

INSECTIONS

Canadian
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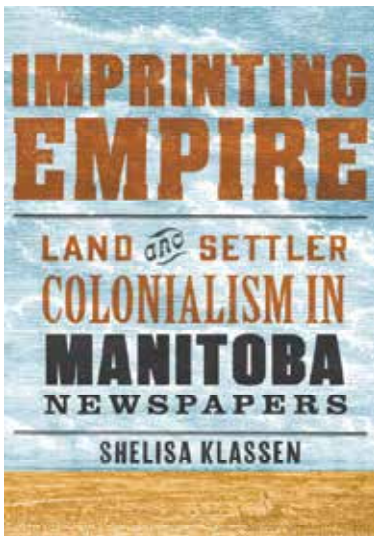
where people meet history and history meets people
au carrefour de l'histoire et des collectivités

La paix dans l'histoire

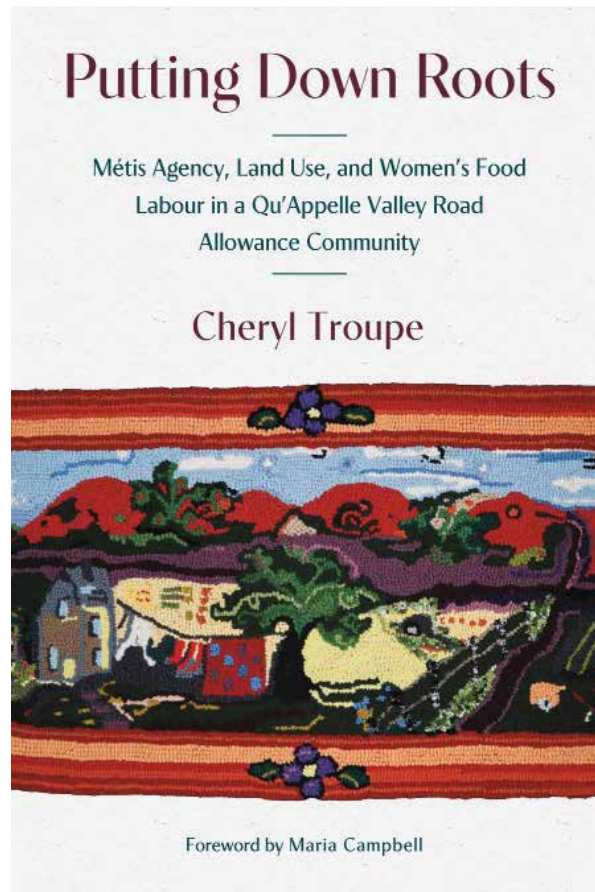


Peace in History

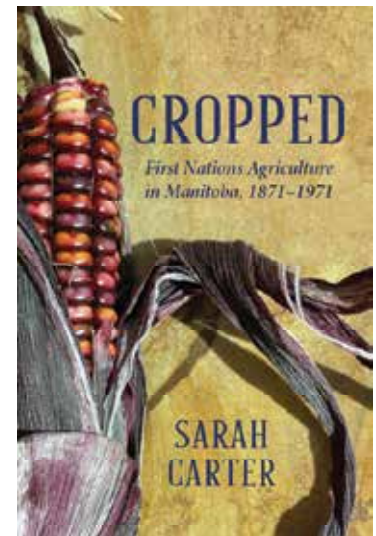
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—Peter Fortna, H-Environment

Thème du numéro : La paix dans l'histoire | Issue Theme: Peace in History



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Manifestation à Vienne, 2009. Photographie : Manfred Werner. Image recadrée, en niveaux de gris.
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Le 3^e bataillon du Royal Canadien Régiment en patrouille près de Nicosie, à Chypre, en 1977. Photographie : caporal F.F. Smith. Bibliothèque et Archives Canada. N° d'inventaire 3931016. | The 3rd Battalion, Royal Canadian Regiment, on patrol near Nicosia, Cyprus, 1977. Photographer: Cpl. F.F. Smith. Library and Archives Canada. Item No. 3931016.

Si vous avez des renseignements que vous aimeriez voir dans le numéro d'août du bulletin, veuillez les envoyer à cha-shc@cha-shc.ca avant le 15 juillet.

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- 1 décembre

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- August 1st
- October 1st
- December 1st

Politique éditoriale d'*Intersections*

Intersections est une publication bilingue de la Société historique du Canada qui paraît trois fois par année. Les articles, les notes et les lettres de 600 à 1000 mots et portant sur des sujets d'intérêt pour les membres, sont les bienvenus.

La date limite pour soumettre des articles pour le prochain *Intersections* est le **15^e juillet 2026**.

La rédaction se réserve le droit de réviser les articles qui nous sont soumis. Les opinions exprimées dans les textes sont celles de l'auteur.e et ne reflètent pas nécessairement celles de la SHC. Veuillez acheminer toute correspondance à : *Intersections*, Société historique du Canada, 1912-130, rue Albert, Ottawa, ON K1P 5G4

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Editorial Policy of *Intersections*

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Médaille d'argent commémorant un traité entre les Anglais et les Néerlandais. La Justice et la Paix s'embrassent ; la balance et la branche d'olivier sont tenues chacune par un génie enfant. Conçue par Heinrich Reitz, 1638. British Museum. N° d'inventaire 1865,0724.2. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0. | Silver Medal in commemoration of a treaty between the English and Dutch. Justice and Peace kiss each other; scales and an olive branch are each held by an infant genius. Designed by Heinrich Reitz, 1638. The British Museum. Accession No. 1865,0724.2. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

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Les Prix d'histoire du Gouverneur général pour les enseignant.e.s d'histoire

À la fin janvier, j'ai eu le plaisir de représenter la SHC, aux côtés de Catherine Charlton et de Jo McCutcheon, lors de la cérémonie annuelle des Prix d'histoire du Gouverneur général, organisée par la Société d'histoire nationale du Canada. Cet événement rend hommage aux lauréat.e.s de divers prix récompensant la diffusion de l'histoire canadienne, y compris nos propres prix de la SHC pour les meilleurs ouvrages universitaires. Crystal Gail Fraser a remporté le prix de la SHC en anglais pour son merveilleux ouvrage, *By Strength, We Are Still Here: Indigenous Peoples and Indian Residential Schooling in Inuvik, Northwest Territories* (University of Manitoba Press). Hans-Jürgen Lusebrink est le premier lauréat du prix du meilleur ouvrage savant en français, pour sa fascinante monographie intitulée *Paul-Marc Sauvalle (1857-1920) : Journaliste engagé et intellectuel cosmopolite canadien-français* (Presses de l'Université de Montréal). Lors de la présentation de leurs travaux, ils ont tous deux parlé de manière captivante du parcours qui les a menés à leurs projets. Aux côtés des autres lauréat.e.s, Crystal et Hans-Jürgen ont reçu leur prix lors d'une réception en présence de la gouverneure générale, la très honorable Mary Simon.

Les prix d'excellence en histoire publique ont été décernés au Musée canadien des droits de la personne (Winnipeg) pour son exposition « Amours cachés : La purge LGBT au Canada » ; au Musée Dawson Trail (Richer, Manitoba), pour le circuit artistique et patrimonial de la Piste Dawson, et à l'Atelier d'histoire Mercier-Hochelaga-Maison-neuve (Montréal) pour son projet « Géo-visualiser les patrimoines de Mercier-Hochelaga-Maison-neuve ». L'historien Mark Bourrie a remporté le prix Pierre-Berton pour son engagement public envers l'histoire canadienne à travers ses nombreux ouvrages et ses contributions journalistiques.

Dans ce « Mot du président », je souhaite mettre l'accent sur certains des autres lauréat.e.s : les enseignant.e.s du primaire et du secondaire. Bien que la plupart des membres de la Société historique du Canada soient rattachés à des universités, des collèges, des cégeps, des musées et des centres d'archives, je pense qu'il est important de reconnaître à quel point nous dépendons tous du travail des enseignant.e.s du primaire et du secondaire, qui transmettent l'amour de l'histoire à leurs élèves. Ce sont ces futurs élèves qui suivront nos cours et ces futurs citoyen.ne.s qui visiteront nos musées et nos archives. Alors que nous réfléchissons ensemble à la manière de promouvoir notre travail, je pense qu'il est utile de nous pencher sur l'énergie extraordinaire que les enseignant.e.s du primaire et du secondaire déploient pour donner vie à l'histoire auprès de leurs élèves. Bien sûr, ils et elles enseignent dans le cadre des programmes scolaires provinciaux et territoriaux, mais il est fascinant de voir comment ils et elles parviennent, tout en

The Governor General's History Awards for History Teachers

In late January, I had the pleasure of representing the CHA, along with Catherine Charlton and Jo McCutcheon, at the annual Governor General's History awards, organized by Canada's National History Society. This event celebrates the winners of a range of prizes for the dissemination of Canadian history, including our own CHA prizes for the best scholarly books. Crystal Gail Fraser won the English-language CHA prize for her wonderful book, *By Strength, We Are Still Here: Indigenous Peoples and Indian Residential Schooling in Inuvik, Northwest Territories* (University of Manitoba Press). Hans-Jürgen Lusebrink is the inaugural winner of the prize for the best scholarly book in French, for his fascinating monograph, *Paul-Marc Sauvalle (1857-1920): Journaliste engagé et intellectuel cosmopolite canadien-français* (Presses de l'Université de Montréal). In presenting their work, they both spoke in compelling ways about their paths to their projects. Along with the other winners, Crystal and Hans-Jürgen received their recognitions at a reception with Governor General the Right Honourable Mary Simon.

Awards for excellence in public history went to the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (Winnipeg) for their exhibit "Love in a Dangerous time: Canada's LGBT Purge"; the Musée Dawson Trail Museum (Richer, Manitoba), for the Dawson Trail Arts and Heritage tour, and the Atelier d'histoire Mercier-Hochelaga-Maison-neuve (Montréal) for their project "Géo-visualiser les patrimoines de Mercier-Hochelaga-Maison-neuve." Historian Mark Bourrie won the Pierre Berton Award for his public engagement with Canadian history through his many book-length and journalistic contributions.

I focus this "Word from the President" on some of the other prize winners: the school teachers. While most members of the Canadian Historical Association are connected to universities, colleges, cégeps, museums, and archives, I believe it is worth recognizing how much we all depend on the work of elementary and high school teachers who instill the love of history in their students. These are the future students who will take our classes and the citizens who will visit our museums and archives. As we collectively think about how to promote our work, I believe it is helpful for us to reflect on the amazing energy that primary- and secondary-school teachers put into bringing history alive for their students. Of course, they teach within the context of provincial and territorial curricula, but it is intriguing how they are able to work within those directives to allow them to develop innovative approaches and explore challenging issues.

respectant ces directives, à développer des approches innovantes et à explorer des questions complexes.

Les lauréat.e.s, originaires de quatre provinces différentes, ont présenté diverses façons de susciter un vif intérêt pour l'histoire chez les élèves. Manouchka Otis emmène ses élèves de l'École Manikanetish à Uashat mak Mani-Utenam, au Québec, participer à des chasses hivernales en collaboration avec des aîné.e.s innu.e.s, qui leur enseignent le monde naturel et leur transmettent l'histoire de leur peuple. Les élèves organisent ensuite un festin pour tous les membres de l'école. François Desmarais et Véronique Picard, de l'École secondaire De Mortange à Boucherville, au Québec, ont travaillé avec leurs élèves à la préparation de la pièce *Tissés serrés*, inspirée de recherches sur l'histoire documentaire et matérielle de leur région. Au cours de trois représentations, les élèves ont présenté leur travail devant 1 800 spectateurs.

Ian Duncan, de l'école secondaire Garth Webb à Oakville, en Ontario, fait découvrir à ses élèves les documents de The ArQuives, l'une des principales archives LGBTQ2+ au monde. À partir de ces documents, les élèves ont consulté des militant.e.s et des leaders communautaires pour élaborer des expositions qu'ils et elles ont présentées dans leur école et qui sont désormais visibles sur le site web de The ArQuives. À Burlington, non loin de là, Heather Howell emmène son groupe d'élèves présentant des particularités intellectuelles à l'Ireland House Museum pour examiner les outils agricoles utilisés par les colons, puis pour cultiver et récolter un potager en utilisant des outils et des méthodes historiques. Ils ont fait don de la récolte de leur potager à une banque alimentaire locale.

À Winnipeg, Kathryn Laframboise et Jonathan McPhail, de l'Exchange Met School, ont travaillé avec leurs élèves des années 9 à 12 pour mettre au point un circuit pédestre sur l'histoire des Noir.e.s de la ville. Ils ont été mobilisés par la menace de démolition du site historique du premier syndicat noir, celui des porteurs de chemin de fer. À l'école Parkdale de Wetaskiwin, en Alberta, Erin Quinn emmène ses élèves de 7^e année au musée et aux archives locaux pour explorer l'histoire de leur région. Comme l'explique Mme Quinn, ces activités de recherche permettent aux élèves issus de milieux divers – Premières Nations, Métis, familles établies depuis plusieurs générations et nouveaux arrivants – de mieux comprendre l'histoire des uns et des autres ainsi que les liens qui les unissent tous.

Dans chaque cas, les enseignant.e.s offrent aux élèves des occasions d'apprendre par l'expérience afin de développer leur compréhension des contextes et des enjeux historiques locaux. Ces projets ont pour point commun de viser à encourager l'empathie envers nos concitoyen.ne.s d'aujourd'hui et envers les personnes qui ont vécu autrefois, tout en explorant la complexité du passé local.

Depuis 2025, la SHC offre une adhésion gratuite d'un an à chacun.e des lauréat.e.s du Prix d'excellence en enseignement de l'histoire du Gouverneur général, et nous sommes heureux de renouveler cette initiative cette année. J'espère engager ces enseignant.e.s remarquables dans une réflexion sur la manière dont nous pouvons mieux tirer parti de leur expérience pour promouvoir l'étude de l'histoire aux niveaux collégial, cégep et universitaire.

Colin Coates
Président

The winners came from four different provinces, and they presented a variety of ways to inspire great enthusiasm for history among students. Manouchka Otis brings her students at École Manikanetish in Uashat mak Mani-Utenam, Québec, to winter hunts in collaboration with Innu elders, who teach the students about the natural world and educate them in the history of their people. The student produce a feast for all the members of the school. François Desmarais and Véronique Picard at the École secondaire De Mortange in Boucherville, Québec, worked with their students to prepare the play *Tissés serrés* based on research into the documentary and material history of their region. Through three performances, the students presented their work before 1,800 spectators.

Ian Duncan, at Garth Webb Secondary School in Oakville, Ontario, introduces his students to materials in The ArQuives, one of the world's leading LGBTQ2+ archives. With that material, the students consulted with activists and community leaders to develop exhibits they displayed at their school and now on The ArQuives website. At nearby Burlington, Heather Howell brings her group of students with intellectual exceptionalities to the Ireland House Museum to examine the agricultural tools used by settlers and then plant and harvest a garden using historic implements and methods. They donated the harvest from their garden to a local food bank.

In Winnipeg, Kathryn Laframboise and Jonathan McPhail at the Exchange Met School worked with their students from grades 9 to 12 to develop a walking tour of the Black history of the city. They were galvanized by the threat to demolish the historic building site of the first Black labour union, for railway porters. In Parkdale School in Wetaskiwin, AB, Erin Quinn takes her grade 7 students to the local museum and archives to explore the history of their area. As Quinn explained the project, the research activities bring the students from different backgrounds – First Nations, Métis, multi-generational settler families, and more recent arrivals – to a deeper understanding of each other's history and the ties that link them all.

In each case, the teachers provide experiential opportunities for students to develop their understanding of local historical contexts and issues. The projects share common threads of aiming to encourage empathy for our fellow citizens today and for the people who lived in earlier times, while exploring the complexity of the local past.

Since 2025, the CHA has offered a year's free membership to each of the winners of the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Teaching, and we are happy to do this again this year. I hope to engage these impressive teachers in reflections on how we can learn from them better to promote the study of history at the college, cégep, and university levels.

Colin Coates
President

Interventions publiques | Advocacy

Partout au pays, les gouvernements ont réduit ou supprimé le financement accordé aux institutions et organismes culturels, tels que les musées, les archives, les bibliothèques et les sociétés historiques. Bon nombre de ces institutions ont un lien direct avec les activités des membres de la SHC. Il est particulièrement regrettable que les coupes budgétaires au niveau fédéral s'accompagnent de réductions similaires de la part des gouvernements provinciaux. La SHC a écrit au ministre de l'Identité et de la Culture canadiennes, ainsi qu'aux porte-parole de l'opposition fédérale. Nous avons fait de même concernant les coupes budgétaires en Alberta et en Nouvelle-Écosse. Nous ne pensons pas qu'il s'agisse d'une question partisane. L'accès aux connaissances historiques devrait plutôt préoccupé tous les Canadiens.ne.s.

Convaincus que la collaboration avec nos homologues au sein d'associations partageant les mêmes valeurs renforce notre cause, nous menons également nos actions de mobilisation en partenariat avec l'Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française, l'Association canadienne des archivistes et le Collectif Histoire Canada, qui représente les sociétés d'histoire provinciales et territoriales. Plus précisément, nous avons fait part de nos préoccupations concernant les coupes budgétaires imposées à Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, notamment celles touchant le personnel chargé de traiter les demandes d'accès à l'information et le programme qui octroie des subventions aux petites archives à travers le pays, la décision de Parcs Canada de supprimer sa bibliothèque et le Répertoire canadien des lieux patrimoniaux, ainsi que les réductions d'effectifs au Musée canadien de l'histoire et au Musée canadien de la guerre. En Nouvelle-Écosse, le gouvernement provincial prévoit de fermer plusieurs musées provinciaux au niveau local. Le gouvernement de l'Alberta a réduit le financement de la Société historique de l'Alberta.

Nous espérons que les membres de la SHC se joindront à nous pour faire pression sur les gouvernements afin qu'ils réduisent ces coupes, et nous vous encourageons à écrire à votre député.e et, le cas échéant, à votre représentant.e provincial.e. Ces décisions à court terme auront des effets à long terme sur l'accès des Canadiens.ne.s aux connaissances historiques.

