elite and not just of an American Empire, as the

the same time 'great men'—in the Carlylian sense[65]—such as Lester B. Pearson fought to enshrine bourgeois ideologies within the very fabric of NATO and the UN, cementing these organizations as integral pieces of the neoliberal 'rules-based' world order—where the rules are dictated by the powerful through their penning of international law and obeyed, under threat of isolation, by the less powerful. Neoimperialist tactics such as these assisted in realizing the goal of Western capitalism and imperialism to remain invisible, 'neutral,' to be widely accepted within the imperial core and without as the 'natural' state of the world. This, in practice, colours any dissenting voices as 'fringe' ideologies while ensuring those who toe the line are able to pride themselves on being 'neutral.' Thus the narrative-weaving project of the Western capitalist class has effectively normalized the highly exploitative systems by which they have amassed their wealth, while successfully indoctrinating their domestic working classes and inoculating them against subversive ideals through their control over the social means of production in the spheres of cultural and media production, as well as education.

Throughout the Cold War, as decolonization efforts began to achieve marked victories for oppressed nations across the imperial periphery and the more invisible

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reformist Left still talks about. The war declared on Libya to supposedly protect the Libyan people in fact aims to protect the interests and values of capitalist neoliberal globalization and to exploit untapped growth throughout the region. Libya is being forcibly integrated into the globalized market economy and the New World Order administered by the transnational elite (roughly the G7 and the international institutions controlled by it)" (Sargis).

[65] Thomas Carlyle, the nineteenth-century Scottish essayist and historian, is credited with the creation of the 'Great Man' school of historical analysis. Such analysis is naturally opposed by historical materialism. In his 1840 set of essays, Carlyle outlines the then nascent approach to historical study as follows: "Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modellers, patterns, and in a wide sense creators, of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realization and embodiment, of Thoughts that dwelt in the Great Men sent into the world: the soul of the whole world's history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these" (1-2).

economic tactics of neoimperialism pioneered by the hegemons swept in to supplant real liberation with new forms of coerced extraction, Canada sought to mirror its Western allies in bolstering its soft power projection capabilities.[66] According to Suzann Buckley, "Canada, rather than Britain, is now the imperial power vis-a-vis African and Asian nations. In its capacity as an imperial power Canada extends aid and peacekeeping serviced especially under the auspices of the United Nations" (49). This presence in the developing world, erected upon decaying British institutions and relationships and legitimized through organizations such as the UN, enabled Canada to establish close ties with the ruling classes and the capitalists of recently independent nations without the overt baggage associated with many European colonizing nations. Buckley succinctly outlines Canada's goals for this new ability to project soft power as follows:

> The goals are the predictable imperial ones of promoting the national interest by increasing trade and opportunities for investment, by enhancing stability in the external environment and by acquiring influence over decisions of other governments. Analysts, who argue that the actual benefits reaped are limited, recommend less tangible aims: recognition as a moral force, and maintenance of a sense of national identity with respect to the United States. (49)

The second sentence of this statement reflects the power of ideological state apparatuses to project the bourgeois ideologies of Canada's capitalist oligarchy via the academy and

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[66] "In their attempts to shield British imperialism from American admonitions, Canadian Anglophiles posited a world where certain varieties of foreign control were defensible and even advisable, where intrinsic cultural and racial hierarchies marked the rulers and the ruled, and where the withdrawal of Western authority would invite a more sinister form of domination" (Teigrob, 405).

the intelligentsia occupied by these 'analysts.' It also points to the enduring anxiety of the Canadian ruling class with regard to the ever looming presence of America's own soft power projection on the home continent. The first sentence of Buckley's statement, however, demonstrates the true goals of Canadian imperialism, during and after the Cold War, in the developing world, in clear and concise terms stripped of the veneer of liberal language. She then seeks to describe in clear terms how the sum parts of these projection practices function, stating "[the relationship between Canada and the Third World] is a relationship based on the premise of mutual benefit as determined by the imperial power" (50). Regardless of how successful efforts to distinguish Canada as a modern, *moral* force distinct from its allies or the Communist Bloc during this era of proxy wars and political revolution may have been, the fact remains that the Canadian bourgeoisie and their government sought to foster exploitative relationships with capitalists and rulers within developing nations in an effort to extract wealth at the expense of the citizenry of these nations (Teigrob; Gordon and Webber). Any positive effects gained from these extractive relationships on the part of the exploited party were secondary to imperial goals.

The media landscape within Canada during the Cold War experienced consolidation on a scale previously unseen under capitalism. According to Raphael Cohen-Almagor's 2002 article "Responsibility and Ethics in the Canadian Media: Some Basic Concerns," "The media are co-opted by a few organizations and families, who represent limited interests and deny access to large sectors of the public." This trend would see itself fully realized toward the end of the Cold War. Cohen-Almagor explains the media landscape nearing the turn of the century as follows:

Conrad Black, the owner of Hollinger Inc., controlled the majority of the print media, and that the papers he bought, like the Ottawa Citizen, had become right wing since he purchased Southam Inc. The argument was that Black was using the press to project his own personal views and ideological agenda […] Large segments of the population were underrepresented in the print media because of the inordinate amount of control the few media giants had in shaping public opinion. The process through which a paper's content is filtered by the interests of owners and advertisers is a subtle one, yet we may acknowledge that journalists are unlikely to report a story or to cover a certain issue if they do not believe it will be accepted by the editor or the owner. Similarly, an editor is unlikely to assign a reporter to cover a story that will frame an issue in a radically different view from that of the owner, or that might upset major advertisers. Consequently, a neo-conservative perspective that has much in common with major corporate businesses might lead to the suppression of dissenting views and critical opinions from outside the corporate mainstream. […] This was the case for Black's newspapers, which had a clear ideological line. They usually followed a Thatcherite–Reaganite line. They were inter-nationalist, pro-business, pro-Western culture. […] Editors who did not wish to comply with the editorial line that Black dictated were forced to resign, as was the case for the Montreal Gazette and the Ottawa Citizen. […] In 1958, the three largest Canadian newspapers controlled about 25% of daily circulation. By 1970, this figure reached 45%. In 1980, it was about 57%. If we look at the number of independent dailies, we can discern a rapid decline during the past

> 20 years. In 1970 there were 45 independents, in 1980 there were 29, and in 1996 only 14 of the 104 dailies were independent. (Cohen-Almagor, 40)

This trend is not uniquely Canadian, nor necessarily Western. It is, rather, the inevitable result of any capitalist industry as the economic system tends toward monopolization. During the Cold War, this sort of media concentration did not go unnoticed by those within the federal government of Canada; however, any concern for the overt oligopolization of ideological state apparatuses was necessarily pursued by members of government via official channels. The irony of this lies in the fact that critics of this corporatization were unable to operate beyond the systems of bourgeois liberal 'democracy' within which they sought to fashion their careers. Any dissent from within the government itself was smothered by the longstanding systems erected to ensure the dominance of the bourgeoisie in Canadian politics and the preeminence of their ideologies in media. Joseph Jackson, in his article "Newspaper Ownership in Canada: An Overview of the Davey Committee and Kent Commission Studies," explores the findings of two investigations into media consolidation carried out at the behest of the Canadian government. Jackson introduces his findings as follows:

> In the 1950s and 1960s, there was a widespread tendency toward merger and monopoly fuelled by increased competition for advertising revenues. In parallel, the rapid penetration of television into Canadian homes prompted newspapers to adapt by introducing more background stories, features and visual images. Most notable for the industry during this period, however, was the gradual concentration of newspaper ownership, which prompted an overall decline in competition in the Canadian market.

Of note in this introduction is Jackson's identification of the inherent contradiction within capitalism—that being the vaunted promotion by capitalists of 'competition' as a driving force for progress while the system itself fixes monopolization as inevitable—yet due to what appears to be his own liberal framework, he is unable to locate accurately and condemn the contradiction. Capitalist systems of infinite growth within a finite environment will always encounter rapid expansion before entering a period of consolidation and eventually a rapid collapse (Strauss, Streeck). Put in its simplest terms, this is what Jackson has observed and revealed in this introduction. At no point, however, does he interrogate the inherent shortcomings of the Canadian capitalist economy during the Cold War period. Rather, he asserts that the final death rattle of the 'free' press emerged from a lack of market competition—while failing to realize that this lack of 'competition' is an inevitability of the wider economic model present in Canada.

Drawing from the original Davey Report of 1970, Jackson cites the following:

> "What matters," explained the Committee's report, "is the fact that control of the media is passing into fewer and fewer hands, and that experts agree that this trend is likely to continue and perhaps accelerate" (Vol. 1: 6). The Committee held that "this country should no longer tolerate a situation where the public interest in so vital a field as information [is] dependent on the greed or goodwill of an extremely privileged group of businessmen."

