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Standing on Guard
Canadian Identity, Globalization and Continental Integration

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Introduction

'Canada, quite simply, is not a country in search of an identity, contrary to the polemics of poets, pundits and professors,' Erin Anderssen and Michael Valpy wrote in the *Globe and Mail* on Canada Day 2003. 'It's not a country continually on the verge of something but never quite there,' they remarked, reporting on a major survey from the Centre for Research and Information (CRIC) on Canada and the Toronto *Globe and Mail* in what the newspaper called *The New Canada Series*. 'Canadians are not a people who have nothing in common except their diversity. They have remarkably similar values.... [and] they have attitudes and an approach to life that markedly distinguish them from young Americans and young Europeans.'[1] There is considerable evidence to suggest that Canadians consider themselves more Canadian than ever, and Matthew Mendelsohn, one of Canada's foremost scholars on public opinion surveys, has concluded from his review of dozens of surveys that 'the Canadian is stronger than the provincial in all provinces except Quebec.'[2]

Today's pollsters are clearly showing that Canadians have a keen sense of identity, and that the Canadian identity is stronger than it has been for generations. But, how can this be so, at a time when the forces of globalisation and continental economic integration have never been more powerful?[3] Since Confederation in 1867, Canadians had been told, repeatedly, that North American continental economic integration[4] was one of the greatest threats to Canada, as it would weaken our economic and industrial system, increase inequality among citizens, limit our capacity to pursue distinctive policy options, and, ultimately, undermine its national identity. In fact, the first prophets to warn of the impending destruction of Canada go back to the time before Confederation, when the country was not yet Canada. In British North America in 1849, the Tory merchants of Montreal warned that the establishment of British free trade – arguably, one of the earliest attempts at economic globalisation – signalled the end of Canada. Might as well join with the Americans, they exhorted in anger, and then signed the Annexation Manifesto, advocating the annexation of Canada to the United States. Joining forces with their 'hereditary rivals,' Canadian historian Donald Creighton wrote in 1944, was clearly an aberration.[5] He was right, as our more recent variants of Canada's Chicken Little have claimed that the sky is falling in because Canada was about to take a path that would strengthen our linkages with the United

States. This paper certainly would not wish to call the esteemed philosopher and noted Canadian scholar George Grant Canada's Chicken Little; yet, Grant's *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, which has sold more than 50,000 copies since it was first published in 1965, predicts the end of Canada.[6] Written shortly after the defeat of the Progressive Conservatives under the leadership of John Diefenbaker, and still widely read and much revered across Canada, Grant's *Lament* has, more than any other single publication, come to embody the threat to Canada from continental economic integration. Grant believed that 'Canada cannot survive as a sovereign nation,' under such an arrangement.[7] In other words, he warned that the sky was falling in on Canada because of its interdependence with the United States.

In a book that even Grant later admitted was written in a moment of anger, he blamed the Liberal Party and the established wealthy of Ontario and Quebec for 'pursuing policies that led inexorably to the disappearance of Canada.' Of course, Grant's arguments are more profound and nuanced than this paper might suggest, but, at heart, he maintained that American technology had the ability to reshape society and 'universalise and homogenise' Canadians. In the process, it would destroy the community that had emerged from British and Tory conservatism on the northern half of the continent. That community, Grant maintained, had a stronger sense of common good and of public order than was possible under the individualism of American capitalism. In his view, Diefenbaker was Canada's last hope, and the 1957 election 'was the Canadian people's last gasp on nationalism.' Granted lamented that, whether they realized it or not, Canadians, by chasing Diefenbaker from office several years later, had 'really paid allegiance to the homogenized culture of the American Empire.' Moreover, Grant observed, 'modern civilization' has made 'all local cultures anachronistic,' and when Canadians accepted modernity, it became clear that 'nothing essential distinguishes Canadians from Americans.' Grant's lament ends with an assertion that Canada has ceased to be a nation, but he suggested that Canada's 'formal existence will not end quickly.'[8]

Another of the recent manifestations of 'the sky is falling in' warnings can be found in the debate during the 1988 federal election, especially of those crusading against the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States.[9] On that occasion, the Liberal leader and former prime minister John Turner warned that 'the price [for free trade] is our sovereignty, our

freedom to make our own choices, to decide what is right for us, to go on building the kind of country we want. That freedom, that sovereignty,' he said, 'is our most valuable asset. When you strip away all the technical jargon of this deal, that is what the Government wants to give away, our freedom to be different, our freedom to be ourselves, to do things our own way, not the American way ... we do not want to become Americans.'[10] Mel Hurtig, then chair of the Council of Canadians, told a Parliamentary Committee on free trade in 1987 that 'There will be no Canada within a generation if the Mulroney government is allowed to proceed with its plans [for a free trade treaty with the Americans].[11] Turner and Hurtig were joined by a chorus of others who professed similar dire warnings about the impending destruction of Canada.[12]

Argument

Might it be possible in the 21st Century for economic and cultural integration and globalisation to occur worldwide, and continental integration in North America, without resulting in the defeat of Canadian nationalism or the destruction of Canada, as Grant and others have warned? This essay does not suggest that those Canadians who argued that Canada will eventually cease to be a nation if free trade were instituted, are wrong. In fact, time might even prove that they were right.[13] However, in the Canada of today, it does appear that the claim made by George Grant and a large number of other 'nationalists' that nationalism and continentalism are incompatible, might not be borne out by the recent trends. Canadians see themselves as distinct from their Americans neighbours, and, more importantly, they believe that their sovereignty and their nation is secure, more secure and stronger than at any time in our recent past. Closer integration with the United States and globalization might not necessarily mean the destruction of Canada.[14] In the post-modern age, Canadian nationalism and Canadian identity might be able to flourish, as globalisation and continental integration flourishes.[15]

Context

The strength of the Canadian identity might be missed in the Canadian discourse because the intellectual debate on Canadian nationalism has not been particularly sophisticated in recent years. The term 'new nationalism' was used in the late 1960s to describe the opposition to