Les efforts de mobilisation de la SHC, y compris les lettres décrites ci-dessus, peuvent être consultés sur la page « Interventions publiques » du site web de la SHC.

Colin Coates

Governments across the country have reduced or eliminated funding to cultural institutions and agencies, such as museums, archives, libraries, and historical societies. Many of these institutions are directly relevant to the work of members of the CHA. It is particularly regrettable when cuts at the federal level are joined by similar reductions by provincial governments. The CHA has written to the Minister of Canadian Identity and Culture, as well as the federal opposition critics. In relation to funding cuts in Alberta and Nova Scotia, we have done the same. We do not believe that this is a partisan issue. Rather, access to historical knowledge should be of concern to all Canadians.



In the belief that working with our counterparts in like-minded associations makes our case stronger, we are also developing our advocacy alongside the Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française, the Association of Canadian Archivists, and the Canada History Collective, which represents the provincial and territorial historical societies. Specifically, we have expressed our concerns about the cuts to funding to Library and Archives Canada, including the staff who process requests for Access to Information and the program that provides grants to smaller archives across the country, Parks Canada's decision to eliminate its library and the National Register of Historical Places, and the staffing cuts at the Canadian Museum of History and the Canadian War

Museum. In Nova Scotia, the provincial government is planning to close a number of provincial museums at the local level. The Albertan government has cut funding to the Historical Society of Alberta.

We hope that CHA members will join us in lobbying governments to reduce these cuts, and we encourage you to write to your own Member of Parliament and, if appropriate, your own provincial representative. These short-term decisions will have long-term effects on Canadians' access to historical knowledge.

The CHA's advocacy efforts, including the letters described above, can be viewed on the "Advocacy" page of the CHA's website.

Colin Coates

Introduction : Pour une histoire de la paix

La paix constitue un concept complexe mais pertinent pour comprendre les enjeux sociétaux contemporains. Longtemps réduite à l'absence de guerre — ce que Johan Galtung (1969) qualifie de « paix négative » rappelle Carl Bouchard dans sa contribution dans ce numéro — elle est aujourd'hui envisagée comme un processus multidimensionnel incluant la justice sociale, la stabilité politique et le respect des droits humains, une « paix positive ». Dans le champ de l'histoire, l'idée de paix demeure peu explorée comme souligné par Stella Ghervas (2021) pour la construction de l'ordre international depuis le XIX^e siècle. Ce numéro d'*Intersections* propose de poursuivre cette réflexion sur l'utilisation du concept de paix par les historiens.

L'expérience des missions militaires du maintien de la paix des Nations Unies offre un prisme intéressant pour analyser la transformation conceptuelle de la paix, en illustrant à la fois les ambitions normatives et les limites pratiques de la construction de la paix dans le monde contemporain. Étudier la paix est en effet essentiel pour comprendre la guerre, car ces deux réalités sont profondément interdépendantes : les conflits armés émergent souvent de l'échec des mécanismes de régulation pacifique, tandis que l'analyse des conditions de stabilité permet d'identifier les causes structurelles de la violence.

À la suite de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, le concept de paix prend une dimension institutionnelle fondé sur la coopération entre les États et le respect du droit international. Cette vision normative a profondément influencé la création d'organisations internationales à commencer par les Nations Unies. Toutefois, Michael Doyle (1986) avance que la paix entre États ne garantit pas l'absence de conflits internes, qui constituent aujourd'hui la majorité des guerres contemporaines. C'est dans ce contexte que l'idée de missions militaires pour le maintien de la paix émerge comme une innovation importante dans les relations internationales. Développée dans le cadre onusien au cours de la Guerre froide, elle repose sur des principes tels que le consentement des parties, l'impartialité et le recours limité à la force (United Nations, 2008). Ces opérations visent à stabiliser des régions en conflit, surveiller des cessez-le-feu et protéger des populations civiles. Elles traduisent une conception pragmatique de la paix, fondée sur la gestion des conflits plutôt que sur leur résolution immédiate.

Cependant, la pratique du maintien de la paix révèle rapidement les limites de cette approche. Dans les années 1990, les échecs en Somalie, au Rwanda et en ex-Yugoslavie mettent en lumière l'incapacité des missions traditionnelles à faire face à des conflits internes caractérisés par des violences de masse. Comme le note Roland Paris (2004), ces crises ont conduit à une redéfinition des opérations vers des stratégies de « consolidation de la paix » (*peacebuilding*), qui visent à traiter les causes profondes des conflits. Cette évolution

Introduction: Toward a History of Peace

Peace is a complex concept, yet one that is essential for understanding contemporary societal issues. Long reduced to the absence of war—what Johan Galtung (1969) calls “negative peace,” as Carl Bouchard notes in his contribution to this issue—it is now viewed as a multidimensional process encompassing social justice, political stability, and respect for human rights: “positive peace.” In the field of history, the idea of peace remains largely unexplored, as Stella Ghervas (2021) points out regarding the construction of international order since the 19th century. This issue of *Intersections* aims to further this reflection on historians' use of the concept of peace.

The experience of United Nations military peacekeeping missions offers an interesting lens through which to analyze the conceptual transformation of peace, illustrating both the normative ambitions and the practical limitations of peacebuilding in the contemporary world. Studying peace is indeed essential to understanding war, as these two realities are deeply interdependent: armed conflicts often emerge from the failure of mechanisms for peaceful regulation, while analyzing the conditions for stability allows us to identify the structural causes of violence.

In the wake of World War II, the concept of peace took on an institutional dimension based on cooperation among states and respect for international law. This normative vision profoundly influenced the creation of international organizations, beginning with the United Nations. However, Michael Doyle (1986) argues that peace among states does not guarantee the absence of internal conflicts, which today account for the majority of contemporary wars. It is in this context that the idea of military peacekeeping missions emerged as a significant innovation in international relations. Developed within the UN framework during the Cold War, it is based on principles such as the consent of the parties, impartiality, and the limited use of force (United Nations, 2008). These operations aim to stabilize conflict-ridden regions, monitor ceasefires, and protect civilian populations. They reflect a pragmatic conception of peace, based on conflict management rather than immediate resolution.

However, the practice of peacekeeping quickly revealed the limitations of this approach. In the 1990s, failures in Somalia, Rwanda, and the former Yugoslavia highlighted the inability of traditional missions to address internal conflicts characterized by mass violence. As Roland Paris (2004) notes, these crises led to a redefinition of operations toward “peacebuilding” strategies, which aim to address the root causes of conflicts. This shift marks a transition from negative peace to positive peace, incorporating political, economic, and social dimensions.

marque un passage d'une paix négative à une paix positive, intégrant des dimensions politiques, économiques et sociales.

Dans cette perspective, la paix ne peut être réduite à une simple stabilité sécuritaire. Elle implique la mise en place d'institutions légitimes, la promotion de l'État de droit et la réduction des inégalités. Toutefois, cette approche, souvent qualifiée de « paix libérale », a essuyé de nombreuses critiques. Pour Oliver P. Richmond (2005), elle peut imposer des modèles externes aux sociétés locales, générant ainsi des tensions et compromettant la durabilité des processus de paix. Margot Tudor (2023) montre d'ailleurs la continuité du colonialisme occidental à travers les missions du maintien des Nations Unies. La construction de la paix apparaît dès lors comme un processus profondément contextuel, nécessitant une adaptation aux réalités culturelles et politiques.

Par ailleurs, le maintien de la paix soulève des enjeux importants liés à la souveraineté des États et à l'intervention internationale. La doctrine de la « responsabilité de protéger », formulée au début des années 2000, tente de répondre à ces tensions en affirmant que la communauté internationale a le devoir d'intervenir en cas de crimes de masse (ICISS, 2001). Cette évolution témoigne d'un élargissement du concept de paix, qui inclut désormais la protection des individus et non plus seulement la sécurité des États.

En outre, il est essentiel de considérer le coût humain et politique des opérations de paix. Les intervenants internationaux sont confrontés à des environnements complexes et dangereux, où les mandats sont

From this perspective, peace cannot be reduced to mere security stability. It involves the establishment of legitimate institutions, the promotion of the rule of law, and the reduction of inequalities. However, this approach, often referred to as “liberal peace,” has faced significant criticism. According to Oliver P. Richmond (2005), it can impose external models on local societies, thereby generating tensions and compromising the sustainability of peace processes. Margot Tudor (2023) further demonstrates the continuity of Western colonialism through United Nations peacekeeping missions. Peacebuilding thus appears to be a deeply contextual process, requiring adaptation to cultural and political realities.

Furthermore, peacekeeping raises significant issues related to state sovereignty and international intervention. The doctrine of the “responsibility to protect,” formulated in the early 2000s, seeks to address these tensions by asserting that the international community has a duty to intervene in cases of mass atrocities (ICISS, 2001). This evolution reflects a broadening of the concept of peace, which now includes the protection of individuals and no longer focuses solely on the security of states.

Furthermore, it is essential to consider the human and political costs of peacekeeping operations. International actors face complex and dangerous environments, where mandates are often ambiguous and resources are limited. The failures



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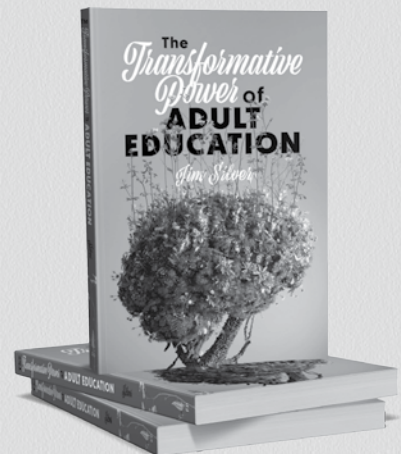
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souvent ambigus et les ressources limitées. Les échecs et les controverses qui ont marqué certaines missions rappellent que la paix ne peut être imposée de l'extérieur sans une appropriation locale. Le maintien de la paix est une entreprise forcément imparfaite, marquée par des compromis et des tensions.

Enfin, la paix doit être envisagée comme un processus dynamique et non comme un état final. Elle nécessite une adaptation constante aux transformations du système international, notamment face à des défis contemporains tels que les extrémismes politiques, les tensions commerciales, les changements climatiques et les flux migratoires. Dans ce contexte, l'étude de la paix devient indispensable pour comprendre les dynamiques de la guerre : en analysant les mécanismes de prévention des conflits, de médiation et de réconciliation, il est possible de mieux saisir pourquoi certaines sociétés basculent dans la violence tandis que d'autres parviennent à la contenir. La paix apparaît ainsi non seulement comme un objectif normatif, mais aussi comme un outil analytique fondamental.

Ce numéro d'*Intersections* veut montrer que la paix est un concept multidimensionnel qui dépasse largement l'absence de conflits armés. Entre paix négative et paix positive, entre souveraineté et intervention, entre universalité et particularisme, la construction de la paix met en lumière la complexité du monde contemporain. Il importe de rappeler que la paix reste un projet inachevé, qui nécessite un engagement constant, une réflexion critique et une coopération internationale soutenue.

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and controversies that have marked certain missions serve as a reminder that peace cannot be imposed from the outside without local ownership. Peacekeeping is an inherently imperfect endeavor, marked by compromises and tensions.

Finally, peace must be viewed as a dynamic process rather than a final state. It requires constant adaptation to changes in the international system, particularly in the face of contemporary challenges such as political extremism, trade tensions, climate change, and migration flows. In this context, the study of peace becomes essential for understanding the dynamics of war: by analyzing the mechanisms of conflict prevention, mediation, and reconciliation, it is possible to better grasp why some societies descend into violence while others manage to contain it. Peace thus emerges not only as a normative goal but also as a fundamental analytical tool.

This issue of *Intersections* aims to demonstrate that peace is a multidimensional concept that extends far beyond the absence of armed conflict. Between negative and positive peace, between sovereignty and intervention, between universality and particularism, peacebuilding highlights the complexity of the contemporary world. It is important to remember that peace remains an unfinished project, requiring constant commitment, critical reflection, and sustained international cooperation.

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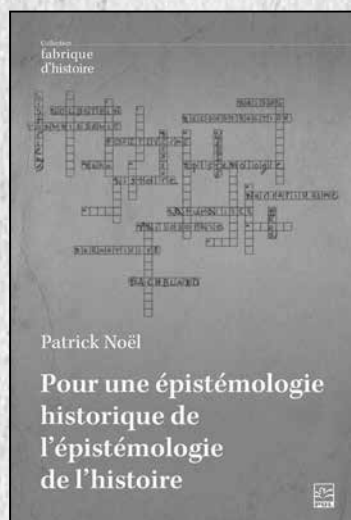
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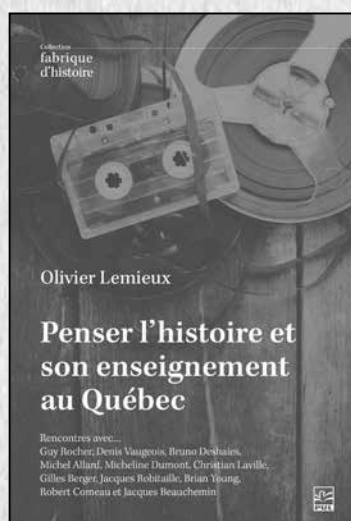
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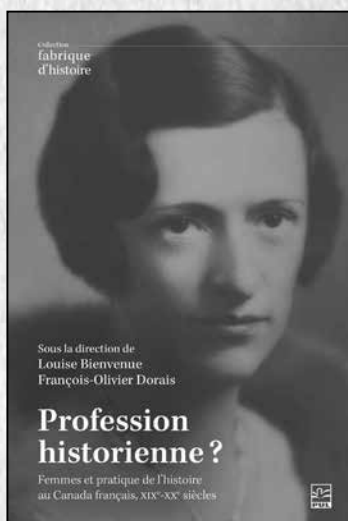
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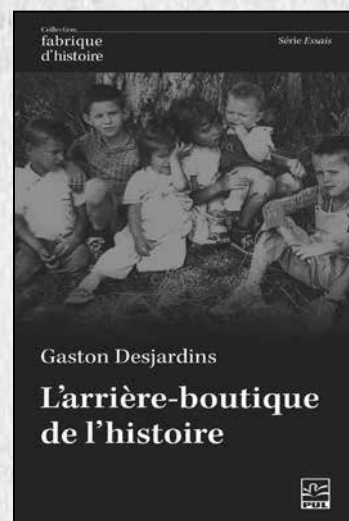
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Peace

I came into the world between Hitler's launch of Operation Barbarossa and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. Born in the Concordia Hospital in Winnipeg on 28 September 1941, I grew up on a farm north of Culross, MB, that was still in bush when my father bought it three years earlier and began breaking it, with his brothers' help. Childhood memories include the gathering of roots as they came out of the ground and the bonfires that followed. The land had been Métis patent land, resulting from the Dominion Government's settlement with Louis Riel in 1870. It became Soldiers' Settlement land after the Great War, but the grantees became dentists and left the land unbroken.

I learned that my ancestry included migrants from Russia, on both the maternal and the paternal sides. The paternal was salient, since my father had emigrated to Canada from Soviet Russia in 1926. Visits with an older brother of my father's introduced me to revolutionary experiences, in the form of two books, *Die Heimat in Flammen* and *Die Heimat in Trümmern* (*The Home in Flames* and *The Home in Ruins*). My father spoke of running ahead of battling armies with boyhood friends in the Molotschna colony ca. 1920 and being sternly admonished by his father, when he returned home, *never* to do that again. If his family had been forced to flee, they would not have had time to look for him!

While serving as a Member of Parliament in the Eighties, I found myself wondering what was happening on the Eastern Front the day I was born. I discovered that the Red Army was fighting desperate rearguard actions against Hitler's Army Group South, as it fought its way eastward to doom at Stalingrad. Years later, while teaching Environmental History, I came upon a history of the dregs of war and learned that neither the Russians nor the Germans had cleared away the debris of the German defeat—until the Nineties.

The Mennonites were part of the Anabaptist movement that arose during the Reformation in Switzerland and the Low Countries. Both my paternal and maternal ancestors were people living in what is now the Netherlands and included both Flemish and Friesian people. When persecution by other Reformers forced them to seek refuge, they found it in the Polish Kingdom, in the area of Danzig (now Gdansk). They understood how to improve wetlands and farmed happily for a couple of centuries. When Frederick the Great extended his rule into these areas, he demanded that they worship in German, rather than the Flemish and Friesian tongues they were speaking.

After Tsarina Catherine II's armies drove the Turks out of the Ukraine, she invited Mennonites to migrate into these lands, beginning in the last years of the eighteenth century. Both my maternal and paternal ancestors made the trek and settled happily in the Ukraine. All went well until Tsar Alexander II began national development in the 1860s, which included Russification of his subjects and military service. Both were unacceptable to the Mennonites, and some of them chose to leave the Russian Empire at

that time. My maternal ancestors were among those who found refuge in the Dominion of Canada, my maternal grandmother's Wiebe family initially in the East Reserve in Manitoba and my maternal grandfather's Krahn family in the West Reserve near Gretna. After the Wiebe family relocated to the Altona area, they became acquainted with each other, and two descendants of these 1870s refugees married and became the couple on whose farm near Sperling, MB, I summered in my boyhood.

Other Mennonites negotiated with Tsar Alexander II and his Government ca. 1870, offering forest service by their young men (rather than military service). This was acceptable to the Tsar, and all went well until the Great War. The war itself, the political unrest that ensued, fighting between Whites and Reds (not to mention Nestor Makhno's anarchists), and challenges to their way of life turned minds to migration. Those who had survived the famine years began to migrate in the early Twenties. Others remained for a time. Dad told me about his father's experience while guiding some visiting comrades and hearing them say, in Russian, that he was obviously a kulak and should be knocked off. They were assured, however, that he was a good man. (His Ukrainian workers ate white bread with the family.) By 1926, however, it was time to leave. I have grandfather's journal of the trip to Moscow to obtain migration documentation, the journey by rail to Riga in Latvia, medical delays there, and then the voyage to England and on by CPR steamship to St. John, NB, and by train to Altona, MB.