What is integral to my analysis here is the liberal dependency on proceduralism.[67] Genuinely, or insidiously, the committee has articulated the issue of media corporatization and monopolization plaguing liberal democracies operating under a capitalist organization of the economy. However, as this system of governance operates within the confines of a national constitution, it is unable to effectively refute the logical outcomes of the systems of power within which it functions. These systems of power, having been designed with the express intent to secure a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie operating under the veneer of democratic processes and subordinated institutions, themselves ensure the endurance of proceduralism. Thus, the report itself is rendered little more than a performative attempt to garner political favour for the sitting Liberal party. The underlying hypocrisy of the report should also, here, be noted. Its namesake, Senator Keith Davey, in addition to serving as the Liberal party publicist, was a wealthy advertising executive. And, regardless of the fact that the final report proposed the creation of a federal Review Board to be tasked with the oversight of corporate acquisitions within the media industry, no action was taken by the sitting Liberal government after its publication. Jackson states, "despite the Davey Report's emphasis on the risks of concentrated newspaper ownership, the issue was largely ignored by the government of the day." Twenty years of inaction later, Davey himself would reveal to the Senate that "between 1970 and 1989, media concentration had increased from 45% to 57%" (Jackson). The inability of liberal institutions to respond to crises facing their citizens is rooted in these institutions' very composition. Despite the inaction on the part

[67] My use, here, of 'proceduralism' simply refers to the liberal democracy's dependency on complex systems, precedent, and legislature as opposed to a more democratic system of governance's ability to meet more flexibly the needs of its citizenry directly as opposed to relying on established channels and rigid methodologies.

of the Canadian government in the aftermath of the tabling of the Davey Report, the persistence and rapid acceleration of media concentration "prompted the federal government to appoint a Royal Commission on Newspapers, with Tom Kent, a former newspaper editor, civil servant and academic as chair" (Jackson). Jackson explains one of the Commission's key findings as follows:

> With respect to the **responsibility of the newspaper industry to the public**, the Commission concluded that the profession's primary responsibility was "searching out and reporting the truth." As the Commission explained, there was a spectrum of opinion among management and ownership, at one end of which was the concept of the newspaper as a business and at the other end of which was the concept of the social responsibility of the press to seek and report the truth. The Commission further concluded that journalists place social responsibility foremost and that the reading public is generally satisfied with the state of their newspapers.

Here the friction between worker and owner within the media industry is, once again, made evident. Despite the sense of duty to the public purportedly felt by journalists, the principal interest of a media corporation under capitalism remains the creation and concentration of wealth for its owner. The above excerpt also reveals the attempts toward universalism endemic to liberalism. The notion that any media organization could ever purport to publish anything approaching a 'universal' truth is absurd and intrinsically dishonest. Every media organization operates within a system of biases and assumptions. A tenet of liberal democracies is the tendency for media organizations to hide this fact and, thus, they function—in the role of an ideological state apparatus—to

engender within their readership or viewers a sense of apoliticism. This echoes the 'neutrality' championed by Western capitalist liberal 'democracies.' Jackson's work ends with the assertion that "it would be difficult for today's policy makers to determine whether federal intervention in newspaper ownership would be warranted." Despite this stance, he does acknowledge that even such feeble attempts toward institutional change drew vociferous responses from the capitalist class—a term he avoids using, though his language creates an outline of the concept—stating, "in particular, newspaper publishers were vehemently opposed to the creation of the proposed Press Rights Council, suggesting that this would merely pave the way for government control of a free press" (Jackson). Thus, Jackson's work does succeed in cementing the fact that, even under an economy, and so subjugated a form of government, as that which could be found in Canada during the Cold War, the bourgeoisie still feared the opinions of the working masses.

To incorporate the analysis of an author whose critiques of corporatized media run parallel to those of more overtly Marxist theorists, I draw from Michael Parenti's 1986 book *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media*. Ever relevant to the areas analyzed in my thesis, his text—though centred on his American examples—stands as an enduring survey of corporatized and ever consolidating media within the imperial core. Parenti writes, "more than a century ago Karl Marx observed that those who control the material means of production also control the mental means of production" (32). This was the case in Canada during the Cold War period. The bourgeoisie and their allies operating the levers of the state's ideological state apparatuses generated the

dominant and inescapable societal narratives of their era. Parenti continues, stating the following:

> Viewpoints supported by money have no trouble gaining mass exposure and sympathetic media treatment, while those offensive to moneyed interests languish either for want of the costly sums needed to reach a vast public or because of the prohibitions exercised by media owners and management. In a word, the mass media are a class-dominated media—bound by the parameters of ownership in a capability society. (32)

This straightforward explanation summarizes the condition of media within Canada during the protracted conflict between East and West during the latter half of the twentieth century and sets the blueprint for what would continue after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Returning to the issue of class-consciousness and betrayal on the part of working-class journalists as explored through Raemy, Vos, and Jackson, Parenti offers his own observation in *Inventing Reality* of the phenomena of traitorship and self-censoring which plagues the industry.

> Mainstream journalists are accorded a certain degree of independence is they demonstrate their ability to produce copy that is not only competently crafted but also free of any politically discordant tones. Indeed, competence itself is measured in part by one's ability to report things from an ideologically acceptable perspective, defined as "balanced" and "objective." […] Journalists (like social scientists and others) rarely doubt their own objectivity even as they faithfully echo the established political vocabularies and the prevailing politico-

> economic orthodoxy. […] they are likely to have no awareness they are on an ideological leash. This is why some journalists insist they are free agents. (35)

It remains the capitalist class who carve the moveable type with which Canada's national myths are printed. However, it is the swarms of labourers serving them—often unaware, as Parenti has pointed out, of which aspect of their autonomy has been co-opted—who arrange the texts themselves, who compose the 'truth' from a carefully curated selection of signs, symbols, and ideologies to render a series of ever-repeating narratives.

The Cold War marked a period of transition for Canada—a transition which was reflected in the media landscape, the wider cultural production industries, and in the nimble reaction of the national mythology—as the global geopolitical landscape heaved and split around it. The political, economic, religious, and societal crises which marked the half century conflict provided a smokescreen of sorts behind which the capitalist class within Canada could race to ensure their interests could be consolidated and the future of the nation ushered in to meet a society firmly within their grasp. The bourgeois ideologies which took root during this time period grew to join the great imperial myths which had endured from the age of the British Empire and together formed a canopy so suffocating and dense that any major rays of dissent were intercepted and arrested before they had the chance to reach the forest floor below. This choked and dim undergrowth would be the stage upon which the War on Terror would erupt in 2001 after a decade of unipolarity and largely unchallenged Western cultural, economic, and military hegemony.

Chapter 4

Generating The Eternal 'Other': The Perpetual Manufacture of the Enemy

On the 16 March, 1993, in a Canadian Airborne Regiment compound situated alongside the city of Belet Huen on the bank of the Webi Shebelle River which bisects the inland Somali desert, two commandos of the Canadian Airborne Regiment—the contingent of approximately 1400 soldiers having been stationed in-country by the Mulroney government as an integral force within the United States-run 'humanitarian' 'peace enforcement mission' UNITAF—tortured and killed 16-year-old Shidane Abukar Arone. Arone, a local Somali citizen and non-combatant, had been captured while hiding in the vicinity of the compound and accused of planning to commit petty theft (Granatstein and Oliver). Sherene Razack, a modern critical race and feminist scholar, in her thorough work, *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism* (2004), explains how, as a result of this perceived transgression, Arone was brutally tortured by Master Corporal Clayton Matchee and Private Kyle Brown acting under their interpretation of the orders given by their commanding officer Major Anthony Seward to "make an example of anyone caught breaching the perimeter of the camp" (Razack 136). Razack exposes how Major Seward, when testifying at his court marshal, recounted the events and circumstances leading to the illegal torture and killing of Arone as follows:

> Beleaguered by rock-throwing and thieving natives, soldiers were likely to shoot to kill. To avoid this outcome, Seward ordered three actions: clean the camp of any items likely to attract thieves; improve the defence provided by the

> wire around the camp; and capture infiltrators. Seward testified that he emphasized this third order (given to Captain Sox) by saying, "I don't care if you abuse them but I want those infiltrators captured." (137)

Seward's admission betrays the torture as the outcome of a culture born of settler-colonial military doctrine and mentalities—a culture which, as an integral tenet of the Canadian military ideology, remains foundational in the maintenance of the Canadian mythos. In an operational culture founded with the express intent of enacting colonial violence (Haycock), the dehumanization of the 'other'[68] is imperative to success. It should be noted that the torturers, Matchee and Brown, were of Cree ancestry (Razack 150). This adoption of institutional morals and values by domestically marginalized individuals assists in reinforcing the fact that the systemic cultural issues that compose the bedrock of the Canadian military remain ideologically prescribed by those in positions of authority—those authority figures themselves being beholden to a history of imperial and capitalist hierarchies.[69] Matchee stated, according to Razack, on the night of the torture, that "now the black man would fear the Indian as he did the white man" (145). According to the final report of the Minister of National Defence Advisory Panel

[68] In using the term 'other' I seek to invoke the definition provided by Edward Said in his 1978 work *Orientalism*. In Said's work, the 'other' represents those who have, historically, been dehumanized based on the race, or their difference from hegemonic Western ways of being—including religious and cultural differences.

