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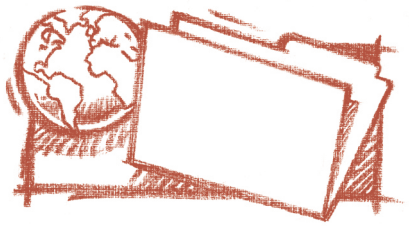

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The Canadian "Garrison Mentality" and Anti-Americanism at the CBC

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Executive Summary

There are many sources of anti-Americanism in Canada, from specific and conflicting interests over trade to symbolic issues such as health care. The former we call "rational" criticism; the latter, "emotional." The largest and most comprehensive context within which the emotional criticism appears is, to borrow a term used by the great literary critic, Northrop Frye, "mythical." At the centre of a mythical and symbolic anti-Americanism is what Frye called the "garrison mentality," a broad view of the world disproportionately maintained and believed in by Canadians living in the Loyalist heartland of southern Ontario. Other parts of the country—Newfoundland and Alberta, for example—have contrasting forms of consciousness and contrasting myths that accord little or no significance to emotional anti-Americanism. The anti-Americanism of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), we argue, is a faithful reflection of "garrison mentality."

To gauge the extent of anti-American sentiment on the CBC, we examine one year's coverage of the Corporation's flagship news program, *The National,* for 2002. The year was chosen because it followed the attacks of September 11, 2001 on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon but was prior to the US invasion of Iraq. The aftermath of the 9/11 attacks was certainly still in the news in 2002, as were the debates on whether or not the United States should to go to war against Iraq and whether Canada should join America in that action. The fact that neither of those events happened during 2002 allows us to examine other instances of American news in Canada.

In total there were 2,383 statements in the 225 stories that referred to America on the CBC in 2002. As with most news coverage, the largest number of statements was neutral: they constituted 49.1% of the attention. However, 34% of the attention to America was negative, over double the 15.4% that was positive. Only 1.6% of the statements were considered ambiguous.

The top issue, constituting 27% of the coverage, was that of relations between Canada and the United States. Within this category, 41% of statements were neutral. Of the remainder, statements about relations between Canada and the United States were over twice as likely to be negative as positive (39% and 18.9%, respectively).

Terrorism was the second most often cited issue, at 10.8%, where the CBC mentioned America. Here the negative comments overwhelmed positive evaluations by a 9 to 1 margin (37.6% and 3.1%, respectively). Neutral statements, however, constituted 58.1% of the total coverage, which restored balance to some degree insofar as even a factual report on terrorist activity is usually seen to be a negative reflection on terrorism.

The third most-mentioned American issue on the CBC in 2002 was the build-up to the war in Iraq. At 10.5%, this topic was covered almost as extensively as terrorism, which received 10.8% of their attention. The negative evaluations of American plans in Iraq were of only slightly lower frequency than those on terrorism, with a negative-to-positive ratio of 8 in 10 (33.1% and 7.2%, respectively), compared to a ratio of 9 in 10 for terrorism.

American involvement in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians constituted 6.8% of the coverage of the United States. As was the case with other issues, the neutral statements exceeded positive and negative evaluations, making up 43% of the attention. But still, negative evaluations of America were heard twice as often as positive (35.2% and 13.1%, respectively).

The issue of Afghanistan constituted 5.5% of total coverage mentioning America; almost half (48.1%) of the Afghanistan coverage was neutral. However, negative evaluations of American exceeded positive by nearly 9 to 1 (43.5% and 6.9%, respectively).

The only issue area where positive evaluations surpassed both the neutral and the negative statements was retrospective coverage of the events of September 11, 2001.

While it constituted only 4.5% of all coverage of America, neutral statements constituted 38% of the attention and positive evaluations were three times more prevalent than negative statements (17.8% negative and 42.1% positive). Many of these statements recounted the memory of the 9/11 attack where Canadians stood by, supported, and helped their neighbors. Other reports such as the special edition of the first anniversary of the attacks positively portrayed American patriotism.

Economic issues constituted only slightly fewer statements than the 9/11 attack at 4.2% of total attention. Here again, the neutral statements were 53% of the coverage. The balance between positive and negative clearly tipped on the negative side, with three times more statements negative than positive (35.6% negative versus 9.9% positive).

On the issue of US foreign policy in general, the coverage constituted only 1.8% of the total attention. Nevertheless, the distaste for the American regime was obvious. Only 25% of the statements were neutral. The remainder were almost 9 times more likely to be negative than positive (60.5% and 14%, respectively).

Despite the relatively short period of time since the 9/11 attacks, the CBC's coverage of America during 2002 was overwhelmingly critical of American policy, American actions, and American purposes. The CBC has certainly claimed an important agenda-setting role for itself. To the extent it deserves the reputation it covets, the corporation is at least partly responsible for enhancing and sustaining anti-Americanism in Canada following the 2001 terrorist attacks. The CBC, in short, helped turn the joint outrage of Canada and the United States into mistrust and animosity. In so doing, the emphasis of the CBC coverage was on what we have called "emotional" criticism rather than "rational" criticism of US policy based on Canadian national interests.

A Garrison Mentality

We're proud to be Canadian
We're awfully nice to strangers
Our manners feel our curse
It's cool in many ways to be Canadian
We won't say that we are better
It's just that we're less worse
Arrogant Worms, 1997

Although there have been many scholarly studies of the several aspects of Canadian anti-Americanism (Hollander, 1992; Thompson and Randall, 1994; Granatstein, 1996; Revel, 2004), the most general context within which it can be understood is mythic. It has become a staple of Canadian self-understanding so familiar that it often lies below the level of our awareness. To understand how this sentiment is expressed in the television news broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), we must begin by examining what contemporary CBC advertising calls "the big picture."

Canada's greatest literary critic, Northrop Frye, once drew a fundamental distinction between national unity and sub-national identities (Frye, 1971: i–iii, 225–26). Identity, according to Frye, is local, regional, cultural, and imaginative; it is expressed chiefly in cultural artifacts, literature, and the arts. By a generous interpretation of the term "culture," it can include the news products of the CBC as well as the Calgary Stampede and the literature and song of Newfoundland. In contrast, according to Frye, national unity is a political attitude the "essential element" of which is "the east-west feeling … expressed in the national motto, *a mari usque ad mare*."