Mennonites have called themselves "*die Stille im Lande*" (the quiet ones in the land), in recognition of the pacifist lives they chose to lead. My Krahn connection included a couple of grandfather's sisters, who pioneered in the Mennonite colony near Swift Current, SK, at the turn of the twentieth century. When the Saskatchewan Government organized public schools in the early Twenties, they joined other Mennonites in Saskatchewan (and Manitoba, too) in migrating to Chihuahua State in Mexico. My grandparents made trips in the Sixties to visit these relatives in Mexico and in British Honduras (now Belize).

I grew up less than half a mile from the McIntyres, who were dear neighbours. The wife of the eldest son was my first teacher and taught me English, to add to my High and Low German. Within their section of land was the Tkachuk farm. When Mr. and Mrs. Tony Tkachuk came by for a New Year's Eve nip, Dad explained that one accepted this as part of being a good neighbour, even though he and my mother were teetotallers!

Pacifism has its costs, but they're generally borne by the pacifist, not the neighbour!

A. Ernest "Ernie" Epp earned a Ph.D. from The Johns Hopkins University in 1973 and is a Professor Emeritus of History at Lakehead University.

Peace Brigades International's North America Project: Reducing Violence Surrounding Indigenous Communities

The North America Project of Peace Brigades International (PBI) began as a way of bringing PBI's mandate into Indigenous communities within North America. PBI seeks to reduce violence by sending trained volunteers into conflict situations as non-partisan observers, believing that the presence of international observers reduces the incidence of violence by state and local actors against marginalized groups. Founded by Quakers, PBI has been, and is, active in countries such as Haiti, Sri Lanka, Guatemala, Columbia, Kenya, Indonesia, Honduras, and Mexico.

The North America Project (NAP) was aimed at Indigenous communities in Canada and the US who faced the potential for violence while attempting to assert or protect their rights or to protest resource extraction or other incursions onto their territories. NAP followed PBI's method of interviewing the different parties to the conflict, writing and disseminating reports, and being present at occasions where an outside presence might reduce the likelihood of violence taking place.

I was a member of NAP from 1994 to 1999. I served on numerous teams, and as a member of the project committee, the project's executive. An annual meeting was held with members attending from Canada, the US, Europe, and elsewhere. Teams were made up of members who had undergone training who were available at the required time.

Teams went into Indigenous communities only at their request, usually through a chief or band councillor. If the request fit PBI's mandate, NAP sent a team to begin conducting interviews with as many parties to the conflict as possible. The length of time a team was present in the community varied from one day to several weeks or more.

My first experience as a team member was with the Innu of Sept-Îles in Quebec. Some Innu from the Maliotenam reserve had blockaded a dam being built by Hydro Quebec on their traditional territory. They had been charged and had to attend a court hearing. My fellow team member and I went to observe at the court.

There was a second reserve, Uashat. Uashat was in Sept-Îles, while Maliotenam was outside of town. Its residents were more traditional, regularly spending time in the bush hunting caribou. The Uashat residents were closer to the non-Indigenous community, some of them supporting the building of the dam. However, a Uashat resident we interviewed offered us some frozen

caribou meat, showing Uashat residents also followed aspects of the traditional Innu way of life.

I went to Sept-Îles three times in total, interviewing (in French) Innu on both reserves, non-Indigenous residents of Sept-Îles, and representatives of Hydro Quebec. A major problem for the Innu was that the two reserves were represented by one band council, a situation created by the *Indian Act* and one they were trying to amend, with Maliotenam seeking its own band council.

The theme of conflicting views within an Indigenous community was a recurring one, the most extreme example of which was among the Algonquins of Barriere Lake. This community 150km north of Maniwaki, Quebec, became divided when accusations were made against the chief, with some members of the reserve barricading the reserve against others, who set up an alternate band council in Maniwaki. The chief had opposed logging on the band's territory by the Domtar corporation for years, calling out the federal government for signing the 1987 Brundtland Report on development while ignoring the Algonquins of Barriere Lake.

The North America Project was ended in 1999. In a final report the project committee spelled out some of the lessons learned. Teams reported problems resulting from: acting too hastily; insufficient training; insufficient team building; unclear mandate; lack of clarity about nonpartisanship in a particular context; unclear decision-making processes; others' lack of understanding of, or dissatisfaction with, NAP's mandate; hostility from government; Native and non-native communities creating unrealistic expectations; and communication challenges (including language difficulties).

Notwithstanding these challenges, I believe that NAP benefited the communities we were involved with. We went in and, as best as we could, reported what we encountered. We were simply a presence, usually an international one, to Indigenous people who often received little outside awareness of their situation.

NAP also brought benefits to the team members themselves. When we interviewed a member of the Stoney Point reserve shortly after Dudley George's murder by the Ontario Provincial Police in September 1995, I remember him sharing with us the racism he had faced personally. With another community, the Chippewas of Nawash, I witnessed overt racism towards the Nawash by members of the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters on Georgian Bay.

Several years ago, when teaching a university class on decolonization, I found that most of my students had never entered a reserve and knew little about First Nations communities in Canada. Of course, it is up to us as settlers to educate ourselves. But is there a way that the NAP experience can be drawn upon to increase non-Indigenous awareness of Indigenous issues? Going onto reserves and simply interacting with the residents, hearing their stories and seeing how they live, is more powerful than any book, video, or podcast.

NAP was a way to connect the tradition of non-violence inherent in both Indigenous and non-Indigenous history. Blockades, protests, petitions, and boycotts were ways that the Indigenous communities we worked in met the injustice and oppression they faced. These non-violent strategies echoed PBI's Quaker roots. In his *Reconciliation Manifesto*, the late Arthur Manuel called for Indigenous people in Canada to commence a cam-

paign based on the principals of non-violence espoused by Dr. Martin Luther King during the civil rights movement.

While NAP is no more, PBI-Canada continues its work, visiting the Wet'suwet'en, Gitksan, and Gitanyow territories in 2021 and 2025 in relation to the Coastal GasLink pipeline and other megaprojects on their territories. In a sense, PBI's mandate is that of Canada as a whole: to reduce conflict and support marginalized communities in a way that addresses colonial structures and injustices and moves us forward together. I believe we can all learn from the past experience of NAP and the current work of PBI as we seek ways to meet the present moment in Canadian and Indigenous history.

Anna K.G. Jarvis recently completed her PhD in British North American legal history at York University. She was a course instructor at Glendon College and is currently working on several projects.

Louis St-Laurent: Peace as the Absence of War

It is not well-known that before he became prime minister of Canada in November 1948, Louis St-Laurent made history as the country's first independent secretary of state for external affairs (foreign minister). In January 1946 St-Laurent, minister of justice since December 1941, had led Canada's delegation at the first meeting of the first General Assembly of the United Nations. That spring the government of William Lyon Mackenzie King legislated the transfer of ministerial responsibility for external affairs from the prime minister, who had formerly held it on an *ex officio* basis, to any member of Cabinet. St-Laurent held the post from September 1946 to September 1948, a period during which Canada's foreign policy was transformed—one might say (re)invented. St-Laurent's appointment inaugurated the coming of age of the Department of External Affairs. Over those two years, according to the official historians, he ushered in a new era, among his achievements being to prepare the way for career diplomat Lester Pearson, who became under-secretary (deputy minister) at the same time St-Laurent became minister and who



succeeded him as minister in September 1948.

St-Laurent presided over Canadian foreign policy in a rapidly disintegrating post-war world. In 1946 he believed that cooperation among members of the United Nations could secure the preservation of peace. By 1948 he had been disabused of that fantasy, becoming Canada's quintessential cold warrior, demonized by the Soviet Union and generally regarded as the originator of the concept behind the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Not all of his detractors were in Moscow. A May 1948 editorial in *Montreal-Matin*, organ of Québec's Union Nationale government which styled him Dauphin (as in heir-apparent to King of Canada), was especially harsh:

Premier Ministre Louis Stephen St-Laurent, 1948-1957, Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, C-000071. Domaine public. | Prime Minister Louis Stephen St. Laurent, 1948 - 1957, Library and Archives Canada, C-000071. Public domain.

He has lost all control of himself. He is ready to pronounce the most dangerous proposals, the most incendiary ideas, if he is convinced they will be of some help to his personal cause. He wishes to win his stripes, and he knows it will not be so easy as making French-Canadian Liberals, who go into a blessed trance every time they hear the name of Mr St-Laurent, believe what he says. ... (translated from the French of Roger Duhamel).

St-Laurent may not have believed that war with the Soviet Union was inevitable but he deemed it possible, even probable. On 29 April 1948 he spoke at length in the House of Commons giving a comprehensive survey and review of Canadian foreign policy which quickly established itself as definitive. This was the occasion on which he "made his first concrete suggestion for a North Atlantic regional alliance" (Spencer, p. 100). It was a testing time. Two months earlier, the democratic government of Czechoslovakia had been overthrown in a Communist coup, while St-Laurent's opposite number, Jan Masaryk, was subsequently murdered by the new regime.

"In the circumstances of the present the organization of collective defence ... is the most effective guarantee of peace. The pursuit of this course, steadfastly, unprovocatively and constructively is our best hope for disproving the gloomy predictions of inevitable war. The burden of maintaining peace, however, will not be easy ..."

"During the last two years," St-Laurent stated, "our faith in the United Nations as an effective organization for peace and security has been pretty severely shaken" (Hansard, p. 3444). Therein lay the germ of NATO, which might succeed where the UN was flailing and failing. St-Laurent concluded, "In the circumstances of the present the organization of collective defence ... is the most effective guarantee of peace. The pursuit of this course, steadfastly, unprovocatively and constructively is our best hope for disproving the gloomy predictions of inevitable war. The burden of maintaining peace, however, will not be easy ..." (Hansard, p. 3449).

St-Laurent's promotion of what in 1949 became NATO demonstrates that his concept of peace was largely privative: the absence of war. Perhaps under the circumstances the indefinite

deferment of war was the most and best that could be achieved. A misconceived wartime alliance between democratic nations and the USSR had grabbed defeat in peace from the jaws of victory in war. The wisdom of hindsight now cast the Soviet Union in the role of its former ally, Nazi Germany. Could a Third World War be prevented if the First and Second were not?

According to Spencer (ibid.),

The central fact in Canada's foreign relations in the year after Mr St-Laurent's foreign policy review of April 29 1948 was the creation of the regional alliance which he had strongly advocated. ... [T]his development was directly related to the decline of the United Nations, and inevitably it exerted a powerful influence on the place of the organization in Canadian foreign policy. In broad terms, as the North Atlantic Treaty idea grew and was translated into action, the United Nations was relegated to a position of secondary importance.

NATO has kept the peace for nearly eighty years, though sometimes by warlike means. It was the *via media* between neutralism and militarism. At a time when NATO itself is in decline, we do well to recall St-Laurent's efforts to deal with the new world order descending as a result of the fracturing of the wartime alliance. Victory over war proved far more elusive than victory in war, giving rise to the illusion that peace could be secured by prolonging the absence of war. Yet St-Laurent's two years as secretary of state for external affairs were more important and constructive than his nine as prime minister. By June 1950, this former 'peacemonger' had turned warmonger, and Canada proceeded to involve itself in the Korean War.

Barry Cahill is a nonprofessional historian in Halifax. He is working on a biography of Louis St-Laurent.

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Historiciser la paix au-delà de Galtung

Johan Galtung nous a quittés en 2024, à l'âge de 94 ans. Quiconque a de près ou de loin côtoyé les *Peace Studies* connaît la dichotomie désormais classique qu'il a théorisé en 1969, celle entre paix négative et paix positive, deux pôles dont il s'est emparé pour lancer un véritable chantier de réflexion et d'action contre la guerre. Chez Galtung, la recherche sur la paix se définit comme l'étude des conditions permettant de se rapprocher d'une « paix générale et complète », tout en évitant une « guerre générale et complète ». Au contraire de la paix négative, qui est une simple absence de guerre, la paix positive correspond à la fin de la violence physique mais aussi de la violence structurelle portée par les injustices et les inégalités. Galtung était cependant conscient que cette proposition était un horizon d'espérance, une voie à tracer pour un combat quotidien d'hommes, de femmes, de peuples. Ainsi, autant l'occurrence d'une « guerre générale et complète » est rare, autant la « paix générale et complète » n'a de sens que pour orienter l'action.

Dans ce contexte, il est étonnant que la paix positive galtunienne ait connu un tel succès scientifique, jusqu'à devenir un lieu commun de la recherche en sciences sociales. Or, l'intérêt heuristique de la « paix positive » est aujourd'hui questionné, notamment dans le domaine historique.

L'historien Michael Goode, spécialiste de l'histoire américaine du 18^e siècle, a habilement décrit pourquoi le concept de « paix positive » est peu adapté aux travaux de nature historique. En réalité, sa nature prescriptive le rend inopérant pour comprendre le passé puisqu'il décrit une condition qui n'a jamais existé historiquement. C'est la raison pour laquelle Goode substitue à la paix positive le concept d'« ordre cohérent » (« *right ordering* ») qui permet, selon lui, de mieux décrire comment, historiquement, les hommes et femmes ont cherché à organiser le monde, par le langage et les pratiques, selon leur propre conception, parfois contradictoire, de l'harmonie et du bien commun.

L'ordre cohérent n'implique pas nécessairement l'absence de violence; il peut même être utilisé pour la justifier ou la faciliter, comme c'est le cas dans les guerres de libération ou certaines guerres saintes. Ce cadre théorique admet ainsi les contradictions et les points aveugles des acteurs, lesquels sont difficiles à intégrer depuis la perspective galtunienne. Goode évoque par exemple la paix que les colons d'origine européenne cherchaient

à établir dans la colonie américaine, dans laquelle était aussi imbriquée une grande violence structurelle et physique, notamment à l'endroit des femmes, des esclaves et des populations autochtones : cette réalité qui est avec raison aujourd'hui intolérable n'en était pas moins fondée sur une conception d'un ordre cohérent assimilé à la paix, et la nier ne fait pas avancer l'étude historique des comportements de ces hommes ni leur vision de la paix. De même, le pacifisme des militants occidentaux de l'entre-deux-guerres n'excluait pas, pour beaucoup d'entre eux, leur adhésion à l'impérialisme, avec toute la violence physique et structurelle que cela a pu engendrer : leur engagement en faveur de la paix internationale n'en était pas moins réel, plus encore, dans leur perception contingente, ils visaient eux aussi à terme l'établissement d'une « paix positive ». L'appréhension de la paix non pas selon une perspective binaire mais comme un « spectre » sont ainsi, pour Goode, les deux conditions d'une véritable historicisation de la paix.

Pour le groupe interdisciplinaire que je dirige actuellement autour du projet *Penser et agir pour la paix au Québec* (soutenu par une subvention Savoir du CRSH), le concept d'ordre cohérent apparaît comme un outil heuristique mieux adapté à la complexité et à la prévalence sociale et politique des discours sur la paix, et semble plus adéquat pour comprendre comment la paix a été utilisée pour articuler les relations de pouvoir et les équilibres politiques, justifier parfois la violence et façonner les interactions sociales.

Mais nous cherchons également, pour mieux saisir sa portée et mettre l'accent sur la place centrale qu'elle occupe dans le développement des sociétés, de concevoir plus généralement la paix comme « un fait social total ». L'expression tirée de Marcel Mauss, que le sociologue a forgé pour expliquer le rôle du don dans les sociétés, est de nos jours utilisée pour qualifier une vaste gamme de pratiques sociales, parfois il est vrai avec plus ou moins de discernement – du soccer à la chasse à courre, en passant par la conduite automobile... Il nous a néanmoins semblé particulièrement adapté d'appréhender ainsi la paix. Dans le champ des relations internationales, on retrouve bien un phénomène parfois décrit comme un « fait social total » : c'est ironiquement la guerre (on la retrouve ainsi définie par exemple chez Bruno Cabanes dans *Une histoire de la guerre*). Il faut toutefois se demander si, en qualifiant ainsi la



John Galtung (1930-2024). *Diario de Madrid*. Photographe inconnu. Image recadrée. | Photographer unknown. Cropped. Creative Commons CC BY 4.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.en>)

guerre, on ne commet pas deux méprises, d'une part, celle de confondre la logique *totalisante* des grands conflits du 20^e siècle à un fait social *total*; d'autre part, celle d'exagérer la place que jouent les guerres dans l'histoire internationale car, si le conflit est partie intégrante des relations entre peuples, il ne dégénère que rarement en guerre.

Appréhender la paix comme un fait social total rappelle sa prégnance et son omniprésence dans l'expérience humaine : la paix est en effet à la fois un moyen et une fin des relations entre individus, reliant, l'individuel et le collectif, ainsi que le social au politique, au culturel et au religieux. En outre, elle constitue un besoin humain et une aspiration à peu près unanimement partagée. En d'autres mots, la paix déborde du cadre strictement politique et constitue une réalité générale : elle relève tout autant de la sphère politique et des relations internationales que des rapports inter-individuels, des croyances, des idéologies, du vécu intime, s'articulant en permanence à ces différentes échelles.

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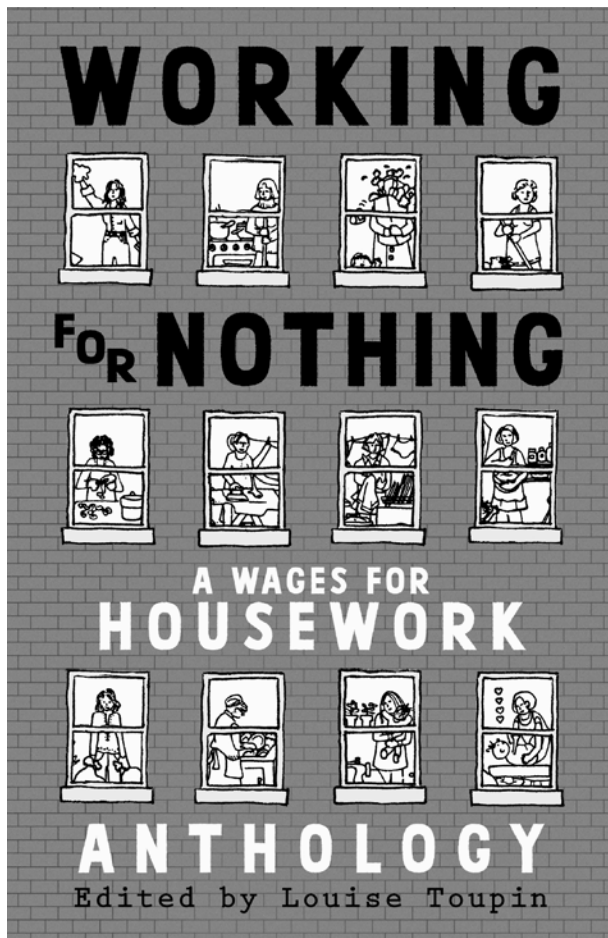
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Oil and Peace in Nigeria's Niger Delta Region

How Dialogue Made a Difference



(Un)making Peace in the Niger Delta – Background

The timeless quote by the Dutch philosopher, Baruch Spinoza, that “peace is not the absence of war, but a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, and justice,” holds true for Nigeria’s Niger Delta. While the region continues to grapple with the impact of unscrupulous business attitudes by global oil corporations in a political climate marred by institutional corruption, emerging scenarios in some quarters provide glimpses of hope in human ability to foster peace and (re)build confidence through a disposition of benevolence and justice.