American economic, military, and cultural influence in Canada. Although the new nationalists, including Walter Gordon and Mel Watkins, would part ways over the role of the state in the economy, the Left has virtually co-opted the nationalist mantle in Canada.[16] By the time of the 1988 election on free trade, the popular and academic discourse would lead one to believe that that earlier generation of Canadian nationalists were the only ones defending Canada, once again, from the throes of the Americans and their sycophant, Progressive Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Many Canadian academics, journalists, and political commentators portrayed the Liberals and the New Democrats in that debate as the defenders of the Canadian nation,[17] and the Progressive Conservative Party as the enemy – or the anti-nationalists – who were willing to sell the nation's birthright. Writing in the *Canadian Forum* several months following the 1988 election, respected political scientist Reginald Whitaker argued that the campaign marked 'the rebirth of nationalism.' However, in his view, only the New Democrats and the Liberals had the right to lay claim to that title. In Canada, the Progressive Conservatives had been unable 'to call forth nationalism on its behalf,' he wrote, and the business class in Canada, he lamented, was purely continentalist and, in its ascendancy during the 1990s, its members were "clearly and decisively identified as the enemy of the Canadian national community." In fact, Whitaker saw the election as an epic struggle between the "anti-nationalist" Conservatives on the one hand, and the Liberals, New Democrats, and their disparate groups of allies who were intent on saving the Canadian nation on the other.[18] To be a Canadian nationalist, so the argument then went, one had to oppose closer economic integration with the United States and, in the case of the 1988 election, only those opposed to the Free Trade Agreement were Canadian nationalists.[19] I have argued elsewhere[20] that the Progressive Conservative Party believed that Canada had matured economically and culturally, and it saw free trade as an expression of Canada's ability to trade with the Americans on equal terms without Canada losing its culture or its sovereignty. In other words, the Conservatives also saw themselves as nationalists, and their support for free trade in no way diminished their commitment to the Canadian nation. They were just another sort of Canadian nationalist.

If Grant's prognosis was accurate or the 'accepted orthodoxy' from 1988 holds, then Canada should be withering away. After all, Canada has established ever-closer economic and

cultural ties with the United States, and even signed a free trade treaty with the United States in 1989, an arrangement later expanded by the Liberal Government in 1993 to include Mexico in the North American Free Trade Agreement. Canada has also played a major role in a number of international negotiations that led to the establishment of such groups as the World Trade Organization in 1995 and others that are equally committed to expanding global trade. Yet, the Canadian state is not a mere handmaiden of the forces of continentalism and globalisation. For all of its history, Canada and its citizens have embraced the state as a positive force, and the state remains a very powerful instrument within Canadian society. The state in Canada – at both the federal and provincial level – has had tremendous capacity, historically, to act in the best interests of its citizens, and it has not relinquished that function. In the past two decades, the state has been transformed in Canada, but the national community, with its peculiar and distinctive political culture and traditions, its territorial space and community, and its values is still very much relevant. Globalization and continentalisation have not obliterated the role of the state, and the Canadian state has maintained the freedom to act in areas of economic, social, cultural and foreign policy. One might also argue, that as the forces of globalisation and continentalism gain strength, Canadians will look increasingly to the nation state for greater protection of what makes Canada a national community. In that sense, despite the North American Free Trade Agreement, a move toward economic integration with the United States of which Grant warned in 1965 and others more recently, Canada has retained the capacity to pursue distinctive policy choices in many areas (even though there has been some convergence in some areas).[21]

While there is some reason to be concerned about the level of US ownership in some sectors of the Canadian economy – and even, I suppose, of the difficulties of Canadian professional sports teams who have moved from Canadian cities to American ones – there is little evidence to suggest that Canada is withering away under American domination. In fact, recent polling evidence suggests that Canadians have a stronger sense of their identity than ever. Some of our valued social programs, for instance, have changed since the implementation of the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement, but in social policy Canada remains quite progressive in its approach, and certainly much more so than the United States. In recent months, the Canadian

parliament introduced legislation to legalise gay marriages and decriminalise marijuana. Moreover, Canadians continue to be proud of their tolerance and cultural diversity and, despite 9/11, Canadians continue to support multiculturalism in large numbers.[22] Michael Adams has argued that the gap between Canada and the United States has widened on 24 values that he, and other pollsters, have tracked between 1992 and 2000. 'At a time when the political, economic and technological forces of globalization suggest that Canada and the United States should be converging, Canadians' social values were becoming more distinct from those of Americans,' he concluded.[23] In fact, the Pew Research Centre for the People and the Press found, in its comprehensive poll in late 2002, that Canada has the most positive feelings about immigration of 44 countries surveyed; more than 77 percent of Canadians surveyed said that immigrants have a good influence on the country.[24]

Hence, the policy convergence with the United States that many warned would occur with free trade has not occurred. One can point to the Kyoto Protocol and the American-led war in Iraq as two further examples. In the first instance, Canada ratified the international agreement, and the United States did not; in the second, Canada refused to join the American-dominated coalition. Moreover, Canadians show little willingness to harmonize their policies in health care, environment, banking and financial institutions, immigration, or taxation with the United States.[25] Free trade has accelerated a steady march towards North American economic integration, but, as Michael Hart has argued, the evidence from the experience with the Canada-US FTA thus far 'constitutes an unambiguous rejection of the claims that the agreement would constrain Canadian foreign policy independence or result in the harmonization of Canadian values and preferences with the United States.'[26] Unlike in Europe, where a common European identity appears to be emerging, there is little to suggest that there is emerging within North America a common identity.

Culture, Identity and Attachment to Nation

The sense of identity and attachment to Canada has been strengthened in the first decade or so of free trade. The past decade has seen a stronger sense of Canadian identity and attachment to the nation than there had been for quite some time. Even in the era of globalization

and increasing continentalisation, Canadians now claim that they have an identity separate from that of the United States, and that they can thrive in the new millennium by embracing their own identity. While many in Canada, like citizens in other ethnically diverse nations, have multiple identities, a 2003 survey found that 85 percent of all Canadians identify with the Canadian nation. The national trend is up from 75 percent when the same question was asked two years earlier in 2001, but in line with the results from the 1999 *Macleans* year-end survey of Canadians.[27] The 1999 *Maclean's*-CBC Annual Poll found that 90 percent of Canadians claim that they have a unique identity, separate and distinct from all other countries. And with the same conviction, 81 percent hold to the view that they can thrive in the new millennium by keeping their own values and not trying to become more like Americans. 'These powerful numbers reflect a confident nation at ease with its unique self,' Allan Gregg, president of The Strategic Counsel, which conducted the poll, wrote at the time in *Maclean's*. 'There are massive numbers showing that, in spite of all the cynics who say Canada has lost its way, we still have a strong sense of identity,' he concluded.[28] Four years later, Gregg returned to this issue, and found further evidence that Canadians have largely ceased seeing themselves in terms of what they are not. Today [2003], he wrote, the image that Canadians have of themselves is their own, and their 'sense of uniqueness is more than a defence to ward off the creeping influence of American hegemony on Canadian culture and institutions.'[29]

Most Canadians maintain that their identity is based on a strong sense of their own history and appreciation of what they have accomplished as a nation, rather than simply a desire not to be American. Not surprisingly, Canadians continue to see the flag, the health care system, Canada's internationalism, its French and English heritage and even our climate and geography, as some of the major components of our national identity, but we are increasingly becoming connected, as well, to a series of unique Canadian values such as multiculturalism, individual rights (through the Charter of Rights and Freedoms), social liberalism, and tolerance.[30] Even the *New York Times* has noted that there has emerged in Canada a more 'distinctive Canadian identity,' that is far more European in orientation than American.[31]