Frye's insight, useful as it is, needs to be qualified in several respects. First, if we accept the "east-west feeling" as being in some respects fundamental, it is necessary to add that, historically at least, that feeling has not always been positive or free from anxieties. This is why Westerners (and especially Albertans) speak of Easterners in language that is often uncomplimentary; it is also why Easterners speak of "Western alienation," although few westerners consider themselves alien or alienated. The use of the term, thus, is by intention deprecatory. Second, and more importantly, Frye argued (contradicting his first point) that there exists a Canadian, as distinct from a Laurentian, a Maritime, a prairie or a Quebecois, imagination. The Canadian imagination, he said, is characterized by "what we may provisionally call a garrison mentality." By this account, Governor Simcoe and his forts along the Niagara frontier established the original image of the country.

Garrisons are closely knit, beleaguered societies held intact by the imperatives of survival (Atwood, 1972). One either fights or deserts, and desertion is considered by those who remain and hang on to be treason, not "lightin' out for the territories" as Huck Finn put it. There is no doubt that garrisons provide a Canadian identity of some kind but it is equally true that it is not to be found in the imagination and cultural identity of, for instance, Maritimers (Keefer, 1987). The political importance of these regional identities is not simply that they are limited, which almost by definition they must be, but that the garrison mentality almost from its inception following the American Revolution aims to become hegemonic (Cooper, 2000). The purpose of this publication is to examine the kind of anti-American views expressed in one major Canadian news outlet. We would like to determine whether, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, views critical of the United States reflect chiefly a rational criticism of America based on reasonable

differences in interests with respect to policy questions or whether they are more a reflection of the emotional anxieties of the garrison mentality. The former is simply an ordinary disagreement between friends; the latter reflects more the limitations of Canadians than it does the defects of their neighbours. It is our contention, based on the evidence presented below, that the television news produced by the CBC is itself an expression of the garrison mentality and that, in consequence, the CBC's coverage of the United States is systematically informed by it.

A plausible account of how the CBC has come to reflect the garrison mentality to itself and why this has happened can be found in the historical experiences of the old colony of Canada, roughly the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and the symbolic accounts that make sense of that experience that are found in the literature of the region. In the present analysis, because our focus is on the English-language broadcasts of CBC, we will consider only the evidence showing how the garrison mentality emerged from Ontario—or rather from the imaginatively articulate heartland of Upper Canadian Loyalism, the culture that has developed in the wedge of land between the Ottawa River and Lake Huron south to the American border.

The title of a fine study of this historical experience and its culture by Denis Duffy (1982) says it all: *Gardens, Covenants and Exiles: Loyalism in the Literature of Upper Canada/Ontario*. It is a story of exile (from the rebellious American colonies), of a covenant (to remain ever loyal to the Crown), and of a promised or merely hoped for return to a garden (of a transformed wilderness in the early days, and today of a society infused with "distinctive Canadian values" that renders Canadians morally superior to the United States). But notice as well that this symbolism and the political myth it sustains is limited to the Loyalist heartland. With suitable modifications, it can be extended to Quebec as well (Cooper, 1994a; 2000). Beyond the valley of the St. Lawrence, it resonates less strongly or not at all. And yet, because the Laurentian region of the country is the industrial and population centre of Canada, it is perhaps understandable that Central Canadians all unawares extend their perspective and its supporting myth to the rest of the country. Thus does the symbolic hegemony of the garrison mentality express the political and economic hegemony that historically is centred in the St. Lawrence Valley, epicentred in the Loyalist heartland, and expressed today in CBC's news broadcasts.

To use the language of Frye, "Canada" as a symbol of identity expresses the Laurentian, not the pan-Canadian experience. Within this imaginative and geographically parochial "Canada," Canadian citizens do indeed see themselves as a garrison-dwelling people, anxious about survival and animated by positive sentiments about an east-west axis. For such people, the CPR truly expresses "the national dream," to use the title of a celebratory popular history. For western grain farmers and cattle ranchers, however, it has historically had a much less positive image: it is not perhaps a national nightmare but unquestionably malign. It is in the imaginative world where the CPR expressed the positive aspirations of the political nation that the sentiments of what we now conventionally call anti-Americanism have flourished.

The imaginative context created by the garrison mentality accounts for the widespread view, for example, that there exists a "Canadian identity" and that it consists more in being "not American" than being something distinctly and positively pan-Canadian. Some have even observed that "Canadian nationalism is, in some unknown but significant proportion, equivalent to anti-Americanism" (Cullen, et al., 1978: 105; see also Keeble, 1998; Wood, 2001). This is why, for example, during the federal election campaign in 2004, the Liberal Party of Canada tried to evoke this kind of Canadian nationalism by accusing their Conservative opponents of being pro-American. The appeal to garrison sentiments was hardly unique in Canadian history. The first time such a strategy worked was the general election of 1891 when John A. Macdonald's Conservative party was re-elected on a platform of anti-Americanism. Macdonald attacked the character of the Liberals under Wilfrid Laurier as being in "league with the annexationist Americans, set in the context of a construction of the United States as a landscape of imperialism, greed, violence, dishonesty and mob rule" (quoted in Wood, 2001: 49). Although the rhetoric of the early twenty-first century is not nearly as robust as that of the late nineteenth, the campaign slogan, "What kind of Canada?," presented by the Liberals in 2004 relied on similar sentiments for its effectiveness.

Part of the problem of defining oneself as not being another is that the comparison invariably tends to look unfavorably on what you are comparing yourself to. Given the stark choices of garrison life, namely to fight or to betray, this is no surprise. The division takes a more gentle form as well so that, when Canadians claim they are better mannered, more tolerant, more egalitarian, and so on, they are also saying something about Americans. If Frye is correct in his distinction between history as the story of what happens and myth as the story of what happens all the time, the implicit tendency to compare imaginative "Canadians" with notional Americans is bound to rely on familiar themes. Thus, for example, a generation ago John Warnock concluded his editorial in *Canadian Dimension*, "Why I am Anti-American," with the words "I am a Canadian nationalist, or as the Liberals prefer, anti-American" (Warnock, 1967: 11). For him, the two positions, anti-Americanism and Canadian nationalism, were interchangeable. In his essay, Warnock emphasized his distaste for the American values of competitiveness, free markets, and self-interest. By the same token, attacking American values is also an attack on otherwise loyal, not to say patriotic, Canadians who share them. As Wood noted, anti-Americanism is also a "kind of protecting the people from themselves" (Wood, 2001: 54). Thus, anti-Americanism can also convey an image of what it is to be "Canadian," that is an imaginative Canadian, a Canadian who shares the consciousness of the garrison. In 2004, for example, the Liberals were saying that to be "Canadian" was to be firmly in favour of public health-care delivery and public delivery of other services as well, including childcare.