If you had been living in the Niger Delta in the two years leading to 10 November 1995, and the decade after that, you would think that peace had permanently eluded the people. An environmental rights group, Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSSOP), had been campaigning for environmental protection for the Ogoni (one of forty ethnic groups in the region, and a major oil-producing community) in the previous five years. Formed in August 1990, MOSSOP membership included townspeople; mostly farmers, artisans, and fishermen whose farms and streams had been devastated by unattended oil spills by the British oil conglomerate, Shell-BP, and other oil multinationals. On 4 January 1993, the group embarked on a peaceful demonstration to draw attention to the plight of the Ogoni and other coastal communities at the crossroads of the booming global energy industry. Their leader, the renowned writer, Ken Saro Wiwa, had lodged a human rights complaint

with several international humanitarian organizations, including Green Peace, Friends of the Earth, and the United Nations, calling for the suspension of oil exploration in Ogoniland and the immediate cleanup of affected areas. Rather than evaluate these pertinent concerns, the military regime of General Sani Abacha considered MOSSOP’s request as an affront to national political authority, and an act of economic sabotage. Shell was the dominant oil prospector in Ogoniland, and evidence shows that the company had a history of relying on government support rather than community approval.

Internal Dimensions and New Troubles

While Ken successfully attracted international attention to the Ogoni struggle, he did not appeal to all sections of the Ogoni society. Some chiefs preferred a gradualistic approach or non-indulgence in what they considered government and company matter. This internal division led to a fatal attack on some members of the anti-MOSSOP group in May 1994. Expectedly, government stepped in military style, sacking Ogoni villages and arresting key MOSSOP members, including Ken. Despite international pleas for clemency, Ken and eight other MOSSOP activists (the Ogoni Nine) were hanged at the Port Harcourt Prisons on 10 November 1995, by the Abacha regime. This singular act

Manifestant à Port Harcourt, au Nigeria, le 20 octobre 2020. Photographie : Emmanuel Ikwuegbu. Unsplash.com. | Protestor in Port Harcourt, Nigeria, October 20, 2020. Photographer: Emmanuel Ikwuegbu. Unsplash.com.

unleashed an avalanche of violence that (re)characterized the Niger Delta as a landscape of intractable conflict. The decade between 1996 and 2006 was about the most turbulent, marked by kidnapping (of mostly foreign oil workers), road blockades, curfews, and protests. By the early 2000s, oil and peace had become polar opposites in Niger Delta discourse.

Prioritizing Dialogue and Negotiation – The Era of Peaceful Resolution?

Nonetheless, even as most of the region continued to flare, an unprecedented turn of events was taking shape in Eleme, a small town of an estimated 500,000 people nestled between the Onne seaport and Port Harcourt, Nigeria's petroleum hub and the Rivers State capital. My family had moved from Port Harcourt to Eleme in April 1993, just at the outset of the Ogoni debacle. Like most children in the region, my childhood was shaped by the recurrent violence. Thus, when a wave of peace descended on Eleme around the end of 2006, it was not hard to tell. The source? A new partnership between five villages in Eleme and the management of a newly privatized firm, Indorama-Eleme Petrochemicals Limited (IEPL). After a rough start following the kidnap of its staff shortly after it took over management of the defunct Eleme Petrochemicals, the new company made it the hallmark of its operations to dialogue with the host communities and work things out through a broad-gauge, people-centric negotiation process. Following, it signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the host communities on 1 April 2007, heralding a new phase in

corporate governance in the area. The MoU principles included clearly defined environmental sustainability measures, corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs, and an offer of 7.5% of the company's shares to the host communities. As a result, the people of Eleme became co-owners of IEPL and have continued to earn quarterly dividends accruing from the shares.

Eight years after this landmark agreement, I conducted fieldwork in Eleme for my Masters' thesis on Corporate-Community Partnership in the Niger Delta. During an oral interview session, one of the chiefs of the host communities, Chief Mgbimbi Osila-Echu, stated firmly that "when Indorama came, we watched them for a while... and when we saw that they were ready to carry our people along, we decided to give them our support." This statement encapsulates the people's perspective on peace – as a two-way street; a process, and an organic corporeality that could thrive anywhere *if* nurtured through inclusive dialogue. Almost across the board, the people consider the Indorama method "a miracle," not merely because of their new shareholding status in the company, but most importantly because for the first time in their long history with oil multinationals and the state, they had the opportunity to voice their experience as an exploited and marginalized group. And they were heard.

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Keeping the Peace... Out: UNB's Centre for Conflict Studies in the 1980s

The Call for Papers for this issue suggests that, although they are analytically distinct, peace studies and conflict studies are often intertwined. Examples include the numerous graduate programs in "Peace and Conflict Studies" at Canadian and international universities. Yet the University of New Brunswick (UNB)'s Centre for Conflict Studies (1980–2006) never had a dedicated "peace" component. This article briefly examines the reason for this anomaly: the Centre's co-founder, Maurice Tugwell, and his opposition to the Canadian peace movement.

Tugwell (24 June 1925–10 October 2010) was a British paratrooper who fought in the Second World War and afterwards was stationed in locales including Palestine, Malaysia, and Cyprus, before being appointed "Colonel General Staff (Information Policy)" in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. There his job was "not merely to react to the media – or to events – but to

take a positive initiative in presenting the news to the best advantage for the security forces." He later achieved some infamy for a radio interview the day after the Bloody Sunday massacre, when he falsely claimed that at least four of the victims were wanted members of the Irish Republican Army. (In 1973 he was made a Commander of the British Empire for his work in the region.) After a stint teaching soldiers in the Shah's Iran, he earned a PhD in war studies at King's College, London in 1976, and he retired from the military in 1978 at the rank of brigadier. Tugwell then came to Canada to organize institutes concerned with terrorism. In 1980, and working with David Charters, he co-founded the Centre for Strategic Studies (CSS) at UNB.

The Centre's terms of reference were to study "terrorism, propaganda and subversion, theory and practice of ideological conflict – and the media's interpretation of these subjects – with particu-

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lar reference to conflicts directly or indirectly affecting Canada. Research is objective, and free of government influence and political bias.” In a report on its founding, Tugwell explained that the Centre’s immediate objectives were to establish an office, a technical library, and a database; make contacts with others in the field; begin fundraising; plan a publication program; work on an existing contract and attract additional contract work; “create controlled publicity, and build credibility”; and “justify our university status by partaking in seminars, panels, teaching, and graduate research” (the Centre offered no courses).

To these ends, the CSS established working links with a host of companies, universities, and government departments, including the Rand Corporation, the FBI Academy, the Canadian Police College, the Department of National Defence, and the Overseas Information Department of the UK’s Foreign and Commonwealth Office. These connections turned into a pipeline for lucrative research contracts. Within a year the Centre had earned \$20,000 from this revenue stream alone and Tugwell noted that an additional 17 new proposals were under consideration. Early employers included with the Canadian Police College, the Solicitor General, and the Department of National Defence. A retrospective in *Legion* magazine decades later revealed some of the CSS’s notable jobs included authoring a major study for the US government after the failed rescue attempt of American hostages at the embassy in Tehran and briefing the newly-formed Canadian Security Intelligence Service.

The Centre supplemented these contracts with fundraising. They began by establishing a Development Board, which originally included two sitting Canadian Senators, the Vice-President of UNB, the chairman of CIBC, and other businessmen. In the first year of operations, the CSS obtained a loan of \$25,000 from UNB and raised over \$20,000 from donors.

In an early meeting, Tugwell detailed the CSS’s three operational objectives: “academic – collecting formation, doing and encouraging research; business – doing commissioned research relevant to the interests of clients; [and] publicity – helping the media to help themselves, and influencing change in the climate of opinion.” In other words, the master propagandist had not really retired: from its opening through at least 1984, the Centre made approximately 100 “media contributions” each year. And based on his writings, it is indeed likely that Tugwell understood this work as propaganda. For in 1986, he argued: “Propaganda and terrorism are identical insofar as they both seek to influence a mass audience in a way that is intended to benefit the sponsor. Yet while terror has a singular purpose – inducing fear and uncertainty – propaganda can and does serve every imaginable purpose from religion to politics to commerce.”

Throughout his life, Tugwell used propaganda for political and ideological ends. At the CSS, he aimed to create “an aware and understanding public with the ability to develop rational re-

sponses to problems ... Only an aware public can prod its government into doing the right thing.” For him, Communism was the largest problem, and he had clear ideas about what the “right thing” that ought to be done, namely combatting what he called a “sacred cow”: the Canadian peace movement.

In *Peace with Freedom* (1988), a book he published two years after leaving the CSS to found a new think-tank, Tugwell openly argued that the peace movement – in all its guises, which he listed as the mainstream, in churches, and among Communists – was sponsored by Communists, who sought to trick Canadians into thinking that nuclear annihilation was the enemy, rather than the Soviet Union. The ultimate goal, he claimed, was keeping Canada free of nuclear weapons and thus defenceless against the USSR. In this paradoxical logic, the peace movement was an “internal threat” to Canada’s peace and freedom. For Tugwell, peace meant an absence of dissent, and freedom did not include the ability to reason otherwise. But freedom *did* apparently include the ability conduct propaganda work under the cover of an academic institution.

In 2006, UNB merged the CSS with the Military and Strategic Studies program to form the new Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society. But given the CSS’s history, it is little wonder that in the immediate years after the merger, the new Centre internally fretted about being “too closely identified as part of [an] already labeled ‘academic-military-industrial complex.’” In the annals of peace and conflict studies in Canada, this is surely one of the odder chapters.

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Overlooked for his Diplomatic Efforts? Second Tier Canadian Diplomat Arthur Sifton and the Paris Peace Conference of 1919

Arthur Sifton was a judge, Alberta Premier, and federal cabinet minister in the government of Sir Robert Borden. In the introduction to the 1919 Documents of Canadian External Relations, the late Robert Alexander Mackay acknowledged the attention and credit given to former Prime Minister Robert Borden for his developing a new status for British Dominions at the Paris Peace Conference. Additionally, Mackay also acknowledged the efforts made by Borden's Canadian second tier diplomats at the conference (which are diplomats that work under a head of state or senior diplomat for their respective country) for their: "...influential roles." This article examines the role that was played by the late Arthur Sifton in making influential contributions to the development of new international institutions through his diplomatic efforts. In particular, Sifton was influential in making efforts and negotiating with former British Prime Minister Lloyd George in the development of the International Labour Organization. And while Borden's efforts at the conference are well documented, a gap in the historiographic literature exists in relation to the role of second tier Canadian diplomats in changing the status of the Dominion of Canada in exercising influence in the conduct of international affairs. Therefore, this article is situated in the historiographic literature that draws attention to significant and detailed work of Sifton as a second-tier diplomat, as opposed to just a signature on The Treaty of Versailles.

In the Paris Peace Conference, Sifton was given the responsibility of the following commissions and committees in Paris: Inter-Allied Commission on the International Regime of Ports, Waterways and Railways; Inter-Allied Sub-Committee Regime of Rivers, Ports and Railways Supreme Economic Council; and British Empire Committee on Transport and Transit. Additionally, Sifton was one of two Canadian diplomats (the other being C.J. Doherty) that had his signature on the Treaty of Versailles document from June 28th, 1919, for Canada. Other second tier diplomats Canada sent to the conference included: Sir George Foster, C.J. Doherty, Lloyd Harris, Dr. J.W. Robertson, Col. O.M. Biggar, and L.C. Christie. In an April 3, 1919 meeting of the British Empire Delegation, which was the seventh meeting for this ad hoc committee, Mr. Sifton was asked by Lloyd George to share the points that Canada had wished to raise. Sifton had given a lengthy reply that involved stating that Article 3 of the Report on the International Commission on Labour Legislation should be modified. In particular, Sifton suggested: "...three representatives instead of four should be appointed by the Government—one representing the Government, one the employers, and one the workers." George replied to the Sifton's proposi-

tion by describing how he: "...could not agree to a proposal giving trades unions or employers' organizations a parity with the government in a matter of representation." With the development of the International Labour Organization (ILO), its constitution contained a clause in Article three section one that described how the representatives: "...shall be composed of four representatives of each of the Members, of whom two shall be Government delegates and the two others shall be delegates representing respectively the employers and the workpeople of each of the Members." So, Sifton was able to push and persuade for labour and employer representation, while George was opposed to it. And while the representation proposal of Sifton fell short of what materialized, Sifton led an effort to help push for ILO composition that was opposed by British colonial leadership. This action was significant on the grounds that Canada had not been given formal control over its own foreign affairs unit 1931, but it was exercising diplomatic influence in international negotiations in opposition to the British government with a second-tier Canadian diplomat pushing back against the British Prime Minister in developing the representational composition of the ILO. This was significant as Canada was beginning to find its voice on issues that mattered for the country in the international arena. Additionally, in the same meeting, Sifton's preliminary statement to the meeting delegation was that British Dominions: "...were made subject to the Labour Convention regardless of whether they were willing to agree or not." George replied to that proclamation by stating that: "...the Dominions were in the same position as Great Britain." Sifton further disagreed by arguing that: "...Article 35 provided that the British Dominions and India should have the same rights and obligations under the Convention as if they were separate High Contracting Parties, but there was no power to reject it." A Mr. Barnes replied to Sifton's concerns by stating that the intent in Article 35 was to have the Dominions and India being High Contracting Parties like Great Britain, and that: "If there was any doubt the wording could be altered." Sifton was again applying influential diplomatic clout to give Canada greater bargaining power and influence in the new post war international and institutional development.

(Dessus) George Grantham Bain (1858-1921). *Bibliothèque du Congrès des États-Unis, référence numérique* ggbain.07303. *Domaine public.* | (Above) George Grantham Bain (1858-1921). *United States Library of Congress, Digital ID* ggbain.07303. *Public Domain.*



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The late Canadian academic Robert Alexander Mackay stated in the introduction to the 1919 *Documents on Canadian External Relations* that Canadian second tier diplomats had also exerted influential roles at the Paris Peace Conference. While most of the attention has been on Prime Minister Robert Borden's diplomatic influence in relation to increasing Dominion influence post World War I, a gap has been left in the historiographic literature in relation to what efforts Canadian second tier diplomats were involved in with the many, complicated negotiations and on committees and ad hoc organizations to establish a new system of international relations in the post war world. One of those diplomats was Arthur Sifton.

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Keeping the Peace in Cyprus

What is peace? Cyprus in March 1964 was experiencing glimpses of it but not enough for Cypriots to feel secure. A United Nations peacekeeping force was sent to help, with a three-month mandate "...to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order ...". Diplomats had quickly arranged fragile cease-fires for temporary peace but as the more fanatical remained wound-up and ready to fight over any petty provocation or miscommunication, security would require more time. Over the next thirty years Canadian forces joined military contributions from other countries in the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), helping moderates control their extremists, adapting to the situation as it evolved. International peace operations would not always be quick or easy.

Traditional armed peacekeeping was based on three principles, the first being that minimum force was to be used only in self-defence. A month later this was expanded to include defence of the mission as more force than anticipated was going to be required...if the UN forces remained. NATO, more than the UN, was motivated to keep the peace in Cyprus to prevent conflict between alliance members Greece and Turkey, as well as threats to British bases on the strategically located island. Unfortunately, Cypriot tensions were not based on familiar Cold

War ideologies but deeply-rooted ethnic division between the majority Greek-Cypriots (about 80% of the population) and the minority Turkish-Cypriots. Each side had extremists, poisoned by years of populist rhetoric and inflammatory media irrationally blaming the "other" for insecurity. Incidents were frequent (UNFICYP reported 259 shootings during three months in 1964) and Greek-Cypriots targeting Turkish-Cypriot civilians almost caused Ankara to intervene in August 1964 and again in November 1967.

A second principle of peacekeeping was impartiality. This was tested in July 1974, as was the UNFICYP mandate, when the right-wing dictatorship in Athens led a coup to oust the more moderate Greek-Cypriot leaders, seen as not zealous enough with allowing Greece to annex Cyprus. Few actions show more clearly how polarized extremism leads to irrational decisions. Within a week Turkey intervened and within a month absorbed the northern third of the island. The intra-state civil war became an inter-state conflict and UNFICYP, while still not taking sides, tried to limit violence and to protect civilians...all civilians. During these busy few weeks 74 UN soldiers were shot (9 killed and 65 wounded) while introducing innovative peace support approaches such as UN Protected Areas (UNPA) and large-scale humanitarian aid to assist with the sudden flow of refugees seeking secure areas.

When Canadian participation in UNFICYP is remembered by historians, it is too often to criticize the duration ... or even imply that the task has been easy.... Looking more closely, others have noticed that the size of that group of peacekeepers has risen at times but more often declined, adapting to the situation with Cypriots calming, moving from a negative peace ... closer to a positive peace



The third principle of peacekeeping was consent of the host government, inviting international soldiers to help. This was tested in the new situation with Ankara being less interested in the presence of foreign peacekeepers than the suddenly much less secure Greek-Cypriot government in Nicosia. UNFICYP continued to adapt, encouraging in new ways negotiations to find that elusive political settlement while also patrolling vigorously, with or without the consent of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (formed in 1983 but recognized only by Turkey). Safeguarding socio-economic development projects foreshadowed the “Responsibility to Protect” mandates of the following decades. Relying on a judicious balancing of force with negotiations, Canadian soldiers of all ranks prevented daily provocative shouts from degenerating into war with experience and modified pre-deployment training that included de-escalation techniques tailored to the specific socio-cultural environment. By the end of the 1980s the island was calmer and Ottawa withdrew the battalion group contribution (500-800 personnel) in June 1993.