There is also considerable anecdotal information to suggest that Canadians are now proactively defending and promoting their pride in their nation, and that free trade has not

destroyed Canada's sense of national identity. The Canadian confrontation with the European Union over Spanish over-fishing on the Grand Banks in 1995 was one recent manifestation of Canadian nationalism. During the so-called 'Turbot War,' Canadians enthusiastically supported their government's actions, and were proud that they were standing up to the Spanish.[32] Most recently, the 'I am Canadian' commercials for one of the major Canadian brewing companies has captivated Canadians, many of whom never buy or drink the product, (and the 2004 version of the popular television commercial does not simply compare Canadians with Americans, but compares Canada with a host of countries around the world). Other companies – after doing their own market analysis – have also played on the sense of national identity among Canadian shoppers to advertise their products. Companies selling a range of goods from mutual funds to donuts – even Wal-Mart – have pulled in consumers by appealing to Canadian values and the sense of Canadian identity. Moreover, Canadians have taken to flying flags in a major way and not simply because the Department of Canadian Heritage provided them free in its fly-a-million-flags campaign. The *Maclean's* survey has also captured this strong sense of nation among Canadians that is reflected in many ways across the country, not the least of which is the large number of Canadians celebrating Canada Day. Morever, this optimistic view that the vast majority of Canadians believe they can thrive in the coming millennium by keeping their own values is also reflected in a recent survey of young Canadians. A series of polls commissioned by the CRIC and the Association for Canadian Studies, asking young Canadians between the ages of 18 and 25 what they saw in store for Canada in the year 2025, found that they are optimistic about Canada and Canadian identity. They believe that their national identity will become more important in the face of increasing globalisation and use of the Internet.[33]

Social Programs

One of the key components in defining the Canadian identity for all citizens, young and otherwise, has been Canada's social programs, long considered one of the mainstays in a distinctive national identity. Many have argued that it is our social programs, perhaps more than anything else that help to identify us as Canadians. Yet, many of those opposed to the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement in 1988 and NAFTA in 1993 – as well as those opposed to the WTO

and the other instruments of globalisation – have argued that all of these initiatives would result in the destruction of Canada's distinctive social programs, including medicare, and limit the ability of the national government to legislate in such matters. However, despite increased continental integration and globalisation, neither the worst fears about the lost of Canadian identity nor the homogenization of which Grant warned have occurred. As George Hoberg has recently argued, 'Canada still retains significant room to manoeuvre even in the areas of policy most affected by growing economic integration.'[34] It is clear that Canada has been able to maintain its distinctive social programs in many areas of policy.[35]

Canada has more capacity for distinctive policy choice than the opponents of free trade would admit, and this had been borne out in the recent national debate about health care. Even though Canadians are worried about the sustainability of their health care system, Canada's medicare system continues to provide universal coverage for basic hospital and medical services with user fees and deductibles (although Ontario announced a health premium in May, 2004). The Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada – better known as the Romanow Commission after its chair, former Saskatchewan Premier Roy J. Romanow – concluded that Canadians value their publicly funded health care system because it reflects their commitment as citizens to equity, fairness and solidarity, and they have no desire for a two-tier health care delivery model where the health system becomes increasingly commercialized, as in the United States.[36] Andrew Jackson, the Director of Research for the Canadian Council of Social Development, has argued that 'there is surprisingly little evidence of downward harmonization of social policy or a generalized shift to greater after-tax income inequality across the advanced industrial (OECD) countries.'[37]

Particularly after the Second World War, Canada created a welfare state that was more generous than that introduced in the United States. The details of Canada's social security system can be found elsewhere,[38] but it is a safe assumption to say that in terms of social policy, the Canadian program is more comprehensive because it covers a broader range of the population than do American social programs. Canada has been more effective at transferring greater benefits to the poor, and Canada's programs have tended to have a greater redistributive impact than similar programs in the United States. In health care, for instance, Canada's

medicare program provides coverage for basic hospital and medical services on a universal basis without deductibles, co-payments, or significant user fees. In the United States, government programs are targeted to specific groups (the elderly, for instance) and most of the population relies on private health insurance. In child benefits, however, there has been a convergence between the US and Canada as programs are targeted to the most needy and away from universal coverage, as was the case in Canada until 1992. Still, the Canadian welfare state is much more generous than the American one, and it offers greater protection for the poorest of citizens.[39]

These differences have emerged between the two countries because of Canada's history, its political culture, and the nature of its development. Historically, Canada's strong labour movement and strong socialist political parties at the provincial and national levels, together with an economy based largely on exports (which has traditionally been more accepting of the creation of a comprehensive social policy) have facilitated the creation of a more well-developed and activist welfare state in Canada than in the United States.[40] Even Conservative governments, such as that of Brian Mulroney, have pursued social programs that have targeted benefits to the poor. Most of the recent reforms (and cuts) to social spending in Canada have resulted from concerns over government deficits and tax loads – experience widely in the industrialized world at that time – rather than from the direct effect of economic integration.

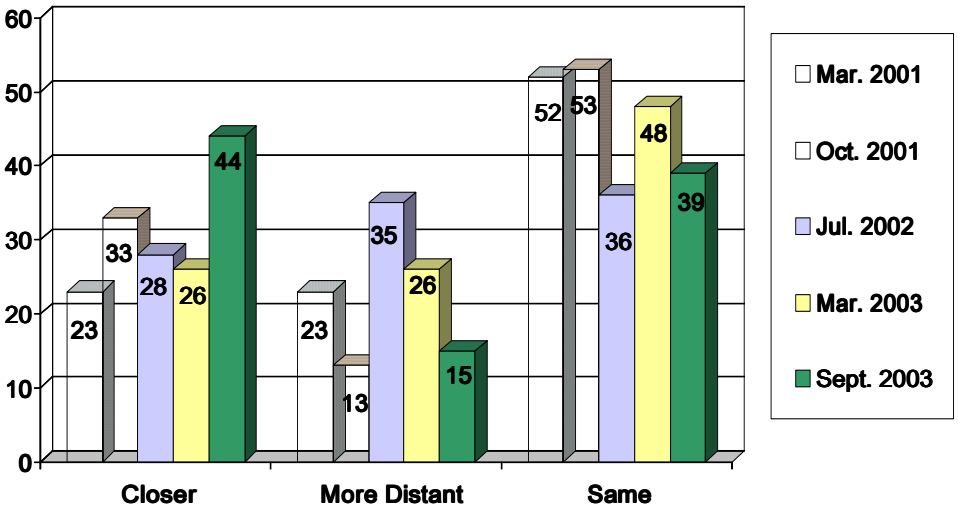
Trade and Internationalization

Canada has always been a trading nation, and it is perhaps not surprising that Canadians overwhelmingly support the North American Free Trade Agreement. A recent survey by Ipsos-Reid found that 70 percent of those polled favoured NAFTA.[41] In 2001, CRIC also reported in its paper 'Trade, Globalization and Canadian Values' that Canadians generally support free trade and international trade agreements. Sixty-five percent even said that they supported Canada negotiating new trade agreements with other nations, while 67 percent supported a free trade area of the Americas. In fact, there has been growing support among Canadians for free trade, as support for NAFTA has grown throughout the 1990s. A majority of Canadians now claim that they support these agreements, and they do not have the worries than John Turner, Maude Barlow and many other nationalists expressed at the time of the 1988 election.