Throughout the twentieth century, pundits, scholars, and journalists have noted the uneasy relationship between the Canada and the United States. Some prime ministers, such as Pierre Elliott Trudeau, were criticized for fostering poor relations with the Americans while others, such as Brian Mulroney, have been condemned for being too cozy with our southern neighbours. In the course of relations between any two countries, especially if they are close neighbours, it ought to be expected that there exists an on-going background noise of tension, petty rivalry, and bickering. Historically, Germany and France have not always seen eye-to-eye. Likewise Canada and the United States have had their issues, though only one serious military confrontation. Given the reasonable expectation that differences are bound to occur, one study has argued strongly that "substantial anti-Americanism began in Canada only in the late 1950s" (Tai et al., 1973). Likewise W.L. Morton noted that, between the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941 until the mid-1950s, Canada and the United States were the strongest of allies and Canadian nationalism had no anti-American dimension to it at all (Morton, 1972: 75). Both Tai and his associates and Morton are agreed that something changed during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Thus, by the late 1960s Michel Brunet could state "Canada and the United States were born enemies" (Brunet, 1969: 512). As an historical description—both Canada and the United States resulted from the successful rebellion of the British North American colonies—this is, in a highly qualified sense, accurate enough. More important for our purposes, it is a faithful reflection of the 1970's edition of the garrison mentality. Indeed, by that date one could properly describe this complex of sentiments as constituting a new orthodoxy for the now hegemonic "Canadian" identity, which is to say, the Laurentian identity of Central Canada.

Myths aside, the normal disagreements that reflect the divergent interests of neighbours turn into more serious problems on those rare occasions when either the United States or Canada comes under military attack from abroad. Under such circumstances it matters a great deal whether debate about America is a reasonable discussion that weighs the pros and cons of American policy in light of Canadian interests or simply attacks with name-calling and personal criticism that constitute little more than an unpleasant expression of the garrison mentality directed chiefly at others imaginatively existing inside the palisade. Some Canadians are still irritated that the United States was "late" in engaging in the two general wars of the twentieth century, though clearly the delay served American national interests. More recently it is America, not Canada, that has come directly under military attack and Canada has been slow to join in engaging a common foe.

Perhaps this attitude towards the United States in the context of war simply reflects the conventional historic and internally directed "Canadian" (that is, garrison) anti-Americanism. In any event, it is necessary to distin-

guish this kind of attitude from the more serious variety that genuinely hates liberal democracy and truly considers America to be the "Great Satan." Granted, there has been an increase in the stridency of anti-American rhetoric in recent years but Canadians are not seriously engaged in fostering "regime change" south of the border, however much some of them may disapprove of any particular incumbent. It may be useful, therefore, to adopt a distinction used by Ivan Krastev, chairman of Bulgaria's Centre for Liberal Strategies and Research Director of the Politics of Anti-Americanism Project (admittedly, an unlikely source), who argued that there are two types of anti-Americanism: "murderous anti-Americanism and anti-Americanism 'lite'." The murderous kind involves terrorists who are "willing to kill and to die in order to harm" American power, values and policies; the second is more familiar to Canadians, especially those "who take to the streets and the media to campaign against America but who do not seek its destruction" (Krastev, 2004). The garrison mentality is an instance of anti-Americanism "lite," not so much murderous and destructive as seething with overt or suppressed resentment.

Accordingly, whatever the importance of anti-American sentiments for Canadian self-consciousness, in the larger international arena it can easily be dismissed (especially by Americans) as harmless (though perhaps offensive and regrettable) criticism from a friend who has come to be of little consequence on the world stage. No one will understand the rants of a Carolyn Parrish to be anything more than a minor irritant in the relations between Canada and the United States. This is certainly the dominant self-understanding of those who are pleased to criticize the United States but still insist they are friends of America. Similar claims have been made by non-Canadian critics of the United States as well. Thus, for example, in his review of the attitudes of the French press towards the United States, James Napoli argues that criticism of America is a positive thing that shows how "sophisticated" French democracy is. "The French press has the advantage of operating in a country where division of opinion is not only tolerated, but cultivated, and critics of the United States generate their own opposition" (Napoli, 2003: 15). Likewise, in a study undertaken for the Centre for Research and Information on Canada, (a subsidiary of the Council for Canadian Unity that is a government-sponsored organization dedicated to the reproduction of the garrison mentality), Andrew Parkin stated: "when Canadians take a different view of the world than does the US government, this is due more to a self-confident expression of their own values and identity than feelings of 'anti-Americanism'" (Parkin, 2003: 6). Parkin's interpretation is surely questionable, not least of all because the "view of the world" of the Government of Canada cannot reasonably be described as self-confident.

It is unclear, however, whether the self-interpretation of foreign critics of America—and of Canadian critics in particular—is disingenuous or not. Do Canadian critics merely disagree about policy or is their criticism really about what are now termed American "core values?" No doubt it is desirable for Canadians to be able freely and frankly to discuss the merits of American policy options and proposals but, when these discussions shift to attacks, the stakes immediately become much higher. At the extreme, as Crenshaw pointed out, "portraying the United States as an immoral enemy justifies terrorism to the audiences of the dispossessed, especially young men without life prospects whose only education is religious" (Crenshaw, 2001: 429).

But even under more benign circumstances, a "democratic deficit" in western democracies has increased the domestic attractiveness of anti-Americanism. Citizens even in Canada may feel they can change governments more easily than they can change policies.

> As a result, conspiratorial fantasies have replaced common sense as the basis for public deliberations. This hollowness of post-ideological and post-utopian politics, its subversive dullness, is one of the major reasons for the seductive power of anti-American discourse. People are against America because they are against everything—or because they do not know exactly what they are against. (Crenshaw, 2001: 429)

Canadians, too, may succumb to the temptation of blaming America for problems they refuse themselves to confront. A number of studies have argued that there are social and economic explanations for anti-Americanism. By this account, "countries in the full swing of socio-economic change are most prone to anti-American

protest and violence, which is consistent with other evidence that these are also the countries in which the other forms of violent conflict are most common" (Tai et al., 1973: 462). The assumption here seems to be that violence, including anti-American violence, is a symptom or an expression of major social and economic change, rather than a means of directing or controlling it. Likewise in Canada, Cullen and his associates argued that there were two sources of anti-American sentiment that could become mutually reinforcing. The first was a response to specific conflicts between the two countries such as the Alaskan boundary dispute a century ago or softwood lumber tariffs today. Such conflicts about policy, they say, lead to rational anti-American feelings that tend to last only as long as the specific dispute in question. The second type of anti-Americanism is one that they describe as "emotional" and derived from "intangible sources" that transcend specific policy disagreements (Cullen, 1978). These emotional judgements regarding "America" or "the Americans" typically tend to reflect what we have called the garrison mentality of those who make them rather than any policy disagreements.