[69] This history of the Canadian Armed Forces is thoroughly reviewed in the final report of the Minister of National Defence Advisory Panel on Systemic Racism and Discrimination conducted on behalf of the Canadian government and published in January of 2022. Its section on "Systemic Racism and Discrimination in the Defence Team" reads "it is unlikely that the trajectory of the Defence Team's culture will veer in the right direction unless its leaders comprehend how and why they and many DND/CAF members were programmed for the current course in the first place" (Fitch et al.).

on Systemic Racism and Discrimination conducted on behalf of the Canadian government and published in January of 2022,

> racism in Canada is not a glitch in the system; it is the system. Colonialism and intersecting systems such as patriarchy, heteronormativity and ableism constitute the root causes of inequality within Canada. Throughout Canada's history, the existence of systemic and cultural racism has been enshrined in regulations, norms, and standard practices. (Fitch et al.)

The findings of this report—its subject matter spanning decades—demonstrate how the internalized white supremacist culture of the Canadian military apparatus, as it is crudely voiced by Matchee above in the context of the torture and murder of Arone, is not an instance of a rotten unit or a lone violent radical. Rather, it is the logical outgrowth of a state military—that most foundational Repressive State Apparatus—designed to wage war against a dehumanized foe, repurposed to assist in upholding through physical violence the domination of the West abroad. By 1993, having further devolved from the already violent bourgeois inception of UN peacekeeping forces as they were envisioned by Pearson only decades earlier,[70] the peacekeeping mission had become, according to Razack, "a kind of war, a race war waged by those who constitute themselves as civilized, modern and democratic against those who are constituted as savage, tribal, and immoral" (129).[71] As the age of Cold War proxy conflicts gave way to the era of asymmetrical warfare driven more overtly by profit motives—most often

[70] The United Nations Operation in the Congo, and the United Nations Operation in Mozambique stand out as two early instances of armed UN forces stepping into immediate post-independence power vacuums ("Past Peace Operations").

[71] This characterization of UN peacekeeping is consistent with the recent investigation carried out by the Associated Press (Dodds), and expanded upon by Al Jazeera (Essa).

gleaned from fossil fuel resources—the old myths of British Imperialism and the ideologies that underpin settler colonialism once again arose. The colonial-era traditions of the 'white saviour' and militant patriarchy which underpin the modern myth of the peacekeepers as a 'civilizing force' enabled Western forces—often operating with UN support, or, at the very least, facing no consequences for operating without it—to exacerbate regional conflicts and prolong instability while providing enough operational security to ensure the uninterrupted continuation of resource extraction, most often of oil or precious metals (Maloney, Williams).[72] Razack situates and justifies this characterization of 'peacekeeping' forces by asking the following:

> What is to be gained by characterizing peacekeeper violence as colonial or racial violence rather than simply violence typical of the hypermasculine world of militaries? The racial nature of the encounter, the overriding sense that white armies were in Africa to keep the natives in line, provides one critical reason. Another equally important reason is that colonial violence implicates us all. It is violence done in our name. (129)

This method of rendering peacekeeping operations as far more nuanced than their advocates would paint them—that is, beyond the image of the stabilizing hand of the 'civilized' West selflessly intervening in the national affairs of the 'underdeveloped' Global South—demands a degree of scrutiny and a positioning often inaccessible to those living under the oppression of Western ideological state apparatuses. The prospect that organizations such as the UN could be fallible is incompatible with the dominant

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[72] "Canada runs only a small deficit with Japan, most of Europe, and the rest of the OECD. It runs a large deficit with the periphery, from where it imports unprocessed resources, cheap consumer goods, and some machinery and equipment" (Klassen, 188).

ideologies harboured by the Canadian population.[73] However, this remains a necessary framing should a reader hope to engage with such conflicts fairly.

UN peacekeeping began its decline during the transitional period between the dissolution of the USSR and the 9/11 attacks—which signalled the beginning of the 'War on Terror' proper. The following declaration was made on 11 October, 2001 by then president George W. Bush:

> The attack took place on American soil, but it was an attack on the heart and soul of the civilized world. And the world has come together to fight a new and different war, the first, and we hope the only one, of the 21st century. A war against all those who seek to export terror, and a war against those governments that support or shelter them. ("Global War on Terror")

This rhetoric would be reflected in Canada. Zuzana Měřičková, in her article "Canadian Discourse and Emotions on Terrorism: How Canadian Prime Ministers Speak about Terrorism since 9/11," carries out an analysis of 180 speeches delivered by Prime Minister Chrétien between the 9/11 attacks and his leaving office in December 2003. She explains her data and findings, writing

> Prime Minister Chrétien framed terrorism in a more emotional than objective way. He frames it as a struggle between the civilised world and terrorists, so he frames it as a war between us and them (43 references). Chrétien uses

[73] A recent survey across 19 nations, including Canada, carried out by Pew Research Centre (an American NGO fact tank) asked respondents a number of questions in an effort to gauge their perception of the United Nation. Their findings state that, "in the current survey, a median of 65% have a favorable view of the UN and only 27% have an unfavorable view of the international organization. Views of the UN have remained generally positive since the question was first asked in 2004" (Poushter et al.). In Canada specifically, their data shows constant 'favourable' opinions of the UN in percentages of 60 or more, peaking at 71 percent in spring 2021 and slipping slightly to 66 percent in 2022.

> emotionally charged words in his speeches describing terrorism (39 references). He uses terms such as ‘awful news’, ‘sad and trying days’, ‘terrible situation’, ‘a singular event transfixes the world’, ‘occasions when the dark side of human nature escapes civilised restraints and shows its ugly face to a stunned world ’ (Chrétien 2001). He often mentions the 9/11 terrorist attacks (24 references) and describes it as a tragic event that changed the world and can never be forgotten. The emotional references are also connected to the victims of terrorist attacks (17 references), who are described as innocent people. Chrétien stressed the solidarity Canada felt towards its southern neighbour and the friendship Canada and the United States share. He talked about the friendship with the United States, solidarity (33 references) and cooperation (30 references). (Měřičková)

This rhetoric espoused by Bush and Chrétien is an example of early attempts to engender a sense of hate for the ‘other’ of the twenty-first century by evoking engrained signs and vocabulary of Western chauvinism. This sense of chauvinism, so prevalent in the Canadian mythos, would be crucial in realizing the manufactured divide between the ‘us’—the ‘civilized,’ liberal, capitalist West—and the ‘them’—the ‘barbarous,’ peace-hating, amorphous Islamic world—of this new form of war. Regarding the designs of this rhetoric, Měřičková writes, Canadian politicians “[attempt] to influence emotions to some extent to gain support for their counterterrorism policies by invoking emotions such as fear or hate.” This negative approach to generating assent for violent and exploitative policies can have grave material consequences—these consequences most immediately being felt abroad. As Měřičková states, “if the discourse is manipulative it

can lead to [the] adoption of counterterrorism measures that are considered ineffective or even counterproductive," resulting in a prolonged conflict which only benefits the Western capitalist class while reinforcing the core/periphery relationship which underpins continued Western dominance.

Farhat Shahzad, in his article "The Discourse of Fear: Effects of the War on Terror on Canadian University Students," explores the effects of this rhetoric within a specifically Canadian context. Regarding the application of this War on Terror narrative, he writes,

> fear discourse is expanded through propaganda, manipulation of information, symbolic manipulation, cultural support, nationalism, consensus against an 'enemy,' social institutional stories about threat, language, pervasive communication, symbolic awareness, and a sense of disorder. In the context of the War on Terror, this discourse has become far more erudite due to the inclusion of terrorism and 'rests on important changes that have occurred in our culture and social institutions' (Altheide, 150–151). These changes have been made to exert extensive social control efforts that resonate with a collective identity about the legitimacy of 'us' (the victims) against 'them' (the terrorists).

Shahzad's article outlines the effects of this modern manipulation of ideological state apparatuses on the psyche of the Canadian citizenry. His findings—drawn from primary data collected via surveys and supported by a theoretical framework based on the work of David Altheide—are as follows:

> This [propaganda campaign] has regenerated Islamophobia in Europe and North America after 9/11 [(Council on American-Islamic Relations; Hamdani;

> Sheridan; Task Force on the Needs of Muslim Students; Tyrer and Ahmad; Vyas)]. As a result, Canadian Muslims and other visible minority groups have braced themselves for possible backlash stemming from racism, fear, and misinformation [(Khalema and Wannas-Jones)]. The Maher Arar case[74] is an example of Islamophobia in the Canadian context, as it categorizes a Muslim as the suspicious alien with no tenure to citizenship [(MacAfee)].