UNFICYP exhibited many characteristics of what would later be known as the more ambitious “multidimensional peacekeeping.” This called more clearly for the return of the rule of law through the protection of civilians and promotion of human rights, humanitarian assistance, organization of elections, disarmament, and security sector reforms...as well as greater use of force in defence of the mandate. This was still less robust than “peace enforcement” mandates (authorized under Chapter XII of the UN Charter rather than Chapter XI, as well as by NATO at times), but more robust than “peacemaking” (conflict prevention by negotiation), “peacebuilding” (developing infrastructure for peace), or “humanitarian assistance” operations.

Despite the accumulating experiences achieved over decades and continuing successes, international peace operations have become less popular. When Canadian participation in UNFICYP is remembered by historians, it is too often to criticize the

duration (still there after 62 years) or even imply that the task has been easy, limited to patrolling a green line respected by all parties. Looking more closely, others have noticed that the size of that group of peacekeepers has risen at times but more often declined, adapting to the situation with Cypriots calming, moving from a negative peace (absence of war) closer to a positive peace (presence of a secure rule of law with freedom from the fear of violence or injustice), not a quick or easy transition.

John MacFarlane is a historian with the Directorate of History and Heritage at National Defence and has worked on the official history of Canadian peacekeepers in Cyprus to be published in 2028.

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| (above) Members of the 3rd Battalion, Royal Canadian Regiment, on patrol near Nicosia, Cyprus, 1977. Photographer: Cpl. F.F. Smith. Library and Archives Canada. Item No. 3931016.

A Challenging Peace: Japanese Canadians and the End of the Second World War

The prospect of peace troubled the architects of Canada's uprooting and internment of Japanese Canadians. Undersecretary of State Norman Robertson anticipated that, at the end of the Second World War, "We are likely to be faced with the problem of close to 25,000 residents of Canada of Japanese racial origin, less than a third of whom are Japanese nationals ... The communities from which the Japanese were evacuated are confident that they have gone for good and will probably resist their return" (Norman Robertson, 1943). As victory for the Allies abroad came into view, Canadian officials struggled to decide what to do at home. Rather than undo the knot in which they had bound themselves and Japanese Canadians, they tied themselves into still more tangles. As a solution to the problem of uprooting, internment, and dispossession, Canada proposed exile.

The end of a crisis often draws less attention than its onset. December 7, 1941 has become, as United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt predicted, a date that lives in infamy. Japan's attacks on Hong Kong and Pearl Harbor plunged Canada and the Allies into war in the Pacific. In the months that followed, amid fears that the North American West Coast might become a new front in the war, and following decades of entrenched racism in law and policy, Canada ordered the uprooting of every Japanese Canadian from their home in coastal British Columbia.

Less well understood than Canada's mobilization for war in the Pacific is its preparation for peace. Proposals to unwind racialized internment in Canada involved lengthy and complex policy discussions. Officials assumed from the outset that only those deemed loyal to Canada would be permitted to stay, while the disloyal would be banished to Japan. Expulsion became the premise of an argument about postwar peace: "Dealing drastically" with any Japanese Canadian who was suspected of disloyalty, on this view, would enable Canada to "deal justly" with those who were blameless. The challenge was to scrutinize, segregate, and expel the disloyal, "allowing for the residuum ... to reside in Canada on a basis of non-discrimination" (RG Robertson, 1944).

Officials struggled to conceive the mechanisms by which sentiment and conduct might be measured. Once a policy path was decided, it required implementation—employees of the depart-

ment of labour and the RCMP fanned out across the country, determined to find every person of Japanese descent and to convince them to accept expulsion. Signing for exile, officials reasoned, could be used as an efficient proxy for disloyalty.

Canada's postwar plans for peace forced Japanese Canadians into agonizing decisions. Offered no promise that they would ever regain normal lives or civil rights in Canada, they strategized individually and in families, organized as communities, and negotiated with government officials. Whatever their decisions in this moment of pressure, they remained a people uprooted from



Organizing Japanese Canadians for expulsion - RCMP Corporal R.A. Davidson seated with Ken Saito (with white hat) at Slocan City, 1946. Photographer: Tak Toyota. Library and Archives Canada, No. C-047387.

home. Anticipating the impossible choice that awaited Japanese Canadians with the onset of peace, one young man in Lethbridge lamented: "What a miserable spot we're in. Just as bad as the Jews without a country. Canada won't have anything to do with us ... [T]hey're planning to ship us to Japan. When we get there, we're not Japs, so we'll be pushed around ... Sure as hell is a miserable spot we're in" (Mike to Sam Takishita, 1943).

With over 10,000 people slated for exile, questions of law and logistics arose. Was the banishment Canadian citizens to a foreign country legal? Could the security rationales of the wartime constitution extend into the postwar peace? If so, how would exile

be done? As Canada planned banishment, Japanese Canadians turned to law. A reference case contesting the legality of exile began at the Supreme Court of Canada and ended at the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London.

Canada's peacetime expulsion of Japanese Canadians offers lessons in a world of sharpening borders, insecurity, and talk of who does and does not belong in a national community. In the United States and on the margins of Canadian politics, arguments have resurfaced about denaturalizing citizens, deporting settled immigrants, and about the supposed racial character of citizenship. The same perspectives can be found in the legal and political arguments the governments of Canada and British Columbia employed to justify the exile of Japanese Canadians during and after the Second World War. Turning our historical attention to the end of conflict rather than the beginning reminds us of the ways in which harms set in motion in the name of security can twist and persist long after crisis has abated.

Roy Uyeda and his family were uprooted from the banks of the Fraser River, where his father fished, in 1942. Four years later, he was exiled to Japan and lived in Kyushu for twelve years, until his mid-twenties. His family's stay in Japan began with tragedy, when they learned that Roy's brother had died during the war. Roy remembered, "This was just too much and overwhelming, it just completely crushed us." After years of ambivalence and unbelonging, he returned to Canada in 1958. "There was a boom of going back to Canada at that time," he recalled. This return brought its own challenges. In British Columbia he found enduring racism and little prospect of suitable employment, so he moved to Mon-

treil. Eventually he made a home in Vancouver and found a place again in the Japanese Canadian community. Still, decades later he reflected, "What Canada did to us and how ... directed and shaped my life in its entirety to this very day. And the hunger and starving I 'tasted' as a youngster in postwar Japan etched an everlasting, deep mark on my soul" (Uyeda 1991 & 2025). Peace has its own pains too, which can extend and deepen those of war.

Eric M. Adams, University of Alberta, and **Jordan Stanger-Ross**, University of Victoria, are the authors of *Challenging Exile: Japanese Canadians and the Wartime Constitution* (UBC Press, 2025).

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Pathways to Peace: The Holy Roman Empire in 1569-1570

In his recent biography of the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (who reigned from 1576-1612), Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann reminds us that this ruler contributed to policies which "may well have enabled there to be the longest period of comparative peace in Western and Central Europe in modern times" (p. 223). He points to the reigns of Rudolf and his two predecessors, his father Emperor Maximilian II (1564-1576) and grandfather Emperor Ferdinand I (1558-1564) as the time of this "comparative peace," in the years between the signing of the famous Peace of Augsburg of 1555 and the outbreak of the horrific Thirty Years War in 1618.

How did this peace work? How were the leaders of the Holy Roman Empire able to tamp down the flames of the violent re-

ligious warfare which had wracked its territories for decades, warfare which had seen bloody peasant revolts in addition to Christian-on-Christian violence at extremely high levels, the so-called "Religious Wars"? The answers are not easy nor are they certain.

In my ongoing research into the practices of peace in these decades I have identified a number of ways the women and men of these generations worked within the constitutional and customary frameworks of their times to help establish the respect for norms and the expectation of peace to which DaCosta Kaufmann pointed. In the following brief piece, I will mention four topics that I think helped contribute to not just a lack of war, but to a culture of peace. These are a trust in the institu-

tional framework of the Holy Roman Empire; a belief in the efficacy of judicial instead of military solutions to conflicts; the role of women in establishing familial and other social networks outside of and parallel to the institutions; and a commitment to face-to-face solutions and discussions.

By looking at the activities of the emperor and his entourage in a relatively brief period, from summer, 1569 through 1570, I have been able to identify clear patterns of political behaviour that reveal evidence of the four themes mentioned above. For example, the agenda of and the activities at the Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*) held in Speyer in 1570 shows that the emperor in consultation with the electors (the other six leading princes of the Empire) put the discussion of internal peace (*Landfriede*) in first place. Many days and hours were spent over months discussing how to ensure peace, and how to punish those who disturbed it. A related agenda item discussed how to compensate adequately those who had recently assisted in putting down a noble rebellion.

How were the leaders of the Holy Roman Empire able to tamp down the flames of the violent religious warfare which had wracked its territories for decades, warfare which had seen bloody peasant revolts in addition to Christian-on-Christian violence at extremely high levels, the so-called "Religious Wars"? The answers are not easy nor are they certain.

In addition to this topic, the assembly's agenda also included the theme of judicial reform. Reports were gathered about the lengths of trials and the number of cases before the most important judicial instance, the Imperial Cameral Court (*Reichskammergericht*). Memoranda were discussed and reforms initiated that included adding staff and increasing the budget for the court, indicating that those representatives assembled in Speyer prioritized adjudication of disputes over violence as the way to solve them.

Much activity in this period was dedicated to marriage negotiations and strengthening political alliances through establishing networks of female-centered relationships. There already existed an extensive network of women from the empire's ruling house, the Habsburg Dynasty, across the Empire and into the neighbouring lands of Poland-Lithuania. Now two young women, the archduchesses Anna and Elizabeth, were being sent abroad in 1570 to marry the kings of Spain and France, respectively, in-

creasing the reach of this social world of women, led by the matriarch of the family, Empress Maria.

One of the primary foci of my research on peacemaking in this period is the travels which members of the royal and imperial courts took across Central Europe in these months. Moving from Vienna to Bratislava, and then to places such as Brno and Prague, and through southern Germany to the Speyer Diet, the emperor personally showed himself to his various subjects. He met their representatives frequently in a variety of different settings, including formal audiences and assemblies as well as at a large number of social events and entertainments such as tournaments and processions. Emperor Maximilian was not a ruler who sat in his castle and sent out orders: he travelled his lands and talked to people face-to-face, trying to figure out solutions to the problems of the time.

When studying the past it is often very easy to focus on war: what were its causes? Its consequences? By looking instead at the period discussed here between the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Central Europe, we can emphasize the good-faith efforts and the work that resulted in a surprisingly long period of peace. Perhaps lessons can be learned.

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Peace, “Perpetual Oblivion,” and the Functions of Forgetting

How could peace ever be more than a fleeting memory to be recalled during eruptions of conflict? Is a lasting peace possible—or even desirable—among people made weak by nature or by sin? By the late fifteenth century, alongside voices lamenting war's inevitability in a fallen world and others praising it as a path to justice or proving ground for virtue, more writers across Europe came to aspire to “perpetual peace.” As a means to

In conflicts between kings or that split kingdoms in two, the peace instruments formalized as treaties had long referenced peace and friendship—*concordia* and *amicitia*—but also came to record aspirations for perpetual peace that might well require a special sort of forgetting: a perpetual oblivion. Nor did kings simply promise to forget wrongs against themselves; they enjoined all their subjects to forget wrongs done to them, too. Having sun-

dered the sacramental ties of the past, the religious conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often ended with agreements that perhaps harkened back to an earlier Roman *lex oblivionis* in requiring collective acts of forgetting. The 1529 Kappeler Landfriede that concluded an early conflict between Swiss Catholics and evangelicals ordered recent affronts consigned to oblivion, for example. Echoing language used in agreements that ended feuds across the Anglo-Scottish border, the Scots parliament legislated an Act of Oblivion in 1563 to move past the conflicts that had accompanied their religious reformation and expulsion of French forces. The 1598 Edict of Nantes and the Treaty of Vervins—which ended, respectively, conflict between French Catholics and Protestants and between the French and the Spanish—both included orders for *oubliance*. Execrable crimes that happened during the wars but not because of them could still be prosecuted; otherwise, amnesty prevailed. After the protracted civil wars of the mid-seventeenth century and the restoration of monarchy, King Charles II and his parliaments in both Scotland and England passed Acts of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion. The list could continue.



Detail from the “Treaty of Perpetual Peace between England and France” (Treaty of Amiens), 1537, E 30/1111 © The National Archives (Kew). <https://images.nationalarchives.gov.uk/asset/65970/>

achieve this end, some advocated a particular kind of forgiving or at least forgetting: perpetual oblivion.

Medieval Europeans crafted a variety of peace instruments (*instrumentum pacis*) to end conflicts on a continuum from the interpersonal to the collective, ranging from kin groups to kingdoms. Negotiated written settlements accompanied rituals and sacraments that helped create the states of being they signified: a communal meal or communion at the Lord's Table, for example, a kiss of peace, or perhaps even a marriage. A pardon from a sovereign might then remit any punishment due for the conflict's violation of the king's peace or the common order. *Loubli royal* might follow upon a pledge from participants in the conflict not just to set aside their enmities but also to consign past wrongs to “eternal forgetfulness” or *amnestiam*.

Perhaps the most famous of the early modern injunctions to forget appeared in the Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the conflicts now known as the Thirty Years War: the agreements set out guidelines for a universal peace and lasting amity, one built on a “perpetual oblivion, amnesty, or pardon of all that has been committed since the beginning of these troubles.” Any injuries committed by words, writings, or actions would be “entirely abolished and in such a manner that all that might be demanded of, or pretended to, by each other on that behalf, shall be buried in eternal oblivion.”

What did such orders for perpetual oblivion mean or do? Forgoing the satisfaction due for a wrong was one thing, but forgetting the wrong itself? A pardon and even an indemnity, perhaps, but *oblivion*? Judith Pollmann has suggested that early modern

acts of oblivion were distinctive and sometimes quite successful memory projects that allowed troubles to be narrated in ways that forestalled further violence. Ross Poole argues that they made knowledge of the past information rather than *instruction*: they did not erase knowledge of what had happened but the burdensome responsibilities for vengeance or reparation that might otherwise arise from that knowledge. The past remained; it just no longer required or legitimized action in the present. Though oblivion clauses became standard, legalistic elements of eighteenth-century treaties, they were in origin partly a product of embattled pragmatism. Early modern Europeans' arts and scriptures promised the mutual embrace of Peace and Justice—two of the Four Virtues or Daughters of God—but in practice, Peace often leaned on Mercy, rather than Justice or Truth. When justice proved elusive, ending conflict—or at least bringing it to *an* end—very often required mercy and a reframing of memory.

“Lest We Forget”: for readers raised to assume that forgetting is a sure path to renewed strife and sacrifice, the injunctions to oblivion seen in so many sixteenth and seventeenth-century peace instruments might seem strange, even unsettling. But they are also a reminder that understandings of peace and practices of peace-making are deeply and doubly historical: subject to change over time in ways that historians can help explain while also tied to distinctive memory practices, in both past and present, that might lend themselves to imagining different futures.

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Peace Through Creative Transformation: A Reflection on the Manitoba Development Centre Artefact Project

*To reconcile: restore friendly relations;
coexist in harmony; make compatible.*
(Oxford online Dictionary, 2026).

The latter part of the twentieth century saw increased efforts to build pathways to reconciliation and healing after war and traumatic events with a recognition that peace means more than an absence of fighting and the delegitimization of harmful practices (Simić 2017). Reconciliation processes, such as Canada’s *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* with survivors of Indian Residential Schools (2008-2015), are informing a broader definition of peace that includes coming to terms with shameful pasts, acknowledging the lived experiences of those harmed, and holding collective and individual responsibility for the damage caused and its lingering effects. In places around the world similarly grappling with traumatic histories and violent pasts, reconciliation includes creative processes in which art is used as a medium for survivors to process the harm committed and to speak, if indirectly, to those responsible (Cohen 2006; Simić 2017).

In 2023, an agreement was reached in the class action lawsuit between the Manitoba government and lead plaintiff David Weremy on behalf of survivors of the Manitoba Developmental Centre (MDC), who had suffered physical, sexual, and emotional harm while residents at the government-run institution for people with intellectual disabilities. One of the provisions in the Agreement promises support for “reconciliatory initiatives,” including a government apology, financial compensation to claimants for harms caused, and the use of historical artefacts from the MDC to create a public educational exhibit about the institution’s history and its treatment of people with intellectual disabilities (The King’s Bench of Manitoba 2023). In 2024, a group of MDC survivors began to meet in Winnipeg to collectively decide what to do with the institution’s artefacts. Although the Agreement emphasized using the artefacts for educational purposes, the survivors decided to work directly with them and transform them into new objects to demonstrate the transformation that has taken place in their lives since leaving the institution, and as a way to “talk back” to the source of their harm.

With the creative guidance of two artists, survivors have altered, sometimes destroyed, and re-created objects that either represented or directly caused systemic and individual harm. Survivors have torn up nurses' uniforms, painted the pieces vibrant colours, and are re-sewing them into a brilliant banner. One survivor is weaving beads through the rungs of a tiny crib that was used to confine infants and small children, creating, in her words, a "safe space" for the babies who once lay there—an especially poignant transformation, as this woman was made to feed and care for infants kept in such cribs, darkly ironic in that, during a time when she was not institutionalized, her own child was taken from her on account of being deemed incapable of raising one. Another survivor has torn derogatory and demeaning text that included the "R"



word out of teaching textbooks from the institution, and has overwritten it with respectful language. Other survivors have taken enlarged photographs of the institution and are writing messages of resistance on them, such as "this was a bad place," and "burn it down." Through these processes, survivors are literally and symbolically "talking back" to the place that incarcerated and harmed them and are re-writing what is typically accepted as the institution's official history. Further, engaging with the artefacts has evoked memories and has allowed survivors to share stories of their time there in a safe space, verbally or otherwise. Handling the objects has allowed survivors to gain a sense of retribution and control over their own story, as they direct the engagement and transformation of the artefacts.