Anti-American Sentiment at "The National"

Methodology

To gauge the anti-American sentiment in Canadian media, we examine one year's coverage of the CBC's flagship news program, *The National*. The intent is not to provide a definitive perspective on Canadian television news but to gain a sense of what kind of images and sentiments are expressed about the United States by this important part of the Canadian media. *The National* is chosen for several reasons. First, although it does not always achieve first place in terms of market share for national news programs, it has about the same number of viewers as *CTV News* and typically has an average household viewership of about one million people. Second, *The National*, and the CBC, are funded primarily by Canadian taxpayers through government grants. Moreover, its self-described mission "is to be indispensable to Canadians by providing them with information they need to understand and control the major changes influencing their lives" (CBC, n.d.). Whether *The National* has achieved this mission is beside the point: it is considered one of Canada's elite news broadcasts and it sets the tone for much of the media coverage in the country. The program is broadcast at 10:00 every night on the main channel and is repeated at 11:00 on CBC's *Newsworld*.

The year we analyze is 2002. This year was chosen because it followed the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 but was prior to the American invasion of Iraq. The aftermath of the 9/11 attacks was certainly still in the news in 2002, as were the debates on whether or not to go to war, but the fact that neither of those events happened during that year, allows us to examine other instances of American news in Canada. Indeed, one might have expected that news broadcasts in 2002 would prove to be somewhat favourable towards the United States, considering that Canada had sent troops to Afghanistan and showed considerable solidarity with the United States in this aspect of the war against terrorist. Looking at coverage in 2002 also allows a comparison between sentiments lingering after the 9/11 attacks and those generated over the debate about the Iraq invasion.

Choosing the issues to examine as illustrative of pro- or anti-American sentiments was more difficult. Typically, when one wants to examine the news coverage of an issue or event, the method conventionally employed is to conduct a free-word text search of television news transcripts or of a newspaper text (see Miljan and Cooper, 2003). The problem with the issue of anti-Americanism, as of pro-Americanism, is that one can analyze anti-American statements but never encounter the word "anti-American." Even if stories could be categorized "anti-American," one would have to find similar stories on "pro-Americanism" to ensure that both sides of the issue are being covered. It was certainly an option to examine a particular American public policy or a particular event covered by Canadian media but we found that this would be too limiting in terms of the different ways Americans are presented to Canadian audiences. To deal with these methodological issues, we did a wild-card text search of "America," "United States," "USA," and their derivations. In this way, we captured stories that mentioned the United States, America, Americans, and so on. Then, with a sample of stories dealing with American themes or with the United States we could be confident of having acquired a collection of material large enough to give statistically significant results when analyzed further.

In total, we obtained 225 stories broadcast by the CBC in 2002 that referred to "America" and cognate terms. To focus the research, we examined only specific statements in the story that mentioned America or its policies and excluded the bulk of the stories that talked about other countries or events in other countries. Our focus was on how the media and its commentators described America or its actions. The statements were categorized by the

"spin" of the specific statement as positive, negative, neutral, or ambiguous. Positive statements were those where the individual making the statement provided positive evaluation of America. In contrast, negative statements were overtly unfavourable to, or critical of, America. Neutral statements constituted statements of fact that provided no evaluation of the United States, the American people, or American policies. Ambiguous statements were those that could be taken either positively or negatively, but not neutrally.

In this analysis, we follow Chong-Soo Tai and his associates, who define anti-Americanism as "collective or individual, public or private actions, statements, or events within a country, the tenor of which, or the ramifications of which, are to protest against, criticize, or negatively sanction the US government or its citizens (Tai et al., 1973: 970)." In addition to the "spin," the stories were categorized by the issue under discussion. The categories included (but were not limited to) relations between Canada and the United States, foreign relations, trade, and the war in Iraq.

Two researchers from the University of Windsor performed the content analysis. One researcher conducted the text search, compiled the statements on America, and provided an initial categorization and assessment of "spin." A second researcher also categorized the statements, acting as a second opinion on the "spin" of the statement. In other words, all statements were categorized by two people working independently. Disagreements were noted and, if agreement could not be reached, the statement was identified as ambiguous.

Results

In total there were 2,383 statements from the 225 stories that referred to America on CBC in 2002. As with most news coverage, the largest number of statements was neutral; they constituted 49.1% of the attention to America.[1] Thirty-four percent of the attention to America was negative, more than double the 15.4% positive descriptors. Only 1.6% of the statements were considered ambiguous.

Relations between Canada and the United States

One might argue that the overwhelmingly negative attention to America in 2002 must have been a result of Canada's reluctance to support the invasion of Iraq. This was not so. As can be seen in figure 1, the top issue, constituting 27% of the coverage, was in fact relations between Canada and the United States, not the war in Iraq. Within this category, 41% of statements were neutral. Of the remainder, statements about relations between Canada and the United States were over twice as likely to be negative (39%) as positive (18.9%).

Some of the coverage resulted from statements by Canadians such as Jean Chrétien's Director of Communications, Françoise Ducros, who made a famously derogatory comment about George W. Bush: "What a moron!" As David Halton reported at the time, conservative American commentator Pat Buchanan said,