Thus, the effects of the propaganda which was used to manufacture consent for the War on Terror have had a profound impact on the modern Canadian mythos, and an outsized negative effect on certain racialized groups within Canada—most notably those who are seen as 'visibly' Muslim. Islamophobia has, then, become inseparable from modern conceptualizations of Canada in a global concept, as it provides an 'other' against which 'Canadian-ness' may be defined.

Shaista Patel, in her 2007 work "Legalizing the Racialization of Muslims: An Anti-Orientalist Discourse Analysis of the Anti-Terrorism Act of Canada," explores how the Canadian ruling class manufactured and secured this narrative via separate official channels in addition to their use of the corporate media. By employing the repressive state apparatus of the legislature[75] to support the propaganda efforts of the

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[74] "Arar v. Ashcroft was a federal lawsuit challenging the rendition to torture of Canadian citizen Maher Arar by U.S. government officials. Mr. Arar was detained at JFK airport in September 2002 while on his way home to Canada from abroad. He was interrogated, detained for two weeks, denied access to a court and meaningful access to counsel, and secretly rendered to Syria where he was tortured and held in a grave-like underground cell for over ten months. He was never charged with a crime" ("Arar v. Ashcroft et al.").

[75] The 'Anti-Terrorism Act,' or ATA, was introduced as Bill C-36 on 15 October, 2001. It officially received Royal Assent on 18 December, 2001. According to the current subsection of the Department of Justice's *National Security* website, "the ATA formed a key component of the Government's Anti-terrorism Plan, which had four objectives:

- to prevent terrorists from getting into Canada and protect Canadians from terrorist acts;

combined ideological state apparatuses, the Canadian state was able to render the 'us/them' dichotomy of the War on Terror as just and legal, and in doing so coloured any dissent against this prescribed narrative as anti-Canadian and inherently threatening or subversive to the collective good. Patel writes, "within the heightened rhetoric around security and threat" generated in Canada in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, "the presence of the Muslim man within borders of the nation was deployed by the Canadian state as the most potent 'problem' facing the nation" (2). She argues that "this marginalization of Muslims in the post 9-11 Canadian society," as it was officially carried out through the Anti-Terrorism Act "as part of an official post 9-11 'judicial discourse' [(Smith)] of the state, performs a physical and ideological nation-building role by targeting Muslims of colour as [the] 'enemy within' the physical borders of the white settle colony" (2). This contributes to the enduring white supremacy at the core of the Canadian state and society, as by enshrining in law the racialized identity of the 'other' the default character of the 'Canadian' is rendered white in contrast. As Patel writes,

> in this process of defining the character of the nation, law, as a relation of power, also structures race, gender and class hierarchies in order to demarcate those who can move freely and legitimately within the space of the nation from

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- to activate tools to identify, prosecute, convict and punish terrorists;
- to keep the Canada-U.S. border secure and a contributor to economic security; and
- to work with the international community to bring terrorists to justice and address the root causes of violence.

The ATA reflected a commitment to the safety of all Canadians and strengthened Canada's ability to meet its international obligations, while respecting Canadian values and the rights enshrined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Charter). Canada's enactment of the ATA paralleled actions taken by its international partners. However, it was a made-in-Canada solution to address terrorism" ("About the *Anti-terrorism Act*").

> the racialized Other whose body, perceived as a threat, needs to be constantly surveillance within the borders. (2-3)

Thus, in the tradition of the settler state, the racialized body of the 'other'—initially wholly indigenous and tied to the land, later foreign and threatening for its ties to 'alien' cultures or ways of being—is the object used to define the imposed settler culture and to restrict membership. In a modern Canadian context, bills such as the Anti-Terrorism Act afford the state's repressive apparatuses—the courts, military, police, and intelligence agencies—the legal impetus and justification to act upon the biases and impulses inspired within their ranks via the state's ideological apparatuses' propaganda efforts. The 'other' is then both officially and socially dehumanized in the name of national and social security.

'Othering' would, thus, be the process by which the Canadian state and its ruling class generated this villain for its populace during the War on Terror; and it was islamophobia which provided the 'other' needed to justify and focus the immense imperial violence caused by the War on Terror. 'Muslim' would provide the umbrella under which orientalized 'others' would be made to fit through this propaganda—whether or not an individual was, in fact, Muslim mattered little so long as they fit the prescribed category of the 'barbarous' and threatening 'other.' As Barbara Perry and Scott Poynting write in their 2006 work "Inspiring Islamophobia: Media and State targeting of Muslims in Canada since 9/11," "negative media portrayals, together with discriminatory rhetoric, policy and practices at the level of the state [created] an enabling environment that [signaled] the legitimacy of public hostility toward the Muslim community" (1-2). This prevalence of negative media portrayals of the Muslim

‘other’ in the post-9/11 period led to genuine illegal attacks against Canadian Muslims and their communities, while those same populations faced legally-sanctioned surveillance and oppression (Roberts, Silver and Taylor-Butts). Perry and Poynting write that “these patterns of discrimination and violence are legitimated by ideologies which mark the Other in ways which normalise corresponding inequities. In the cultural realm we find articulated the relations of superiority/inferiority which establish a hospitable environment for openly racist activity” (4). The authors continue, stating the following:

> Stereotypes which distinguish the racialised Other from ‘white’ help to distance white from not white. Here ‘white ’may be a metaphor for western or non-‘Third-World-looking’, rather than a matter of physical colour (Hage, 1998). The non-white Other is to be feared, ridiculed, and loathed for their differences as recognised in the popular psyche. Almost invariably, the stereotypes are loaded with disparaging associations, suggesting inferiority, irresponsibility, immorality, and non-humanness, for example. Consequently, they provide both motive and rationale for injurious verbal and physical assaults on minority groups. Acting upon these interpretations allows dominant group members to recreate whiteness as superiority, while castigating the Other for their presumed traits and behaviours. Members of subordinate groups are potential victims because of their subordinate status. They are already deemed inferior, deviant, and therefore deserving of whatever hostility and persecution comes their way. (4)

This reflection on the real-world implications of ingraining in the ‘public psyche’—or national mythos—a highly specific yet rhetorically amorphous ‘other’ is haunting, but it is not a new phenomenon in Canada. Such a regionalized settler nation depends on external threats—indigenous peoples and cultures, global imperial wars, ‘terrorism’—to retain its tenuous national unity. Canada’s modern, orthodox liberal values—though most certainly ‘progressive’ when contrasted with its colonial past—ensure, through phrasing and positioning, the ability of the state to continue to exert control over marginalized peoples—both domestically and abroad. For the paternalistic language of ‘protection’ in Canadian media and governance, borne of bourgeois ideologies of hyper-masculine white supremacy, depends on offering security to certain groups from particularized forms of violence.

Take, for example, the “Discover Canada” handbook—published by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (originally published in 2009 and most recently updated in 2021)—given to immigrants attempting to gain Canadian citizenship as an official study document for the Canadian citizenship exam. Speaking on the creation and potential of this document, Laura Tonon and Tracey Raney—in their 2009 article “Building a Conservative Nation: An Examination of Canada’s New Citizenship Guide, Discover Canada”—write

> these guides serve at least two nation-building functions: they educate prospective citizens on what is required to be a member of the national community (e.g., obligations such as paying taxes or jury duty), and they help legitimize official state-sanctioned narratives of what it means to be a member

> of the national community (e.g., the values and principles deemed important to the state). (202)

The authors also explore how the Citizenship Guide has evolved in its newest iteration, stating,

> This guide is a substantive change from A Look at Canada created by the Chrétien Liberal government in 1995. Among others, notable differences include a much longer document (the Liberal guide was 48 pages, whereas the new guide is 68 pages), a higher-level vocabulary, a greater focus on military history, and an increased emphasis on the responsibilities of citizenship. (201)

This official document outlines how the state's dedication to the tenets of bourgeois liberalism and individual inalienable rights ends at their intersection with cultures or individuals engaging in so-called "barbaric practices" ("Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" 9). Through a weaponization of the language of liberalism, and drawing from mythologized narratives of Canada, this document effectively cements the 'member' vs 'other' dichotomy imperative to the function of modern Western islamophobia. The subsection of the handbook, simply titled "The equality of Women and Men" reads as follows:

> In Canada, men and women are equal under the law. Canada's openness and generosity do not extend to barbaric cultural practices that tolerate spousal abuse, "honour killings," female genital mutilation, forced marriage or other gender-based violence. Those guilty of these crimes are severely punished under Canada's criminal laws. (9)