The Centre for Research and Information on Canada recently posed two questions in its 2001 surveys – the same questions asked in 1964 – and the answers suggest that Canadians are very confident about their nation in the new millennium. The first question queried Canadians on their attitude towards political union with the US, and the second asked about the inevitability of union between the two countries. The survey found that Canadians are more confident today of remaining independent from the United States than they were forty years ago. Similarly, they are more optimistic of the long term success and survival of their nation than they were in the1960s, and the opposition to political union with the United States is higher now than it was in the 1960s.[42] The *Maclean's*-CBC annual survey has asked a somewhat similar question, with similar results. Those polled a decade apart – in 1990 and in 2001 – were asked if, given the opportunity, would they become US citizens or like to live and work there. In 1990, 60 percent said they would not, while 30 percent answered yes; by 2001, the percentage saying 'no' had risen to 72 percent and those who answered 'yes' had dropped to 25 percent.[43] It appears from this information that, even though Canada has entered into a formal free trade agreement with the United States and Mexico, continental economic integration is accelerating and globalisation is becoming a reality, Canadians are more optimistic about their future vis-a-vis the United States.

More recently, a Canadian Ipsos-Reid survey in mid-2003 found that 70 percent of Canadians see the growing interdependence of the Canadian and American economies as a positive trend.[44] This phenomenon has been confirmed in other polls, and some have found that a substantial majority favour closer social and cultural ties with the United States.[45] An indication of this trend is reflected in a recent survey by the Centre for Research and Information on Canada in its 2003 edition of *Portraits of Canada* which found that a plurality of Canadians (44 percent) believe that Canada should have closer ties to the United States, the highest number since CRIC began asking this question in 2001:[46]

Canada's Ties with the US



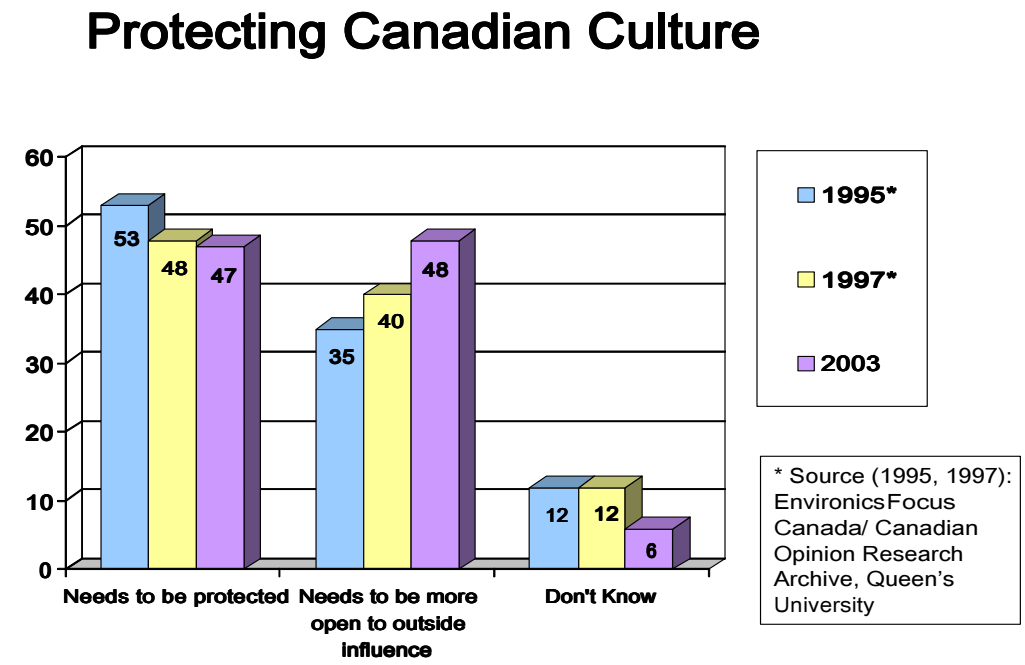
Do you think Canada should have much closer ties to the U.S., so mewhat closer, about the same as now, somewhat more distant or much more distant tiesto the US than it has now?

In late 2002, Michael Marzolini of Pollara Marketing Research, who, at the time, was also the Liberal party's chief pollster, said that his survey findings showed that Canadians are 'increasingly confident that they can compete on an equal footing with American industry.' He went on to say – in stark contrast with what Liberals were predicting even a decade ago – that 'We [Canadians] are not as fearful of American influence on our culture or our sovereignty as we were a number of years ago.' He noted that the level of fear about Canadian culture and sovereignty 'is not as great as many have pointed out.' The survey shows that Canadian nationalists who oppose stronger cross-border ties are out of touch with most Canadians. Of equal interest, in light of the claims made in 1988, is a survey of CEOs and other business leaders in Canada that found more than 80 percent of business leaders do not think that Canada and the United States should join to form one country. While recognizing the importance of commercial and economic ties to Canada, the respondents in the poll noted that the major reason not to unite is that Canadian values and beliefs are too different from American ones.[47]