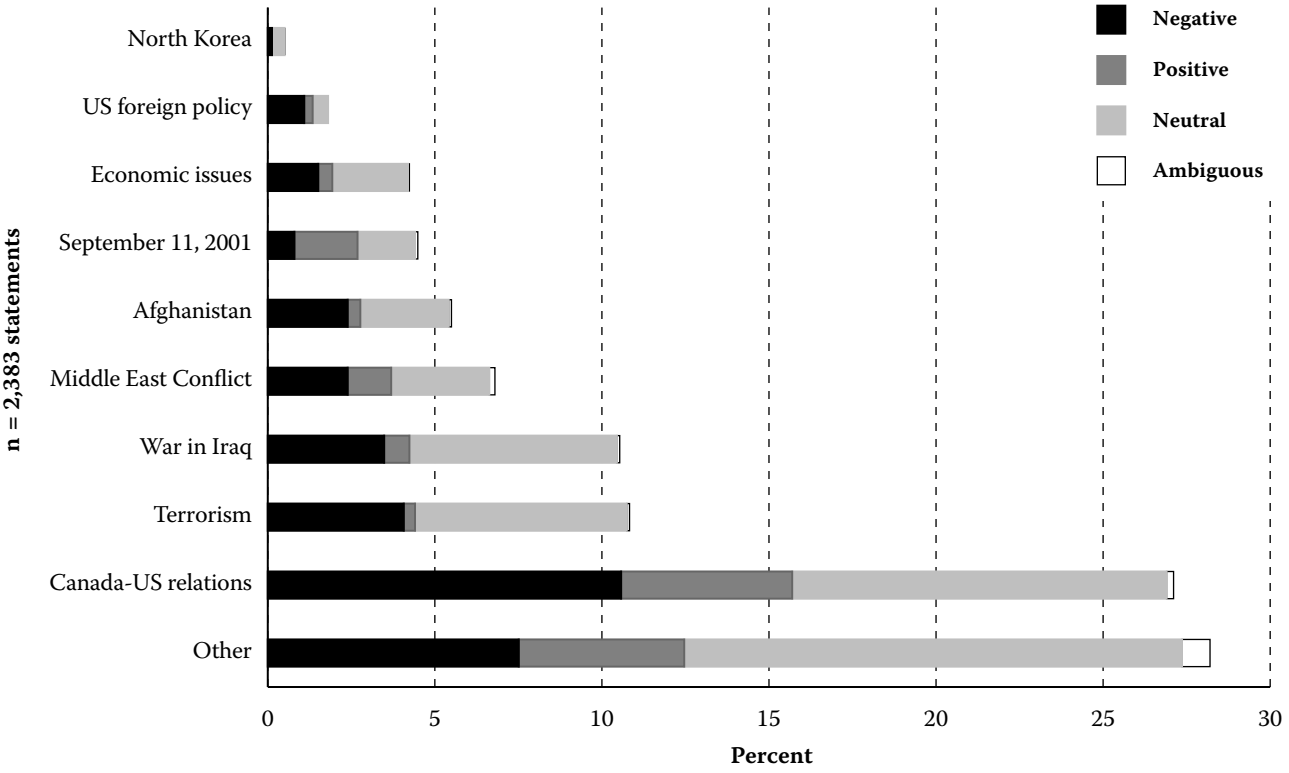
> the moron remark is just another flagrant example of Canadian anti-Americanism … Even before the moron controversy, beating up on Jean Chrétien's government was becoming more frequent in conservative media in the US. One magazine this week talks about Canadian wimps spending too much on social programs and not enough on the military. The article castigates Canada's absurd socialist politics and its neurotic anti-Americanism. (*The National*, 2002: November 22)

That one sector in the American media seemed to reciprocate Canadian anti-Americanism then became a source of Canadian news. The image of "Canadian wimps" squandering money on social programs instead of defending themselves was clearly designed to provoke Canadians to adopt a hostile attitude towards the United States. The fact that Canadians—not all of them conservative—had made similar comments only made matters worse because now the Americans had noticed.

Françoise Ducros was not the only person on Jean Chrétien's staff making ill-advised comments about the United States that would have an impact on Canada-

1 This is somewhat smaller than what previous studies have found. It should be noted that the proportion of neutral statements on other issues such as unemployment fall in the range between 68% and 75%. The CBC was the outlier in that study, where 55% of their statements were neutral. See Miljan and Cooper, 2003: 113.

Figure 1: The CBC's coverage of the United States, 2002



US relations that year. On the first anniversary of the attacks of September 11, 2001, the Prime Minister himself remarked:

> You know, you cannot exercise your powers to the point that, of humiliation for the others. And that is what the western world, not only the Americans, the western world has to realize, that the western world is getting too rich in relation to the poor world and necessarily, you know, we're looked upon as being arrogant, self-satisfied, greedy, and with no limits. And the eleventh of September is an occasion for me to realize it even more. (*The National*, 2002: September 11)

Clearly these two instances are more an "emotional" anti-Americanism than a reasonable disagreement with US policy based upon the defence of intelligible Canadian national interests.

Criticism of America and indeed of western prosperity by the Prime Minister and insulting remarks by his senior staff were not the only negative stories regarding Canada-US relations. It is certainly true that Jean Chrétien was the focus of the increasingly tense relations between the two countries. So far as CBC was concerned, however, the good relations existing between former Conservative Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney, and the two Bush administrations was also a problem. Thus on November 19, 2002, when Mulroney's portrait was hung in the gallery of the House of Commons, a CBC reporter, Paul Hunter, noted that it was "a moment of pride for Mulroney, though marred today by a reminder of an oft-cited criticism against him that he was too cozy with the Americans." (*The National*, 2002: November 19) Hunter did not indicate the connection between this ceremonial event and Mulroney's coziness, nor did he indicate how often, or by whom, this coziness was "cited" as criticism.

It is unusual for television news to have an editorial component; on *The National*, however, Rex Murphy occasionally provides editorial comments. After Michel Jalbert was released after a month in an American prison for being in the country illegally, Rex Murphy took the opportunity to show how ungrateful the Americans were for Canadians' generosity immediately after 9/11. He started his editorial by comparing the treatment of Jalbert being jailed for buying gas at an American gas

station to that of the country as whole. He said that this "pettiness" was "a direct contradiction of how Canadians, when given the chance, have treated Americans when they fell into our hands." After recounting the generosity of Canadians after 9/11, Murphy notes the treatment of Canadians by American officials:

> So what are we to make of this wretched little show of petty border muscle, this pointless and extended harassment of just one of ours who gets a welcome you'd expect to be given to one of Osama's minions who turned up with blueprints and bombs … It isn't the optics of Mr. Powell's visit that are at stake, it's the dumb folly and petty tyranny of trying to make Jalbert an example of something. For what, I wonder? Duck hunting? Cross border shopping? It's the shoddiness of treating a citizen of your neighbour to all the weariness and pointless of officialdom. Mr. Jalbert has yet to face a trial for illegal entry. So today's bail release doesn't go to the substance that the war on terror is being manipulated in this one particular case to harass a neighbour and show who's boss. I think Canadians have earned better, much better than this sorry episode illustrates. And that Mr. Cellucci wants to put mean [*sic*] on his appreciation of how Canadians treated Americans when they needed help and succor. He might want to turn his full ambassadorial attention to putting a stay on this whole ludicrous proceeding. We treated a whole lot of yours pretty well when they needed it. Do the same for one of ours. For *The National*, I'm Rex Murphy. (*The National*, 2002: November 14)

That American Border Patrol and immigration officers acted like petty bureaucrats was unquestionably true. There was nothing particularly American in that, as thousands of Canadians who have encountered officious Customs and Immigration officials on returning home from the United States can attest. To think that the American Ambassador could intervene in this matter is as odd as comparing the unfortunate but routine fate of Mr. Jalbert with the extraordinary response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The message, however, was clear: Canadians are superior because they are generous friends and Americans are not.