This document—an official point of contact between the Government of Canada and a prospective citizen possibly already facing personal and institutionalized forms of cultural and social violence—exceptionalizes the violence committed by racialized peoples.[76] Obviously spousal abuse, 'honour killings,' female genital mutilation, and forced marriage are not limited to any particular culture, ethnicity, or religion. However, this document makes use of tropes associated by the Canadian press and wider Western messaging with islamophobic rhetoric, and centres the exceptionalized violence of the 'honour crime' in particular—which, in a modern Canadian context is intrinsically tethered to islamophobic rhetoric. In doing so, it is made evident that it is a bigoted caricature of Islamic cultures, and other orientalized cultures whose distance and difference from Islam go unnoticed by the wider Canadian citizenry, which this document is referring to, intentionally or unconsciously, when it decries 'barbaric cultural practices.' This framing also conspicuously positions these forms of violence as foreign, as violence which occurs elsewhere and which is at risk of being imported. Thus, a seemingly innocuous subsection of an official Immigration Canada document on gender equality—drawing from racist tropes surrounding Muslim men and rampant misrepresentations of Islamic traditions and culture which came to saturate the Canadian imagination in the post-9/11 period—is able to reaffirm these bigoted fears and enshrine

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[76] Regarding the exceptionalized violence of 'honour killings' specifically, the case which engrained this term in the collective Canadian consciousness was the 2007 murder of Asqa Parves by her father and brother. Examining the coverage of this case, Dana Olwan—in her 2019 article "Pinkwashing the 'Honor Crime': Murdered Muslim Women and the Politics of Posthumous Solidarities"— writes, "in the aftermath of the killing, the story—or stories—of Asqa's murder bore the familiar tropes of civilizational clash, culturalized violence, and multicultural collapse. In Canada, the murder was quickly scripted as a case of honor-related violence, a cruel death that spoke to the unique danger posed by Muslim immigrants to Canadian national ideals of openness, racial harmony, and gender equality."

their validity through the language and publishing of government. Again, I must reiterate, the racial violence which erupted during this time harmed groups—most notably those arriving in Canada from developing nations—far beyond the 'visibly' Muslim men upon which this propaganda campaign was centred; however, islamophobia remains the epicentre of this bigoted rhetoric. As Dana Olwan writes in her her 2019 article "Pinkwashing the 'Honor Crime': Murdered Muslim Women and the Politics of Posthumous Solidarities,"

> this problematic framing of gendered violence lends credence to the idea that women from third-world contexts are victimized by their cultures. The selective visual and discursive information about topics like female genital cutting and infibulation and female infanticide—as well as dowry murders and honor crimes—helps solidify the links being drawn between culture *and* violence and culture *as* violence (Volpp 2002, 2011). These issues hold particular appeal in Western contexts because they can enhance assumptions of what Chandra Talpade Mohanty has called the production of "third-world difference" and thus conceal the connections between different types of domestic violence and abuse (1988, 63). Through this setup, violence against women in first-world contexts […] remains freed from culturalized discursive entrenchments and moral spectacularizations. (911)

The paternal relationship between the Canadian state/society and immigrants from "third-world contexts" is further engrained as, in the same breath, this document positions the Canadian state as the sole arbiter of justice on the issue of violence against women and girls, and positions the threat of violence against these protected groups as

originating within the threatening, masculine ‘other’ rather than recognizing violence’s foundational role in the construction of the Canadian nation-state.[77] This domestic policing of the ‘other’ also lends itself to supporting the practice of ‘pinkwashing’ neoimperial acts of aggression and repositions Canada, again, as a liberator—now fighting on behalf of women and girls from cultures considered ‘barbaric’ by the collective Canadian consciousness.[78] This demonstrates how the paternalistic instinct of imperialism persists, buttressing the hypocrisies inherent in liberalism and Western notions of personal liberty against dissent on the grounds of that dissent being rendered sympathetic to terrorism, as from a liberal point of view ‘human’ and ‘individual’ remain synonymous. The liberal (Reid) co-opting and weaponization of progressive language and values such as queer liberation and women’s rights (Blackmer, Lubitow and Davis, Orser et al.) broadens the lexicon of War on Terror propaganda and provides a new avenue by which otherwise progressive-minded citizens may be coerced into supporting state-sanctioned violence (Naber and Zaatari). The ability of the national myths to disarm and integrate progressive language (the ‘equality’ of women and men within Canadian society, to borrow an example from the above handbook) reinforces the

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[77] See the patriarchal and hypermasculinized culture inherent in settler colonialism, and the Canadian state’s treatment of indigenous and racialized women (Norman et al.). Jaco J. Hamman, in their article “The Reproduction of the Hypermasculine Male: Select Subaltern Views” writes, “since the 1500s, masculinity and the socialization of men have been defined by colonization.” Their work explores “the hypermasculine male as a person unemotional yet fearful of intimacy, void of non-masculine attachments and identifications, competitive and aggressive, strong, independent, dominant, powerful, rational, sexist, homophobic, and generally disconnected from his own sense of self and the self of others.”

[78] A most recent example of ‘pinkwashing’ can be seen in the hyper-liberal Canadian response—both by the government and the media—to the murder of Jîna (Mahsa) Amini at the hand of Iran’s ‘morality police’ on 13 September, 2022. Djene Rhys Bajalan, writes “the gendered nature of the violence that led to Amini’s untimely death, and the role women have played at the vanguard of the anti-government protests, plays into a kind of ‘intersectional imperialism’ that seeks to justify military and diplomatic escalation with Iran in the name of female emancipation from Islamic ‘barbarism.’” (“The Kurdish Struggle is at the Heart of the Protests in Iran”).

framing of Canada as a protector of certain gendered sections of populations that it harms and exploits in an effort to support its post-industrial economy and to maintain the sense of fear necessary to sustain military spending and endless wars.

Dana Olwan's *Gender Violence and the Transnational Politics of the Honor Crime* (2021), although focused on the history and modern definitions and weaponization of the 'honour crime,' outlines how 'othered' bodies are made to serve the designs of the Canadian bourgeoisie and their state. Female bodies, loosely gathered under the particular 'othered' umbrella labelled 'Islamic,' are fashioned into tools of liberal ideology designed to weaponize the values of Canada against less 'fragile' or more threatening members of this racialized and 'invading' community, and in turn against other racialized groups within Canada. One specific example explored by Olwan is the media coverage of the 2007 murder of Aqsa Parvez in Mississauga at the hands of her farther Muhammad Parvez and her older brother Waqas Parvez. A particular publication analyzed by Olwan is the "Girl, Interrupted" article published by Mary Rogan in Toronto Life (2008).[79] " This article," Olwan writes, "alerts Canadians to the deadly consequences of a migration system that too readily accepts culture as sacrosanct" (36). This stark position taken by the article is supported not by examples, but rather through various encoded appeals to emotion and to the propagandistic

[79] Rogan's article begins as follows: "Aqsa Parvez had a choice: wear a hijab to please her devout family or take it off and be like her friends. She paid for her decision with her life. When her father and brother were charged with her murder, it raised the spectre of religious zealotry in the suburbs. Is this the price of multiculturalism?"

conceptualization of Muslims and Islam ingrained in the collective Canadian consciousness.[80] Olwan points out that

> the article focuses on Aqsa's life and her desire to belong within Canadian society. In this work, Mary Rogan argues that Aqsa's family had put the teenager in a very difficult position that compelled her to make a choice between the stipulation that she wear a veil and her desire to be like other Canadian girls. Aqsa is presented as a teenage victim of culture, whose innocence and youthful aspirations of belonging and desire for Western fashions are starkly juxtaposed with unbending cultural norms and fatal traditional expectations. (36)

The framing of this tragic situation is remarkably bigoted and rife with Western chauvinism. Olwan continues her discussion of Rogan's article, writing "Aqsa's murder leads Rogan to wonder whether this death was 'the price of multiculturalism' (2008). Throughout her work, Rogan raises concerns about the threat that fundamentalist Islam and Islamic zealotry pose to Canadian society" (36). This exceptionalization of Aqsa's murder—rather than its integration into the wider history of violence against women within Canadian history and society—demonstrates both a cost of neoimperial

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[80] Rohan writes, "Worldwide, an estimated 5,000 women die every year in honour killings—murders deemed excusable to protect a family's reputation—many of them in Pakistan, where the Parvez family had emigrated from." Her article also contains the following excerpt: "there is growing concern that recent waves of Muslim immigrants aren't integrating, or embracing our liberal values. Aqsa's death—coming in the wake of debates about the acceptability of sharia law, disputes over young girls wearing hijabs at soccer games, and the arrest of the Toronto 18 stoked fears about religious zealotry in our midst. Is it possible that Toronto has become too tolerant of cultural differences?" The piece ends with the following sweeping generalization: "Aqsa Parvez lived in two worlds. Devout Muslims reject any division of life into the religious and the secular. By the time she was killed, she knew her father was never going to accept her decision to travel back and forth across the two."

aggression and a weaponization of public discourse in an attempt to fuel the same racialized violence both domestically and abroad.