While Americans appear to be becoming increasingly disenchanted with the United Nations, polls have found that 75 percent of Canadians supported the UN process of attaining Security Council approval for aggressive actions in various parts of the world. Unlike the Americans, Canadians have not lost faith in the international organizations,[48] and they now want Canada to play a greater role in the world and engage more effectively with the international community.[49] Canada's leaders have always insisted that Canada has been one of the leading practitioners and one of the primary proponents of multilateralism in international affairs, even though Canada has conducted its foreign and trade policy both through multilateral and bilateral agreements.[50] Canadians also believe that their trade and economic relations, like their foreign policy, cannot be devoid of social values, cultural concerns, and human rights issues. The Canadian government, through its former Minister of International Trade, Pierre Pettigrew, has stated, unequivocally, that any trade deal that Canada participates in must respect social and cultural values, human rights, and the environment. Moreover, such negotiations must be transparent and open to public scrutiny. However, the WTO, of which Canada is a signatory, is not seriously concerned with social and cultural values nor with issues such as the environment simply because of its governance and management regimes. In the same year that Canada played a role in creating the WTO, it vowed to push ahead with several regional and inter-state trading blocs -- pursuing multilateralism and bilateralism at the same time. In November 1994, it agreed to have free trade within the Asia Pacific Economic Community by 2010, and in December 1994 it agreed to have full free trade among all of the democratic countries in the western hemisphere by 2005. In 1996, Canada signed bilateral free trade agreements with Chile and Costa Rica which included (like with NAFTA) parallel agreements for labour and the environment. It also has a free trade agreement with Israel and has started negotiations with Singapore, and it is anxious to proceed with free trade talks with the Europeans. Canada is also aggressively pursuing trade arrangements and business for Canadian companies through the Team Canada approach, whereby federal and provincial politicians and business leaders target specific parts of the world.[51]

Even in the context of free trade, Canadians' sense of self-confidence is growing. Only 22 percent of Canadians believe that international trade is harming Canadian culture, while 45

percent believe that international trade enhances Canadian culture. In fact, between 1990 and 1995 Canadian cultural exports increased at a rate of 83 percent to $3 billion. Moreover, Canada is the second largest exporter of television programs in the world, behind only the United States, and Canada has produced such international literary and cultural luminaries as Margaret Atwood, Alanis Morissette, and Shania Twain. Yet, attitudes on the protection of culture are not always clear. A survey in 2000 found a considerable majority of Canadians (72 percent in a recent poll) opposed to any change to the legislation that would allow Canadian media and telecommunications companies to be majority owned by foreign companies.[52] However, a more recent and general poll in CRIC's 2003 *Portrait of Canada* Series has shown that Canadians are slowly changing their views on how much our culture needs to be protected:



Do you think Canadian culture today needs to be protected from outside influences, or does it need to be more open to outside influences?

Concern over the US

Canadians clearly support free trade, and nearly two-thirds of Canadians favour negotiating new international trade agreements with other countries. Even so, many Canadians

are becoming concerned over American control of Canadian companies. Eighty-four percent said in a recent survey that they favour imposing restrictions preventing American investors from exerting control over their economy, even though two-thirds of Canadians believe that the closer economic ties with the US have been positive for Canada and believe that even closer economic ties with the US would be beneficial. Canadians favour free trade and globalisation, but at the same time they feel that it has cost us a measure of control over certain sectors of the economy, particularly with energy and natural resources.[53] A recent poll conducted for the citizen-based Council of Canadians found that 62 percent of Canadians do not want their government to sign a new international trade agreement with the World Trade Organization that would open Canada's public services, such as healthcare and education, to foreign corporations.[54] Similarly, Canadians have expressed support for a common currency with the United States, but overwhelmingly reject the idea of Canada adopting the US dollar, or entering a formal economic union.

Still, since 11 September 2001, there has been a slight increase in the number of Canadians who feel greater affinity with Americans (23 percent who desired closer relations in March 2001, and 33 percent in January 2002). What has become clear is that Canadians are now telling pollsters that keeping the country independent will be one of the greatest challenges in the coming years, although there is no indication that their support for globalisation or continental trade is diminishing.[55] Many Canadians (61 percent in one poll) also support the notion of a North American perimeter, with Canada sharing with the US a common, integrated policy on immigration and border-crossing laws.[56] Although former finance minister and deputy-prime minister John Manley ruffled more than a few nationalist feathers when he told Canadians that they had to stop fearing US domination of Canada and stand 'shoulder-to-shoulder' with them on security matters, recent polls have shown that his view is supported by many Canadians. Sixty-four percent of Canadians are in favour of harmonizing their security policies with those of the United States, and 70 percent believe that Canada should fully participate in the new missile defence military command (NORTHCOM) structure that the Americans are actively pursuing.[57] Still, Canadians are skeptical about the Americans, and more than 90 percent of Canadians agreed with the statement 'Canada should maintain the ability to set its own independent environmental health and safety standards and regulations, even if this

might reduce cross-border trade opportunities with the United States.'[58]

Canadian and American foreign policy has not converged since 1988. In fact, in a couple of instances, one can argue that the two neighbours have followed very different paths. Unlike the United States, Canada ratified the Kyoto Protocol in late 2002, while the US did not, and Canada ratified the Rome Statute to create the International Criminal Court on 7 July 2000, while the United States officially rejected the Court in May, 2002. More important have been the differences in the two countries over the American-led war on Iraq. While Canada supported the US-led initiative on Afghanistan, it opposed the strike against Iraq. Even in the midst of a fierce public debate in Europe and North America, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien decided against joining the Coalition in March 2003. At the height of public awareness over the war in March, 2003, 71 percent of Canadians favoured abstaining from the conflict. That number remained relatively stable throughout 2003 and even following Prime Minister Paul Martin's visit to Washington in April 2004. EKOS Research claimed that its surveys showed that the view that Canadians took on the war was 'rooted in fundamental values;' although Canadians understood the potential implications, especially economic ones, from a backlash from the United States, Canadians expressed a 'distinctive view' when it came to foreign policy.[59] A recent poll by Ipsos-Reid also revealed that Canadians are split and have no clear consensus about where they think the relationship between Canada and the US should be headed. While 39 percent of Canadians polled wanted 'closer, more friendly ties with the US,' 27 percent wanted a 'more distant [and] independent relationship' with our southern neighbour. Many Canadians (32 percent) were happy with the existing relationship and saw no reason to change the existing relationship.[60] There is, however, a growing acceptance in Canada (as noted above) of the idea of a common security policy to protect North America from terrorist threats.[61]

Conclusion

Canadians have always been concerned about the nation's relationship with the United States, and it has long been held that this concern has helped Canadians define their national identity. Canadians continue to worry about American influence. In the 1988 election, for instance, when Liberal leader John Turner vowed in a televised leaders' debate to tear up the

Canada-US Free Trade Agreement, support for his party jumped nearly 15 percent overnight. However, Canadians considered the issue, realized that they had to embrace change and participate in a free trade relationship with the Americans, and gave the party that promised free trade with the US a majority government (even though the Conservatives captured 43 percent of the popular vote). More than a decade later, an increased number of Canadians now support free trade, and they are very much aware of who they are as a people and as a nation; the sky did not fall in. Canadians also recognize that, in a world that is rapidly shrinking due to trade and technology, and where ideas, styles, trends, and attitudes travel the world in seconds, there is, inevitably, a process of homogeneity at work. For Canada, living so close to the United States, globalisation often means Americanization. Yet, even in the face of rapid globalisation and the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, Canadians have become more conscious of their identity; they have no desire to become Americans, and are very secure with their identity. In fact, the Canadian identity has been strengthened, not diminished, in the era of globalisation and continental economic integration.