Stories about Canada-US relations also focused a good deal on fundamental differences between the two countries as seen by CBC commentators. Canada was portrayed, for example, as a place where you could get heath care without going into debt. Although CBC had to acknowledge that the Americans could provide better service in terms of excellent health outcomes delivered more quickly, journalists nearly always emphasized the hefty price tag. They did not, however, draw the obvious commonsensical conclusion, that even in health care delivery there may be a direct relationship between paying for and receiving superior service. For example, on December 5, 2002, pollster Alan Gregg gave his view of the differences: "I mean like health, you know, guns and, or the absence of guns is a significant part of the Canadian identity and that is part of our value system, like Doug Copeland, difference between the Canadians and Americans, you know, more hospitals, fewer guns" (*The National*, 2002: December 5). Not only were Gregg's comments difficult to comprehend but they were factually incorrect: to say that Canada has fewer guns but more hospitals indicates a lack of awareness of the American health-care system. The point, however, was clear enough: the "Canadian identity" and the Canadian "value system" exist chiefly in contrast to America. There was also an element of moralizing superiority to his words: Canadians are somehow better people for preferring hospitals to guns. It was an emphatic articulation of the garrison mentality.

On November 22, 2002, Adrienne Arsenault made a different point regarding the costs and benefits of the different health-care systems.

> The universal truth about heart attacks is that every second counts. There is an American truth too. Every second costs. That ambulance ride could be as much as $400 US. Once in the hospital, the tab builds fast. US researchers say for every thousand heart attacks, five more lives are saved here than in Canada. Then it comes time to check out of the hospital, which will soon involve paying up. Most will leave with a thick bill that has a nasty bottom line. Roughly $28,000 US for a five day stay. For the 40,000,000 Americans without health insurance, this is financially punishing. Medical bills, after all, are behind half of the

> personal bankruptcies in this country. The average American though is covered through work, meaning this bill would be taken care of. No doubt a relief, but also not the end of it. There is a lifetime of doctor's visits and drugs after a heart attack. Depending on the quality of a patient's insurance, those costs could be crippling. How often does it happen that a patient will get to the end of the month and say the doctor and my drugs or my electricity and my rent? (*The National*, 2002: November 22)

For Arsenault it was evidently more important to have access to health care, albeit so slow as to cause death, than it was to have timely but expensive care. There was no effort to undertake any meaningful cost-benefit or risk analysis. It was simply a given that Canadian health care delivery was preferable, even at the cost of Canadian lives.

Other examples of Canada-US relations that were given a negative "spin" by CBC included disputes over farm subsidies, immigration and refugee issues as well as the "friendly fire" incident in Afghanistan where an American fighter pilot accidentally bombed Canadian troops. One person interviewed on CBC connected all the dots: "These war-mongering Americans are taking everything that they can and they're just slapping us in the face with this 29% duty. We should not even sell our softwood lumber to those people" (*The National*, 2002: March 25). These examples were coded as instances of "rational" anti-Americanism because they were direct responses to actual disagreements and conflicts in interests rather than expressions of emotional or symbolic positions. Even so, the last quotation connecting tariff disputes with "war-mongering" could safely be placed in the "emotional" category.

Terrorism

Terrorism was the second most often cited issue, at 10.8%, where the CBC mentioned America. Here the negative comments overwhelmed positive evaluations by a margin of 9 to 1 (37.6% and 3.1%, respectively). Neutral statements, however, constituted 58.1% of the total coverage, which somewhat restored balance insofar as even a factual report on terrorist activity is usually negative.

The chief criticism of the United States with respect to terrorism was that Americans were being heavy-handed in their treatment of unlawful combatants. For example, in a story on February 5, 2002, Paul Hunter reported:

> There they stood, shoulder to shoulder to shoulder, three Cabinet Ministers trying to answer one question. How can Canada ensure the US is treating the fighters captured in Afghanistan properly? (*The National*, 2002: February 5)

After quoting John Manley in an effort to obtain clarification, Hunter continued,

> It's become a matter of critical clarification ever since word that Canadian soldiers have already handed over fighters captured in Afghanistan to US forces. The Americans call them all unlawful combatants, not soldiers and specifically not prisoners of war, which would guarantee them all certain legal rights. The question is who decides? Looking for answers, Canada has been in high-level talks with the US … The Canadian view so far is that the Americans are absolutely clear in their opinion that the detainees are not prisoners of war. What's not clear is how the Americans came to that conclusion. (*The National*, 2002: February 5)

In fact, it is well known why the individuals captured in Afghanistan were not considered POWs. Among other things, they were not wearing uniforms in the service of a state, though they were openly carrying arms. The term conventionally used in international law to describe such individuals is, precisely "unlawful combatant" or "unlawful belligerent." The laws that such individuals have violated are the laws of war, which makes them equivalent to spies, not soldiers. And spies, by the laws of war, can be summarily executed.

As for the issue, "who decides?" whether a battlefield detainee is an unlawful combatant or not, the question answers itself: formally, it is decided by the criteria of international law. Practically, it is decided by possession of the battlefield. Necessarily, that would be "the Canadian view" as well. To suggest otherwise may simply reflect Hunter's ignorance of the legal issues involved but

his ignorance is leavened with malice when he suggested that matters were unclear as to "how the Americans came to that conclusion." In fact it was crystal clear: they followed international law.