I will return my focus now to actions taken by the Canadian state and Canadian capitalists beyond our national borders. The early years of the War on Terror were an era of unchallenged American military and financial hegemony. This lack of a peer or near-peer adversary on the global stage left the American military industrial complex reeling from a great deal of momentum, generated over a half century of hyper-production, as it floundered and attempted to acquire new targets—Canada, and the rest of America's Western allies, necessarily keeping pace. Canada's new core position in the geopolitical order during this post-Cold War period of transition toward unipolarity is succinctly described by Jerome Klassen in his 2009 article, "Canada and the New Imperialism: The Economics of a Secondary Power," as follows:

> The last two decades have witnessed an important transformation in Canada's economic and political standing in the world. During this period, there has been an internationalization of Canadian capital and a militarization of Canadian foreign policy. Canada has abandoned the "middle power" strategy of the Cold War era and the satellite relationship to American imperialism. In turn, Canada has played a more prominent role in the international financial system, in Western military alliances, and in the institutions of global governance. In the G8, in world trade bodies, and in NATO, the Canadian state has positioned itself among the core group of powers that dominate the world system. (163)

John J. Mearsheimer, "the founder of the offensive realist school of international relations theory—which contends that the anarchic structure of the international system

is the primary cause of international conflict" (Sinha), in a series of lectures later compiled into the 2018 text *Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities*, explores the impact of this transitional period on the nations of the imperial core, as well as the periphery and semi-periphery. Mearsheimer is by no means a Marxist thinker, though his realist approach does align itself with the tenets and methods of both dialectics and historical materialism. On account of this logical parity, his analysis in this text provides a valuable point of view on this brief era in history. It should be noted, however, that in his condemnation of unipolarity Mearsheimer does advocate for a return to a bipolar state of global power politics, underscoring "the enduring salience of great-power rivalry, the balance of power, and nuclear weapons as lynchpins of global peace" (Sinha). Though his propensity for this realist school does perhaps limit his capacity to imagine beyond established political realities, it does assist him in dismantling the liberal ideologies of the Western bourgeoisie during the interim period between the early 1990s and 2001. This aligns his work with my analysis and with that of the Marxist school of thought, allowing parities to be drawn between his thinking and the works of popular socialist-leaning authors such as Richard D. Wolff[81]—the American Marxian economist—and Noam Chomsky. Speaking of the unipolarity and unchallenged Western hegemony of this period, Mearsheimer writes, "the liberal sole pole will almost always abandon realism and adopt a liberal foreign policy. Liberal states have a crusader mentality hardwired into them that is hard to

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[81] Wolff's 2009 book *Capitalism Hits the Fan -The Global Economic Meltdown and What to Do About It* explores how "the crisis [of modern capitalism] is systemic in that it is a structural and recurring feature of capitalism. It is also systemic in its emergence from basic contours of the history of the United States. Yet it is particularly rooted in a crucial shift that happened in the capitalist system during the 1970s when the average real wages of US workers permanently stopped their century of steady increases (1).

restrain" (2). The global War on Terror—the banner under which Western military forays into the imperial periphery were eagerly assembled after the 9/11 attacks—failed to provide a peer nation or threat which could, according to subscribers to the realist school of thought,[82] return balance to global power politics. Rather, it provided a diffuse, cellular, and enigmatic foe operating within a number of sovereign states. This novel type of foe, in turn, afforded the imperial core justification enough—in their eyes and in the eyes of the Western-dominated UN—to launch new military campaigns into the hearts of peripheral nation-states. The designation of the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda, and Boko Haram—three such non-state entities—as terrorist organizations by Canada, the United States, and the remainder of the imperial core justified the deployment of Western militaries to Syria, Afghanistan, and Nigeria respectively.

According to ideological currents of the Western bourgeois media, the War on Terror was framed as a fight for universal human values such as inalienable rights, liberal 'democracy,' and 'freedom' while, in the same breath, it justified actions which violate each of these purported values to fuel imperial greed and capitalist interests. Mearsheimer's "The Impossible Dream" proves equally valuable in analyzing this new global 'war.' He argues:

> Because liberalism prizes the concept of inalienable or natural rights, committed liberals are deeply concerned about the rights of virtually every individual on the planet. This universalist logic creates a powerful incentive for

[82] According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, "realism, also known as political realism, is a view of international politics that stresses its competitive and conflictual side. It is usually contrasted with idealism or liberalism, which tends to emphasize cooperation. Realists consider the principal actors in the international arena to be states, which are concerned with their own security, act in pursuit of their own national interests, and struggle for power" (Korab-Karpowicz).

> liberal states to get involved in the affairs of countries that seriously violate their citizens rights. (2)

It should be noted here how thinly the veil of liberal ideology is stretched when it is forced to conform to neoliberal capitalist policies. Take, for example, the declassified 2016 Memorandum for Action on the export of LAVs by Canada to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. (See p. 37 of this thesis.) If those prescribing Canada's liberal ideologies were, in fact, truly devoted to those tenets they espouse then the widespread human rights violations committed by the Saudis against their own citizens and the citizens of Yemen would provide ample reason to abandon this trade partnership. However, their ideological veil merely obfuscates their bourgeois endeavours.

Mearsheimer continues, arguing from the perspective of the liberal Western bourgeoisie, stating:

> the best way to ensure that the rights of foreigners are not trampled is for them to live in a liberal democracy. This logic leads to an active policy of regime change, where the goal is to topple autocrats and put liberal democracies in their place. […] This enthusiasm notwithstanding, liberal hegemony will not achieve its goals, and its failure will inevitably come with huge costs. The liberal state is likely to end up fighting endless wars, which will increase rather than reduce the level of conflict in international politics and thus aggravate the problems of proliferation and terrorism. Moreover, the state's militaristic behaviour is almost certain to end up threatening its own liberal values. (2)

Mearsheimer's condemnation here of the purported designs of bourgeois liberalism is brief yet scathing. His thinking aligns with established critiques of liberalism as well as

those of modern thinkers. Marx,[83] and Lenin[84] themselves launched similar condemnations during their eras, while John P. McCormick—approaching his critique through the works of Carl Schmitt in his 1997 book *Carl Schmitt's Critique of Liberalism: Against Politics as Technology*—and Richard Rorty—through his 1983 article "Postmodernist Bourgeois Liberalism"—represent more recent yet parallel criticism. Mearsheimer demonstrates, from his realist perspective, the inherent hypocrisies of the liberal democracy which render it too frail to achieve its aims. However, Canada—the bastion of bourgeois liberalism that it is—remains determined to stay the course.

Canada's dedication to neoliberal policy and the endurance of Western hegemony led it to follow in America's footsteps as the sitting imperial hegemon willed

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[83] "Marx remains a radical critic of liberalism, and of certain liberal rights in particular, his critique is directed primarily against the right to capitalist private property because this right facilitates class domination and hinders the free development of individuals. Contrary to conventional interpretations, Marx took the recognition of equal rights as the starting point for his assessment of modern freedom. Although he shows the contradictions and limitations of rights in capitalist society, he sees these rights as preconditions for communist society. […] Marx views rights as part and parcel of a system of law that corresponds to a specific mode of production and its form of property relations. When discussing bourgeois" or liberal rights, Marx is concerned with the particular entitlements possessed by individuals in the context of bourgeois or capitalist society" (Shoikhedbrod, 55-56). "Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby" (Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program," 531). "These rights of man are, in part, political rights, which can only be exercised if one is a member of a community. Their content is participation in the political life, in the political life of the community, the life of the state" (Marx, "On the Jewish Question," 41).

[84] "The liberal bourgeoisie in general, and the liberal-bourgeois intelligentsia in particular, cannot but strive for liberty and legality, since without these the domination of the bourgeoisie is incomplete, is neither undivided nor guaranteed. But the bourgeoisie is *more* afraid of the movement of the masses than of reaction. Hence the striking, incredible *weakness* of the liberals in politics, their absolute impotence. Hence the endless series of equivocations, falsehoods, hypocrisies and cowardly evasions in the entire policy of the liberals, who *have to* play at democracy to win the support of the masses but at the same time are deeply anti-democratic, deeply hostile to the movement of the masses, to their initiative, their way of 'storming heaven,' as Marx once described one of the mass movements in Europe in the last century" (Lenin, "Two Utopias," 355).