The evidence from the past decade appears to suggest that it is possible for Canada, and Canadian nationalism and identity not only to survive but thrive in the 21st Century, even as the forces of North American economic and cultural integration and globalisation gather strength. Despite the warnings of George Grant and others more recently, it might be premature to lament the defeat of Canadian nationalism and the defeat of Canada as a nation. Clearly, many Canadians have developed a sense of their national identity,[62] though this seems strange to the cultural elite who have worried for so long about the lack of a national identity and felt they had to foster a national identity to protect everyone from American influences. The cultural elite worked hard over the years, and one cannot deny that much of their effort was important. Yet, now, at a time when American influence has never been greater, the homogenizing force of globalisation never stronger, and state support for culture never weaker, Canadians have become more confident of their identity than ever. It is an identity founded on confidence and pride, not fear. Canadians are comfortable in their identity and have considerable faith in their country's future for the first time in two or three decades.

But why is this so? Michael Adams has argued recently in his award-winning book, *Fire*

and Ice: The United States, Canada and the Myth of Converging Values, that values in the two countries are diverging in recent years because 'Canada's founding values, historical experiences, and political institutions are very different from those in the United States and have a greater influence on Canadians' contemporary values than the much vaunted forces of globalization.'[63] Adams' explanation is hardly credible, as the three factors that he uses to explain a *contemporary* phenomenon (in his view, the past decade) that emerges from his surveys have been factors since Canada was created as a nation in 1867. Perhaps, if social scientists had been able, in earlier decades, to use the polling techniques that Adams and his colleagues are now using, they would have found that there has always been a distinct Canadian identity and that as Canadians we have always been secure and confident in our identity. If Adams is correct in his explanation, historians and other social scientists interested in national identity need to delve deeper into our past. If so, they might find that the anxiety that has exercised Canadian elites for generations might have all been unnecessary. Perhaps, Canadians have always had a clear sense of who they are as a people and a nation; the problem was that the cultural elite that has worried about such things as national identity never looked for it among ordinary Canadians.[64]

There are, however, other reasons why Canadians today are more confident in the future survival of Canada. It may very well be that a series of policies enacted by the postwar generation might go some way to explaining the strong sense of national identity among Canadians today. Such policies as a liberalized immigration policy and, subsequently, a policy of multiculturalism, a commitment to bilingualism, a strong social security policy, the Canadian Bill of Rights and, eventually, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, a commitment to peacekeeping, and a commitment to protecting and promoting Canadian culture may all have combined to create a national identity among Canadians. There has also been a process of 'Canadianizing' at work within the country for a very long time. It has been evident in the creation of such symbols as the Canadian flag and, most recently, in the actions of the federal government through its initiatives in the 'branding of Canada.'[65] It has also been fostered through the educational system, and even in the activism of the courts. Of course, another contributing factor might be the narrow federalist victory in the 1995 referendum in Quebec that

really scared Canadians outside of Quebec – and many Quebecois as well. Canadians came close, very close, on 30 October 1995, to losing their country, and it prompted many of them to become more concerned with understanding and appreciating our nation and the type of society that has emerged in Canada. Perhaps the greatest irony of all is that the process of globalisation and continentalisation has not destroyed Canada, but prompted Canadians to search for their own national identity; in the process, Canadians have found themselves and their country.

Endnotes

[1] See, *Globe and Mail*, 1 July 2003. The Centre for Research and Information on Canada and the *Globe and Mail* undertook a survey of the attitudes and values of Canadians in mid-2003 that appeared in the newspaper under the title of *The New Canada Series* between 7 June and 2 July 2003. The survey data was further analysed in Andrew Parkin and Matthew Mendelsohn, *A New Canada: An Identity Shaped by Diversity*. The CRIC Papers. Centre for Research and Information on Canada, No. 11, October 2003

[2] Quoted in *Globe and Mail*, 18 June 2003.

[3] There is a vast literature on globalisation and continental integration. For Canada, globalisation is effectively Americanization, as approximately more than 80 percent of Canada's trade is with the United States, though one can persuasively argue that American cultural influence is greater than any proportion of trade that might flow between the two countries. For a discussion of globalisation and integration, see William Watson, *Globalization and the Meaning of Canadian Life* (Toronto, 1998); Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (New York, 1999); and David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds., *An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*. Second Edition. (Cambridge, UK, 2003)

[4] For a discussion of the concept of North American Integration, see George Hoberg, *Capacity for Choice. Canada in a New North America* (Toronto, 2002), especially, 8-12. They conceptualize 'integration as a process, moving along a continuum from 'fundamentally distinct and unrelated' at one end to 'fully integrated' at the other.'

[5] Donald Creighton, *Dominion of the North. A History of Canada* (Toronto, Macmillan, 1957), 260-62

[6] George Grant, *Lament for a Nation. The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism* (Ottawa, Carleton University Press, 1995)

[7] More recently, Stephen Clarkson wonders in *Uncle Sam and US: Globalization. Neoconservatism and Globalization* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2002) not if Canada will survive, but 'Which Canada will Survive.' He claims that treaties such as NAFTA have created a supra-constitution for Canada. Similarly, James Laxer in *The Border. Canada, the U.S. and Dispatches from the 49th Parallel* (Toronto, Doubleday Canada, 2003) warns that Canada's existence is being challenged by an 'hard-right assault' that wants to destroy Canadian sovereignty through 'integration into the American republic, either as a new band of states or as some kind of associate state.' Ken Roach takes a more optimistic outlook in his *September 11. Consequences for Canada* (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003). Rather than lament a nation lost, he suggests, that Canada must be 'determined to affirm the distinctiveness of Canadian values.' p. 200-01

[8] See, George Grant, *Lament for a Nation. The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*. The Carleton Library Series No. 50 (Ottawa, 1995). The book was first published in 1965.

[9] For an overview of the election, see Jeffrey Ayres, *Defying Conventional Wisdom: Political Movements and Popular Contention against North American Free Trade* (Toronto, 1998), and J.L. Granatstein,

Yankee Go Home? Canadians and Anti-Americans (Toronto, 1996), especially Chapter 10.