Other stories involved the capture of terrorists who planned to attack America. On June 11, 2002, for example, Adrienne Arsenault described the capture of Abdullah al-Mujahir, identified simply as one who "emerged from here [Afghanistan], they say, with a new goal, to kill Americans" (*The National*, 2002: June 11). Balance was provided by CBC in the sense that "terrorism" was essentially unanalyzed, a given. What was of interest was the description of the individual under arrest for suspicion of terrorism or "trying to attack America." Then the story would typically describe or allow the person to express why they held their views or what those views were. These stories tended to provide the most visceral attacks on the Americans and to be the most inflammatory. For example, on July 29, 2002, *The National* broadcast a documentary in which Terrence McKenna examined the recruiters for al-Qaeda. Abu Qatada described in this production as both a recruiter and self-described religious leader and teacher said, "No doubt if anyone asks me are Americans the enemy of our people, my answer would be yes, they are the enemy" (*The National*, 2002: July 29). Well, of course, the CBC under McKenna's direction did "ask" Abu Qatada if Americans were his enemy and he answered. The assumption seemed to be that there was a moral equivalence (to use an old Cold-War term) between America and al-Qaeda.

Not all the comments regarding America and terrorism simply reported the words or arguments of America's enemies. For example, on December 30, 2002 Christina Lawand reported:

> Dealing with a FBI hunt for some suspected terrorists prompted a former CSIS agent to be critical of the American manhunt that may have implicated Canada. Michel-Juneau Katsuya was quoted saying, "We've seen several cases where reputation and life of people have been seriously disrupted if not tarnished forever because of assumption of a zealous American authority, and this is what is extremely problematic." (*The National*, 2002: December 30).

In this case, Canadians showed that, while they wanted to assist the United States against terrorists, they nevertheless wanted to distance themselves from what might be construed as "'zealous American authority." A critical observer might suggest that the CBC wanted to have it both ways: to appear to support the destruction of terrorists but to do so without being zealous. How that could be done remains a mystery.

War in Iraq

The third most-mentioned American issue on the CBC in 2002 was the build-up to the war in Iraq. At 10.5%, this topic was covered almost as extensively as terrorism, which received 10.8% of their attention. As was the case with terrorism, the coverage on Iraq was 59% neutral. The negative evaluations of American intentions towards Iraq were only slightly lower than those on terrorism: the ratio of negative to positive was 8 in 10 (33.1% and 7.2%, respectively) compared to 9 in 10 for terrorism.

Considering the extensive debate world-wide over the issue of an American-led invasion of Iraq, the opposition of the UN, and many of its member states, and the self-interest of weak powers such as Canada to favour at least the notion of multilateralism (Harvey, 2004), it is probably not surprising that the tone of the coverage was so imbalanced. CBC used a number of different sources to argue against the war and none to argue why anyone might support the invasion. For example, on October 15, 2002 Celine Galipeau reported on China's position: "In China, the aggressive tone of American President George Bush against Iraq is seen as just more bullying from the United States" (*The National*, 2002: October 15). Within the story, the Chinese perspective was used to provide an additional criticism of the United States. Galipeau did not discuss either the motives of the Chinese or describe the source of their animosity towards the Americans.

Criticism of American policy in Iraq was also reported from within Iraq. Ostensibly interviewing someone who supported the first Gulf War, Joan Leishman interviewed Issam Chukir on October 25, 2002. He stated, "Those who did rise up [after the liberation of Kuwait] thought they could count on American support. But help never came. Washington turned its back as Saddam mowed down those who dared oppose him" (*The National*, 2002:

October 25). Later in the segment Chukir equated Saddam and the Americans,

> How can I not be betrayed? How can I not feel bitter and betrayed from Washington? Saddam used gas, mustard gas against them. He used jails. He used all techniques of torture. But the Americans, they have created a havoc. They have created a lot of misery to the Iraqi people. They are both, in my opinion, their enemies and they're both responsible for their situation right now. (*The National*, 2002: October 25)

It is a strange sense of balance that equates the tyranny of Saddam, his use of poison gas and torture against his own people, with American plans to get rid of him. There was no serious effort at discussing "regime change," let alone the proposed liberation of Iraq or how a large American garrison in the geostrategic centre of the region might be connected to the war against al-Qaeda and serve American (and, arguably, Canadian) national interests.

Israeli-Palestinian conflict

American involvement in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians constituted 6.8% of *The National*'s attention in 2002. As was the case with other issues, there were more neutral statements (43%) than evaluations. Nevertheless, negative evaluations of the United States were heard twice as often as positive (35.2% and 13.1%, respectively).

Coverage critical of the United States regarding the Middle East was often linked to the United State's support of Israel. The CBC's coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been the subject of considerable controversy, with critics charging that correspondents in the region have systematically favoured the Palestinian side (Bercuson, Cooper, and Miljan, 2004). That position would certainly be consistent with one critical of the chief ally of Israel. In one instance, for example, a spokesman from the Palestinian Legislative Council argued that the American's were puppets of the Israelis:

> So they will hijack Bush's speech, and they will impose on it their own interpretations. The test is whether the Americans have the will to implement, or whether once again they are going to allow Israel to have its way in dictating American policy and American actions. (*The National*, 2002: April 4)

There was no follow-up to determine whether or not this charge was justified.

Afghanistan

Despite the success in Afghanistan, where the American-led invasion had the support not only of Canada but also of the United Nations, the tone of coverage was still more negative than positive. While overall the issue made up 5.5% of total coverage mentioning America, almost half (48.1%) of the coverage of the invasion of Afghanistan was neutral. However, negative evaluations of America were more prevalent than positive by nearly 9 to 1 (43.5% and 6.9%, respectively).

As with the issue of unlawful combatants, here most of the criticism focused on reports that Americans attacked and killed civilians. For example on July 1, 2002, Ben Chin reported,

> To Afghanistan now, and what may be the deadliest attack on civilians since the war began. At least 40 people were killed and 120 were wounded when US war planes bombed a village in central Afghanistan. Some reports put the toll much higher. Afghan officials say villagers were celebrating a wedding when the bombs began to fly and that the attack lasted for two hours. (*The National*, 2002: July 1)

With this story, there was no attempt to indicate any context: the number of sorties flown by American warplanes, for example, nor what, if anything, caused the mistake.

More problematic than contextless reports of Americans causing civilian casualties was Carol Off's background report on children returning to school in Afghanistan. She recalled the American success in helping the Mujahideen in defeating the Soviets but she then argued that, after the conflict, the Americans "abandoned Afghanistan. The country descended into civil war. Kabul today is in ruins" (*The National*, 2002: August 15). She later modified her story and, rather than holding the Americans directly responsible for the disorder in the region, claimed, "The United States didn't create the war culture in Afghanistan. It just used it … The United

States spent $3 billion to help defeat the Soviet army here but in the chaos left behind were the seeds of this new enemy for the US" (*The National*, 2002: August 15). In this case, Off paints the Americans as merely opportunists who took advantage of a "war culture" already existing in Afghanistan to defeat the Soviets.