into existence this new global conflict. This is not necessarily remarkable, given Canada's geopolitical alignment and current trajectory—which remains fixed along the course plotted during the outset of the 'global War on Terror.' What is worthy of note, however, is the means by which the bourgeois state was able to manufacture assent from its citizenry for these new interventionalist policies. Though the composition of the various ideological state apparatuses at the disposal of the Canadian ruling class saw little to no change, the new digital spaced inhabited by the Canadian citizenry called for a shift in application as information became more freely available and instantly shareable. Maéva Clément, Thomas Lindemann, and Eric Sangar, in their article "The 'Hero-Protector Narrative': Manufacturing Emotional Consent for the Use of Force," explore a popular strategy deployed by Western governments and their media apparatuses throughout the War on Terror in an effort to garner support for their military actions. The authors first speak to the importance of emotions—ideological responses as opposed to materially informed responses—in this process. They write, "emotions are experienced by individuals, yet they are shaped by structures such as institutions, norms, and narratives. Individuals learn how to 'feel' from significant others and institutionalize norms in a given society" (993). This malleability of the individual via the currents of the collective is crucial for understanding the profundity of liberalism's impact on the Canadian citizenry, as well as their response to acts of state violence beyond their country's borders. The authors continue, "to capture what might make individuals disposed to accept the collective use of force, we do not try to delve into their personal state of mind but to uncover the narrative patterns that might stimulate and frame collective emotions" (993). This approach mirrors that of my thesis, in the sense that

while I recognize that emotionality drives much of our political discourse under liberal capitalism, the underlying systems and ideological state apparatuses of the bourgeois Canadian state ensure that those at the levers of power are equipped with the ideological and legislative tool to redirect, coopt, or smother social movements. As such, the work of Clément, Lindemann, and Sangar can be integrated remarkably well in a Marxist analysis of the construction and use of nationalist ideologies and mythologies. Liberalism, as I have previously shown, suffers from an untenable number of internal hypocrisies—more so than other forms of political philosophy which better understand collectivity and democracy, or, in the case of fascism, the horrible potential of a unified political vision. Perhaps the most glaring, and indeed the most applicable to the issue of generating consent for violence, is its championing of the inalienable rights of the individual being pitted against a need to kill in the name of some paradoxical 'greater good.' Clément et al. approach this issue by writing, "since the use of force—and ultimately, killing—constitutes a taboo in most modern societies, legitimization must go beyond articulating perceived rational interests: It requires the emotions supporting this taboo to be altered or suppressed" (993). This affirms the fact that to generate consent for state violence within the Canadian population, those in power need not appeal to the rational faculties of their citizens, but rather must engage in an attempt to generate a sense of engineered—emotionally rooted—morality behind their cause which engages their subordinates on a libidinal level. (See my analysis of Zuzana Měřičková's survey of Chrétien's speeches during the outbreak of the War on Terror, p. 136 of this thesis.) Thus, rational attempts to decry their actions may be rendered as extreme or unfeeling. For dissent against this backdrop of righteous heroism and thinly veiled white

supremacy is seen as a violation. “To achieve this,” the authors conclude, “political leaders are known to mobilize community bonds by using specific emotional vocabularies that strengthen internal cohesion” (993).

The violence demanded by ‘peacekeeping’ missions—as well as the more overt acts of violence accepted by citizens as inherent in the conflicts of the War on Terror—are essentially dependent on myths first generated within Canada during the age of British Empire through to the culmination of the Great War. The sense of superiority—moral, governmental, political, economic, cultural, religious, ethnic—engendered within the receptive majority of the Canadian population at that time endures today, manifesting as a more politically correct liberal impetuous to ‘civilize’ and ‘liberate.’[85] The Canadian nation—so divided along issues of domestic politics, yet remarkably aligned when it comes to matters of international conflict or foreign policy due to the tight control over information wielded by the bourgeoisie and the state through their ideological state apparatuses—sees itself as a heroic figure struggling to shoulder the modernized yet archetypal ‘white man’s burden.’

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[85] Erin Steuter and Deborah Wills, in their article “Discourses of dehumanization: Enemy construction and Canadian media complicity in the framing of the war on terror,” write: “As critical race scholars have noted, the rhetorical framing of the West’s response to the Oriental Other draws upon long-standing binaries by which the West defines the East as alien to its norm; the barbaric East is seen, through its essential nature, as fundamentally opposed to the civilized West, locking the two into a relationship so innately hostile that it precludes any solution other than a bifurcated crusade-or-cleanse model in which, as in the historical crusades, difference is eliminated through either conversion or destruction. Within this model, difference itself, whether racial or cultural, is seen as inimical. The threat of difference is exaggerated and emphasized in times of war; scholars of propaganda agree that images emphasizing the Otherness of the enemy are fundamental to wartime discourses because they create the preconditions necessary to military action. With respect to racially-Othered enemies, the construction of difference is often more blunt; for example, Japanese opponents in World War II were treated much more harshly in Allied propaganda than were Germans” (9).

Canada never truly sees the consequences of its neoimperialism (Shipley), in the sense that what little, highly-curated, and sufficiently sterilized coverage from the various fronts of the War on Terror does trickle back to the Canadian media is far removed from the average citizen's daily life and mired in propagandistic attempts to 'orientalize' the conflicts and its victims (Jiwani, Winter "War as Peace"). This process of 'orientalizing' and 'othering' those experiencing the unique violence of modern Western imperialism depends on the highly sophisticated ideological state apparatuses of Western governments and specifically their bourgeois-controlled media arms, be they private, and operating under the veneer of 'independence, 'or the semi-public.[86] Canadian audiences see the expensive weapons and troops their government has shipped overseas, whereas they rarely see any ordinance land. Palestinians defending their ancestral homeland against overt settler colonial violence, which Canada supports (Abu-Laban and Bakan, Shipley), are labeled—by the Western liberal bourgeoisie—as 'terrorists.' Afghans are condemned for 'internal aggression' against Canadian and coalition forces during the 2001 invasion. Though the already oxidized image of the Canadian peacekeeper may have been left to flake and crumble under Stephen Harper's foreign policy blunders, the image contemporary Canadians are shown of their soldiers operating throughout Africa and the Middle East remains one of mediators distributing aid or providing medical care (CBC News). Even Canada's special forces operators—in what little non-recruitment-focused coverage of their actions is permitted to be

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[86] "In their largely uncritical reproduction of metaphors that linguistically frame the enemy in particular ways, the Canadian media have participated in mediating constructions of Islam and Muslims found in other forms of social and cultural expression, mobilizing familiar metaphors in representations that fabricate an enemy-Other who is dehumanized, de-individualized and ultimately expendable" (Steuter and Wills 8).

published (canmildoc, Official W5)—are only shown in supervisory or training roles, with little scrutiny provided on the part of the journalists present when it comes to who is at the receiving end of that training, or why; who is in need of food or medicine, and why; who receives Canada's financial aid and how steep the interest rates are; who fields the weapon systems its military provides. Each modern conflict in which the Canadian military participates is presented as an 'us/them' binary to Canadian audiences—where indigenous allies are included under the banner of 'us'—rather than the murky quagmire of entangled historical, ethnic, religious, financial, or political motivations it truly is. The effect of these 'us/them' representations is to effectively 'other' the enemy combatants through a systematic application of a militarized and dehumanizing vocabulary, thus situating the Canadian forces and their indigenous allies as just in cause and righteous in their application of violence.

Conclusion

Eyes Front: Revolutionary Futurity and the Potential for a New Imagined Canada

With this thesis, I have traced the genus of the modern Canadian mythos back through the decades to its nascent state as British imperial-era settler colonial propaganda. This initially British national mythology was spliced, during Canada's ascent to independence, with wider continental bourgeois ideologies that arose during the advance of capitalism. Through the Great War this compounded mythology was effectively nationalized, with Canadian-ness coming to be defined in relativity to its British colonial ancestry and against the backdrop of rising American imperialism. The Second World War, having erupted along long-fractured geopolitical fault lines, yielded a new, bipolar world order. In its wake, Canada deserted its wartime allies in the east—The USSR and China—and remained within the American sphere of influence, functioning as a middle power during the Cold War as it warmed to neoimperialist practices and neoliberal capitalism. Its domestic bourgeoisie took advantage of the new imperial core/periphery relationships afforded to the young nation during this time, affirming Canada's position as a core nation within the capitalist West. The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War gave way to a decade of unbridled neoliberal global capitalism, resulting in a newly reinvigorated Western ravaging of the Developing World in which Canadian capitalists enthusiastically participated. As I have demonstrated through this thesis, Canada's mythology—its collective conceptualization of self—is a narrative founded on wartime propaganda and amorphous dichotomies of 'us' versus 'them.' It is a story of white supremacy, colonialism, and orientalism.

‘Canada’ has been perpetually rendered through a combined effort of the federal government and the ruling class via an aligned control of the citizenry through official messaging and a bourgeois-controlled social sphere and corporate media environment. To borrow from the writing of Lenin, “all over the world, wherever there are capitalists, freedom of the press means freedom to buy up newspapers, to buy writers, to bribe, buy and fake ‘public opinion’ for the benefit of the bourgeoisie” (“A Letter to G. Myasnikov”). This Canadian story was not the result of complex scheming or nefarious preordinance, but arose and endures as a result of the Canadian bourgeoisie seeking to protect their own class interest by manipulating the private and public levers of power installed by their predecessors. Canada’s story is one of exclusion and conquest, both domestic and abroad, military and financial—and without appropriate training in the particular political, social, and economic literacies needed to recognize and deconstruct propaganda, the Canadian population will continue to reinforce and reinvigorate the nation’s constructed narratives through their social reproduction of the status quo.