[10] House of Commons Debates, 30 August 1988

[11] Mel Hurtig, publisher and Chair of the Council of Canadians, appearing before the House of Commons Committee on External Affairs and International Trade, 17 November 1987

[12] See, in particular, Maude Barlow, *Parcel of Rogues. How Free Trade in Failing Canada* (Toronto, 1990 and 1991); George Radwanski and Julie Luttrell, *The Will of a Nation. Awakening the Canadian Spirit* (Toronto, Stoddart, 1992); Stephen McBride and John Shields, *Dismantling a Nation: Canada and the New World Order* (Halifax, 1993); David Orchard, *The Fight for Canada: Four Centuries of Resistance to American Expansion* (Toronto, 1993); and Stephen Clarkson, 'Anti-Nationalism in Canada: The Ideology of Mainstream Economics,' *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* (Spring, 1978).

[13] An interesting articles by Eric Reguly appeared in the 1 September 2001 edition of the Business Comment Section of *The Globe and Mail* noted that economic integration between Canada and the United States was occurring at a rapid pace, led in large part by the provincial and state governments, who he claimed were creating 'an informal supranational body that, in time, may looking like a new level of government.'

[14] See, Matthew Mendelsohn, Robert Wolfe, and Andrew Parkin, 'Globalization, Trade Policy and the Permissive Consensus in Canada,' *Canadian Public Policy - Analyse de Politiques* Vol 28, No. 3, 2002: 351-71. Although they focussed on public opinion during the discussion of the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas, they noted that 'A dozen years after the FTA took effect, Canadians think that [trade] liberalization has been beneficial and sovereignty has not been eroded unacceptably due to the agreement.'

[15] Michael Adams, *Fire and Ice. The United States, Canada and the Myth of Converging Values* (Toronto, Penguin Canada, 2003). Adams argues that 'Canadians and American are markedly different and becoming more so.' Through an in-depth examination, he concludes that 'a Canadian way of living and thinking will endure well into the future.'

[16] On this point, see Stephen Azzi, *Walter Gordon and the Rise of Canadian Nationalism* (Montreal and Kingston, McGill Queen's University Press, 1999).

[17] H.D. Forbes discusses the connection between nationalism and socialism in his "Hartz-Horowitz at Twenty: Nationalism, Toryism and Socialism in Canada and the United States," in *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 20, No. 2 (June, 1987), 287-315.

[18] Reginald Whitaker, "No Laments for the Nation," *Canadian Forum*, (March, 1989), 9-13.

[19] J.L. Granatstein recently noted that "Canadian identity and Canadian nationalism often seemed to be based only a negative: We're not Americans." See "Two Centuries of Ups and Downs," a paper presented at the 2000 National Policy Research Conference, canada@theworld.ca, and his fuller treatment of the subject in *Yankee Go Home?*.

[20] Raymond B. Blake, 'The Canadian 1988 Election: The Nationalist Posture of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the Progressive Conservatives,' *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, XXX (2003)

[21] See David J. McGuinty, 'Will Canadian Quality of Life Last?' in *Canada and the United States: An Evolving Partnership*, CRIC Papers, August 2003. The survey polled Canadians on a variety of policy areas, and the results were clear they did not want Canada to be like the US: health care, 87 percent said no to harmonization; environment, 75 percent; banks and financial institutions, 64 percent; immigration and refugees, 63 percent; and taxation, 55 percent.

[22] A recent edition of *The Economist* praised Canada's 'boldness in social matters,' suggesting that Canada's 'social liberalism' and its 'third way looks to some like an attractive alternative to an increasingly conservative America.' It went as far as to remark, cautiously, 'that Canada is now rather cool.' See 27 September 2003 edition.

[23] Environics Research Group, Press Release, 26 May 2003, and *Globe and Mail*, 20 May 2003. Adams surveyed such trends as religious convictions, moral issues and leadership.

[24] Environics Research Group, Press Release, 3 January 2003

[25] See David J. McGuinty, 'Will Canadian Quality of Life Last?' in *Canada and the United States: An Evolving Partnership*, CRIC Papers, August 2003. The survey polled Canadians on a variety of policy areas, and the results were clear they did not want Canada to be like the US: health care, 87 percent said no to harmonization; environment, 75 percent; banks and financial institutions, 64 percent; immigration and refugees, 63 percent; and taxation, 55 percent.

[26] William A. Dymond and Michael Hart, 'A Canada-E.U. FTA is an awful idea,' *Policy Options* July-August 2002: 27-32

[27] See Centre for Research and Information on Canada, *A New Canada? The Evolution of Canadian Identity and Attitudes to Diversity*, 2003, and CRIC, *Portraits of Canada*, 2001

[28] *Maclean's*, 20 December 1999, 29, 33

[29] *Maclean's*, 6 January 2003, 33. In an essay in the *Globe and Mail* on 3 July 2000, Michael Adams, one of Canada's leading pollsters, claimed that there are vast differences between social values of Americans and Canadians that appear to be holding despite the in capitalism and popular culture. He argued that while the US remains to the values of modernity, emphasising achievement and ostentatious consumption along with patriarchy, hierarchy, and traditional moral or religious beliefs and practice, Canadians are moving into a postmodern phase, marked with a shift towards well-being, harmony, and a less traditional quest for spiritual meaning. *Globe and Mail*, 3 July 2000, and Environics Press Release, 26 July 2000.

[30] On this point, see Matthew Mendelsohn, *Globe and Mail*, 2 July 2003.

[31] *New York Times*, 2 December 2003. The news story noted that analysts have always claimed that the difference 'are often accentuated at the margins,' but today the differences 'appear to have moved centre stage, particularly in social and cultural values.'

[32] See, Raymond B. Blake, *From Fishermen to Fish. The Evolution of Canadian Fishery Policy* (Toronto, 2000), especially, Chapter 5, 'From Crisis to Triumph. Brian Tobin and Turbot War.

[33] See, *Canadian Issues/Thèmes Canadiens*, June/July 2001

[34] On this point, see George Hoberg, 'Canada and North American Integration,' *Canadian Public Policy/Analyse de politiques* XXVI (Angust 2000): S35-49.

[35] On this point see, George Hoberg, Keith Banting, and Richard Simeon, 'North American Integration and the Scope for Domestic Choice: Canada and Policy Sovereignty in a Globalized World,' Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, June 1999. See also Keith Banting, et. al, eds, *Degrees of Freedom: Canada and the United States in a Changing World*. Kingston and Montreal, 1997. My argument here is based largely on these two sources.