Attacks of September 11, 2001

The only issue where positive evaluations surpassed both the neutral and the negative statements was retrospective coverage of the September 11th attack and its aftermath. While it constituted only 4.5% of overall coverage of America, neutral statements constituted 38% of the attention. Positive evaluations were three times more prevalent than negative statements (17.8% negative and 42.1% positive). Many of these recounted the memory of the 9/11 attack when Canadians stood by their neighbours.

Other reports, such as the special edition on the first anniversary of the attacks, portrayed American patriotism positively. For example, Adrienne Arsenault stated, "It's as if most American have reclaimed September 11th as a day to stand strongly behind their flag" (*The National*, 2002: September 11). Similarly, David Halton reported on American successes since September 11: "There were also tributes today to the US Armed Forces for liberating Afghanistan and rooting out al-Qaeda" (*The National*, 2002: September 11). Despite the warm feelings towards Americans after September 11, it was only the specific mention of the terrorist attack that tempered the Canadian view. In all other instances, evaluations of the Americans were more negative than positive.

Economic issues

Economic issues constituted only slightly fewer statements than 9/11 at 4.2% of total attention. Here again, the neutral statements were 53% of the coverage. The balance of positive versus negative clearly tipped on the negative side, with three times more negative statements than positive (35.6% negative versus 9.9% positive).

Despite the relatively scant attention to economic issues, these stories were perhaps the most revealing regarding the "lite" anti-Americanism of CBC. While one might excuse the reports on American foreign policy as merely presenting arguments by others (though chosen by CBC), the sentiments evoked dealing with the American economy clearly indicate the importance of the garrison mentality within the imaginative CBC world.

The editorials of Rex Murphy were exemplary instances. On December 3, 2002, for example, he noted, "The war on terror, which is with others, occurs at time of the greatest scandal and mischief, a wave of corporate greed and fraud of such excess and scope that it rocks America's self-confidence" (*The National*, 2002: December 3). He later continued, "No enemy has delivered a blow to American capitalism equal to the blow just delivered by some American capitalists. At a time when America's honor is bound up in a new war, these scandals are a wound that does not leave" (*The National*, 2002: December 3). His ambivalence continued when he stated,

> The New York skyline is one of the wonders of the world. It is awesome. The capacity and power for good or ill, that American commerce has built and maintains. These scandals, the Enrons and WorldComs and Inclones are an arrow to the heart of those who believe in that system for the heart of American self-confidence and, yes, American idealism. (*The National*, 2002: December 3)

Instead of praising American capitalism for exposing fraud and thus strengthening market economics, Murphy saw only corruption and the ambivalent power of a "capacity and power for good or ill." In context, only "ill" seemed to matter. A few days earlier, on November 28, 2002, Roy Romanow explained the difference between life inside and outside the garrison: "Well, I think it defines us in this sense, and this is not particularly new. I say this in an admiring way of the Americans, but they are a very individualistic oriented society" (*The National*, 2002: December 3). By implication, Canadians are not. There was no need to discuss the communitarian gentleness of Canada: everyone inside the garrison knows about it.

American foreign policy

On the issue of American foreign policy in general, the coverage constituted only 1.8% of the total attention. Nevertheless, the distaste for the American regime was obvious. Only 25% of the statements were neutral. The remainder were almost 9 times more likely to be negative than positive (60.5% and 14%, respectively).

Other

About 28% of the coverage could not be put into any of the above categories. Some of these stories were about crime, others about simply living next door to the United States. For example, on May 17, 2002, Tom Alderman made this observation, "When it came to robbing banks, the Americans had Bonnie and Clyde, Willy Sutton, John Dillinger—dirty rotten killers all." Similarly, in a story on April 18, 2002, a man on the street had this to say about the Americans, "The whole point of training is to learn from your mistakes and it seems that the Americans just don't quite learn." Finally, in a letter to *The National* on March 25, 2002, viewers Al and Karyn Lehmann wrote, "Living next to the US is like having a big brother who is a bully. You may love him because he is family, but you know that you are going to get beat up on a regular basis." About half (52.8%) of this attention was neutral. The reminder was almost twice as likely to be negative as positive (26.6% and 17.6%, respectively). Even though the actual amount of time devoted to these other stories was relatively small, it was also consistent in portraying America negatively much more than positively.

Conclusion

Despite the relative short period of time after the attacks of 9/11, the CBC's coverage of America during 2002 was overwhelmingly critical of American policy, American actions, and American purposes. The CBC has certainly claimed an important, agenda-setting role for itself. To the extent it deserves the reputation it covets, the corporation is at least partly responsible for enhancing and sustaining anti-Americanism in Canada following the 2001 terrorist attacks. The CBC, in short, helped turn the joint outrage of Canada and the United States into mistrust and animosity. In so doing, the emphasis of the CBC coverage was on what we have called "emotional" criticism rather than "rational" criticism of American policy based on Canadian national interests.

One might argue that the media is generally negative about all things (see Keenleyside et al., 1985) so it should not come as a surprise that the CBC was more negative than positive towards the United States. While this is not surprising, however, the scope and depth of the negativity is worth noting. At the same time, it is clear that the emotional attacks on the United States were led from the top, by the Prime Minister and his senior staff and close associates. The CBC chose to emphasize the stories it broadcast, however, and the Corporation occasionally provided explicit editorial comments to the nation. The most remarkable feature of all this coverage is the consistency of its one-sidedness. We have suggested that the optics that CBC TV news brings to the world have been conditioned by the fearful nationalism of the garrison mentality. That these sentiments found expression in anti-Americanism is certainly consistent with other studies we have done (Miljan and Cooper, 2003; Cooper, 1994b). It is congruent as well with studies linking anti-Americanism to relative declines in Canadian national income (Tai et al., 1973: 477). Whatever the cause of Canadian anti-Americanism, it is unquestionably exacerbated by CBC TV news. That the CBC—and, indeed, many Canadians—find it impossible to be proud of their own accomplishments without at the same time denigrating those of Canada's great neighbour, close friend, and only ally that counts in the world today says more about the limitations of life in the garrison constructed by the Laurentian imagination than it does of the reality of America.

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