Yet is this reconciliation? In alignment with current scholarship on the contestability of reconciliation (Kerr 2022), and in spite of the project's official designation, "restoring friendly relations, making compatible, and coexisting" are not really happening here. While the creative transformation is re-establishing survivors' sense of power and is facilitating a more accurate telling of history, it does not remove the harm suffered, nor does it create amiable relations between survivors and former staff. Survivors have embraced the promises of the Agreement in ways beyond what was initially envisioned, yet other than the provincial government's public apology, perpetrators have not acknowledged their role in the damage. Further, and perhaps most concerning, is whether reconciliation can ever be reached so long as those who caused the harm continue to consider their actions "reasonable." Despite recent gains for people with intellectual disabilities, survivors are not convinced that governments will not one day reverse their decision to close institutions, based on their

own experiences of deep mistrust and ongoing failures to meet their needs. When asked why they often state "burn it down" when discussing what should happen to the former institution, survivors reply that destroying it is one way to ensure they will never be sent back there. Survivors mistrust this fragile "peace" in which they currently live, knowing their futures are not determined by their desires and strengths, but by shifting definitions of disability based on public rhetoric and decision-makers' economic priorities.

Perhaps, then, the MDC Artefact Project offers a more nuanced definition of reconciliation, "a truce that is not peace" (C. Wiman, cited in Toews 2025), a space in which people can safely process and learn how to live with their experiences. Perhaps this is what reconciliation means: to live

the irresolvable tension between telling one's story and having it listened to, while acknowledging harm's persistent, if quietened, presence.

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Teaching Peace History

When I was hired to teach history at Conrad Grebel University College at University of Waterloo almost 30 years ago, my teaching and research specialties were somewhat narrowly focused on Mennonite studies, gender, and immigration. The tenure track position I applied for was half in History and half in Peace and Conflict Studies. In my job talk, I needed to convince the hiring committee that I could teach peace studies, even though I had no particular training in theories of peace and nonviolence. I had not read Johan Galtung or John Paul Lederach.

I proposed a course called “A History of Peace Movements” that would be cross-listed between the two departments. I argued then, and would still today, that History departments traditionally centre war as a category of teaching and research more than peace. The History Department at University of Waterloo had many courses with “war” in the title and its graduate program also included major fields about “war in society” and “cold war.” I suggested why would we not teach peace with the same importance and “rigour” as we teach about war.

I first offered the course in 2006. As a second-year elective without prerequisites, the course filled up with close to 100 students from many disciplines. It was fun and often profound for students and professor alike. During one discussion about civil resistance, I recall an older student from Zambia standing up and describing his own peace activism as a teacher that resulted in imprisonment in his country. His classmates were spell-bound. I recall the vigorous debates about conscientious objection after students read John Boyne’s novel *The Absolutist* about a soldier turned pacifist on the bloody fields of World War I. I recall the shared joy of singing peace anthems together in the classroom.

Just two years before we were all thrust into online teaching and learning because of the Covid-19 pandemic, I suggested the course be developed as an online offering. I was so fortunate for the expertise and enthusiasm of the course developers at UW. The newly developed online course was first offered in spring 2020. A course on peace movements that took a stance of hope for humanity seemed welcome in that moment of global crisis.

I had to think carefully about how to teach peace history that was inclusive, engaging, and accessible for undergraduate students. Each week I focused on a different philosophy or movement, inviting students to analyze the aims, tactics, ideology, and symbols of each movement. We learned about the Haudenosaunee Great Law of Peace and the ancient Olympics as a temporary peace truce. Of course, we had modules on Martin Luther King Jr. and civil rights, and Mahatma Gandhi and nonviolent action. But we also learned about Wangari Maathai and her Green Belt movement to plant trees in Kenya, linking peace to

the environment and recognizing the potential for war over natural resources. We learned about Sophie Scholl and her nonviolent White Rose movement in Germany during World War II, students often expressing surprise that anyone within Germany opposed the Nazis.

I tried to highlight women-led peace initiatives since so much of the peace narrative focuses on King and Gandhi. Thus, we learned about Greenham Common, a massive women’s peace camp in England during the height of anti-nuclear protests of the 1980s. And I could recount my own participation in anti-nuclear marches as a young woman. We learned about Women in Black, a global anti-war movement of women-led vigils that originated in Israel/Palestine. And Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, who continue to demand accountability for the disappearance and deaths of their children and grandchildren during Argentina’s Dirty War of the 1970s.

When I taught the course during a fall semester, we had particular fun with the module on the Nobel Peace Prize, collectively making predictions about who would be awarded the Prize on October 9, and what criteria should be used. We would have had a heyday of conversation in fall 2025! As well, the recent and inspiring mass gatherings of nonviolent protest in Minnesota create an opportunity for comparison with a long history of people speaking out for peace using methods of collective nonviolent action.

Though I am now retired from teaching, regular and contract faculty continue to teach both in-class and online versions of the course. Enrollments remain strong, in part because students yearn for alternatives and examples of thought and action in a world that valorizes might and militarism. While comparable courses exist in other disciplines and programs, I think there are still very few in History departments that explicitly focus on peace in the past.

As Canada ramps up its military power and spending and is no longer a global leader in peacekeeping, the need to teach peace history is greater than ever. As we watch the creation of a U.S.-led Board of Peace that is likely to be anything but that, we need to grapple with students over what peace actually means. We need to teach students that in a world rife with war and conflict, there have been, and are, always people who are standing up for peace.

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Peace as an Attitude: Gustav Stresemann and the Fragility of Reconciliation

When peace is spoken of today, Germany rarely comes to mind as an obvious example. The images of the twentieth century are too dominant: two world wars unleashed from German soil; the industrial mass murder of Europe's Jews under National Socialist rule; deprivation and devastation. In global memory, Germany appears more as a source of violence than as a force for reconciliation. All the more in need of explanation, then, is a glance back at the year 1926, when the German foreign minister Gustav Stresemann was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize—together with the French statesman Aristide Briand. That this award now marks its centenary highlights both the historical distance and the enduring relevance of the questions bound up with it.

Only a few years after the end of the First World War (1914–1918) a German was honored as a peacemaker. That Gustav Stresemann should assume this role was anything but self-evident. He had begun his political career as a national liberal monarchist, had supported the war, and initially did not interpret the war as a moral rupture. Only the experience of collapse in 1918, the revolution, and the unstable postwar years led to a profound political transformation. Stresemann evolved from a nationally minded power politician into a pragmatic republican, defending the Weimar democracy and republic above all out of historical necessity.

To grasp the significance of this moment, one must consider the situation of the time. The First World War had not merely redrawn borders; it had traumatized entire societies. From its inception, the young German Weimar Republic was a fragile political experiment, burdened by inflation, coup attempts from the right and the left, and widespread paramilitary violence. The new order was rejected by large segments of both the elites and the broader population. The Treaty of Versailles was perceived by many as unjust—a punishment rather than the foundation for a fair new beginning. In France, meanwhile, fear of renewed German aggression ran deep; too often the country had become a battlefield in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Peace, therefore, was not a shared end in itself but a fragile compromise shaped by conflicting memories and fears.

It was in this context that the Locarno Treaties of 1925 emerged. They formed part of a series of agreements aimed primarily at one thing: the mutual recognition of existing borders in Western Europe. They also codified the renunciation of military force as a means of pursuing political goals. Germany thus formally ac-



Gustav Stresemann lors de son dernier discours devant la Société des Nations, Genève, Suisse, septembre 1929. Photographie : Erich Salomon. Musée J. Paul Getty, Los Angeles, 84.XM.123.5. | Gustav Stresemann During His Last Speech Before the League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, September 1929. Photographer: Erich Salomon. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 84.XM.123.5.

cepted the postwar order in the West for the first time. France, in return, agreed to reintegrate Germany as an equal partner into the European state system. Locarno was not a peace settlement in a grand, ceremonial sense. It was an attempt to build trust where war, deprivation, and mistrust had previously prevailed.

For Stresemann, this step entailed enormous domestic risks. Nationalists accused him of compliance and betrayal. Yet he persisted. He was personally willing to pay the highest price at a time when political assassinations were commonplace. He pressed his ideas forward relentlessly, convinced that Germany's international rehabilitation could only be achieved through co-operation and reliability—and not through revenge.

Yet the true core of this peace project lay deeper still. Stresemann and Briand understood that peace cannot be secured by treaties between governments alone. Anyone who sought peace had to bring societies along with them—the millions who had experienced, suffered, or lost everything in the war. For many, peace did not signify hope but renunciation. Peace required no longer viewing the former enemy as an existential threat, but as a le-

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gitimate political actor. Emotionally, this weighed more heavily than any military conflict.

The Locarno Treaties were therefore more than a legal document. They were a political and symbolic signal: we accept one another as legitimate partners and we are prepared to take a risk. A risk of trust, at a time when fear, nationalism, and isolation were far easier to mobilize politically.

For Gustav Stresemann himself, this policy was also a personal ordeal. From the mid-1920s onward, he suffered from a severe and incurable illness, yet worked to the point of physical exhaustion. He knew his time was limited—and acted accordingly. His diplomatic travels, negotiations, and speeches were driven by the conviction that the failure of reconciliation would open the door to radical forces, and potentially to another war.

Tragically, this policy of understanding seemed distant from everyday life, carried by political elites but scarcely anchored emotionally within society. In Germany, large parts of the population continued to experience peace as an imposition—as the continuation of defeat. Nationalist movements offered simple answers and clear enemies. The National Socialists proved particularly: denouncing peace as betrayal—and Stresemann himself as a traitor.

Reconciliation, by contrast, demanded the endurance of ambivalence: the recognition that insight, guilt, responsibility, and suffering were not clearly or evenly distributed. This demand

overwhelmed a society still living in a state of economic, political, and psychological emergency.

That this peace project failed—and ended in an even more devastating world war—does not diminish Stresemann's achievement or his insights. It makes them all the more urgent. The Weimar Republic collapsed not only because of economic crises or institutional weaknesses, but also because peace was not sustained by society itself. It remained elitist, unfinished, and therefore vulnerable. Stresemann died in 1929, just a few years before the republic's final collapse.

In his Nobel Prize address, Gustav Stresemann emphasized that peace does not grow out of self-evident trust. Peace, rather, is the conscious decision to overcome mistrust and to transcend the limits of national thinking. Peace, as his implicit message suggests, is not a condition but an attitude.

A hundred years later, it is not only Europe that once again faces the question of whether it merely administers peace—or truly sustains it.

Melanie Carina Schmoll, Ph.D., is a historian, expert in Holocaust education, adjunct professor at the Department of Political Science, an associate fellow at CMSS, University of Calgary. Her latest book, *Hatred of Jews—A Failure of Holocaust Education?*, deals with the alleged failure of Holocaust education and the worldwide rise in hatred of Jews since October 2023.

Making Peace with the Enemy: Non-fraternization, Denazification, and Law and Order in Occupied Germany, 1945

One must hate the enemy, especially if a Nazi. On 11 June 1945, a Canadian court-martial heard a defense lawyer admit, “I taught McTeer to hate Germans. He didn’t need much teaching. You and I are told to loathe these Germans. We succeeded in that” (Lt McTeer case, file 55-M-3072, p. D4). But late in the war, hate indoctrination became problematic. Canadians rarely committed crimes during the Second World War, hate or not. However, to expect a sudden change of behaviour after a ceasefire was a problem.

Numerous court-martialed cases in Germany, enemy country, but also in the Netherlands, allied country, and Italy, ambiguous ally, show that good relations with a former enemy, or

an ally, requires a grasp of the psychological landscape, and pragmatism, not given features in any body combatant. It was politically charged, and Germans were quick to point apparent contradictions between the denazification policy, re-building of Europe, and creation of the United Nations, simultaneous phenomena. Years of propaganda were translated into the famous non-fraternization directive of Eisenhower and Montgomery, prepared in the fall of 1944. It was ready before full public exposure of Nazi crimes against humanity. When Auschwitz was liberated on 27 January 1945, and Buchenwald and Bergen-Belsen on 11 and 15 April 1945, it seemed fair that extreme rigor of relationship between liberators and the German population should be the rule.

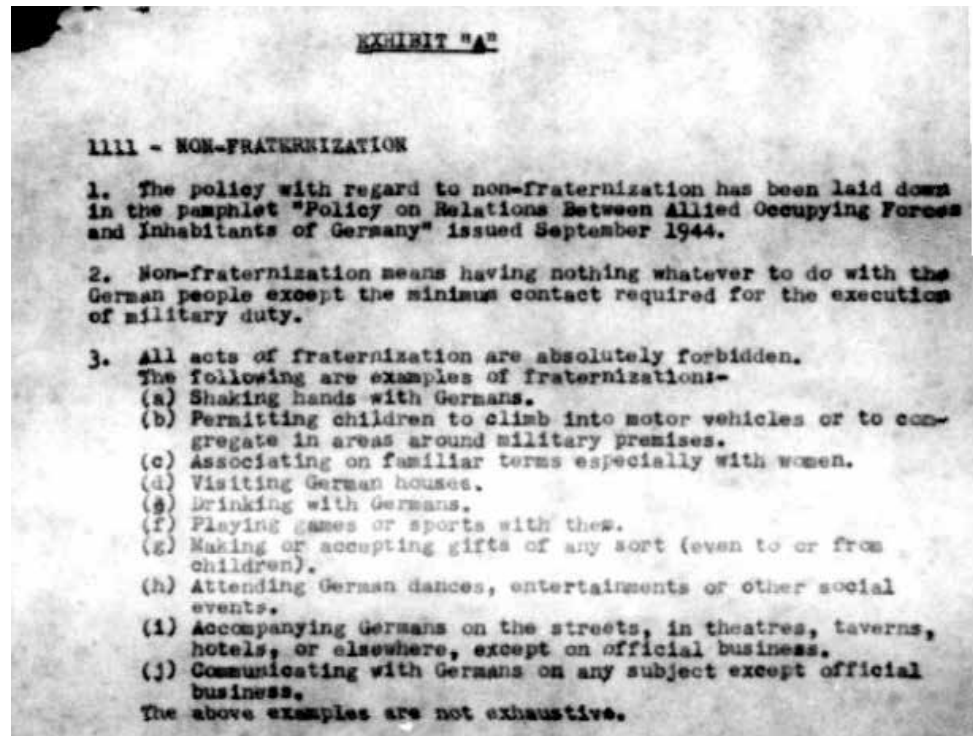
Disciplined Rigor

Allied command was conscious that good troop behaviour was crucial, so a special bureau was added at division level and up to smoothen the relations between the military and the civilian authorities. Originally "Civil Affairs or Military Government" were synonyms for "that part of the Army by which a Commander-in-Chief discharges his responsibility of ensuring that the civilian population in a theatre of war does not interfere with military operations" (CMHQ Report No. 140, §4). At the end of February 1945, 340 Canadian military personnel were deployed as Civil Affairs officers (AHQ Report No. 9, §44). Their vague and negative mandate evolved as a twofold mission late 1943 early 1944: (1) liaison between command and civilian authorities in forward areas, essentially to prevent interference with operations; (2) supervision of local authorities "in order that the civil machinery may be set going as early as possible and in such a way as to benefit the allied war effort and to ensure the preservation of law and order" (CMHQ 140, §11). This second mandate became the essential mission in rear zones. Where civil authorities were still operating and were considered legitimate by the Allies, such as in France, Belgium or the Netherlands, "supervision" became cooperation.

The situation was different in Italy and Germany; before the invasion of fascist Italy and nazi Germany, the question of "setting the machinery" of local authorities included an ideological aspect: to ensure that yesterday's enemy was not cheating the Allies of their victory. The situation in Italy became ambiguous when the Mussolini government fell, but with a suspicion that fascism would not easily perish. Nevertheless, the Carabinieri were re-instituted quickly (AHQ 45, §12), a fortunate decision giving the indiscipline of Allied soldiers in Italian rear areas.

In Germany, the task of Military Government officers involved providing "an organisation through which Germany can be governed and the policy determined by the Allies can be enforced. The velvet glove has been removed; the authority for the establishment of Military Government is force. The exercise of power is limited by the customs and usages of war as codified in the Hague Regulations" etc. (CMHQ 140, §16). Removing the velvet glove led to directives on the process of denazification and the regulation of civilian-military relations. Canadian Civil Affairs officers indeed practiced denazification, but additional research into this practice is required.

It became quickly evident that restrictions on contact between Canadian soldiers and German civilians were counterproductive. Several reasons explain that. The first is the unrealistic idea that hate is the normal attitude to keep with all Germans, all suspected



Non-fraternization directive extracted from Canadian Army Routine Order 1111, 6 April 1945. This extract is reproduced in several courts-martial held in Germany during the spring and early summer of 1945.

to be hardened Nazis. An often-made observation is that it was impossible for an average soldier not to give chocolate to starving children. Furthermore, in liberated areas much of the population was either female, old age persons or children, with as much as 50% being refugees who had lost their homes from aerial bombardment or were fleeing the Red Army. The Werewolf menace, a nazi guerilla defended by Goebbels and supposedly organized to operate after the demise of the *Wehrmacht*, so often mentioned in documents before May 1945 to justify harsh security measures, never materialized, but one result was the disarmament of the German Order Police, with dire consequences for acts of violence, pillages and assaults on persons, including rapes. An unforeseen problem was caused by liberated Russian and Polish prisoners of war and slave laborers, estimated at 81,000 in June 1945 in the small Canadian occupation zone (CMHQ 176, §44). They pillaged and killed at will as soon as they could take revenge on their German tormentors, making many innocent victims in the civilian population (CMHQ 176, §26).

Canadian Military Police was ineffective because of lack of personnel. Distributed sparsely in sections of 12–15 men in middle

La paix dans l'histoire | Peace in History

size communities, the Canadian MPs were overwhelmed by civilians complaining of crimes committed by troops from mid-April to mid-June 1945, at a moment when the transition from the tasks of traffic control and control of leaves of absence to other security concerns was not finished. And, in theory, local police forces were not to be trusted or even left in office until denazified.