Canada, as it currently exists in a real, concrete sense is a nation-state that enjoys a profound amount of privilege and misappropriated wealth—while also containing and exporting misery and inequality in considerable measure. Yet, there are and always have been those among the Canadian citizenry who dare to imagine a different Canada—one unrestrained by bourgeois ideology but receptive and adaptive to the material needs of its people and of the wider global community. As small groups of Canadians continue to push for increased scrutiny of their nation’s domestic history—today, that scrutiny being largely centred on genocide and settler colonialism—Canada’s international actions throughout history seem to have been pushed aside. As media

organizations are forced to respond to this domestic public historical inquiry, they maintain the stance that these flagrant human rights abuses occurred in spite of an enduring Canadian ideal. This intense inward examination of historical wrongs perpetuated by settler colonialism within the Canadian nation is taking place in isolation and without regard for the historical and international context that provides foundations and explanations for many of the exploitive attitudes and actions. Historical and internationalist scrutiny is necessary in order to provide a more complete, honest, and fuller narrative which has no identifiable beginning and no foreseeable end. Canada, as a settler-colonial nation-state, must be regarded and understood as an outgrowth of empire occupying a parasitic role within a highly exploitative global, capitalist system.

To achieve marked change, attempts to redirect Canada's national trajectory must be founded upon revolutionary reevaluations of its past achieved through thorough analyses and rewritings of its national mythos that take into account deeper and longer time and spaces well beyond its borders. Canada, as much as any nation, is a collection of canonical stories. As such, it is stories themselves that harbour the potential to alter this canon—new stories, previously forgotten, misunderstood, or suppressed stories, stories of what came before and of what can come next—of what is possible or even deemed impossible. Fiction plays and will continue to play a large role in the construction of a Canadian sense of national identity. Literary works such as Timothy Findley's *The Wars* (1977), Joy Kogawa's *Obasan* (1981), and Souvankham Thammavongsa's *How to Pronounce Knife* (2020) represent depictions of war and its casualties which, through their humanization of victims and critiques of systems of power within Canada, challenge the hegemonic narratives that saturate the Canadian

mythos. In a similar vein, I maintain hope in the potential of the academy to produce change. Despite the Canadian academy—and Western academia as a whole—maintaining its historical position as a bourgeois institution hostile to change and to marginalized[87] peoples and thought (Dupree and Boykin, Subbaraman), it nevertheless remains an institution trusted with the potential to wield expertise within systems of liberal governance. This liberal fetishizing of expertise, however, betrays the prevalence of a willingness to appeal to authority both within the academy and in wider Canadian society. For, when academia and politics intersect, experts in narrow fields necessarily filter their thoughts and opinions through their ideological lens. Everyone is subjected to ideology; academic 'objectivity' is as non-existent as journalistic 'objectivity' and pursuits of such things are mired in naïveté. For this reason, should progressive thought and more revolutionarily equitable ideologies manage to overcome the careful limitations of the Canadian university system—and should these ideologies be publicly stated and interrogated rather than concealed behind 'objectivity'—perhaps the public imagination will find a new influence growing to shape what is possible or regarded as impossible rather than what has been and threatens to persist as what should be. This, I freely admit, is precariously optimistic of me.

Maintaining this forward-facing orientation, I would like make note of current international areas of strife which Canadians should take care to observe—with critical consideration of the sources and ideological lenses through which they access and interpret coverage. These include, but are by no means limited to, the geopolitical tensions in the Arctic—both among and beyond the nation-states which comprise the

[87] Including those marginalized on the basis of class alone.

Arctic Council—surrounding natural resource rights, the Northwest Passage, scientific research, and territorial sovereignty; Western antagonism surrounding Taiwan and China's territorial integrity; the ongoing Israeli colonization of occupied Palestinian; Canada's escalatory stance on the current proxy war in Ukraine as well as its stance on the 2014 coup; the continued American blockade of Cuba; Western alarmism surrounding the protracted successes of China's Belt and Road Initiative; Canada's major mining operations in the Global South; immediately looming Canadian military intervention in Haiti—with warplanes caring military supplies having already landed in the permanently destabilized nation as of 15 October 2022 ("Joint Statement," Robertson, Tiwari); and the humanitarian disasters in Afghanistan and Yemen which continue to be exacerbated by Western capital and governments. In each of these arenas, Canada, its military and intelligence organizations, its industries, and its NGOs have demonstrated their dedication to the current neoliberal, Western-dominated world order. A principled, dialectical materialist analysis is necessary to deconstruct such conflicts and others which arise at the friction points between opposed global centres of capital. The war in Ukraine, for example, is occurring in one nation among many in which Western capital has forced competition with indigenous or opposed foreign capital to a point that an eventual provocation erupts into open warfare. Conflicts and systemic contradictions such as these are not the result of 'great men'—such as Bush, Putin, or Xi—as Western corporate media and liberal politicians present them. Rather, they are the result of the inherent systemic inadequacies of capitalism, and the inevitable necessity for capitalism to resolve its contradictions through war. The framing of the above events by the ideological state apparatuses of the Canadian state and their

coverage in Canadian media depend on established myths and hegemonic geopolitical and economic outlooks. It is worth asking why this may be the case, and I believe that through a principled, historical materialist approach one may begin to arrive at appropriate lines of questioning.

There are two main areas of study which I did not have the space to explore in this thesis, and where I believe more research would yield valuable results. The first is the effect that non-traditional media has had on the Canadian collective imagination in recent years. The advent of social media paired with the accessibility and breadth of online reporting have grossly complicated propaganda analysis in our modern age, as has the political maelstrom which orbits the subject, and from which academia is not immune. A second area of study which I feel is markedly underserved in a specifically Canadian context is large-scale linguistic analyses of Canadian media and political literature and speech. Zuzana Měřičková's research which she presents in her article "Canadian Discourse and Emotions on Terrorism: How Canadian Prime Ministers Speak about Terrorism since 9/11"—which I made use of in my previous chapter—stands apart as a modern attempt to carry out such demanding work. I believe this area of study holds the potential to yield valuable results, especially when compared to the relatively saturated British and American data troves.

Reform becomes reification. Solidarity, a dedication to egalitarianism, insurgent class consciousness, and radical love are imperative to the pursuit of genuine change within Canada. The Canadian and wider Western bourgeois mythologies depend on narratives—on climax and denouement, on manufactured dichotomies of 'us' versus 'them.' To dismantle this mythos a re-evaluation of the very composition of these

narrative structures will be needed, for perhaps the Western traditions of storytelling may not be suitable for writing our future. In the interim, and in drawing this thesis to a close, I would like to borrow the language of two Canadian writers, the language they knew and with which they did their best to reshape the worlds around them into more equitable spaces. Albert 'Ginger' Goodwin was a revolutionary Marxist organizer, trade unionist, and coal miner who was assassinated by the Dominion police in his home province of British Columbia on 27 July, 1918. In an article published in the 22 November, 1913 edition of the *Western Clarion*—the official organ of the Socialist Party of Canada—Goodwin, as quoted by Mike Palecek, wrote the following:

> The time for revolution is rotten ripe, but the mind of the vast majority is not ready and the struggle takes on the form of an intellectual one for the possession of the mind of the working class. The forces that make for this struggle are represented for the capitalist class by the institutions of the pulpit, press, army and navy, YMCAs and so forth. The proletarians have at their disposal the teachings of Socialism, the materialist conception of history.

Goodwin's article draws a perspective gleaned in the dark of the coal mine and with it articulates the timeless struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor within his particular lived experience under Canadian capitalism. His principled stance demonstrates a dedication to human improvement which persists beyond particularities of space and place, yet which remains a product of flesh and earth. The final words of this thesis—borrowed from Milton Acorn, the Marxist poet from Prince Edward Island who rose to prominence as a political dissenter in the 1950s and 60s—return to the

earth, to the mine, and to the countless Canadians who worked and died in the dark—
and who still do, today.

"Callum"
In memory of a novice miner

He had hair like mustard-weed;
shoulders a scoop;
eyes a lake you see the rocks on bottom;
and his voice swung a loop
with music in what it said
that tangled inside your head.

"Callum" was his name
— pronounced as if he'd sign it on the sun.
From "The Island" he came:
don't know which one.

We dropped to work in our cage,
hearts somewhere behind on a parachute.
That pusher was cute
— saw him a guy who'd count doing right important,
put him at a hard job beside a well
. . . a hundred and forty feet,
and he fell.

Look anywhere:
at buildings bumping on clouds,
at spider-grill bridges:
you'll see no plaque or stone for men killed there:
    but on the late shift
the drill I'm bucking bangs his name in code

. . . "Callum":

though where "The Island" is I'll never know. (81)

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