[36] On this point, see the *Building on Values. The Future of Health Care in Canada.* Final Report of the Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada (November 2002)

[37] Andrew Jackson, 'Globalization and Progressive Social Policy,' Presentation at the Tenth Biennial Conference on Canadian Social Welfare Policy, Calgary, 18 June 2001. http://www.ccsd.ca/pubs/2001/ajglob.htm

[38] Denis Guest, *Emergence of Social Security in Canada*. Second Edition (Vancouver, 1997)

[39] See M.C. Wolfson and B.B. Murphy, 'Income Inequality in North America: Does the 49th Parallel Sill Matter?' *Canadian Economic Observer* (July 2000). They conclude that the border matters, noting that 'Canada and the United States have remained politically and socially distinct, notwithstanding the more open border ... [socio-political differences] have had greater impacts than economic forces. The 49th parallel does appear to have a significant impact.' This quote also appears in George Hoberg, et al., 'The Scope for Domestic Choice: Policy Autonomy in a Globalizing World,' in George Hoberg, ed., *Capacity for Choice*, 269

[40] The literature on Canada's social security system is massive. See, George Hoberg, et al., 'The Scope for Domestic Choice: Policy Autonomy in a Globalizing World,' in George Hoberg, ed., *Capacity for Choice*, 252-72, for a discussion of difference between the American and Canadian approach to social policy

[41] Ipsos-Reid Press Release, June 2003

[42] Centre for Research and Information on Canada, *Trade Globalization and Canadian Values*. The CRIC Papers. (Ottawa, April 2001).Canadians today are more opposed to political union of Canada with the United States than they were in 1964. 81 percent of respondents were opposed to the idea in 2001 compared to 62 percent in 1964. Only 15 percent today are in favour compared to 29 percent in 1964. Moreover, fewer Canadians today think that such a union is inevitable. 27 percent in the 2001 survey thought that the union between the two countries was 'just a matter of time' compared to 30 percent in 1964, while 68 percent in 2001 disagreed compared to 59 percent in 1964.

[43] *Maclean's*, 7 January 2002, 27

[44] Ipsos-Reid Press Release, June 2003

[45] Toronto *Globe and Mail*, 25 March 2003. Pollara Inc. Chairman and CEO Michael Marzolini, who conducted the poll, said that ' Canadians are interested in making the most of our close proximity to the United States.'

[46] The CRIC Papers No. 12. *Portraits of Canada 2003*, Centre for Research and Information on Canada, January 2004

[47] National Post Online/Financial Post, 27 January 2003. A Pollara poll in October 2002 showed similar results. Following the release of that survey, Michael Marzolini commented that 'It is very clear that the level of fear that many have talked about with respect to our sovereignty, our culture and our economy is not as great as many have pointed out.' See *National Post*, 21 October 2002

[48] *National Post*, 25 March 2003

[49] *Macleans*, 2 January 2003

[50] Some of these points are developed in John Kirton, 'Going Beyond: Canada's Contributions, Challenges and Choices in International Trade,' a papers prepared for the National Security Studies Seminar, Canadian Forces College, Toronto, April 2002

[51] Some of these points are developed in John Kirton, 'Going Beyond: Canada's Contributions, Challenges and Choices in International Trade,' a papers prepared for the National Security Studies Seminar, Canadian Forces College, Toronto, April 2002

[52] Press Release, Decima Research Inc., 27 January 2003. For a discussion of culture under NAFTA, see Gilber Gagné, 'North American Integration and Canadian Culture,' in George Hoberg, ed., *Capacity for Choice. Canada in a New North America* (Toronto, 2002): 159-83

[53] See Centre for Research and Information of Canada, *Portraits of Canada 2001* (Montreal 2002) and Centre for Research and Information of Canada, *Trade, Globalization and Canadian Values*, (Montreal, 2001; and Ipsos-Reid Poll, 28 April 2002.

[54] Press Release, Ipsos-Reid, 6 May 2004

[55] See Centre for Research and Information of Canada, *Portraits of Canada 2001* (Montreal 2002) and Centre for Research and Information of Canada, *Trade, Globalization and Canadian Values*, (Montreal, 2001; and Ipsos-Reid Poll, 28 April 2002.

[56] *Maclean's*, 29 December 2003

[57] *National Post*, 11 February 2004

[58] Press Release, Ipsos-Reid, 31 March 2004

[59] EKOS Research, 21 March 2003; Ipsos-Reid Press Release, 29 May 2003; Environics Research Group Press Release, 29 April 2003; and EKOS Press Release, 13 April 2003

[60] Press Release, Ipsos-Reid, 29 April 2004. Canadians were unequivocal in their dislike for US President George W. Bush, however. A Pollara poll on Canada-US relations released on 25 March 2003, for instance, found that 65 percent of Canadians desire close economic ties to the US. While that number has been consistent over a decade, the poll found that 61 percent of those polled also favour closer social and cultural ties with the US, which represented a new trend in the view of Michael Marzolini who conducted the poll. See, Pollara News Release of Michael Marzolini's address to the Economic Club of Toronto on Canadian-US Relations, 25 March 2003.

[61] The CRIC Papers No. 12. *Portraits of Canada 2003*, Centre for Research and Information on Canada, January 2004. In September 2002, 59 percent of Canadians said that a common border-security policy was a good idea because it would increase the security of both countries; 64% had agreed that it was a good idea in April 2002.

[62] See, Andrew Nurse, 'Affirming Canada: Canadian Youth and National Identity,; *Canadian Issues Thèmes Canadiens* June/July 2001. Nurse suggests that the nationalism of the students he teaches at Mount Allison University are certain of their identity as Canadians, clear on the parameters of Canadian culture, and nationalistic. Yet, their nationalism is 'far from simplistic. Indeed, it is its very complexity that I find so challenging and so insightful,' he wrote.

[63] See, Michael Adams, *Fire and Ice. The United States, Canada and the Myth of Converging Values* (Toronto, 2003), 143. There is a vast literature on the scholarly debate over the similarities and differences between Canadians and Americans. A good starting point is with Seymour Martin Lipset, particularly 'Canada and the U.S.: A Comparative View,' *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 1 (November 1964):173-85 and his *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada* (New York, 1990).

[64] I have just begun a study of celebrations marking each Dominion Day-Canada Day celebrations since 1867, and one of the most striking features of each First of July is the large number of Canadians who celebrated the birth of the nation without any government support or encouragement to do so. Did Canadians marked the birth of their nation each year as a way of creating and celebrating their identity?

[65] Richard Nimijean explores this issue more fully in 'The Politics of National Visions: Developing a Framework for Explaining the Régime Visions of Canadian Government, a paper presented to the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States Biennial Conference, 19-23 November 2003, Portland, Oregon

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Raymond B. Blake is the Director of the Saskatchewan Institute of Public Policy and an Associate Professor in the Department of History at the University of Regina. He is the author and editor of several books, including *The Trajectories of Rural Life: New Perspectives on Rural Canada* (with Andrew Nurse), and *Canadians at Last: The Integration of Newfoundland as a Province*, reprinted with a new introduction from the University of Toronto Press in 2004. He is currently writing on questions of national identity and social policy.

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