Similarly, *Bürgermeister* and city functionaries were to be replaced by designated denazified administrators. Though there are traces in court-martial archives that acts of cooperation between Canadians and non-denazified administrators and police occurred, denazification provoked a lapse in enforcement. It lasted from March to mid-July 1945, when it was decided to relax the policy. At that time, Canadian MP sections started to work more effectively. German Order Police was even rearmed in late summer, despite the opposition of Major-General Chris Vokes, Canadian Occupation Force Commander. In mid-summer, crimes subsided significantly and the situation became manageable, at the exception of the refugee problem.

Keeping peace with a small police force implied reversing the initial attitude toward Germans. The general policy question – was it wise not to fraternize if we wished to teach them dem-

ocratic values? – was not asked loudly. Instead, law and order issues conducted high command, well informed by Civil Affairs officers, to give realistic instructions to the occupying force.

Yves Tremblay is an official historian with the Department of National Defence in Ottawa. He has published extensively on conflicts involving Canadian troops in the twentieth century.

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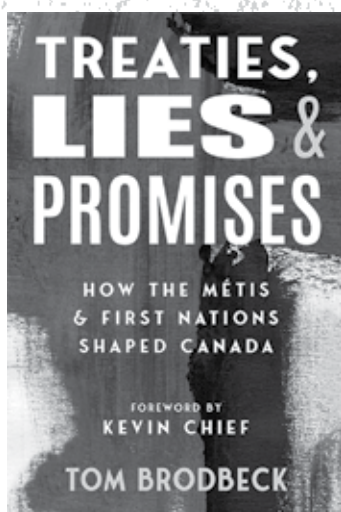
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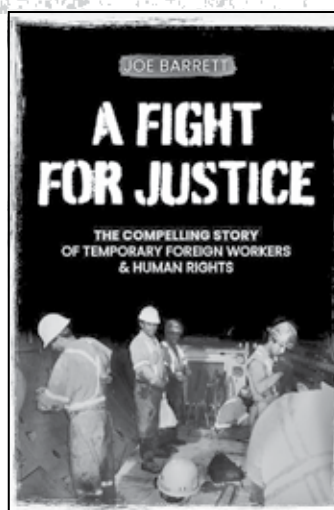
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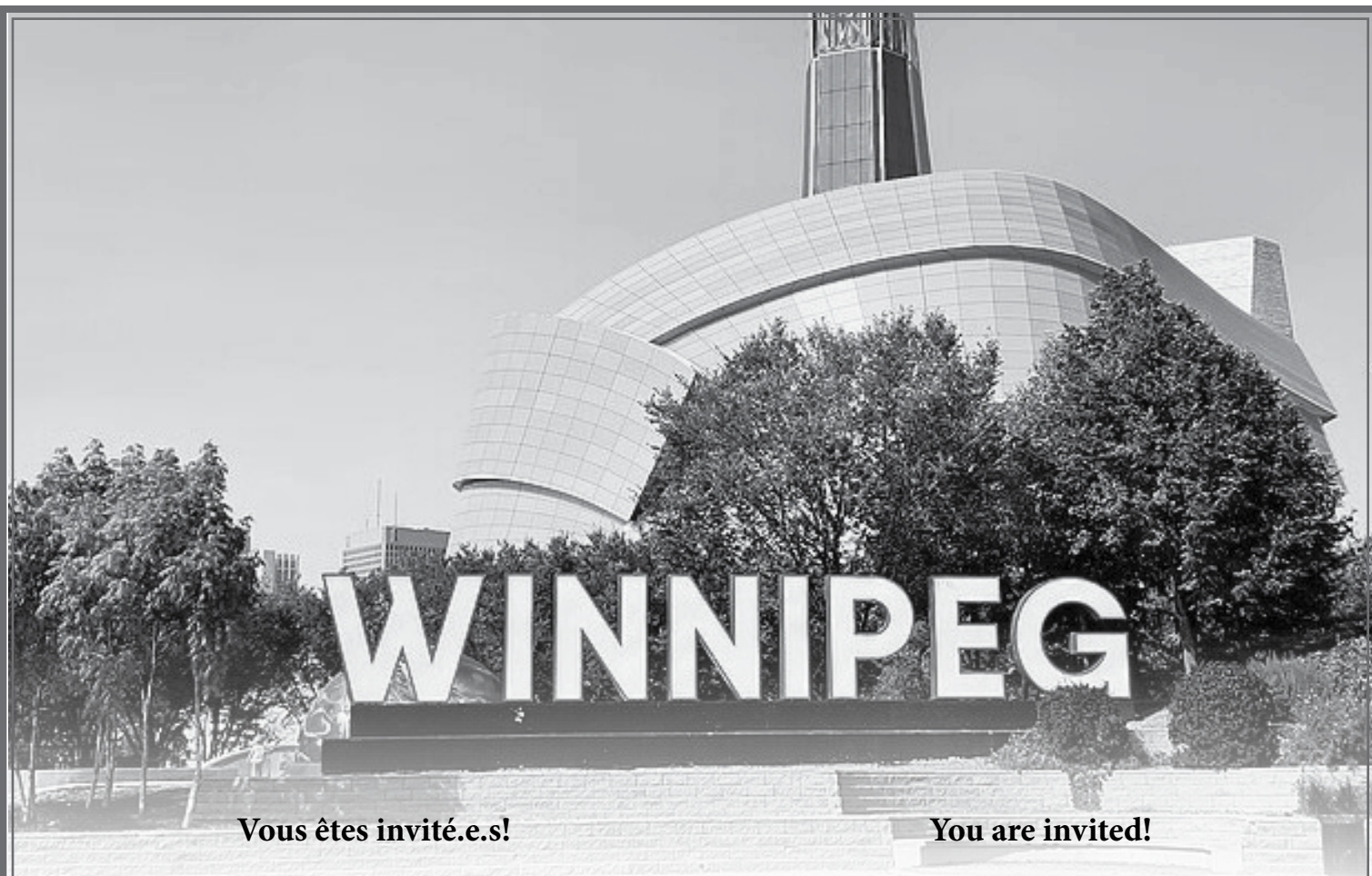
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Vous êtes invité.e.s!

La Société historique du Canada est ravie d'annoncer que sa réunion annuelle de 2027 se tiendra à Winnipeg, au Manitoba, sur les terres des Anishinaabeg, des Anisininew, des Ininiwak/Nehethowuk, des Nakoda, des Oceti Sakowin/Dakota Oyate, sur le territoire ancestral des Métis de la rivière Rouge et sur le territoire du Traité n° 1. Elle se déroulera du lundi 14 au mercredi 16 juin 2027 au St John's College, à l'Université du Manitoba.

Nous avons également l'immense chance de vous présenter Ryan Eyford, de l'Université de Winnipeg, en tant que président du programme et coordinateur des événements locaux de la SHC pour 2027. Nous avons le privilège de pouvoir compter sur l'expertise et le dévouement du M. Eyford alors que nous nous attelons à la planification de l'année prochaine.

La réunion annuelle de 2027 se tiendra la même semaine que le colloque de l'Association canadienne des archivistes à Winnipeg, ce qui permettra d'organiser des événements culturels et professionnels communs.

Veuillez inscrire les dates du 14 au 16 juin 2027 à vos agendas – nous serions ravis que vous puissiez vous joindre à nous à Winnipeg!

You are invited!

The Canadian Historical Association is delighted to announce that its 2027 annual meeting will be held in Winnipeg, Manitoba, on the lands of the Anishinaabeg, Anisininew, Ininiwak/Nehethowuk, Nakoda, Oceti Sakowin/Dakota Oyate, the National Homeland of the Red River Métis, and Treaty One Territory. It will take place Monday to Wednesday, June 14-16, 2027, and will be hosted by St John's College, at the University of Manitoba.

We are also incredibly fortunate to introduce the University of Winnipeg's Ryan Eyford as the CHA's 2027 Program Chair and Local Events Coordinator. We are privileged to have Dr. Eyford's expertise and dedication as we work toward planning for next year.

The 2027 annual meeting will be held the same week that the conference of the Association of Canadian Archivists meets in Winnipeg, which will provide the opportunity for shared cultural and professional events.

Please mark June 14-16, 2027 on your calendars – we would love for you to join us in Winnipeg!

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La force réside dans un comité

Des germes ont surgi du sol appauvri de l'université d'entreprise. Après plusieurs années d'absence, le Comité des étudiant.e.s diplômé.e.s a repris ses activités le 2 mars 2026. Répartis sur quatre fuseaux horaires, nous étions six à nous réunir. Issus de provinces, de structures départementales et de cohortes de tailles différentes, nous étions uni.e.s par des préoccupations presque identiques. Bien que nous n'ayons pas résolu ces problèmes à l'issue de la réunion, j'en suis tout de même ressortie revigorée. Avec la réapparition du comité, un outil supplémentaire vient s'ajouter à l'arsenal contre certains maux du monde universitaire moderne. Quels sont ces problèmes? La dévalorisation, le silence et l'isolement.

L'annonce faite en février par Doug Ford concernant des coupes massives dans les aides aux étudiant.e.s se distingue par sa sévérité. Elle reprenait pourtant le cliché misogyne bien connu des « cours de vannerie », utilisé pour illustrer le caractère peu rentable des diplômes en sciences humaines. Depuis des décennies, le développement de l'esprit, du goût, du sens de l'éthique et de l'identité personnelle que procure une formation en arts libéraux est systématiquement dévalorisé par ceux et celles qui font passer le profit avant tout. La financiarisation, l'atomisation et la privatisation continues de l'université moderne n'ont fait qu'accélérer cette vision anti-humaine de l'éducation. En effet, l'adhésion des administrateur.ice.s universitaires à l'intelligence artificielle, la répression des manifestations étudiantes et la collaboration à l'interdiction des matières et initiatives liées à l'équité, à la diversité et à l'inclusion ne sont que les dernières manifestations en date de cette guerre de longue date contre le rôle de l'enseignement supérieur dans le développement personnel.

Je ne suis pas sûre qu'un comité bénévole d'étudiant.e.s des cycles supérieurs puisse pleinement contrer de tels discours. Pourtant, nous constituons désormais une plateforme supplémentaire contre ces discours. Le Comité des étudiant.e.s diplômé.e.s, qui renaît de ses cendres, souhaite mettre en place, animer et promouvoir des programmes qui démontrent la valeur durable de nos diplômes. Dès notre première réunion, nous avons tous exprimé le souhait que la SHC propose une nouvelle série d'ateliers et de programmes sur les opportunités de carrière non universitaires offertes par un diplôme d'histoire.

Même si je me considère comme une doctorante sociable et bien informée, j'ai été stupéfaite de constater à quel point les problèmes rencontrés par les étudiant.e.s des cycles supérieurs étaient similaires. Dans six départements très différents, nous avons fait état de préoccupations quasi identiques au sein de nos cohortes concernant des perspectives d'emploi catastrophiques, l'insuffisance des bourses et le traitement parfois hautain de la part d'universitaires plus chevronnés (dont aucun, bien sûr, ne lit cette chronique). Le caractère quasi universel de ces problèmes souligne la nécessité persistante de trouver des solutions. En effet, le rapport du Comité de la SHC sur l'avenir du doctorat en histoire au Canada

There is Power in a Committee

Sprouts have emerged from the blighted soil of the corporate university. After an absence of several years, the Graduate Student's Committee (GSC) resumed on 2 March 2026. Across four time zones, six of us came together. From our different provinces, department structures, and cohort sizes, nearly identical concerns united us. Though we did not end the meeting with these problems solved, I left it invigorated all the same. With the committee's reemergence, there is an additional tool arrayed against some of modern academia's ills. What are these problems? Devaluation, silence, and isolation.

Doug Ford's February announcement of massive cuts to student aid is distinct in its severity. Yet it contained the familiar misogynist cliché of "basket-weaving courses" as a stand-in for the unprofitable nature of Humanities degrees. For decades now the development of one's intellect, taste, sense of ethics, and selfhood granted by a liberal arts education have been consistently devalued by those who prioritize profit over all else. The continued financialization, atomization, and privatization of the modern university has only accelerated this anti-human view of education. Indeed, university administrators' embrace of Artificial Intelligence, crackdowns against student protests, and collaboration with proscriptions of Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion subjects and initiatives are only more recent iterations of this long-running war against higher education's role in personal development.

I am not sure a volunteer committee of grad students can *fully* counter such narratives. Yet we are now another platform against these discourses. The resurrected GSC is interested in putting on, facilitating, and advocating for programming that demonstrates the enduring value of our degrees. From our first meeting we all voiced a desire for the CHA to offer a new round of workshops and programming on the non-professorial career opportunities granted by a history degree.

Despite considering myself a gregarious and well-informed Ph.D. Candidate, my surprise at the commonality of grad student issues astonished me. Across six very different departments, we reported nigh-identical concerns of our cohorts around apocalyptic job prospects, the insufficiency of funding packages, and occasional high-hatted treatment by more senior academics (of course, none of whom are reading this column). The effective universality of these issues

Étudiant.e.s diplômé.e.s | Graduate Students

a vu le jour en partie grâce au plaidoyer de ce comité. Ce comité et la représentante des étudiant.e.s des cycles supérieurs peuvent jouer un rôle clé dans la représentation, le lobbying et, si nécessaire, la mobilisation autour des préoccupations des étudiant.e.s des cycles supérieurs à l'échelle du Canada. Bien que cela soit un peu sombre, le fait de constater la nature collective de nos malheurs aide à lutter contre l'isolement que peut engendrer les études supérieures.

Car cela peut être tellement solitaire. Pourtant, cela peut aussi offrir une certaine solitude. Même si j'adore m'étendre avec lyrisme sur les plaisirs d'un voyage de recherche en solo, je ne peux le faire que parce que j'ai des collègues qui savent de quoi il s'agit. Les conversations pointues, détaillées et « d'initiés » avec mes collègues comptent parmi les aspects que je préfère dans mon métier. Pourtant, beaucoup d'entre nous ne disposent pas de telles communautés intellectuelles. L'isolement que l'on ressent une fois les cours terminés, lorsqu'on accède au statut de candidat.e, ou que l'on peut ressentir à d'autres moments du cursus, peut finir par vous user. L'espoir est que ce comité ressuscité aide à lutter contre cet isolement. J'espère que les réunions trimestrielles, la diffusion des annonces d'événements et de conférences, les activités étudiantes lors de la réunion annuelle, et bien d'autres initiatives contribueront à lutter contre la solitude qui peut parfois accompagner le parcours universitaire. D'ailleurs, Cara Ginter, membre du Comité des étudiant.e.s diplômé.e.s à l'Université du Manitoba, a déjà pris l'initiative de créer un serveur Discord pour la SHC! Ce lieu de rencontre virtuel informel sera idéal pour discuter, coordonner des voyages de recherche communs, faire circuler des opportunités et, plus généralement, créer des liens entre les étudiant.e.s des cycles supérieurs à travers le pays.

Bien sûr, les débuts sont toujours une période délicate. Le comité, qui vient de naître, est, comme toutes les organisations, imparfait. Sur les quelque trente-sept programmes d'études supérieures, il n'y a que neuf représentant.e.s. Nous manquons actuellement de représentants à l'est d'Ottawa. La composition majoritairement anglophone du comité reflète malheureusement le fossé toujours présent entre l'histoire universitaire anglophone et francophone au Canada. Pourtant, nous continuerons d'apprendre, de grandir et d'améliorer le comité. Si l'un.e des lecteur.rice.s de ce message est un.e membre du corps professoral ou un.e étudiant.e des cycles supérieurs qui n'est pas actuellement représenté au sein du comité, merci de me contacter à l'adresse chagraduatestudents@gmail.com.

Malgré ces lacunes, je suis profondément satisfaite. L'une des devises qui guide ma vie est que « la communauté est un verbe ». C'est une action. La construction d'une communauté intellectuelle parmi les étudiant.e.s des cycles supérieurs en histoire sera un processus continu. Je suis sûre que les choses connaîtront des hauts et des bas. Mais cela m'a tout de même réchauffé le cœur de voir, le 2 mars, un groupe d'étudiant.e.s de troisième cycle en histoire se rassembler, unis par un désir commun de construire une communauté et de tisser des liens. Des pousses ont émergé du sol stérile qu'est l'université corporatiste. Je suis impatiente de voir ce qui va fleurir.

Aino Pihlak, Représentante des étudiant.e.s diplômé.e.s au Conseil d'administration de la SHC

points to the continued need to find remedies for them. Indeed, the CHA Committee on the Future of the History PhD in Canada Report came about partly through this committee's advocacy. This committee and the Graduate Students' Representative can play a key part in representing, lobbying, and if need be, agitating for Canada-wide graduate student concerns. Though this is a touch grim, to see the collective-nature of our miseries helps to push back against the isolation of grad school.

For it can be so lonesome. Yet it can also grant one solitude. Though I love to wax poetic on the pleasures of a solo research trip, I can only do so because I have colleagues who know what they are like. The nerdy, granular, 'inside baseball' conversations with colleagues are some of my favorite parts of the job. Yet many of us lack such intellectual communities. The isolation once one finishes coursework, advances to candidacy, or that you can otherwise feel during the degree can wear at you. The hope is this resurrected committee helps to fight such isolation. I hope that quarterly meetings, the circulation of event and conference announcements, student events at the Annual Meeting, and more all help to fight the occasional loneliness of the degree. Indeed, GSC member Cara Ginter of the University of Manitoba has already taken the lead on a CHA Discord! This casual virtual meeting spot will be a great place to shoot the breeze, coordinate joint research trips, circulate opportunities, and otherwise stitch together grad students across the country.

Of course, beginnings are such delicate times. The resurrected committee, like all organizations, is imperfect. Out of perhaps thirty-seven graduate programs there are only nine representatives. We currently lack any folks east of Ottawa. The overwhelmingly Anglophone nature of the committee unfortunately reflects the ever-present rift between English and French academic history in Canada. Yet we will continue to learn, grow, and improve the committee. If anyone reading this is a faculty member or grad student not currently represented in the committee, please contact me at chagraduatestudents@gmail.com.

Yet despite these deficiencies, I am deeply pleased. One of the phrases that I live by is that "community is a verb." It is an action. The building of intellectual community amongst history graduate students will be on-going. I am sure things will wax and wane. But it still warmed my heart that on 2 March, a group of History graduate students came together united by a shared desire to build community and connection. Sprouts have emerged from the blighted soil that is the corporate university. I am excited to see what blooms.

Aino Pihlak, Graduate Students' Representative on the CHA Council

André Ségal (1932-2026)

La leçon est terminée, la voix d'André Ségal s'est tue. Elle ne retentira plus dans les amphithéâtres de l'Université Laval et des agoras de la Cité québécoise, où il a captivé des cohortes d'étudiants de tous âges en histoire, par sa formidable capacité d'évocation et sa passion contagieuse. J'en fus à l'époque.

Né en Belgique où il a échappé dans sa jeunesse aux rafles de l'Holocauste, André Ségal a émigré au Québec en 1962. D'emblée, il a fait sien le bouillonnement de la Révolution tranquille, dont il a maintenu la chaleur sa vie durant, avec ses convictions indépendantistes, mais surtout avec sa dévotion intense à l'endroit de la démocratisation du savoir.

Après six années passées à Jonquière, il s'est joint en 1968 au Département d'histoire de l'Université Laval, où il fut professeur en histoire médiévale, puis directeur. À sa première retraite en 1997, l'institution lui décerna le Prix d'excellence en enseignement, dont il fut le premier lauréat. Par la suite, André Ségal s'investit à l'Université du Troisième Âge, où il prodigua ses connaissances pendant plus de 22 ans.

Usant de sa prestance et du grain unique de sa voix, André Ségal fut un enseignant d'exception. Avec lui, l'histoire devenait matière vivante. Dans ses classes, nous observions littéralement la progression des migrations germaniques, qu'on nommait naguère les invasions barbares, qui traversaient la salle. Nous entendions la clameur des Croisés en route vers Jérusalem. Nous ressentions la peste de la Mort noire qui ravageait l'Europe. Des siècles se condensaient dans une séance, sous l'effet du verbe au service de la compréhension et de l'entendement.

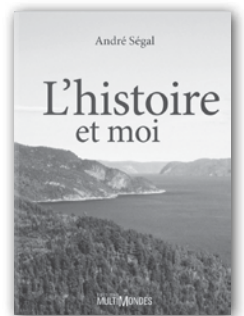
Les êtres et les gestes passés revivent grâce à leur partage avec autrui. André Ségal ne considérait pas la discipline historique comme une pratique en retrait du monde. Sa conception de l'histoire obéissait à une exigence civique. Elle devait habiliter ses concitoyens en leur fournissant des clés de compréhension du monde. Pour ce faire, il fallait quitter les enceintes de l'Université puisque la mission de l'historien universitaire implique le dialogue constant avec les contemporains. À l'instar de ses collègues du Département d'histoire de l'Université Laval, André Ségal était convaincu de la pertinence sociale de sa discipline.



À la manière des prédicateurs des ordres mendiants au Moyen Âge, il s'est résolument engagé dans la Cité.

À partir des années 1970, André Ségal fut ainsi l'un des principaux promoteurs au Québec de l'histoire appliquée, ou *public history*. Avec fougue et énergie, il a organisé nombre de voyages d'études sur le terrain, entraînant avec lui des bataillons d'étudiants. Il lança un programme de communication de l'histoire, mettant à profit les divers médias et mobilisant leurs techniques pour assurer la diffusion du savoir historique et les conditions publiques de son interprétation.

Son engagement comme historien et comme citoyen s'est manifesté de plusieurs façons dans l'espace public, à l'instar de son implication aux Médiévales de Québec ou de ses multiples conférences sur des thèmes variés devant des auditoires pluriels. Il a ainsi nourri l'intérêt de plusieurs amateurs de l'histoire, suscitant maintes vocations. Enfin, par son magistère auprès de personnes âgées, il a poursuivi son œuvre d'animation historique jusqu'au dernier moment.



Quel feu animait la passion d'André Ségal ? Quel sens donner à un parcours aussi effervescent ? Une anecdote personnelle permet d'en saisir l'essence. Au cours des années 1980, un de mes amis proches se destinait aux études supérieures en histoire médiévale. Le sort en a voulu autrement. Mordu par le crabe alors qu'il prenait son élan, cet ami a vu la maladie le dévorer. André Ségal s'est alors démené pour lui, afin que l'Université lui octroie promptement son diplôme et puisse l'inscrire à la maîtrise. Des années plus tard, lorsque nous évoquions ensemble la mémoire de Jacques, André m'a confié quelle impulsion avait motivé son accompagnement. Pour lui, bien que l'issue fatale fût certaine, « il fallait que je fasse bien ».

Devant la mort qui nous attend tous, faire bien. Telle est la leçon du professeur et historien André Ségal. Que sa mémoire soit pour nous une bénédiction.

Martin Pâquet

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Donald E. Graves (1949-2025): An Appreciation

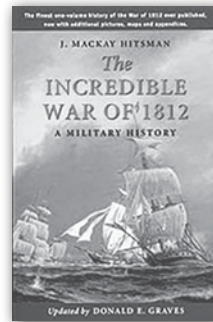
Donald E. Graves (hereafter “Don”) did not see himself as an historian when he was growing up. His first choice was to become a country and western singer; his second was to study the law. He gave up on both: the first because he could not master the guitar; the second because, as he said later, the world had no need for another second-rate lawyer.

That left history, his third choice, and we should all be thankful for that. He obtained his honours degree at the University of Saskatchewan, studying with Hugh Johnson, and his master’s at Carleton, where he worked with Syd Wise. Military history was his preference, and the Napoleonic period was his primary interest. But ever the practical man, Don realized that gaining routine access to primary sources – he loved archival research – would be time-consuming and expensive. Likely at Wise’s urging, he realized that the War of 1812 in North America, from the same era, offered ample opportunity for study, and it was with the War of 1812 as is chosen field he set out to make his mark. And make his mark he did. Not wanting to be a second-rate lawyer, he became a first-rate historian, a true master of his craft.

His family’s loyalist heritage, and the fact that two ancestors had fought in the war, may have been factors in his choice, but I suspect that they contributed enormously to the passion with which he took on the task—all told, author or contributor to almost a dozen books on the subject. And at the end he had become a proud “Upper Canadian,” identifying himself as “Donald E. Graves, Maple Cottage, Valley of the Mississippi, Upper Canada” in the foreword to his *Wehrmacht Archive*.

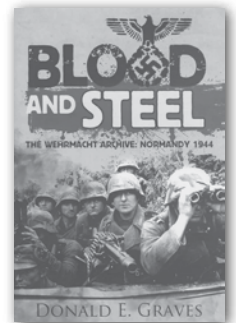
Don’s books always read well, his prose always totally accessible to what the publishing industry calls the “general reader.” But he never “wrote down” to pander to that audience. For their part, specialists and professional historians had to take note because of his sheer mastery of the subject matter: the technical detail of weapons; the culture of the armies he was studying; battle tactics; and, above all else, the ground. He never lost sight of the ground as a factor in military history, and when contemporary accounts didn’t make complete sense – at Chippewa, for example, or Wauwatsche Plantage – he looked hard at the ground. I well remember his observation that he initially could not understand why split-rail fences were reported as such an impediment to movement even for the shorter men of the nineteenth cen-

tury. So he did research, and discovered that they were generally built higher than the split-rail fences found in mid-twentieth-century Ontario.



Don’s work on the War of 1812 made him the ideal candidate to update and revise two classics in Canadian military history: C.P. Stacey’s *Quebec 1759* and Donald Goodspeed’s *The Incredible War of 1812*. During his too-short period of employment at the Directorate of History (he fell victim to an overall 75 per cent cut in staff) he was asked to contribute to a commemorative history of the Normandy campaign, and that set him off on new avenues to explore, leading to two of the best regimental histories ever written (*Always Ready* and *A Century of Service*) and, just over a decade ago, the publication of critical German documents and allied intelligence assessments relating to the war in the west, 1944-1945.

Whether Don could have produced as much given permanent full-time employment is unknowable. What can be said is that his “career” as an independent heritage consultant in partnership with his wife, Diane, gave him the opportunity to research and write and speak on his own schedule, not some bureaucracy’s. And it gave him the freedom to serve as an adviser to both Canadian and American institutions planning to celebrate the bicentennial of the war and, specifically, to serve as a powerful advocate in support of the Stephen Harper government’s push to award Canadian battle honours for the War of 1812.



Don’s lengthy battle against the illness that took his life meant that it became more difficult to take on new, major projects. I’m not sure what was in the hopper. But I would very much have like to read his account for the battle for France, Belgium, and the Netherlands 1944-1945.

Stephen J. Harris

Normand Séguin (1944-2026)



C'est avec une profonde tristesse que le Centre interuniversitaire d'études québécoises (CIEQ) a appris le décès de monsieur Normand Séguin, survenu le 10 mars 2026. Historien et professeur émérite de l'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières (UQTR) il fut l'une des figures de proue de l'historiographie québécoise et un acteur majeur de l'institutionnalisation des études québécoises au Québec. Il a consacré l'essentiel de sa carrière à analyser les transformations du Québec,

en accordant une attention particulière aux dynamiques territoriales et aux structures sociales. Sa vision interdisciplinaire, réunissant l'histoire, la géographie et la sociologie, a profondément renouvelé la compréhension de l'évolution du Québec.

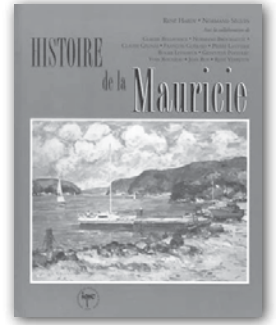
Normand Séguin a joué un rôle central dans la structuration des études québécoises comme champ de recherche et de formation. Afin de soutenir ce projet, il a fondé en 1986 le Centre d'études québécoises à l'UQTR, consacré à l'étude du changement socio-culturel. En 1988, le Conseil des universités du Québec a confié à l'UQTR la responsabilité d'offrir l'unique programme doctoral pluridisciplinaire consacré à l'étude de la société québécoise, à la suite des efforts déterminants de Normand Séguin.

En 1993, il a contribué à la création du CIEQ avec le professeur Serge Courville, fruit d'un partenariat entre l'UQTR et le Laboratoire de géographie historique de l'Université Laval. Ce regroupement interuniversitaire, réunissant des chercheurs issus de la plupart des universités québécoises, s'est imposé comme un lieu privilégié de dialogue entre les disciplines et les échelles d'analyse. L'Atlas historique du Québec, vaste entreprise collective qu'il a contribué à concevoir et à diriger, demeure l'expression la plus achevée de cette ambition intellectuelle.

Chercheur prolifique, Normand Séguin a signé, seul ou en collaboration, de nombreux ouvrages et articles sur l'histoire du Québec. Parmi ses contributions les plus importantes, citons notamment la codirection, avec René Hardy, de l'ouvrage de synthèse *Histoire de la Mauricie* (PUL, 2004). Il a également

cofondé l'Atlas historique du Québec, un projet intellectuel et collectif d'envergure né avec la formation du Centre en 1993. Il a d'ailleurs dirigé ou codirigé quatre volumes de l'Atlas, dont le tout premier paru en 1995, *Le pays laurentien au XIX^e siècle : les morphologies de base*, volume qui a été suivi de *L'institution médicale*, *La paroisse* et *Le territoire*.

L'importance de son œuvre a été maintes fois saluée par ses pairs et par la collectivité. Élu membre de la Société royale du Canada en 1990, il a reçu le prix Lionel-Groulx à deux reprises (1984 et 1996), ainsi que le prix Jacques-Rousseau de l'Acfas en 2001 pour sa contribution remarquable à l'interdisciplinarité. L'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières lui a également remis sa médaille en 2002. En 2008, il a été nommé Chevalier de l'Ordre national du Québec, la plus haute distinction décernée par l'État québécois.



Au-delà de ses nombreuses contributions et réalisations, le CIEQ retiendra de Normand Séguin son rôle de mentor auprès de nombreuses générations de chercheurs et chercheuses, ainsi que l'image d'un chercheur profondément engagé, convaincu de la nécessité de penser le Québec dans toute sa complexité, en croisant les disciplines, les échelles et les perspectives. Son engagement indéfectible envers la recherche interdisciplinaire et collaborative continuera d'inspirer les chercheurs et les chercheuses du Centre.

Le CIEQ souhaite exprimer sa reconnaissance envers monsieur Séguin pour son immense contribution aux sciences humaines et sociales, et offre ses plus sincères condoléances à ses proches et collègues.

Bulletin du CIEQ | Édition du 24 mars 2026.

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Memoriam: R.D. Gidney

R.D. (Bob) Gidney died at home on 11 November 2025 at the age of 86. With the full scholarly collaboration of his life partner, W.P.J. (Wyn) Millar, he wrote extensively, deeply, and innovatively on the history of education in Canada. Through his scholarship and professional activities, he was at the centre of the surge in this field of study from the 1970s on. In 1989, Bob and Wyn became the first English language editors of the journal *Historical Studies in Education*, which thrives today, and they both contributed immensely and continuously to the Canadian History of Education Association, founded in 1980.

Gidney and Millar co-authored three extraordinary books that will likely endure for generations as foundational to the historiography of Canadian education. *Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in 19th Century Ontario* (1990); *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in 19th Century Ontario* (1994); and *How Schools Worked: Public Education in English Canada, 1900-1940* (2012).

In each of these books, the empirical research was both exhaustive and imaginative. *How Schools Work* is a veritable encyclopedia of data on who attended school, who taught, how teachers were supervised, and how schools were funded and governed. Across all of their projects, the authors drew on an exceptionally wide range of sources, including census material, assessment roles, government and school board records, magazines, newspapers, and biographies. They were masters of the case-study approach. *Inventing Secondary Education* and *Professional Gentlemen* avoided a narrow Toronto focus, and *How Schools Worked* deliberately selected a diverse set of English-Canadian communities in order to paint a national profile of educational life.

Interpretively, each book followed its own path, making major contributions to the new social history that reshaped Canadian historiography from the 1970s onward. The authors eschewed the theoretical and ideological frameworks that informed much academic writing. *Inventing Secondary Education*, like Gidney's earlier work on elementary education, challenged the view that the rise of public education in the midnineteenth century was simply a topdown project by elites to control Ontarians and their children. The authors explained that ordinary people had their own reasons for seeking more schooling. Although Egerton Ryerson and his departmental officials promoted a rigid "Georgian" ideal at the secondary level, emphasizing classical education for boys only, parents increasingly demanded both more utilitarian forms of high school and advanced education for their daughters, and the system, in significant ways, adapted to these community-based pressures.

Similarly, *Professional Gentlemen* is a nuanced and indispensable source for understanding how privileged occupational groups acquired and consolidated status in the nineteenth century. Through effective political lobbying, close ties with universities, and growing confidence drawn from the rise of science, medical associations repelled challenges to their exclusive licensing powers—a strategy that other professional practitioners tried to imitate, with mixed success.

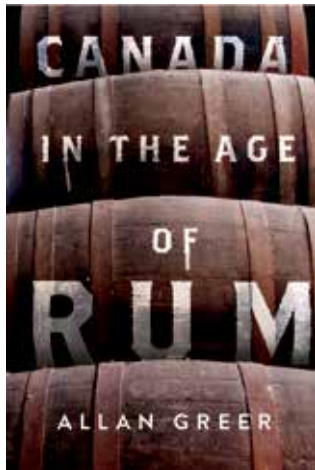
In a fourth book, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (1999), Gidney surveyed major policy shifts in education from the 1950s to the 1990s. The style of this impressive volume was breezier and more argumentative than the others. At heart, the author was an educational traditionalist, who privately railed against educational progressivism in the post 1960s era, which he described in this book as "The Pedagogy of Joy." *How Schools Worked* asked, rhetorically, "Does it matter if students can't tell a gerund from a gerbil?" But such comments were more jabs than rants. As with his other scholarship, Gidney's writing in *From Hope to Harris* was thorough and insightful. It should be among the first books taken up by students of late twentieth century education.

Much of Gidney's scholarship appeared after he retired in 1996 from the University of Western Ontario's Faculty of Education where he taught for some thirty years. He also served as an expert witness in several educational cases, including the appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada of Bill 30, which fully funded separate schools in Ontario. At the time of his passing, he was working on two books: a history of education in Canada since 1900 (with Millar), and an examination of the historical role and significance of Egerton Ryerson. His extensive article on Ryerson, an update of his original contribution, will appear in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

Among a number of awards for their scholarship, the authors received two prestigious Floyd S. Chalmers prizes, one for *Inventing Secondary Education* and the other for *Professional Gentlemen*.

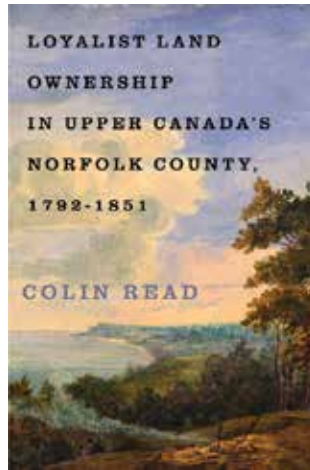
R.D. (Bob) Gidney and W.P.J. (Wyn) Millar have left an indelible mark on educational historiography. Individually and collectively, the Gidney/Millars have enriched the discipline and the profession. Bob's absence will be profound and lamented.

Paul Axelrod is Professor Emeritus, Faculty of Education, York University. This obituary was adapted from "Memoriam: R.D. Gidney," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* (forthcoming, Spring 2026).



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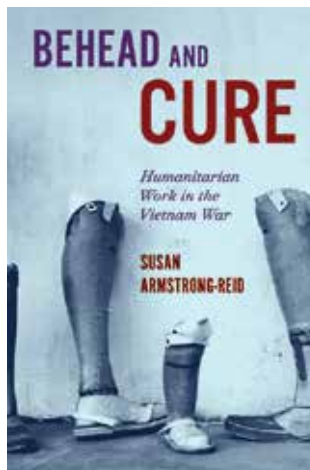
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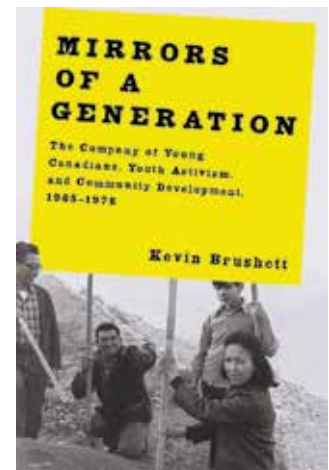
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